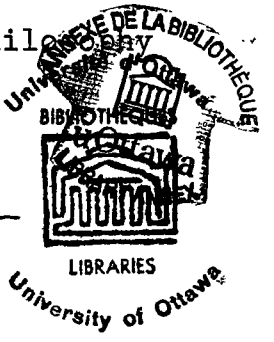
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THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE MOVEMENT OF FRANCOPHONES TO THE CANADIAN PRAIRIES 1870-1915

A Dissertation
Presented to
the Faculty of the Graduate School
University of Ottawa

V. 1

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy



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by
Robert Painchaud

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AVANT-PROPOS

L'auteur qui choisit d'inclure un avant-propos dans son travail veut habituellement exprimer sa reconnaissance envers toux ceux qui lui ont facilité la tâche au cours des années. C'est donc avec joie que je me plie à cette exigence.

Qu'on me permette d'adresser des voeux de remerciements aux personnes et organismes suivants: Monsieur C.J. Jaenen, du Département d'Histoire de l'Université d'Ottawa; le Conseil des Arts du Canada; l'Université de Winnipeg; Monseigneur Maurice Baudoux de Saint-Boniface; les évêques de Winnipeg, Régina, Gravelbourg, Calgary, et Edmonton; le personnel des Archives Publiques du Canada, ainsi que celui des Archives Provinciales du Manitoba et de l'Alberta; mes collègues au Département d'Histoire de l'Université de Winnipeg; mon frère Marcel et ma belle-soeur Valerie; et mon épouse, Brenda Keyser.

J'offre le fruit de cette recherche à Monseigneur l'Archevêque de Saint-Boniface, mes parents, mes amis de la Société Historique de Saint-Boniface, et mes compatriotes.

le 25 juillet 1976

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAE	Archives of the Archdiocese of Edmonton
AAR	Archives of the Archdiocese of Regina
AASB	Archives archiépiscopales de Saint-Boniface
AAW	Archives of the Archdiocese of Winnipeg
ACAM	Archives de la chancellerie de l'archevêché de Montréal
AEG	Archives de l'évêché de Gravelbourg
CHAR/ CHAHP	Canadian Historical Association, Annual Report/ Historical Papers
CHR	Canadian Historical Review
LCSB	Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface
TRSC/ MSRC	Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada/ Mémoires de la société royale du Canada
PAC	Public Archives of Canada
	Record Groups:
	R.G. 2 Privy Council
	R.G. 6 Secretary of State
	R.G. 15 Interior Department - Dominion Lands
	R.G. 17 Department of Agriculture
	R.G. 76 Interior Department - Immigration
PAM	Provincial Archives of Manitoba
PMAA	Provincial Museum and Archives of Alberta
RHAF	Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique française
RCCHA/ RSCHEC	Report of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association/ Rapport de la Société canadienne d'Histoire de l'Eglise catholique
RS	Recherches Sociographiques

PREFACE

The history of the relationship between the Catholic Church and French Canada in the Canadian West has its beginnings in the 18th century when missionaries accompanied traders and voyageurs to the lands beyond the Great Lakes. Those ties were strengthened in the early part of the 19th century, and especially after 1818 when the Church was permanently implanted at Red River with the establishment of a mission under the direction of Father Joseph-Norbert Provencher. Thereafter, French-Canadian clergy and Métis belonging to the 'New Nation' continued to affirm a French-speaking and Catholic presence in a country also populated by English-speaking and Protestant settlers. The two founding communities lived side by side in relative harmony, next to the original inhabitants of the country, until the transfer of the Hudson's Bay Company lands to the Dominion of Canada in 1870 signified the end of an era. The profound transformation that took place in Western Canada over the following half century, from a frontier society to an agrarian, commercial, and somewhat urbanized society, forms the background of the present study.

This thesis deals with the role played by the Catholic Church in promoting the establishment of French-speaking settlements in the West in the period 1870-1915. It examines

for the first time the totality of efforts undertaken by churchmen and laymen together to attract and locate French-speaking settlers from Quebec, the United States, and Europe, on prairie lands. By drawing upon Church documents, private papers, and government records not previously used, at least for this type of study, it is possible to analyze the relationship between the development of the Church and the movement in favour of French-speaking colonization. The involvement of the Church in that movement, as a proponent of francophone settlement, as a colonizing agency, as a lobbying force in government circles, indeed as the overall guiding power behind the scenes, forms the major part of this study. The community of interests between the predominantly French-speaking Church and the Franco-Canadian groups which took root on the Prairies was the continuation of a relationship dating back to the foundation of French Canada on the banks of the St. Lawrence; it was as though they were one and the same. Clerical leaders such as Mgr. Alexandre Taché and Mgr. Adélard Langevin, both products of 19th century Québécois society, clearly dominated the leadership of the francophone community of Western Canada. This was not unusual in French Canada at a time when laymen themselves accepted and even looked to the Church for direction and guidance. In return, the Church gained by calling upon the French-speaking people to act as forerunners

of its own development in the West.

While the bonds between the French-speaking Church and the French fact were inextricably linked, however, it is well to remember that the Western Canadian Church was also part of the universal Church. In the 1870s, there were few problems in this respect, because almost all the Catholic settlers arriving in Manitoba were French-speaking. Beginning in the 1880s, however, with the arrival of German, Irish, and Flemish immigrants, Church leaders increasingly had to cater to the needs of these national groups. To what extent could the Church thereafter demonstrate its penchant toward the French-speaking element? Could it favour, or indeed appear to favour, one Catholic group over another? How might it affect a rapprochement between all Catholics, in the advancement of clerical objectives, while insisting on the special status of the francophone group? Would this not undermine the Church's credibility and affect its relations with the rest of the faithful? What consequences might result for the Church itself?

These issues became most apparent in light of the Church's enduring struggle to maintain and, after 1890, to recover Catholic rights in the field of education. The well-known Manitoba and North-West Schools Questions form an indispensable background against which to place the Church's involvement in Catholic settlement, French-speaking

or otherwise. In their determination to ensure the integrity of what they perceived to be inalienable rights, clerical leaders well understood the weight of sheer numbers. The stronger the Catholic presence in the West, the easier it would be to impress upon governments the validity of their cause. From the outset, the Church and the French-speaking population stood as one in this struggle. And, as will be seen, the Church never ceased to look upon that community as the bulwark of the Catholic position.

The historiography of the French-speaking minorities of Western Canada includes studies which deal with most of these issues, but all of them are either limited in time or in space. Thus, one study emphasizing the "patriotic" role of Archbishop Taché in promoting French-Canadian settlement in Manitoba covers only the period 1870-1882.[1] Another, in keeping with Professor W.L. Morton's concept of the "triumph of Ontario democracy"[2], points up the large migration of Ontarian settlers to explain the dismantling in the 1880s of that French-English duality which had been recognized both in law and in practice in Manitoba during the previous decade.[3] My own Master's thesis examines such variables as transportation costs and economic opportunities present in Manitoba in the period 1870-1891 as factors contributing to the movement of French-Canadians from Quebec and the United States to Manitoba. In addition, using unpublished statis-

tics from the 1891 Census, it seeks to differentiate between the three French-speaking groups composing the francophone population in 1891--the Métis, French-Canadians from Quebec, and French-Canadian repatriates--by relating origin to occupations and literacy rates.[4] For its part, Maurice Dupasquier's treatment of Dom Paul Benoît is confined to the region of la Montagne Pembina, where the French monk endeavoured to found French colonies.[5] Further west, E.J. Hart's history of the French-speaking community of Edmonton devotes only one chapter to colonization, with special emphasis on the commercial involvement of French-Canadian businessmen.[6] A recent report, however, on the Franco-Albertan community enlarges on the previous study by describing the motives and circumstances surrounding the creation of urban and rural francophone centers in that province beginning in 1890.[7] While complementary in character, these remain fragmentary studies. The present dissertation seeks to provide an overall, rigorous, and systematic analysis of the Church's role in French-speaking settlement across the Prairie provinces in the light of the changing social and economic climate.

This recent generation of writers follows upon an older group of Franco-Canadian historians--Donatien Frémont, Louis-Arthur Prud'homme, Gabriel Morice, Dom Paul Benoît, Noël Bernier, and others--who belong to what is known as the

clerico-nationalist school of history.[8] Their writings, combative in nature, sought either to edify the reader or to champion the legitimacy of French-speaking and Catholic claims in linguistic and cultural matters. Dom Benoît's Vie de Mgr Taché (1904) is not only a biographie édifiante, but also a point-by-point justification of the archbishop's stance on such issues as Métis problems and Catholic education.[9] Similarly, Father Morice's work on the history of the Catholic Church in Western Canada, while generally moderate in tone, becomes nonetheless militant and aggressive in sections discussing the schools questions.[10] In Judge Prud'homme's large body of writing on a variety of subjects touching upon the French fact in Western Canada, one recognizes the conservatism of 19th century French Canada. In addition, his articles are overly flattering and somewhat romanticized. Noël Bernier's Fannystelle (1939) exhibits the same tendencies, concluding that the foundation of a French colony in Manitoba took place against a backdrop of "persecution" and "violence" of the French-speaking minority perpetrated by "[des] hommes néfastes".[11] Within this group, Donatien Frémont emerges as the more objective and scholarly writer, although his solid research loses much of its potential impact in books and articles which remain too descriptive and narrative, and therefore uncritical.

The shortcomings of this school unfortunately detract

from its accomplishments. The most obvious flaws are its defensiveness, its clerical and nationalist biases, and its selective themes given narrow treatment favourable only to the French-speaking and Catholic viewpoints. As such, it testifies to a methodology and climate of opinion prevalent at the turn of the century and still current in the 1950s. Furthermore, when discussing French-speaking settlement in the West, a theme never pursued consistently or thoroughly, writers of this school tend to surround their subjects with great patriotic objectives and with ardent discourses on the West as the natural and rightful home of francophones. There follows the oft-repeated story of intrepid French-Canadian traders and voyageurs who first brought French civilization into that region of the continent in the first half of the 18th century. In the process of course, there is virtually no analysis of the social and economic forces which shaped the course and pattern of settlement in Western Canada in the years after 1870.

There is, however, one common theme to the historiography of both the old and the contemporary schools of western writers: that is concern for the relatively small amount of French-speaking settlement in the Canadian West. In their attempts to explain this, Benoît, Morice, and Bernier for example, focus on the importance of French Canada as a source of reinforcements, concluding unreservedly that opinion

leaders in Quebec must bear much of the blame for the lack of a strong migration of their compatriots to homesteads on the Prairies. Benoît notes Mgr. Taché's charge of indifference on the part of supposed friends in Quebec, and adds that "Il s'est toujours trouvé dans la province de Québec certains esprits étroits qui ont été opposés systématiquement au départ des colons, quels qu'ils fussent et quelles que fussent les circonstances, pour les autres provinces."[11] Father Morice, lamenting the proportional decrease of Catholics to Protestants in the West, presumes of the influence of clerical and political leaders in Quebec on the average French-Canadian when he presents the following observation:

> On ne saurait nier que si l'on avait bien tenu compte de la gravité de cette question dans l'Est, des milliers de personnes qui s'en vont annuellement grossir le nombre des ouvriers dans les usines de la Nouvelle-Angleterre, sous prétexte d'améliorer leur condition matérielle, au risque d'y voir sombrer leur nationalité sinon leur foi, auraient pris le chemin de l'Ouest canadien et puissamment contribué à y maintenir l'influence du catholicisme. Cette émigration eut rendu impossible la spoliation des droits les plus sacrés en matière d'éducation qui devait assombrir les dernières années du patriotique archevêque [Mgr Taché].[12]

The journalist, Noël Bernier, concurs wholeheartedly with the view that "...des influences, assurément très respectables, mais étroites, combattirent le mouvement, avec une tenacité aveugle."[13]

Apparently, not even a distinction between appeals to French-Canadians firmly implanted in Quebec and to those

who were preparing to leave that province produced a sympathetic hearing in *la belle province*:

> Les contradicteurs ne voulurent rien entendre. Et c'est ainsi que le mouvement manitobain, commencé dans la plausabilité, finit par devenir une impossibilité. Si ces efforts de peuplement français ont manqué; si, par suite de notre nombre proportionnel décroissant, les francophones nous enveloppèrent, il faut en conclure, non que la clairvoyance a fait défaut chez les chefs français du Manitoba, mais qu'ils n'ont pas été suffisamment écoutés par la province de Québec. Puisse la province-mère n'avoir jamais à souffrir de la courte vue de trop de ces chefs d'alors, qui ont accompli simultanément le double exploit de nous abandonner sans défense aux bêtes et de laisser des centaines de mille Canadiens français partir pour les Etats-Unis, *ce cimetière de notre race*.[14]

Even recent studies, appearing in Western Canada, repeat this general interpretation. In a chapter on colonization, the Franco-Albertan study cited earlier includes, among obstacles to the successful migration of French-Canadians into that province in the years prior to World War I, "...l'opposition de la province de Québec", "...la détermination des Orangistes de faire de l'Ouest un pays anglophone et protestant et d'éliminer les droits que le français et les écoles séparées avaient acquis par l'Acte du Manitoba", and other factors.[15] Finally, in a short historical survey of the Franco-Canadians of Saskatchewan, Michael Jackson summarizes the clergy's efforts in this way:

> Suivant l'acquisition des Territoires du Nord-Ouest par le Canada en 1870, on fit de grands efforts

> pour encourager les Canadiens français à émigrer vers les vastes plaines; leurs leaders, comme le grand évêque (plus tard archevêque) catholique de Saint-Boniface, Mgr Alexandre Taché, et son successeur, Mgr Langevin, craignaient que la prairie ne devînt une réserve anglophone et savaient que la réalisation d'un Canada vraiment biculturel dépendait de l'expansion des Québécois vers l'Ouest. Hélas, ceux-ci devaient leur faire la sourde oreille dans l'ensemble, avec les conséquences pour l'avenir que l'on connait.[16]

This almost unchallenged view that leaders of opinion in Quebec were somehow responsible for the deterioration of the francophone minority's position in the West rests on a number of assumptions. In the first instance, it assumes that the clergy and politicians from Quebec, had they wanted to, could easily have diverted the exodus of French-Canadians to the New England States toward the Canadian West instead. Yet, if they held that power, one might ask why it was they failed to cut it off entirely. Further underlying this view is the assumption that French-Canadians should have obeyed the precepts of a nationalist call above their individual self-interests. In essence, however, those advocating that choice were merely betraying their frustration and despair in the face of developments beyond their control. And, at the same time, they were showing how there was less of a troupeau de brebis mentality in French Canada than they expected or wanted. Finally, it seems as though the proponents of a stronger French-Canadian presence in the West believed that their compatriots were

naturally suited to agricultural pursuits in a rural parish setting. The fact that the hoped-for migration of French-Canadians away from the industrial centres of New England did not take place appears instead to confirm Michel Brunet's view that l'agriculturisme and le messianisme in 19th and 20th century French-Canadian society were indeed ideological constructions held by the professional and bourgeois classes in French Canada, but not shared by the lower classes.[17]

Quebec-based French-Canadian historians are less unanimous in their treatment of this issue. Among them, Canon Lionel Groulx comes closest to echoing the views of his Western Canadian compatriots. In a discussion of the schools questions, he shows how the French-speaking and Catholic minority in Manitoba and in the North-West Territories "...connut tôt les douleureuses conséquences de son affaiblissement numérique." He continues:

> Pendant que, de l'Ontario et des Etats américains de la frontière, affluait vers les prairies une population anglophone et que le Canadien Pacifique, terminé en 1886, commençait d'y charrier l'immigrant européen, le petit groupe francophone en demeurait ou presque aux seules ressources de sa natalité. Les évêques de l'ouest et plus que nul autre, Mgr Taché, avaient bien sollicité du Québec, la dîme des émigrants que, depuis trente à quarante ans, la vieille province laissait partir d'un oeil résigné vers la frontière americaine. De hauts personnages firent de leur mieux pour étouffer cet appel de l'archevêque. Leur opposition se justifiait, sans nul doute, par les plus nobles motifs. A la province-mère, foyer principal de la race, il fallait garder, et dans l'intérêt même des minorités, disait-on, l'intégrité de ses forces.[18]

Groulx does not, however, go further in his assessment of the situation, not wanting to blame his Quebec compatriots outright for the small French-speaking presence in Western Canada. He prefers instead to call for treatment of the franco-catholic minority of the West equal to that enjoyed by the anglo-protestant minority in Quebec.

Radically different explanations for the paucity of French-speaking settlers in Western Canada, based upon a notion of conspiracy, are found in Rumilly's Histoire de la Province de Québec and in Brunet's nationaliste writings. The former is quick to charge that "Par tous les moyens, de la législation à l'immigration, on s'efforçait d'accentuer le caractère anglais et d'éliminer les aspects français de l'Ouest."[19] The reader is left to decide who the "on" is, although the intimation is that it refers to supposedly anti-French and anti-Catholic Orangemen who exercised extensive power in the federal government. Brunet, of course, knows exactly who these enemies of French Canada were: the Canadians. Their object has always been to limit the expansion of the Canadien nationality, claims Brunet. In his view, George-Etienne Cartier and other leading Québécois were naive in thinking that the surplus French-Canadian population would bolster the ranks of the minority in Manitoba. They should have known that the politicians and Orangemen in English Canada "ne souhaitaient pas l'ex-

pansion de la French and Popish Dominions."[20] Never, he adds, did the government in Ottawa concern itself with the repatriation of French-Canadians to Western Canada, choosing instead to subsidize the immigration of foreigners from Europe who had "...la plasticité psychologique nécessaire pour se soumettre à leur [Canadian] domination."[21] He summarizes his study of the matter by stating that the Canadian majority took

> ...les moyens les plus énergiques pour peupler, conformément à leurs intérêts, l'Ouest canadien. Une politique d'immigration massive, pratiquée de 1871 à 1914, y pourvut. L'émigration vers les Etats-Unis de quelque 600,000 Franco-Québécois, obligés de quitter une région où ils végétaient et sachant qu'ils n'étaient pas particulièrement bienvenus dans les autres provinces, simplifia la tâche du gouvernement d'Ottawa dans ses efforts pour empêcher le peuplement du pays par une majorité franco-catholique.[22]

Against this 'plot mentality' stand the interpretations of Arthur Silver and of Albert Faucher and Gilles Paquet. In his Master's thesis, Silver argues that the lack of a larger French-Canadian migration to Western Canada can be attributed to the negative attitudes which French-Canadians had toward that region of Canada.[23] Neither, he concludes, did they have the psychological inclination to move to the frontier. Instead, as a settled society, they preferred the relative security of New England which did not involve a move far from their patrie. In his doctoral dissertation, Silver expands on the theme of negative

attitudes manifest in leading Québécois circles by showing how the lack of concern for French-speaking minorities and the role they could play in the affirmation of French Canada resulted from an overriding determination to create an autonomous French-speaking Catholic society in _la belle province_.[24] Thus, he argues that while the Québécois showed sympathy towards the minorities, they felt they could not extend too much help at the risk of weakening the homeland of their nationality in Quebec.

Silver's thesis may explain in part the disinclination of Quebec leaders to view Western settlement by French-Canadians as a potential source of strength for all of French Canada, but it does not account for the individual decisions made by hundreds of thousands of Québécois to seek a better life elsewhere. Not even the absence of a frontier mentality provides a satisfactory explanation for that massive emigration of people in the second half of the 19th century. Paquet and Faucher, on the other hand, propose an interpretation based on social and economic factors operating at the continental level.[25] The latter places the movement of Québécois in the broader context of a movement of population from rural to urban areas and from the industrial centres of the East to the agricultural regions of the West. Thus, "Il y eut exode des _Yankees_ vers l'Ouest, il y eut exode de Canadiens vers le Sud. Le Middle-West promettait plus

que la Nouvelle-Angleterre, la Nouvelle-Angleterre davantage que la province de Québec."[26] Both Faucher and Paquet seem to imply that economic pressures were a far more important determinant than either attitudinal or psychological factors in determining the course and pattern of French-Canadian population movements.

The historiography of French-Canadian settlement in Western Canada, therefore, generally covers interpretations which include the racial-religious view, the socio-economic school, and the settled society-frontier theory. This dissertation seeks not only to test the validity of existing interpretations, but to propose new ones. An examination of problems not previously explored by writers and scholars will show the extent to which our historiography is deficient.

Chapter I examines an aspect of Western Canadian settlement which was of vital concern to Church authorities: the distribution and occupation of land by groups of settlers. Of special interest here is the concern of Church leaders for 'block' settlements, that is for compact communities of people sharing the same faith or the same language. The race for dominion over parts of the prairies on the part of rival churches betrayed the expectations and ambitions of one and all in looking at the future. It especially reveals how clerical leaders hoped to ensure the maintenance of

French-speaking influence in the West.

Chapter II challenges the view of settlement as a 'patriotic' endeavour, by suggesting that patriotism does not transcend everyday political life. Indeed, both Archbishops Taché and Langevin, among others, engaged in lobbying activities at the federal and provincial levels in the hope of obtaining the appointment of repatriation or immigration agents devoted to their cause. On their political astuteness and influence depended the adoption of programmes favourable to them. To what extent, therefore, did their objectives coincide with those of Liberal or Conservative governments of the day? Did political ties significantly affect the course of settlement?

In the chapter on relations between the Church and Quebec, the conflicting views of Quebec leaders and of Western Canadian francophone leaders on the future importance of a strong French fact beyond Quebec are most apparent. Given the assumption that Quebec should provide the greatest number of French-speaking settlers for the West, Church authorities never ceased to attempt to interest and commit the Québécois leadership to their work. When the number of arrivals failed to match their expectations, especially in the light of such severe reversals as the Manitoba School Question, the minorities of Western Canada tended to blame their compatriots from <u>la belle province</u> for their predi-

cament. Chapter III therefore, emerges as one of the key chapters in evaluating the nationaliste interpretation put forward by historians such as Michel Brunet.

The following two chapters deal with the actual efforts undertaken by repatriation agents in the United States especially and by other agents operating in Europe, either under the aegis of the Canadian government or of Western Canadian bishops. Serious doubts are raised about the choice of agents, about their competence, and about their conviction as to the practicability of their operations. If, for example, repatriation agents working among French-Canadians living in the United States doubted that they could convince significant numbers of their compatriots to return to Canada and take up lands on the Prairies, is it any wonder that governments were hesitant about spending large sums of money on a lost cause? With respect to Europe as a source of French-speaking settlers, two questions come to mind: the first relates to the difficulty of obtaining the cooperation of the French and Belgian governments, as well as to the related problem of interesting potential immigrants from these two countries in the Canadian North-West; the second concerns the willingness on the part of lay and clerical leaders in French Canada to receive and favour French or Belgian settlers. Unfortunately, the ultramontane leanings of Western Church leaders

led to a conservative approach in seeking out European immigrants. Chapters IV and V, therefore, also cast doubts on the nationaliste view of things.

Chapter VI ends this re-evaluation by looking at the relationship between French-speaking and "ethnic" settlement. It illustrates how the Church hierarchy, torn between its natural affinities for the French-speaking element and its larger catholic duties, preferred settlers of francophone origin but recognized at the same time that Catholic immigrants belonging to other national groups could serve its interests.

The major part of the dissertation deals with the attitudes, concerns, and activities of the first two archbishops of St. Boniface. Archbishop Alexandre Taché (1854-1894) and Archbishop Adélard Langevin (1895-1915) were not only the Metropolitans of the Ecclesiastical province of St. Boniface established in 1871, but also the administrators of a diocese stretching from just west of the Great Lakes almost to the present-day boundary between Saskatchewan and Alberta. Their suffragan bishops, at least until the creation of new dioceses and provinces in the 1910s, included Mgr. Vital Grandin of St. Albert (1871-1902) and his successor, Mgr. Emile Legal (1902-1920), and Mgr. Albert Pascal (1890-1921), titular bishop of the vicariate of Prince Albert until its elevation to the rank

of a diocese in 1907. In 1911, the diocese of Regina was carved out of the diocese of St. Boniface, and yet another francophone, Mgr. Olivier-Elzéar Mathieu (1911-1929), was made its first bishop. The first non French-speaking bishop in the West was Mgr. John T. McNally (1913-19), named to head the newly-created diocese of Calgary in 1913. Thus, it was a predominantly French-speaking hierarchy which guided the development of the Church in Western Canada in the period under study. The only other exception to this state of affairs was the appointment of a bishop for the Ukrainians in 1912. But, despite all the changes in Church structures, it remains that Archbishops Taché and Langevin were the principal figures and therefore occupy the largest place in this dissertation.

Finally, a short note on the use of certain terms is in order. By "Church" is meant the Catholic hierarchy of Western Canada, unless the context indicates otherwise. It is used in a collective sense to denote how the bishops of Western Canada shared common views and concerns on issues. Also, the use of "French-speaking", "francophone" or "Franco-Canadian" generally refers to the whole of the people who spoke French in the West, including the French-Canadians, French, Belgian, and, in most cases, the Métis.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Soeur M.-J. Augustin, "Douze Années d'Immigration française au Manitoba, 1870-1882" (unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Ottawa, 1952).

[2] W.L. Morton, Manitoba - A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), p. 199.

[3] Allan A. Roscoe, "The Manitoba Act in Transition, 1870-1896: the transformation of Manitoba's French-Canadian politico-cultural institutions" (unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Manitoba, 1968).

[4] Robert Painchaud, "Le Manitoba et l'Immigration Canadienne Française, 1870-1891" (unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Ottawa, 1969).

[5] Maurice Dupasquier, "Dom Paul Benoît et le Nouveau Monde, 1850-1915" (unpublished thèse du doctorat ès lettres, Université Laval, 1970).

[6] E.J. Hart, "The History of the French-speaking community of Edmonton, 1795-1935" (unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Alberta, 1971).

[7] Collège Saint-Jean, Ecole bilingue ou unilingue pour les Franco-Albertains? Premier rapport descriptif d'un projet de recherche interdisciplinaire mené par un groupe de professeurs et d'étudiants du Collège Universitaire Saint-Jean de l'Université de l'Alberta (Edmonton, 1974), pp. 22-71.

[8] See the Select Bibliography for a list of their major works and articles relating to colonization.

[9] Dom Paul Benoît, Vie de Mgr Taché (Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin, 1904), 2 Vols.

[10] Adrien-Gabriel Morice, Histoire de l'Eglise catholique dans l'Ouest canadien du lac Supérieur au Pacifique, 1659-1915 (Saint-Boniface: Chez l'Auteur, 1921-23), 4 Vols.

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[13] Bernier, op. cit., p. 19.

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[15] Collège Saint-Jean, op. cit., pp. 30-31.

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[20] Michel Brunet, Québec-Canada Anglais: deux itinéraires -- un affrontement (Montréal:Editions HMH, 1969), p. 215.

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[22] Ibid., p. 227.

[23] Arthur Isaac Silver, "French Canadians and Prairie Settlement, 1870-1890" (unpublished Master's thesis, McGill University, 1966).

[24] Arthur Isaac Silver, "Quebec and the French-speaking minorities, 1864-1917" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, The University of Toronto, 1973).

[25] Gilles Paquet, "L'Emigration des Canadiens Français vers la Nouvelle-Angleterre, 1870-1910: Prises de vue quantitatives", Recherches Sociographiques, Vol. V, No. 3 (septembre-décembre, 1964), pp. 319-370; Albert Faucher, "L'émigration des Canadiens français au XIXe siècle: position du problème et perspectives", ibid., pp. 277-317.

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CHAPTER I

THE CHURCH AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The transfer of the Hudson's Bay lands by the Imperial government to the Canadian government in 1870 opened up one of the last Canadian frontiers to settlement on a large scale. Thus the disposal and utilization of these lands became a contentious issue with far-reaching implications for the social, economic and political orders both in the North-West itself and in the older regions of Canada. The land question, not yet fully explored by social scientists, was a matter of great concern and interest to the Catholic Church in the 19th century. Church leaders recognized the significance of the transfer and the importance of their own involvement in influencing the course of ownership of this most precious natural resource.

The Catholic Church favoured group settlement over individual settlement. In 1936, C.A. Dawson defined group settlement as possession of specific geographic areas by members of homogeneous groups--"groups in which language, sectarianism, nationalism, and collectivism in various combinations distinguish them from their neighbours"--comprising from half to all of the population of a given area, where "a sense of communal solidarity was experienced from the outset."[1] He conceded that the French were more

individualistic than Doukhobors, Mennonites or Mormons, but he argued that their individualism was "held in Check by a common desire to maintain their cultural distinctiveness."[2]

While Dawson recognized that French-Canadian group settlements were not as "separatist" as those of other "ethnic" communities, he maintained that the Catholic Church, desirous of opposing anglicization and secularization, contributed significantly to the segregation of French-speaking settlements from the mainstream of society. This was achieved by supporting the natural tendency of French-speaking people to settle together through active colonization efforts on the part of clergy and through "the close integration of religion and race consciousness."[3]

This chapter examines the role played by the Church in promoting French-speaking group settlement. Archbishops Taché and Langevin especially were involved in developing group settlement as the foundation for homogeneous communities which, hopefully, would be free from racial or religious clashes. Under their leadership, two types of group settlements emerged in response to the course and pace of prairie development. Bishop Grandin of St. Albert and Mgr. Legal, his successor, along with Bishop Pascal, whose diocese was first organized as a vicariate in 1890, followed the lead of their metropolitans.

Firstly, the "block" type developed from Mgr. Taché's determination to build a compact French-speaking community in Manitoba. By using existing Métis settlements as a point of departure, and by adding a number of French-Canadian group settlements which he expected to establish in their vicinity, The Bishop of St. Boniface hoped to create a "little" Quebec on the banks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers. Later, the "block" could be reinforced by concentrating more French-speaking elements within it.

Secondly, the "chain type" of group settlement was an attempt, especially on Archbishop Langevin's part, to respond to or anticipate the westward movement of population by establishing a continuous chain of group settlements. By founding a succession of communities, he hoped that the French-speaking element would create a "chain" of group settlements to which later arrivals could link themselves. The line of communities established during the 1895-1915 period, which extended from Grande Clarière through Forget, Gravelbourg, Ponteix to Dollard, is an example of a successful application of the concept of "chain" settlement. Whereas the "block" idea called for consolidation of an area already occupied, the "chain" concept led to an almost frantic race to multiply the number of settlements as a future source of power and influence.

The "block" type of settlement reflected Mgr. Taché's

concern for the development in Manitoba of a strong and unified French-speaking population which would play the same role vis-à-vis other French-speaking settlements in the West as Quebec played vis-à-vis Manitoba or New England. Similarly, in what later became Saskatchewan and Alberta, Bishops Grandin, Legal, and Pascal favoured the "block" idea, in the belief that the towns of St. Albert and Prince Albert could serve as the focal points for surrounding French-speaking communities. Mgr. Langevin's support for the "chain" idea, on the other hand, arose in direct response to the rapid expansion of settlement in the first two decades of the twentieth century. His objective was to create new bases for French-speaking and Catholic expansion while bridging the gaps between widely-scattered communities. Thus this chapter focuses on the steps taken by Church leaders in the West to bring about the realization of their ideals for French-speaking settlement.

* * *

Basic to "block" settlement was land, a point which did not escape the Bishop of St. Boniface. Indeed, soon after his arrival in Europe in the Fall of 1869, he encouraged Bishop Grandin to take possession "d'autant de terre que vous pourrez dans les différentes localités. Poussez votre peuple à cette mesure: que les pauvres métis se

saisissent du pays, autrement il leur faudra le laisser et où iraient-ils?"[4] Mgr. Taché did not want the Métis to leave the country because they were to play a key role in securing the first settlement "block" in his own diocese.

In the decade or so following Manitoba's entry into Confederation, Mgr. Taché was to pursue diverse but complementary courses of action to secure the "block" which, he felt, would entrench the francophone element along the Red River south of Fort Garry (Winnipeg)-St. Boniface, and west along the Assiniboine toward St. François-Xavier. Firstly, he would strive to have the Métis occupy and hold on to lands which, he believed, were owing to them; secondly, in conjunction with the Société de Colonisation du Manitoba, he would attempt to consolidate this Métis reserve by obtaining reserved townships for French-Canadian repatriates in the vicinity of the Métis settlements; and, lastly, he would come to the defence of his people in the case of contested claims, and would even use funds supplied by sympathetic friends to maintain the integrity of his "block".

Following his hurried return to Canada and Red River early in 1870, at the request of the Canadian authorities, Bishop Taché became deeply involved in drafting the List of Rights finally presented to Ottawa.[5] Of concern here is Section 31 of the Manitoba Act, which provided for the distribution of 1,400,000 acres to unmarried Métis children.[6]

While the origin of this particular clause is unclear[7], there is no doubt that it gave rise to much controversy. The Toronto Globe charged that Bishop Taché and Father Ritchot were behind the demands presented to the government in Ottawa:

> ...the French population in the North-West has been swayed hither and thither very much by their ecclesiastical superiors, both in the way of resistance and submission. What object was in view in all this we shall no doubt learn by and by.
>
> McDougall hints it was in order to secure special endowment for the Church and special advantages to the French speaking population as to make the colony substantially a second edition of the province of Quebec and a help to those who were jealous of Ontario's ever increasing numbers in outvoting the "big sister" at Ottawa.
>
> Talk about wishing to get large grants of land for Church purposes may "very likely" have had some foundation, as it comes from so many different quarters. If true, the movement is a very foolish one; for never henceforth will a Government under British authority be found voting the property of the whole to the service of one church or many.[8]

In anticipation of what it feared the Bill might contain, the Globe argued further that no districts should be set apart "for any one nationality or language", and that lands should be made available on the basis of a "first come first served principle."[9]

When the Bill was finally introduced in the House of Commons, and the provisions it contained were made public, the Globe objected that the amount of reserved land was too large and that this arrangement could be "wrought

so as to perpetuate the preponderance of the Indian and half-breed element in the Province."[10] What was at issue, it proclaimed, was the whole future of an Empire, imperilled by "some five or six thousand people who speak a French patois" and who, once settled on their special advantages, "may play the part of obstructives to their heart's content."[11]

The Toronto Liberal newspaper was not alone in opposing the land concessions contained in Section 31 of the Manitoba Bill. The Wesleyan Conference at Toronto viewed

> the setting apart of 1,400,000 of acres of the richest lands in that country to the 'priests and co-religionists of Sir George E. Cartier' as incompatible with those principles of Church and State separation, of equal rights and privileges amongst all denominations of Christians, and the support of their operations by voluntary contributions...[12]

E.V. Bodwell, M.P. for Oxford, told the House of Commons that "it seemed as if the Government desired to place the new province under the control of the French Canadians. If that was not their object, it looked like it, for it granted special privileges to that race, such as setting aside the 1,400,000 acres of land for the half-breeds and their children."[13] Alexander Mackenzie told the members that he wanted to know about the land provisions because they could introduce into the territory divisions which had been disastrous in the old Canadian provinces, and "which kept many of the denominations concerned in these disputes in a

state of intercine [sic] warfare, which produced results so disastrous to society generally, and particularly to the churches engaged."[14]

The controversy did not lessen after the passage of the Manitoba Act. For years, the Globe assailed the government over the grant to the Métis, and repeated its charges that Bishop Taché had been responsible for the drafting of Section 31.[15] Just as frequently, newspapers friendly to the Métis and French-Canadian interests in Manitoba denounced the allegations.[16] Within the province of Manitoba itself, the Free Press and Taché's organ, Le Métis, exchanged editorials concerning the role of the Bishop in the matter.[17]

In spite of the French weekly's denials, Mgr. Taché was intimately involved in the land grant to the Métis and Half-Breeds.[18] Evidences of his designs are to be found in the despatches of Lieutenant-Governor Adams G. Archibald. Writing confidentially to the Secretary of State for the Provinces in December 1870, he pointed out that sixty townships would have to be set aside to meet the requirements contained in the Manitoba Act for special reserves. Assuming the Métis to number 6/10 of those entitled to the grant, he calculated that they were entitled to some 36 townships. He was inclined to think that "if the feelings of the Half-Breed population, particularly the French, are consulted, the lands will be laid down so as to throw the

Reserve as much as possible into one block, or rather into two blocks, one for the English and one for the French." There was, he said, a very strong disposition to continue this arrangement among the French who were "found to be anxious to have their Reserve laid off in the vicinity of existing parishes of their own people." Archibald thought that there were business advantages to locating lots otherwise than on reserves because each particular lot "is enhanced in value by the improvements of the others." But, he added,

> It is only because the French half-breeds, and their leaders, treat the question, not as one of business, but rather as one of race, and breed and language, and because they are unwilling that their people should form part of a mixed community, that they prefer having the lands to which they are entitled laid off in one block.[19]

While this was injurious, there was yet another feature of the question which concerned Archibald even more: "The French, or their leaders, wish the lands to be so tied up, as to prevent them, at all events, for a generation, from passing out of the family of the original grantee." This could have the effect, therefore, of rendering "inalienable, for a long period of time, a large portion of the Reserve." He rather thought that the tendency of modern legislation was to abolish "Estates Tail", thus bringing real estate more and more to the condition of personal property.[20]

Archibald therefore recommended that the Government

adopt a course of action in Manitoba which would be in accord with the habits and thoughts of modern life. Let the titles be given absolutely. True, some might make a bad use of it, others might sell it for a trifle. Still the land would remain, and it could find its way into the hands of other settlers. In any event, added Archibald, much of the land would be tied up owing to the fact that some 3,500 Half-Breeds were under ten years of age, and 1,500 more were under fifteen years of age. Thus 490,000 acres would be withdrawn for eleven years, and 250,000 more could not be disposed of for six years. The Lieutenant-Governor concluded his remarks by telling the Secretary of State that he apprehended that his views would not be "in unison with those of the leading men among the French half-breeds or their clargy."[21]

Archibald had correctly stated the position of Mgr. Taché who feared that the Métis would fail to value properly the land. Indeed, in his Esquisse, the Bishop had written that "le plus grand tort social de nos métis est celui d'être chasseurs." He described them further:

> Tous n'ont pas ce défaut, si tant est qu'il faut ainsi qualifier ce goût naturel, puisqu'il y en a un certain nombre, parmi eux, qui n'ont jamais fait d'autre chose que cultiver leurs terres. Quoi qu'il en soit, il est bien certain que cette vie d'aventures nuit considérablement à notre population.[22]

He went on to argue that "des circonstances exceptionnelles"

and not "des dispositions particulières de leur caractère" were responsible for their nomadic ways. Therefore, under different circumstances, the Métis could presumably be made to abandon their life on the prairies as hunters and settle down to an agricultural life.

Now, in 1870-1871, the St. Boniface Bishop had to find a way to act on his beliefs. While it was somewhat difficult for him to play too active a public role on the land question, because of what John A. Macdonald described as an industrious attempt by the Opposition to "disseminate the idea that Manitoba is to be a Popish preserve,"[23] he nonetheless agreed to act as a medium between the Lieutenant-Governor and the people in the parishes of St. Boniface, St. Vital, St. Norbert, St. François-Xavier, and Baie St. Paul. His acceptance of Archibald's invitation to assist in the selection of the Métis share of the land grant was undoubtedly based on the urgency to proceed quickly before the movement of immigration into the province created too many problems. A Report of a Committee of the Privy Council in Taché's possession indicated that many emigrants from Ontario were on their way to Manitoba with the objective of taking up land for farming purposes.[24] At the meetings, therefore, the Métis indicated which lands they wanted as part of their reserve.[25] One suspects that Mgr. Taché largely influenced their choice of location, based in part

on the existing Métis settlements dotting the banks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers, and also on Taché's assessment of those regions best fitted for block settlement.[26]

Once the selection was complete, the French-speaking leadership, led by Bishop Taché, argued that the choice was a final one since all procedures had been properly followed. Le Métis, reporting on the choices made, quoted from one of Archibald's letters to argue that immediate ratification would follow.[27] The French-language weekly also took issue with the Toronto Globe once more when the latter described the grant of 1,400,000 acres as absurd, and decried the establishment of "block" reserves.[28] The St. Boniface weekly responded that the Métis had a right to select lands "dans les endroits où ils désirent se fixer et se grouper ensemble."[29] It also expressed concern about the possibility of the Métis being deprived of what they considered to be theirs.[30] This became apparent even to Mgr. Taché following the appointment of George McMicken. The new Land Commissioner suggested that the apportionment of the 1,400,000 acres should be proceeded with, apparently without reference to Archibald's previous actions. The Bishop immediately reminded the Prime Minister of the Order-in-Council stipulating that the Lieutenant-Governor "shall designate the Townships or parts of Townships in which allotments of Half-Breeds shall be made."[31] It was his

contention, therefore, that once the Métis had indicated their choice of land to Lieutenant-Governor Archibald, there would follow a rapid confirmation of their rights.

The delays which arose in the first months of 1872 disturbed Taché and his associates. Further retarding the distribution of the land grant were difficulties which related to the inclusion of wood lands in the Métis Reserve. Mgr. Taché would recall later that the Métis had chosen four townships, among others, "merely and solely to secure the wood and land along the Rivers."[32] Now the Land Department was claiming that only a "portion" of the said Townships were reserved, and was proposing therefore to withdraw those lots adjacent to the river. Taché's position was that they were "the very portion insisted upon and promised."[33] Support for that point of view came from fifteen Manitoba legislators who addressed a petition to the Secretary of State for the Dominion, asking that wood lands not be dealt with until all the provisions in the Manitoba Act covering the 1,400,000 acres had been carried out.[34] Meetings held in St. Boniface and in St. Norbert on the same issue undoubtedly received Taché's approval.[35] The purpose of the campaign was clearly to pressure the government into satisfactorily settling the Métis claims before making provisions for other classes of settlers. Meanwhile, Le Métis kept asking why nothing was happening;

its own conclusion was that the problem lay with Ottawa.[36]

Finally, in July 1872, it appeared that Lieutenant-Governor Archibald had received instructions from Ottawa to proceed immediately to select the 1,400,000 acre reserve and set it aside.[37] The thought that the designated lands would be those selected by the parish meetings held in 1871 relieved Le Métis.[38] Now there was no need to oppose or fear immigration; the "block" was secure. Le Métis even suggested that the designs Ontario had on Manitoba had failed, and that immigration from Lower Canada would now pick up.[39] The editorialist probably echoed Taché's views when he stated that the country, until now, had not been ready to receive considerable immigration, because of incomplete surveys and the delay in the selection and allotment of the reserves. Now, however, things were different:

> Les raisons qui existaient pour nous empêcher de désirer une immigration immédiate sont maintenant disparues. Les terres seront presque toutes arpentées à l'automne; les réserves des Métis sont choisies, il est conséquemment facile à présent au colon de choisir une terre pour s'établir, sans avoir à craindre d'être dérangé.[40]

The optimism was premature. The imminent distribution of the Métis lands soon raised the problem of speculation. "Prenez garde aux spéculateurs", warned Le Métis, "et ne vendez pas vos terres de réserve. Vous avez le sol; vous en êtes les propriétaires, gardez-le et cultivez-le."[41] Again, it was not inconceivable that Mgr. Taché was behind

these admonitions. But there is evidence that he had little faith in Métis resistance to the enticements held out by the speculators. He had to find a way to tie the Métis to a plot of land for one, two, or three generations. On their adaptation to a sedentary way of life depended the success of his "block" community.

One way of doing it was by making sure that allotments made to children could not be disposed of by their parents. Early in the 1872 session of the Manitoba Legislature, a joint address from the two Houses to the Lieutenant-Governor represented, in part, "That power be given to the Legislature of Manitoba to name Administrators or Guardians to administer the lands reserved for Half-breed Minors."[42] It is likely that Taché, fearing the consequences of allowing parents to be responsible for their children's allotment, supported the move. He probably expected that he or one of his close associates would be named an administrator or guardian. That could have meant that the lands chosen in a "block" would have been secure for at least a period of some eight or ten years in most cases. However, the federal government excluded this possibility.[43]

This having failed, Mgr. Taché considered anew the idea of entailment. Alexander Morris, newly-appointed Lieutenant-Governor, confided to Macdonald early in 1873 that Mgr. Taché and the abbé Ritchot were behind such a

movement.[44] There were also rumours of Riel's participation in such a move.[45] No bill encompassing the principle of entailment was introduced in the Legislature during the 1873 session. But Robert Cunningham, M.P. for Marquette and editor-proprietor of The Manitoban suggested that the Legislature could "restrict and prescribe" the sale of lands by passing a bill requiring "possession of the land at least five years after your majority, or after entering upon possession, before you can dispose of it."[46] Cunningham, described by the Free Press as Taché's man,[47] had been a member of a delegation which met with the Manitoba Ministry a few days previously to urge that action be taken regarding the wholesale buying up of Half-Breed and Métis claims in the province.[48] Also in the group were Joseph Royal, Joseph Dubuc, and M.A. Girard.

Entailment may have been a dead issue for the moment, but there were other ways to seek to remedy improvident selling. Marc-Amable Girard therefore introduced a bill "To Aid Vendors of Real Estate in certain cases." The bill's intent was to help the Métis and Half-Breeds recover lands already assigned to speculators. But it was given a six-month hoist, while receiving support only from five French-speaking members.[49] A second bill introduced by Donald A. Smith, then a member of the Legislature and a leading figure in the Hudson's Bay Company, was designed

to benefit children whose lands were being given away by parents to men who "wish to enrich themselves at the expense of the confiding Half-breeds."[50] It provided that "those parties who have been obligated to give up their lands, shall have them back on the repayment of the amount advanced to them..."[51] While there was some doubt about the right of the local Legislature to pass such a bill, it did pass by a 14-8 margin.[52] Lieutenant-Governor Morris, however, acting upon recommendations from the Department of the Interior in Ottawa, reserved the bill.[53] Mgr. Taché, who was bed-ridden for three months during this critical period, nonetheless followed events with a great deal of interest. "J'oubliai l'état des faiblesses où je me trouvais," he told Bishop Grandin, "pour m'occuper activement de quelques mesures importantes à faire passer à notre législature."[54] He undoubtedly was advising his friends in the Legislature on bills he deemed essential to the maintenance of his Métis flock and to his overall colonization hopes.

Despite this obvious reversal, Mgr. Taché never ceased to resist the disintegration of the Métis community. In 1877, he gave another indication of his opposition to further governmental or bureaucratic moves to commute all grants of land to the Métis into land scrip. To accept that would be to contribute further to the loss of the Métis reserve. When J.S. Dennis, Surveyor General writing

on behalf of his Minister, expressed the latter's concern that the land granted to the children of Half-Breeds in Manitoba was "not likely to realize the anticipated value to the recipients, while it is certain to operate greatly to the public disadvantage in retarding for an indefinite period the settlement of a very considerable area, say one-seventh, of the lands in the Province," Mgr. Taché was pleased to give him his opinion.[55] The scheme proposed would commute the claim of each Métis child by a fixed cash payment. Would the Bishop, Dennis asked, cooperate in opening the lands in question for settlement, which support would result in the Minister extending "a liberal consideration to the claims of the Half-Breed Children?"[56]

Taché's response revealed the position he had adopted over the preceeding seven years. He did not share the Minister's views on settlement and believed that provisions contained in the Manitoba Act could not be adjusted without reference to the Imperial Parliament. Nor did he

> feel justifiable [sic] in recommending any action which minors, when of age, might deem as having been prejudiciable [sic] to their interests. Scarcity of land in a few years hence may render the children of Half Breeds better able to appreciate its value than their relatives do at present, and the preservation of their grant may be the only way to secure a footing for them in their native country.[57]

These views carried little weight in the eyes of a government intent on terminating the Métis and Half-Breed claims to lands.

The following year, by Order-in-Council, patents were issued to all claimants irrespective of age or sex.[58] Thus ended the first attempt by Mgr. Taché and his supporters to safeguard the heritage of the Métis through some form of compulsion.[59]

The story of Mgr. Taché's involvement in the Métis share of the special land grant made under terms of the Manitoba Act illustrates the Bishop's determination to force part of his flock to adapt to the new order, almost against its will. Furthermore, it reveals the primary role he played vis-à-vis Lieutenant-Governor Archibald especially, and vis-à-vis government officials in Ottawa. All knew that he was the undisputed leader of the Franco-Catholic community. None of the leading Franco-Manitoban laymen challenged Taché's pre-eminence, not just because he wielded a great deal of influence which could prove beneficial to them either individually or collectively, but also because they recognized his stature and wide experience. There can be no doubt, therefore, that they acted under his immediate guidance in framing resolutions or bills to be presented to the Manitoba Legislature. Certainly Le Métis followed his lead in all matters.

If, however, the Métis reserve formed the base of Mgr. Taché's plans for a French-speaking Catholic "block" settlement in Manitoba, there were other ways of consolidating or adding to it. Initially, unfavourable economic

conditions in the province in the years immediately following provincehood in 1870 led to a cautious approach.[60] But the prospect of a Mennonite group settlement spurred the French-speaking community to action. A Société de Colonisation de Manitoba was founded early in 1874 to promote a movement of French-Canadians into the province.[61] The visit by a New England delegation later that year and the prospect of "une centaine de familles canadiennes, qui seraient prêtes à venir s'établir au milieu de nous," led to requests for reserved townships on which to settle the new colony.[62]

Mgr. Taché, the Honorary President of the Société, played more than a titular role in the conduct of its affairs. When, from Ottawa, Senator Girard asked him to indicate "dans les townships non-appropriés ceux qu'il importerait de choisir", the Bishop made a selection which rounded out the "block" already created by the Métis lands.[63] His plan was still to create a compact French-speaking settlement East of the Red River. Unfortunately, other settlers also thought them valuable; the government in Ottawa, therefore, could not set those townships apart for the Société de Colonisation's settlers.[64] Senator Girard reiterated the demand for these same townships, adding that since the application was made, there had been "demands for over two hundred families from U.S. [sic] insisting upon settling near Railway Lines and we find no better locality

than townships three and four range three east."[65] Still the government refused and the Société was forced to accept alternate townships.[66]

The allotment made was not a happy one, however. When a second delegation toured the townships reserved for the Société de Colonisation in the Fall of 1875, they were less than satisfied with their quality.[67] Nothing was done until the first contingent of French-Canadian repatriates arrived to occupy the townships in question in June 1876 and found them not only flooded but unsuitable for their purposes.[68] A hurried exchange of telegrams with Ottawa followed. As a result, new townships were allotted on the West side of the Red.[69] This forced change from a policy of "block" settlement at all cost required a slight adjustment which did not, in itself, prevent the establishment of compact communities close to one another. But it did lead the Société to accept the prospect of settlements on the open plains west of the Red River, a move which necessitated that steps be taken to supply wood lots to settlers who were deprived of them on their prairie lands.[70]

The creation of new parishes which followed upon the arrival of a few hundred repatriated families to Manitoba after 1876 did not place Mgr. Taché's dream of a solid Franco-Catholic "block" out of reach of threats against it. In 1878, for example, the presence of squatters

on one of the French-Canadian townships required the intervention of Prime Minister Mackenzie before a not too satisfactory solution was reached.[71] But, coming as it did at a time when the Bishop faced growing difficulties over this and other land questions, it appeared as though it would take little to put an end to the hope of a strong French-speaking presence in the province. Chief among Mgr. Taché's concerns, next to the French-Canadian reserved townships of Taché and Letellier, were the so-called "staked claims" controversy, the "seed advances" question, and the exodus of the Métis towards the Saskatchewan country.

The "staked claims" question dated back to 1870. Returning to Red River from his mission to Ottawa as one of the three delegates of the Convention, the abbé Joseph-Norbert Ritchot led "a very large number of French Half-breeds" to locations on the Rat, Salle, and Seine rivers where they "staked out" lots.[72] Unfortunately, none was occupied by families until 1872,[73] and formal notification of their claims was not filed with the Department of the Interior until February 1873.[74] Consulted for an opinion, the Department of Justice ruled that the claims could not be recognized under the terms of the Manitoba Act, but recommended that each case be investigated upon its merits.[75]

The location of the "staked claims", near the Métis reserves, was vital to the "block". For this reason, Mgr.

Taché and other Franco-Manitoban leaders waged a struggle spanning more than a decade to save the lands so claimed. Adding to the complexity of the issue was the occupation of some of these lots by repatriated French Canadians. A proposal, therefore, put forward by the Interior Department in 1877 requiring improvements on at least five acres before favourable consideration be given to the claimants and further suggesting that inhabitants purchase the lands at the rate of $5 an acre produced much opposition within the French-speaking community. Le Métis pointed out that fifty of sixty families, most of them of the repatriated class who had bought the lands in good faith, faced expropriation.[76] Father Lacombe, probably acting as spokesman of Mgr. Taché and the Société de Colonisation de Manitoba, addressed a memorandum to the Hon. C.A.P. Pelletier, "strongly urging that these staked claims be allowed as claims under the Manitoba Act."[77] The Manitoba Legislature adopted a unanimous resolution condemning the government proposal as one which could "nuire aux intérêts de l'immigration."[78] Before these appeals, Pelletier assured Taché that

> d'après les lettres que j'ai reçues du R.P. Lacombe et de Mr. Royal, je crois que les résolutions concernant les colons de la Rivière aux Rats ont été mal comprises car M. Mills [Minister of the Interior] m'assure encore qu'aucun de ceux qui ont fait des améliorations, constructions ou autrement ne sera exproprié, confisqué & expatrié comme on semble le craindre. Je serais le premier à déplorer un tel état de chose.[79]

The Liberal administration in Ottawa did not, however, resolve the issue and no patents were given out.

John A. Macdonald, as Minister of the Interior in his Conservative government returned to power in 1878, inherited the problem. Mgr. Taché asked that this and other land questions be studied by a special commission. When the Prime Minister answered that he could not agree to this proposal, Taché admitted that he found it difficult to remove from his mind suspicions against officials within the Interior Department, but that he must of course cede to Macdonald's "opinion and try to become persuaded that I am wrong and have been a prey to delusion for several years past." He was, he said, "crying out (but without tears) 'I do believe; help thou my unbelief'."[80] He urged once more that officials in the Department reconsider with care "and without prejudice the claims of the parties, I spoke of, have to their lands."[81]

The Department responded by sending out one of its officers, seconded by the Métis Roger Goulet, to investigate the claims. The report which they prepared was unfavourable to the many petitioners and, as a result, the Department ordered that the lands be sold at public auction. Nothing could spread more fear among the French-speaking population than such a solution. Two leading Franco-Manitoban lawyers, Joseph Royal and L.-A. Prud'homme, both of whom worked

closely with Mgr. Taché on this and other matters, represented their Bishop in preventing the sale.[82] The débâcle was averted, but the impasse continued. In Ottawa, Royal, M.P. for the constituency concerned, made repeated calls on officials of the Interior Department, "acting", he said, "in full accord with His Grace upon these ten years pending questions in my county of Provencher."[83] If only the Minister [Macdonald] would study these matters himself, he wrote, "& take them from the hands of spiteful and prejudiced officials", a settlement would have been achieved long ago.[84] None was forthcoming. Consequently, Mgr. Taché himself travelled to Ottawa late in December 1880 because, he told Lacombe, "nos paroisses étaient menacées d'une catastrophe.[85]

Eight weeks later, Taché was still in Ottawa. Twenty-one of his demands had been met, but the "staked claims" question was still outstanding.[86] Finally, the government announced that a commission would hear all land claims, including the "staked claims". But the difficulties were not resolved immediately. Five years later, fifteen years after the Manitoba Act, there remained uncertainties about land ownership. By this time, the French-speaking element was firmly entrenched in the "block" settlement which remains to this day, but it had not been without much anguish.

The "seed advances" question also concerned Mgr.

Taché during the 1870s, because it threatened scores of small land-holders. It arose from mortgages which the federal government had taken out on lands of those in need of seed grain advances as a result of the grasshopper devastations of the early 1870s. Mgr. Taché was President of the Central Relief Committee appointed in 1876 and which received over seventy-five thousand dollars in mortgages, mostly on lands of destitute half-breeds.[87] One of the Committee's recommendations was that the promissory notes "puissent se racheter avec du blé et de l'avoine au lieu d'argent."[88] This proposal was accepted by the Hon. Luc Letellier de St. Just.[89]

Mgr. Taché's interest in the "seed advances" question quickened in the late 1870s when a number of promissory notes could not be repaid. Dispossession would be detrimental both to the families involved and to the collective future of his flock. The Archiepiscopal Corporation of St. Boniface intervened, as in the case of lots 93 and 94 purchased by Taché in 1877 or 1878, "to clear the family from this mortgage and other pressing debts."[90] In 1881, when fifty-two cases all involving destitute Half-Breeds remained, Senator Marc-Amable Girard obtained from the Department of Agriculture a one-year postponement of repayment.[91] Ten years later, Mgr. Taché remained involved in settling some of the claims.[92]

The solution adopted by Mgr. Taché in the case of the "seed advances" question--the purchase of lots--was also used in the case of lands which the Métis were abandoning in great numbers as the decade of the 1870s came to an end. Control rather than profit was the objective. Indeed, the role of Mgr. Taché can best be described as that of a broker. Beginning as early as 1871, he had used monies entrusted to him by sympathizers in Quebec to purchase lots in threatened parishes, selling them to recently-arrived compatriots.[93] Speculation naturally motivated these benefactors, but for the St. Boniface pastor the principal object was "d'empêcher les terres de nos Métis de tomber en mains hostiles."[94] On other occasions, Father Lacombe sought out and encouraged those with some capital to establish themselves in Manitoba on lands already developed. This, he thought, was "une belle occasion de faire tomber entre les mains des nôtres les terres de nos Métis qui s'éloignent."[95] Other clergy trafficking in lands and scrips included the abbés Joseph-Norbert Ritchot, F.X. Kavanaugh, and Joseph-David Fillion.[96] Furthermore, at least two French-Canadian brokers, Antoine Gauvin & Cie and N. Germain & Cie, engaged in the commerce of scrip, although it is not known whether there existed a business relationship between them and the Archbishop.[97] The "notables"--Royal, Dubuc, LaRivière--also ventured into

the field of land purchases. All this activity was directed towards the establishment or the maintenance of the French-speaking "block".

The Manitoba "boom" following upon the opening of the Pembina Branch line in 1879 created a wave of speculation in the province. In its wake, the Métis abandonment of lands in the parishes of Ste. Agathe, St. Norbert, and Baie St. Paul threatened the solidarity of the French-speaking "block". "On a beau dire et peiné, prêcher et crier, on ne retiendra pas les métis", the abbé St-Pierre told Mgr. Taché; "ils vendent et s'en vont, et alors les deux paroisses [Baie St. Paul et St-François-Xavier] resteront avec bien peu de monde..."[98] To offset these losses, Mgr. Taché explained to Father Lacombe the measures he felt necessary:

> Vous me dites que vous encouragez 'un certain nombre de colons qui ont des moyens à établir [sic] à la Montagne Tortue'. Si ce sont des gens qui ne veulent pas ou ne peuvent pas aller ailleurs fort bien. Si au contraire ces gens pouvaient être dirigés dans nos vieilles paroisses, je ne pourrais que regretter de les voir aller en dehors de la province du Manitoba. Vous savez le besoin immense que nous avons de fortifier nos paroisses qui s'en vont et le besoin de garder quelqu'influence politique dans Manitoba. Pour oublier cette double nécessité il faut ne pas pouvoir faire autrement. Naturellement je ne puis pas juger des circonstances dans lesquelles vous donnez cette direction, mais je le répète si vous pouvez faire autrement, je regretterais beaucoup de voir aller ailleurs ceux précisément qui pourraient nous aider ici. Mr. Samoisette a vingt terres en vente tout auprès de son Eglise. Il a fait attendre les gens sur l'assurance que vous lui aviez donné qu'il lui viendrait du monde.[99]

T.A. Bernier, who had planned to settle near Turtle Mountain, was one of those who went to Ste. Agathe instead where he worked closely with the curé, Cyrille Samoisette, to prevent lands from falling into the hands of Protestants.[100] The abbé Samoisette later formed a "petite compagnie d'acheteurs... [qui] aura je pense un capital de $20,000 à $25,000" and which would be able to save at least fifteen properties from going to the "English".[101] Samoisette took out mortgages on lands and probably received additional support from Lambert Sarasin of St. Hyacinthe, attorney for the Soeurs du Précieux-Sang, who placed a few thousand dollars into the hands of T.A. Bernier to speculate on lands.[102] These monies, as well as others coming from Arthur de la Londe and the Baron Blaziel, were applied to the purchase of lots along the Red River at Ste. Agathe.[103] Thus were the "old" parishes saved as the foundation of the French-speaking "block" settlement.

Not before the mid-1880s was the French-speaking "block" in south-eastern Manitoba relatively secure, although the Mennonite Reserve cut into it. Generally, however, the francophone element had succeeded in asserting its presence within the area.[104] The Archbishop of St. Boniface had been the unquestioned architect of that "block." Now, however, the main thrust of settlement was moving westward, away from the French-speaking communities. This

movement forced the Church to consider the alternatives. It could strive to intensify the French-speaking presence within the "block" by promoting the purchase of lands already developed or it could encourage incoming French-speaking settlers to locate in new areas further away from the "block". One complicating factor which worked against the consolidation of the "block" was the inclination of settlers to seek out homestead lands rather than improved lands.

Much as Archbishop Taché would have liked to build a "little" Quebec on the banks of the Red River, he could not limit himself to that. Ways and means had to be found to expand the French-speaking presence into western Manitoba and into the Territories. That began to press on his mind in the early 1880s as railway construction preceded, and, in some cases, mostly followed, the pattern of settlement.[105] As groups of settlers began to move beyond Winnipeg towards Brandon and other points west, Mgr. Taché fixed his eyes on those distant regions. From 1881 until his death in 1894, while maintaining vigilance over his French-speaking "block" in Manitoba, he increasingly considered the possibility of creating a "chain" of French-speaking parishes across the West. In 1904, Senator Thomas-Alfred Bernier would recount the plan he had discussed with Bishop Taché in 1889:

> ... mon plan, qui consistait à jeter une ligne de paroisses reliant les bords de la Rivière Rouge à la frontière Ouest de la province en passant par La Salle (qui s'est aussi fondé sur mes indications et mes instances) Starbuck, Fannystelle, les Islets de Bois, St-Léon, St-Alphonse, la Grande Clairière (encore un établissement où mes suggestions à M. l'abbé Gaire ont été pour quelque chose) de façon à constituer de cette ligne une épine dorsale qui soutiendrait d'autres fondations venant s'établir de chaque côté...[106]

The plan proposed in 1889 favoured a systematic approach to settlement. That was certainly in keeping with Mgr. Taché's cautious approach to matters. In the early 1880s, he participated actively in a bold venture to obtain from the C.P.R., for settlement purposes, 200,000 acres of land in the Qu'Appelle valley. The opportunity came late in 1880 when a group of French delegates visited Canada for the purpose of expanding on commercial relations between the two countries.[107] Among them was the Count Arthur de la Londe, an agricultural delegate from Rouen, who proceeded west on a tour of inspection of Manitoba and the Territories.[108] During his brief sojourn in the West, de la Londe met with Mgr. Taché and the Hon. Joseph Royal. So impressed by the country and by the possibilities available for French immigrants was he, that de la Londe resolved to create a colonization society in France and send out immigrants to the North-West of Canada.[109] Before leaving Montreal, he charged François-Xavier Perrault, General Secretary of the Canadian branch of <u>l'Union Commerciale</u>

Franco-Canadienne, to negotiate terms in his name with the Department of the Interior.[110] Soon after his arrival in France, he communicated his plan to Mgr. Taché, informing him that he was sending 10,000 francs to the Bank of Montreal in order to begin amassing lands in the North-West. He thanked the Archbishop who had consented to watch out for his interests, and added:

> Certes, je crois l'affaire aussi sûre que lucrative, mais je suis bien heureux aussi, comme chrétien et comme gentilhomme, de pouvoir combattre avec vous pour le triomphe de notre foi et de notre race. Et nous triompherons, je n'en doute pas. Cette malheureuse émigration Canadienne vers les Etats unis [sic] cessera avec l'arrivée des capitaux français.[111]

What undoubtedly endeared him further to Mgr. Taché was his promise that a close friend, the Baron de Villers, would soon communicate with him with an offer of 20,000 francs which Taché was to administer jointly with Royal for the purchase of lands abandonned by the Métis.[112]

What promised to be a significant breakthrough, in the eyes of Mgr. Taché, soon developed into a thorny rivalry between two groups. On the one hand, F.X. Perrault travelled to Europe and formed his own syndicate, composed of "the most prominent men, socially and financially, of the Continent, as well as of leading men of both political parties in Canada."[113] On the other hand, de la Londe, upon learning that Perrault had outmanoeuvred him, decided

to take an option on 200,000 acres of prairie land from the European firm of Reinach & Co.--one of the financial societies originally involved in the C.P.R. syndicate--and from the C.P.R. itself.[114] Both groups felt confident that the Archbishop of St. Boniface would endorse and support their colonization proposals.

Over the ensuing three years, Mgr. Taché found himself engaged in a series of difficult and often discouraging negotiations. At the outset, he informed the President of the proposed Société Franco-Canadienne de Colonisation--Perrault's committee--that he must continue to favour de la Londe and his associates because "...il s'agit d'une affaire de la plus haute importance et d'engagements déjà pris par moi."[115] Following the latter's second trip to the Canadian West, they formed a Société Foncière du Canada of which Joseph Royal was the Vice-President and Provincial Manager.[116] Subsequently, Royal returned to Europe with de la Londe for a round of meetings with their own group as well as with the members of the rival Perrault committee. The result of these prolonged discussions was the dissolution of the latter group and a fusion of the two companies. Royal jubilantly announced to Mgr. Taché that the four millions required had been found and that "...l'idée catholique & française a la prépondérance dans notre organisation, et les fonds ne nous manqueront pas."[117] He could

foresee no further problems, unless the government in Ottawa created obstacles by modifying its land grant regulations.

What Royal feared most happened, although the reasons for the difficulties are not clear. It appears, however, that the new company was unable to meet its first instalment to the C.P.R., but that George Stephen was prepared to negotiate a new arrangement with Royal and his associates.[118] Early in 1883, Le Manitoba announced that a Compagnie Canadienne de Colonisation was being organized in St. Boniface by prominent figures of the French-speaking community.[119] The principal promoters were the Hon. Joseph Royal and Archbishop Taché--who subscribed "plusieurs milliers de piastres"--, along with the Hon. Joseph Dubuc, the Hon. A.A.C. LaRivière, Charles de Cazes, all of St. Boniface, and M. Le Marchand of Paris.[120] The Count de la Londe was not a shareholder. Mgr. Taché joined the group because of his deeply felt need to see the French-speaking presence strengthened in Western Canada. He had earlier expressed his motives in a public letter to Bernier and LaRivière:

> Vous partez pour la Province de Québec, où vous devez tenter un effort pour former une société de colonisation qui devra diriger les Canadiens vers les terres que vous avez acquises du syndicat. Puissent nos compatriotes comprendre l'oeuvre si patriotique que vous avez entreprise; puissent les capitalistes Canadiens goûter les avantages que notre société leur offre.

> C'est pour moi une peine cuisante que celle que j'éprouve en voyant le pays nous échapper. Ce sont des Canadiens-Français qui ont découvert ce pays, qui les premiers l'ont parcouru en tout sens. Ce sont des missionnaires canadiens qui les premiers y ont fait luire le flambeau de la foi et de la civilisation et, si rien ne se fait par la Province de Québec, bientôt les Canadiens-Français seront réduits ici à une infériorité numérique telle que leur influence sera nulle.[121]

This second reorganization of the colonization society, however, failed in 1884 when the C.P.R. cancelled the contract with La Compagnie Canadienne de Colonisation.[122] As a result, Mgr. Taché was called upon to deal with two problems: the loss of a colonization programme which he deemed so vital, and the serious dissensions which now appeared among the directors and shareholders of the company. With respect to the first issue, he attempted to salvage what he could by negotiating an alternate plan with George Stephen through the good offices of Father Lacombe. The colony to be formed at Lac Qu'Appelle was to be composed of settlers receiving the usual 160 acres of land under the government's homestead regulations. Mgr. Taché agreed to provide a priest for the new parish to be established, while the C.P.R. offered transportation at very reduced rates. For his part, Stephen "...avancera et prêtera à chaque colon de cette paroisse la somme de $500, pour être employée à l'établissement de ces familles..." Father Lacombe, who distributed this circular among the clergy of

the Montreal diocese, added that they would all do their utmost to ensure the success of the colony. "C'est l'intérêt de la compagnie du chemin de fer et celui de l'Eglise catholique, en ce nouveau pays, que les familles que nous désirons y conduire réussissent."[123] The colony does not appear to have fulfilled either Taché or Lacombe's expectations, because no further mention of it is made in their correspondence.[124]

The matter of reconciling the members of La Compagnie Canadienne proved more difficult and more arduous for the Archbishop. The attempts dragged on for a number of years, while he acted as mediator between the shareholders and the C.P.R. In the end, the members received lands for the value of the monies which they had invested in the colonization society. Years later, one of the participants confided to Mgr. Taché that he had failed because of a lack of experience. And he added:

> Il fallait monter la société sans vendre, sans réaliser un bénéfice immédiat, mais avec un tant pour cent réservé aux apports du contrat.
>
> L'affaire eût été très belle - au point de vue français, et même lucrativement parlant. Malheureusement De Cazes qui ne rêvait que spéculations avait besoin d'argent et voulait toucher de suite une forte somme.[125]

The abortive attempt to make a breakthrough for French-speaking settlement in the Qu'Appelle valley was not, fortunately, the only field of operation of the Franco-

Catholic element. Closer to the Franco-Manitoban "block", settlers were moving westward from the Red River in the direction of the Pembina Mountains. Settlement began in that region in 1877 when the low-lying lands on the Red River were passed over in favour of less fertile lands in the uplands.[126] A small number of French-Canadian families joined in the movement.[127] Two years later in 1879, Father Théobald Bitsche accompanied a group of families from around Guelph to St. Léon. "...plusieurs n'ont point oublié le français," said the missionary of these descendants from Alsace-Lorraine.[128] From these beginnings grew the French-speaking communities of St. Léon and Somerset. They were the first links in the "chain."

The Pembina Mountain region continued to serve as the focal point for francophone settlement in the 1880s. In the latter part of the decade, Belgian immigrants took their place alongside the predominantly French-Canadian group. But it was in the early 1890s that the region acquired a permanent French-speaking character when French and Swiss immigrants, recruited and led by Father Paul Benoît, a French monk, opened up new colonies in the area. The first intention had been to direct these European settlers towards the "block" along the Red River, where lands were available around LaBroquerie and St. Malo.[129] The foundation of Notre-Dame de Lourdes, St. Claude, and other minor centres

in the early 1890s led the Chanoines Réguliers de l'Immaculée Conception to decide that they would concentrate on developing within that region rather than open up colonies in other parts of the West. Dom Benoît clearly stated his preference to Mgr. Taché:

> Il y aura un 2e convoi de colons ce printemps. Celui-là sera probablement important. Je désire voir Votre Grandeur pour lui demander où nous pourrions diriger ces émigrants; soit sur un autre point de votre vaste diocèse, soit, comme le désire Mgr Grandin, dans la Saskatchewan. J'inclinerais à la fondation d'une nouvelle paroisse dans le Manitoba.[130]

Over the next twenty years, the order devoted almost all its energies to pastoral and colonization work in the Pembina Mountain countryside. The one exception was the answer to a call from Bishop Pascal to send members of the order to the North Saskatchewan country in the early 1900s.

The pattern developing in the period from 1885 to 1895 was markedly different from that of earlier years. No longer did all efforts at French-speaking colonization take place under the exclusive patronage and direction of the Church. French-speaking lay groups, especially, tended to pursue their work independently of Archbishop Taché in whose diocese they located themselves. Not that they were anti-clerical; rather, they were less submissive than their French-Canadian counterparts. Consequently, Mgr. Taché

had fewer contacts with colonies taking root at Montmartre and St. Hubert than he did with those organized under the leadership of Dom Paul Benoît or the abbé Jean Gaire. Still, the establishment of these Franco-Canadian settlements across the prairies ensured some measure of a French-speaking presence beyond the "block" of parishes south and east of St. Boniface.

The abbé Jean Gaire, a French priest who arrived in Manitoba in 1888, was one of those intending to add new links to a "chain" of Franco-Catholic parishes. He did not wish to work in established parishes, but preferred instead to reach further out. "...ce n'était pas un changement de cure que je cherchais, j'y venais pour y lutter sur la brèche; je voulais aller où le danger me paraîtrait le plus grand", he wrote years later.[131] There were few French Catholics in the Western reaches of Manitoba, between Oak Lake and Deloraine, where he found a deserted region inhabited only by three Métis families. With Grande Clairière as a base, Gaire wasted no time in contacting friends and relatives in Europe, inviting them to join him in Manitoba. One year after his arrival, his first colony had grown to 150 souls; by 1892, there were 600.[132] The foundations of Cantal (1892) and of Bellegarde (1893) became necessary to accomodate the new arrivals.

It was, however, the period of intensive immigration

and settlement in the Canadian West after 1896 that drove Church authorities once again to join in the race for control and occupation of vast tracts of land. The call to arms was sounded by Archbishop Adélard Langevin of St. Boniface who viewed with alarm the influx of foreigners into the country. Enmeshed as he was in the--at least for him--unresolved Schools Questions, he recognized the implications of a further loss of French-speaking Catholic influence resulting from a substantial increase in the English-speaking Protestant population. He felt that it could take between five and ten years perhaps to achieve a successful redress of Catholic grievances. In the meantime, he proposed the following programme to Gaire:

> Or, d'ici là, nous allons nous fortifier. Que l'on favorise l'immigration plus que jamais, surtout l'immigration française, mais je n'exclus personne, Galiciens, ou Russes, ou Allemands. Tout catholique est le bienvenu, mais les Français le sont deux fois.[133]

This was the beginning of a concerted campaign designed to encourage the creation of as many Catholic communities as possible across the prairies. Mgr. Langevin carried forward the initiatives undertaken by his predecessor by embracing the idea of consolidating a French-speaking "block" in Manitoba, but also by pushing forward the creation of a "chain" of settlements across the West. Unlike Mgr. Taché, the newly-consecrated Archbishop of St. Boniface could now call upon Catholics of other nationalities to assist him.

He prayed for more Irish Catholic immigration and welcomed the work done by the Catholic Settlement Society of St. Paul, Minnesota. The latter, under the direction of F.J. Lange, a former Canadian Government agent, proposed to settle over 6,000 Germans in Mgr. Pascal's vicariate in 1903. Langevin recommended the organization to Mgr. Pascal of St. Albert, because Lange had said that he would undertake to "work with the French and Polish elements here in the States, at once, and I think we will be able to accomplish more with them."[134] At the same time, he offered encouragement to the German Catholic colonization efforts made by the Benedictine monks based at St. Peter's monastery in Muenster, Sask.[135]

On the French-speaking front, the Church proposed to pursue a number of courses. Plans for an important Société d'exploitation agricole du Canada based in Belgium under the direction of the Oblate Order and a committee of capitalists lingered on for five years before they came to naught.[136] The bishops, meeting in Calgary in 1899, drew up a list of proposals to be sent to Laurier in which they indicated "ce qu'ils attendent de votre gouvernement pour la colonisation de nos prairies et surtout pour le rapatriement des Canadiens français des Etats-Unis."[137] Among their recommendations was the nomination of more agents to work among the French Canadian population of the United States, and support for

a plan put forward by the abbé J.B. Morin, missionary-colonizer. The government took their suggestions into consideration, but held out little hope for their implementation, because it claimed to be expending a considerable amount of money on repatriation already and because it had no plans to adopt a system of assisted immigration such as the one proposed by Morin.[138]

In Langevin's view, there was no time to lose. The Church was engaged in a "course aux clochers". Urging his missionary-colonizers to make haste, to colonize "avec l'élément Catholique afin que le jour où il faudra de nouveau lutter nous soyons assez forts pour triompher", the Archbishop heaped praise on the abbé Gaire. "Ah! si j'avais cinq autres abbés Gaire!"[139] Unlike his predecessor, Mgr. Langevin never considered the problems of settlement on the open prairie. Of course, by the turn of the century, Western agriculture had adapted to the country. What Langevin saw were vast regions of his archdiocese rapidly filling up with non-Catholic immigrants. Whole areas were opening up to homesteaders. On one occasion, Langevin visited "au-delà de Montmartre à 18 milles de Wolseley une plaine très fertile large de 45 milles et longue de 45 ou 50 milles..."[140] He thought that French-speaking group settlements should be started there. The dreams were grandiose: "Il faut absolument atteindre la Montagne

d'Orignal, puis aller de là à Moose Jaw ou Régina! Puis, il y a Prince-Albert et Edmonton!"[141]

Gaire shared Langevin's visions for the establishment of a "chain" of parishes on the prairies, although he injected a note of caution. Writing from Europe in 1904, he told Langevin that the movement of French Catholics towards Canada was increasing and that his latest tour had yielded a crop of hundreds of colonists from all classes. These would be mostly directed towards the points already established while the more prosperous ones desirous of engaging in cattle raising on a larger scale would be going to the Alberta region. He added:

> ...depuis longtemps, j'ai remarqué la position solide du pied des Montagnes Rocheuses. C'est là que la Providence a marqué l'emplacement de le [sic] Québec de l'Ouest.
>
> Nous voulons masser là d'ici à 10 ans 100,000 des nôtres. C'est de là que partira un jour le mouvement qui sauvera un jour nos groupes épars de la Saskatchewan, de l'Assiniboia et ceux [?] du Manitoba.
>
> Trop faibles partout; il faut que nous soyons forts dans ces endroits si nous voulons triompher un jour sur toute la ligne. Ces considérations sont pour nous, le public, le public [sic] anglais surtout ne doit pas les connaitre.[142]

Furthermore, Gaire was concerned about another development:

> Je m'aperçois de plus en plus que des sociétés étrangères achètent d'immenses quantités de terrains même au milieu de nos centres mettant ainsi en danger notre nationalité; il faut que les capitaux français engagent la lutte au plus tôt sur ce terrain. Déjà j'en ai parlé; mais les capitalistes français ont voulu me voir à l'oeuvre quelque temps. Je retourne-

> rai donc en France avec des rapports bien documentés...Déjà je dis partout à nos fermiers de St-Maurice, St-Antoine, St-Raphaël, Wauchope, Highview, etc., trop resserés de bien examiner les meilleures terres à leur convenance dans leur voisinage. Je les ferai acheter par des capitalistes français: elles resteront pour nos fermiers une réserve écrasante (?) pour l'adversaire.[143]

He had already encountered similar difficulties in Wauchope "[où] je soutiens une lutte terrible contre les Anglais, leur reprenant le plus d'homesteads possible."[144]

To combat the influx of homesteaders and speculators whose language and religious beliefs differed from his own, Gaire sought increasingly to interest his European contacts in assisting his work in Western Canada. Admitting that "je sens moi-même de plus en plus que je dois savoir me borner,"[145] he continued to recruit settlers for other French-speaking settlements, but established no new ones himself. Instead, he received the approval of Mgr. Langevin to determine "ceux qui ont des placements à faire à acheter des terres et dans les endroits nouveaux et dans nos vieilles paroisses."[146] Langevin cautioned him, however, to obtain the services of an able administrator and that of a local lawyer. At no time did the Archbishop want his clergy to be in a position where they could be held financially responsible for such investments.

Yet, during this same period, Archbishop Langevin was involving the Corporation Archiépiscopale de Saint-

Boniface in the affairs of at least two private societies. Intervention was justified on the grounds of necessity. At stake were two regions of settlement which he felt to be important future links between French-speaking communities. The colonies of Makinac (Manitoba) and of La Rollandrie (Saskatchewan) were respectively the creation of English priests and of French aristocrats. The former was organized in 1896 by the Southwark Catholic Emigration Society under the direction of the Reverend Father St. John and the Reverend Lord Archibald Douglas. Plans for this colony focused principally around an orphanage for English children brought over from the Old Country. Within four years, however, these two clergymen indicated that they were unable to pursue the development of the small farm conceded to them by the federal government. Mgr. Langevin decided to assume responsibility for the orphanage.[147] In his mind, this small enterprise was to be used to found and consolidate a block of French-speaking and Catholic parishes in the region around Lake Dauphin. Subsequently, two religious orders took upon themselves the task of rebuilding this charitable work, but both failed in their efforts in spite of financial assistance from the Archiepiscopal Corporation.[148] Thus Langevin did not succeed in rescuing an operation which had been ill-fated from the start.

The same kind of motivation moved him nonetheless

to concern himself with the affairs of La Rollandrie. Soon after his consecration, Mgr. Langevin had been appraised by the Comte de Beaulaincourt of the unhappy state of affairs in the colony at Whitewood.[149] He visited the small French settlement during the Fall of 1895, but it does not appear that he formed a plan for the future role of this community until some later date. As early as 1898, however, he met with one of the principals of the company in Paris and enquired about the possibility of locating a religious order on some of the lands held by the company. Soon after his return to Canada, the Archbishop began to solicit the support of an order which would take over the administration and perhaps even the sale of the lands owned by La Rollandrie.[150] After five years of fruitless search, he finally found the Missionnaires de Chavagnes, an order based in the French province of Vendée, which was willing to organize a regular parish at Whitewood. The problem was that the shareholders wanted to recover the monies invested in the colony, a development which led Langevin to propose his own solution:

> Pourquoi les intéressés ne signeraient-ils pas une procuration rédigée selon la loi de notre pays et qui autoriserait mon procureur à tout régler et liquider au nom des actionnaires? Si vous jugez la chose acceptable vous voudrez bien me le dire: alors je vous enverrai cette procuration qui devra être signée par chaque actionnaire...

. . . . . .

> Mon procureur fera toutes les démarches voulues pour vendre les terrains, payer l'hypothèque, et je vous demanderai en retour de donner à la 'Corporation Archiépiscopale' deux sections de terre pour fins religieuses. Si les affaires n'étaient pas si embrouillées nous pourrions peut-être emprunter de l'argent pour payer, de suite, tout ce qui est dû...[151]

Then began a lengthy round of negotiations between Archbishop Langevin, the Missionnaires de Chavagnes, and the shareholders of La Rollandrie in Paris. The Archiepiscopal Corporation of St. Boniface bought the lands owned by the company around the mission of St. Hubert. Then Mgr. Langevin tried to persuade the French order to purchase these same lands from the archdiocese, because it was "plus immédiatement utile à mon diocèse où il est urgent d'établir des colonies qui sont appelées à être les boulevards de la foi."[152] Finally, in 1905, the Superior General of the order agreed to this proposal.[153] This was not, unfortunately, the end of Langevin's problems with the settlement. Within a year, he was complaining that the new parish was not living up to his expectations. "Je vous avouerai," he told the Superior General, "que vous me faites l'impression de regarder la paroisse St-Hubert comme une oeuvre purement épiscopale et non comme votre oeuvre. Dans ce cas, il vaudrait mieux renoncer à la faire et nous reprendrions l'administration des terrains à vendre après vous avoir remis la somme avancée."[154] Thus, ten years after first occupying himself

with the problems and especially with the strategic importance of this French colony located on the banks of the Pipestone River, Mgr. Langevin had still not found a way of providing it with the stability required for its future development.[155]

Montmartre, the colony founded by Pierre Foursin's Société Foncière in 1893, was also of strategic importance for the development of French-speaking settlement in the Territories, but there was little Langevin could do with it. Foursin himself returned to France in 1897, the company having made only eleven advances of monies to settlers upon the security of lands held under the homestead entry.[156] There existed no opportunity of buying unsettled lands because the company held none. All that the Archbishop could do was strive to organize a regular parish there. Even that was not easy, partly because some families were leaving for British Columbia, and partly because there were dissensions within the colony. The missionary assigned to the colony thus reported in 1901 that there was no agreement among the settlers concerning the construction of a church or a school. His conclusion was that they were indifferent and unwilling to make any contribution towards the support of a full-time parish priest.[157] While Langevin was unhappy about the state of affairs, he nonetheless created a regular parish there in 1904. The purpose in doing so was undoubtedly to

fix a St. Hubert-Montmartre axis as part of the "chain" in the Territories around which incoming settlers could congregate.

By the middle of the first decade of this century, a thin ribbon of Franco-Canadian settlements stretched out a few hundred miles west of the Red River. The Rockies were still hundreds of miles away from the abbé Gaire's colonies in southern Saskatchewan. His withdrawal into a narrow circle of parishes left open the need for new group settlements further west. Into the breach stepped the abbés Marie-Albert Royer and Louis-Philippe Gravel, the first an independent colonizer in Langevin's service and the second a government agent named by Mgr. Langevin to succeed Father Blais. Nothing could please the Archbishop more than Gravel's plan to establish ten French-speaking Catholic parishes between Willow Bunch, Weyburn, Moose Jaw and Lethbridge.[158] The abbé Royer's proposal to second Gravel's effort by adding yet another parish or two to the Catholic camp thus appeared to ensure the presence of the French-speaking population in the very region of the prairies that Mgr. Taché had dismissed forty years previously. Gravel explained his choice of location in a report to the Superintendant of Immigration:

> All thought that the Southern Saskatchewan prairies were fitted only for ranching, but the land was found to be fairly productive and we expect by irrigation works that good crops of grain will be successfully harvested.
>
> We have selected that region which was looked upon to this time as a ranching district for cultivation, because of the fertile land - a black soil a foot and a half deep, with clay subsoil, and of first-class grazing, which both, will afford good prospects for mixed farming.[159]

Gravelbourg became the center from which new communities were established after 1906. In the decade that followed, the region was dotted with a number of French-speaking settlements colonized by French-Canadians from Quebec, repatriates from the United States, and French and Belgian immigrants from Europe. Meyronne, Laflèche and Ponteix were the abbé Royer's settlements; Courval, Dollard, Lac Pelletier, and other tiny communities were established largely as a result of Gravel's efforts.

Gravel's shrewdness was instrumental in his success, as was his political influence. He demonstrated his talents in the establishment of Gravelbourg where, unlike the situation that prevailed in Manitoba in the 1870s when reserved townships for group settlement could be obtained from the government and set apart, the homestead entries could only be made after the survey. Gravel had made those of his compatriots before the survey. When the abbé Royer, in 1908, led a group of settlers onto the unsurveyed town-

ships that they proposed to occupy, serious obstacles were placed in the way of the more than 160 homestead entries presumably completed by him. To Royer's charges that discriminatory practices had almost ruined the enterprise, Gravel assured Mgr. Langevin that inexperience had almost been Royer's downfall:

> ... il [Royer] avait assis son système de colonisation sur une base bien peu solide. ...Il faisait venir les colons...et leur assignait à chacun un homestead dans l'un de ses 4 townships. Il leur faisait casser quelques acres de terre, puis les laissait retourner dans l'Est après leur avoir assuré que les terrains leur étaient retenus. C'est à peu près ainsi que j'avais procédé pour Gravelbourg; mais c'était après une entente préalable (obtenue à grand renfort de protection et d'influence politique) avec le bureau des terres de Moose Jaw et les autorités du département de l'Intérieur. Quoiqu'il en soit, voici ce qui a résulté, et qui devait résulter, des méthodes de M. Royer: d'abord, ceux de ses colons qui ont pris un homestead avant l'arpentage, et qui ont fait une déclaration à cet effet à l'arpenteur, ont obtenu ce homestead. Quant à ceux qui ont pris du terrain après l'arpentage, mais avant la mise sur le marché des townships, ils n'avaient, d'après la loi, aucun droit. C'est pendant cette période, - après l'arpentage et avant la mise sur le marché, -- que la plupart des colons du Père Royer ont choisi leurs homesteads.[160]

Gravel avoided a disastrous situation by obtaining letters from the colonists claiming squatters rights. No "conspiracy" against Royer's settlement had taken place, although Gravel told Mgr. Langevin that there were "certains fanatiques" who had already sounded the alarm before this "invasion" by the "Frenchmen". "Ce cri pourrait devenir encore plus fort si l'on faisait connaitre au grand public la

tolérance dont nous avons bénéficié lorsque nos déclarations de squatters ont été acceptées après l'arpentage."[161]

This occupation of a fairly large region in southern Saskatchewan added further links to the "chain", but Gravel, like Gaire before him, chose to intensify the development of what became a French-speaking "block" rather than undertake further expansion westward. By about 1910, therefore, the establishment of francophone communities along a line running south and parallel to the main C.P.R. line had come to a halt. In any event, it had almost reached the western boundary of the St. Boniface diocese. Further colonization initiatives in southern Alberta fell within the jurisdiction of the bishop of St. Albert.

Over the years, however, the colonization programmes of the bishops of the dioceses of St. Albert and of Prince Albert had required less effort than that of the archbishops of St. Boniface. Prior to 1900, the main part of settlement took place within the diocese of Bishops Taché and Langevin. The latter two carried most of the burden by planning strategy and committing their financial and human resources to the implantation of Franco-Catholic communities across their vast diocese. Neither Bishops Grandin or Legal of St. Albert, nor Bishop Pascal of Prince Albert involved themselves as much in colonization work as did their metropolitans from St. Boniface.

What French-speaking settlement did take place in the two suffragan dioceses of Prince Albert and of St. Albert tended towards the creation of "blocks". In both dioceses, group settlements developed by a score of missionary-colonizers used existing Métis communities as points of departure. That was especially the case with the French-Canadian contingent brought out to the area around St. Albert in 1891-92.[162] Thereafter, the colonies of Morinville, Legal, Beaumont, and Rivière Qui Barre formed the beginnings of the Franco-Canadian "block" in northern Alberta.[163] In the first decade of this century, colonization campaigns conducted by such missionary-colonizers as the abbé J.A. Ouellette or Father J.A. Thérien aimed at grouping French-speaking settlers around existing parishes north of Edmonton-St. Albert and around the Métis colony of St. Paul.[164] The latter, organized in 1896 by Father Lacombe almost as a final attempt to save the Métis people as a nation, was not a success. Following a disastrous fire in 1907, it was decided to open up the Reserve to white settlers, a move which Archbishop Langevin fully endorsed. He told Bishop Legal that this was the only possible course of action:

> Vos pauvres gens ne sont pas capables d'utiliser ... le riche héritage que le bon P. Lacombe a su leur procurer, et si vous taillez dans cette réserve de belles paroisses catholiques, ce sera un événement heureux pour nous.

> Je signerai donc des deux mains la demande au Gouvernement Fédérale d'ouvrir cette réserve, à la condition toutefois que ce soit pour les Catholiques seulement.[165]

In the ensuing years, prior to the First World War, the region around St. Paul became a second "block" of Franco-Canadian settlements in northern Alberta with the arrival of French, Belgian, and French-Canadian families which grouped themselves in the parishes of Lafond, Brousseau, Mallaig, and others.[166]

Bishop Legal, who succeeded Bishop Grandin upon the latter's death in 1902, preferred to emphasize French-speaking settlement in northern rather than southern Alberta. He did, however, lend his patronage to a scheme involving a special reserve of 23,000 acres set aside by the C.P.R. for exclusive settlement by French-Canadians in the irrigation project planned for southern Alberta in 1908. The abbé Ouellette, missionary-colonizer, was acting for the C.P.R. in this case, but soon found himself accused of "shameless speculation".[167] Rather than dismiss the charges entirely, Legal warned Ouellette against the danger of sending settlers to a part of Alberta which was perhaps unsuitable for them. He added that he did not want to renege on his support of the project, but had some reservations about it:

> Comme je vous l'ai dit dès ce premier moment, il peut se faire que certaines personnes préféreraient ce genre de culture sur terrain irrigé! D'autres aimeront mieux d'autres conditions. Votre rôle doit se borner à faire connaitre les conditions différentes sur différents points du pays, et à diriger les gens selon leurs propres désirs.[168]

Clearly, Legal would have preferred a regrouping of all French-speaking settlers in northern Alberta. In any event, he was soon to be divested of caring for the problems of southern Alberta following the creation of the new diocese of Calgary in 1912. But not before having to deal with one frantic appeal from the abbé Ouellette in March 1911 concerning the take-over by the C.P.R. of the reserve as a result of the failure to settle the required minimum number of families around Ouelletteville. Legal told his missionary-colonizer that he did not think that any protest would have much effect on the Company's plans, but that he would nonetheless try to obtain better terms.[169] He probably did so without enthusiasm, and was undoubtedly relieved the following year when responsibility for the colony passed from his hands to those of Bishop John T. McNally.[170]

There were, of course, other attempts at establishing French-speaking colonies in southern Alberta, but none ever amounted to much. The few farmers from Quebec and New Brunswick who went to Pincher Creek in the 1880s and 1890s

never attracted more of their compatriots; nor did the French adventurers and aristocrats of Trochu who returned, for the most part, to France at the outbreak of World War I.[171] Thus, northern Alberta remained the centre of attraction for francophone settlers, and it was there that efforts were made to form compact "blocks" of French-speaking group settlements.

Meanwhile, in the vicariate of Prince Albert--it became a diocese in 1907--Bishop Albert Pascal also hoped to establish a French-speaking "block" around the Métis settlements of Batoche and Duck Lake. Beginning in 1900, he addressed almost frantic appeals to Dom Paul Benoît of Notre-Dame de Lourdes, urging him to come to his aid by sending out members of his order who would found new parishes in his region.[172] Benoît answered affirmatively in 1902, probably because he was impressed by letters addressed to him by the parish priest at Domrémy, the abbé François-Xavier Barbier, outlining the opportunities awaiting settlers in the northern regions of present-day Saskatchewan. The priest assured him that there was room for 100, 500, even 1,000 French families, adding that no time should be lost in occupying the lands:

> ...pour le moment ce pays est loin des chars, néanmoins, remarquez ceci, il faut l'occuper maintenant si nous voulons l'avoir pour nous; du jour où les chars le traverseront, si nous n'en sommes déjà les maîtres, il ne nous appartiendra plus, les Anglais s'y jetteront - sans y habiter les capitalistes achèteront pour revendre ensuite à gros bénéfices. ...Monseigneur vous désire pour que vous couvriez le sol de son Vicariat de paroisses florissantes sous tous rapports.[173]

Three months later, an even more urgent appeal followed:

> Depuis ma dernière lettre, à Bonne Madone, des places où je n'osais pas amener des colons, de crainte de les éloigner trop des chars et des communications, s'envahissent par townships. Au Sud Ouest des Américains, à l'Ouest des Hongrois. A l'Est, à 4 ou 5 milles de ma chapelle, des Anglais ont pris tout le township pour 40 familles; bien plus à ma porte à Domrémy 4 familles anglaises sont arrivées avec armes et bagages la veille de l'Ascension. Je suis vraiment démonté. Ce petit coin de la Saskatchewan que je regardais à bon droit comme notre fief, c'est ce qui m'avait déterminé à m'établir à Bonne Madone quoiqu'il n'y eut que bien peu de monde, ce petit coin dis-je, va encore nous échapper faute de colons.[174]

The first priory, Bonne Madone, was begun at Lac Croche. It would hopefully mark a second major colonization venture by the Chanoines Réguliers. It soon became clear, however, that the order did not possess the resources to effect a major movement of French-speaking population towards that part of the Territories. Benoît's agent took notice of the influx of English settlers: "Malheureusement les Anglais arrivent, par centaines, dans ces vastes régions où l'on peut faire la culture à la vapeur. Il nous faudrait tout de suite une poignée de Français pour les jeter de tous

côtés afin d'éloigner ces Anglais."[175] Father Vachon, Mgr. Pascal's official colonizer, promised to send fifty families, in addition to the twenty or so French-Canadian families that were already intending to settle in the area late in 1902 or early in 1903. But, lamented Father Voisin, "... les Galiciens, les Hongrois et d'autres arrivent en bien plus grand nombre encore. Ah! si nous avions une centaine de familles pour vite prendre possession du terrain car ce sont de très belles terres, extrèmement faciles à mettre en culture."[176] As the Galicians arrived in ever-increasing numbers, he continued to plead for French-speaking reinforcements: "Il en est fait de nous et de toute colonie française si nous attendons encore un an."[177]

This inauspicious debut proved even more disheartening when French-Canadian arrivals found the country unsatisfactory. Father Voisin's companion at Bonne Madone, in a weekly report to Dom Benoît, recounted the events surrounding the visit of inspection by fifteen prospective settlers accompanying Father Vachon:

> La plupart furent découragés voyant que les chars ne passaient pas ici, deux seulement se montrèrent raisonnables, et prirent à eux seuls 14 homesteads également, pour des amis ou des membres de leurs familles. Tous ces gens viendront s'établir au printemps prochain. C'était grand temps que nous reçevions du secours, et jusqu'à maintenant nous étions effrayés de l'envahissement des étrangers: Galiciens, Hongrois, Allemands, etc.[178]

The influx of large numbers of Eastern European immigrants into northern Saskatchewan rendered impossible the establishment of a compact "block" of French-speaking communities as was achieved in south-eastern Manitoba or in northern Alberta. Nonetheless, in the decade leading up to the Great War, repatriation agents along with French missionary-colonizers founded French-speaking group settlements at Vonda, St. Brieux, and a score of other places within a 100-mile radius of Prince Albert. Generally, however, it was a more haphazard creation than the "blocks" in the dioceses of St. Boniface and of St. Albert.

* * *

Catholic Church leaders in Western Canada were not solely responsible for the group settlement patterns adopted by French-speaking people, but there is no doubt that they made every effort to influence the movement according to the needs of the moment. That settlers during Mgr. Taché's time grouped themselves in a "block" around the old Métis settlements in the Red River Valley was in large part the result of the Bishop's determination to build a strong and compact enclave for the Franco-Catholic element in Manitoba. In Mgr. Langevin's case, the drive to create a "chain" of parishes was the result of both his view of the French-speaking element as the leading group among Catholics and

of his determination to carve a large preserve for the Catholic Church in Western Canada. "C'est une course au clocher pour les terres et malheur à ceux qui n'arriveront pas à temps", Langevin told the Superior of St. Sulpice in 1903.[179] In the case of the bishops of Prince Albert and of St. Albert, there was also a concerted attempt to form "blocks" of French-speaking parishes within which the francophone elements, along with the Church, could pursue a way of life of their choosing while exercising a fair measure of influence in the general community.

In time, the French-speaking population came to occupy relatively compact "blocks" in south-eastern Manitoba, northern and southern Saskatchewan, and in northern Alberta. Each of these "blocks", however, was isolated from the others, separated as they were not only by distance but also by other groups of settlers belonging to other nationalities. Interestingly, none of the writings of the bishops discussed here concern themselves with the negative effects which might result from the dispersion of these "blocks" or indeed from the isolation of French-speaking settlements located along the "chain" running west from the Red River towards Gravelbourg. It was as though they felt that a weak chain was needed at the outset at least to entrench their position while awaiting for reinforcements. As we shall see in the following chapters, Church leaders in the

West complemented this general strategy of "block" and "chain" settlement by involving themselves in other aspects of colonization work.

FOOTNOTES

[1] C.A. Dawson, Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada (Vol.VII of the Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, eds. W.A. Mackintosh and W.L.G. Joerg. Toronto: Macmillan, 1936), p. xiii.

[2] Ibid. [3] Ibid., p. 345.

[4] AAE, Fonds Grandin, F2, Brest, Chez les Soeurs de l'Espérance, 26 octobre 1869, Taché à Grandin. Also in Dom Paul Benoît, Vie de Mgr.Taché (Montréal: Beauchemin, 1904), Vol. II, pp. 25-26.

[5] See W.L. Morton, Manitoba: The Birth of a Province (Altona: D.W. Friesen & Sons Ltd., 1965) for a discussion of the various lists of rights which were used in the preparation of the Manitoba Act.

[6] Statutes of Canada (1870). "Manitoba Act", 33 Victoria, chapter 3, Section 31: "And whereas, it is expedient, towards the extinguishment of the Indian Title to the lands in the Province, to appropriate a portion of such ungranted lands to the extent of one million four hundred thousand acres thereof, for the benefit of the families of the half-breed residents..."

[7] See W.L. Morton (ed.), Alexander Begg's Red River Journal and other Papers Relative to the Red River Resistance of 1869-1870 (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1956), pp. 136-137. In the Introduction, Morton writes that it may be suspected that Father Ritchot urged the claim of the Métis to a block of land which might help them continue to live a corporate existence. Chester Martin, for his part, argues that these "special privileges", embodied for the French in the Manitoba Act--he makes no distinction between the "French" and the "Métis"--, and which he suspects were the work of Bishop Taché, allowed the federal government to gain control over provincial lands. Chester Martin, The Natural Resources Question (Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1920), pp. 44-51.

[8] Toronto Globe, 5 February 1870.

[9] Ibid., 11 April 1870. [10] Ibid., 6 May 1870.

[11] Ibid., 5 May 1870.

[12] Montreal Gazette, 17 June 1870.

[13] House of Commons Debates, 7 May 1870, p. 1430.

[14] Ibid., 2 May 1870, p.1297.

[15] See the Globe, 14 July 1871. One incident in this controversy surrounded a letter from a Mr. Irish, printed in the Globe, alleging that Bishop Taché had threatened to excommunicate those Métis who sold their lands to Ontarians. Le Métis, 14 septembre 1871, called it a false and absurd assertion.

[16] See, for example, La Minerve, 14 juin 1870 et 2 juillet 1870.

[17] Responding in 1873 to a Free Press article charging the Federal Government with having acquiesced to Taché's efforts to obtain the Métis grant in return for political support, Le Métis argued that these were not the facts. It made the following points: the List of Rights contained no demand for a free grant of land; the Government offered these lands to the Métis while refusing it to others; the grant was offered as compensation for the transfer; Bishop Taché was in Rome while all this was going on; in any event, everyone expected the local government to have control over lands; and, finally, Bishop Taché had never sought to purchase any Métis lands although many were offered to him, instead he urged the people to hold on to their rights. Le Métis, 5avril 1873.

[18] The issue oocupied a major place in the pages of Le Métis during the period 1871-73. Few editions of the weekly did not contain some article or commentary on developments surrounding the Métis and Half-Breed grant. Interestingly, while there is no direct evidence to link Mgr. Taché with the newspaper's stand on the issue, it appears that whenever the Bishop was absent, the editorial pages avoided discussing the land question. For example, Le Métis announced on 21 September 1871 that Taché was leaving for Quebec the following day. Not until after his return in January 1872 (Le Métis, 18 janvier 1872) did the newspaper return to the land question. That would appear to indicate that Taché occupied himself with the problem while in Eastern Canada and that he gave the line of conduct to be followed by his friends and supporters after his return.

[19] PAC, R.G. 15, no. 7220, Fort Garry, 27 December 1870, Confidential Despatch No. 81, [Archibald] to the [Secretary of State for the Provinces]. Also found in PAC, MG 26 A [Macdonald Papers]

[20] Ibid. [21] Ibid.

[22] Alexandre Taché, Esquisse sur le Nord-Ouest de l'Amérique (2e édition; Montréal: Beauchemin, 1901), p. 82.

[23] PAC, MG 26 A [Macdonald Papers], Ottawa, 1 November 1870, Macdonald to Archibald.

[24] AASB, Fonds Taché, "Copy of a Report of a Committee of the Honorable the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General in Council on the 26th May 1871."

[25] Le Métis, 27 mai 1871; 8 juin 1871; 15 juin 1871.

[26] In his Esquisse sur le Nord-Ouest de l'Amérique, Taché had detailed those regions in the West which, in his opinion, were fit for settlement. He dismissed much of the lands as unsuitable--a remark which was to work against him later on--, but only for the time being, and excepting "la vallée de la rivière Rouge et le bas de l'Assiniboine, parce que là les prairies touchent encore à la forêt." In addition, he noted that hardwoods for building purposes were also found along the banks of these two rivers. Pp. 10-11.

[27] Le Métis, 15 juin 1871. Archibald's letter was dated 9 June 1871.

[28] Ibid., 3 août 1871. [29] Ibid., 10 août 1871.

[30] This arose when Le Métis disagreed with the Winnipeg Liberal's contention that no one had any intention of depriving the Métis of their rights.

[31] PAC, MG 26 A, [Macdonald Papers], St. Boniface, 23 January 1872, Taché to Macdonald. Taché was referring to the Order-in-Council of 25 April 1871 which was later confirmed in a new Order-in-Council dated 15 April 1872.

[32] AASB, Fonds Taché, [St. Boniface], 14 January 1873, Taché to Alexander Morris, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba.

[33] Ibid. Though Taché's letter to Morris was written some time after the fact, there is no doubt that he was making these poonts months before. He was merely summarizing his position for the newly-appointed Lieutenant-Governor.

[34] PAC, R.G. 15, no. 895, Winnipeg, 22 February 1872, "To the Honorable J.C. Aikins, Secretary of State for the Dominion of Canada, Ottawa." Among the petitioners were Pierre Delorme, Joseph Dubuc, Joseph Royal, M.A. Girard, and Pascal Breland, all French-speaking MPPs. They maintained, as did Le Métis (15 juin 1871), that the wood lands could not be disposed of in any way until all provisions in the Manitoba Act covering Section 31 had been fulfilled. They based their argument on the promises contained in a document addressed to Father Ritchot and A.H. Scott, the delegates to Ottawa in 1870, by George-Etienne Cartier. The latter had written that the regulations governing Section 31 of the Manitoba Act "seront de nature à rencontrer les désirs des métis résidents..." See PAC, MG 26 A [Macdonald Papers], Ottawa, 23 mai 1870, Cartier à Ritchot et Scott. Thus the conclusion drawn was that the Métis had to be fully satisfied before consideration was given to other groups of settlers.

[35] Le Métis, 27 mars; 10 avril 1872.

[36] Ibid., 3 juillet 1872; 10 juillet 1872; 17 juillet 1872.

[37] Ibid., 17 juillet 1872; 30 juillet 1872.

[38] Ibid., 30 novembre 1872.

[39] Ibid., 4 septembre 1872; 11 septembre 1872.

[40] Ibid., 4 septembre 1872.

[41] Ibid., 30 novembre 1872.

[42] Ibid., 10 février 1872. The resolution was prepared by the Hon. Joseph Royal.

[43] PAC, R.G. 2 - 1, no. 788B, Order-in-Council, 27 January 1873.

[44] PAC, MG 26 A [Macdonald Papers], Fort Garry, 14 Febraary 1873, Morris to Macdonald. "This land question is multi-form. Its last phase was a movement originated and supported by the Bishop and Ritchot demanding that the land of the half breed heads of families should be entailed. I think that it is dead already. I had a deputation from St. Norbert yesterday to oppose it. It will be killed in the Upper House if it passes in the other."

[45] Ibid., Fort Garry, 10 February 1873, Morris to Macdonald.

[46] The Manitoban, 15 February 1873.

[47] Manitoba Free Press, 3 May 1873.

[48] The Manitoban, 15 February 1873.

[49] Ibid., 1 March 1873, reporting on the debates in the Legislature on 21 February. It should be noted that Le Métis did not report extensively on either of these two bills, probably because many Métis were opposed to them.

[50] Ibid., 8 March 1873, reporting on the 28 February sitting of the Legislature.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Le Métis, 22 mars 1873, reporting on the 3 March sitting of the House.

[53] Ibid., 8 mars 1873. See also, H. Douglas Kemp, "Land Grants under the Manitoba Act", in Papers of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, 3rd series, No. X (1954), p. 38.

[54] AAE, Fonds Grandin, F2, St-Boniface, 25 mars 1873, Taché à Grandin.

[55] PAC, R.G. 15, no. 7220, Ottawa, 22 February 1877, Dennis to Taché.

[56] Ibid. [57] Ibid. [58] Ibid.

[59] While it was obvious that the Métis were not about to abandon their nomadic ways and that no amount of legislation could force them to forego their "carelessness", Mgr. Taché still hoped to settle them on reserves, if not in Manitoba then in the North-West. The experience gained in Manitoba in the 1870s led him to propose, in 1879, a scheme far more constraining than any advanced so far. In a lengthy brief to J.S. Dennis, then Deputy Minister of the Interior, in response to a request that he comment on the condition of the Half-Breeds of the North-West Territories, Mgr. Taché recommended that the government make reserves available to the Métis and that all men, women and children receive non-negotiable scrips for 80 acres of land each, to be located on their reserves. The key clauses followed:

"3d. Said lands could neither be sold, mortgaged nor taxed before they should have passed through the hands of at least the third generation of those who receive them or of their representatives. I say at least, because I am strongly inclined to believe that it is desirable that such land be entirely unalienable [sic]; and such an idea cannot seem unreasonable to those who consider the advantages deriving from a similar policy with regard to real and unalienable [sic] estates of noblemen. Raise the Half-Breeds to the condition of land-lords; you will thereby confer a real benefit on them, and you will not see a repetition of the regrettable occurrence which took place in Manitoba.

"3e. The only traffic of land which I would like to see allowed, would be the exchange of a full lot for another full lot between two Half Breeds, even if it should be in different reserves. That would be no encouragement to speculators, but great facility to Half Breeds especially when they marry." See AASB, Fonds Taché, St. Boniface, 3 February 1879, Taché to Dennis. "Condition of the Half Breeds in the N.W. Territories."

These recommendations as well as numerous petitions from the Métis and Half-Breeds living in the North-West Territories went unheard until the Rebellion of 1885 awakened the federal authorities to their responsibilities. The concentration, however, of Métis settlements along the banks of the Saskatchewan formed a "block" around which French-speaking communities were later established.

A final attempt to group the Métis and introduce them to the advantages of an agricultural life was made by Father Albert Lacombe in the colony of St-Paul-des-Métis. Founded in 1895, the settlement was opened up to general settlement in 1909. Unfortunately, this colony did not solve the Métis question but it did serve as the basis for the creation of French-speaking communities within a relatively compact "block".

60 There was some concern of course about the difficulties of reaching Manitoba and the cost involved. In addition, Le Métis (4 septembre 1872; 12 avril 1873) noted a problem of unemployment. But it was probably the grasshopper invasion of 1874 which dampened Taché's sense of urgency; he telegraphed his brother in Ottawa that only immigrants with means should come that year. See PAC, R.G. 17, no. 11317, Saint-Boniface, ler août 1874, Mgr Taché à Jean-Charles Taché [Secrétaire au Ministère de l'Agriculture].

[61] Le Métis, 24 janvier 1874.

[62] The one-man delegation was one A. Monty from Fall River, Mass. Le Métis, 5 septembre 1874; 12 septembre 1874. The Société de Colonisation sent in its application for lands in November, 1874, asking for an apportionment of lands "on the same conditions under which they have been granted to the Mennonites and other Immigrants." PAC, R.G. 17, Ottawa, 6 November 1874, J.C. Taché [Dept. of Agriculture] to the Hon. Minister of the Interior.

[63] AASB, Fonds Taché, [Ottawa], 4 mars 1875, Girard à Taché.

[64] PAC, R.G. 1, no. 256, Order-in-Council of 19 March 1875, on a Memorandum dated 15 March 1875 from the Hon. David Laird, Minister of the Interior.

[65] PAC, R.G. 17, no. 13751, Fort Garry, 13 April 1875, Girard to Laird [Minister of Interior].

[66] Ibid., Ottawa, 19 April 1875, J.C. Taché to Girard. The Société de Colonisation accepted the government's latest offer of townships.

[67] PAC, R.G. 17, no. 15716, Danielsonville, Conn., 5 novembre 1875, F. Tétrault, délégué à Manitoba, à Charles Lalime.

[68] Canada: Sessional Papers, no. 8, 1877. Canadian Immigration to Manitoba [Charles Lalime's Report for 1876]. It includes a letter published in Worcester's Le Travailleur, by a group of repatriates to Manitoba, in which they describe their journey to Western Canada.

[69] Le Métis, 15 juin,1876.

[70] PAC, R.G. 1, no. 583, Order-in-Council of 9 June 1876. "...the Society also asks that...steps may be taken to supply wood lots on the Government conditions to the persons who may sell in the substituted Townships..."

[71] PAC, R.G. 17, no. 23566, Ottawa, 15 August 1878, "Memo from Lowe on report of Father Lacombe re squatters & remarks thereon by Premier." As it turned out, the Société incorporated itself to borrow money with which to compensate the squatters for improvements made.

[72] For a summary of this question, see Canada: Sessional Papers, no. 8, 1886. "Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the year 1885," pp. xii-xvi. See also, J.M. Jolys et J.H. Côté, Pages de Souvenirs et d'Histoire. La paroisse de Saint-Pierre-Jolys au Manitoba (n.p., 1974), pp. 40-42. He acted under a provision of the Manitoba Act stating that "all persons in peaceable possession of tracts of land at the time of the transfer to Canada" would have the right to pre-empt the same.

[73] Jolys et Côté, op. cit., p. 43.

[74] Canada: Sessional Papers, no. 8, 1886. "Annual Report...", p. xiii.

[75] Ibid., p. xiv.

[76] Le Métis, 27 décembre 1877.

[77] Ibid. Also, "Annual Report...", p. xv.

[78] Le Métis, 21 février 1878.

[79] AASB, Fonds Taché, Ottawa, 3 février 1878, Pelletier à Taché.

[80] PAC, MG 26 A [Macdonald Papers], St. Boniface, 3 January 1880, Taché to Macdonald.

[81] Ibid.

[82] LCSB, Vol. XIV, no. 9 (1er mai 1915), pp. 96-100.

[83] PAC, MG 26 A [Macdonald Papers], Winnipeg, 25 October 1880, Royal to Macdonald.

[84] Ibid.

[85] PMAA, Fonds Oblat, B II 612-615, "Lettres de Mgr Taché, 1860-94", Ottawa, 5 janvier 1881, Taché à Lacombe. Also in Benoît, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 378.

[86] PMAA, Fonds Oblat, B II 612-615, "Lettres de...", Ottawa, 7 février 1881, Taché à Lacombe.

[87] PAC, R.G. 17, no. 17145, St-Boniface, 29 août 1876, Taché à l'Honorable Letellier.

[88] Ibid.

[89] Ibid., Ottawa, 30 octobre 1876, Letellier à Taché.

[90] PAC, R.G. 17, no. 77283, St. Boniface, 28 January 1891, Memo to H. Smith, Dominion Lands Commissioner.

[91] PAC, R.G. 17, LB, Ottawa, 26 February 1881, Lowe to Girard.

[92] It appears that some of these cases dragged on for a number of years.

[93] AASB, Fonds Taché, Procuration par Olivier Berthelet à Mgr Taché. Taché received the sum of one thousand dollars on this occasion with which to purchase lands. See also PMAA, Fonds Oblat, B II 612-614, "Lettres de Mgr Taché", St-Boniface, 5 mai 1876, Taché à [Lacombe]. Here, Taché recounted that he had purchased properties for Joseph Dubuc and one Lorin in 1876, one of which he sold to a French-Canadian settler. Two others went to Fathers Kavanaugh and Allard who were to dispose of them as best they could.

[94] Ibid.,

[95] AASB, Fonds Taché, Montréal, 22 avril 1876, Lacombe à Taché.

[96] See the "Manitoba Act Files" in PAC, R.G. 15, for examples of this.

[97] See Le Métis, 8 octobre 1876; 22 juin 1876; 11 janvier 1877.

[98] AASB, Fonds Taché, Baie St-Paul, 21 décembre 1881, St-Pierre à Taché. In August 1880, Thomas-Alfred Bernier, newly-arrived in the province, told the Bishop that the Métis were more disposed than ever before to quit the country, and that their departure could leave their lands in the hands of the English. See ibid., [Ste-Agathe?], [août 1880], Bernier à Taché.

[99] PMAA, Fonds Oblat, B II 612-614, "Lettres de Mgr Taché", Saint-Boniface, 6 avril 1880, Taché à Lacombe.

[100] AASB, Fonds Taché, Ste-Agathe, 15 mai 1880, Samoisette à Taché.

[101] Ibid., St-Jean, P.Q., 30 avril 1881, Samoisette à Taché. See also ibid., Ste-Thérèse, P.Q., 7 avril 1881, Samoisette à Taché.

[102] Ibid., Ste-Agathe, 20 février 1882, Samoisette à Taché.

[103] Ibid., Ottawa, 22 October 1886, P.B. Douglas, Assistant Secretary [Dept. of the Interior], to [Taché]. This particular letter dealth with matters of hay scrips on lands owned by Taché and the Baron Blaziel in Ste. Agathe.

[104] The 1886 Census shows that 6,434 people of French and Métis origin were living in the district of Provencher, in south-eastern Manitoba. That was almost 50% of the population living in the district (13,420). It also represented over half of the total population of French and Métis origin in the province (11,190). Census of Canada (1886), Table III, "Origins of People".

[105] See Arthur S. Morton, History of Prairie Settlement (Toronto: Macmillan, 1938), Chapter IV.

[106] AASB, Fonds Benoît-[Guéret], "Lettres concernant la Vie de Mgr Taché", Saint-Boniface, 15 septembre 1904, Bernier à Dom Benoît. Years later, Archbishop Arthur Béliveau of St. Boniface explained in glowing terms the role which he thought the French-Canadians had played vis-à-vis the Church in Western Canada by the establishment of a "chain" of parishes strung out across the Prairies:

"Quelle influence, quel prestige aurait-elle [l'Eglise], sans les chaînes de paroisses fondées par des colons de langue française, sous la direction de leurs prêtres? Parmi les effectifs catholiques de l'Ouest canadien, nous croyons que ces groupes sont ceux qui, par leur vote, sont en mesure d'exercer l'action la plus appréciable sur le gouvernement des villes et des provinces. Que seraient devenus, sans ce premier point d'appui, les immigrants catholiques au temps de la grande invasion? Quand arrivèrent, pêle-mêle, les catholiques de tout pays, ils trouvèrent des centres où se grouper, des cadres où prendre place."

On this, the fiftieth anniversary of Confederation, however, the successor to Archbishops Taché and Langevin expressed some of his disappointment towards "les nouveaux venus [qui]...n'avaient qu'à nous prêter main-forte", but who had almost turned against the French-speaking Catholic group. See LCSB, Vol. XXVI, no. 7 (juillet, 1927), p. 157. The article was written originally for l'Action Française.

[107] Pierre Savard, Le Consulat Général de France à Québec et à Montréal de 1859 à 1914 (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1970), pp. 60-61.

[108] PAC, R.G. 15, no. 28744, Ottawa, 23 September 1880, Dennis to Whitchen (?), Agent of Dominion Lands, Winnipeg.

[109] Ibid., Montréal, 8 novembre 1880, de LaLonde à Monsieur le Ministre [Hector Langevin].

[110] Ibid., Montréal, 20 novembre 1880, Perrault au Ministre de l'Intérieur.

[111] AASB, Fonds Taché, Longuerue [France], 15 décembre 1880, de LaLonde à [Taché].

[112] Ibid., Paris, 25 décembre 1880, de LaLonde à [Taché]. A few months later, the Baron de Villers followed through on his promise. See AASB, Fonds Taché, Paris, 17 mai 1881, M. Sardon [O.M.I.], à Taché.

[113] PAC, R.G. 15, no. 28744, Ottawa, 5 April 1881, Perrault to the Minister of the Interior.

[114] AASB, Fonds Taché, Longuerue [France], 17 juin 1881, de LaLonde à [Taché].

[115] Ibid., St-Boniface, 12 juillet 1881, [Taché] à Monsieur le Président. This was probably M. le marquis de Pomereu.

[116] PAC, R.G. 15, no. 38474, Ottawa, 14 October 1881, Royal to Macdonald [Minister of the Interior]. Royal was applying for 200,000 acres in the name of the Société Foncière. The goal was to form colonies composed of settlers from Ireland, Belgium, and the United States.

[117] AASB, Fonds Taché, Paris, 29 décembre 1881, Royal à [Taché].

[118] Ibid., Ottawa, 15 mai 1882, Royal à Taché. For a discussion of the problems encountered by colonization companies in the 1880s, see André LaLonde, "Colonization Companies in the 1880s", in Saskatchewan History, Vol. XXIV, no. 3, Autumn 1971, pp. 101-114.

[119] Le Manitoba, 19 janvier 1883. According to this report, the Company had obtained 200,000 acres along the C.P.R. line 110 miles West of Brandon, in the Qu'Appelle valley. Mgr. Taché was not mentioned as a shareholder.

[120] PAC, R.G. 15, no. 60497, Ottawa, 23 April 1883, T.A. Bernier, Director to Macpherson. See also in the advertisement printed by the Company, inviting shareholders to invest in their society.

[121] Ibid., Saint-Boniface, 14 février 1883, Taché à LaRivière et Bernier. This letter was included in the circular advertising the formation of the company and advising on the quality and price of its lands. Also included were excerpts from new reports in La Minerve, l'Etendard, and Le Courrier de Montréal.

[122] AASB, Fonds Taché, Montréal, 17 mars 1884, LaRivière à Taché. In this telegram, LaRivière informed Taché that they were on the eve of reorganizing the company and that if the forfeiture was carried out, "we are all ruined". He asked if Taché could see Stephen and assist them.

[123] Ibid., "Une colonie au Lac Qu'Appelle", Montréal, 5 avril 1884. Lacombe's name is given at the bottom of the document.

[124] Lacombe himself had little faith in the project. He told Bishop Grandin that the plan was to group 50 French-Canadian families in the Qu'Appelle valley, and that Mgr. Taché had asked him to undertake the task of recruiting the settlers. However, he said, "Je n'ai pas confiance que pour l'an prochain, nous puissions diriger un mouvement d'émigration vers la Saskatchewan, c.-à-d., de nos gens, vu les difficultés de transport. Cependant il n'y a pas de doute qu'un certain nombre de familles vont s'y rendre. Je m'en occupe..." AAE, Fonds Grandin, Boîte "L", no. 4, Montréal, 2 avril 1884, Lacombe à Grandin.

[125] AASB, Fonds Taché, Reims, 4 mars 1893, Maurice Lemarchand, juge au tribunal civil à Reims (Marne), à Taché.

[126] See Arthur S. Morton, op. cit., p. 58.

[127] Maria Anna-A. Roy, La Montagne Pembina au temps des colons (Winnipeg: Canadian Publishers, 1970), pp. 14-15.

[128] AASB, Fonds Taché, [s.l.], 4 août 1879, Bitsche à Taché. Father Bitsche first visited Manitoba in the course of that year, in the company of land-seekers from Ontario.

[129] Ibid., Montréal, 21 juillet 1890, Auguste Bodard [Secrétaire de la Société d'Immigration Française] à Taché. Benoît preferred the Pembina Mountain region because it was both accessible to the railway system while being sufficiently isolated. See Maurice Dupasquier, "Dom Paul Benoît et le Nouveau Monde, 1850-1915" (thèse du doctorat ès lettres non publiée, Université Laval, 1970), p. 83.

[130] Ibid., Notre-Dame de Lourdes, 11 août 1891, Benoît à [Taché].

[131] AAW, Grande Clairière, "Notes concernant la fondation de Grand Clairière et des autres colonies ses filles de l'Ouest - rapide exposé du développement de ces diverses colonies franco-belges", 8 octobre 1896.

[132] Donatien Frémont, "Un apôtre de la colonisation française dans l'Ouest canadien: l'abbé Jean Gaire," MSRC/TRSC, 3e série, Vol. XLV (juin 1951), p. 11.

[133] AASB, Fonds Langevin, LB 1, St-Boniface, 5 avril 1898, Langevin à Gaire.

[134] Ibid., LB 5, [St-Boniface], 2 février 1903, Langevin à Legal. See Chapter VI, p. 408.

[135] Ibid., LB 6, [St-Boniface], 9 December 1903, Langevin to the Very Rev. Father Alfred Mayer, O.S.B., Prior.

[136] See Chapter V, pp. 343-347.

[137] AASB, Fonds Langevin, Calgary, mars 1899, [Mgr Augustin Dontenwill] à Laurier.

[138] Ibid., Ottawa, [1899], Frank Pedley, Superintendent of Immigration (Dept. of the Interior), to Dontenwill.

[139] Ibid., LB 2, Mission de Qu'Appelle, 10 octobre 1900, Langevin à Gaire.

[140] Ibid.

[141] Ibid., LB 3, [St-Boniface], 15 juillet 1901, Langevin à Gaire.

[142] AAR, Wauchope, Mouvaux (France), 7 mai 1904, Gaire à Langevin.

[143] Ibid., Wauchope, 28 octobre [?] 1904, Gaire à Langevin.

[144] AAW, Grande Clairière, Wauchope, 3 août 1903, Gaire à Langevin.

[145] Ibid.

[146] AASB, Fonds Langevin, LB 7, [St-Boniface], 7 avril 1905, Langevin à Gaire.

[147] See PAC, R.G. 15, no. 22578, passim.

[148] The Frères de la Croix de Jésus, an order exiled from France at the turn of the century, turned out to be unsuited for agricultural pursuits. The Clercs de St-Viateur, a Canadian order, abandoned Makinac in favour of Otterburne (Manitoba), mostly for financial reasons.

[149] Beaulincourt at the time told Langevin that it would be difficult for the Church to exert much influence in the colony, owing to the curious behaviour of the upper classes there. See AASB, Fonds Langevin, Whitewood, 18 août 1895, Beaulincourt à Langevin.

[150] Ibid., St-Boniface, 2 janvier 1899, Langevin au Rev. Frère Supérieur des Frères de la Charité. This order is not further identified.

[151] Ibid., LB 5, [St-Boniface], 25 avril 1903, Langevin à M. le baron de Boissieu, [Paris]. The italics are Langevin's.

[152] Ibid., LB 7, [St-Boniface], 31 mars 1904, Langevin au Rme Père Fort, Supérieur des Frères de Marie Immaculée.

[153] Ibid., LB 8, [St-Boniface], 29 août 1905, Langevin au Père Fort [Shaftesbury, England].

[154] Ibid., LB 9, [St-Boniface], 21 août 1906, Langevin au Père Fort. What happened after this exchange is not clear. A year later, Langevin was still after the

order for its failure to be aggressive in developing St-Hubert. Instead, it appears that the order was concentrating on its house at Cartier, near St. Adolphe (Manitoba). Ibid., LB 10, [s.l.], 20 mars 1907, Langevin au Père Fort.

155 One significant development, however, was the establishment in 1907 of a school run by the Soeurs de la Croix de Murinais, France.

156 PAC, MG 26 G [Laurier Papers], Ottawa, 25 September 1907, W.W. Cory [Deputy Minister of the Interior] to Laurier. A.H. de Trémaudan, one of the first to take advantage of the offer made by the Société Foncière had reported to the Department that eight of the eleven settlers aided by the society had already abandoned their homesteads and gone elsewhere. But, in an interview given to le Courrier du Canada in the Fall of 1893, Hector Fabre had indicated that Foursin and Goupil--the founders of the Société Foncière--had assisted some thirty families established around Montmartre. The company, he said, had advanced 3,000 francs to each of them, to be reimbursed within five years. Le Colonisateur Canadien, 15 octobre 1893.

157 AAR, "Montmartre", Montmartre, 6 [?] mai 1901, C. Passaplan à Langevin.

158 AASB, Fonds Langevin, LB 9, [St-Boniface], 21 janvier 1907, Langevin à Gaire.

159 PAC, R.G. 76, no. 595025, Moose Jaw, 27 March 1908, Gravel to W.D. Scott, Superintendent of Immigration.

160 AEG, "Ponteix", Ottawa, 8 mars 1909, Gravel à Langevin.

161 Ibid.

162 The mission of St. Albert was first started by Father Lacombe in 1861. It became the seat of the diocese of the same name created in 1871. In the late 1870s, a dozen or so French-Canadian families took up lands alongside the large Métis community living there. Until the transfer of the see to Edmonton in 1912, it was the focal point of Catholic life in northern Alberta.

163 See Collège universitaire de St-Jean, Ecole bilingue ou unilingue pour les Franco-Albertains?, (Projet de recherche interdisciplinaire mené par un groupe de professeurs et d'étudiants du Collège universitaire Saint-Jean, Edmonton, 1974), pp. 26-41.

[164] For a history of St. Paul, see Emeric O. Drouin, Joyau dans la plaine - Saint-Paul Alberta, colonie métisse 1896-1909, paroisse blanche 1909-1951 (Québec: les Editions Ferland, 1968).

[165] AASB, Fonds Langevin, LB Oblats III, [Saint-Boniface], 24 mars 1908, Langevin à Legal. See Drouin, op. cit., pp. 299 ff.

[166] See Collège universitaire St-Jean, Ecole..., p. 33.

[167] AAE, Fonds Legal, Vol. 6 (Colonisation), no. 8 (Ouellette), Beaumont, 28 mars 1910, Ouellette à Legal. See also La Presse, 15 septembre 1908, "Colonie Canadienne Française - Réserve Catholique".

[168] AAE, Fonds Legal, LB 8, St-Albert, 31 mars 1910, Legal à Ouellette.

[169] Only 32 families had purchased lands around Ouelletteville while the plan called for 65. See ibid., Montréal, 15 mars 1911, Ouellette à Legal; also, ibid., LB 10, [St-Albert], 24 mars 1911, Legal à Ouellette.

[170] It does not appear that the C.P.R. returned the monopoly of colonization to Father Ouellette, but the colony continued to grow until it was reported in 1917 that it was the largest French-Canadian centre in the diocese of Calgary. The destruction of the church by fire in 1919, however, led to a gradual movement of people towards other centres. See Collège universitaire St-Jean, Ecole..., p. 141.

[171] Ibid., p. 142; 155-156.

[172] AASB, Fonds Benoît-[Guéret], Lettres épiscopales, Prince-Albert, 28 mars 1902, [Pascal] à Benoît.

[173] AASB, Fonds Benoît-[Guéret], "Saskatchewan (1902-1906)", Domrémy, 11 février 1902, Barbier à Mon Révérend et bien cher Père [Benoît?].

[174] Ibid., Domrémy, 14 mai 1902, Barbier à Mon Révérend et bien cher Père [Benoît?].

[175] Ibid., Bonne Madone, 6 juillet 1902, Voisin à [Benoît].

[176] Ibid., Bonne Madone, 29 juillet 1902, Voisin à [Benoît].

[177] Ibid., Bonne Madone, 21 septembre 1902, Voisin à [Benoît].

[178] Ibid., Bonne Madone, [s.d.],octobre 1902, [Père Jean Garnier] à [Benoît]. The letter is incomplete.

[179] AASB, Fonds Langevin, LB 5, [St-Boniface], 27 mars 1903, Langevin au Rév. Ch. Lecoq, Supérieur de St-Sulpice.

CHAPTER II

CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS AND WESTERN SETTLEMENT

The settlement of Western Canada after 1870 was a matter of great concern to the Church and the State. The Church which had strong ties with French Canada, had a natural inclination as well as a vested interest in assisting the expansion of the French-speaking element in the West. The State represented principally by the federal government which controlled the distribution and sale of prairie lands while assuming responsibility for all immigration matters, favoured the rapid development of this new region of Canada. The two powers recognized their reciprocal interests and stood prepared to assist one another.

This chapter deals with Church-State relations from the point of view of Church authorities who believed not only in the necessity but also in the possibility of attracting a large French-speaking population to Western Canada. It examines first the common views held by the two bodies on the type of settlers which was most desirable for the West. Secondly, it focuses on Church attempts to obtain from the federal government a series of measures and appointments in the interest of French-speaking colonization. These

lobbying activities were intended to pressure the federal government and, on occasion, the provincial governments, into implementing policies and programmes advantageous to the Franco-Catholic groups in Western Canada. These campaigns were not divorced from partisan politics, since Church leaders in the West tended to favour the Conservative party over the Liberal party. Thus, the change-over in governments in 1896 provides an opportunity to compare Church influence under Conservative and Liberal administrations and to assess the implications of Church identification with political parties.

* * *

Both Church and State were unprepared in 1870 for a movement of new settlers into the West. Indeed, even before the transfer of the Hudson's Bay Company lands to the Dominion of Canada, Mgr. Alexandre Taché of St. Boniface and Prime Minister John A. Macdonald were apprehensive about the timeliness of extending Canadian influence over the great North-West. The lack of enthusiasm on the part of the Oblate bishop related to his concern about the impact of the proposed change on the Métis and Indian populations; that of the Conservative leader, at least as late as 1865, arose from his concern over the numerous difficulties attending the Confederation proposals, and led him to prefer "to

see Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories remain a crown colony under imperial control."[1] The precipitous march of events, culminating in the Red River troubles of 1869-70 and the formation of the province of Manitoba, forced both leaders to adapt quickly to new circumstances. For his part, Bishop Taché, along with a group of like-minded professional men, attempted during the 1870s to respond to the new order of things by consolidating the French-speaking element in a "block" based on a union of Métis and French-Canadian groups. They acted reluctantly and irresolutely, because they felt that the Métis people were unprepared to adjust to a change in their way of life. Their exodus towards the Saskatchewan country testifies to that. The Church's discomfiture, however, was not unique; the Macdonald government in Ottawa, as well as that of Alexander Mackenzie later on, was equally perturbed by the troubles of 1869-70 and by the subsequent need to restore peace and order to Manitoba and to begin the task of organizing and administering the country. The fumbling ad hoc policies of the federal government on land matters illustrates the lack of a clear programme. The difference between the responses lay in the Church not possessing either the resources in men or money or the political power which enabled the State at least to attempt to control or moderate the pace of change.

The Church arrived slowly at a comprehensive and systematic plan for the settlement of Western Canada by French-speaking and Catholic peoples; so did the federal government grope its way towards long-term policies. Thus, while the Dominion politicians struggled to translate into concrete action their dreams of nationhood for Western Canada as part of the Canadian Confederation, Church leaders sought to protect the interests of the Métis and to attract French-speaking reinforcements. And, if the federal government came to be identified with the 'progressive' forces, the Church stood on the side of 'conservatism'.

But, while their viewpoints and goals differed somewhat, Church and State policies were complementary rather than conflicting. Chief among the similarities was the belief that the West was most in need of and best suited for agriculturists. As successive federal administrations encouraged farmers and would-be farmers to settle on the Prairies, so too did Church representatives and sympathizers seek out experienced agriculturists or those who come from a rural background. A.I. Silver, however, argues that the Church, during Mgr. Taché's time at least, was more conservative in its choice of settlers than other agencies, including the federal government.[2] He points to the careful screening of applicants by Father Albert Lacombe and to the

numerous rejections that followed as a sign of conservatism on the part of Church leaders who feared that discontented settlers would harm the cause of French-speaking settlement in Manitoba and the North-West in the 1870s and 1880s. Their insistence, he argues, on obtaining settlers with some means at their disposal is a further indication of the insecurity of the Church. He concludes that it was ultimately a self-defeating programme as shown by the small number of French-Canadians who did settle in the West. Silver suggests that leaders of the Franco-Catholic community should have been more positive and optimistic in their portrayal of the West as a field for settlement. Thus, his conclusion is that the preference given to a limited class of settlers worked against the establishment of a large French-speaking population.

There is no doubt that Mgr. Taché proceeded with great care in promoting a colonization movement of French-speaking people towards Western Canada. He himself carefully chose some of his closest collaborators, among them Joseph Royal and Marc-Amable Girard.[3] A.A.C. LaRivière, another of the first recruits, returning to Montreal to make arrangements for his family's move to Manitoba, told the Archbishop that he had received many visitors seeking to go West, but "je n'encourage que ceux qui pourraient nous convenir et nous être utiles."[4] Le Métis, in an editorial

on the kind of immigration most suited to Manitoba, warned against a general movement of people:

> ...ce qu'il faut dans un jeune pays ce n'est pas tant une population, quelle qu'elle soit et coûte que coûte, mais bien des hommes et des pères de famille dont les antécédents, l'esprit et l'éducation offrent des garanties solides à l'oeuvre d'organisation sociale.
>
> Il y a des pays où ces importantes considérations sont méconnues tout à fait, et où l'accroissement de producteurs et de consommateurs, est le seul et unique principe sur lequel on veuille et on fasse la colonisation et l'établissement des terres publiques. Pourtant, une société se fonde autrement que par des producteurs et des consommateurs, c'est-à-dire par des gens qui travaillent et qui absorbent, qui vendent et qui achètent, qui dépensent et qui amassent. Si une telle agglomération d'êtres humains manque de principes et de discipline morale, sur quelles bases fragiles et chancelantes ne se prépare-t-on pas à asseoir la prospérité future et la véritable force d'un pays?[5]

Besides these moral factors which the Franco-Manitoban leaders considered important, there was concern about the general economic climate of the province in the period 1870-1875. The grasshopper plagues of 1871, 1874, and 1875, depleted supplies of seed, and a lack of employment opportunities made it imperative that the right kind of settlers come to Manitoba.[6] Mgr. Taché, who acted as President of the Central Relief Committee during these years of economic hardship, telegraphed his brother Jean-Charles Taché, Secretary of the Department of Agriculture, that the news was not good for settlers in 1874: "Emigrants with means to support themselves may come. Poor people ought not to come

this year. Crop partly destroyed."[7]

The economic situation of potential settlers was equally a matter of concern. In preparing the first departure of repatriates and Québécois for Manitoba in 1876, Father Albert Lacombe reported that he was besieged by scores of people in Montreal desirous of joining the group. "Pauvres gens, leur dis-je, que voulez-vous venir faire chez nous, vous n'avez rien, à peine de quoi payer votre passage."[8] The same story was repeated the following year; "Je suis assommé de gens qui viennent me demander pour aller à Manitoba. C'est terrible la misère et le manque de travail partout en ce pays; Je les renvois et je leur dis que nous n'avons pas besoin d'eux là-bas."[9] And again later:

> J'aurais certainement pu faire partir un plus grand nombre, mais d'après votre direction, j'ai mieux aimé me montrer plus exigeant afin que notre immigration soit composée de gens qui ont quelques moyens pécuniaires de se fixer sur une terre. Tous les jours, je suis assailli de gens sans ouvrage qui veulent partir pour Manitoba, mais je les dissuade de mon mieux, parce qu'il me semble que ces sortes de gens, au lieu de faire prospérer notre oeuvre, finiraient par la tuer. Cependant un très bon nombre de familles qualifiées vont partir...[10]

Thus, it would appear that those responsible for the work of French-speaking colonization excluded almost as many potential settlers as they accepted, in spite of the view held by the abbé J.D. Fillion, parish priest at St. Jean Baptiste and an active colonizer himself, to the effect that there was no harm

> de laisser venir ceux qui le demandent, soit qu'ils aient de l'argent, ou qu'ils n'en aient pas; nous avons souvent beaucoup plus de satisfaction avec cette dernière classe, qu'avec la première.[11]

The evidence, therefore, tends to confirm the view of a 'conservative' Church-inspired colonization movement, far more selective in its recruitment campaigns than it should have been had it wanted to make Manitoba into a French-speaking province.

It is important, however, to distinguish between one set of circumstances and another. What was valid in 1872 was not necessarily applicable in 1877. Mgr. Taché's men moved with great caution during the period 1870-75, because they recognized that Manitoba and the North-West were not yet sufficiently accessible and developed to the point where all classes of people could prosper. But they were not alone in calling for prudence in the selection of emigrants for the West. The Department of Agriculture recommended that care be taken in the selection of emigrants for the West. One attempt to form a colony with 312 people brought in from the mining district of Marquette, Mich., failed miserably in 1874 because the men had no aptitudes for farming and could find no other work.[12] That brought home the realities of settlement in an underdeveloped country.

The economic climate in Manitoba changed after 1876, and so did the Church's propaganda. What is important are the underlying motives and objectives in formulating the

appeal for settlers. In Mgr. Taché's case, he was concerned above all about the integrity of the Métis share of lands set aside for Half-Breeds and Métis in the Manitoba Act. It was the failure of the Métis to hold onto their lands that led him almost from 1870, to seek out agriculturists to fill the void. Hence the preference for those with means who, instead of taking homesteads, could purchase one of the Métis allotments. The speculation on these lands in the mid 1870s made it even more compelling that he find the right kind of recruit. "Que M. Lalime en amène en masse," he told Father Lacombe early in 1876, "surtout si ce sont des gens qui ont quelques moyens de se mettre sur une terre."[13] He had little use for indigent persons, and, while a movement of French-speaking settlers towards Manitoba was indispensable to the success of his cause, he felt it preferable to make a selection. "Nous aurons toujours assez de crève-faim; s'il y a un choix au moins quelques uns qui puissent s'établir dans nos anciennes paroisses en y achetant des terres."[14] Father Lacombe knew exactly what his pastor wanted:

> Il y en a quelques uns qui vont vous arriver [avec] quelques milliers de piastres, ils se proposent d'acheter des terres déjà bâties, sur la R.R. ou la Riv. Assiniboine. C'est une belle occasion de faire tomber entre les mains des nôtres les terres de nos Métis qui s'éloignent.[15]

Of course, what was desired was not always obtained. Indeed, the repatriates who constituted the great majority

of French-Canadians arriving in Manitoba in the period 1875-1880 were for the most part families with meagre resources, if any. A brochure compiled under the direction of the Department of Agriculture in Ottawa in 1887 contains capsule stories of some of the repatriates who had managed to come to Manitoba largely because of the federal government's subsidy for their transportation costs. Typical of these recruits were men like Eusèbe Rougeau who come out in 1875 from North Adams, Mass., "n'ayant presque rien à mon avoir", or Louis Pépin of Great Falls, N.H., who told Charles Lalime in 1879 that he had settled in Manitoba the previous year "entirely without money."[16] T.A. Bernier, in his Le Manitoba - Champ d'Immigration[17], and Jean Têtu, government agent at Dufferin, provide further examples and evidence of the degree of poverty of many of Taché and Lacombe's recruits.[18] What had, therefore, appeared as a condition sine qua non for settlement in Manitoba, was merely a stated objective not readily attained. Naturally, the colonizers did succeed in recruiting some families with $300 or $400 on hand, an amount that made it possible for the French-speaking Catholic group to consolidate its position in the Red River valley.

Furthermore, the "landlock" situation which developed in Manitoba, partly as a result of the setting aside of reserves for the Half-Breeds and group settlements, and partly

as a result of speculative activity, drove the value and price of lands upwards.[19] In 1873, a good piece of land could be bought for $200 or $300.[20] By 1882, Le Manitoba reported that it was impossible to purchase lands below $2,000 or $3,000.[21] It is no wonder, therefore, that the clergy and lay leaders sought out settlers able to purchase lands in the 'old' settlements at these inflated prices. The peculiar strategy adopted was in direct response to the economic realities of the moment. Interestingly, in the years following the collapse of the "boom", when the number of new arrivals in the province fell off, the propagandists attempted to represent the country as attractive once again for all classes of settlers. "Les prix ne sont pas aussi élevés qu'on se plaît à le répéter," said Le Manitoba.[22] "Il ne faut pas croire qu'il faille beaucoup d'argent pour établir une belle ferme, le seul capital exigé sont [sic] de bons bras, de l'énergie, de l'économie."[23] To which T.A. Bernier added that good lands were now available at a cost of from $2 to $10 an acre.[24]

The 'conservatism' on the part of Franco-Catholic leaders in Manitoba in the years after 1876 was therefore largely a response to the economic conditions prevailing in the province. The insistence on the need for settlers with means was essentially a part of the overall strategy designed to ensure the establishment and maintenance of the

compact "block" of French-speaking communities along the Red and Assiniboine rivers which Mgr. Taché wanted. Significantly, this type of selectivity contrasts favourably with the advice contained in pamphlets published by or under the authority of either the Department of Agriculture or the Department of the Interior during the same period. Thomas Spence's pamphlet on the resources of Manitoba and the North-West, for example, was one of those circulated among French-Canadians in Eastern Canada and the United States by members of the Société de Colonisation de Manitoba. Spence's advice to would-be settlers that they should plan on arriving in Manitoba with at least $650 in cash, for the purchase of necessary implements and furnishings, in addition to a stock of provisions for the first year or the money to procure same, was not unlike that given by the sociétaires. Nor would they have disagreed with his view that farmers and stock raisers were the ideal emigrants, "with a limited number of mechanics, not entirely dependent upon constant employment at their trade..."[25] The Secretary of the Department of Agriculture, John Lowe, gave instructions to officers in the immigration service to guard against the frequent arrivals of destitute families in the West and, therefore, to use their influence "to prevent persons from emigrating to Manitoba unless they have sufficient means to enable them to pay their passage and sustain themselves while settling

on land unless they have reasonable prospect of obtaining work."[26]

What was happening in effect was that both the Franco-Catholic element and government were caught up in the commercialism which increasingly pervaded the West after 1870. By 1880, one real estate man, Acton Burrows, could issue a call for particular classes of people:

> There are today [1880] greater inducements for settlers than at any previous period. Pauper immigrants are not wanted, farmers with small capital, farm laborers, laborers to work on railway constructions, and domestic servants, are the classes required. In the earlier history of Manitoba, the idea seems to have prevailed that men of all kinds were wanted, and that they had only to land in the Province, with a dollar or two in their pockets, regardless of their occupation, to at once find employment at high wages and rapidly accumulate wealth. Never was a greater mistake made, and the sooner it is exposed, the better will be it for intending emigrants and for the future of the great North West.[27]

This self-interested approach to prairie settlement could not fail to drive up prices and costs, thereby forcing other segments of society such as the Church and the State to adjust their settlement policies accordingly.

Thereafter, Church and State priorities in the selection of settlers for the West remained the same. Nor were there significant differences between Archbishops Taché and Langevin on the matter. In 1893, Mgr. Taché, in response to a proposal put forward by a French admiral for the establishment of a model farm in Manitoba complete with a village, answered that mixed farming was most suited to the

province, and that tradesmen, artists, doctors and veterinarians, should not be involved in the proposed syndicate because "dans nos établissements nouveaux, un homme qui n'a qu'une spécialité ne fait pas sa vie."[28] These guidelines resembled those proposed by Sir Charles Tupper, High Commissioner for Canada in London, in his report for 1895. Alluding to the difficulties of immigration work during "bad times", he emphasized that "the only classes which we are able to encourage are farmers, capitalists, farm labourers, and domestic servants."[29] Other classes were not encouraged to emigrate to Canada:

> We do not encourage the emigration to Canada of mechanics, general labourers and navvies, or persons following the professional and lighter callings, unless they go out on the advice of friends already settled in the country, or possess some special qualification. It is with these that the great desire for emigration exists, but to encourage it to any extent might be to create congestion and difficulty in Canada, with the inevitable result of throwing back emigration of the people for whom there is a demand, for many years. Great care has therefore to be exercised on the part of your agents in discriminating as to the persons who are to be encouraged and discouraged to emigrate, and I think it will be admitted that their efforts in these directions have been very successful.[30]

Economic considerations thus remained the most important criteria in the selection of settlers for Western Canada. On numerous occasions, Mgr. Langevin and Dom Paul Benoît were to tell correspondents from Europe that agricultural pursuits were the only avenue open to young men from good families. "...la grande ressource du pays ici, c'est l'agriculture ou

l'élevage," the archbishop reminded one anxious head of family.[31] Interestingly, one observer said much the same thing years later in the Bulletin published by the Montreal French Chamber of Commerce:

> ...les commis, les bureaucrates, les gens de professions libérales n'ont aucune chance de succès, même très mince, parce que toutes les places sont occupées par les Canadiens... Les seuls Français qui ont toutes les chances de réussite en Canada sont les cultivateurs, les ouvriers agricoles, les jardiniers, les domestiques, de rares professeurs, et quelques autres états manuels... Les autres sujets, à moins qu'ils ne disposent d'un important capital, destiné à être employé dans le commerce ou dans l'industrie, n'ont rien à faire ici, rien à espérer...[32]

The common view which the Church and the State held on the value of agriculturists with means as the preferred class of settlers for the West is only one area in which there was agreement between the two institutions. Another was their belief that a personal and individual approach to potential settlers constituted the most effective technique of recruitment. Ways of achieving this included the publication of testimonial letters either in newspapers or in pamphlets, and the use of 'returnmen'.[33] Both modus operandi reflected the need to counter the widely-held suspicions that 'official' bodies were too often inclined to exaggerate the truth. Personal letters or lectures by settlers who had lived in the West would presumably nullify other accounts from families which had found the country wanting.[34]

But, while the Church and the State had similar views

on a number of issues and worked together on specific projects in the colonization field, they remained two distinct powers representing different interests. Their relationship was an uneven one, because the Church was in a subordinate position. It did not possess the legislative and executive authority enjoyed by the federal government. Consequently, Church authorities could only propose measures with respect to colonization and immigration matters; the federal government made the decisions on the basis of its own priorities. Of course, the Church could, and did, lobby extensively for the adoption of its proposals by the Department of Agriculture--responsible for immigration until 1892 --and the Department of the Interior--responsible for the administration of Dominion Lands after 1872 and for immigration after 1892. The lobbying was conducted either on a personal level between the Western bishops and high-ranking politicians,in Ottawa, or through the intermediary of missionary-colonizers, French-speaking laymen with political influence, and, in some cases, Quebec leaders. The French language newspapers in the West and in Quebec often added their weight to demands being made on the government.

The federal government's policies on immigration generally and on the repatriation question in particular were two issues which involved the Church in frequent contacts with the federal government. The French-speaking Western Church

viewed repatriation with optimism. It desperately wanted to attract substantial numbers of the hundreds of thousands of French-Canadians who migrated to the United States in the second half of the 19th century. The federal government on the other hand took the attitude that repatriation was only one of many programmes useful in populating the West. In this situation, the Church was the driving force behind the pressures which were directed at federal government authorities.

Church interest in repatriation began in 1870 when Mgr. Taché first discussed the general question of French-speaking settlement in the West with George-Etienne Cartier. It took on more importance the following year when the "Lettre Circulaire" issued by the Quebec hierarchy encouraged the clergy to recommend Manitoba as a country more suitable than the United States to the families intent on quitting the province of Quebec. In effect, the policy laid down in 1871 implied that there could be no general migration from Quebec to the West, and that Franco-Catholic leaders in Manitoba should seek out instead French-Canadians living in the United States.

Federal government interest in repatriation as a means of populating the North-West first appeared in 1873, soon after the creation of a House of Commons committee on Immigration and Colonization. One M.P. deplored the loss of

manpower resulting from the exodus of French-Canadians to the United States, adding that

> ...the subject of the cost of transport to the North West had importance not only in relation to the European emigration, but to the emigration which was taking place especially from Lower Canada. He [White] had been informed that an enquiry recently instituted had established the fact that there were nearly half a million of French Canadians in the United States, many of them in the manufactories [sic] of the New England States, but scattered as well throughout those of the West. It was important to adopt a policy which would encourage these French Canadians to migrate to our own North West Territory.[35]

The committee, chaired by John Carling--who later became Minister of Agriculture in the Macdonald government--, not only concurred with this view, but suggested that it would be advantageous to grant free passages to indigent persons and indeed to all those desirous of going to the North-West. Such a policy would attract a considerable number of French-Canadians already established in the United States, and could perhaps divert the exodus from Quebec towards Manitoba.[36]

Following upon this report, the Department of Agriculture appointed Father P.E. Gendreau to inquire into the state of the French-Canadian community taking root in the United States, and to report on the possibility of a repatriation movement. In his report, Gendreau expressed the opinion that the number of French-Canadians in the republic had been exaggerated, there being no more than 400,000 of them living and working there. He further indicated that

those found in the manufacturing centres only stayed long enough to earn some money before returning to Quebec, while those engaged in agricultural pursuits in the Western States were the ones most likely to be receptive to repatriation in favour of Manitoba. Two further comments made by Gendreau are relevant: in the first instance, his conversations with French-Canadians there convinced him of their desire to return to Canada, but that

> ...il y a une grande proportion de la population canadienne aux Etats-Unis qui à l'heure qu'il est, n'a pas assez d'épargnes pour payer les frais de voyage pour retourner à la partie Du Canada qu'ils ont quittés [sic].[37]

Secondly, he had come across opposition to a movement of repatriation from former French-Canadians "qui sont dans le commerce et les professions libérales, et qui dépendent des pratiques canadiennes."[38] The government could do little about the vested interests, but it could provide assisted passages.

Federal government policy evolved rapidly in the early 1870s. In 1873, recognizing the difficulties involved in attracting a considerable British immigration or in inducing Canadians from the 'older' provinces to take up lands in the West, federal politicians adopted a policy of encouraging group settlements. The Mennonites and Icelanders were the first 'national' groups to be so recruited.[39] Not to be outdone, the Franco-Manitobans quickly organized La Société

de Colonisation de Manitoba in January 1874, under the honorary patronage of Archbishop Taché, and addressed requests to Ottawa for the setting aside of townships "on the same conditions under which they have been granted to the Mennonites and other Immigrants."[40] The Société, anticipating a movement of French-Canadians from the United States towards Manitoba, followed up its first proposal by asking for the appointment of a government agent to assist the repatriates and for the provision of a transportation subsidy to those travelling from the United States.[41]

The government acceeded to the first two requests, but would not commit itself immediately to the third. Charles Lalime and Dr. Richard Whiteford were appointed to undertake repatriation work in the New England States and Western States respectively. Meanwhile, the campaign to obtain either cheap rates over transportation routes into Manitoba or a form of government assistance was intensified. For the 1875 season, the Department of Agriculture negotiated special arrangements with the railway companies for cheap railway fares which, in the view of John Lowe, Secretary of that Department, "constituted a sort of aid."[42] This was in part a response to pressures placed on the government in the House of Commons by Rodrigue Masson, M.P. for Terrebonne and a strong supporter of Mgr. Taché, in the form of an amendment moved by Holton,

> ...déclarant expressément [que] la volonté de la chambre était que, le gouvernement fixât, dans les estimés supplémentaires, une certaine somme en faveur des Canadiens des Etats-Unis.[43]

The government did not wish for the moment to commit itself beyond the special arrangements arrived at, a decision which soon led to renewed pressures for a more positive programme. Addressing the Hon. Letellier de St. Just on the occasion of his visit to the grasshopper-infested province in the course of the summer of 1875, the Hon. M.A. Girard assured him that members of La Société de Colonisation de Manitoba rejoiced at the coming of the Mennonites, a peaceful people, adding:

> [Nous voyons] le prélude de l'assistance que le Gouvernement de la Puissance doit nécessairement accorder à ceux de nos compatriotes, qui après avoir été sur la terre étrangère, désirent se rapatrier et venir tenter leur fortune dans ces vastes domaines...[44]

Further references to the generous conditions made to the Mennonites and Icelanders were forthcoming. Father Albert Lacombe, in the course of a trip to Eastern Canada for health reasons, met Alexander Mackenzie and Luc Letellier de St. Just in Ottawa and discussed with them the possibility of granting some form of aid to settlers going to the North West. There was one obstacle, he told Taché: "...il va falloir batailler, car on craint de soulever la fureur des Ontariens."[45] Working in secret with Mgr. Taché's brother, Lacombe prepared a mémoire which he himself described as somewhat strong and too demanding. In consultation with Mgr. Bourget, modifica-

tions were made to it, but the Archbishop of Montreal also urged him to prepare another document for the general public outlining all the reasons for government support in this case. The object was to force the government "à nous accorder au moins ce qu'il a accordé aux Mennonites et aux autres..."[46] A few weeks later, he could report to Taché that Letellier had agreed to provide a $17 grant for each settler leaving for Manitoba from the United States.[47] Lowe told Lalime that the Minister desired that this not be advertised, and that he take special pains to ensure that those benefitting from it intended to settle in Manitoba.[48] As a result, during the 1876 season, the government spent $3,713.50 to assist in the transport of 361 settlers sent under Lalime's direction to Manitoba.[49] No assistance was given to those going to Manitoba from the Western States, a decision which prompted Dr. Whiteford to complain about the difficulties of carrying out his work successfully without the promise of a reduction in transportation costs.[50]

Father Lacombe pursued his lobbying tactics in 1877 when it appeared that the assistance given the previous year would not be repeated.[51] In a long interview with Prime Minister Mckenzie, he was assured of the latter's support, adding that the Liberal leader apparently regretted "beaucoup toutes les dépenses inutiles que le Gouvernement avait faites pour amener les Islandais à Manitoba, people of no

qualities for that place."[52] In the end, the government renewed its financial assistance through a voucher system, while Lacombe persuaded the Grand Trunk to grant a half-fare reduction to settlers going to Manitoba from Quebec. With it, the repatriates would pay only $13.10 for the trip West as a result of the government grant, while those from Quebec would have to pay $29.[53] For the 1877 season, Lalime reported that 563 settlers had been repatriated to Manitoba, an increase of 200 over the previous year.[54]

The same policy was continued in 1878, but the new Macdonald government abolished the special grant in 1879. Le Métis protested against this change at a time when the movement appeared to be assured.[55] In Worcester, Ferdinand Gagnon's Le Travailleur called it "[une] économie intempestive et peu patriotique."[56] To the resolutions submitted by La Société de Colonisation, John Lowe answered that the Department of Agriculture "found [it] to be impossible in the present state of public affairs to extend the Refund Bonus..."[57] The only concession made by the government was the continuation for one year of a $5 Bonus, limited, however, "...to the first party of immigrants from the Eastern States, in view of preparations they had made from representations that had previously been made to them."[58] In fact, the $5 grant was continued until March, 1888, when it was finally discontinued. Furthermore, as part of its economy measures

after its return to power in 1878, the Department closed the unproductive Detroit agency of Dr. Whiteford, but agreed to maintain Lalime's in Worcester. The stance taken by the Conservatives in Ottawa obviously shocked the editors of Le Métis who wondered whether the Hon. L.F. Masson had less influence on government policy as a member of the Cabinet than he had exercised as an opposition member during the Mackenzie years.[59] Finally, even the railways found it difficult to grant reduced rates to repatriates, as indicated by the Grand Trunk's President, J. Stephenson, in a letter to Lowe, explaining that the agents for American railways had met and had agreed that if "the cheap rate from the New England points to Manitoba, granted by Mr. Lalime were allowed to continue, they would at once, institute a war of rates, on general business, which would be of a more serious character than the war of last year."[60]

There was remarkably little protest from the Franco-Manitoba leaders to these developments. Indeed, there was almost no lobbying in Ottawa during most of the 1880s on the opportunity of pursuing a vigorous repatriation programme. As the number of settlers sent to Manitoba by Charles Lalime declined, there was little concern expressed in the St. Boniface weekly. No wave of protest followed the closing of the Worcester Agency in 1887. It appeared as though the Franco-Manitoban leadership had lost faith in the repatriation movement.

There is an explanation for this lack of interest. In the first place, Mgr. Taché especially felt that French-Canadians from Quebec were better suited to fulfill the goals he wished to attain, particularly the replacement of the departing Métis by families with sufficient means to buy their lands. That was part of the larger strategy he never ceased to pursue. Furthermore, the "boom" years in Manitoba had attracted a better class of settlers from Quebec than from the United States. Secondly, from 1880 on, Taché and his supporters turned to other sources--Europe and Ireland--in their attempts to obtain settlers. Thirdly, as Joseph Royal said during a debate in the House of Commons, "...une grande partie de l'oeuvre de rapatriement doit être faite par les sociétés de colonisation et par l'initiative privée."[61] There would be an attempt during the 1880s by Mgr. Taché and a group of laymen, including Joseph Royal, Joseph Dubuc, and Paul de Cazes, to co-operate with the Canadian Pacific Railway in the establishment of a French-speaking settlement in the Qu'Appelle valley. While the venture failed, it illustrates how, in the eyes of these men, the private C.P.R. had replaced the government departments as the chief colonizing agency in the West. Fourthly, the government itself thought repatriation to be of dubious value, concluding in 1887 when closing the Worcester Agency that "...the show of immigration, as compared with the expenditure, is unsatis-

factory..."[62] For all these reasons, in addition to the economic recovery in the New England States which eliminated the basis for a successful repatriation movement and the economic stagnation which prevailed on the Prairies, Church and lay leaders in Manitoba felt that repatriation did not offer the best means of bolstering the French-speaking presence in the West. Consequently, few demands were made on the federal government.

Renewed interest in the repatriation movement came late in the 1880s, as Mgr. Taché found a willing collaborator in the abbé C.A. Beaudry. In July 1887, this priest from the St. Hyacinthe diocese joined an excursion to Western Canada organized by the C.P.R.[63] Upon his return to Quebec, he offered his services to Mgr. Taché.[64] At first, he proposed to devote himself exclusively to deflecting the exodus from Quebec to the United States towards Manitoba instead. He would begin his work in the region around St. Hyacinthe, gradually extending it into other areas:

> ...le travail pourra s'étendre à certaines paroisses limitrophes de Nicolet, actuellement décimées par l'émigration aux Etats-Unis. Quant aux paroisses situées sur le fleuve, je vous en reparlerais plus tard. Il ne me paraitrait pas opportun d'éveiller présentement certaines susceptibilités.[65]

The Department of Agriculture contributed to Beaudry's efforts by giving him a grant to resurrect Le Colonisateur Canadien--which the C.P.R. had abandoned--, which was to be distributed

among the agricultural classes in Quebec and in the French-speaking centres of the United States.[66] The publication of this journal was deemed indispensable by the abbé Gabriel Cloutier, Mgr. Taché's nominee as "[l'] apôtre de la colonisation dans Manitoba"[67], who thanked John Lowe for his aid in securing funds for the venture, describing it as "the only lever by which we can continue to colonize the [sic] Western Canada. And Manitoba must be colonized first and then we shall proceed West, gradually."[68] According to Cloutier, Beaudry's initiatives resulted in the arrival, in the Spring of 1889, of 480 souls from the Province of Quebec.[69]

The newly-elected M.P. for Provencher, A.A.C. LaRivière, went further, claiming that the Reverend Beaudry was responsible for sending 1,000 people to Manitoba. He therefore recommended that Mgr. Taché's appointee be sent on a repatriation mission to the United States.[70] Beaudry himself raised the repatriation issued by sending the Hon. John Carling a petition signed by more than one hundred Quebec 'notables', including Cardinal Taschereau, the Quebec bishops, clergymen, journalists, and judges, dealing with repatriation. Claiming that, among the 900,000 French-Canadians expatriated to the United States, there were thousands prepared to establish themselves in Manitoba, that economic conditions were especially favourable to such a movement, and that French-Canadians were more desirable settlers

than European immigrants, the petitioners asked the government to allot "une part équitable" of the expenditures voted by Parliament for foreign immigration to a repatriation programme towards Manitoba. Furthermore, they pointed out that a European immigrant could travel from Portland to Winnipeg at a cost of only $13.50 while the French-Canadian repatriate had to pay approximately $28.50, "...ce qui est onéreux, vu les familles nombreuses de nos compatriotes." Would the government press the railway companies to place the immigrant and the repatriate on the same footing?[71]

Once more, repatriation and transportation costs had been linked. To Beaudry, Mgr. Taché, and others, none of whom could or would accept the mass exodus of French-Canadians to the United States, it was obvious that the transportation issue was one of the great obstacles to a successful repatriation movement. Remove this impediment, they thought, and there would follow a large influx of repatriates into Western Canada. The resolution of that difficulty was considered as important if not more important than a campaign aimed at removing prejudices against Manitoba and the Territories.[72]

The petition, submitted by the Reverend Beaudry, was referred to the Canadian Pacific Railway for consideration. Answering for the company, W.D. McNicoll, General Passenger Agent, told Lowe that clauses of the Interstate Commerce Act

of the United States rendered it impossible for him to comply with the request "...without reducing all our intermediate local rates, and this would be too serious a loss of revenue for us to admit of much consideration." Furthermore, he added,

> ...great objection is already made by the United States Railroads to the low rates which we make from the boundary line for local emigration, and they are continually being referred to as disturbing elements. To still further reduce them to the extent of about 50% I need not point out to you would have a very bad effect indeed.[73]

Naturally, this explanation did not satisfy Beaudry who reiterated that "...le premier et le plus gros obstacle au rapatriement est le prix élevé des passages, ce qui devient énorme avec des familles de huit ou dix personnes."[74] While not abandoning his campaign to have his compatriots placed on the same footing as the European immigrants, he began to work closely with L.O. Armstrong, the C.P.R.'s Colonization Agent, both in Quebec and in New England.[75] With Mgr. Taché's full approval, he received grants from the federal government to continue the publication of Le Colonisateur Canadien and to present illustrated lectures in the Franco-American centres. Interestingly, he did not believe that "repatriation en masse" was possible, a view shared by John Lowe.[76] Nonetheless, the Department agreed to cooperate with Beaudry and C.P.R. officials

in their repatriation efforts.[77]

The transportation matter was not forgotten however. During the 1890 session of Parliament, a special vote set aside $150,000 to promote North-West settlement by affording a bonus to assist agricultural settlers because of "the necessarily heavy transportation expenses from points in Europe."[78] Hector Langevin quickly reminded Sir. John A. Macdonald that a portion of the monies should be used to pay the travel expenses of French and Belgian farmers. Why not, he asked, give the over one million and a half of French-speaking people in Canada the chance "of having some of their own nationality" join them in the Dominion? He reminded the Prime Minister that this was an important question both for the settlement of the country and for "an event which is sure to come in 18 or 19 months."[79] This first reference to the approaching election was not to be the last.

The government decision to assist European immigrants through a bonus system merely contributed to a renewal of lobbying on the part of the abbé Beaudry. McNicoll of the C.P.R. had several talks with Beaudry but could not see how his company could grant European rates to settlers from all eastern points in Canada.[80] Repatriation had now become even more urgent because it could bolster the position of the French Catholics in Manitoba who were deeply involved in the Manitoba Schools Question.[81] Therefore, Beaudry, with

Mgr. Taché's approval, sought to prod both Hector Langevin and Adolphe Chapleau into taking a stand on the bonus issue.

Beaudry's approach to Chapleau revealed that French-speaking immigrants from Europe were apparently benefitting from the bonus provision. He understood that Foursin Escande--the secretary to Hector Fabre in Paris and a colonizer--received a $15 bonus for each head of a family, and asked that the Cabinet, in its forthcoming deliberations on the policy, extend the same benefits to repatriating French-Canadians. It was a just and patriotic measure that should be applied to those who, after all thought Beaudry, were the best possible settlers. Reminding Chapleau that the most prominent citizens of la belle province had signed a petition two years earlier urging the government to place French-Canadians on the same footing as foreign immigrants, the St. Hyacinthe colonizer said that it was a scandalous situation, and one which could cause "de biens graves embarras aux ministériels aux prochaines élections." Finally, Beaudry repeated the argument that it mattered above all because of the Schools issue:

> Ensuite il ne faut pas oublier qu'au moment où nos destinées vont se jouer à Manitoba il est de sage politique de ne pas négliger le plus léger appoint. Les rapatirés nous seraient d'une immense utilité et pourraient changer la lutte suprème en une victoire décisive. Voilà pourquoi, Mr.le Ministre, j'implore votre influence comme chef du plus important district de cette province en faveur de la cause canadienne et de nos compatriotes exilés...[82]

Increasingly, the issue was becoming charged with strong political overtones, especially in the context of the impending federal election and against the background of the controversial Manitoba School Question. "Je ne désespère pas encore", Beaudry told Taché with reference to Langevin and Chapleau, "que la crainte des élections n'amène le commencement du patriotisme avec la sagesse."[83] From Quebec came support for the granting of a premium to repatriating French-Canadians. L.E. Carufel, of the Société de Rapatriement de Montréal, declared that some encouragement was needed to help the French-Canadians decide positively in favour of repatriation, and further more that "the prospect of such an offer has already been spoken of in the French papers of the Province of Quebec."[84] He too called on the government to place them on the same footing as other immigrants.

It appeared for a moment that the federal government had indeed acceded to the demand for a bonus applicable to repatriating French-Canadians. A Privy Council directive to the Department of Agriculture asking that the repatriates benefit equally from the Order-in-Council of 27 September 1890, dealing with the bonus to be given to European immigrants upon their taking up lands in Canada, was not implemented.[85] Mgr. Taché summarized his disappointment in a succinct telegram to Lowe: "I regret exceedingly no favourable decision and postponement of matter."[86] For his part, Beaudry

warned once more that the government was overlooking the interests of the party, and that, "for a trifle, several of the elections, where the contests are to be violent, sill be compromised..."[87]

In fact, the government had not postponed the matter, but declined to act in the manner favoured by Mgr. Taché and others. Lowe, on his own initiative, raised the issue once more with the Hon. John Carling. He felt that the strong feelings manisfested were genuine, and indeed were more intense than he had ever met before: "...I am perfectly certain that if it is known that repatriated Canadians will not be placed in as good a position, as respects the bonus, as immigrants from abroad there will be an outcry." Sir Charles Tupper had expressed his belief "that we should extend the principle [of the bonus] to repatriated Canadian and American settlers." Would Sir Charles' "very strong opinion that this extension should be made" and his view that the amount of money involved would be very small lead the minister to re-open the question?[88] Further support for the implementation of a bonus policy applicable to repatriating French-Canadians came from La Société de Colonisation de Manitoba, largely inactive since the early 1880s but resurrected on this occasion by T.A. Bernier and probably by Mgr. Taché.[89] However, while Lowe himself was sympathetic and most anxious to see repatriation take place, he informed

Taché that the matter could not be raised again with the minister before the March 5th elections.[90]

The election results changed nothing. The government did not move to extend the bonus provisions to French-Canadians living in the United States. But it did attempt to pacify the lobbyists by appointing the abbé J.B. Morin as a government agent for the North-West.[91] At the same time, it offered to send the Reverend Gabriel Cloutier to Belgium, and listened to representations from A.A.C. LaRivière and Mgr. Grandin of St. Albert with respect to the appointment of Auguste Bodard of La Société d'Immigration Catholique as an official government agent in Europe.[92] The Department of Agriculture also arranged for T.A. Bernier to visit Europe during the Summer of 1891.[93] Clearly, the distribution of patronage was intended to calm the strong feelings aroused over the bonus issue.

The transfer in 1892 of the immigration branch from the Department of Agriculture to the Department of the Interior, as well as a renewed impetus given to immigration matters, led to demands for additional repatriation agents. Father Lacombe, pointing to the work done by the Reverend C.A. Beaudry in Manitoba and to that undertaken by the Reverend J.B. Morin in Alberta, asked for the appointment of Father Moïse Blais as government agent for the Saskatchewan district.[94] Once the Department of the Interior assumed the responsibility

for immigration, A.A.C. LaRivière organized a meeting with the minister attended by the Reverend Beaudry, Senator Marc-Amable Girard, and fifteen M.P.s from Quebec. The M.P. for Provencher presented a four-point programme for repatriation: (1) the creation of a central office in Montreal to oversee the movement, (2) the distribution of effective propaganda in the United States, (3) the appointment of agents to prevent the emigration to the United States, (4) the extension of the same favours given to European immigrants.[95]

Naturally, the Hon. Edgar Dewdney wished to discuss these proposals with his Cabinet colleagues. It took some time before decisions were taken. As a result, a Montreal office was finally organized in 1895.[96] Missionary-colonizers proposed by Mgr. Taché and, later, by Mgr. Langevin, were appointed as government agents to do repatriation work in the United States in favour of all districts in Western Canada. No amount of political pressure, however, succeeded in changing the government's position on the bonus question. In 1896, in answer to an editorial in Montreal's La Presse charging that the "Immigration Bureau has always impeded French and Belgian immigration...", the Deputy Minister of the Interior answered that his Department had greatly encouraged that immigration in recent years. Furthermore, he argued that no one had ever submitted a solution for a successful repatriation programme, adding that there was no motive "potent

enough in my mind to induce a Canadian who has succeeded in becoming prosperous in the United States to leave the land of his adoption and return to his native soil." Finally, he claimed that the House of Commons Committee on Agriculture and Colonization had invariably affirmed in the past the principle that no portion of the public funds should be "devoted towards paying the passage of persons coming or returning to Canada who would not otherwise have the means to do so at their own expense..."[97]

The year 1896 ushered in a new political as well as new economic era for Canada. The election of the Laurier Liberals coincided with the opening of a period of unprecedented growth in Western Canada. And Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, designed new immigration policies to finish the task of binding the West firmly to Confederation. Of interest here is the elevation, in 1895, of Adélard Langevin to the episcopal see of St. Boniface. Over the next two decades, the Conservative-minded Archbishop of St. Boniface would wage an unceasing battle with the Laurier Liberals over the Manitoba and North-West Schools Questions. These issues complicated relations between the federal government in Ottawa and the Church hierarchy in Western Canada on settlement matters. Nor were accomodations readily arrived at.

The beginnings were auspicious. Immediately the 1896

election was over, the abbé Morin, accompanied by Father Corbeil, travelled to Ottawa to assess the feelings of the new Cabinet towards their colonization movement. Following a meeting with A.M. Burgess, the Deputy Minister of the Interior--no appointment to the Minister's position having yet been made by Laurier--, Corbeil reported to Mgr. Langevin that all was well. "Je crois, Monseigneur, que le nouveau Gouvernement fera plus pour la colonisation française au Manitoba et au Nord-Ouest que n'a fait l'ancien."[98] His optimism was not diminished when he had a long conversation a month later with Israël Tarte, who was preparing to go to Manitoba in September both to visit the French-speaking communities and to discuss the School Question with the local authorities.[99]

Relations between Langevin's Church and Laurier's government soon deteriorated, however, over the proposed Laurier-Greenway solution to the thorny School Question. In the colonization field, the change in administration signified the replacement, if not the outright dismissal, of Conservative office-holders by 'loyal' Liberals.[100] Furthermore, the election results left the Franco-Manitobans with little influence in Ottawa; A.A.C. LaRivière was returned in Provencher, but sat in the Opposition. It would take some time before the local Liberals would establish contacts with the 'old guard' in Manitoba, and more time

still before Langevin and Laurier could arrive at a working arrangement. Finally, much depended on the Prime Minister's interest in promoting French-speaking settlement in the West. He wasted no time in expressing his doubts about the possibilities of obtaining French immigrants and said so in the House of Commons:

> ...for my part I have never had...a great confidence that we could ever have many immigrants from France. The French people do not emigrate, but remain at home. If it were possible to have from France an immigration, not from towns and cities, but from the rural portions of the country, we would certainly have a most valuable class of settlers. I think, however, that a good deal more is to be had from the British Isles themselves.[101]

Mgr. Grandin was convinced that Laurier would sacrifice his compatriots, and that the 'enemies' of the Church would continue to favour the immigration of Mennonites and Mormons.[102]

Two colonization proposals paved the way for a close collaboration between the Church, the State, and the C.P.R. The first was a repatriation scheme put forward by the abbé J.B. Morin; the second was the organization of a Société d'exploitation agricole du Canada in Belgium.[103] Morin's proposal was directed towards the repatriation of French-Canadian established primarily in the Mid-Western States. They were, he said, agriculturalists who would bring to Canada all the implements and farm animals required for a homestead start. The greatest obstacle to their repatri-

ation was the heavy burden of loans and mortgages weighing on them as a result of droughts and poor crops. What was needed for these families was a form of aid to enable them to relocate in Western Canada. Morin explained it thusly:

> 11. Les prix de passage sont excessivement élevés. Les Compagnies de chemin de fer américains sont loin de faire des réductions aux colons qui passent la frontière: seul le Pacifique Canadien leur accorde un tarif spécial.
>
> 12. Il s'agirait donc de demander au gouvernement de venir en aide à ces familles en leur donnant, sous une forme quelconque, leur passage gratuit, d'aucun endroit des Etats-Unis à aucun endroit du Manitoba ou du Nord-Ouest.

Morin further estimated that a sum of $5,000 would be sufficient to repatriate 50 families a year.[104] At the same time, Mgr. Langevin was informing Shaughnessy, the Vice-President of the C.P.R., of the first details of the Belgian association, including their need for lands.[105]

The lobbying over the next two years was extensive. The first one to signify his support for Morin's scheme was Laurier himself. In a letter to Sifton, he "particularly recommended Mr. Morin's scheme", because the French-Canadian farmers of the Western States were a very desirable class of immigrants. Two factors motivated his support: one was his concern over the attack which was being prepared against his government in the Province of Quebec, arising from complaints that "we are doing more for the Russians than we're doing for our own people, who have been driven by unfortunate circum-

stances to leave the country..." The second consideration was Morin, whom the Prime Minister described as "a friend politically", and one who "had largely contributed and still is contributing to dispel many prejudices which may have existed for a long time against us in influential quarters."[106] Almost at the same time, Mgr. Langevin sought Laurier's support for the Belgian society's project, requesting that the government help and meet the delegation preparing to come to Canada.[107] The Prime Minister, however, was noncommital, merely limiting himself to informing the Archbishop of the recent appointment of Tréau de Coeli as agent to Belgium.[108]

Langevin also sought support elsewhere. At his request, S.A.D. Bertrand, a prominent St. Boniface Liberal, communicated with Sifton as regards the Belgian society's project.[109] Coincidentally, he urged members of La Société de Colonisation de Manitoba, now firmly in the hands of Liberals, to support Morin's repatriation proposal, and to demand a share of the government's favours for the French-speaking element. Among urgent needs, he singled out the creation of an information bureau to receive and direct incoming settlers from the United States and Europe. The society could also help by establishing local branches in each parish of the diocese.[110] Within weeks, the society dispatched a lengthy petition to Laurier and Sifton outlining their requests for the appointment of lay repatriation agents in the United States to assist the

work of the missionary-colonizers, for an increase in the French-speaking personnel at the Winnipeg immigration office, for the nomination of French-speaking guides in three districts of Manitoba and the North-West where colonization was increasing, and for the reservation of land to be settled through the offices of the society. Needless to say, the membership recommended the adoption of the abbé Morin's plan, especially "dans son idée principale qui est de faire aux colons des avances pour leurs frais de transport."[111]

The next step was to impress upon the government leaders the determination of the French-speaking and Catholic population of the West to add to its small demographic base. At the March 1899 meeting of the St. Boniface ecclesiastical province, the bishops addressed a letter to their Quebec colleagues, asking for their support in the work being carried out by the abbé Morin and Father Blais.[112] In the name of his suffragans, Langevin submitted Morin's scheme for Laurier's consideration, while emphasizing that he did not intend to belittle the importance of attracting other immigrant classes, but insisting instead on the special attention which should be given to the repatriation of French-Canadians: "Il ne s'agit pas d'amener des hommes étrangers à nos moeurs et à nos institutions, mais bien des sujets britanniques qui désirent revenir vivre à l'ombre et sous la protection du drapeau anglais." The grant of an assisted passage would

contribute to increasing the general wealth of the country. Once again, he called for the establishment of an information bureau in Winnipeg, and the appointment of one or two additional French-speaking agents for the United States. "Si nous l'osions nous nous permettrions de vous faire observer très respectueusement que nos nationaux ne sont pas sous ce rapport, aussi favorisés qu'ils pourraient l'être." Langevin closed by saying that they did not seek to impose their plans totally; it was up to the government to decide what could be done.[113] Laurier answered that he concurred with the views and plans of the Rev. Morin and that he would recommend most favourably the proposals to the Minister of the Interior.[114]

Langevin did not wait for an answer before pursuing other avenues open to him. He met privately on a number of occasions with S.A.D. Bertrand and then with W.F. McCreary, the Commissioner of Immigration at Winnipeg, to discuss appointments that could be made in the immigration service. McCreary understood that Langevin was "most anxious that something more should be done for immigration", and described the prevailing climate thusly:

> There is a cry, unfortunately, very prevalent throughout this Province and the West generally, not only among our enemies but among our friends, that the Government are doing more for the Doukhobors and the Galicians than they are for either French or English settlers - and even our papers here do not put this matter in a correct light.[115]

Bertrand and Langevin both persevered in their request, multiplying their letters to Laurier and Sifton. In a pre-election year, Bertrand naturally hoped to win over the electorate to the Liberal party on the eve of a general election. Liberals considered it most important, he told Sifton, that the desired appointments be made without delay, because

> It will go a long way towards inspiring the confidence that is required to exist among the French people, who have not always, and who do not even now, belong to your politics. A great deal has been done so far in this direction by the various Departments of our Local Government in different ways and a different feeling exists from what it used to be.[116]

Four months later, Bertrand reiterated the importance of making the appointments to Laurier, and alluded to a letter from Mgr. Langevin which he considered to be "a very strong appeal, rather to be inclined in the form of a complaint on the subject."[117]

Clifford Sifton and his officials in the Department of the Interior yielded very little to the numerous representations made to them. In May 1899, the French-speaking Thomas Gelley was appointed to McCreary's office in Winnipeg.[118] No other appointments followed. To what extent Sifton's reluctance to comply with the extensive programme of repatriation and colonization was influenced by the uneven performance of some of the missionary-colonizers is not

known, but he may well have felt that additional commitments on the part of the Department of the Interior were unwarranted.[119] Besides which repatriation appeared to be proceeding satisfactorily. The Winnipeg office was negotiating at that moment for the return to Canada of 155 French-Canadians from Minnesota, North Dakota, and Wisconsin, and was trying to procure a reserve for them.[120] Naturally, Sifton could well have been motivated by other factors, not the least of which were political, religious, and perhaps even 'national' considerations. These are difficult to assess.

Nonetheless, in the face of irritating delays, Mgr. Langevin pressed on. One encouraging sign was the reactivation of the Belgian society in 1900, whose operations had been suspended the previous year by a series of uncontrollable events. The Belgian delegation toured Western Canada in the Spring and Summer, with guides provided by the Winnipeg Immigration office.[121] But the repatriation question continued to preoccupy Langevin the most. The relatively small number of homestead entries made by Belgian and French immigrants during the 1890s seemed to indicate that repatriation remained the best source for French-speaking Catholic settlers.[122]

Other overtures aimed at involving the federal government in repatriation work followed. A Congrès

National des Canadiens-français de Manitoba held in June 1900, and attended by Henri Bourassa and Jules-Paul Tardivel, dealt exclusively with French-speaking colonization in Western Canada. Resolutions calling on the government to appoint more agents for repatriation work in the United States and to grant reduced railway rates to settlers were sent to the Department of the Interior. In reply, Frank Pedley, the Superintendent of Immigration, merely acknowledged the receipt of the resolutions which would receive the "utmost consideration" of the Department. He could say, however, that in the matter of reduced rates,

> This, of course, is a matter over which the Government has little or no control, railways fixing their own rates, and I may say that the contention of the Railway Companies is that they are granting very cheap rates now to settlers from the United States from the boundary to points in Manitoba and the Northwest.[123]

Pedley also remarked that publications in French circulated by the Department included a pamphlet by Father Blais, a leaflet by Father Gouin, a French version of the Atlas known as "Western Canada", and that a French edition of the pamphlet known as "Western Canada" was being printed.

While requesting an increase in the number of repatriation agents operating in the United States and, to a lesser extent, in Quebec, the Franco-Manitobans also asked for an increase in Father Blais' salary.[124] The intent was to make it possible for Blais to undertake more frequent

trips to the United States in search of settlers. When a resolution to this effect adopted by the Congrès failed to produce the desired result, Blais himself suggested to Judge L.A. Prud'homme that the Société St-Jean-Baptiste de Manitoba request once more from the government that it appoint more agents and that it send him more often to the United States. "Ah! si nous étions 3 or 4 agents sérieux par ici, comme nous pourrions faire de la besogne. Si vous saviez comme les anglais sont bien organisés & favorisés du gouvernement."[125] Resolutions to that effect were sent to Ottawa within a week.[126]

Two years after the abbé Morin had first submitted his proposals for a repatriation campaign directed towards the French-Canadians established especially in the Mid-Western States, Mgr. Langevin came to the conclusion that little could be obtained from the Department of the Interior in the way of an increase in the number of agents working south of the border. He told one of his correspondents that "...M. Sifton ne favorise guère l'élément français dans son zèle colonisateur, il préfère des déguenillés venus de la Russie, des Socialistes."[127] Nevertheless, there remained for him one "patriotic" minister, Israël Tarte, to whom he sent Father Blais' repatriation plan. Blais was to outline his programme to J.A. Smart, Deputy Minister of the Interior, shortly, and Langevin hoped that Tarte would

support it. "...je crois que le gouvernement n'aura qu'à s'applaudir des résultats et je ne crois pas un instant que le fait qu'il s'agit de Canadiens Français refroidira le zèle de M. Smart pour la colonisation..."[128] When Blais' project was turned down by the Department, Langevin told him that he should not be discouraged. "Allez aux Etats-Unis quand même puisqu'on vous accorde cette faculté et que l'on vous alloue une somme qui me parait suffisante. Courage! On prendra ce qu'on peut![129]

What Langevin failed to obtain from the federal government, he sought from the Manitoba provincial government. The return to power of the Conservaties in the province in the general election of 1899, combined with the growing affinity between Premier Roblin and the Archbishop, made a rapprochement possible. The provincial immigration branch had extended its Ontario operations into the United States in 1900. In Kansas City, J.J. Golden--a graduate of St. Boniface College[130]--organized delegations made up of former Canadians to visit Manitoba where, it was hoped, they would overcome their "strong prejudices" against the country.[131] The following year, agents worked in the Dakotas and Minnesota, as well as Nebraska.[132] In 1902, the French-speaking Joseph Burke served for one year as agent in Quebec.[133] No one replaced him there until Adrien Potvin worked briefly in la belle province in 1904.[134]

He in turn was succeeded by the Hon. A.A.C. LaRivière who operated an office out of Montreal from 1905 through 1911.[135] These and other minor appointments given to Franco-Manitobans during Roblin's tenure of office enabled Langevin to lean more and more on the Manitoba Conservatives for the achievement of his objectives.[136]

Thus, it appears that Mgr. Langevin abandoned his attempts to obtain a greater involvement of the federal government especially in repatriation work after 1901. He contented himself with the existing positions held by missionary-colonizers, occasionally recommending successors when the need arose. Instead, he turned towards Conservatives like Joseph Bernier--son of T.A. Bernier--, now a prominent member of the Roblin administration.[137] At the height of the campaign begun three years earlier to obtain additional appointments of repatriation agents, the Archbishop urged upon Bernier the appointment of a provincial agent: "...il faut insister et l'obtenir, ...Je n'ai pas d'objection à ce que ce soit un partisan ardent du Gouvernement actuel, s'il fait bien son travail et nous amène des colons."[138] When Dom Benoît, of Notre-Dame de Lourdes, wanted the Indian Spring Reserve in south-western Manitoba opened up to settlers, Langevin turned to Bernier for support.[139] He also took advantage of Roblin's commitment to railway expansion within Manitoba's borders to lobby for the extension of a line

through Notre-Dame de Lourdes. He reminded the Hon. Robert Rogers, Minister of Public Works, that the Catholic settlers there had "turned the wind in the sail of the Government", at the last provincial election, because of formal promises that even the new station would be built close to the church, or no further than half a mile away.[140] The same political message was given to the Premier: "...I felt quite confident that Mr Rogers and yourself will bring a conclusion satisfactory to the people of Notre-Dame de Lourdes who have stood like one man for the party who promised them the rail-road Station near the Church."[141] In spite of "much and many troubles", Rogers assured one and all that he was getting the undertaking completed by degrees.[142]

As Mgr. Langevin turned increasingly towards the Conservatives in Manitoba, French-speaking Westerners belonging to the Liberal Party continued to court favours in Ottawa. They began to displace the Church as the more vocal lobby in Ottawa. The so-called French Liberal Executive, both in its name and in the name of La Société de Colonisation de Manitoba, proposed candidates for repatriation work in the United States on a number of occasions. Laurier, in 1901, appointed Henri d'Hellencourt, editor of the weekly L'Echo de Manitoba[143], as a special envoy to France charged with the following mission:

> Outre le sujet de l'immigration, qui devrait être l'objet principal de votre attention, le gouvernement désire que vous fassiez une étude approfondie du mouvement commercial entre les deux pays et des moyens de l'étendre.[144]

In 1902, soon after Langevin had apparently given up hope of obtaining more repatriation agents, the French Liberal Executive included the following plank in their platform:

> Considering that experience proves the French speaking element to have contributed greatly to the development and prosperity of this Province, we earnestly request that steps be taken to insure an increase of this class of immigration, be it from the United States, the Province of Quebec, France or Belgium. We insist on the necessity of appointing without delay French speaking agents to work in the United States. We would recommend that during the winter months settlers chosen among the successful immigrants to this Province be sent to the above named countries.[145]

They followed up their request by recommending that one O. Robidoux of St. François-Xavier be sent to the region around Montreal to take advantage of his numerous contacts in the rural districts there.[146]

As partisanship became more pronounced during the Laurier years, contacts between the Conservative-minded Church hierarchy and the Liberal government in Ottawa became less frequent. More and more, French-speaking Liberal laymen were favoured with appointments in the immigration service. One of these was Joseph-Ernest Cyr, the first Liberal to represent the constituency of Provencher in the House of Commons. Following his withdrawal from

politics in 1908, after only one term in office, Cyr was appointed to the Haut Commissariat in Paris.[147] Furthermore, Liberal newspapers benefited from their political affiliation, as did Edmonton's Le Courrier de l'Ouest, and St. Boniface's Le Nouvelliste. The Department of the Interior awarded them contracts to publish special colonization editions for distribution by repatriation agents in the United States to prospective repatriates.[148] In this way, both the cause of colonization and that of the Liberal Party were served.

There were of course clerical repatriation agents during the Laurier years, but they were men closely identified with the Liberals. One of them, the abbé A.P. Bérubé, appointed for northern Saskatchewan in 1908-1909, owed his position to his friendly relations with the Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, as well as to his continuing support of the federal Liberal Party. He drew the ire of Archbishop Langevin in 1909 when he apparently suggested that the school legislation in the North-West was satisfactory and that neutral schools were agreeable to French-Canadians. Thirteen priests signed a petition against him,[149] and Langevin urged Bishop Pascal in the strongest possible terms to get rid of him:

> A mon humble avis, il a cessé d'être utile et [?] chez vous puisque le clergé le répudie; il ferait donc mieux d'aller ailleurs.

> Le principal pour moi, c'est qu'il cesse d'écrire sur les écoles; je vous supplie de le lui défendre absolument.
>
> Il a l'audace de dire qu'il reflète votre opinion et celle de Mgr Legal. Cet homme comprend tout à sa façon et tourne tout à son avantage; il est bien dangereux. Défendez lui donc d'écrire sur les écoles. Il admet du reste, qu'il a prôné la malheureuse satisfaction (sic) qui réjouit tant les Libéraux puisqu'ils essaient d'en conclure que la question est réglée et bien réglée.[150]

Again, in 1911, Langevin denounced Bérubé who wanted to publish a newspaper "sous prétexte de colonisation mais, au fond, pour servir la politique du Gouvernement Laurier qui en fera les frais en partie."[151]

From about 1902 onwards, therefore, the Western bishops did much less lobbying than during the first six years of the Laurier era. There were no more repatriation plans similar to that proposed earlier by the abbé J.B. Morin and turned down by the federal government. Instead the bishops or their colonizers worked in conjunction with Liberal associations or politicians, and with lay organizations such as La Société de Colonisation d'Edmonton.[152] Charges that officials of the Department of the Interior discriminated against Catholics merely added to the growing rift between the two powers.[153] Ironically, the French-speaking communities of Western Canada made greater strides during the Laurier regime than they had achieved during the Conservative reign of 1881-1895.

The return of the Conservatives to power in Ottawa in 1911 under Robert Borden proved disappointing to Church leaders. Mgr. Langevin found it difficult to deal with men whom he did not know. "Que ferai-je avec le Dr. Roche [Minister of the Interior] que je ne connais pas et auquel j'ai écrit en vain pour une promotion d'un catholique?", he asked.[154] Furthermore, the Conservative administration even threatened to close down the Montreal headquarters of the repatriation agents, a move which brought Langevin and the Hon. L.P. Pelletier in sharp conflict for a time.[155] Finally, the new Conservative government was no more impressed by the Church lobby than the Liberals had been, as the Minister of the Interior explained to the Hon. L.P. Pelletier in answer to repeated requests by Mgr. Mathieu of Regina for the appointment of a missionary-colonizer in Saskatchewan:

> Il est vrai que Monsieur Ashby a été nommé dans le diocèse de Prince Albert à la place d'un prêtre qui fut remercié de ses services à la demande du Député actuel, Monsieur McKay. Ce prêtre avait fait des discours publics pendant la campagne électorale en faveur de l'adversaire de Monsieur McKay, et bien que le clergé de la Saskatchewan ait essayé d'empêcher sa destitution, il fut cependant remercié de ses services et avec raison, par Monsieur Rogers alors qu'il était Ministre de l'Intérieur. Bien que le nom de son successeur ne soit pas français, il est cependant Canadien-Français, et il a été nommé sur la recommendation du Député actuel.
>
> Il s'agit donc de savoir qui du clergé ou de nos députés doit exercer le patronage.[156]

* * *

Policies and patronage were an integral part of complex Church-State relations in the period 1870-1915. It mattered little that both powers preferred agriculturalists to all other classes; what counted were the policies and programmes adopted to implant settlers belonging to this class in the West. In the view of Church authorities, successive federal governments were in too much of a hurry to achieve the objective of Western settlement and too inclined to encourage "foreign" immigration to Canada. Church leaders like Mgr. Taché and Mgr. Langevin thought that much more should and could have been done to effect a large movement to Western Canada of French-Canadians living in the United States. Consequently, they took the lead in putting pressure on Conservative and Liberal governments in Ottawa for the adoption of various repatriation proposals, all of which called for financial assistance in some form or other. They never understood why it was that the federal government did not expend more funds in the repatriation field. At the same time, the clerical leaders showed interest in programmes aimed at attracting more French-speaking Europeans to Canada, again in the belief that these immigrants were preferable to those from Eastern Europe.

An assessment of the Church's success in lobbying activities yields a mixed picture. In the first place,

the Church never obtained from the supposedly friendly Conservatives in Ottawa a programme of special bonuses for repatriating French-Canadians similar to that granted by the Liberals under Alexander Mackenzie in the 1870s. On the other hand, both the governments before and after 1896 agreed to appoint missionary-colonizers proposed by Church leaders. In that respect, the Church was as successful under the Liberals as under the Conservatives, although it will never be known what the results could have been after 1896 had the Church enjoyed better relations with the Laurier government. Certainly, Mgr. Langevin did not gain much by turning to the provincial Conservative government in Manitoba after 1900, because it possessed fewer powers and resources than the federal government. That move on the part of Archbishop Langevin shows, however, how politically-charged was the atmosphere.

Generally, however, the Church failed to obtain what it wanted from the federal government, under either Liberal or Conservative leadership. Part of the reason for this failure lies in the skepticism with which federal politicians and public servants viewed repatriation. This aspect will be examined in the chapter on the activities of the missionary-colonizers. But first, we must turn to the relations between the Church and Quebec.

FOOTNOTES

[1] D.G. Creighton, "John A. Macdonald, Confederation, and the Canadian West", in Ramsay Cook, Craig Brown and Carl Berger (eds.), Minorities, Schools and Politics (University of Toronto Press, Canadian Historical Readings no. 7, 1969), p. 3. Reprinted from Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Transactions, Series III, no. 23, 1966-67.

[2] A.I. Silver, "French Canada and the Prairie Frontier, 1870-1890", CHR, Vol. L, no. 1, (March 1969), pp. 7-8; 32-35. See also his "Quebec and the French-speaking Minorities, 1864-1917" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1973), Chapter VI.

[3] PAM, Joseph Dubuc, "Memoires", p. 87; Alexander Begg, Ten Years in Winnipeg (Winnipeg, 1879), p. 4.

[4] AASB, Fonds Taché, Montréal, 14 juin 1872, LaRivière à Taché.

[5] Le Métis, 15 juin 1871.

[6] In 1874, for example, one departmental employee reported that "Grasshoppers destroyed everything in this vicinity West Lynne and flying north past two days. Crops a complete destruction. Emigrants & settlers discouraged & without employment. Much suffering eminent [sic]." PAC, R.G. 17, no. 11178, West Lynne, 17 July 1874, Bradley to Department of Agriculture.

[7] PAC, R.G. 17, no. 11317, Fort Garry, 1 August 1874, Archbishop Taché to J.C. Taché.

[8] AASB, Fonds Taché, Montréal, 30 mai 1876, Lacombe à Taché.

[9] Ibid., Montréal, 7 février 1877, Lacombe à Taché.

[10] Ibid., Montréal, 19 mars 1877, Lacombe à Taché.

[11] Le Métis, 8 août 1878, St-Boniface, 29 juin 1878, Fillion à Charles Lalime.

[12] Canada: Sessional Papers, no. 40, 1875. Annual Report of the Winnipeg Agent, Winnipeg, 6 January 1875. Quite a number of these people left Manitoba for Minnesota.

[13] PMAA, Fonds Oblat, B II, 612-615, "Lettres de Mgr Taché", St-Boniface, 16 mars 1876, Taché à [Lacombe]. The italics are Taché's.

[14] Ibid., B II, 612-614, "Lettres de Mgr Taché", St-Boniface, 27 mars 1876, Taché au Père [Lacombe].

[15] AASB, Fonds Taché, Montréal, 22 avril 1876, Lacombe à Taché.

[16] Le Manitoba Jugé par ses colons, brochure published by the Department of the Interior, [n.d.], p. 13.

[17] T.-A. Bernier, Le Manitoba - Champ d'Immigration, (Ottawa, 1887), p. 25f.

[18] Canada: Sessional Papers, no. 9, 1878. Annual Report of Dufferin Agency for 1877, 31 December 1877, p. 78.

[19] W.L. Morton, Manitoba - A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), p. 178.

[20] Le Métis, 26 avril 1873.

[21] Le Manitoba, 25 mai 1882.

[22] Ibid., 24 avril 1883.

[23] Ibid., 25 septembre 1883.

[24] T.-A. Bernier, op. cit., pp. 119ff.

[25] Thomas Spence, Manitoba, and the North-West of the Dominion, Its Resources and Advantages to the Emigrant and Capitalist (Quebec: S. Marcotte, 1876), pp. 27-29. See Le Métis (21 novembre 1874; 20 mars 1875; 9 mars 1876) for use of his pamphlets by La Société de Colonisation. Spence was a member of the first board of the society; see Le Métis, 24 janvier 1874. James Trow, MP, Chairman of the Immigration and Colonization Committee of the House of Commons, extended much the same advice in a series of published letters. See James Trow, Manitoba and the North West Territories (Ottawa: published by the Department of Agriculture, 1878), pp. 80-81; 86-87.

[26] PAC, R.G. 17, LB, Ottawa, 15 June 1877, Lowe to Wills, Stafford & others.

[27] Acton Burrows, North Western Canada, Its Climate, Soil and Productions With a Sketch of its Natural Features and Social Condition (Winnipeg, 1880), p. 76.

[28] AASB, Fonds Taché, St-Boniface, 4 avril 1893, Taché à Monsieur le Vicomte [Jules de Cuverville]. See the letter from the Vicomte to Mgr. Taché, Paris, 17 mars 1893 in ibid., and the letter from Father G. Cloutier to Taché, [St-Boniface (?), avril 1893 (?)] in ibid. The amiral de Cuverville visited Canada in 1891, published a book about the relations he envisaged between the two countries, and continued to interest himself in colonization movements.

[29] Canada: Sessional Papers, no. 13, 1896. Report of Sir Charles Tupper, High Commissioner for Canada [for 1895], p. 6.

[30] Ibid., p. 7.

[31] AASB, Fonds Langevin, [St-Boniface], 16 septembre 1901, Langevin à M. de Condé, Nancy, France.

[32] PAC, R.G. 76, no. 442146a pt. 1, Bulletin Mensuel publié par la Chambre de Commerce Française de Montréal, no. 204, 17e années, août 1910, pp. 118-119.

[33] See Norman Macdonald, Canada - Immigration and Colonization, 1841-1903 (Aberdeen University Press, 1968), p. 217. The practice of using 'returnmen' to promote Western settlement was especially used in the late 1880s and throughout the 1890s, when it was felt that only those who could relate their experiences in the West were believable. It suggests that official government pamphlets were somehow regarded with suspicion. It should be noted also that 'returnmen' were in vogue when colonization efforts brought only meagre results. Finally, it must equally be borne in mind that most 'returnmen' were chosen more often than not for their political affiliation rather than for their knowledge of the country. The programme of excursions from Eastern Canada to the West which the Church missionary-colonizers used extensively after 1885, coupled with excursions from Western settlers to Quebec where they would talk about their new life in the West, were intended to establish personal contacts between established families and interested groups.

[34] Thomas-Alfred Bernier's Le Manitoba - Champ d'Immigration (Ottawa: 1887), contains accounts of successful settlers in Manitoba. Its publication was undertaken

by the Department of Agriculture. Le Colonisateur Canadien (1885-1898), edited for a number of years by the abbé C.A. Beaudry, missionary-colonizer in Mgr. Taché's service, was funded by the same government department. It also relied heavily on personal testimonials as the best form of advertising. Pamphlets prepared in later years by Father Moïse Blais or by the abbé J.A. Ouellette adopted the same techniques.

35 Journals of the House of Commons (VI), 1873, Appendix no. 7, p. 15. Report of the Proceedings of the Committee of the House of Commons on Immigration and Colonization.

36 Ibid., pp. 2-3.

37 PAC, R.G. 17, no. 10237, Cookshire, mars 1874. Rapport de l'abbé Gendreau.

38 Ibid.

39 See Macdonald, op. cit., pp. 197ff.

40 PAC, R.G. 17, LB, Ottawa, 6 November 1874, J.C. Taché to the Hon. Minister of the Interior.

41 George Roy, Corresponding Secretary of La Société de Colonisation, was one of those eager to receive an appointment. His apparent nomination was countermanded on the verbal orders of the Hon. Letellier. See PAC, R.G. 17, no. 10715, Winnipeg, 27 février 1874, Roy à Letellier. The society's request for a transportation subsidy was made officially in March 1874. See ibid., no. 10335, St-Boniface, 19 mars 1874, Roy à l'Hon. Ministre [de l'agriculture].

42 Journals of the House of Commons (VIII), 1875, Appendix no. 4. First Report of the Select Committee on Immigration and Colonization, p. 6. Also, PAC, R.G. 17, LB, Ottawa, 14 April 1875, Lowe to Lalime; ibid., LB, Ottawa, 20 April 1875, Lowe to Whiteford; ibid., LB, Ottawa, 5 mai 1875, Lowe à Girard.

43 Le Métis, 20 mars 1875. It should be noted that Masson was now in the Opposition. Critics would later point out that the Mackenzie Liberals responded more positively to the needs of French-Canadians in the United States than did the Macdonald Conservatives both before and after the Liberal reign.

[44] Le Métis, 19 août 1875.

[45] AASB, Fonds Taché, Montréal, 21 février 1876, Lacombe à Taché.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid., Ottawa, 6 mars 1876, Lacombe à Taché.

[48] PAC, R.G. 17, LB, Ottawa, 27 April 1876, Lowe to Lalime.

[49] Ibid., R.G. 17, LB, Ottawa, 2 February 1877, Lowe to Burpee.

[50] PAC, R.G. 17, no. 16806 1/2, Detroit, 16 June 1876, Whiteford to the Hon. Letellier; ibid., Détroit, 11 décembre 1876, Whiteford à l'Hon. Letellier; ibid., no. 18265, Détroit, décembre 1876, Whiteford à Têtu.

[51] AASB, Fonds Taché, Montréal, 7 février 1877, Lacombe à Taché; ibid., New York, 11 février 1877, Lacombe à Taché.

[52] Ibid., Ottawa, 27 janvier 1877, Lacombe à Taché. The italics are Lacombe's.

[53] Ibid., Montréal, 23 avril 1877, Lacombe à Taché.

[54] Canada: Sessional Papers, no. 9, 1878. Report of Manitoba Colonization, Worcester, 31 December 1878, p. 74.

[55] Le Métis, 7 mars 1879.

[56] Ibid., 27 mars 1879. Le Métis quotes Le Travailleur.

[57] PAC, R.G. 17, LB, Ottawa, 1 May 1879, Lowe to Dubuc.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Le Métis, 24 avril 1879.

[60] PAC, R.G. 17, no. 35599, Montreal, 28 March 1882, Stephenson to Lowe.

61 Le Manitoba, 27 juillet 1883; 31 juillet 1883. In the course of the debate Royal admitted that the Mackenzie government had accomplished much good work in helping found French-speaking colonies along the Red River with French-Canadian repatriates. What he wanted was a form of assistance amounting to $15-$20 per person. Later, Le Manitoba would take issue with Quebec for having failed to create colonization societies like those established in Ontario. See Le Manitoba, 16 octobre 1884.

62 PAC, R.G. 17, LB, Ottawa, 19 July 1887, Memorandum to the Hon. Carling.

63 Le Manitoba, 7 juillet 1887.

64 AASB, Fonds Taché, La Présentation, P.Q., 22 juillet 1887, C.-A. Beaudry à Taché.

65 AASB, Fonds Taché, La Présentation, [1887], Beaudry à Taché.

66 PAC, R.G. 17, no. 64683, La Présentation, 1er avril 1888, Beaudry à l'Hon. Carling.

67 Le Colonisateur Canadien, 1er juin 1888. Letter from Taché to Beaudry, dated St-Boniface, 29 août 1887.

68 PAC, R.G. 17, [Deputy Minister's Correspondence], St. Boniface, 20 February 1889, Cloutier to Lowe.

69 Ibid., St. Boniface, 26 March 1889, Cloutier to [Lowe].

70 PAC, R.G. 17, no. 69243, Ottawa, 1 May 1889, LaRivière to Carling.

71 PAC, R.G. 17, no. 69656, La Présentation, 28 mai 1889, C.-A. Beaudry, Secrétaire des requérants, à l'Hon. Carling. The writer could find no evidence indicating the origin of the petition. It may well have been done at the suggestion of Mgr. Taché who may have felt that a Quebec clergyman was in a better position to initiate it, thus creating the impression both in the minds of the federal officials as well as in that of the signatories that this was a Quebec-inspired document. Of course, there was little objection on the part of the Quebec 'notables' to support the petition because it called for a movement of French-Canadians from the United States towards Manitoba. This was preferable to the risk of "depopulating" Quebec to the advantage of another province.

[72] French-Canadians were not the only ones to complain about the bad publicity circulating on the value of Western Canada. In the 1880s, the C.P.R. and the federal departments concerned struggled to combat the disparaging accounts of crop failures, frosts, and the like affecting the region. See James B. Hedges, Building the Canadian West - The Land and Colonization Policies of the Canadian Pacific Railway (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939), pp. 96ff.

[73] PAC, R.G. 17, no. 69656, Montreal, 8 June 1889, D.W. McNicoll to Lowe. A copy was sent to the Rev. Beaudry.

[74] Ibid., no. 69803, La Présentation, 18 juin 1889, C.-A. Beaudry à Lowe.

[75] PAC, R.G. 17,[Deputy Minister's Correspondence], Montreal, 8 November 1889, Armstrong to Lowe. Armstrong felt that Beaudry deserved "every encouragement and that this trip in particular will bear such fruit that everyone will approve of any reasonable expenditure that the Government might incur in furthering it."

[76] PAC, R.G. 17, no. 71262, Memo [11 November 1889]. Also, AASB, Fonds Taché, Ottawa, 16 November 1889, Lowe to Taché. Taché having written to support Beaudry's activities, Lowe answered that he had made a favourable report on Beaudry's "modest proposals." He also told Taché that he agreed with Beaudry on "the possible volume of re-patriation which we may hope to obtain from the New England States." Beaudry's tour through the New England States had taken place in May and June of that year. He observed that the latest arrivals "generally came from the poorest parts of the Province of Quebec, especially from the counties below Quebec." The earlier arrivals, he reported, were now mechanics earning good wages and holding property. They had no wish to move. It was among the unemployed class that the best work could be undertaken. "This disastrous stream could certainly be stopped and turned in favour of Manitoba." Beaudry also said that French-Canadians were settling in the American West because they had the impression that Manitoba was a "frightful country (a true Siberia)." That explained the fact that 30,000 of them had chosen the Dakota country over Manitoba. The solution, he concluded, lay in making the country known in its proper light and in offering them "a few of the inducements made to European immigrants." See Canada: Sessional Papers, no. 6, 1890. Report on French-Canadian Repatriation, pp. 165-166.

77 The abbé Beaudry continued to work on repatriation and on the movement of French-Canadians from Quebec to Western Canada, the government providing funds for his expenditures and for Le Colonisateur Canadien, and the C.P.R. assisting in other ways.

78 Canada: Sessional Papers, no. 6, 1891. Report of the Minister of Agriculture for the calendar year, 1890.

79 PAC, R.G. 17, [Deputy Minister's Correspondence], Ottawa, 24 August 1890, Langevin to Macdonald.

80 PAC, R.G. 17, no. 76407, Montreal, 6 December 1890, McNicoll to Lowe.

81 AASB, Fonds Taché, La Présentation, 13 décembre 1890, Beaudry à Taché.

82 PAC, R.G. 6 A1 [Secretary of State], Vol. 77, no. 13, La Présentation, 24 décembre 1890, Beaudry à Chapleau.

83 AASB, Fonds Taché, La Présentation, 1er janvier 1891, Beaudry à Taché. Beaudry did not appear optimistic as to the support he would receive from either Langevin or Chapleau. He commented on the former's "santé trop précaire ... pour s'occuper de la question...", or so he was told. Chapleau had not yet answered his letter of December 24.

84 Canada: Sessional Papers, no. 6, 1891. Report on French-Canadian Repatriation. Montreal, 22 January 1891. This was L.E. Carufel's annual report for 1890.

85 PAC, R.G. 17, Departmental Accounts for 1873-1892, Privy Council Paper no. 16, 24 December 1890.

86 PAC, R.G. 17, no. 77442, Montreal, 6 February 1891, Taché to Lowe.

87 PAC, R.G. 17,[Deputy Minister's Correspondence], Montreal, 12 February 1891, Beaudry to Lowe (translation).

88 Ibid., Ottawa, 20 February 1891, Lowe to Carling.

89 PAC, R.G. 17, no. 77716, St. Boniface, 28 February 1891, T.A. Bernier [President of La Société de Colonisation de Manitoba] to the Hon. Minister of Agriculture [Carling]. The meeting was held in St. Boniface on 18 February 1891. The resolution said, in part: "il importe que les immigrants des Etats-Unis obtiennent du Gouvernement Fédéral les mêmes

faveurs que les immigrants Européens, et que le bonus accordé à ces derniers, soit aussi accordé à ceux des Etats-Unis.

[90] AASB, Fonds Taché, Ottawa, 23 February 1891, Lowe to Taché.

[91] L.O. Armstrong, of the C.P.R., upon hearing that the Government was considering naming a New England repatriation agent, recommended L.E. Carufel of Montreal for the position. He added further that a clerical agent would not be of any use as the "priest of any parish in New England can keep him away with a word." PAC, R.G. 17, [Deputy Minister's Correspondence], Montreal, 18 March 1891, L.O. Armstrong, C.P.R. Colonization Bureau, to Lowe. The writer has not yet discovered the circumstances surrounding the appointment of the abbé J.B. Morin, although he had done colonization work before his official appointment. See Canada: Sessional Papers, no. 7, 1892, Immigration Work in the North-West [Morin's first annual report for 1891], pp. 182-183.

[92] For Cloutier's appointment to go to Europe, see PAC, R.G. 17, [Deputy Minister's Correspondence], St. Boniface, 21 September 1891, Cloutier to Lowe; also, PAC, R.G. 17, no. 81660, Ottawa, 22 December 1891, LaRivière to Carling. LaRivière said that Mgr. Taché had requested him "to impress upon the Government the advisability of assisting this mission." For Bodard's appointment, see AASB, Fonds Taché, Montréal, 19 septembre 1891, Bodard à Taché. In a letter thanking Mgr. Taché for his support, Bodard said that he was skeptical of receiving an appointment to go to Europe: "nous doutons cependant du résultat depuis que nos amis français ont appris par Mgr Labelle qu'il n'était passé dans le gouvernement de Mr Mercier que parce qu'à Ottawa on avait refusé de faire quoique ce soit en faveur de l'émigration française; cela les a rendus très skeptiques et c'est pourquoi j'ai été chargé de faire cette demande, qui est le dernier effort que l'on tente pour obtenir un appui quelconque en Canada et connaitre enfin nos véritables amis." See further, PAC, R.G. 17, no.80347, Ottawa, 22 September 1891, LaRivière to Carling; PAC, R.G. 76, no. 1, Ottawa, 7 July 1892, LaRivière to Burgess; ibid., St-Albert, 21 février 1892, Grandin à Girard. Grandin thought Bodard was not being paid or encouraged "comme les autres agents dans les autres pays, [et] on pourrait supposer que le Gouvernement Canadien tiendrait à empêcher l'immigration française, ce qui évidemment ne peut être."

[93] PAC, R.G. 17, no. 78079, St. Boniface, 14 April 1891, Bernier to Lowe.

[94] Ibid., no. 82007, Ottawa, 14 January 1892, Lacombe and Gendreau to Carling.

[95] Le Manitoba, 25 mai 1892. A further meeting between Beaudry, Bernier, LaRivière and Burgess was held early in 1893. See Le Manitoba, 8 février 1893.

[96] AASB, Fonds Langevin, Ottawa, 7 novembre 1895, Corbeil à Langevin. Father Ozias Corbeil was appointed as government agent for Manitoba in that year. He and the abbé Morin were offered office space in Montreal by the federal government for a "bureau de renseignement."

[97] PAC, R.G. 76, no. 18040 (pt. 1), Ottawa, May 1896, Deputy Minister of the Interior to Berthiaume of La Presse. The offending remark was published in the edition of 17 April 1896. Burgess[[?] told him that for the 1894-95 fiscal year, the Department was spending $8,466.44 or 10% of the total vote allowed by Parliament for general immigration, in addition to the sum of close to $12,000 set aside for the Commissioner in Paris.

[98] AASB, Fonds Langevin, Montréal, 24 juillet 1896, Corbeil à Langevin.

[99] Ibid., Montréal, 30 août 1896, Corbeil à Langevin.

[100] Typical of the virulence exhibited during the transition from one administration to the other were Tarte's recommendations to Sifton: "LaRivière's son is employed in the Land Office, I think, in St. Boniface. LaRivière is the editor of Le Manitoba, which is insulting us in the most shameful way every week. I do not see why we should feed his son... Royal's son is also employed at Edmonton. Royal, as you know, is the editor of La Minerve. I do not see why we should feed that fellow's son. Let them live by themselves, as we have been obliged to do. If they had been able to choke us to death, they would have done it cheerfully." PAC, MG 27 II D 15 [Sifton Papers], [Confidential], Ottawa, 30 January 1897, Tarte to Sifton.

[101] House of Commons Debates, 24 September 1896, pp. 1934ff.

[102] AASB, Fonds Langevin, St-Albert, 24 avril [1897], Grandin à Mgr Merry del Val [Apostolic Delegate in Ottawa].

[103] See Chapter V for a discussion of the Belgian colonization scheme.

[104] PAC, MG 26 G [Laurier Papers], [1899], Morin à Sifton. "Projet soumis au Gouvernement pour venir en aide aux Canadiens-français des Etats-Unis, qui veulent revenir au pays et s'établir dans le Nord-Ouest." Morin described the situation of French-Canadians in the United States in his annual report for 1897. See Canada: Sessional Papers, no. 13, 1898, Report of the Rev. Father Morin, pp. 100-103.

[105] AASB, Fonds Langevin, LB 1, [St. Boniface], 9 January 1899, Langevin to Shaughnessy.

[106] PAC, MG 26 G [Laurier Papers], Washington, 13 February 1899, [Laurier] to Sifton. Laurier was probably referring to the establishment of an Edmonton weekly, L'Ouest Canadien, edited by Frédéric Villeneuve, another Liberal, and in which Morin described himself as "the principal collaborator." See Canada: Sessional Papers, no. 13, 1898, Report of the Rev. Father Morin, p. 102.

[107] PAC, MG 26 G [Laurier Papers], St-Boniface, 20 février 1899, Langevin à Laurier.

[108] Ibid., Ottawa, 9 mars 1899, [Laurier] à Langevin.

[109] PAC, MG 27 II D 15 [Sifton Papers], Winnipeg, 21 February 1899, Bertrand to Sifton.

[110] AASB, Fonds Langevin, LB 1, [St-Boniface], 28 février 1899, Langevin à Théophane Bertrand, Secrétaire de La Société de Colonisation.

[111] PAC, MG 26 G [Laurier Papers], St-Boniface, 11 mars 1899, Théophane Bertrand à Laurier.

[112] PMAA, Fonds Oblat, D IV 505, "Les Oblats et l'Immigration", Lettre de l'Archevêque et des évêques de la Province de St-Boniface aux vénérables archevêques et évêques des diocèses de la Province de Québec, [mars 1899].

[113] PAC, MG 26 G [Laurier Papers], Calgary, 7 mars 1899, Langevin (au nom des Vénérables Suffragants de la Province Ecclésiastique de St-Boniface) à Laurier. A similar letter, written by Mgr. Dontenwill and Father Leduc, was sent to Sifton.

[114] Ibid., Ottawa, 24 mars 1899, [Laurier] à Langevin.

[115] PAC, MG 27 II D 15 [Sifton Papers], Winnipeg, 13 April 1899, McCreary to Sifton.

[116] Ibid., Winnipeg, 12 June 1899, Bertrand to Sifton. With the prospect of new positions, the St. Boniface Liberals wasted no time in putting forward a list of 'deserving' men to fill the offices.

[117] PAC, MG 26 G [Laurier Papers], Winnipeg, 2 October 1899, S.A.D. Bertrand to Laurier. A few weeks previously, Langevin told Bertrand: "Il y a aussi la question des deux agents Français. Cela presse. Pourquoi tarder? A qui aura-t-on le plus confiance qu'à vous? Vous savez que pour moi ce n'est pas une question de parti." Ibid., St-Boniface, 21 septembre 1899, Langevin à Bertrand.

[118] PAC, MG 27 II D 15, [Sifton Papers], Winnipeg, 12 June 1899, S.A.D. Bertrand to Sifton. Bertrand thanked Sifton for appointing Gelley to McCreary's office. At the same time, he reported on the last meeting of the French Liberal Executive where the names of two other French-Canadians were accepted for other positions which Sifton had "so kindly promised to give."

[119] This is discussed in Chapter IV.

[120] AASB, Fonds Langevin, Winnipeg, 11 October 1899, McCreary to Langevin. The following May, Langevin asked the Commissioner to hold up for a few months the opening of three townships in the Moose Mountain region, because one Gédéon Poirier, of Red Falls, Minn., promised to bring fifteen families to settle there. See AASB, Fonds Langevin, St. Boniface, 31 May 1900, Langevin to McCreary.

[121] Ibid., LB 2, [St. Boniface], 24 April 1900, Langevin to McCreary.

[122] Although figures for homestead entries made by French and Belgian immigrants are not available, at least for most of the 1890s, Thomas Gelley reported in 1899 that Belgian immigrants had made only 48 homestead entries that year, and that French immigrants had made only 61. The total homestead entries for 1899 was 6,689. See Canada: Sessional Papers for 1899 and 1900, passim.

[123] AASB, Fonds Langevin, Ottawa, 25 July 1900, Pedley to Roger Goulet [Secretary of the National Congress].

[124] Langevin had requested this as early as June of the previous year. He wanted the missionary-colonizer to be placed on the same footing as the abbé Morin had been during his term of office. See PAC, MG 27 II D 15, [Sifton Papers], Ottawa, 9 December 1899, Langevin to James Smart [Deputy Minister of the Interior].

[125] AASB, Fonds Langevin, St-Paul, Minn., 8 octobre 1900, Blais à Prud'homme.

[126] PAC, R.G. 76, no. 10063, Document "La Société St-Jean-Baptiste de Manitoba, représentée par Son Conseil exécutif réuni en assemblée le 15 octobre 1900". The resolutions noted that many French-Canadians from Minnesota, the Dakotas, Wisconsin, Michigan and Kansas, could be induced to return to Canada. They asked, therefore, that more agents be named to assist Father Blais in his work, and that his salary be increased to $800, a salary comparable to that previously given to the abbé Morin.

[127] AASB, Fonds Langevin, LB 3, [St-Boniface], 3 septembre 1901, Langevin à Buron.

[128] Ibid., [St-Boniface], 7 octobre 1901, Langevin à Tarte.

[129] Ibid., LB Oblats I, [St-Boniface], 7 novembre 1901, Langevin à Blais.

[130] Blais met and worked with Golden in the Fall of 1900 in Kansas. He described him as a "bon et aimable catholique". AASB, Fonds Langevin, Kansas City, 12 octobre 1900, Blais à Langevin.

[131] Journals and Sessional Papers of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, vol. XXXIII, 1901, Sessional Paper no. 2, "Report of work done in Kansas, Miss., in 1900 by J.J. Golden", p. 280.

[132] Ibid., vol. XXXIV, 1902, Sessional Paper no. 10, "Report of the Department of Agriculture and Immigration for the year 1901", p. 330. The report for 1904 described 1903 as the year "of the American invasion", but said that in 1904, "the presidential elections no doubt checked the tide of immigration from that country." Consequently, the Department sent no agents into "foreign countries" that year, contenting itself instead with acquainting Canadians from the Eastern Provinces with conditions in Western Canada. See ibid., Vol. XXXVII, 1905, Sessional Paper no. 14, "Report

of the Department of Agriculture and Immigration for the year 1904", p. 429. In 1913, J.J. Golden, now Superintendent of Immigration for the Province of Manitoba, complained that "our Province of Manitoba has not been, nor is yet, receiving unbiased treatment at the hands of the majority of Federal immigration agents in the various States. These parties, with few exceptions, are giving their energies to advertising Saskatchewan and Alberta..." He suggested that the Minister take up the matter with the Federal Department "so that a speedy remedy may be found for this very unfair and highly unsatisfactory condition, which places our work at a serious disadvantage." Ibid., Vol. XLV, 1913, Sessional Paper no. 6, "Report of J.J. Golden, Superintendent of Immigration", pp. 266-267.

[133] Ibid., Vol. XXXV, 1903, Sessional Paper no. 1, Public Accounts for 1902, item no. 1027, p. 108. Burke received $800 for the year. No report of his activities is given in the report of the Department. Joseph Bernier took credit for his appointment, the first candidate, N.D. Gagnier, not being acceptable to him or to Langevin. See AASB, Fonds Langevin, Winnipeg, 4 mars 1902, Bernier à Langevin.

[134] Ibid., Vol. XXXVII, 1905, Sessional Paper no. 1, Public Accounts for 1904, item no. 1016, p. 118.

[135] See ibid., Reports of the Department of Agriculture and Immigration from 1905 to 1911. In his first annual report, LaRivière described himself as "Manitoba Immigration Commissioner for Quebec, the Maritime Provinces and New England States". By his own account, he concentrated on organizing harvesters' excursions to Western Canada. He had a curious way of establishing the number of new settlers sent out: "Thirteen thousand harvesters went out, more than one-half did not return and therefore settled in the West."

[136] A number of Franco-Manitobans were hired, on occasion, to accompany settlers in locating lands. In 1903, Fathers Fillion and Poitras travelled to St. Paul, Minn., at government expense, presumably in the interests of Manitoba colonization. The government of Alberta operated an information office in Montreal between 1910 and 1912 similar to that established by Manitoba. See Le Courrier de l'Ouest, 9 février 1911; 15 février 1912. Saskatchewan does not appear to have done the same.

[137] Joseph Bernier was the first Franco-Manitoban to be a member of a provincial Cabinet since 1889.

[138] AASB, Fonds Langevin, [St-Boniface], 3 février 1902, Langevin à Bernier.

[139] Ibid., LB 5, [St-Boniface], 24 janvier 1903, Langevin à Dom Benoît.

[140] Ibid., LB 6, [St-Boniface], 12 February 1904, Langevin to Rogers. The italics are Langevin's.

[141] Ibid., LB 7, [St. Boniface], [25 March 1904], Langevin to Roblin.

[142] AASB, Fonds Benoît-[Guéret], Lettres de Mgr Langevin, St-Boniface, 18 août 1905, Dugas [vicaire-général] à Benoît. In an earlier letter, Langevin asked Benoît to write to him "en faisant bien voir comment vos gens attendent la construction de l'embranchement promis pour se décider définitivement en faveur du Gouvernement." See AASB, Fonds Langevin, LB 7, [St-Boniface], 24 janvier 1905, Langevin à Benoît.

[143] See Bernard Pénisson, "Un hebdomadaire libéral: L'Echo du Manitoba (1898-1905)", in RHAF, vol. 28, no. 3, (décembre 1974), pp. 367-384.

[144] PAC, MG 26 G [Laurier Papers], Ottawa, 14 janvier 1901, [Laurier] à d'Hellencourt.

[145] PAC, MG 27 II D 15 [Sifton Papers], Document "French Liberals Platform (Manitoba) Adopted July 23, 1902". It was signed by Louis Henri Fournier (Secretary), Napoléon Comeault of St. Jean Baptiste (President), Henri Royal (Vice President), and Horace Chevrier (Treasurer). It is interesting to note that officials of the Department continued to interest themselves in the repatriation question. The following year (1903), the Deputy Minister of the Interior told Sifton that he was "busy thinking out the scheme for diverting the prosperous settlers in Quebec and the Lower Provinces from the United States to the North-West, somewhat along the lines suggested by Mr. Speaker Brodeur. The one thing to do first is to get a reduced transportation rate from the East to the West. If that cannot be had the work will not be a success. PAC, MG 27 II D 15 [Sifton Papers], Ottawa, 10 September 1903, J.A. Smart to Sifton.

[146] PAC, MG 27 II D 15 [Sifton Papers], Winnipeg, 6 December 1902, W.F. McCreary to Sifton.

[147] PAC, R.G. 76, no. 804852. This is Cyr's file.

[148] Ibid., no. 748246. Le Nouvelliste succeeded L'Echo as the Liberal weekly in Manitoba. Le Courrier de l'Ouest, whose Managing Director, Philippe Roy, eventually became the commissioner for immigration in France, replaced Frédéric Villeneuve's L'Ouest Canadien as the Liberal organ in Alberta.

[149] AASB, Fonds Langevin, Prince-Albert, 8 juillet 1909, [Lettre signée de 13 prêtres et adressée à Mgr Pascal, avec copies au Délégué Apostolique et à Mgr Langevin].

[150] Ibid., LB Oblats 4, [St-Boniface], 29 juillet 1909, Langevin à Pascal.

[151] Ibid., LB 14, [St-Boniface], 8 février 1911, Langevin au Père Lacoste, V.G., curé de Prince-Albert, Sask.

[152] PAC, MG 26 G [Laurier Papers], St-Albert, 11 janvier 1907, Legal à Laurier. Legal added his support to the petition of the society for the appointment of a layman as repatriation agent. Later, he changed his mind and lent his patronage to the abbé J.A. Ouellette instead. The latter received the nomination.

[153] See Chapter VI, p. 408.

[154] AASB, Fonds Langevin, LB 16, [St-Boniface], 24 décembre 1912, Langevin à Eugène Lecourt [Department of the Interior.

[155] See Chapter III, pp. 208-211.

[156] AAR, "Affaires personnelles de Mgr Mathieu - 1913-1915", [Ottawa], 21 avril 1914, W.J. Roche à L.P. Pelletier. Pelletier sent a copy of this letter to Bishop Mathieu.

CHAPTER III

THE CHURCH AND QUEBEC

It was natural for the Church to look to Quebec as a source of population for Manitoba and the North-West. After all, the ties between the Mother province and the North-West went back to the 18th century, to the travels of the LaVérendryes, and later to the hundreds of voyageurs engaged in the fur trade. Furthermore, the first missionaries sent to the North-West by the Bishop of Quebec in 1818 had established close links between the pays d'en haut and the patrie. From the humble collège started by Bishop Provencher students were sent on occasion, as in the case of Louis Riel, to further their studies in Montreal or elsewhere in Quebec. The Grey Nuns, priests, brothers, and a scattering of settlers who went to Red River prior to 1870 all came from Quebec. Thus as the curtain fell on the rule of the Hudson's Bay Company in the North-West, and as it appeared that a movement of population into the region would follow the transfer of authority to the Dominion of Canada, Mgr. Taché quite naturally turned to Quebec for a supply of men of leadership qualities and of settlers willing to establish themselves in a new part of Canada.

This chapter examines the relations between the French-speaking community of Western Canada and Quebec,

especially in terms of the expectations which churchmen in the West had for support from clerical and civil authorities in Quebec. It shows how an increasingly embattled Church and French-speaking minority reacted to their deteriorating status as influential groups in Western Canada by assailing those who, in their view, could have rescued them.

* * *

The first appeal for Quebec support took two forms. The short-term objective of immediately recruiting men of education and training who could bolster the influence of the French-speaking Catholic element in the councils of the new government of Manitoba was readily attained. Through personal contacts, Mgr. Taché and the abbé Joseph-Noël Ritchot convinced Joseph Dubuc, Joseph Royal, and Marc-Amable Girard to come to Red River. Upon their arrival in Manitoba in 1870 and 1871, these men wasted no time in making their presence felt either in the local legislature or in the local press.[1] Others, including some clergy and teachers, soon joined them.[2] These first recruits were easy enough to find, given the contacts and persuasive qualities of Taché and of Ritchot. But securing the support of political and clerical leaders in Quebec for a general endorsement of the settlement of Western Canada by French-Canadians as a desirable thing was another matter. This long-term objective

encountered serious and almost insurmountable obstacles from the start.

Recent studies by Gilles Paquet and Albert Faucher reveal the extent of the exodus of French-Canadians from the province of Quebec in the 19th century.[3] Whatever the causes of this mass migration, it exerted considerable influence on the thinking of Quebec leaders. There arose before their eyes the spectre of a depopulated Quebec overrun by immigrants from abroad. The debates in the first Quebec legislature after Confederation focused on the measures to be adopted to stem the flow.[4] Since there were serious doubts about the value and quality of French-speaking European immigration, repatriation en masse of French-Canadians already living in the United States appeared to be the only way of maintaining Quebec's influence in Confederation.[5] In this climate of concern, any proposal put forward by Mgr. Taché to plant a large French-Canadian population in the Canadian West would undergo close scrutiny by Québécois leaders.

The St. Boniface prelate first held discussions on Western colonization matters with George-Etienne Cartier in 1870. The following year, he delegated the abbé Georges Dugas to confer further with the bleu leader. It probably was the inconclusive results of these discussions which prompted Taché to travel to Quebec City in the Fall of 1871

to present his case directly to a general council of the Quebec hierarchy.[6] The minutes of that meeting record that "...l'évêque de Saint-Boniface prie les autres évêques de favoriser l'émigration d'un certain nombre de leurs diocésains dans la Province de Manitoba, pour des motifs religieux et nationaux."[7] The bishops agreed with the proposal in principle, but asked that Mgr. Taché and Mgr. Louis-François Laflèche, Bishop of Trois-Rivières, prepare a circular letter which would be read from the pulpits across the province.

The "Circulaire privée au Clergé de la Province", approved and signed by the Archbishop of Quebec and his fellow bishops two days later, set out the position of the Quebec Church on the settlement of the West by French-Canadians. The principles contained in this statement of policy were to be re-stated periodically, over the next sixty years, not only by churchmen in Quebec, but also by scores of journalists, politicians, businessmen and others. There were of course exceptions to this rule, but it remains that officialdom in Quebec adopted its general guidelines. Briefly, the circular letter began by deploring the emigration of French-Canadians to the United States, urging instead that ways and means be found to keep them on Canadian soil. Noting that it would not be wise to ask those already well established on Quebec soil to quit their patrie for a

distant place, the bishops nonetheless recommended that those who absolutely felt that they could no longer live in their local parish should be directed towards Manitoba. The statement went on to declare that:

> En colonisant une partie de Manitoba, les Canadiens Français s'assurent, dans la législature fédérale, l'équilibre qu'ils y possèdent aujourd'hui, et qu'ils perdront nécessairement s'ils ne sont point en nombre dans Manitoba et le territoire du Nord-Ouest. Nous considérons donc, M. le Curé, comme chose bonne et désirable, l'établissement de quelques-uns des nôtres dans ces régions, et nous verrions avec plaisir qu'il se fit quelque chose dans ce sens; si, par exemple, entre deux ou trois paroisses, on pouvait assurer le concours d'une famille honnête, chrétienne et laborieuse qui irait former dans le Nord-Ouest une population comme celle qui est venue, il y a deux siècles, jeter les fondements de notre nationalité au Canada.[8]

There were problems with the circular letter which could not be anticipated, but which soon caused bad feelings between the Québécois and their compatriots in the West. Firstly, it created great expectations in Mgr. Taché's circle. As events unfolded, it became quite apparent that the St. Boniface Archbishop fully expected that all opinion leaders in Quebec would endorse the principles contained in the October 1871 statement and that they would consequently assist him and his close associates in recruiting settlers for Manitoba. Taché was therefore unprepared for the opposition which soon developed in many Quebec quarters as the exodus of French-Canadians to the United States added to concerns already voiced about the future influence of Quebec

in Confederation. Secondly, the letter failed to spell out the mechanism of recruitment which might take place in Quebec itself. The problem was one of deciding whether colonization work in favour of the West would be left in the hands of the local clergy or in those of Mgr. Taché's missionary-colonizers. Finally, while the statement urged those determined to leave Quebec to choose the Canadian West over New England, there was no way of actually knowing which families were preparing to leave the province. More often than not, they left without selling their plots of land. Thus, this left the way open for colonizers to visit families on the pretext that they were actually thinking of emigrating to the United States. Critics in Quebec soon accused Taché's agents of inciting families who had no intention of uprooting themselves to seek a new life in the West. As a result, there were soon charges that such practices would depopulate and therefore weaken Quebec.

The government of Quebec did not follow the hierarchy's statement on western settlement with one of its own. Instead, informal discussions took place between the abbé Jean-Baptiste Proulx, Mgr. Taché's representative, and Sir George-Etienne Cartier, the Hon. Hector Langevin, the Hon. P.J.O. Chauveau, Premier of Quebec, and others. Proulx reported that Cartier had assured him that Manitoba would become a French province and that the Ontarians would go

further west in search of lands. The young priest then summarized thusly the Quebec government's position on French-Canadian settlement of the West: "En principe nous sommes contre le dépeuplement de notre province; ceux qui doivent émigrer, nous aimons mieux les voir aller à Manitoba, qu'aux Etats-Unis. Nos sympathies vous sont acquises, il ne faudra pas le dire."[9] In the circumstances, it was probably impossible for the government of Quebec to commit itself publicly to the cause of French-speaking settlement in Manitoba. To have done so might have added to the growing rivalry between Quebec and Ontario, both of which accused the other of wanting to extend its dominion over the newly-created province west of the Great Lakes.

In any event, Franco-Manitoban leaders were not yet ready in the summer of 1872 to undertake a general campaign either in Quebec or in the Franco-American centres of New England. In the presence of unresolved land questions in Manitoba over the Métis allotment, unsatisfactory transportation facilities into the province, and recurring grasshopper infestations, Mgr. Taché and his close collaborators moved cautiously. The abbé Proulx, A.A.C. LaRivière, and others, spoke at information meetings in Quebec on the advantages which Manitoba held for agriculturists, but there was no co-ordinated effort to follow through on these informal sessions. The abbé Ritchot told Mgr. Taché in 1873 of the

support which he had received from the higher clergy, but admitted at the same time that he had not taken advantage of it:

> Je n'ai pas non plus travaillé l'Emigration. J'aurais pu le faire et diriger vers le Manitoba plusieurs familles. Mais pour cela il m'aurait falu [sic] retarder mon voyage de quelques semaines. J'ai cru devoir laisser faire le travail par lui-même. D'un autre côté, je ne sais pas assez ce qu'il y aura à faire cette année à Manitoba.
>
> Monseigneur de Montréal et les autres Evêques sont prêts à favoriser l'Emigration pour le Manitoba. Mais pour que la chose réussisse il faut que quelqu'un conduise la barque d'une manière toute particulière. Si Votre Grandeur vient à Montréal les affaires marcheront. J'espère, je suis même convaincu que nous pourrons arrêter l'Emigration aux Etats-Unis et la diriger vers le Manitoba.
>
> Dans les paroisses où je suis allé la semaine dernière j'ai vu plusieurs grosses familles qui viendraient au Manitoba si quelqu'un leur fixait un jour de départ et leur promettait de les diriger. Il y aurait moyen d'organiser la chose. Nous en avons parlé à Monseigneur de Montréal qui approuve la mesure.[10]

Taché's cautious and deliberate moves were probably justified, given the state of affairs in Manitoba, but it was unfortunate that the recruitment of Québécois in the early 1870s was pursued in such a haphazard way, especially at a time when the higher clergy of Quebec was so sympathetic to the cause of the Franco-Catholic group of Manitoba.

It was not until 1876 that concerted efforts were made to induce a large movement of population into the province, and then primarily from the French-Canadian centres

in New England. At the same time, however, Father Lacombe, acting as an agent of the federal government along with Charles Lalime of Worcester, Mass., planned to obtain some recruits from Quebec. The missionary-colonizer received the support of the Quebec hierarchy, and reported to Taché that Mgr. Bourget of Montreal "approuve beaucoup les efforts que vous faites pour ne pas laisser disparaitre notre colonie canadienne française à Manitoba."[11] Also with the permission of the bishops, Lacombe circulated a letter to the clergy in which he recalled the statement of 1871 and urged them to assist him by sending out good Quebec families to Manitoba:

> ...j'ai cru pouvoir rappeler à votre mémoire ce qui avait été décidé dans le temps, mais que des circonstances malheureuses ont empêché jusqu'ici. Nous croyons être capables de vous dire aujourd'hui que les obstacles ont disparu et je pense sincèrement que les conseils si patriotiques contenus dans la lettre collective de nos Evêques, peuvent aujourd'hui être mis à exécution.
>
> Il est certain que nos efforts vont se diriger surtout du côté des Etats-Unis pour en rappeler nos compatriotes, mais en même temps, nous vous demandons de vouloir bien diriger de notre côté ceux de vos paroissiens qui déjà sont décidés à changer de place.[12]

He closed by asking his <u>confrères</u> to imitate the Ontarians "qui se cotisent et procurent à plusieurs familles les moyens d'aller les représenter à Manitoba."[13] What he wanted was the fulfillment of the bishops' recommendation of 1871 concerning the dispatch of at least one family to Manitoba for every two or three parishes.

There certainly was cause for rejoicing during the first major campaign of 1876. Not only did Father Lacombe obtain Bishop Bourget's blessing, but he was also able to meet with scores of Québécois who showed an interest in Manitoba. "...dans ce moment, je suis assommé par cette foule de gens qui veulent aller à Manitoba," he wrote Taché.[14] Unfortunately, they were not always the kind he had in mind. Even more encouraging was the establishment of "un bureau de colonisation" in Montreal to assist "les familles respectables" wishing to go West.[15] Again, not all were acceptable because neither Taché nor Lacombe wanted destitute families without means to support themselves for one or two years to become a burden or a source of discord in Manitoba. This stance, which appears conservative and surprising in the case of a group concerned about its influence in the community at large, was not unique to the French-speaking element or to the Catholic Church. The editorialist of the Manitoba Free Press, William F. Luxton, had written some time before that "until railway construction commences in this country, it will be no field for an extensive immigration of any class save agriculturists." And, he added,

> To farmers, and we may almost say to them alone, does Manitoba hold out inducements at present... advantages to practically unlimited numbers of tillers of the soil, and more particularly to such as can control, at least a small capital - say from five hundred to a thousand dollars.[16]

Father Lacombe later made it clear that Manitoba was not to become an outlet for the unemployed, nor did he hesitate to tell them that "...nous n'avons pas besoin d'eux là-bas."[17]

While it was undoubtedly politic of Father Lacombe to stress that the major part of the 1876 effort would be directed towards repatriation, thereby avoiding the charge that he was seeking to "depopulate" Quebec, he received words of caution from the Conservative Quebec press. Commenting on a meeting of La Société de Colonisation de Manitoba presided over by Mgr. Taché and on the general colonization programme which the St. Boniface group was putting forward, Montreal's La Minerve welcomed these initiatives especially in the light of the minority position in which Franco-Manitobans already found themselves. Furthermore, it was pleased to see that efforts were being made to repatriate some of the 300,000-400,000 French-Canadians which were "pour ainsi dire perdus pour notre nationalité"; it could even favour the removal to Manitoba of those Québécois "qui sont encore atteints de la manie d'émigrer." But, it added,

> Nous ne saurions, cependant, hors ces cas, encourager aucune émigration régulière de Québec à Manitoba, parce que ce serait travailler à diminuer la force de notre nationalité ici, sous prétexte de l'augmenter là-bas.[18]

La Minerve's editorial was a moderate one, but its last statement produced an anonymous letter which appeared in the ultramontane Le Nouveau Monde and which was probably

written by Father Lacombe. This letter took the view that a larger French-speaking population in the West would add greatly to French Canada's influence in Confederation but it led La Minerve to respond that it was the French-speaking population in Quebec which mattered. Then, turning to another theme, the latter Montreal newspaper boasted that it had called for repatriation in favour of Manitoba as early as 1869-1870, at a time when "des personnes que le correspondant du Nouveau Monde doit connaitre, tentaient l'impossible pour empêcher les Canadiens des Etats-Unis et de Québec, d'aller s'établir dans cette province."[19]

These last two points made by La Minerve were to haunt Mgr. Taché in his efforts to bolster the position of the French-speaking Catholic element of Manitoba. Over the years, Québécois and French-Canadians from Western Canada were to debate the question of francophone power in the Dominion of Canada. Most Quebec leaders held that the interests of their nationality were best served by a strong Quebec presence in Ottawa. With Quebec's population serving as the base for representation in the House of Commons, it was obvious to them that a large population there would hold down the number of seats held by Ontario or the other provinces; a declining population in Quebec on the other hand would lead to an increase in the number of seats held outside Quebec.[20] Franco-Canadians in Western Canada argued

for their part that a large French-speaking population in Manitoba would not only preserve the French-English duality established in 1870, but also ensure future power for the French fact west of the Great Lakes.

In a sense, both groups were right: the Quebec viewpoint was based on previous experience and on current realities; the Western perspective assumed the future growth and power of that region. Unfortunately, there was no way of predicting the pattern of settlement on the Prairies or the number of seats which a significant minority or even a majority of French-Canadians could expect in the House of Commons.[21] The Québécois argument thus was stronger because it rested on a certainty rather than on a possibility.

The second point raised by La Minerve was undoubtedly not well received by Archbishop Taché. It was in direct reference to Taché's Esquisse sur le Nord-Ouest de l'Amérique, a brochure first published in 1869. In it, the Oblate Bishop who had lived in the West since 1845 had tried to distinguish between regions which he considered to be more or less suitable for settlement.[22] But, in the years following its appearance, critics claimed that Taché had painted a dark picture of the North-West as inhospitable and unproductive. Father Lacombe said that "...on me jette souvent à la figure que, il n'y a pas encore bien des années Mgr Taché et quelques-uns de ses prêtres étaient sans cesse à parler et à

écrire contre les avantages que présente aujourd'hui Manitoba."[23] He went on to quote from a letter he had just received:

> Si cette émigration n'a pas réussi, c'est que Mgr Taché a fait tout des efforts dans les commencements pour empêcher les gens de s'y rendre (avec une bien bonne intention sans aucun doute) mais quand on a tant décrié une contrée, le sol, le climat, et les moyens d'existence && [sic] on ne doit pas être surpris de voir le courant se diriger d'un autre côté. Quand on parlait des ressources de ce pays, je me rappelle avoir entendu Mgr Taché rire aux éclats, et plaindre la naïveté de ceux qui croyaient à la colonisation de la R.R. ...[24]

Mgr. Taché's response to these criticisms was that people should read his work and note the distinction he made "sur certaines parties du Nord-Ouest avec ce que j'ai dit sur Manitoba."[25]

The difficulty did not end there. At various times, Taché's Esquisse was resurrected and used against him. Less than six months before his death in 1894, the matter was raised once more in the pages of Le Canada, an Ottawa weekly. A series of articles on George-Etienne Cartier included comments about the bleu leader's role in shaping the province of Manitoba. According to its editor, Oscar McDonel, Cartier had created Manitoba in the image of Quebec and had dreamed of sending the surplus population from the old parishes of Quebec to the Red River. But, he continued:

> Malheureusement, une voix qui s'imposait à la race française du Canada, par sa haute respectabilité et par la grande dignité attachée à sa position ecclésiastique, se fit entendre dans la province de Québec. Mgr Taché conseillait à la jeunesse canadienne-française de ne pas se diriger vers le Manitoba.
>
> Ce fut le glas funèbre qui annonça du coup et la mort de Cartier et la mort du mouvement français vers l'Ouest.
>
> Aujourd'hui, la province du Manitoba est anglaise et protestante.[26]

In a second article, McDonel went even further:

> ...Cartier a subi là, dans l'application de sa politique un échec qui fut un malheur national dont notre race ne se relèvera jamais; mais nous ne pouvons pas lui attribuer cette faute, la responsabilité en tombe sur d'autres épaules. Cartier avait fait son devoir, d'autres ne l'avaient peut-être pas compris.[27]

Mgr. Taché wasted no time in replying to the charges made by Le Canada. These were, after all, historical questions "de la plus haute importance" which he could not allow to go unchallenged because they were "si complètement fausses dans ce qui me regarde." In a lengthy reply, the Bishop maintained that he had worked in the interests of French-Canadian settlement in the North-West before, during and after George-Etienne Cartier's tenure of office.[28] McDonel's response was that the pamphlet's descriptions of the North-West had discouraged potential settlers. Furthermore, it had been distributed widely during the 1872 federal campaign by the Liberals in an attempt to discredit Cartier by blaming

him for the costly purchase of "un immense territoire couvert de glace."[29] Thus, he concluded, Taché had committed a "political" error by publishing a work which never should have seen the light of day.

What impact the Esquisse really had on the migrating population of Quebec or of the United States is impossible to determine. Apart from the obvious difficulty of establishing the actual distribution of the pamphlet and the number of people who did in fact read it, and indeed who read into it what the detractors of the North-West found in its pages, there are other considerations to bear in mind. In the first place, it is likely that members of the clergy who expressed reservations about it to Father Lacombe were themselves fearful of the effects of a movement of people away from their parishes towards other regions of the continent. It was in their self-interest to halt the exodus of their flock, and it is not impossible that one way of doing it was by trying to discredit either life in the industrial towns of New England or life on the Canadian Prairies. On the other hand, Lacombe himself may have exaggerated the extent of criticism in Quebec directed against Taché's Esquisse or the North-West as a field of settlement for French-Canadians. He was undoubtedly sensitive to remarks about the fertility of the North-West because he too wanted to believe that his cause was just and advantageous to all.

Finally, the interpretation advanced in 1894, twenty years after Cartier's death, relative to the bleu leader's role in the establishment of duality in Manitoba in 1870, and to Mgr. Taché's responsibility in the dismantling of that duality in subsequent years, was coloured by political considerations and overly simplified. Hindsight was involved in the explanations put forward by the editor of Le Canada to lament the difficult position in which the French-speaking Catholic minority of Manitoba now found itself. Whatever the case, the controversy surrounding Taché's Esquisse as well as his part in guiding the destiny of the Franco-Catholic community of the West provides an insight into the dying Bishop's combativeness, and shows how a quarter of a century after the troubles of 1869-70 the dream of a strong French-speaking presence in the West had not been fulfilled. "Si le succès n'a pas répondu à mes efforts," said Taché, "ce n'est pas ma faute."[30]

Attaching blame to someone for the failure of French-Canadians to maintain their position in Manitoba under terms of the Manitoba Act of 1870 was natural to those intimately involved in the issue. To the observer looking back from the perspective of a century, these sharp exchanges between men of another era appear unproductive, because neither one was going to convince the other of the strength and validity of his case. Besides, they could not possibly admit that

they could be mistaken. Certainly Mgr. Taché never considered the possibility that external forces beyond the control of the Church, newspapers, or governments, were largely responsible for the shifts in population in Quebec, the United States, and even Western Canada. He was preoccupied by the weak position of the Franco-Catholic minority from the mid-1870s on, and he was determined to preserve or recover the status quo ante bellum, that is, the French-English duality in the administration of the province of Manitoba and especially the maintenance of the dual confessional school system. He needed to find an explanation for the failure of his programme. He found it in bigoted government officials, single-minded Anglo-Saxons, unpatriotic French-Canadian leaders in Quebec and the United States, and in the indifference of Catholic clergymen everywhere.

His disillusionment with Quebec leaders developed over time. But in the early 1870s at least, the hierarchy and prominent politicians, among others, expressed interest in French-Canadian settlement of the Canadian West and undertook to assist his cause as best they could. The St. Boniface Bishop welcomed that assistance even though he found himself unable to take full advantage of it. Still, through the intermediary of friends in la belle province, he and his advisors and collaborators succeeded in recruiting men belonging to the liberal professions, some clergy, and a

number of teachers, artisans, and agriculturists. Relations with Quebec remained good after 1876 when the first contingent of French-Canadian repatriates arrived in the province to take up homesteads on lands reserved for them by La Société de Colonisation de Manitoba. After all, the Franco-Manitoban community was growing; that was the desired objective. Therefore, Bishop Taché was probably unaffected by reports of opposition in Quebec to a movement of population from that province to Manitoba. Father Lacombe told him early in 1876 of the encounter he had with the Premier of Quebec, Boucher de Boucherville: "Loin de m'encourager pour notre affaire d'émigration il m'a assuré qu'il ferait tout en son pouvoir pour empêcher les Canadiens de la province de Québec d'émigrer à Manitoba. Il m'a dit d'aller chercher ceux des Etats-Unis et puis voilà..."[31] How Taché reacted is not known, but in the presence of a promising repatriation campaign, he may well have dismissed it.

In the meantime, much of the Quebec press approved of the repatriation efforts aimed at strengthening the French-speaking population of Manitoba. Montreal's Le Nouveau Monde, in opposing the federal government's reduction in 1879 of assisted passages for repatriates, felt that the movement of French-Canadians from the United States to the North-West was "sans contredit l'immigration la plus avantageuse que nous puissions attirer et favoriser."[32] The Journal de

Québec on the other hand saw it as a way of counteracting the Ontarian invasion:

> Jusqu'à présent on ne s'est pas assez méfié des envahissements d'Ontario qui s'avance vers le Nord-Ouest et qui s'en empare peu à peu. Plusieurs compagnies se sont formées dans le Haut-Canada - nous en connaissons même une à Québec - pour acheter à vil prix, à des officiers et à des volontiers de l'éxpédition de la Rivière Rouge, les terres que le gouvernement leur a donné en récompense de leurs services. La plupart de ces terres sont mises en réserve, ou ne sont vendues qu'aux Saxons ou aux Celtes qui forment ainsi, chaque jour, une ligne de circonvallation autour de l'élément français laissé à ses propres forces.[33]

To counteract this movement, the newspaper suggested that "Il est temps que nos compatriotes de Québec ouvrent les yeux, et viennent à la rescousse de leurs frères du Manitoba, en aidant à la colonisation du Nord-Ouest."[34] While lauding the advantages of Manitoba, it did not suggest an organized campaign in Quebec, but urged instead those wishing to leave the province to make their way "vers le Nord Ouest en colonnes serrées au lieu de s'éparpiller à l'étranger, et de courir le risque d'être absorbés par des voisins qui n'ont ni leur langue ni leur religion."[35]

Favourable comments also appeared in l'Opinion Publique, Le Courrier de St-Hyacinthe, and Le Canada. The first, however, in reporting a lecture given by Joseph Royal before the members of l'Union Catholique, warned against exaggerating the advantages which Manitoba offered to settlers. Royal's presentation appeared "quelque peu exagéré et fantaisiste."

It was better not to colour the truth, because "Il nous semble qu'autrement, on ne réussirait qu'à produire un engoûment passager, dont l'effet serait bientôt détruit par les déceptions qui suivraient."[36] There was no denying, it continued, that the French-Canadians had formed only one-tenth of the immigration into Manitoba in recent years or that they now formed a minority with only one Cabinet member. Nonetheless, there was hope for the future, and French-Canadians should continue to establish themselves there. "En tout état de cause, il vaut mieux aller là qu'aux Etats-Unis, et nous sommes intéressés, comme province, à conserver le plus possible nos positions au Nord-Ouest. Mais il serait inutile de se faire illusion sur ce qui existe."[37] Writing in the same newspaper some weeks later, the Liberal politician and former editor, L.O. David, thought that French-Canadian capitalists would do well to invest in Manitoba. Rather than waste themselves in foreign factories, young French-Canadians should go west. To which Le Métis added: "...faisons un effort et entendons-nous pour les diriger vers les immenses prairies de l'Ouest où ils retrouveront avec l'air pur des prairies et le travail, la santé et une honnête aisance."[38]

For its part, Le Courrier de St-Hyacinthe saw Western settlement in favourable terms, but only as "un antidote à l'émigration de nos classes ouvrières et agricoles vers les Etats-Unis..."[39] Finally, Elie Tassé, for two years the

editor of Le Métis, could be expected to sympathize with his Manitoba friends in the columns of Ottawa's Le Canada. Repeating arguments often advanced by the Franco-Manitobans in favour of extending the influence of French Canada beyond Quebec, he hoped that colonization efforts would not be limited to the Mother province. Having seen the advantages of Manitoba, he knew there was no exaggeration about its future. His only regret was that

> ...il n'y a pas parmi nous un mouvement plus prononcé en faveur de la civilisation de ces riches plaines. Quel beau champ ouvert à l'avenir de notre race si nous savions en profiter? Que de belles et riches paroisses nous pourrions y fonder avec le surplus de notre population qui, chaque année, va se perdre dans la république voisine.40

Notwithstanding mild reservations about Western Canada as a second patrie for French-Canadians, all agreed on the desirability of fortifying the Franco-Manitoban element, on one condition: that recruitment campaigns be directed towards repatriation only. Mgr. Taché and his close associates undoubtedly welcomed this measure of support for their cause. After all, since 1875 they had indeed concentrated their efforts on the New England States, taking advantage of the economic slow-down affecting the employment situation there. By 1880, however, it was already becoming apparent that this campaign would be insufficient, for two reasons: a decline in the number of repatriated French-Canadians, and the need for a different class of French-Canadian.

The Manitoba "boom" following the completion of the Pembina Branch railway and the announcement of the formation of a new syndicate for the construction of the transcontinental rail line affected the settlement pattern of the French-speaking element in Manitoba.[41] As a wave of speculation swept over the province, the value and cost of land increased. What Mgr. Taché desired was a class of settlers able to purchase farms in French-speaking settlements such as Ste. Agathe, now threatened by 'foreign' elements. The repatriated French-Canadians did not fit this description. Most had arrived in the province either destitute or with few resources.[42] Furthermore, the Macdonald government, upon its assumption of power in 1878, reduced from $17 to $5 the Refund Bonus accorded repatriated French-Canadians, not without protest from La Société de Colonisation de Manitoba.[43] In these circumstances, it could be expected that the leadership of the French-speaking community would turn once more to Quebec for assistance.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Mgr. Taché approved of two missions in 1880, both of which were designed to seek out new sources of French-speaking and Catholic reinforcements. The first, undertaken by Joseph Royal, was intended to interest Bishop Ireland of St. Paul, Minnesota, and Bishop Lynch of Toronto in Irish Catholic immigration to Manitoba. Following this, Royal travelled to

Europe to confer with French and Belgian capitalists about the establishment of a colonization society devoted to French Catholic interests in Western Canada.[44] The second mission was entrusted to Father Lacombe, following communications received by Taché from the Archbishop of Quebec and the Bishops of Trois-Rivières and Rimouski to the effect that they were studying anew the problem of French-Canadian emigration and the need for Catholic immigration to Canada.

The Quebec bishops were quite obviously disturbed by developments in Canada and in Manitoba. Archbishop Taschereau of Quebec told Taché that the goal was "d'empêcher la population catholique du Canada d'être noyé par ces flots d'immigration protestante qui y est attiré de tous côtés."[45] Beyond that, there was no agreement as to the best course to follow. He did not favour French, Belgian or Swiss immigration to Quebec because it had already proved unsatisfactory. Irish Catholic immigration did not raise too many problems, but it appeared to be flowing towards the United States rather than to Canada. He left it up to Taché to decide what was best for Manitoba. Mgr. Laflèche's views on European immigration resembled those of the Archbishop of Quebec. He too believed that the colonization of Quebec's hinterland would have to be undertaken by French-Canadians and not Frenchmen. And as far as Manitoba was concerned, Laflèche told his former companion in the mission field of the West that,

> Le meilleur élément de colonisation pour le Nord-Ouest serait sans doute celui qui viendrait des Canadiens-français; mais il nous est moralement impossible d'établir un pareil courant - venant du Bas-Canada - tout ce que nous pouvons faire, c'est de diriger vers Manitoba autant qu'il nous est possible ceux qui veulent aller aux Etats-Unis.[46]

Mgr. Taché did not quite know what to make of Mgr. Laflèche's letter. His response suggests that he read into it a retreat from the "Lettre Circulaire" of 1871. True, the Quebec bishops were letting him decide on the advisability of attracting European immigrants, but he still wanted French-Canadians from Quebec. These he still considered to be the best reinforcements of all. "La question que soulève votre si bonne lettre ravive mes espérances, et peut préparer une ère nouvelle de prospérité pour la population Catholique de Manitoba", he told Laflèche. He went on: "il nous faut de l'émigration. Dans la province de Québec vous pouvez vous en passer; plus que cela, je crois qu'il est même mieux que vous en passiez..."[47] He was referring to the plan put forward by Bishop Langevin of Rimouski to recruit only the best of Catholic settlers in Europe.[48] Taché wanted any proposal advanced and supported by the Quebec episcopacy to operate in favour of Manitoba. Besides, he assured Laflèche, the fecundity of French Canadian families was a protection for Quebec. "Je n'ai pas, pour ma part, d'inquiétudes pour la province de Québec que je crois à l'abri de tout danger d'absorption par les étrangers. - Je

n'en puis dire autant de Manitoba."[49] Here was the point of his letter: Quebec was secure, but Manitoba was threatened. He explained his predicament:

> Vous m'offrez bien l'immigration Européenne que vous avouez n'être pas désirable; mais quand vous parlez d'un mouvement de la population Canadienne, vous dites que vous allez diriger tout vos efforts vers les défrichements des forêts de la Province de Québec. Ces forêts, Cher Ami, ne vous échapperont pas, mais nos vastes prairies nous échappent. Et à moins que la Province de Québec ne vienne à notre secours par une forte et vigoureuse immigration, le champ où vous avez travaillé vous-Même avec tant d'ardeur pendant de nombreuses années, va cesser d'être le domaine de la famille franco-Canadienne. Je regrette de le dire, on n'y a pas songé assez en Bas-Canada, et lorsqu'on pouvait fortifier tous les droits de la Province de Québec par l'établissement d'une Province soeur à Manitoba, on a laissé cette dernière se peupler d'un élément hostile.[50]

There was still time, he believed, to prevent the complete destruction of his cause in Manitoba; he remained hopeful.

The object of Father Lacombe's mission in Quebec was the adoption of a new plan based not on repatriation but rather on a movement of French-Canadians from Quebec to Manitoba. During a lengthy interview with Archbishop Taschereau in Quebec, the Oblate missionary outlined his proposal for a circular letter from the episcopacy to the clergy, "pour l'engager à diriger des familles de notre côté, en publiant partout dans les campagnes, ce que c'est que le Manitoba, et en mettant les gens qui seraient dans les dispositions d'émigrer en rapport avec moi..."[51] Asked to submit his entire plan to a meeting of the bishops in March,

Lacombe first consulted with Taché, and also with Bishop Laflèche and the curé Labelle of St. Jérôme, both of whom supported it.[52] Meanwhile, he spoke at 'Mass-Meetings' organized by sympathetic priests,[53] The first contingent resulting from this campaign included Thomas-Alfred Bernier of St. Hyacinthe, and indeed was composed of an unknown number although "presque tout ceux qui partent d'ici demain sont des personnes très respectables et qui ont des moyens pécuniaires."[54] That was precisely the class of settlers desired by Mgr. Taché.

Father Lacombe's plan, however, which was submitted to a meeting of the Quebec bishops, failed to gain their approval. His proposal to have a priest appointed by each diocese carry on the day-to-day visits of prospective settlers following the passage of the itinerant missionary-colonizer was seen as unrealistic. Nor did the bishops think that broaching the question of emigration in pastoral visits would produce results, although Lacombe asked himself why they used it to prevent the exodus to the United States. The only encouraging sign was the request by members of the clergy for a brochure on the advantages of Manitoba signed by Mgr. Taché![55] In a subsequent meeting with Archbishop Taschereau at Quebec, Lacombe observed that the Church leader had modified his views substantially since their original meeting two months previous. "Il ne voit plus la chose tout

à fait du même oeil. Il ne croit pas devoir favoriser notre mouvement autrement que par la lettre collective que les Evêques ont publiée, il y a quelques années, au sujet de l'émigration au Manitoba."[56] It was always the same fear, said Lacombe: there must be no depopulation of Quebec. Fortunately, this was not the attitude of the bishops, at least those of Trois-Rivières, St. Hyacinthe and Montreal.[57]

To all intents and purposes, the circular letter of 1871 remained operative after 1880, although it was now obvious that Mgr. Taché and his clergy were free to conduct some form of active recruitment in designated dioceses. Coming as it did at the start of the Manitoba "boom", there was understandably some optimism when an increasing number of French-Canadians from Quebec poured into Manitoba.[58] Unfortunately, the "boom" was shortlived. Soon, as Professor Morton has pointed out, "insolvencies multiplied, and many of the new rich became the old poor once more."[59] Scores of French-Canadians quit the province, including many who had sought to establish small businesses there. Le Manitoba, which had once boasted of the high salaries offered in Manitoba, now resumed its traditional stance of advocating agricultural development as the best means of ensuring prosperity. Gone were the days when only settlers with financial resources met the needs of the Franco-Manitoban population. Now, Le Manitoba insisted, "Il ne faut pas croire qu'il faille

beaucoup d'argent pour établir une belle ferme, le seul capital exigé sont [sic] de bons bras, de l'énergie, de l'économie."[60]

The fall in the number of new arrivals in Western Canada, including a slackening immigration by Ontarians,[61] did not lessen interest in new colonization ventures on the part of Mgr. Taché or his men. In spite of reversals in the matter of the French-Canadian société which they hoped to form, they sought other ways of securing a large block of land in the Saskatchewan territory.[62] When A.A.C. LaRivière and Thomas-Alfred Bernier travelled to Ottawa and Montreal in March 1883, on a mission which Mgr. Taché told them was in the interests of "notre société"[63], the Quebec press spoke favourably of their plan. La Minerve told its readers that the two Franco-Manitobans "ont toute l'approbation de Sa Grandeur Monseigneur Taché, qui de son appui et de ses deniers, veut contribuer au succès de l'entreprise." The Montreal daily fully endorsed the enterprise which it saw as "une oeuvre éminement patriotique." It continued:

> Les terrains de la compagnie seront un nouveau champ d'exploitation ouvert à ceux de nos compatriotes qui croient devoir aller tenter la fortune en dehors de la province de Québec. Malgré le désir que nous avons de garder ici toute notre population, nous ne pouvons fermer les yeux sur le fait qu'un certain nombre d'entre eux laissent chaque année les bords du grand fleuve...et s'en vont à l'aventure grossir le nombre des Canadiens errants. Or, à ceux-ci, la nouvelle compagnie sera d'un puissant secours par les avantages qu'elle

> leur offrira. Et nous ne devons point oublier que tout ce qui tend à relever l'importance de notre race dans le Nord-Ouest, à aggrandir son influence, est un service rendu à la province de Québec.[64]

The Ottawa correspondent of the ultramontane L'Etendard saw in the venture an opportunity for French Canada to play its rightful role in the development of the North-West. He felt that it was a patriotic duty for French-Canadians to reach out beyond Quebec itself. And, he continued:

> Le principal, le plus précieux champs [sic] de notre activité nationale doit être aujourd'hui le nord-ouest, pour la bonne raison que, si nous retardons de dix ans de prendre là ce qui nous y est naturellement assigné, il sera ensuite trop tard, tandisque [sic] nos vastes terrains du nord de la Province de Québec, si l'on excepte peut-être ceux de la vallée de l'Ottawa, personne n'ira vraisemblablement les prendre avant nous, quand même nous en retardions un peu la colonisation.
>
> Encourageons et aidons ceux qui veulent s'y fixer; mais que l'objet principal de notre sollicitude soit d'implanter partout, de Winnipeg aux Montagnes Rocheuses, de vigoureux groupes Canadiens qui y assurent une part légitime à nos compatriotes.[65]

Not all opinion leaders in Quebec felt the same way about the West. The report prepared by two members of the Quebec Assembly following their visit to the Prairies in 1884 led Le Monde to conclude that "ces contrées ne présentent pas d'avantages supérieurs à ceux qu'offre la Province de Québec."[66] Le Manitoba, whose publisher A.A.C. LaRivière was a shareholder in the unsuccessful Compagnie Canadienne de Colonisation, found fault with the report and deplored "la persistance que l'on met à détourner d'ici le

flot de l'émigration canadienne-française."[67] When La Minerve entered the fray and commented that "Ce dont, par exemple, personne ici ne veut entendre parler, c'est de dépeupler la province de Québec au profit de celle de Manitoba"[68], Le Manitoba responded that the province of Ontario had organized public subscriptions to help settlers move to Western Canada.[69] In other words, the St. Boniface weekly was calling upon the Quebec government to imitate its Ontario rival.

There is no direct evidence to show that Mgr. Taché shared the views of Le Manitoba on this issue, but two events which occurred in 1885 undoubtedly influenced the Bishop's attitude vis-à-vis Quebec and the responsibility it had towards the Franco-Catholic group of Western Canada. The first development was the curé Labelle's mission to Europe on behalf of French-speaking immigration to Canada, followed by an extended tour of the Dominion by a French delegation. The contacts established between the delegates and Franco-Manitoban leaders opened up relations which were to bear fruit later on. Mgr. Taché certainly welcomed these developments, but he probably was distressed to learn that the famous colonizer from St. Jérôme had not altered his views on the gradual movement of the French-Canadian population westward across northern Ontario.[70] The general feeling among leaders in the West was that there was far

more urgency to occupying prairie lands than to promoting colonization in the forests of the Canadian Shield.

The decisive event in Archbishop Taché's growing disenchantment with Quebec leaders probably was the North-West rebellion of 1885, and more importantly perhaps, the serious divisions which manifested themselves in the aftermath of Louis Riel's trial and execution. An acrimonious debate, waged in private and in public between Jules-Paul Tardivel, editor of the ultramontane La Vérité, on the one side, and Mgr. Taché, Mgr. Grandin, the abbé J.M. Jolys, Father Lacombe, and Le Manitoba, on the other, illustrated the opposing views held on the future of French-speaking and Catholic interests in Western Canada.

It began with an editorial in Le Manitoba on the lack of patriotism exhibited by Quebec in the face of a growing foreign immigration to Manitoba. La Vérité, in response, not only pointed out that recent events in the West were not such as to encourage French-Canadians to settle there but also questioned the patriotism of Joseph Royal and Marc-Amable Girard in supporting the 'Orange' John A. Macdonald.[71] In the heated exchange that followed in the press, Tardivel argued that the future of French-Canadians was in Quebec only, that emigration from the patrie was "un fléau social", and that the only kind of immigration Manitoba's French-speaking group should attract was that from

the Franco-American centres. He rejected any notion that Quebec would benefit from the establishment of French-speaking centres outside the home province, maintaining that they would simply lose themselves in a sea of foreigners. Therefore, for economic, social, religious and political reasons, he counselled the Québécois to remain in their patrie.[72]

Mgr. Taché wasted no time in entering the controversy, although he did so only through private correspondence with Tardivel. Undoubtedly fearing that the latter's editorials could harm the cause of colonization in his archdiocese,[73] the Bishop first expressed his full support for Royal and Girard, then warned the Catholic journalist that he erred by doing

> ...l'apothéose du plus grand ennemi que les Canadiens Français aient eu dans Manitoba et dans le Nord-Ouest et vous poussez au mépris de ceux qui consacrent leur vie dans ce pays en faveur des Canadiens et des Métis.[74]

In a second letter, Taché expressed his indignation thus:

> Nous travaillons nous à catholiciser le pays que nous habitons; vous, vous avez entrepris une croisade dont le résultat serait de nous priver d'un élément puissant (peut-être du seul élément) qui puisse assurer l'avenir d'une oeuvre toute d'amour de notre religion et de notre patrie.[75]

Tardivel's response was that in his eagerness to catholicize Western Canada, Taché would set about de-catholicizing Quebec. He failed to see how a French-Canadian emigration from Quebec would work to the advantage of his province; the mere

assertion of that argument was not proof or evidence![76] In any event, concluded Tardivel, his opinions were just as valid as those of the St. Boniface prelate.

From St. Albert, Mgr. Grandin also carried on an exchange of views with Tardivel.[77] The editor of La Verité very much believed that the events of 1885 had been a tragic occurrence, and he hoped that it would still lead to the creation of a national consensus in French Canada. On the practical side, he could not see how that might be accomplished by inducing French-Canadians from Quebec to settle in the West. He explained himself:

> Quant au projet que nourrit Votre Grandeur de diriger assez de Canadiens-français de la Province de Québec du côté du N.O. pour y fortifier tous les points menacés, je ne saurais y souscrire, malgré mon désir très réel d'être agréable à Votre Grandeur. Pour vous donner un appoint suffisant et vous rendre assez forts, numériquement, pour tenir tête aux éléments hostiles qui se jettent par miliers dans ce vaste territoire, il faudrait littéralement dépeupler notre Province. Et encore nous y serions débordés. Plus je réfléchis à ce grave problème, plus je suis invinciblement opposé à l'éparpillement de nos forces. C'est la concentration de notre population dans la province de Québec qui seule peut nous donner quelque espoir de sauvegarder les droits des autres groupes français de la Confédération. Une province de Québec forte et unie à Ottawa pourrait, en se mettant rigoureusement au-dessus des partis et en tenant la balance du pouvoir, protéger les droits des nôtres au N.O. Dans votre intérêt comme dans le nôtre, il faut donc que nous nous appliquions de toutes nos forces à garder nos gens chez nous, à fortifier notre position dans la province de Québec. Qu'on tâche de diriger au N.O. ceux des nôtres qui, émigrés aux Etats-Unis, sont déjà perdus pour nous très bien. Mais qu'on encourage les Canadiens-français à quitter

> la province de Québec pour aller se noyer, politiquement et socialement au N.O. cette idée m'épouvante, ni plus ni moins. Et la dernière lettre de Votre Grandeur, au lieu de changer mes convictions et mes craintes, ne fait que les confirmer.[78]

The polémique ended there for the moment, but it was not forgotten. In 1890, Tardivel finally visited Western Canada, in the company of the abbé Georges Dugas, and reported on his findings in the columns of his newspaper.[79] His observations on the status of the French-speaking Catholic population of the West--similar in nature to those expressed in earlier years--created yet another stir. One of his critics regretted that the journalist's trip west had not converted him to the good cause of French-Canadian immigration from Quebec and the United States towards Manitoba. Tardivel replied that he had no objection to a discreet recruitment of Québécois who were intent on leaving their home province, but he found it absurd to suggest that he preach emigration to Manitoba.[80] Further attacks from Le Manitoba itself prompted Tardivel to challenge the view that all Quebec bishops favoured emigration from Quebec to Manitoba. Except for one or two bishops, he replied, "dans son ensemble, l'épiscopat canadien-français n'est jamais allé plus loin que la circulaire collective privée du 23 octobre 1871."[81]

Tardivel's assessment of the situation was quite correct: the Quebec hierarchy was favourable only to the

movement westward of those French-Canadians who had already decided to leave their native province. At no time did they ever declare themselves in favour of a general migration of Québécois towards the Prairies. And Bishop Laflèche who was present in 1871 confirmed that interpretation in 1892, upon his return from an excursion to Kamloops, B.C., organized by Father Lacombe for interested Quebec bishops.[82] To a reporter's queries about the bishops' policy on Western settlement, Laflèche answered that "Les évêques ne peuvent pas encourager les Canadiens à quitter la province de Québec." All that they were prepared to do was invite those who were definitely leaving Quebec to choose the Canadian West over the United States as a new home.[83] Thus, the policy had not changed since 1871, a fact which even Bishop Grandin recognized in a plea addressed to Cardinal Taschereau of Quebec in 1889:

> ...si je m'addresse...à votre charité, vous me direz sans doute, comme plusieurs de vos dignes diocésains, que certes je ne blâme pas, pour cela, qu'il ne faut pas dépeupler la province de Québec pour peupler cet immense N.O. Très bien, Mes Seigneur [sic], mais sans vous affaiblir, accordez-nous au moins, les miettes de votre table.[84]

Obviously, "crumbs" were not enough for Mgr. Taché who always prayed that Quebec leaders would be more positive in their declarations of support. It was not enough to suggest that only those already preparing to leave Quebec should be guided towards Western Canada; what he wanted was

"un courant d'immigration canadienne-française" or again "l'excédent au moins des heureux habitants qui vivent dans les riantes campagnes de la Province de Québec."[85] When the Bishop of St. Boniface addressed those words to Thomas-Alfred Bernier in 1887, for inclusion in the latter's Le Manitoba - Champ d'Immigration, he was clearly asking for more than was contained in the declaration of October 1871. His acute disappointment comes through in the following paragraph:

> Bien des fois dans le passé, soit conjointement avec l'Episcopat canadien, soit en mon nom propre, comme évêque de Saint-Boniface, j'ai tenté d'amener nos amis de la province mère à diriger de nôtre côté un courant d'immigration canadienne-française. Mais je dois l'avouer, ça n'a pas été sans un sentiment de tristesse profonde que j'ai dû constater la cause secrète de la presque inutilité de mes efforts. Nous marchions d'égal à égal autant par le nombre que par la position, ayant, comme vous le dites si bien, un pied-à-terre sur les points principaux du Manitoba; aujourd'hui, bien que nous ayions réussi à garder notre position, nous ne laissons pas pourtant que d'avoir été dépassés en nombre. D'autres ont compris l'importance de la position, et ils ont si bien saisi les avantages qu'offrent nos belles prairies à la charrue du colon, que déjà leurs rangs se sont grossis au point de diminuer notre proportion numérique. Et, le dirai-je, non seulement l'Angleterre et l'Ecosse ont fourni chacune plus de colons au Manitoba que la Province de Québec, mais la Russie elle-même en a fourni autant.[86]

Taché's sense of frustration may have been deep-felt, but it was not always well-founded. There were clergy in Quebec who shared his concerns about the future of the Franco-Catholic element in the West. The abbé C.A. Beaudry,

of the diocese of St. Hyacinthe, who accepted Taché's invitation to act as a missionary-colonizer for the diocese of St. Boniface, reported that he had already received "plusieurs invitations de curés amis d'aller donner des conférences dans leurs paroisses." If he met with success there, the work could be broadened to include the adjoining parishes of the diocese of Nicolet "actuellement décimées par l'émigration aux Etats-Unis." But, he added, "quant aux paroisses situées sur le fleuve, je vous en reparlerais plus tard. Il ne me paraîtrait pas opportun d'éveiller présentement certaines susceptibilités."[87] A further example of the willingness on the part of the Quebec clergy to learn more about the West came from the abbé Georges Dugas who had spent more than twenty years in the North-West as a missionary and who now lived in retirement in Quebec where he wrote articles about his experiences. He told of arrangements he had made to accompany the editor of La Semaine Religieuse-- a diocesan publication in Quebec--to Manitoba where "ce bon monsieur veut étudier le pays et écrire ensuite pour y diriger des familles canadiennes."[88]

On the other hand, there were discouraging encounters with the Quebec hierarchy. Soon after his engagement as an agent for Mgr. Taché, the abbé Beaudry wrote to Bishop Fabre of Montreal for permission to visit certain parishes in that archdiocese:

> Je travaille à diriger vers la fertile vallée de la Rivière Rouge ceux qui n'ont pas de goût pour les terres boisées et qui songent aux Etats-Unis. Je m'addresse surtout à la classe des petits propriétaires et des fermiers qui alimentent l'émigration vers les centres manufacturiers américains.
>
> Je ne veux pas faire d'opposition au R.P. Nolin, mais il m'arrive d'être demandé dans certaines paroisses de votre archidiocèse pour parler du Manitoba comme champ d'immigration pour les Canadiens. Je serais reconnaissant à Votre Grandeur si Elle m'autorisait à le faire dans les églises et MM les curés l'auraient pour agréable. Cette faveur, Monseigneur est demandée au nom de l'illustre apôtre de la Rivière Rouge, mais obligerait beaucoup votre humble serviteur.[89]

Fabre's response could not fail but to frustrate Beaudry:

> Je n'aimerais pas à lancer deux prédicateurs de la même oeuvre dans ce moment. Le Père Nolin a déjà été autoriser [sic] à parler de [sic] Manitoba dans les paroisses du diocèse quand l'occasion s'en présente; je crois qu'il vaut mieux s'en tenir là pour le moment.[90]

He must have wondered what was meant by the phrase "quand l'occasion s'en présente". For him and the St. Boniface pastor, there could be no delay or hesitation in actively pursuing the work now, at a time when the exodus from Quebec had reached alarming proportions. Besides which, they must have asked themselves what priority would be given to Manitoba over Quebec by one who was not thoroughly familiar with the West. Thus Bishop Fabre's timid support was undoubtedly a setback.

Five years later, in 1893, the Reverend Georges Dugas experienced a similar rebuff from Bishop Louis-Nazaire Bégin

of Quebec. He told Mgr. Taché:

> J'ai écrit tout dernièrement à Mgr Bégin pour lui demander la permission de donner des conférences sur l'émigration dans le diocèse de Québec; il m'a répondu que les Québecquois [sic] n'avaient aucun penchant pour Manitoba; que tous allaient aux Etats-Unis pour y gagner de l'argent et revenir ensuite, par conséquent que ce serait peine perdue que d'aller leur prêcher d'émigrer à Manitoba. Donc laissons les aller aux Etats. C'est dire laissons vaguer la barque, après nous autres le déluge. Le gouvernement ne s'occupe pas de nos Canadiens et je vous assure que le clergé ne s'en occupe guère. La question de Manitoba est une corde usée dans la Province de Québec.[91]

When, less than a year later and only months before his death, Mgr. Taché wrote that "si le succès n'a pas répondu à mes efforts, ce n'est pas ma faute..."[92], he bared the defensiveness which characterized much of his life's work. He died convinced that if only the Quebec hierarchy had relaxed if not reversed the stand it took on Western colonization in 1871, and had spoken out positively on the benefits of Western Canada as a field of settlement for French-Canadians, then the dream of a "little" Quebec would have come true. Over the years, he gained individual pledges of support from bishops, clergy, journalists and other leaders in Quebec; but what he desperately wanted was a collective undertaking on the part of French Canada. Unfortunately for him, there never was and never could be that kind of national consensus in Quebec.

Mgr. Taché's death in June 1894, coming at a time when

the Manitoba School Question had not yet reached its highest point as a national and public issue, was almost a deliverance from a heavy burden for a leader whose career spanned half a century. Now the mantle of responsibility was passed on to Mgr. Adélard Langevin. The difficult Manitoba School Question, and to a large extent the North-West School Question, were to dominate his occupancy of the See in St. Boniface. But immigration and settlement questions remained inextricably involved in the education question, because the new Archbishop believed, as did his predecessor, that there would have been no problem if Quebec especially had understood the relationship between the defence of Franco-Catholic rights and demographic power. Langevin, as will be seen, also maintained that the solution to the Schools Questions lay partly in a larger Catholic and French-speaking immigration into Western Canada, a movement which he felt should be spearheaded by Quebec.

As Taché himself had observed in 1887, there were new elements involved in the nature of the Canadian West: foreign groups which had emigrated from Eastern Europe. That had been a matter of grave concern for Taché, as shown in the annual report for 1886 of the Catholic superintendent of schools:

> L'immigration, qui est, d'ailleurs toujours bien vue, nous amène cependant de nouveaux éléments parmi lesquels nous rencontrons des esprits peu au fait non seulement de notre système d'éducation, mais surtout de nos idées sur cette matière. Il nous faut être conséquement d'une vigilance continuelle pour ne pas laisser fausser dans son application notre loi des écoles, si équitablement conçue, et qui ne demande qu'à être bien comprise pour rallier toutes les sympathies. Nous avons du reste à signaler l'entente qui existe entre les deux sections...pour rendre harmonieux le fonctionnement de la loi.[93]

The abolition of the publicly-financed dual confessional school system by the Manitoba Legislature in 1890 was partly the result of this 'foreign' invasion of the province by groups for whom the entente of 1870 was inconsequential.[94] The school amendments of 1890, however, can also be partly attributed to the failure of Catholic and French-speaking colonization efforts, although it remains difficult to establish what minimum percentage of the total population of Manitoba the French and Catholic elements should have reached to render impossible the reversal of long-standing legislation. Both Mgr. Taché and Mgr. Langevin placed some of the blame for their predicament on the clerical and political leaders in Quebec who, in their view, had failed to grasp the significance of actively directing the movement of population from Quebec towards Western Canada. In his study of the 1896 election, Paul Crunican presents a balanced view of the situation by concluding that

> ...the French decline in the West was not simply something that English Canadians caused to happen to French Canadians. It was also something that French Canadians, by doing something else, allowed to happen to themselves.[95]

In Langevin's opinion, what had happened during Mgr. Taché's time could,only be undone by decisive and determined action. His diplomatic and political campaigns have been dealt with extensively by others and need not concern us here.[96] What is relevant here are his efforts to obtain settlers, especially from Quebec. Political influence depended on numbers. Alfred DeCelles, journalist and scholar, once told Adolphe Chapleau of the only solution he foresaw for them: "Il me semble que nos gens de là-bas n'obtiendront justice que lorsqu'ils seront assez nombreux, assez unis pour faire sentir leur influence là-bas dans les élections locales..."[97] This was essentially what Mgr. Langevin told the abbé Jean Gaire three years later, in assessing the direction to be taken in the face of unfavourable political negotiations. The School Question, he felt, would perhaps not be resolved for another five or ten years;

> Or, d'ici là, nous allons nous fortifier. Que l'on favorise l'immigration plus que jamais, surtout l'immigration française, mais je n'exclue personne, Galiciens, ou Russes, ou Allemands. Tout catholique est le bienvenu, mais les Français le sont deux fois.[98]

The colonization congress held in Montreal in the Fall of 1898 provided Langevin with an opportunity to launch an

appeal for support from the Montreal-based Société de Colonisation et de Rapatriement. In a letter addressed to the general agent of the society, Dr. T.A. Brisson, and subsequently included in one of Father Moïse Blais' brochures, he explained the position of the French Catholic people:

> Des flots de population étrangère nous envahissent de toutes parts, et bien que nos groupes canadiens soient déjà trop organisés et trop compacts pour être sérieusement entamés ou déracinés, néanmoins, il nous faut du renfort pour mieux résister, progresser plus vite, dilater nos tentes, et rendre la position à jamais imprenable dans les vallées fertiles de la Rivière Rouge et de l'Assiniboine, aussi bien que sur les bords de la Saskatchewan, à Edmonton et à Prince Albert.[99]

Langevin was overstating the strength of the French-speaking community when he talked of "mieux résister"; his programme was one of recovery rather than one of resistance. He could not, of course, paint a negative portrait of his archdiocese. Nor could he advocate openly in this instance the need for a direct movement of people from Quebec to the West. He sought to soothe his listeners and readers:

> Nous ne voulons pas certes dépeupler la chère province de Québec! Ce serait bien mal comprendre nos meilleurs intérêts et payer d'ingratitude cette province-mère, à laquelle nous devons tout ce que nous sommes...

Having done so, he could then express his wishes for a programme of action:

> Cependant il me semble que, sans être infidèle à Québec, chaque homme influent, chaque curé de paroisse, devrait se faire un devoir de diriger vers nos prairies ceux de nos compatriotes qui veulent absolument quitter

> Québec pour des pays étrangers, aussi bien que ceux qui désirent se procurer à meilleur marché de grandes étendues de terre pour y établir leurs enfants, ou enfin ceux qui ont goûté à la vie des villes, qui reviennent des Etats-Unis et qui désirent une culture plus facile que celle d'une terre couverte de bois touffu - en bois debout.[100]

This was asking for more than a share of repatriation efforts. Langevin was describing three classes of Québécois which he would like to see in the West: those who wanted to leave Quebec at all costs; those who were perhaps seeking new farms for their children; and those repatriates who might find it easier to farm on lands already cleared. By inference, he was suggesting that colonization in Western Canada was preferable to that in the northern regions of Quebec. More importantly, he was indicating that he too expected Quebec to contribute more than just "crumbs".

At the same time, Langevin attempted to negotiate an arrangement with the C.P.R. for the publication of an illustrated weekly paper in French, "entirely consecrated to the question of Immigration without any political color."[101] La Minerve had been mentionned in previous discussions, but now it was La Presse which would edit the newspaper, 20,000 copies of which would be bought by the C.P.R. and sold by their employees "in the French centers of the country."[102] Presumably that would include towns and villages in Quebec, a prospect which appealed to the Company and to Langevin, but which would probably arouse some antagonism in the prov-

ince. Sir Thomas Shaughnessay, President of the C.P.R., recognized the difficulty and doubted the chances of success of such an enterprise. He told Father Lacombe: "Il n'y a rien à faire avec les Evêques et les Curés de la province de Québec."[103] Not surprisingly, the proposal went no further.

Still Mgr. Langevin did not abandon the idea of involving the Quebec clergy in his cause of Franco-Catholic settlement in Western Canada. At a meeting of his ecclesiastical province held in Calgary in March 1899, the Western bishops decided to send a collective letter to their counterparts in Quebec on the subject of colonization. The Church in the Canadian West, they began, was still young and weak, and in competition with numerous nationalities and sects. The word about the resources of the country was spreading, resulting in a wave of foreign immigrants belonging to groups that were not of the Catholic faith. The time had come to take decisive steps to obtain for "l'élément de Foi catholique & de langue française, sa part de prépondérance, dans ce pays." They closed by appealing once more for Quebec support:

> ...nous nous adressons, encore une fois,...pour vous demander le secours de votre influence dans le but de favoriser le développement de la colonisation du Nord-Ouest. Nous ne songeons nullement à dépeupler vos diocèses, à diminuer les populations de vos belles & florissantes paroisses; mais il est un fait certain, que personne ne peut nier, c'est que, chaque année, un large courant d'émigration se dirige, du Canada, vers les Etats-Unis. Ce que nous

> demandons c'est que vous veuilliez bien recommander à votre clergé de faire des efforts pour que ce courant d'émigration, au lieu de franchir la frontière du Canada, se dirige, au contraire, vers les vastes plaines de l'Ouest. Ces nouveaux colons viendraient ainsi fortifier l'élément français & catholique.[104]

It should be noted that this document, unlike Mgr. Langevin's letter to Dr. Brisson of the Société de Colonisation et de Rapatriement the previous year, adhered closely to the Circulaire of 1871.

The interest shown by the Western bishops in Quebec as an important source of settlers for the West reflected in part the decrease in French-speaking European immigration. Thomas Gelley, French Interpreter at the Winnipeg Immigration Office, reported that 966 French-Canadians from Eastern Canada and 302 French-Canadian repatriates registered with his office in 1899, and that another 250 whose point of origin was not known had settled in Alberta. This total of approximately 1518 French-Canadians far surpassed the total of 265 European arrivals for the year.[105] In the light of these facts, the missionary-colonizers from the West stepped up the number of excursions which they organized periodically for delegates of agricultural organizations in Quebec and for clergymen who could be expected to send some of their parishioners west. And the abbé J.B. Morin made certain in one of his circulars to mention that there were more than 700 French-Canadian families already established in the

Edmonton district.[106]

The campaign being mounted after 1898 had other features to it. The Congrès National des Canadiens Français de Manitoba, held in June 1900 at St. Boniface, was used by Mgr. Langevin as another occasion to address his compatriots in Quebec for help in solving the School Question to his satisfaction and in directing the exodus to the United States towards Manitoba. In the presence of Jules-Paul Tardivel and Henri Bourassa at an outddor mass marking the event, he remarked that "tous les membres de la grande famille doivent se prêter mutuel appui." Continuing, he said that Quebec "peut nous donner au Manitoba un secours décisif et sauveur dans les heures de crises que nous traversons en nous envoyant de ses habitants qui sont forcés de quitter la terre natale."[107] In separate addresses to the delegates later, Tardivel avoided the issue while Bourassa limited his comments to agreeing that Quebec could gain from flourishing French centres elsewhere. On the question of emigration to Manitoba, the Member from Labelle would only say that "il y a beaucoup de choses qui doivent entrer en considération et il ne veut pas discuter en ce moment l'opportunité de cette immigration."[108]

Senator Thomas-Alfred Bernier also presented an address on the subject of immigration and colonization, following which the Congrès National adopted a resolution calling on

the bishops of Quebec to give effect to the "Lettre Circulaire" of 1871.[109] This resolution, along with another on the School Question, affirming the determination of the delegates "de continuer à réclamer les droits scolaires garantis par la constitution à la minorité catholique de Manitoba, suivant la direction donnée par l'immortelle encyclique "Affari Vos", was sent to the bishops of Quebec as well as to Prime Minister Laurier in Ottawa. The Archbishop of Ottawa, in his reply to L.A. Prud'homme, President of the Congrès, expressed the wish that the Catholics of Manitoba would obtain "le redressement des lois injustes" and that they could count on "ma coopération entière à tout ce que l'épiscopat de la province de Québec entreprendra pour venir en aide à nos compatriotes et à nos coréligionnaires de votre province et du Nord-Ouest tout entier."[110] The Bishop of Valleyfield, somewhat more reserved, complimented the Franco-Manitobans for their "patriotisme le plus vrai, le plus ardent et le plus religieux", adding that he prayed that "tous ceux que cela concerne vous accordent tout le concours en leur pouvoir."[111] Obviously, he was not one of those! The Bishop of Rimouski was the only one to offer at least moral support:

> ...je ne laisse pas d'être disposé à encourager tous ceux d'entre nos compatriotes français-catholiques du Canada qui ne peuvent y assurer leur avenir ou s'y conquérir de beaux domaines sur la forêt, et qui voudront émigrer aux Etats-Unis, à

> diriger de préférence leurs pas vers vos vastes et fertiles prairies pour y fixer leurs destinées. Dans ces conditions, il me plaira aussi de recommander encore à mon clergé de prêter son concours au bien de cette oeuvre si importante et si utile pour l'agrandissement de notre nationalité et l'affermissement de son influence dans vos territoires.[112]

The lack of acknowledgement from the other eight bishops was not necessarily an indication of their disapproval of the resolutions. They had often been petitioned in the past on these same issues. Besides which, a polite letter from them would merely have restated the obvious.

Mgr. Langevin and other Franco-Manitoban leaders pressed on. Certainly the latest statistics on immigration were not encouraging. A report specifically compiled for the Société St-Jean Baptiste de Manitoba revealed that in the year 1900, the bulk of French-speaking arrivals in Manitoba alone originated in Eastern Canada. The total number of French and Belgian immigrants for the year was 228, compared to 153 French-Canadian repatriates, and 560 French-Canadians from Quebec. The grand total of 941 paled beside the total Canadian immigration of 31,937.[113]

In spite of these disheartening figures, new proposals were put forward to increase the French-speaking presence in the country, while the Société St-Jean Baptiste called for an intensification of repatriation work in the United States.[114] The missionary-colonizers in Quebec organized more and more

excursions in conjunction with the C.P.R. Not only were these excursions bringing hundreds of Québécois west either to visit the country or to work on the harvests, but they were also contributing to the publication of favourable reports in the Quebec press.[115] Langevin urged more advertising in the newspapers and "des excursions de délégués laïques de chaque paroisse ou comté avec quelques prêtres. Quand les Canadiens auront vu, de leurs yeux vu, le pays tel qu'il est, ils viendront." "Il sera trop tard," he told one Quebec clergyman, "pour les diriger vers l'ouest quand ils auront déjà acheté leur billet pour les Etats-Unis."[116] All he wanted, he assured Mgr. Bruchési of Montreal, was "une faible partie du trop plein de la Province de Québec" and a circular letter to the clergy asking that they encourage young people to come west for the harvest.[117] Mgr. Bégin of Quebec promised to do at least that.

Franco-Catholic leaders in the West had a great deal of faith in the value of these harvesters' excursions. All believed that if only young French-Canadians toured the country once, they would gain an appreciation for its resources or at least have some idea of its potential. If they then chose to emigrate to the United States, then it would be an informed choice. What mattered, Langevin told Father Moïse Blais, was that French-Canadians some day "ne maudissent pas les prêtres qui les auront détournés de venir voir!"[118]

Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface, the official publication of the St. Boniface archdiocese, said as much in a report on one of Father Blais' excursions. There could be opinions, it argued, and even objections in Quebec about the West, there could even be "une opposition systématique en certains quartiers." But one day, it warned, French-Canadians would see the light:

> ...et ils seront peut-être tentés de faire des reproches amers aux membres du clergé et aux hommes de profession qui les auront détournés même de venir voir un pays qui sera en partie occupé par des étrangers à notre foi et à notre langue.[119]

There were also plans for a new colonization venture. Late in 1902, Mgr. Langevin delayed his return west from Quebec in an attempt to form a Canadian syndicate which would purchase tracts of land in Manitoba and in the North-West, presumably from the C.P.R.[120] He failed to obtain what he wanted, but still hoped to form a group of investors among leading Franco-Canadians in the west and clergy in Quebec. He told Father Blais:

> Voici la lettre du bon P. David! Je voudrais bien pouvoir organiser un syndicat en dehors de M.M. Forget qui y renoncent hélas! comme vous le verrez par la lettre ci-incluse. Si M. Lecompte d'ici voulait s'associer à un laique, homme d'affaies, dans Québec et fonder une société d'affaires intitulée "Société ou Compagnie de terres à acheter dans l'Ouest", émettre des actions de $100 piastres, et ne procéder qu'après avoir reçu l'argent nécessaire a l'achat de quelques terres vendues pour taxes! Plusieurs curés ici et dans Québec prendraient des actions, et cela les paierait! Mais je ne voudrais pas qu'un prêtre fût le gérant. Voilà une idée. Parlez-en. J'en causerai avec M. Lecompte. Trouvez l'autre laique.[121]

Nothing came of this particular proposal either.[122]

During the first ten years of his episcopate, Archbishop Langevin devoted much time and thought to colonization matters, remaining throughout relatively optimistic about the prospects of attracting an increasing number of French-Canadians from Quebec to the West. While urging the Quebec hierarchy and groups working in the area of colonization in la belle province to do more for his archdiocese than was offered his predecessor in 1871, he nonetheless refrained from pressing his case too hard, at least publicly. His tactics were far more moderate in this matter than in that of the Schools Questions.[123] Indeed, he tried to avoid too much controversy which he could not afford. In 1902, for example, when Jules-Paul Tardivel of La Vérité raised pertinent questions about the colony of St. Paul des Métis, Langevin advised Father Lacombe to proceed with great care even though the charges were unjustified. "...nous ne sommes pas beaucoup en mesure de lutter," he said. "Nos compatriotes sont devenus susceptibles et nous avons grand besoin d'eux."[124]

Langevin's restraint is manifest when compared with the attacks levelled on Quebec by the French-speaking Liberal press of Western Canada. Indeed, Langevin even apologized to Jules-Paul Tardivel for articles appearing in l'Echo de Manitoba, a Liberal weekly edited by Henri d'Hellencourt,

condemning Quebec for not having done more to direct its emigration towards Manitoba and describing the mother province "comme à peu près inhabitable."[125] What aroused the Quebec journalist's anger was an article from l'Echo reprinted in Montreal's La Patrie in which d'Hellencourt blamed Quebec for the Manitoba School Question and accused it of naïveté about the B.N.A. clause dealing with fixed representation for Quebec in the House of Commons. L'Echo said in part:

> Depuis trente années, il vous eût été facile de nous envoyer chaque année un contingent de 2,000 colons, pris parmi les foules qui se précipitaient vers les Etats-Unis.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Nous n'aurions jamais eu de question des Ecoles, car notez-le bien en passant, c'est vous, vous seuls, de la province de Québec, qui êtes responsables de ce qui est arrivé à la minorité manitobaine.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Le moindre effort, la moindre bonne volonté de votre part et la minorité catholique française, alimentée, renforcée par les contingents de Québec, eut suffi à faire respecter ses droits au Manitoba.[126]

Tardivel dismissed the conclusions of journalists who engaged in "La colonisation dans leur bureau", and argued that there was no easy solution to "la fièvre urbaine" which he saw as the cause of emigration from Quebec. Furthermore, he asked if others were not more responsible for the failure of French-Canadian settlement in Western Canada,

pointing once more to Mgr. Taché's discouraging statements as far back as 1859. In any event, even if this had not been the case, there was no guarantee that any success could have been achieved. On the Manitoba School Question, Tardivel rather tended to blame "l'incurie et la mauvaise administration de certains hommes politiques bien connus de là-bas", and also the lack of unity amongst Franco-Manitobans who remained "stupidement divisés en bleus et en rouges, assurant ainsi le triomphe de l'injustice." No practical solution, he concluded, had yet been found to eradicate the exodus from Quebec, but he agreed that those wishing to leave Quebec "feraient infiniment mieux d'aller prendre des terres dans l'Ouest, que de s'ensevelir dans les centres industriels des Etats-Unis."[127]

Meanwhile, Le Courrier de l'Ouest, a Liberal weekly published in Edmonton, openly called for an emigration from Quebec towards Western Canada. After all, it claimed, Ontario had done so and had found it advantageous. It could not understand, therefore, why it was that,

> En certains quartiers de la province de Québec, il existe un sentiment hostile, mal raisonné, mais prononcé tout de même à l'égard de la colonisation de l'Ouest canadien par de braves citoyens qui s'en trouveront beaucoup mieux, après tout, de l'échange d'une terre des Laurentides pour un homestead de la plaine grasse et féconde. Nous n'avons jamais pu saisir le bien fondé de cette hostilité. Où serait donc le mal?[128]

In subsequent years, Le Courrier de l'Ouest carried on a campaign against nationaliste elements in Quebec. It especially attacked what it described as the "peloton nationaliste" of Henri Bourassa and Armand Lavergne. It could not agree with their view that the Department of the Interior aimed at overwhelming the French-speaking population by favouring foreign immigration and, at the same time, by discriminating against French immigration to Canada. Le Courrier de l'Ouest thought instead that the French-Canadian press was the one opposed to French immigration to Canada, especially the ultramontane newspapers in Quebec which saw "dans les Français que des suppôts du démon. Pour eux, pas d'exceptions, Français, lépreux, franc maçons sont synonymes, ils forment un tout, dont le contact est absolument dangereux."[129] Philippe Roy, one of the most prominent French-speaking leaders in Alberta and soon to become Canadian High Commissioner in Paris, also used the columns of his newspaper to castigate L'Action Sociale for its blanket condemnation of the Anglo-Protestant group as the one responsible for the loss of status of the Franco-Catholic minorities in the West:

> ...s'il m'est permis, personnellement, de placer les responsibilités où je crois qu'elles doivent être, je dirai, que si nous avons vu rétrécir quelques-unes de nos prérogatives, ce n'est pas tant dû à la ruse, à la violence et au mépris, de la foi jurée, exercés par nos concitoyens d'origine anglaise qu'à notre propre faiblesse dans l'Ouest, et à l'indifférence que les Canadiens-Français de Québec ont montré vis-à-vis leurs compatriotes de l'Ouest.

Senator Roy had some advice for his Québécois friends:

> Dites à la presse nationaliste de Québec de cesser sa campagne de dénigrement contre notre beau pays de l'Ouest.
>
> Que ces journalistes cessent de broyer de noir, et d'enrayer l'immigration de nos compatriotes vers l'Ouest, en leur montrant constamment le fantôme de l'abjuration et de l'anglification.[130]

The Catholic leadership of the West could not of course be as outspoken as the Liberal weeklies which it disliked in any event. But while Archbishop Langevin and his suffragan bishops did not share all the views of men like d'Hellencourt and Senator Roy, they must have welcomed some of the frank and direct talk addressed to the Quebec élite. Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface was itself able on occasion to strike out at those Quebec newspapers which, in its view, misrepresented the facts. One such opportunity presented itself when Montreal's La Presse stated that there had been insufficient propaganda inviting French-Canadians to go west. Not so, confided Mgr. Langevin's diocesan bulletin to its readers:

> La vraie raison du petit nombre de Canadiens dans l'Ouest--nous le disons tout bas--c'est que le clergé, les laïques influents et les journaux ont, en général, détournés nos compatriotes et les ont encouragés à aller plutôt sur les terres rocheuses au Nord et même aux Etats-Unis.[131]

These were perhaps excessive views which Les Cloches toned down weeks later by admitting that there were of course two opinions in Quebec on the subject of French-Canadian coloni-

zation of the West. While a weekly such as La Croix, a Dominican publication, opposed it, there were supporters of the movement, one of whom, the Honourable Louis Beaubien, following a five month tour of the West, had encouraged his compatriots to study the advantages of Western Canada.[132]

Generally, however, moderation and quiet diplomacy characterized the Church's overtures to Quebec. That was apparent once more at the first Congrès de la langue française held in Quebec City in June 1912. In the afternoon of the first day's session, Mgr. Olivier-Elzéar Mathieu of Regina--who had been in the West less than a year--spoke to the delegates from Western Canada on the relations between East and West "avec un tact exquis":

> Nous ne voulons point arracher à la province-mère les enfants dont elle a besoin, a-t-il dit; Québec est notre château-fort, et tout ce qui contribue à la grandeur de Québec contribue à la force et à la grandeur des groupes français du dehors. Mais, d'autre part, que Québec nous réserve donc le surplus de ses forces; tout ce qui fortifie les avant-postes tourne à la gloire et à la force de Québec. Nous avons un pays immense, aux ressources infinies: pourquoi n'en pas prendre notre part. Ne vaut-il pas mieux que vos fils se fassent là-bas cultivateurs, rois et maitres sur leur sol, qu'ouvriers dans un pays étranger?[133]

Bishop Mathieu of course never explained what he meant by "le surplus de ses forces." It could either refer to that segment of Quebec society looking south towards the United States, or to those farmers who found the St. Lawrence valley too constraining for their families and therefore

considered relocating in northern Quebec.

If Bishop Mathieu was ambiguous about the class of settlers which the francophone communities of Western Canada hoped to recruit in Quebec, Archbishop Langevin did not hide the fact that he wanted more than just those French-Canadians living in the United States or those thinking about emigrating there. In his view, the function of the missionary-colonizers operating in Quebec was not only to perform "preventive" work among those about to leave for the United States, but also to provide information to all Quebec agriculturists on the farming potential of the West. The Montreal office of the missionary-colonizers, first organized in the early 1890s by Father Lacombe and the abbé J.B. Morin, carried on this work for almost twenty years without being disturbed. Now, in 1914, the Honorable Louis-Philippe Pelletier, Postmaster-General of Canada, told Mgr. Langevin of complaints made to him concerning the activities of the abbé J.G. Bouillon who operated largely out of the Montteal bureau. The accusation was that his work tended to depopulate Quebec for the benefit of Western Canada.[134] As a result, the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Roche, was considering the closure of the agency, a move which Langevin hoped to prevent. "...j'ai lieu de croire que ma protestation et celle de mes collègues, et l'injustice et l'odieux du procédé vis-à-vis des prêtres colonisateurs va empêcher sa

mise à exécution. Ce serait odieux!"[135] Langevin told Pelletier that he could not understand the reason for the charges, that his missionary-colonizers were among the best government agents, and that Dr. Brisson of the Société de Rapatriement de Montréal, among others, supported colonization efforts in the West. What distressed him the most was that the attack came from a French-Canadian from Quebec. Continuing, he felt that these were critical years for the French-speaking community of Western Canada, and that the Minister should put an end to the attack. His objectives were clear:

> Nous désirons de tout notre coeur que la bonne province de Québec se fortifie par une colonisation intense qui offre au colon tous les avantages désirables comme le fait la province d'Ontario qui a attiré, sans le vouloir, un si grand nombre des nôtres; mais nous pensons que c'est rendre un service éminent à la cause nationale tant Canadienne que Canadienne française que d'amener dans l'ouest ceux des nôtres qui préfèrent la prairie à la forêt.[136]

Pelletier was not satisfied and asked for assurances. There was no need, he informed the Archbishop, to accuse others of having asked Dr. Roche to consider the closure of the Montreal agency, "car c'est moi qui ai demandé au Département de l'Intérieur que les agents de colonisation et de rapatriement ne dépeuplent pas la province de Québec au bénéfice de l'Ouest." He was not opposed to the idea of sending to Western Canada those French-Canadians from Quebec who wanted to leave the province, "mais j'estime que ce serait

un malheur national que d'enlever à la province de Québec des gens qui sont consentants à y rester." In his opinion, the government should not encourage the movement of population from one province to another. Colonization agents should concentrate on repatriation efforts only. Therefore, he could not agree to the activities of agents based in Montreal who distributed literature and published in newspapers "des articles qui étaient de nature à nous enlever de la province de Québec du monde qui sans cela y resterait et je suis convaincu que Votre Grandeur admettra avec moi que ceci est inacceptable."[137]

Faced with the possible closing of an office deemed indispensable to the success of his plans, Mgr. Langevin could not afford to lose the support of a French-speaking minister within the Borden government. He agreed that there could be no question of depopulating Quebec. And then he added a 'but':

> Mais, soyez assuré qu'il n'y a jamais eu qu'un bien petit nombre de familles françaises venues de Québec: la plupart viennent des Etats-Unis. Croyez-moi.[138]

Thus believing that he had settled that issue, Langevin went on with his plea:

> En second lieu, si vous chassez nos prêtres colonisateurs de Montréal, vous prendrez sur vous et sur votre poste l'odieux d'une mesure anti-patriotique et anti-religieuse. Pardonnez ma franchise.

> Aucun cabinet n'y a encore songé! J'aime à croire que vous n'y songerez plus! [139]

Finally, the Archbishop maintained that the French-speaking groups outside Quebec were important as an extension of Quebec influence. He hoped that no one would suggest the idea of "la réserve de Québec" for French-Canadians; isolation within Quebec would prove disastrous for the French-Canadians.

A further exchange settled the differences between the Archbishop and the politician. Given the assurance from Mgr. Langevin that the missionary-colonizers based in Montreal would not attempt to depopulate the province of Quebec, Pelletier could say that the agency was in no difficulty as long as direct appeals ceased to be made to the Québécois.[140] To this Mgr. Langevin could respond that he and his fellow bishops were interested primarily in obtaining settlers from the United States. However, he added, those French-Canadians determined to leave Quebec could significantly strengthen the position of the French-speaking groups across the West at this critical juncture of their development.[141]

For a time, Mgr. Langevin instructed the missionary-colonizers not to write letters or articles in Quebec newspapers in order to avoid further incidents.[142] Nonetheless, it was obvious that there was little enthusiasm for this retreat from a field of colonization which remained the prime source of recruits for Western Canada.

* * *

The French-speaking Catholic community of Western Canada believed for at least half a century after 1870 that Quebec held the key to the successful settlement of the West by people belonging to their nationality and to their faith. Churchmen especially maintained that while Europe could provide significant groups of Catholic and francophone immigrants for the West, Quebec would forever remain the prime source of recruits for the Franco-Catholic community. However, this expectation rested on the assumption that lay and clerical leaders in Quebec perceived the West as a natural and useful extension of Catholic Quebec.

Unfortunately this was not the case. In the face of serious socio-economic and political problems in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, political and religious leaders in Quebec tended to be far more concerned about the future of their province than about the position of the Franco-Catholic minorities outside its borders. There was sympathy for them, but there would not be the kind of commitment to the expansion of Catholic French Canada on the scale that men like Archbishops Taché and Langevin hoped for. In the area of colonization, all that the Quebec hierarchy was prepared to do was invite those Québécois who absolutely wanted to leave their province to establish themselves in the Canadian

West rather than in the United States. This policy, contained in the "Lettre Circulaire" of 1871, remained the limited goal throughout the period under study. And, while no Quebec government took an official stand on the issue--indeed it appears that none volunteered to do so or that none was asked to do so--, it is likely that each new administration ascribed to the general guidelines arrived at between the Quebec hierarchy and Mgr. Taché in 1871.

Church leaders in the West, while concurring in principle to the programme laid down in 1871, nonetheless sought repeatedly to give a broad interpretation to its provisions and to convince their Quebec counterparts that it was in the best interests of the French-Canadian nationality and the Catholic Church to implant a fairly large Québécois population on the Prairies. Yet, regardless of the support received from the Quebec clergy, they were never satisfied and indeed came to blame Quebec priests, journalists and politicians for the loss of status and rights of the Franco-Catholic groups in the West. Theirs was a sweeping condemnation of Quebec, easily understood if one bears in mind their total involvement and dedication to causes in which they firmly believed. So caught up in their "causes sacrées"--the defence of Church and School--were Taché and Langevin, among others, that they could not fail to accuse the Québécois of short-sightedness when the stream of French-

Canadian settlers did not materialize on the scale which they expected. It should be noted too that French-language Liberal weeklies in the West said much the same thing as Church authorities in the years after 1900. Thus, there existed more than just a clerical viewpoint on Quebec; there was a Western francophone viewpoint.

Finally, the friction between East and West rested on another assumption: that the clergy, politicians, élites, and press of Quebec could have easily diverted the exodus of French-Canadians from Quebec towards Western Canada. The following chapter on the work of repatriation agents will show how those in the field had serious doubts about the feasibility of such a movement.

FOOTNOTES

[1] All three were elected to the first Legislative Assembly of Manitoba in December 1870. Royal added to his influence by founding Le Métis in 1871, a weekly dedicated to defending the interests of the Métis and of the Church.

[2] The first small contingent of recruits from Quebec, including a clergyman, teachers, farmers, and a few others, arrived in the Fall of 1871. See Le Métis, 21 septembre 1871; also, PAM, Fonds Joseph Dubuc, "Mémoires", p. 43. A.A.C. LaRivière, who was to play an important role in the Franco-Manitoban community over the years as a politician and publisher of Le Manitoba, arrived in late October 1871 to work in the Dominion Lands Office. See Le Métis, 2 novembre 1871.

[3] Gilles Paquet, "L'émigration des Canadiens français vers la Nouvelle-Angleterre, 1870-1910: prises de vue quantitatives," Recherches Sociographiques, Vol. V, no. 3, (septembre-décembre 1964), pp. 319-370; Albert Faucher, "L'émigration des Canadiens français au XIXe siècle: position du problème et perspectives," ibid., pp. 277-317. Faucher estimates that between 500,000 and 600,000 French-Canadians left Quebec between 1815 and 1890.

[4] See Marcel Hamelin, Les Premières années du parlementarisme québécois, 1867-1878 (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1974), pp. 73-117.

[5] Ibid., p. 181.

[6] Mgr [Alexandre] Taché, Esquisse sur le Nord-Ouest de l'Amérique (Montréal: C.O. Beauchemin et Fils, 1901), pp. 175ff. The Appendix to this pamphlet first published in 1869, includes a series of letters of Taché to Le Canada in 1894, in which he defended his colonization programme over the preceding thirty-five years. He recounts how the abbé Georges Dugas, upon his return from a recruitment campaign in Quebec, "me fit part de ses impressions et de celles de Sir George, signalant un moyen à prendre pour généraliser un mouvement vers le Nord-Ouest. Comme les vues exprimées étaient aussi les miennes, je me rendis à Québec où était Sir George. Les évêques canadiens étaient réunis en assemblée provinciale. Je demandai à Leurs Grandeurs de vouloir bien nous aider dans notre importante entreprise. Tous me promirent leur concours, à la condition

qu'il ne se ferait rien qui pût enrayer l'oeuvre de la colonisation, telle que poursuivie dans la province de Québec." Unfortunately, Taché does not indicate how his views coincided with those of Cartier.

[7] AASB, Fonds Taché, "Assemblée des Evêques de la Province ecclésiastique de Québec", [octobre] 1871. The italics are mine.

[8] The text of this important 1871 circular is found in Appendix I.

[9] AASB, Fonds Taché, Ottawa, 6 juin 1872, Proulx à Taché.

[10] Ibid., Ottawa, 8 juin 1873, Ritchot à Taché.

[11] Ibid., Montréal, 21 février 1876, Lacombe à Taché.

[12] Ibid., Montréal, 19 mars 1876, Lacombe à "Monsieur le Curé". Lacombe told Taché that he had received permission from the bishops to circulate this letter. Ibid., Montréal, 24 mars 1876, Lacombe à Taché.

[13] Lacombe also argued that "Si on ne prend pas la chose en sérieuse considération et des moyens énergiques pour faire face à l'élément protestant anglais, qui nous envahit là-bas, bientôt nous ne compterons plus dans la balance des affaires politiques." Ibid., Montréal, 19 mars 1876, Lacombe à "Monsieur le Curé".

[14] Ibid., Montréal, 6 juin 1876, Lacombe à Taché.

[15] Ibid., Montréal, 1er mai 1876, Lacombe à Taché. See also Le Nouveau Monde, 18 mai 1876; La Minerve, 29 avril 1876; 19 mai 1876; 24 mai 1876; 1er juin 1876.

[16] Manitoba Free Press, 14 June 1873.

[17] AASB, Fonds Taché, Montréal, 7 février 1877, Lacombe à Taché. The rationale for turning away these people probably had to do with their lack of financial resources and with the absence of a programme of assisted passages from Quebec to Manitoba. Given the measures favourable to repatriation from the United States to the West, Lacombe chose to concentrate his efforts there. It is likely also that Lacombe had misgivings about urban dwellers being able to return to an agricultural milieu.

[18] La Minerve, 8 avril 1876.

[19] Ibid., 9 mai 1876.

[20] THe B.N.A. Act stipulated that Quebec's representation of 65 members would form the base for the determination of the number of seats to be allotted to other provinces in the House of Commons.

[21] While a larger French-speaking population might have helped maintain, at least for some time, the equal representation of French and English in the local legislature, it was relatively insignificant at the federal level where the French-speaking vote counted only in Provencher. It is difficult to imagine how the Québécois would be impressed by the prospect of gaining one, and perhaps two, Western seats for French-Canadian power in Ottawa.

[22] Taché, op. cit., passim.

[23] AASB, Fonds Taché, Montréal, 6 avril 1876, Lacombe à Taché; ibid., Montréal, 10 juin 1874, Lacombe à Taché. On the latter occasion, the missionary told the Bishop that there was little prospect of emigration to Manitoba from Quebec in spite of his talks on it. Also, he reported that "on m'a déjà dit quelques fois, 'Mais Mgr Taché et quelques uns de ses prêtres ont bien dit du mal de Manitoba, par rapport à son climat, sa pauvreté, etc.' Dans certaines des paroisses, ... il est inutile de parler sur ce sujet."

[24] Ibid., Montréal, 6 avril 1876, Lacombe à Taché.

[25] PMAA, Fonds Oblat, B II, 612-614, "Lettres de Mgr Taché", Saint-Boniface, 25 août 1876, Taché à [Lacombe]. In 1880, Taché, in response to a request from Lacombe to provide him with "quelques explications pour détruire l'effet désavantageux qu'aurait produit mon 'Esquisse sur le Nord-Ouest'", answered that "ma brochure lue et comprise ne dit rien de ce qu'on lui fait dire." Ibid., B II, 612-615, "Lettres de Mgr Tache, 1860-1894", St-Boniface, 26 février [1880], Taché à Lacombe.

[26] Le Canada, 13 janvier 1894.

[27] Ibid., 15 janvier 1894.

[28] Ibid., 31 janvier 1894. Taché's letter also appeared in Le Manitoba,,24 janvier 1894, and in the 1901 edition of his Esquisse...

[29] Le Canada, 10 février 1894.

[30] Ibid., 31 janvier 1894.

[31] AASB, Fonds Taché, Montréal, 1er mars 1876, Lacombe à Taché.

[32] Le Métis, 21 mai 1879, quotes Le Nouveau Monde.

[33] Le Métis, 12 juin 1879, quotes Le Journal de Québec.

[34] Ibid. [35] Ibid.

[36] L'Opinion Publique, 27 mai 1880. Also quoted in Le Métis, 3 juin 1880.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Le Métis, 22 juin 1880, quotes L'Opinion Publique.

[39] Le Métis, 8 avril 1880, quotes Le Courrier de St-Hyacinthe.

[40] Le Métis, 20 mars 1880, quotes Le Canada.

[41] See Chapter I, pp. 28-29.

[42] See Canada: Sessional Papers, no. 9, 1878. Annual Report of Dufferin Agent. Dufferin, 31 December 1877. Jean Têtu noted that the settlers established on lands belonging to La Société de Colonisation du Manitoba during the last two years had "little means" at the time of their arrival. In a pamphlet printed in [1893], called Le Manitoba Jugé par ses Colons, French-Canadian repatriates of 1876-77-78, among others, told of having arrived in Manitoba with very little money in their pockets, if any at all.

[43] PAC, R.G. 17, LB, Ottawa, 6 March 1879, Lowe to Lalime; ibid., LB, Ottawa, 1 May 1879, Lowe to Dubuc, M.P. Le Métis, 24 avril 1879, asked how it was that the Hon. Masson, who had been so sympathetic while in opposition, could not obtain better terms for repatriation work, and also why it was that the repatriation bonus had been reduced by 2/3 and the Detroit agency of Dr. Whiteford closed.

[44] See Chapter I, pp. 31-36.

[45] AASB, Fonds Taché, Québec, 12 janvier 1880, [Taschereau] à Taché.

[46] Ibid., Trois-Rivières, 10 janvier 1880, Laflèche à Taché.

[47] Ibid., St-Boniface, 23 janvier 1880, Taché à Laflèche.

[48] Ibid., Rimouski, 14 février 1880, [Langevin] à Taché. Taché knew of Mgr Langevin's proposal to select good Catholic families in Europe, because Mgr Laflèche had written to his old companion about it a month earlier.

[49] See footnote 47.

[50] Ibid.

[51] AASB, Fonds Taché, St-Sauveur-de-Québec, 17 février 1880, Lacombe à Taché.

[52] Ibid., Montréal, 19 février 1880, Lacombe à Taché. Said Lacombe of Mgr Laflèche's commitment: "Il m'a promis qu'il allait faire tout en son possible, pour nous aider." Of the Québécois colonizer from St-Jérôme, he said only that he went "pour m'entendre avec Mr Labelle." Ibid., Montréal, 6 mars 1880, Lacombe à Taché.

[53] Ibid., Trois-Rivières, 24 mars 1880, Lacombe à Taché.

[54] Ibid., Montréal, 12 avril 1880, Lacombe à Taché.

[55] Ibid., Montréal, 14 avril 1880, Lacombe à Taché. The reason for desiring a brochure signed by Taché was that the clergy distrusted those published by the federal government. Mgr. Taché, undoubtedly with the difficulties produced by his own Esquisse...,,replied that it was not necessary for his name to appear on such a publication. See PMAA, Fonds Oblat, B II, 612-615, "Lettres de Mgr Taché, 1860-1894", St-Boniface, 19 avril 1880, Taché à Lacombe.

[56] AASB, Fonds Taché, Québec, 16 avril 1880, Lacombe à Taché.

[57] Ibid.

[58] See my own "Le Manitoba et l'Immigration Canadienne Française, 1870-1891" (thèse de maîtrise non publiée, Université d'Ottawa, 1969), pp. 118-121.

[59] W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History (Second Edition: Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), p. 201.

[60] Le Manitoba, 25 septembre 1883.

[61] Morton, op. cit., pp. 222-223.

[62] See Chapter I, pp. 31-36.

[63] See PAC, R.G. 15, no. 60497, "La Compagnie Canadienne de Colonisation" [1883]. Included in the company's prospectus was a letter from Mgr. Taché dated Saint-Boniface, 14 février [1883], Taché à LaRivière et Bernier.

[64] La Minerve, 13 mars 1883.

[65] L'Etendard, 5 mars 1883.

[66] Le Manitoba, 18 septembre 1884, quotes Le Monde.

[67] Le Manitoba, 25 septembre 1884.

[68] Le Manitoba, 16 octobre 1884, quotes La Minerve.

[69] Ibid.

[70] See Léopold Lamontagne, "Le Roi du Nord et sa suite française à Winnipeg en 1885", CHAR, (1954), pp. 36-44.

[71] Le Manitoba, 8 avril 1886; La Verité, 24 avril 1886.

[72] See La Verité, 15 mai 1886; 12 juin 1886; 3 juillet 1886; 10 juillet 1886; 17 juillet 1886; 24 juillet 1886; Le Manitoba, 29 avril 1886; 17 juin 1886; 8 juillet 1886; 15 juillet 1886. See also Pierre Savard, Jules-Paul Tardivel, la France et les Etats-Unis, 1851-1905 (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1967), p. 222.

[73] The abbé J.M. Jolys, parish priest at St-Pierre-Jolys, who was touring Eastern Canada in search of settlers, told his bishop that if Tardivel had the last word, "nous ne pourrons guère compter sur des familles de la province de Québec..." AASB, Fonds Taché, Montréal, 14 juillet 1886, Jolys à Taché.

[74] Ibid., St-Boniface, 27 avril 1886, [Taché] à Tardivel. One must recall that Taché had condemned the rebellion of 1885 in the North-West, and that he had advised political and religious leaders in Quebec to avoid a racial confrontation over Riel's death.

[75] AASB, Fonds Taché, St-Boniface, 30 juin 1886, Taché à Tardivel.

[76] Ibid., Québec, 2 octobre 1886, Tardivel à Taché.

[77] AAE, Fonds Grandin, "O", Québec, 17 mai 1886, Tardivel à Grandin; St-Anastasie, P.Q., 7 juillet 1886, Grandin à Tardivel; Québec, 8 juillet 1886, Tardivel à Grandin.

[78] Ibid., Québec, 28 novembre 1887, Tardivel à Grandin.

[79] La Verité, "Lettres de voyage", 12 juillet 1890; 19 juillet 1890; 26 juillet 1890; 2 août 1890; 9 août 1890.

[80] Ibid., 23 août 1890, in reply to "Un ami" writing in Le Manitoba, 13 août 1890.

[81] La Verité, 30 août 1890. Tardivel engaged in an exchange of views with other correspondents, including the abbé C.A. Beaudry, missionary-colonizer. See La Verité, 6 septembre 1890; 20 septembre 1890.

[82] AASB, Fonds Taché, Montréal, 2 février 1892, Lacombe à Taché.

[83] La Minerve, 12 juillet 1892, quoted in Robert Rumilly, Monseigneur Laflèche et son temps (Montréal: Editions B,D. Simpson, 1945), p. 349.

[84] AASB, Fonds Taché, St-Albert, 20 novembre 1889, [Mgr Grandin] à Mgr Taschereau (copie).

[85] [St-Boniface], 23 novembre 1887, Taché à Bernier, in T.A. Bernier, Le Manitoba - Champ d'Immigration (Ottawa: 1887), pp. 4-5.

[86] Ibid.

[87] AASB, Fonds Taché, La Présentation, P.Q., [1887], Beaudry à Taché.

[88] Ibid., Ste-Anne des Plaines, 12 janvier 1892, Dugas à Taché.

[89] ACAM, Dossier "Colonisation", (773.154), La Présentation, 4 mars 1888, C.A. Beaudry à Fabre.

[90] Ibid., Livre manuscrit IV, Montréal, 10 mars 1888, Fabre à Beaudry. Father J.B. Nolin, S.J., had been designated by Fabre to preach in favour of colonization throughout the diocese.

[91] AASB, Fonds Taché, Ste-Anne des Plaines, 15 mars 1893, Dugas à Taché.

[92] See p. 166.

[93] PAM, Department of Education, Letterbook of the Superintendent of Catholic Schools, Report for 1886.

[94] For an interpretation of the Manitoba Act of 1870 as a premature and inappropriate constitution for the Province of Manitoba, see Donald Creighton, "John A. Macdonald, Confederation and the Canadian West," in Donald Swainson, (ed.), Historical Essays on the Prairie Provinces (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1970), pp. 60-70. Reprinted from the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Transactions, Series III, no. 23 (1966-67). Creighton concludes that "The West did not get its institutions in accordance with the provisions of some long-range plan; on the contrary, the process was characterized throughout by accident and improvisation. The pressure of circumstances, the influence of certain powerful political interests, and the ambition of a few key personalities, all combined to force a series of hasty and ill-considered decisions; and the result was the abandonment of Macdonald's plan for the gradual development of government in the North-West and the premature establishment of an elaborate and cumbersome constitution. This attempt to fix the political institutions of the west before immigration and the growth of population had determined its true and permanent character was a mistake for which the whole of Canada paid dearly." P. 69.

[95] Paul Crunican, Priests and Politicians: Manitoba Schools and the election of 1896 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), p. 321.

[96] For a good bibliography of the Manitoba and North-West Schools Questions, see Crunican, op. cit., and 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).

97 Jacques Gouin, "Histoire d'une amitié: correspondance entre Chapleau et De Celles (1876-1898), RHAF, Vol. 18, no. 4 (mars 1965), p. 548. [De Celles à Chapleau, 20 mars 1895].

98 AASB, Fonds Langevin, LB 1, Saint-Boniface, 5 avril 1898, Langevin à Gaire. See also Chapter I, p. 40.

99 Ibid., St-Boniface, 15 novembre 1898, Langevin au Dr. T.A. Brisson, agent général de la Société de Colonisation et de Rapatriement, also found in M.J. Blais, Le Manitoba - Renseignements et conseils aux Canadiens-Français de la Province de Québec et des Etats-Unis (Ottawa: Imprimerie de l'Etat, 1898), and in Rapport du Congrès de Colonisation tenu à Montréal les 22-23-24 novembre 1898 (Montréal: Imprimerie de "La Patrie", 1900.

100 Blais, op. cit., p. 7.

101 AASB, Fonds Langevin, "A Plan to Favour Immigration & Peace in our Canadian North-West", [September, 1898].

102 Ibid. Interestingly, the Plan contained a clause which would involve the Company in the Manitoba School Question:

"As the Company is highly interested in the peace of the country, and as the Catholics feel dissatisfied in Winnipeg and in every mixed center because they are paying taxes for the support of Public Schools where they cannot and do not send their children and they have no money for the support of their own schools where their children are educated. For all these reasons, and to encourage people to come more willingly in the country, a certain part of the amount of $10,000, let us say $4,000 would be sent to the Catholics of Manitoba represented by the Archbishop."

103 Ibid., Montréal, 3 octobre 1898, Lacombe à Langevin.

104 PMAA, Fonds Oblat, D IV 505, "Lettre de l'Archevêque et des Evêques de la Province de Saint-Boniface Aux Vénérables Archevêques et Evêques des Diocèses de la Province de Québec", [1899].

105 Canada: Sessional Papers, no. 13, 1900. Report of Thomas Gelley, French Interpreter. Winnipeg, 1 January 1900. In addition, Gelley reported that immigration from France and Belgium had decreased from year to year since

1893. He could not explain it, but thought that it might be attributed to "dissatisfied men who had no agricultural tastes, but were of a roaming disposition, and who, without money or the first principle of economy, came to Canada and returned home dissatisfied with our country. This may be one of the reasons of the decrease."

106 AASB, Fonds Langevin, Montréal, 1er mars 1899, [Circular addressed to "Monsieur et cher ami"].

107 Le Manitoba, 27 juin 1900.

108 Ibid.

109 Ibid., 11 juillet 1900; 18 juillet 1900.

110 AASB, Fonds Langevin, Ottawa, 14 juillet 1900, Mgr Joseph-Thomas [Duhamel] à L.-A. Prud'homme.

111 Ibid., Valleyfield, 16 juillet 1900, Mgr Joseph [Emard] à Roger Goulet, Secrétaire du Congrès National.

112 Ibid., Rimouski, 11 juillet 1900, Mgr André-Albert [Blais] à Roger Goulet.

113 Ibid., "Immigration Canadienne-Française des Provinces de l'Est et des Etats-Unis pour l'année 1900" [1901?].

114 See Chapter II, p. 124.

115 See the report of delegates, "Le Manitoba comme Champ de Colonisation" in La Verité, 28 septembre 1901. La Verité, true to form, asked to know the sources for the conclusions arrived at.

116 AASB, Fonds Langevin, [St-Boniface], 3 novembre 1903, Langevin au Rév. Elphège Filiatrault, prêtre-curé de St-Jude.

117 Ibid., LB 5, Montréal, 14 novembre 1902, Langevin à Bruchési.

118 Ibid., LB Oblats II, [St-Boniface], 1er mars 1903, Langevin à Blais.

119 LCSB, Vol. II, no. 13 (mars 1903), pp. 185-186.

120 Ibid., Vol. 1, no. 16,(novembre 1902), p. 396. Also AASB, Fonds Langevin, LB 5, [St-Boniface], 2 décembre 1902, Langevin à Rodolphe Forget. In this letter, Langevin talked about the meeting held at Forget's residence on November 25th, and referred to discussions between Forget and Shaughnessy of the C.P.R., about the possibility of buying lands from the company. Langevin urged him to make haste, adding that Forget should ask the federal government to open up the even sections as homesteads. For his part, Langevin was prepared to appoint a priest who would find settlers for a new parish.

121 AASB, Fonds Langevin, LB Oblats I, [St-Boniface], 24 décembre 1902, Langevin à Blais.

122 This writer has found no evidence that this proposal went beyond the stage of general discussion.

123 Both Paul Crunican and Manoly Lupul, among others, point to Langevin's intransigence throughout the debate over the Schools Questions. When the Quebec hierarchy would have liked to de-emphasize the issue, Langevin forged ahead because for him it was a matter of "principle".

124 AASB, Fonds Langevin, LB Oblats I, [St-Boniface], 31 janvier 1902, Langevin à Lacombe. See also La Verité, 30 novembre 1901; 7 décembre 1901; 21 décembre; 18 janvier 1902; 25 janvier 1902; and, Emeric O. Drouin; Joyau dans la plaine... (Québec: les Editions Ferland, 1968), p. 164.

125 AASB, Fonds Langevin, [St-Boniface], 27 février 1902, Langevin à Tardivel; also ibid., Québec, 10 février 1902, Tardivel à Langevin. The article appeared in L'Echo de Manitoba.

126 La Patrie, 24 janvier 1902, quotes L'Echo de Manitoba. In his article, d'Hellencourt claimed that Western Canada's population would soon surpass that of Quebec, and that Quebec could have hoped to see French-Canadians control four or five of its seats in Parliament.

127 La Verité, 1er février 1902. In response, Langevin said he regretted and condemned articles attacking Quebec. He thought it was unjust to denigrate Quebec, even though it had not helped as much as it should have in the recovery of Catholic schools. AASB, Fonds Langevin, [St-Boniface], 27 février 1902, Langevin à Tardivel. Further commentary appeared in LCSB.

128 Le Courrier de l'Ouest, 30 novembre 1905.

129 Ibid., 18 avril 1907.

130 Ibid., 19 mars 1908.

131 LCSB, Vol. VIII, no. 8 (avril 1909), p. 101. La Presse was commenting on an appeal made by the abbé Pierre Gravel. The Montreal newspaper said this about the colonizer's call to his French-Canadian compatriots: "C'est dommage que ce langage n'est [sic] pas été tenu aux nôtres il y a trente ans quand on a commencé le développement de l'Ouest canadien. On représentait alors cette partie du pays comme une terre de désolation, et le résultat a été que nos compatriotes, obligés par la gêne et la misère de laisser la province de Québec, ont émigré aux Etats-Unis." La Presse expressed the wish that it was not too late to remedy the situation, but added: "Mais en face des résultats que nous constatons aujourd'hui dans le Nord-Ouest canadien, c'est avec un pessimisme trées justifié que nous envisageons l'avenir."

132 Ibid., Vol. VIII, no. 9 (mai 1909), p. 121-122.

133 Le Devoir, 25 juin 1912.

134 AASB, Fonds Langevin, Ottawa, 31 mars 1914, Pelletier à Langevin.

135 Ibid., LB 18, [St-Boniface], 5 juin 1914, Langevin à Corbeil.

136 Ibid., LB 18, [St-Boniface], [3 juin 1914?], Langevin à Pelletier.

137 Ibid., Ottawa, 6 juin 1914, Pelletier à Langevin.

138 Ibid., LB 18, [St-Boniface], 15 juin 1914, Langevin à Pelletier.

139 Ibid.

140 Ibid., Québec, 20 juin 1914, Pelletier à Langevin.

141 Ibid., LB 18, [St-Boniface], 7 juillet 1914, Langevin à Pelletier.

142 Ibid., Montréal, 21 juillet 1914, Corbeil à Langevin; ibid., Montréal, 7 septembre 1914, Corbeil à Langevin.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE MOVEMENT OF FRANCOPHONES TO THE CANADIAN PRAIRIES 1870-1915

A Dissertation

Presented to

the Faculty of the Graduate School

University of Ottawa

V. 2

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

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by

Robert Painchaud

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CHAPTER IV

THE CHURCH AND THE REPATRIATION MOVEMENT

In the four decades preceding the outbreak of World War I, the Franco-Canadian leadership of Western Canada relied heavily upon clerical and lay colonizers, acting independently or as government agents. Close to one hundred individuals were connected to various colonization schemes, although a number of them played only marginal roles. The more important figures--men like Father Albert Lacombe, the abbé C.A. Beaudry, Auguste Bodard, the abbés Jean Gaire, Pierre Gravel, and J.A. Ouellette, Dom Paul Benoît, and others--operated over a long period of time and within an ever-changing framework. The future of the Franco-Catholic communities of Western Canada did not rest entirely on the success of their colonization efforts, however, because even their initiative, dedication, and competence could not overcome obstacles that were beyond their control. Similarly, governments cannot be entirely blamed for their often hesitant support of the colonizers, as they were mindful of the futility of some proposals for colonization.

The role of French-speaking colonization agents in the repatriation question is critical, given the

nationaliste interpretation which holds that the federal government showed little or no interest in the matter.[1] An analysis of the activities of the repatriation agents should reveal to what extent, if at all, this interpretation is founded in reality. We must ask ourselves whether these agents believed that repatriation was practicable and whether the federal authorities were influenced in their repatriation policy by the achievements of these colonizers, or the lack thereof.

This chapter challenges the oversimplification inherent in the nationaliste viewpoint by examining the different stages in the repatriation movement between 1870 and 1920. In each of the four phases discussed here, the repatriation agents--lay and clerical--expressed clear reservations about the viability of repatriation en masse and even concluded that once the French-Canadians were firmly rooted in the United States, it became difficult if not impossible to interest them in a second migration towards the Canadian West. That explains the presence of all of the missionary-colonizers in the province of Quebec where they engaged in what they called "preventive" work - that is the recruitment of people for the West before their departure for the United States. It is not surprising therefore that successive federal governments paid only minimal attention to repatriation.

* * *

The first phase in the repatriation movement began in 1874 and ended in 1888. What characterized it was the presence of full-time repatriation agents in the United States after 1874 and a concerted effort on the part of the federal government and La Société de Colonisation de Manitoba to direct a stream of French-Canadians living in the United States towards Manitoba. The favourable report of Father P.E. Gendreau[2] on the prospects of effecting the repatriation of a number of French-Canadian families also added to the optimism which accompanied the appointment in the Fall of 1874 of Dr. Richard Whiteford as repatriation agent for the Western States and that of Charles Lalime in the Spring of 1875 as an agent in the New England States.[3]

Repatriation presented itself as the most acceptable way of recruiting French-speaking settlers for Manitoba in the 1870s, because clerical and political leaders in Quebec were opposed to any programme which might encourage the further depopulation of their province. The economic recession which affected the industrial centers of New England also offered opportunities for obtaining settlers. Prior to his appointment, Charles Lalime described to the Hon. Luc Letellier de St. Just the problems in the manufacturing sector: "...since last fall the Manufactures in

the States of New England have given very little work to those working in the mills, and I suppose you are aware that over three quarters of the Canadian population in the United States are working in the mills."[4] There were strikes "of the most serious character" in Fall River, Massachusetts, and fears that others would take place in Lowell and in Lawrence. He estimated that there were 17,000 French-Canadians in these three communities and that many families were ready to return to Canada if the Canadian government were prepared to assist them by providing for their travel expenses and for their establishment in Manitoba.[5]

The two government agents, in conjunction with La Société de Colonisation de Manitoba and with Father Albert Lacombe--Mgr. Taché's missionary-colonizer between 1874 and 1880--, were to address meetings in Franco-American communities in the United States and discuss the advantages which Manitoba held for agriculturists. Dr. Whiteford explained his modus operandi:

> When visiting a city, I bring with me letters of introduction to the principal Canadian and other societies and also to several prominent citizens so as to facilitate my becoming acquainted; as soon as possible, I either call a meeting or assist at some meeting of their organized Societies and there, in a lecture I explain to them the desire of the Department of Immigration [sic] detailling the offers made by the government, the free grants; describing to the best of my ability the advantages of the country; reading to them letters received from some of those already established in Manitoba or other

> parts of the Dominion of Canada and after or towards the close of the meeting I distribute pamphlets and circulars given to me for distribution, reading extracts from them which I follow by explanations. I frequently also have letters and descriptions of the country, sent to me by correspondents, that I read to them. At every meeting I ask the audience to ask questions concerning the country...
>
> I always ask the opinion of those present concerning their desire to return or to emigrate to Manitoba; or to provinces of Canada. I generally find that a large portion in each meeting intend emigrating or returning to Canada, of these more seem induced to choose other portions of the Dominion than Manitoba, owing to the distance to be travelled or to the fear of the grasshopper scourge. During the remainder of my sojourn in a certain place, I occupy myself visiting leading citizens favorable to emigration and also the parties wishing to emigrate. I generally find the latter very exacting in their demands, wanting reduced fares or free passes and frequently being entirely destitute asking for money...[6]

While Dr. Whiteford travelled in Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Connecticut, Charles Lalime organized lectures in New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts. Father Lacombe told Mgr. Taché that the moment was most opportune for the success of the programme:

> Le temps est bien favorable aux Etats-Unis pour prêcher l'émigration à nos Canadiens, dont un très grand nombre n'ont plus d'ouvrage. Grand nombre de manufactures sont fermées, ou celles qui fonctionnent encore n'emploient plus qu'un nombre bien restreint d'ouvriers et à de bas prix. Je suis bien reçu par les Curés Canadiens des différentes localités que j'ai déjà visitées malgré l'appréhension que peut leur causer ma présence au milieu d'eux. Malgré eux, ils sont obligés de suivre le mouvement.[7]

French-language newspapers in the United States lent support to the repatriation cause in the 1870s. Le

Courrier Canadien of Woonsocket, Rhode Island, described the times as "extrèmement durs en Amérique" and urged the French-Canadians to abandon their luxurious ways and return to an agricultural way of life by settling on the fertile lands of Manitoba.[8] The Protecteur Canadien of Fall River, Massachusetts, observed that "il y a partout dépression et dans toutes les industries, il y a surabondance de main d'oeuvre, les prix sont à terre, et la souffrance s'ensuit." It invited its readers to return to a rural milieu, because "l'agriculture est la plus libre, la plus noble, la plus royale des professions."[9]

But ideological appeals were insufficient to create a general repatriation movement in the United States in the 1870s. Father Lacombe, in his letters to Mgr. Taché during the campaigns of 1876-79, admitted in effect that by trying to take advantage of a downturn in the business cycle, both he and the other agents would succeed only in attracting to Manitoba the unemployed, and then only during the recession.[10] Dr. Whiteford also conceded in his Annual Report for 1877 that in spite of efforts to send to Manitoba people of the "proper class", that is farmers with some capital, he found many more paupers along the way. He tried to discourage them but added that

> I might obtain larger results if I wished to do otherwise; a large number deficient in means to properly establish themselves would promptly, with the liberal reimbursements offered and the free grant of lands, avail themselves of the advantages; but I impress upon their minds the necessity of their having some capital (to the amount stated in pamphlets) before preparing to leave;[11]

By their own admission, these colonizers discounted the possibility and even the desirability of stimulating a large migration of French-Canadians from the United States to Manitoba. The class of people who wanted to go to the West were unacceptable to them.

The evidence suggests that these first repatriation agents did not succeed in recruiting the "proper class" of settlers for Manitoba. The explanation for the failure of Dr. Whiteford's Detroit agency lay partly in the choice of Whiteford himself. A brother-in-law of the then Minister of Justice, the Hon. Télesphore Fournier, Whiteford performed so inadequately during his first year that John Lowe finally had to ask him twice for a report of his activities, warning that "... continued absence of such reports is of a nature to bring in question the continuation of such agency."[12] Whiteford tried to explain away his mediocre returns by claiming that he was hampered by the great distances separating the French-Canadian communities in the Western States, that the Department had given him insufficient instructions and had further directed him to keep his mission secret,

that the costly fares between Detroit and Winnipeg prevented many prospective settlers from going to Manitoba, and that, in any event, "...la population de l'Ouest émigre moins que celle de l'est."[13] Yet, at the same time, he alleged that one thousand families at least had been repatriated to Canada.[14] Lowe remained unimpressed, informing the doctor once again, in 1877, that "...the practical results from your agency, have not in the past, been found satisfactory", and that the Department found it difficult to keep him on unless there was evidence of settlement in Manitoba by emigrants from his region.[15] Father Lacombe was equally unimpressed by Whiteford, and said as much to Mgr. Taché: "[Whiteford] ne fait rien et gagne son argent en ne faisant rien, parce que c'est une créature du Gouvernement."[16] Not surprisingly, the incoming Conservative administration of John A. Macdonald in 1878 did not renew Whiteford's mandate. The only real benefit derived from Whiteford's brief tenure of office was the obtention of a reduced rate of transport, subsidized by the Department of Agriculture, for settlers travelling from the Western States to Manitoba.[17] No figures are available on the actual number of Canadians--French-Canadian or otherwise--repatriated to Canada by this ineffectual colonizer.

Charles Lalime, on the other hand, achieved greater success in his colonization endeavours. In the twelve

years his Worcester, Mass., agency operated, he claimed to have sent 5,613 people to Manitoba and the North-West.[18]

TABLE I

REPATRIATION FIGURES FOR CHARLES LALIME'S WORCESTER, MASS., AGENCY (1876-1886)

Year	Total	Year	Total	Year	Total
1876	361	1880	169	1884	839[d]
1877	563	1881	206	1885	260
1878	750[a]	1882	633[b]	1886	367[e]
1879	565	1883	900[c]		

a Lalime provides this figure in his Annual Report for the year 1878. His report for the year 1884, however, gives a total of only 464 settlers for 1878.

b There were as many English-speaking settlers as French-speaking settlers.

c This figure is given as approximate in the 1883 Report. In the following year's Report, it is given as 741.

d Only 55% of these were French-Canadian.

e Only 40% of these were French-Canadian.

Source: Canada: Sessional Papers (Agriculture), 1877-1887.

During the first four or five years, he concentrated almost exclusively on the repatriation of French-Canadians, but in later years the proportion of repatriated Canadiens fell to less than 50% of his yearly totals. The most successful years in the repatriation of French-Canadians to Manitoba

were those between 1876 and 1880, when economic conditions in the New England States combined with generous government subsidies assisted materially in the creation of a substantial movement. Lalime was at his best then, travelling and lecturing extensively, and waging a strong propaganda campaign through Le Travailleur, the Franco-American weekly owned by his brother-in-law Ferdinand Gagnon.[19]

Lalime gradually lost interest in the cause of repatriation in the 1880s. An amelioration in the New England economy, and more importantly the growing belief that the Canadiens could remain loyal to their roots while becoming American citizens--a viewpoint expressed in the early 1880s by Gagnon himself--, and Lalime's business interests, all combined to diminish the fervour of previous years. Lalime ceased to be a colonization agent, becoming instead an information officer for the Canadian government and a mere ticket agent.[20] In 1887, on the death of his brother-in-law, he acquired Le Travailleur.[21] In that same year, L.O. Armstrong, of the C.P.R. Land Colonization Bureau, complained that Lalime had not sent him "a single emigrant from New England" during the last two years, and that he had no doubt that Lalime was working for commissions from United States railroads. "It is as much his interest", remarked Armstrong, "to have plenty of French Canadians travel into the States from Canada as vice versa."[22]

This C.P.R. report probably added to an earlier recommendation made to the Minister that the Worcester Agency be closed, because "the show of immigration, as compared with the expenditure, is unsatisfactory; but this may not have been owing to any fault of Mr. Lalime."[23] Lalime was assured that this action was taken "simply as a question of policy in the economy of conducting the operations for repatriation..."[24]

It is surprising that the federal government maintained the Worcester Agency as long as it did, because there were indications in the 1880s that repatriation was not attractive to the French-Canadians living in the United States. In 1881 Lalime himself testified to the failure of repatriation before a committee of the Massachusetts Legislature:

> Why? Because we have work in the New England States; because everybody finds occupations and our Canadians will not go west, or a very few of them. For the last four years, gentlemen, for the last three years, we certainly have not sent from New England more than I should say thirty families - I mean sent to Canada or any one of the Provinces of Canada, or to Manitoba. Quite a number from the other side have gone to settle in Minnesota and Dakota.[25]

Edward Blake used this evidence as well as that of other witnesses in 1884 to show that little could be achieved by this programme and that "a large number of those who came to Canada afterwards went back again,"[26] Lalime added to

this dismal picture a few months prior to the closing of his office when he further explained to an official in the department of Agriculture that the Franco-Americans were taking root in the United States:

> He told me that the clergy, including the bishop, were very much opposed to any movements of the Canadians from the United States to Canada and he told me further that the influences against such movements were very difficult to overcome.[27]

Lalime's assessment of the entrenchment of the French-Canadian population in the United States accompanied a growing irritability among the Franco-Catholic leadership of Manitoba on the attitudes towards repatriation taken by the French-Canadian clergy working in the United States. T.A. Bernier engaged in a protracted polemic on this very subject in the pages of Le Manitoba and of Le Franco-Canadien of St. Jean, P.Q., in 1886. He confided to a close confidant, Boucher de La Bruère, editor of Le Courrier de St-Hyacinthe, that he disliked the controversy, but that

> les Canadiens des Etats-Unis, prêtres et laïques, sont dans l'habitude de venir étaler dans notre presse toutes leurs promesses et leurs succès; c'est une façon de dire aux gens, venez nous trouver - et l'on perd ainsi une foule de gens qui sans cela n'auraient jamais pensé à aller aux Etats-Unis.[28]

So troubled was he by this situation, that he was prepared to raise publicly

> la question de l'attitude du clergé Canadien aux E.-U. vis-à-vis nous qui n'est pas celle qu'il devrait avoir, et j'irai presque devant les évêques s'il le faut. Nous saurons si les prêtres canadiens s'en vont aux Etats-Unis, pour y attacher davantage ceux de nos compatriotes qui y sont déjà, et pour en attirer qui n'y sont pas encore, tandis qu'ici nous dépérissons.[29]

The first phase in the repatriation movement ended on this note of pessimism. For twelve years, the federal government had maintained a repatriation office in the United States devoted almost exclusively to diverting the flow of French-Canadians from Quebec towards Manitoba and the North-West. The results were unsatisfactory both to the government and to the Franco-Catholic leaders in the West. The class of people who showed interest in the Canadian West was not that desired by either the Church or the federal authorities. More importantly, it appeared that once established in the United States, the French-Canadians were reluctant to return to Canada. And, finally, in spite of his genuine interest in the French-speaking minority of Western Canada, Charles Lalime belonged to the Franco-American milieu.

Mgr. Taché took the initiative in 1887 to lauch a new type of repatriation campaign. During this second phase which lasted until approximately 1900, repatriation work was undertaken by missionary-colonizers subsidized by the federal government but largely accountable to the bishops of Western Canada who secured their appointments in the first

TABLE II

GOVERNMENT REPATRIATION AGENTS (CLERGY) FOR THE DIOCESE OF ST. BONIFACE, 1870-1915

Name	Years of service	Remarks
Albert Lacombe	1875-1880	Appointed agent "pro tempore" for 1877 only. Lectured in Quebec and in the United States with Lalime. Other repatriation work for Mgr. Taché in the 1880s.
C.A. Beaudry	1887-1893	No salary from the government. Edited Le Colonisateur Canadien (January 1889 to October 1893). Subsidized by the government.
Osias Corbeil	1895-1897	First of three appointments. Resigned when the C.P.R. cancelled his pass over their lines.
Moïse Blais	1898-1907	Previously worked in the diocese of Prince Albert. Wrote Le Manitoba et le Nord-Ouest canadien (1898).
Pierre Gravel	1907-1912	Dismissed by the Conservatives. Taken on again in 1923. Recruited mostly for Saskatchewan.
Georges Bouillon	1913-1916	Enlisted for overseas service in 1916.
Osias Corbeil	1916-1918	Third appointment. Died in 1918. No successor.

place. They conducted repatriation campaigns in the United States, but they also placed a great deal of emphasis on what came to be called 'preventive' work in the province of Quebec. Thus, they tried to anticipate the departure of French-Canadians for the United States and sought to recruit them for the Canadian West before they had a chance to establish roots in the United States. Mgr. Taché and his fellow bishops hoped that this change in personnel and in strategy would bear more fruit than the previous approach.

Beginning in 1887, the bishops of Western Canada each obtained the services of a full-time missionary-colonizer for repatriation work. The abbés C.A. Beaudry and J.B. Morin, along with Father Moïse Blais, at first acted independently of the government, but soon received some form of subsidy from the Department of Agriculture. The abbé Beaudry, soon after his 'conversion' to the cause of French-speaking settlement in the North-West, sought and obtained from the federal Minister of Agriculture a $600 grant to revive the former C.P.R. publication, Le Colonisateur Canadien, to be distributed without charge at a series of lectures he proposed to give "dans les endroits ravagés par l'émigration et dans les centres canadiens des Etats-Unis." He had already begun preaching against emigration to the United States in the diocese of St. Hyacinthe, and "déjà plus de cent colons et explorateurs sont partis pour

TABLE III

GOVERNMENT REPATRIATION AGENTS (CLERGY) FOR THE DIOCESES OF SASKATCHEWAN, 1892-1915

Name	Years of service	Remarks
Moïse Blais	1892-1894	First of two appointments. Left the diocese of Prince Albert in 1894.
J.H. Brousseau	1897-1899	Resigned at the request of Bishop Pascal, because of his ineffectual work.
H.L. Gouin	1899-1902	No information available on his work.
Léandre Vachon	1902-1906	Gave 200 lectures in Quebec and in the United States. Helped establish parishes of Bellevue, Marcellin, etc... Became curé of Saskatoon in 1906.
J.C. Sinnett	1907 [?] -1911	Resigned in 1911. Replaced by a layman, Amédée Cléroux. The latter was in turn ousted by the Conservatives.
A.P. Bérubé	1908-1912	Agent for northern Saskatchewan. Clashed with diocesan clergy. Died in 1913.
Nap. Poirier	1914-1922	Replacement for Gravel. Resigned in 1922. Replaced by Gravel the following year.

le Manitoba, et les demandes de renseignements pleuvent de toutes parts." He explained further that "l'émigration aux Etats-Unis se recrute surtout dans les classes des petits propriétaires et des fermiers, classe que je ne puis atteindre par les journaux puisque ces gens ne paieront jamais pour lire."[30] Thereafter, the grant to the bi-monthly was renewed yearly until the paper was taken over in October 1893 by La Société de Colonisation et de Rapatriement de la Province de Québec.[31]

For his part, Bishop Grandin of St. Albert wasted no time in seeking government support for the work undertaken early in 1890 by the abbé Morin, colonization agent for the diocese in the Saskatchewan valley. In thanking the Hon. John Carling, Minister of Agriculture, for a $200 grant in favour of Morin's various activities, Father Albert Lacombe hoped that the movement would be a success and "that another year, you will give us more to bring more of our people and so to stop the emigration of our french canadians [sic] to the United States."[32] Nor is it surprising to see that the same Father Lacombe, accompanied by Father P.E. Gendreau, called upon the Minister of Agriculture in January 1892, to inform him that

> the experience already acquired of the good working of immigration in Manitoba under Rev. Father Beaudry, and in Alberta under Rev. Father Morin, [and that the undersigned therefore] wish to propose you the name of Rev. Father Blais,

TABLE IV

GOVERNMENT REPATRIATION AGENTS (CLERGY) FOR THE DIOCESE OF ST. ALBERT, 1890-1915

Name	Years of service	Remarks
J.B. Morin	1890-1898	Appointed government agent in 1895. Returned to Montreal in 1898. Submitted repatriation plan in 1899, but it was turned down.
L. Laganière	1903-1905	In the diocese since 1903. Founded Brosseauville in 1904. Recalled by his order.
Osias Corbeil	1905-1907	Second appointment. In the Yukon from 1898 to 1905. Government dispensed with his services in March 1907 on the recommendation of Bishop Legal.
J.A. Ouellette	1907-1912	Resigned in 1912 to help organize La Société de Colonisation d'Alberta. Later, director of the Bureau des Prêtres-Colonisateurs.
A. Ethier	1912-1913	Was curé of Morinville.
A. Normandeau	1913-1917	Author of three brochures on Alberta.

> for the same work for the district of Saskatchewan. The Rev. gentleman is personally well known to us and highly recommended by his Bishop of Prince Albert.[33]

Thus, with Blais's appointment as an "Immigration Agent" a few weeks later, each of the three dioceses of Western Canada was served by a full-time colonizer, all of whom benefited from some form of government support.[34]

These three missionary-colonizers set out to prevent the 'expatriation' of thousands of Québécois to the United States by encouraging them instead to consider at least the possibility of taking up lands in the Canadian West. To that end, they organized excursions from Quebec to Western Canada for interested parties of farmers or clergymen, lectured extensively across the province of Quebec, and tried to insert articles in the local press on the resources of the Prairies. In his official report for the year 1891, the abbé Morin told of meetings over the winter months "in the Counties of Joliette, Montcalm, Portneuf, &c", as a result of which twenty-two families joined the new colony he was establishing in Northern Alberta.[35] At the request of Manitoba's colonization agent, the abbé Beaudry accompanied an exhibition of Manitoba products on a tour of parishes situated along the Intercolonial line.[36] Mgr. Taché's agent also preached against emigration in the diocese of Nicolet and elsewhere in Quebec.[37] Father Blais carried on in the same manner in other parts of Quebec.

The 'preventive' work in Quebec became such an important source of settlers for the West that the abbés J.B. Morin and Osias Corbeil--the latter succeeded the abbé Beaudry as colonization agent for the diocese of St. Boniface[38]--opened a bureau de renseignement in Montreal that same year.[39] It served both to oversee frequent excursions by the colonizers to the United States and to direct field operations in Quebec more often than not in direct opposition to the guidelines contained in the "Lettre Circulaire" of 1871. Thus, the 'repatriation' function was greatly enlarged in the 1890s to allow for the covert recruitment of settlers within Quebec itself.

On at least two occasions, formal denunciations resulted from these activities within la belle province. In 1896, soon after the opening of the bureau de renseignement, Dr. A.T. Brisson of La Société de Rapatriement de Montréal urged Osias Corbeil, whom he described as the ex-Secretary of Mgr. Langevin and as "a large lymphatic, always tired ... of doing nothing and not possessing any aptitude as a recruiting agent." He added further that Corbeil's "role of emptying the Province of Quebec for the benefit of the West is at the same time seen unfavourably by the members of the Clergy, who do not hesitate to close the doors of their presbyteries to him." Nor did Brisson's accusations end there; the abbé Jean-Baptiste Morin

also attracted his censure.

> In this connection I cannot pass over in silence the Abbé JB Morin, attached to the same office, and who carries on in our Canadian parishes the same unpopular work as the Abbé Corbeil. The abbé Morin is a persevering worker, endowed with resources and much endurance. I suggest respectfully that instead of allowing him to depopulate the Province of Quebec, he should be sent in the capacity of Agent of repatriation to the United States of the West, as to Montana, Nebraska, the Dakotas, etc., where it is easy to find an excellent harvest of excellent colonists.[40]

It is not known what action, if any, Laurier took as a result of these criticisms of the Montreal-based repatriation agents, but the very continuance of the office during the Laurier years indicates at least tacit approval for occasional campaigns in Quebec. Following the election of a Conservative government in 1911, the Hon. Louis-Philippe Pelletier, Postmaster-General, took advantage of complaints addressed to him about the activities of one missionary-colonizer in Quebec to warn Archbishop Langevin about the inadvisability of depopulating Quebec for the benefit of Western Canada. The threatened closure of the Montreal office led to the exchange of letters between the Quebec minister and the St. Boniface Archbishop in which they discussed the limitations to be placed on the activities of the Western colonizers operating in Quebec.[41]

In spite of criticisms directed against them in

Quebec, the colonizers continued to operate there, in the belief that success depended on reaching the French-Canadians before their emigration to the United States. Father Moïse Blais admitted in 1899 that he spent most of his time in Quebec doing 'preventive' work:

> My principal operations have been in the province of Quebec, as I consider it is there that I can secure the class of colonists which would be most successful. However, I have confined my work among farmers who were unable to establish their children in this province, or had determined on emigrating to the United States.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> These colonists are now making efforts to bring to Manitoba their parents and friends who may be obliged for one reason or another to move away from Quebec. The flow of immigration towards the Western prairies, which commenced last year, promises to grow larger and larger, and if I can judge by appearances, you will receive next spring a considerable contingent of good families from the province of Quebec - people who would otherwise be lost to Canada, by removal to the United States.[42]

Blais had taken a party of 200 people, mostly from Quebec, to Manitoba in the Spring of 1899, and had previously explained to the Superintendent of Immigration that

> they were all persons who had fully made up their minds to emigrate to the United States, and who would have done so, if I had not induced them to cast their lots with their compatriots who have turned out to be successful farmers in the Province of Manitoba.[43]

Father Blais was not the only colonizer to concentrate his efforts on Quebec. The abbé H.L. Gouin, repatriation

agent for Mgr. Pascal in 1900, gave lectures in the Quebec Counties of Champlain, Maskinongé, Dorchester, and Mégantic, following which he expected that "a number of our compatriots who intended to depart for the neighbouring Republic will reconsider the matter, and turn their attention to the Canadian West instead."[44] In a later report, Gouin told of holding forty meetings in Quebec and in the United States, and that, as a result, twenty-six persons--not a very impressive record--went west on his recommendation. Of these, four were from Manchester, New Hampshire, five were from Champlain County in Quebec "who had intended and were ready to go to Arizona," and the remaining seventeen were from other parts of Quebec.[45]

While the colonization agents who served the three dioceses of Western Canada after 1887 spent much of their time doing 'preventive' work in the province of Quebec, they pursued direct repatriation work in the United States. There was, however, no full-time or permanent repatriation officer in the United States after 1887 to assist them. Rather than appoint a successor to Charles Lalime, the Department of Agriculture chose instead to bear the expense of occasional trips to the United States by the missionary-colonizers, beginning with the abbé C.A. Beaudry. Late in 1889, John Lowe informed Mgr. Taché that his department had decided to receive favourably an application by Beaudry, endorsed by

the C.P.R. Colonization Agent[46], to visit the New England States. A specific amount of $200 was authorized for the "experiment" which was to be tried over forty days.[47] During his brief sojourn in New England, Beaudry was so sensitive to the prejudices against Manitoba that he and L.O. Armstrong of the C.P.R. devised a new programme for their audience - a trip from Paris to Hong Kong "en passant 4000 milles à travers le Canada."[48] No sooner had he returned to Canada that he proposed a second series of lectures in the United States, again in cooperation with Armstrong.[49] As a result of these initiatives, an undetermined number of explorers and tourists along with a small number of repatriated families went to Manitoba and the North-West Territories.[50]

While Beaudry continued to concern himself with this and other aspects of the repatriation question[51], the abbé J.B. Morin, along with the abbé L.E. Carufel of La Société de Colonisation et de Rapatriement de Montréal, visited communities in the United States where concentrations of French-Canadians could be found.[52] On their return, Carufel suggested to the Department of Agriculture that it appoint a permanent repatriation agent in the United States, but this proposal was turned down.[53] The government preferred to continue the policy of approving beforehand each proposed trip to the United States. It still

applied in the case of the abbé J.H. Brousseau in 1897.[54] Osias Corbeil, who was to encouter numerous difficulties with the C.P.R. regarding his effectiveness, nonetheless obtained permission from the Department of the Interior in that same year to visit parts of the Mid-West where he enlisted delegates to tour Western Canada.[55]

The colonizers in time found the restrictions on their travels to the United States a barrier to their success. Father Blais, faced with Laurier's insistence "on the necessity of conducting my operations, chiefly in the United States, with a view of repatriating compatriots", submitted that his remuneration would not permit "that class of work on a very large scale." He was prepared to transfer his operations to the United States and to address himself particularly to those who had successful relatives already established in Manitoba, but was told by the Superintendent of Immigration that no general allowance could be made for that purpose, although the Department would consider each proposal for a visit to the United States separately.[56] The results of his tour through more than twenty New England localities were quite meager. Only one family moved to Manitoba, although Blais maintained that he could have gotten a few more, but had advised them instead to wait a while before leaving. He explained the small yield of repatriates in the following manner:

> It will be easily understood that it is scarcely possible to determine a movement of population from the States by merely calling upon expatriated Canadians and pointing out to them the advantages which Canada offers for this repatriation. The work is necessarily a long and tedious one; and some of these people require to be seen twice, and sometimes even more often than that, before they can be induced to return to Canada.[57]

Not surprisingly, the Department of the Interior replied to his request that he be allowed to revisit certain points in the United States by claiming that it was not in a position to consider the matter at the moment.[58]

Thus, in the decade following the closing of the Worcester Agency, repatriation work in the United States among the French-Canadian element was carried on irregularly. Assuming that the best technique of recruiting settlers for Western Canada was the personal and frequent contact between individual families and an agent thoroughly familiar with the country of settlement, it is quite clear that the federal government did not provide the funds or the personnel to maintain regular contacts with the French-Canadian community in the United States.

What requires explaining are the reasons for this moderate policy of repatriation. One possible interpretation of course is that advanced by the nationaliste historians, to the effect that the federal government dismissed out of hand the very notion of repatriating the Franco-Catholic

element of Canada. The more likely interpretation is that federal officials felt in the years after 1888 that the repatriation movement was marginal compared to the immigration that could be obtained from European sources. Elements which undoubtedly contributed to their thinking along these lines included: the opinion of the colonizers themselves on the feasibility of repatriation coupled with their preference throughout the 1890s for 'preventive' work in Quebec rather than for direct repatriation work in the United States; the growing acceptance of the Franco-American centres as extensions of French Canada; and, the lack of results shown by a number of government-sponsored agents.

Skepticism in the immigration branch of the government concerning the viability of repatriation stemmed not only from the unfavourable assessment of costs and benefits leading up to the closing of the Worcester Agency in 1888, but also from Charles Lalime's comments on the opposition to the programme from clerical and lay groups in New England. John Lowe, Deputy Minister of the Department of Agriculture and the official directly concerned with the administration of the Branch, confirmed this view in 1889 when he told Mgr. Taché that he agreed with the abbé C.A. Beaudry's conclusion that "repatriation en masse" was not possible.[59] It is not surprising therefore that the government, concerned with economy, decided to reduce its expenditures in the

repatriation field.[60] That was achieved by eliminating the New England office and by controlling more stringently the allocations for travel in the United States by its own agents. Throughout the 1890s, the Department concerned agreed to fund the lecture tours by agents such as the abbés Beaudry, Corbeil, and others, but it weighed each proposal carefully. At the same time, the federal government acquiesced in its colonizers' travels throughout Quebec in an effort to divert the flow of emigration towards Western Canada. Indeed, it helped establish the Montreal headquarters for this work in 1895.

Also damaging to the repatriation movement was the widely-held conviction that the French-Canadian presence in New England especially was a natural and almost providential expansion of that Franco-Catholic group in North America. The publication in 1891 of Father Edouard Hamon's Les Canadiens français en Nouvelle Angleterre was well received, because the Jesuit argued that Providence "a, dans cette émigration qui nous étonne, des vues qui nous sont inconnues. Laissons-la faire. Elle saura tirer du bien de ce qui nous semble un mal."[61] Jules-Paul Tardivel of La Vérité and Bishop Laflèche of Trois-Rivières were among leading French-speaking Catholics who dreamed of the creation of a French Catholic State carved out of Quebec and New England.[62] Expressions of this kind of sentiment on the part of

influential public figures could only strengthen the federal government's disinclination to intensify its repatriation programme.

Lastly, the repatriation movement's lack of success was directly related to the quality and resourcefulness of the missionary-colonizers. The abbés C.A. Beaudry and J.B. Morin as well as Father Moïse Blais enjoyed the confidence of the federal authorities during their terms as colonizers after 1888, but there were problems with other agents of the Western bishops. Mgr. Pascal of Prince Albert waited two years after Father Blais' first retirement from colonization work to recommend to Wilfrid Laurier the abbé Joseph Ferron as his candidate for the vacant position. Incredibly, Pascal had not met this French-Canadian priest who lived in the United States and whom he now wanted as a missionary-colonizer attached to his diocese.[63] Months later, Pascal withdrew his endorsement of Ferron when he learned that the latter's bishop, Mgr. Laflèche of Trois-Rivières, refused to provide the necessary authorization to Ferron, because of his own and his family's Liberal sympathies in the 1896 election.[64] Nor did Pascal fare much better with his second nominee, the abbé J.H. Brousseau, of Sainte-Anne-de-la-Pérade, who was duly appointed in February 1897 at a salary of $500 per annum, but who experienced difficulties from the outset both with the Prince

Albert pastor and with the Interior Department's officials. His failure to report periodically on his activities or to provide the Department with weekly diary reports made his work suspect.[65] But in the end, it was Pascal himself who moved to replace him. From Europe, he requested Father Lacombe to find him a replacement for Brousseau "[qui] n'a pas agi consciencieusement."[66] To Laurier, the unhappy Bishop admitted that "malgré sa bonne volonté, Monsieur Brousseau n'a pu déterminer beaucoup de colons à venir s'établir dans notre riche vallée. Il n'est pas donné à tout le monde de réussir dans ce pénible travail. Je viens de le prier de donner sa démission."[67] He elaborated further on Brousseau's shortcomings in a letter to T.O. Davis:

> One does not find reasons for bringing about this change. It suffices, however, to open one's eyes and consult the reports to convince oneself that Mr. H. Brousseau has not done any good on account of colonization during two years for Saskatchewan. He confesses himself that he has not any taste for this work and that he has laboured without success. The two journeys which he made to Prince Albert, Duck Lake, St. Louis, etc., were hasty visits and without results. He has not tried to find out the advantages or inconveniences of the country so as to be able to speak or write with knowledge of the case. The colonists were not able to explain to him their wants, their views and their position. He did not meet them to talk matters over. Seeing all this and not wishing to incur the blame of the Dept. because it was I myself who had appointed him two years ago, I believed that conscientiously I ought not to allow a man to remain in charge who benefited by the funds of the Government and did not earnestly labour to fulfill his duties.[68]

Mgr. Pascal continued to experience difficulties with his colonizers. Not surprisingly, the government hesitated before appointing the Reverend H.L. Gouin, vicar at Sainte-Anne-de-la-Pérade, Brousseau's parish, as an official agent.[69] In turn, he was replaced in 1902 by Father Léandre Vachon, an Oblate priest who was perhaps among the most successful colonizers of the French-speaking dioceses of the West.[70]

The abbé Osias Corbeil, who served Mgr. Langevin's diocese, encountered problems of a different nature with the Department of the Interior. The Department was in the habit of helping its agents obtain passes from the C.P.R. for purposes of travel in Canada, but when the Passenger Traffic Manager of the Company, on the strength of a report "that Father Corbeil did nothing in the immigration line for us last season", ruled against renewing the latter's pass over the Company's lines, there was little government officials could do.[71] They could not compel the C.P.R. to grant Corbeil a pass; it was up to him to show that the report quoted by the Company was unfounded.[72] In the meantime, however, the Minister was prepared to assist him, but without further information as to his past work, he was "disinclined to authorize any expenditure in this connection."[73] The Deputy Minister further assured Corbeil that the Hon. Clifford Sifton was

> willing and anxious to do anything in his power to forward this work, and if you have any definite scheme that you wish to carry out in this regard and which you know will be successful, he would be glad to furnish you with transportation.[74]

The colonizer took advantage of this offer to ask the Department to defray his expenses for a repatriation trip to the United States. He finally received this authorization and, after "milles ennuyeuses demandes", also obtained the all-important pass from the C.P.R. Within a few months, however, Corbeil, anticipating that the problem would arise again with the Company--and probably recognizing that the Department was unimpressed with his work--submitted his resignation.[75]

The preparedness of the government to assist materially those repatriation agents who performed their duties well showed up in the hasty return of Father Moïse Blais to active colonization and repatriation work as Corbeil's replacement. In the almost nine years which followed, both the Department of the Interior and the Canadian railways facilitated Blais' endeavours by extending to him the nécessary funds and transportation facilities to pursue his repatriation programme. His tenure of office was far less troubled than that of his predecessor. When failing health forced him to resign his position in 1907, he had nothing but words of praise for the "invariable [sic] good treatment"

he had received from the Department.[76] Thus the contrast between the Department's relations with the abbé Corbeil (1895-1898) and with Father Blais (1892-1894 and 1898-1907) illustrated the government's support of its repatriation agents in so far as they demonstrated ability to achieve the greatest results at the least possible expense.[77]

The federal government's obvious stringency during the 1890s in matters concerning French-Canadian repatriation gave way in the first decade of the 20th century to a more forceful and committed approach to the question. This third phase in the repatriation movement was characterized by a renewed interest in direct repatriation efforts in the United States. There was also a discernible shift to the Western States as a source of repatriates. At the same time, however, Church appointees to government-funded repatriation positions continued to conduct their 'preventive' campaigns of recruitment in Quebec. The only thing that marred an otherwise cooperative effort on the part of the federal government and the Church was the political partisanship which manifested itself in clashes between French-speaking laymen and churchmen in the West.

The bishops of Western Canada led a move beginning in 1899 to have the federal government adopt schemes put forward by the abbé J.B. Morin and by Father Moïse Blais for an increase in the repatriation programme. Morin

addressed himself especially to the old question of transportation costs.[78] He proposed to concentrate his efforts on the Mid-Western states. In 1900-01, the Franco-Manitoban leadership lobbied extensively in Ottawa for Father Blais' plan to focus on those same states - North Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan. Blais noted that in this region "nos compatriotes sont employés à la coupe du bois ou à l'exploitation des mines ou à la culture de la terre."[79] Blais obtained funds for short trips to these states, where he worked closely with other Canadian government officials.[80] Once he had proven himself, the Department approved a plan that allowed him to spend up to three months during the winter of 1901-02 in Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin. Thereafter, until his retirement in 1907, he made frequent trips to the Eastern and Western States, with moderate success. The most telling aspect of his reports to the Superintendent of Immigration, W.D. Scott, is his endeavour to form "the opinion of leading citizens, on the great advantages of the Canadian North west."[81] Of course, the very admission of the need to "form the opinion" of the Franco-American leadership reveals the permanence of the constant uphill battle which the repatriation agents were forced to wage against what they interpreted as mere prejudices.

Nonetheless, repatriation work in the United States

appeared to bear fruit after 1900. In the official report for 1903, the Department of the Interior reported that total immigration from the United States during a twelve-month period ending June 30 was almost double that of the previous year. "The trend of immigration to Western Canada from the neighbouring republic during the past few years has increased to such a degree that the movement is exciting much uneasy comment from some American newspapers and other interested quarters."[82] The repatriation of French Canadians paralleled this increase in overall immigration. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901, Léon Roy stated that 275 French Canadians arrived from the United States, compared to 445 from the Eastern provinces; the following year, there were 585 arrivals from the United States and 416 from Eastern Canada; and, in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, French Canadian repatriates outnumbered their Quebec compatriots by 822 to 610.[83] So encouraging were these developments that the Department expected to open two or three active agencies in the eastern United States, where "it is quite possible that persistent and systematic effort would induce a large movement ot Manitoba and the North-west Territories."[84] Over the next two years, offices were opened in Boston, Mass., Syracuse, N.Y., Biddeford, Me., and Providence, R.I. One of the functions of Elzéar Gingras, agent in Rhode Island was the distribution of thousands of

copies of St. Boniface's Le Nouvelliste and Edmonton's Le Courrier de l'Ouest, a propaganda technique which could only assist the repatriation agents in their work.[85]

The intensification of the repatriation programme in the United States in the 1900s can be seen in the number of trips which the missionary-colonizers--Blais, Ouellette, Gravel, Bouillon, Bérubé, Normandeau, and Laganière--made to Franco-American centers. They did not neglect the New England States, but they worked the Western States as never before. Bishop Legal of St. Albert agreed with his colonizer's assessment that the American West was a better field of operations than New England. "Ces gens connaissent la vie qu'ils auront à mener ici. Ils y sont habitués, & pour eux c'est une question d'amélioration dans leur situation. Pour les Canadiens de l'Est, c'est trop l'inconnu pour eux."[86] Father H.L. Vachon described his activities in the Western States during the 1904-05 season:

> I have continued during the last year the work taken up in previous years, that is, of lecturing French settlements in farming districts. The result, I am pleased to say, has been satisfactory with regard to the quality and quantity of settlers. Those emigrants formerly from Canada form a very desirable class of settlers, as they are men who have acquired fortune and experience in farming in the United States. I must say that the interest in the North-West is increasing among the French people; this is evidenced by the numerous invitations sent to me from different parts of the country to lecture on Canada. One of these invitations came from as far as Butte City, Montana; I took advantage

> of this invitation tendered to me to go and lecture in several French settlements of Montana, and not without effect, as it is noticed that the percentage of French settlers from that direction is higher this year than previously.[87]

Mgr. Legal showed once more in 1907 the expectations he placed in French-Canadian repatriation from the Western States. In petitioning Laurier for the appointment of a lay colonization agent, in support of a request made by La Société de Colonisation d'Edmonton, he stressed the urgency of such a nomination:

> Il est très important, à l'heure actuelle, de faire en sorte d'augmenter l'élément Canadien français au N.-O., surtout en rapatriant les Canadiens des Etats de l'Ouest des Etats-Unis. Beaucoup n'attendent que des renseignements précis et une propagande bien conduite.
>
> Si on attendait trop longtemps, on arriverait trop tard; un agent de colonisation bien informé me dit que, dans cinq ans, il n'y aura plus de terrains libres au Nord-Ouest.[88]

This does not signify that the repatriation agents renounced the New England States as a prime source of settlers for the Prairies. All of the missionary-colonizers spent time lecturing there. The abbé A.P. Bérubé, who was Mgr. Pascal's agent between 1908 and 1913, brought a party of 400 repatriated French-Canadians from Maine to northern Saskatchewan in the Spring of 1910. This movement of people was not accomplished without serious difficulties, however. One report told of 10% of Bérubé's party returning to the United States because of dissatisfaction with the

arrangements made and with the choice of location for the settlement.[89] Bérubé was so confident in himself that he stated to a representative of the Canadian Northern that "he expected that over 25,000 French-Canadians living in the Eastern States would return to Canada shortly and join their brethren in the colony which is being formed in Alberta."[90] It is doubtful that this number was attained, although the abbé J.B.H. Giroux, missionary-colonizer for the Athabaska region, claimed that during the season of 1913 he had conducted or directed 1500 French-Canadians from the New England States to Western Canada.[91]

The repatriation work thus carried on in the United States in the decade prior to World War I reached out into every region where there was a concentration of French-Canadians who had left Canada. While Church leaders and their colonizers still hoped to bring to the Canadian West large numbers of their compatriots living in the United States, the clear interest in those living west of the Mississippi was an indication that Franco-Catholic leaders were already largely reconciled to the permanency of the Franco-American community. In effect, they counted on recruiting those people who had not yet planted firm roots in America.

That is also why the 'preventive' work in Quebec remained so important. The Department of the Interior was

aware of this operation because it funded the Montreal office. But government officials expressed doubts on occasion about the true nature of the work. Periodically, they reminded their agents of the policy which held that there should be no attempt to redistribute population within Canada, by encouraging people settled in one province to move to another. Responding to one of these directives in 1907, the Rev. J.A. Ouellette explained his line of conduct:

> As regards to the subject of the French Canadians of the East, I have never thought of making a propaganda to depeople one province in favour of another. However, I believe that it was my duty to go to certain Parishes of Eastern Canada to give lectures on the West, but always at the request of the Reverend Fathers directing the Parishes in question. The object was to prevent the departure of a certain number for the United States. In my opinion this is a wise and preventive measure which is obligatory should the occasion present itself. This preventive work has been accomplished with the approbation of the higher authorities.92

Nonetheless, W.D. Scott, Superintendent of Immigration remained skeptical of the source of groups of settlers brought out to Western Canada, presumably belonging to the repatriated class. Later, during the War years, he assessed the performance of one missionary-colonizer on the basis of what could be gathered from the agent's weekly diary:

> I gather from the diary that he [the abbé J.A. Normandeau] has taken several parties of settlers from Montreal to the West and has placed or assisted in placing them upon the land. I am not entirely satisfied that Father Normandeau's

> settlers have been collected from the United States. As a matter of fact, I am strongly of the opinion that a good many of them were picked up in the province of Quebec.[93]

In spite of the Department's words of caution to the missionary-colonizers on the nature of activities allowed in Quebec, the 'preventive' work continued. In the Summer of 1908, the abbé A.P. Bérubé told the Hon. Frank Oliver that he gave lectures on Saskatchewan and Alberta in St. Jérôme, Terrebonne, Montmagny, l'Islet, St. Pascal, Cabano, and St. Modeste in Quebec, and in Waterville and Brunswick, Maine. As a result, he returned west with 110 prospective settlers. Unfortunately, he does not indicate the number that came from either side of the border.[94] The abbé J.A. Ouellette, however, indicated to Mgr. Legal that same year that Quebec yielded more settlers than the New England States:

> Le Rev. Père Thérien, dans les derniers temps, étant acclimaté dans l'Est m'a rendu de grands services, car bien des journées on ne pouvait pas suffire même à deux. Nous avons une foule de demandes, soit par lettres ou de vive voix. Ce matin même, je reçevais 36 lettres parmi lesquelles j'ai trouvé la vôtre. Il se fait un mouvement non pas très considérable, mais excessif soit dans l'Est des Etats, soit et surtout dans la province de Québec. Ce ne sont pas des pauvres qui demandent à partir, mais des familles ayant de $2000 à $8000 en plus 2, 3 ou 4 grands garçons. Je dois vous avouer franchement que tous les dimanches je suis invité à donner des renseignements au milieu de la Grand'Messe. J'accepte et je parle de l'Alberta et du diocèse de St-Albert.[95]

One technique still in use in the 1900s to bring

people to the West was the annual harvesters' excursions. The Montreal office organized groups for this purpose and often found interested parties among French-Canadians who had returned to Quebec from the United States. The abbé Bérubé described to the Commissioner of Immigration in Winnipeg the importance of having a bureau close to the railway stations:

> ...once more I found it is the best place to get good settlers of the class we are looking for. A large number of working men of N.E. States come back to Montreal looking for work & among them it is always possible to find a good few who left the farm only a few years ago. This year again [1912] I secured for the Western provinces a good few sturdy settlers. I sent 40 by Fr. Giroux, brought 50 with me when I came back the 15th of August & some 300 or 400 came with the harvesters.[96]

It should be noted that only about one quarter of those who made the trip West were actual settlers; the others were looking for work at harvest time. Still, the colonizers felt that if people saw the West, there was a good chance that a number of them would decide to remain in the country.

There is no doubt that the repatriation movement made great strides in the years leading up to Wilfrid Laurier's defeat in the general election of 1911. The federal government was favourably disposed towards it, and proved it both by opening up more repatriation offices in the United States and by facilitating as never before the work of the Church's missionary-colonizers. What harmed the repatriation

movement were the frequent changes in the personnel of the missionary-colonizers and conflicts between Church and State.

The diocese of St. Albert suffered from a weak repatriation organization. After seven years of successful work, including two years spent as a government agent, the abbé J.B. Morin quit his position in 1897 to return to Montreal, but it was not until five years later that Bishop Legal finally moved to find him a replacement. Father Lacombe failed in 1902 to secure the nomination of one Father Gascon, the Department claiming that no additional expenditures could be undertaken at the moment.[97] Legal expressed surprise at Lacombe's candidate, as records showed that Father Gascon was 76 years old! Could not a more suitable candidate be found, asked the Bishop. He proposed that one of the brothers of Father J.A. Thérien, the Oblate co-founder of the colony of St-Paul-des-Métis, be appointed soon.[98] It became even more urgent when Legal observed that more and more settlers were arriving in the country, "mais ce sont surtout des Américains et des protestants, bien peu de Canadiens-Français."[99] Failure to obtain the appointment led Legal to remark that Smart was "un fanatique, qu'il faudrait déloger, à tout prix, du Département de l'Intérieur."[100] The Bishop then called upon Archbishop Langevin for support, and addressed himself directly to Laurier, indicating that only recently had he found a

suitable clergyman to replace Morin and pointing out that the dioceses of St. Boniface and Prince Albert both had their government agents, while that of St. Albert had been without one for five years.[101]

These political pressures resulted in the appointment of Father L. Laganière, an Oblate, as agent for Alberta. His tenure was short-lived, however, as he resigned less than two years later.[102] In his place, the Department accepted a recommendation to give Father Osias Corbeil a second opportunity to undertake the task of repatriating French-Canadians. Corbeil himself assured Archbishop Langevin that he was ready to leave the Yukon, confident that he now possessed the maturity, experience, and knowledge of English required to fulfill his duties.[103] Fortified by Church support as well as that of Senator James H. Ross, Corbeil's official appointment came through in June 1905. Yet, within a few months, Langevin's protégé sought his transfer to the archdiocese of Ottawa.[104] It was found impossible to accede to this request. To make matters worse, Mgr. Legal informed the Department early in 1906 that Corbeil had been out of the service for two months, a report which he soon corrected by writing that, in spite of poor health, his colonizer had kept up his work.[105] Nonetheless, it soon became obvious that Corbeil had lost the confidence of his superior. A few months later, Mgr. Legal

decided against the continuation in office of the abbé Corbeil, and communicated his desire to the Department:

> If he is able to prove, to the satisfaction of the Department, that he has, with reasonable activity and energy, discharged the duties of his office, I have nothing to say; but I believe that I had good reasons to relieve myself of any further responsibility in the matter of maintaining him in his official position.[106]

Not surprisingly, the Department decided to dispense with Corbeil's services.[107]

Appointing a successor to Corbeil, however, created problems. French-Canadian leaders involved in La Société de colonisation d'Edmonton favoured a layman. In the view of the abbé J.A. Ouellette, the eventual appointee, the clergy of the diocese preferred a priest to a layman. And, while the Grand Vicar of the diocese had told the Hon. Frank Oliver that the appointment of a layman would be well received, Ouellette urged Mgr. Legal to stand firm:

> avec un laique comme agent, la colonisation ne sera plus que de la spéculation. Quel agent laïque aura à coeur de grouper les canadiens, les catholiques, de former des paroisses. D'après moi, Monseigneur, il me semble que c'est l'oeuvre la plus précieuse de votre diocèse et cependant elle est grandement en souffrance. S'il existe quelques bonnes paroisses organisées dans le diocèse de St-Albert, c'est l'oeuvre d'un prêtre colonisateur, Ce que l'on a pu faire il y a 6 ou 7 ans avec succès, pourquoi ne le ferions nous pas aujourd'hui étant donné que les circonstances sont meilleures? Il faut, Monseigneur, conserver ce poste et la chose réglée se mettre à l'oeuvre, sérieusement. J'espère donc, Monseigneur, que vous ne tarderez pas à mettre toute chose au clair chez le ministre de l'intérieur.[108]

Less than two weeks later, Oliver notified Bishop Legal that Ouellette had already begun work as Corbeil's successor.[109] Ouellette gave the diocese of St. Albert its first permanent missionary-colonizer in almost ten years. Indeed, he was to spend over twenty years in the colonization field.[110]

The dioceses of St. Boniface and St. Albert experienced fewer difficulties in this respect, but they were not without their problems. In the former diocese, Mgr. Langevin enjoyed the continuity in repatriation work provided by Father Moïse Blais (1898-1907) and by the abbé Pierre Gravel (1907-1912). Gravel, however, was not without his faults, and soon fell into disfavour with his bishop who lost confidence in him in 1908 when parishioners in Moose Jaw complained about Gravel's handling of affairs. The matter was resolved, but the Department of the Interior became involved in Gravel's dismissal by Langevin in 1909.[111] Over in the diocese of Prince Albert, Mgr. Pascal managed to retain the services of Father Léandre Vachon for a period of four years (1902-1906). Thereafter, he was replaced by Father J.C. Sinnett who held the position until 1911. The important thing to note is that he was not a French-Canadian.[112]

On the whole, therefore, during these critical years in the opening up of the West to immigrants of all nationalities, Church authorities were hard-pressed to find suita-

ble candidates for recommendation to the government. What one or two abbés Morin could have accomplished during this decade of the 1900s can only be left to speculation. No one group of repatriation agents could have reversed the trend of French-Canadian penetration into the United States, but it is possible that able and vigorous repatriation agents could have put the case for French-speaking settlement in Western Canada more forcefully both in the United States and Quebec and in Ottawa. As it was, one is left to wonder how seriously officials connected with the Department of the Interior took the repatriation movement so desired by the bishops of Western Canada.

To this of course must be added the rift between Church and State in the early 1900s. When, in 1901, Archbishop Langevin concluded that "M. Sifton ne favorise guère l'élément français dans son zèle colonisateur, il préfère des déguenillés venus de la Russie, des Socialistes"[113], and followed up by turning instead to the provincial Conservatives, he effectively ruled out further cooperation between his Church and the federal government on the repatriation question.[114] Political partisanship and the haphazard organization of repatriation work by churchmen in the West did not facilitate a task that was already quite difficult.

The victory of the Conservatives over the Liberals in

the federal election of 1911 ushered in a fourth phase in the repatriation movement. Patronage continued to influence the course of colonization and repatriation work, but the war also reduced the government's involvement in this field. What remained unchanged was the missionary-colonizer preoccupation with Quebec.

The play of politics and patronage cannot be overlooked because it betrays a mentality and an era where 'patriotic' questions could not measure up to the imperatives of power politics. Soon after their assumption of office, the Conservatives dismissed the French-Canadian repatriation agent for the diocese of Prince Albert, Amédée Cléroux, and replaced him with one Paul Ashby a few months later.[115] Mgr. Pascal hurriedly presented to Prime Minister Robert Borden the abbé E. Dubois, a French priest who came to Canada primarily to devote himself to colonization work. Pascal urged the Conservative leader to appoint Dubois as immigration agent for his diocese among the French-speaking people of the United States and Europe, and further claimed that a clergyman had always filled that position since 1896.[116] Dubois failed to receive the appointment, but Archbishop Langevin, in answer to another of Pascal's clergy seeking the appointment, claimed that the right to have a missionary-colonizer for each diocese was "le résultat d'une entente qui remonte à Sir John A. Macdonald;

et elle n'a jamais été violée."[117] Unfortunately, no clerical replacement was forthcoming, not even for the abbé A.P. Bérubé, whose death in April 1913 ended a controversial five-year career as a special repatriation agent.[118]

A similar situation developed in the new diocese of Regina after 1911. The abbé Gravel, a staunch Liberal, lost his position in 1912 when the Department of the Interior decided "to appoint in his stead Arthur Dubuisson of that place [Gravelbourg]."[119] Mgr. Olivier-Elzéar Mathieu, Bishop of the diocese of Regina, took some time before asking for the appointment of one of his clergy as government agent for colonization and repatriation work in southern Saskatchewan, but he encountered difficulties in obtaining a nomination. To the Hon. L.P. Pelletier, he wrote that Dubuisson was not his representative and that the parish priest at Gravelbourg had reported how Dubuisson was doing very little colonization work. Why, he asked, was he experiencing so much difficulty in having one of his candidates appointed, when both Mgr. Langevin and Mgr. Legal had only recently succeeded in obtaining appointments for their clergy?[120] Dr. Roche's reply to Pelletier pointed to the fact that most of the available lands in the area had been taken up and charged that Dubuisson "n'est pas persona grata auprès du Révérend Père Gravel qui est un libéral très actif, tandis que Monsieur Dubuisson est un de nos amis.

De là le rapport peu favorable que le Révérend Père Gravel a fait au sujet de Monsieur Dubuisson."[121]

Nonetheless, the government relented in June 1914, and appointed the abbé Napoléon Poirier, of Bellegarde, Sask., as colonization agent for southern Saskatchewan. In a memo to Dr. Roche in 1917, W.D. Scott, Superintendent of Immigration, reported that while it was difficult to tabulate the amount of work done by Poirier, he addressed numerous meetings in the New England field assigned to him.[122] Interestingly, Poirier himself resigned late in 1922, and the Liberal abbé Gravel returned officially to repatriation work for the federal government as a Special Colonization Sub-Agent for the New England States, a position he held until his death in February 1926.[123]

Bishops Langevin and Legal fared much better than their fellow bishops from St. Albert and Prince Albert in their relations with the new Conservative government. Their missionary-colonizers--the abbés J. Georges Bouillon (1913-1916), Osias Corbeil (1914-1918), A. Ethier (1912-1913), and A. Normandeau (1913-1917)--even remained at their post long enough to acquire experience and to give their work a measure of stability.

While it is not the intention here to examine the effects of World War I on the repatriation movement, the government reviewed its programmes in 1917-1918 and decided

to close down most of the United States agencies opened in the early 1900s. Only the Manchester, New Hampshire, office was maintained, because of the number of French-Canadians asking for information on Western Canada. Departmental memos also referred to the competence of J.E. Laforce, described as a good energetic fellow who was liked among the people, and who "should be able to handle all repatriation work in the USA, thus cutting out other agents."[124] At the same time, the Department decided not to ask for a successor to the abbé Corbeil, following his death in March 1918, because "colonization work in the United States is becoming increasingly difficult owing to war conditions..."[125]

There are no reports or statistics on the number of French-Canadians repatriated to Western Canada under the Laurier or Borden administrations. But the Inspector of United States Agencies estimated "the immigration for the United States to Canada for the year 1910-11 at 150,000."[126] What proportion of these was French-speaking is not known. Nor do the French language weeklies in the West provide much information on the matter.[127] Similarly, there is no detailed information on the movement of French-Canadians from Quebec to Western Canada in the decade of the 1910s.

Whether the Church and its missionary-colonizers thought that French-Canadian repatriation was more likely to succeed

in the wave of enthusiasm that brought thousands of Americans and former Canadians to Canada in the years immediately preceding World War I remains problematical. Departmental officials, for their part, followed the weekly activities of their repatriation agents closely. That was perhaps a sign that they were uncertain of the quality of their work.[128] On the other hand, the importance which men like Archbishop Langevin continued to give to the Montreal bureau de renseignements would indicate that Church leaders in the West still counted heavily on a migration of Québécois to the Canadian Prairies. The exchange between Langevin and the Hon. L.P. Pelletier in 1914 on the role of the missionary-colonizers' headquarters in Quebec tends to confirm the long-standing view that 'preventive' work in that province remained the best source of settlers for the Franco-Catholic groups of Western Canada.[129]

* * *

The repatriation movement carried on through the 1920s and beyond, but the Church's missionary-colonizers found it difficult to obtain government support for their endeavours. In 1922-23, the abbé J.A. Ouellette concluded an arrangement with the federal government, whereby

it recognized the newly-organized Bureau des Missionnaires Colonisateurs as an official organization both in the movement of repatriated French-Canadians from the United States and in the prevention of their exodus from Quebec to that country. Over the next five years (1923-27), the agents attached to the Bureau reported that they had assisted in establishing a total of 17,584 settlers in Canada, including 242 in Manitoba, 1,573 in Saskatchewan, and 1,145 in Alberta.[130] Attempts, however, to exact financial support from Ottawa for publicity campaigns and for the opening of repatriation offices in the United States were unsuccessful. Instead, the federal government decided in 1927 to abandon to the provinces jurisdiction in repatriation matters. That was perhaps one final blow to expectations that were never realized.

On the basis of the evidence, the following points may be made. In the first instance, the federal departments of Agriculture and of the Interior accepted most of the proposals and recommendations made by the bishops of Western Canada in terms of appointments and trips to the United States by repatriation colonizers. Beaudry, Blais, Gravel, Ouellette, and others were greatly assisted by Ottawa in their work. That a number of Church-recommended agents produced few results perhaps reflects far more on the quality of the nominees themselves than on the policies of the

federal authorities. The bishops admitted that they had been greatly disappointed by the poor performance of men like Brousseau and Corbeil. What should be noted is the willingness of successive politicians to accept the recommendations of Bishops Taché, Grandin, Legal, and Langevin in making nominations of publicly-funded missionary-colonizers. Thus, one leg of the nationaliste argument does not stand up to a close examination.

In the second instance, the reluctance and hesitation on the part of government departments to commit themselves to increased repatriation expenditures can readily be understood. The colonizers themselves doubted the likelihood of effecting much repatriation. Their concentrated efforts in Quebec were undertaken precisely because they thought that once established in the United States, the French-Canadians would not be willing to move again. Bishop Legal admitted as much by instructing one of his colonizers not to waste his time on the New England States but to concentrate instead on the Western States where his chances for success were much better. Furthermore, 'preventive' campaigns in Quebec were not well received by some clergy and political leaders, as seen in the opposition from Dr. Brisson of La Société de Rapatriement de Montréal and from the Hon. L.P. Pelletier later on. All of which created skepticism in the minds of the ministers and officials concerned in Ottawa

about colonization matters, leading them to proceed cautiously and to doubt the suggestions that a more vigorous programme of repatriation would produce the desired results. When colonizers like Blais demonstrated that repatriation held some attraction for those already established in the United States, there followed an acceleration and intensification of the work in America in the first decade of this century.

Finally, it cannot be too strongly stated that while Church leaders often thought of repatriation as a 'patriotic' venture, they too recognized that it could not be divorced from the interplay of late 19th and early 20th century politics. The bishops of Western Canada took sides in that game and paid the price.

FOOTNOTES

[1] See Preface, pp. xviii-xix

[2] See Chapter II, pp. 96-97.

[3] Charles Lalime was originally appointed for a three-month period at $100 a month. See PAC, R.G. 17, LB, Ottawa, 21 May 1875, Lowe to Lalime. Dr. Whiteford was appointed in November 1874 for a six-month period, also at $100 a month. See PAC, R.G. 17, LB, Ottawa, 9 November 1874, Lowe to Whiteford.

[4] PAC, R.G. 17, no. 13496, Ottawa, 8 March 1875, Lalime to Letellier.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid., no. 16806 1/2, Detroit, 16 June 1876, Whiteford to the Hon. Letellier.

[7] AASB, Fonds Taché, Worcester, Mass., 14 avril 1876, Lacombe à Taché.

[8] Le Courrier Canadien, 11 mars 1876; 25 mars 1876. See PAC, R.G. 17, no. 15983, [n.p.], 31 March 1876, Lalime to [Department of Agriculture]. It is not clear whether these newspaper extracts were written by Lalime or not.

[9] Le Métis, 8 décembre 1877, quotes Le Protecteur Canadien.

[10] Father Lacombe wrote scores of letters to Mgr. Taché during this period in which he described at some length the problems involved in recruiting the right group of people for Manitoba. He was following his bishop's orders in seeking out settlers with capital, because of the need to consolidate the Franco-Catholic "block" in Manitoba by buying some of the lands which the Métis were giving up. See Chapter I, pp. 27-28.

[11] Canada: Sessional Papers, no. 9, 1878. Report of Special Immigration Agent [Whiteford], Detroit, 31 December 1877.

[12] PAC, R.G. 17, LB, Ottawa, 13 June 1876, Lowe to Whiteford.

[13] Ibid., no. 16806 1/2, Détroit, 16 juin 1876, Whiteford à l'Hon. Letellier. Whiteford later expanded on this idea, explaining that the Canadians in the Western States possessed more skills, thus allowing them to work at different occupations, while the Canadians labouring in the manufactures of the New England States had only limited abilities. Once unemployed, they could, he said, be persuaded to locate elsewhere more readily. See ibid., no. 18953, Détroit, 20 mars 1877, Whiteford à l'Hon. C.-A.-P. Pelletier.

[14] Ibid., no. 16806 1/2, Détroit, 16 juin 1876, Whiteford à l'Hon. Letellier.

[15] Ibid., LB, Ottawa, 26 February 1877, Lowe to Whiteford. Whiteford presented a report for 1876. See Canada: Sessional Papers, no. 8, 1877. Report of special immigration agent, Detroit.

[16] AASB, Fonds Taché, Ottawa, 21 février 1877, Lacombe à Taché. Of Lalime, Lacombe said: "Mr Lalime se donne beaucoup de peine et gagne au moins une partie de son salaire."

[17] PAC, R.G. 17, no. 19250, Détroit, 11 avril 1877, Whiteford à l'Hon. Pelettier. The government agreed to assist settlers from the West by subsidizing 2/3 of the ticket price, to a maximum of $15.

[18] What percentage of these people went to Manitoba and actually stayed there is not known. From the lists which Lalime presented to the Department, it would be possible to establish the numbers which remained in Manitoba. It appears that a number of individuals and families did come to the West only to leave a short time later. Also, it should be noted that Whiteford presented no statistical reports on his work.

[19] See Donald Chaput, "Some Repatriement Dilemmas", CHR, Vol. XLIX, no. 4 (December 1968), pp. 400-412. Gagnon was appointed a repatriation agent for the province of Quebec two months before Lalime's federal nomination.

[20] In January 1881, Lowe directed Lalime to distribute general information to the public about Canada, in addition to his other colonization duties. See PAC, R.G. 17, LB, Ottawa, 8 January 1881, Lowe to Lalime.

[21] Le Manitoba, 10 février 1887.

[22] PAC, R.G. 17, [Deputy Minister's Correspondence], Montreal, 3 September 1887, Armstrong to Lowe. Armstrong also told Lowe that he had visited Lalime's office twice, and each time found nothing but reading matter advertising Northern Pacific lands.

[23] PAC, R.G. 17, LB, Ottawa, 19 July 1887, Memorandum to the Hon. Carling.

[24] Ibid., LB, Ottawa, 15 November 1887, Lowe to Lalime.

[25] Canada: House of Commons Debates, 1884, p. 1083f. Speech of Edward Blake, quoting Lalime.

[26] Ibid.

[27] PAC, R.G. 17, LB, Ottawa, 19 July 1887, Memorandum to the Hon. John Carling.

[28] AASB, Fonds Taché, St-Boniface, 7 janvier 1887, Bernier à de la Bruère. See Le Franco-Canadien and Le Manitoba, avril à décembre 1886, passim.

[29] Ibid.

[30] PAC, R.G. 17, no. 64683, [La Présentation, P.Q.], 1er avril 1888, Beaudry à l'Hon. [John] Carling.

[31] PAC, R.G. 76, no. 11680. The arrangement called for Beaudry to distribute 3,500 copies monthly, mostly in the United States. The Hon. John Carling, Minister of Agriculture, also insisted that the paper be employed "consciencieusement dans l'intérêt des Canadiens, sans distinction de croyance ou de nationalité." PAC, R.G. 17, no. 64683, La Présentation, 27 avril 1888, Beaudry à Carling.

[32] PAC, R.G. 17, no. 75659, Calgary, 25 October 1890, Lacombe to Carling.

[33] Ibid., no. 82007, Ottawa, 14 January 1892, Lacombe and Gendreau to Carling. A Memo of the same date attached to the petition noted that the two emissaries wanted the same pay of $300 a year given to the abbé Morin for Father Blais. It went on: "Father Morin, they report, has taken in 70 families equal to 500 souls, and is going on actively with his work. No pay is given to Father Beaudry beyond the allowance to his paper."

[34] Ibid., no. 82101, Montreal, 25 January 1892, Blais to the Hon. Minister of Agriculture [Carling].

[35] Canada: Sessional Papers, no. 7, 1892. Immigration work in the North-West. Joliette, P.Q., 31 December 1891.

[36] AASB, Fonds Taché, La Présentation, 29 août 1890, Beaudry à Taché; PAC, R.G. 17 [Deputy Minister's Correspondence], La Présentation, 28 septembre 1890, Beaudry à Lowe.

[37] Ibid., La Présentation, 13 juin 1891, Beaudry à Taché; ibid., La Présentation, 13 janvier 1892, Beaudry à Taché. On this last occasion, Beaudry used samples from the St. Malo butter dairy to impress delegates at the meeting of La Société de l'Industrie Laitière at St. Thomas de Montmagny, P.Q.

[38] Corbeil was appointed to foster repatriation, primarily but not exclusively on behalf of Manitoba. See PAC, R.G. 76, no. 22450, Ottawa, 6 June 1895, Memo from A.M. Burgess, Deputy Minister of the Interior to L.M. Fortier, Clerk in charge of Immigration.

[39] AASB, Fonds Langevin, Ottawa, 7 novembre 1895, Corbeil à Langevin. The federal government offered them space in Montreal for their office.

[40] PAC, R.G. 76, no. 11680 (translation), Montreal, 27 August 1896, Brisson to Laurier. It may well be that Dr. Brisson also complained of the abbé Corbeil to the C.P.R. authorities, because it was soon after this that A.D. McNicoll, C.P.R. Passenger Traffic Manager informed the Deputy Minister of the Interior that he had a report to the effect that "Father Corbeil did nothing in the immigration line for us last season..."

[41] See Chapter III, pp. 208-211.

[42] Canada: Sessional Papers, no. 13, 1900. Report of Rev. M. Blais. Three Rivers, 28 December 1899.

[43] PAC, R.G. 76, no. 10063, Montreal, 15 May 1899, Blais to Pedley.

[44] Canada: Sessional Papers, no. 13, 1900. Report of Rev. H.L. Gouin, Batiscan, P.Q., 15 January 1900.

[45] Ibid., no. 26, 1901. Report of Rev. H.L. Gouin, Batiscan, P.Q., 21 September 1900.

[46] It was L.O. Armstrong of the C.P.R.'s Land Colonization Bureau who recommended Mgr. Taché's Quebec agent to John Lowe of the Department of Agriculture: "Father Beaudry, who has been so successful in promoting French Canadian colonization, speaks of a trip through New England for emigration work. I think that he deserves every encouragement and that this trip in particular will bear such fruit that everyone will approve of any reasonable expenditure that the Government might incur in furthering it." See PAC, R.G. 17 [Deputy Minister's Correspondence], Montreal, 8 November 1889, Armstrong to Lowe.

[47] AASB, Fonds Taché, Ottawa, 21 November 1889, Lowe [Deputy Minister, Agriculture], to Taché. This proposal followed a trip undertaken in May and June 1889 by Beaudry through the New England States, in which he observed that there was a widely-held view that "the Province of Manitoba is a frightful country (a true Siberia), where anyone of those who have emigrated has lost his time and fortune." See Canada: Sessional Papers, no. 6, 1890. Report on French-Canadian Repatriation. La Présentation, 1 September 1889.

[48] AASB, Fonds Taché, New Bedford, Mass., 2 février 1890, Beaudry à Taché.

[49] PAC, R.G. 17, no. 72871, La Présentation, 26 avril 1890, Beaudry à Lowe; ibid., LB, [Ottawa], 29 avril 1890, Lowe à Beaudry.

[50] Following the first trip to the United States, Beaudry left Montreal with a group of 200 bound for Manitoba. Of this number, only three or four families were from the United States. A second contingent was made up of 100 people, but no break-down of the Quebec and 'repatriated' class is given. Canada: Sessional Papers, no. 6, 1892. Report on French Repatriation. Ste-Thérèse, 31 December 1890. The abbé Georges Dugas gave a somewhat different view of Beaudry's activities in confiding to Mgr. Taché that an unidentified official of the C.P.R. had told him this: "Monsieur Baudry [sic] par son zèle imprudent et intempestif fait du dommage [à] la Cause de l'émigration; il a été si peu mesuré dans ses conférences aux Etats-Unis qu'on ne veut plus l'entendre." AASB, Fonds Taché, Ste-Anne des Plaines, 9 septembre 1890, Dugas à Taché.

[51] See Chapter II, pp. 106-111.

[52] For Morin, see Canada: Sessional Papers, no. 7, 1892. Immigration Work in the North-West. Joliette, 31 December 1891. Carufel was authorized in October 1890 to

give lectures in the New England States "for promoting immigration from the adjoining New England States to the North-West Territories, that is to say, an allowance of $10 for each lecture delivered to French Canadians in the New England States, for a number not exceeding 30 lectures in all." PAC, R.G. 17, LB, Ottawa, 30 October 1890, [John] Lowe to L.E. Carufel, Montreal.

53 In 1891, Carufel told Lowe that he was prepared to resume his lectures in the United States, but added: "ne croyez-vous pas que si un agent était nommé pour s'occuper permanément des Etats-Unis, on pourrait en arriver à un résultat plus sûr et plus durable?" Instead, Carufel was invited to undertake another tour of Franco-American communities. PAC, R.G. 17, no. 77716, Montréal, 17 mars 1891, Carufel à Lowe; ibid., Montréal, 20 juillet 1891, Carufel à Lowe. In this latter correspondence, Carufel included a list of 101 French families who left the United States, since last winter for the Canadian Bush and Prairie lands. Their destinations included Verner, Vancouver, Manitoba and the North-West. See also Canada: Sessional Papers, no. 7, 1892. Report on Canadians in the States Returning to Canada. Montreal, 31 December 1891.

54 Soon after his appointment, the abbé Brousseau accompanied the abbé Morin on a visit to such New England communities as Lowell, Fitchburg, Providence, and Fall River. He also sent out 300 circular letters to families in the United States and led a small number of them to Western Canada. In the first six months of his operations, he recruited two families from the United States. See his file in PAC, R.G. 76, no. 33789,

55 AASB, Fonds Langevin, Ottawa, 20 juin 1897, Corbeil à Langevin. Corbeil visited Marquette, Bay City, Detroit, Toledo etc., and obtained six trip passes from the C.P.R. He reported that twelve families wanted to settle on lands of Archbishop Langevin's "Seigneurie". In the Fall of that same year, Corbeil thought of returning to the United States, but pleaded that he had no money to do so and that the government at Ottawa "ne paraît pas disposé à payer mes dépenses." Three months later, he resigned his position. AASB, Fonds Langevin, Ottawa, 18 octobre 1897, Corbeil à Langevin.

56 PAC, R.G. 76, no. 10063, Montreal, 11 October 1898, Blais to Frank Pedley; ibid., Ottawa, 20 October 1898, Pedley to Blais.

57 Ibid., Montreal, 15 May 1899, Blais to Pedley.

[58] Ibid., Ottawa, 29 May 1899, Pedley to Blais.

[59] See Chapter II, footnote 76.

[60] There is naturally the view that the government should have substantially increased its repatriation programme by making larger grants available to repatriates for travel costs and by providing subsidies to sustain them during the first year or two of their arrival in the West. These proposals were made and are discussed in Chapter II.

[61] Edouard Hamon, Les Canadiens français en Nouvelle Angleterre [n.p.], [1891], p. 143, quoted in Pierre Savard, Jules-Paul Tardivel, La France et les Etats-Unis, 1851-1905 (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1967), p. 237.

[62] Savard, op. cit., pp. 222-223. Also Mason Wade, The French-Canadians, 1760-1967 (Toronto: Macmillan, 1968), Vol. I, pp. 432-433.

[63] PAC, MG 26 G [Laurier Papers], Montréal, 25 septembre 1896, Pascal à Laurier.

[64] Ibid., New Haven, Conn., 3 février 1897, Ferron à Laurier; ibid., New Haven, 24 février 1897, Ferron à Laurier.

[65] Upon Brousseau's appointment, T.O. Davis, M.P., sent to Laurier a petition from the French Liberals of Saskatchewan, to the effect that they had "learned with regret the appointment of two eastern Canadian priests as Immigration Agents for the United States and Canada", their objections being that these clergymen had never resided in the North-West, were unacquainted with the conditions, and that there were in Saskatchewan tried friends of the Liberal Party who were experienced and familiar with the needs and requirements of settlers. It was suggested that the choice was an insult to the intelligence and patriotism of Liberals in Saskatchewan and especially to those of the District of Batoche where intending immigrants were to be located. Indeed, friends of the Liberal party "could have made effective agents and thus leave the ministers of God exercise their zeal in the Church which is their proper field of action, and where they would breathe an atmosphere more congenial to their divine calling." See PAC, MG 26 G [Laurier Papers], Ottawa, 27 March 1897, T.O. Davis to Laurier. The italics are Davis'.

66 AASB, Fonds Langevin, Liège, 28 octobre 1898, Pascal à Langevin. Pascal also told Langevin that he had found Brousseau "tellement muet et silencieux". He did not know what to do. "Que faire?", he asked, "Les Morin sont si rares."

67 PAC, MG 26 G [Laurier Papers], Montréal, 24 février 1899, Pascal à Laurier.

68 PAC, R.G. 76, no. 33789, Prince Albert, 19 April 1899, Pascal to Davis.

69 PAC, MG 26 G [Laurier Papers], Prince Albert, 12 April 1899, Pascal to Laurier. Translation. Pascal could not understand why it should take time to replace one agent with another. He had asked over a month and a half ago for the appointment of Gouin in replacement of Brousseau. Why, he asked Laurier, was it necessary to deliberate several months for "so simple a change".

70 Unfortunately, there are no extant files in the Immigration Branch papers of the Department of the Interior archives on a number of agents, including Father Vachon and the abbé Gouin.

71 PAC, R.G. 76, no. 22450, Montreal, 25 January 1897, A.D. McNicoll to A.M. Burgess [Deputy Minister of the Interior].

72 Ibid., Ottawa, 13 February 1897, Lyndwode Pereira, Assistant Secretary [Department of the Interior] to Corbeil.

73 Ibid., Ottawa, 17 April 1897, Lyndwode Pereira, Assistant Secretary, to Corbeil.

74 Ibid., Ottawa, 12 May 1897, Jas. A. Smart, Deputy Minister of the Interior to Corbeil.

75 Ibid., Archevêché de St-Boniface, 17 janvier 1898, Corbeil à Smart.

76 PAC, R.G. 76, no. 10063, Montreal, 10 January 1907, Blais to W.D. Scott, Superintendent of Immigration.

77 James A. Smart, Deputy Minister of the Interior, told the abbé Corbeil that this was the desire of the Hon. Clifford Sifton. See PAC, R.G. 76, no. 22450, Ottawa, 12 May 1897, Smart to Corbeil.

[78] See Chapter II, pp. 116-120.

[79] PAC, R.G. 76, no. 10063, Montreal, 28 August 1900, Blais to Pedley. Blais passed along several resolutions adopted at the National Convention held in St. Boniface on June 24-25. See also Chapter II, pp. 122-124.

[80] Blais worked with Benjamin Davies and J.S. Crawford in Minnesota during the winter. He also spent some time in the Kansas City area where he combined with J.J. Golden, the Manitoba agent there. See Chapter II, p. 125.

[81] PAC, R.G. 76, no. 10063, Montreal, 9 March 1903, Blais to [W.D. Scott?].

[82] Canada: Sessional Papers, no. 25, 1904. Report of the Deputy Minister, p. xlv. The Deputy Minister found the movement of French Canadians from the United States so successful that he even supported the idea of offering special inducements to young men from Quebec and Ontario "to move to other parts of the country for the purpose of engaging in agricultural pursuits, should they be compelled through uncontrollable circumstances to leave their present place of residence." He admitted however, that in the past, the Department had "discountenanced any propaganda having for object the movement of population from one part of the country to another. On the other hand we would scarcely be justified in permitting Canadians in the old provinces, who have fully decided upon changing their place of residence, to emigrate to the United States, if by offering them reduced railway transportation, such as is accorded to Canadians coming from the United States, they could be induced to remove to western Canada. It is therefore hoped that some arrangement may be made by which the railway companies will agree to allow a special rate to persons from eastern Canada who may wish to settle in Manitoba or the North-West Territories." Finally, and most interestingly, he voiced the same rationale as had been used previously by colonizers to explain their operations in Quebec: "It need not be stated that in the event of such an arrangement being arrived at, it will be carried out in such a way that no encouragement, direct or otherwise, shall be given to facilitate the movement of population from one part of Canada to another, except in cases where it is ascertained beyond a doubt that the person may have fully decided to move to the United States." No reference is made to this proposal in the following year's report.

[83] See Canada: Sessional Papers, no. 25, 1902, Report of the Commissioner of Immigration; ibid., no. 25, 1903, Report of the Commissioner of Immigration; ibid., no. 25, 1904, Report of the Commissioner of Immigration.

[84] Ibid., no. 25, 1905. Report of the Deputy Minister, p. XXXVI.

[85] See PAC, R.G. 76, no. 572376 (pt. 1), passim.; also, ibid., no. 748246, passim. The arrangement with Le Nouvelliste, a Liberal weekly, lasted from 1908 to 1910.

[86] AAE, Fonds Legal, LB IV, [St-Albert], 22 janvier 1904, Legal à Laganière.

[87] Canada: Sessional Papers, no. 25, 1906. Report of Rev. H.L. Vachon. Montreal, 11 July 1905.

[88] PAC, MG 26 G [Laurier Papers], St-Albert, 11 janvier 1907, Legal à Laurier.

[89] See Bérubé's file in PAC, R.G. 76, no. 803107.

[90] Clipping from the Toronto Mail and Empire, 9 April 1910 in Bérubé's file, PAC, R.G. 76, no. 803107.

[91] La Liberté, 16 septembre 1913. There are no reliable statistics to indicate precisely what measure of success the missionary-colonizers achieved in their work.

[92] PAC, R.G. 76, no. 636641 (pt. 2), Montreal, 27 May 1910, J.A. Ouellette to W.D. Scott, Superintendent of Immigration.

[93] Ibid., no. 22736 (pt. 4), Ottawa, 14 February 1917, Memo from W.D. Scott, Superintendent of Immigration, to Dr. Roche [Minister of the Interior].

[94] Ibid., no. 803107, Ottawa, 20 February 1909, Bérubé to Oliver, Minister of the Interior.

[95] AAE, Fonds Legal, Vol. 6 (Colonisation), no. 7, (Ouellette), Montréal, 15 avril 1908, Ouellette à Legal.

[96] PAC, R.G. 76, no. 803107, Vonda, Sask., 27 September 1912, Bérubé to J. Bruce Walker, Commissioner of Immigration, Winnipeg.

97 AAE, Fonds Legal, Vol. 6, no. 6 (Morin), Ottawa, 1 April 1902, Jas. A. Smart, [Superintendent General of Indian Affairs], to Lacombe, Montreal.

98 Ibid., LB III, St-Albert, 21 avril 1902, Legal à Lacombe, Montréal.

99 Ibid., [St-Albert], 24 octobre 1902, Legal à Lacombe, Montréal.

100 Ibid., [St-Albert], 12 décembre 1902, Legal à Lacombe, Calgary.

101 PAC, MG 26 G [Laurier Papers], St-Albert, 23 janvier 1903, Legal à Laurier.

102 PAC, R.G. 76, no. 22450, Ottawa, 29 May 1905, Memorandum from W.D. Scott, Superintendent of Immigration, to [W.W. Cory, Deputy Minister of the Interior]. Part of the reason for Laganière's resignation related to difficulties posed for members of a religious order constantly having to live outside the prescribed rules.

103 AASB, Fonds Langevin, White Horse, Yukon Territory, 10 mars 1905, Corbeil à Langevin.

104 Ibid., LB 8, St-Boniface, 25 novembre 1905, Langevin à Mgr Routhier. Langevin explained that Corbeil felt the need to be close to his family after his years in the Klondike.

105 PAC, R.G. 76, no. 22450, St. Albert, 24 March 1906, Legal to the Minister of the Interior; ibid., St. Albert, 2 May 1906, Legal to W.D. Scott, Superintendent of Immigration. Legal explained that Corbeil had been ill for some time, but that he was now recovered.

106 Ibid., St. Albert, 28 February 1907, Legal to Oliver.

107 Ibid., [Ottawa], 16 March 1907, W.D. Scott, Superintendent of Immigration, to Corbeil, Montreal.

108 AAE, Fonds Legal, Vol. 6 (Colonisation), no. 7 (Ouellette), Ottawa, 4 avril 1907, Ouellette à Legal. Ouellette also assured Legal that Oliver would not act against the Bishop's desires. Therefore, "il faut que Votre Grandeur s'impose auprès du Ministre de l'intérieur et cela sans aucune crainte, car il s'attend à cela."

[109] Ibid., Ottawa, 13 April 1907, Oliver to Legal.

[110] The abbé Ouellette later worked with the Bureau des Missionnaires colonisateurs de Montréal until its closing in the late 1920s.

[111] See Gravel's file in PAC, R.G. 76, no. 595025, passim. In 1909, Langevin called upon Gravel to resign because of a drinking problem. See AASB, Fonds Langevin, LB 12, [St-Boniface], 5 juillet 1909, Langevin à Gravel. He soon returned to his position.

[112] There is no file in the Department of the Interior records on Sinnett.

[113] AASB, Fonds Langevin, LB 3, [St-Boniface], 3 septembre 1901, Langevin à Edmond Buron.

[114] See Chapter II, pp. 124-127.

[115] See a Memo from W.D. Scott, Superintendent of Immigration, in answer to a petition sent to Borden by la Société des Artisans Canadiens Français de Prince-Albert on the subject of repatriation offices in Saskatchewan. PAC, R.G. 76, no. 803107, [Ottawa], 9 May 1913, Scott to Cory, Deputy Minister.

[116] PAC, MG 26 H [Borden Papers], Prince Albert, 9 January 1913, Pascal to Borden. The matter was referred to the Hon. W.J. Roche, Minister of the Interior. In April 1913, the abbé Dubois told Bishop Mathieu of Regina that no appointment was to be made unless the government decided to appoint one missionary-colonizer for the whole province, "afin de détruire un peu l'effet qu'a produit la nimination d'un franc-maçon." See AAR, "Colonization and Immigration", N.D. d'Arborfield, Sask., 18 avril 1913, Dubois à Mathieu. It is not clear who Dubois is talking about here, although it is probably Paul Ashby.

[117] Langevin wrote this to the abbé Joseph-Samuel Benoît of Beauchamp, Sask., one of Bishop Pascal's clergy who sought to be appointed colonization agent because of "la triste situation où se trouve désormais l'oeuvre si importante de la colonisation de langue française dans notre diocèse." He hoped to be named because of the Conservative leanings of his family. See AASB, Fonds Langevin, Beauchamp, Sask., 8 avril 1913, Benoît à Langevin; ibid., LB 17, [St-Boniface], 16 avril 1913, Langevin à Benoît.

118 W.D. Scott, Superintendent of Immigration, recommended in 1914 that it was not necessary to fill the place vacated by Bérubé's death, because Paul Ashby was adequate. PAC, R.G. 76, no. 803107, [Ottawa], 1 April 1914, Scott to Mitchell.

119 Ibid., no. 595025 (pt. 3), Ottawa, 5 March 1912, Memo from W.W. Cory, Deputy Minister, to W.D. Scott.

120 AAR, "Lettres de Mgr Mathieu, 1912-1914", Régina, 8 avril 1914, [Mathieu] à l'Honorable L.P. Pelletier, Maître général des Postes.

121 Ibid., [Ottawa], 21 avril 1914, W.J. Roche à L.P. Pelletier. A copy of the letter was sent to Mathieu.

122 PAC, R.G. 76, no. 22736 (pt. 4), Ottawa, 14 February 1917, Scott to Roche.

123 Ibid., no. 595025 (pt. 3), [Ottawa], 28 December 1922, Supervisor of Personnel to Wm. Foran, Secretary, Civil Service Commission; [Ottawa], 12 February 1923, Secretary, Civil Service Commission, to W.J. Black, Deputy Minister of Immigration.

124 Ibid., no. 5146 (pt. 1), [Ottawa], 16 May 1918, Memo from W.J. White, Inspector of U.S. Agencies, to W.W. Cory, Deputy Minister of the Interior.

125 Ibid., no. 22450, [Ottawa], 22 July 1918, W.D. Scott to W.W. Cory.

126 Canada: Sessional Papers, no. 25, 1911. Report of W.J. White, Inspector of United States Agencies and Press Agent, Ottawa, 15 June 1910.

127 The French-language newspapers in the West usually reported every arrival of settlers in the 1870s, 1880s, and even in the 1890s. But these reports appeared less frequently in the weekly press after 1900 when the arrival of settlers was largely taken for granted. In any event, it had ceased to be 'news'. Thus, it is almost impossible to use the francophone press for statistical purposes.

128 See, for example, the file on the abbé Corbeil, in PAC, R.G. 76, no. 22450, passim.

[129] See Chapter III, pp. 208-211.

[130] AASB, Fonds Béliveau, file marked "Colonisation", "Historique du Bureau des Prêtres Colonisateurs", [1928?], passim.

CHAPTER V

THE CHURCH AND FRANCO-CATHOLIC EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION

Initially, Franco-Catholic leaders in Western Canada looked to French Canada as the primary source of population for settlement in the West. Underlying their efforts in that direction was the conviction that the French-Canadian people were best suited for an agricultural way of life and that the Prairies were preferable to the manufacturing centres of New England. But when the attempts made in the 1870s to promote a large movement of French-Canadians from Quebec and the United States to the West demonstrated that French-Canadians were not keeping pace with the influx of Ontarians, Mgr. Alexandre Taché turned to Europe for Irish settlers, but also for French, Belgian, and even French Swiss reinforcements.

This chapter examines the relations between the Franco-Catholic groups of Western Canada and the French-speaking countries of Europe. It especially analyzes the attitudes of Church leaders towards European immigration to Canada. Indeed, it seeks first to explain their tardiness in trying to obtain immigrants from the continent. Of significance also was the existence of two networks of colonizers operating in Europe after 1880: one organized by

the Canadian government, and the other put in place by organizations and individuals favouring 'good' Catholic immigration to Canada. Again, as will be seen, the interplay of patronage and politics affected the Canadian government's operations in the field of European immigration.

Church involvement in European immigration to Canada passed through four stages. In the 1870s, there was virtually no immigration from the continent to the West. Beginning in 1880, contacts were made between Mgr. Taché and groups in France and Belgium interested in promoting a movement of French and Belgian settlers to Canada. Assisting these efforts were men like T.A. Bernier of Manitoba and Auguste Bodard of the Société d'Immigration Française. But from 1890 on, they gave way to a score of missionary-colonizers and religious orders who came to identify closely their immigration work in Europe with the clerical objectives of Church leaders in the West. Dom Paul Benoît and the abbé Jean Gaire typify that group of colonizers who were determined to preserve and maintain a strong Catholic influence in society. Finally, the evidence suggests that there was a decrease in efforts to obtain immigrants from Catholic Europe after 1907.

* * *

No more than a handful of French-speaking Europeans settled in Western Canada in the 1870s, while it is estimated that some 3,000 people, mostly from France, made their way across the Atlantic to take up residence in Quebec during the decade.[1] That the numbers were no higher was in part the result of opposition from within French Canada, and especially from 'conservative' elements which looked upon continental immigration with suspicion and distrust. Typical of that group was Jules-Paul Tardivel's brusque rejection of the idea that somehow France could help bolster the position of French Canada in an Anglo-Saxon North America: "Nous n'avons pas besoin de la France pour lutter contre l'absorption."[2] Faced with this prevailing climate of opinion, the Canadian government had little choice but to proceed cautiously in its appeal for French immigration.

In the West, Mgr. Taché of St. Boniface showed little or no interest in French-speaking immigration from Europe. In part, it was because he hoped and expected that French Canada would expand its sphere of influence in Confederation by diverting its surplus population towards the Canadian North-West. Throughout the first decade of Manitoba's history as a province, therefore, he busied himself with attempts to recruit French-Canadians from Quebec and the United States. Moreover, transportation

links between Europe and Western Canada were not such as to facilitate a continental movement to the West.

But the vast distance which separated France from the French-speaking community of Manitoba was not only a physical separation but an ideological one as well. Mgr. Taché, along with other ultramontanes in Canada, looked upon republican France with dismay. They were concerned about the spread of liberalism and of secularism in the old country. The defeat of France by Prussia in 1870 led them to conclude that God had wreaked his vengeance upon 'impious' France for having forgotten its mission as a great Catholic nation in Europe.[3] Taché, who kept Bishop Grandin of St. Albert informed of developments in Europe during the turbulent 1870s, commented in 1872 on the latest developments there:

> En Europe, l'état provisoire se maintient, le volcan gronde mais ne fait point éruption encore. Le Pape au Vatican, la persécution religieuse en Italie et en Allemagne, la révolution constante en Espagne, le malaise, l'impiété partout. Oh que tout cela fait mal à voir. En définitive mon cher Seigneur et ami, nous ne sommes pas les plus malheureux.[4]

It is not known whether Taché considered the possibility of seeking out disenchanted French Catholics, desirous of finding a refuge away from the 'tyranny' of the republicans, to increase the Franco-Catholic population of Manitoba, but there were those in Winnipeg and in Ottawa who thought that an appeal to people living in war-worn

parts of Europe would produce a considerable emigration to Canada. Members of the Manitoba Legislative Assembly, including the French-speaking representatives, addressed a petition to the federal government in 1872 on a "matter of immediate importance." They recommended that "some energetic steps should be taken to bring this vast & valuable portion of the DOMINION [sic] into prominent notice in Europe."[5] The Immigration Branch of the Department of Agriculture, which had already sent its agents into Alsace-Lorraine, responded positively to this proposal by instructing J.A.N. Provencher--since August 1871 the Immigration Agent for the North-West of Canada--[6] to go to Europe for a period of three months. He was to visit Belgium, Alsace, Lorraine, and the contiguous parts of France and Germany. John Lowe, Secretary of the Department, told the young Provencher that he was to avoid exaggeration in giving out practical information about Canada, that he was an agent for the whole of the Dominion, and that he should be careful as to the classes of people he met with. The government did not want professional men, clerks, or persons "fitted only for sedentary callings."[7]

At the same time, Canada's regular agents in Europe intensified their work on the continent. There were problems however. The Quebec government was dissatisfied with the class of immigrants sent out by Gustave Bossange (a federal

government agent who received a per capita commission for his efforts), because a great many of them were "Communists".[8] Lowe thought that the problem was not as serious as that, although he admitted that one-third of the arrivals were unsuited for Canada. Still, he had observed on his own that those living in Ottawa and its surroundings were doing well in several trades and in agriculture.[9]

It was probably as a result of Canada's efforts in the war-ravaged parts of Europe that one Henri de la Mothe (a former French journalist in Algeria) travelled to Canada in the Summer of 1873. Quebec's L'Evénement said that he was going to Manitoba "où il entrera en négotiation avec le gouvernement local pour l'établissement d'une colonie alsacienne lorraine."[10] In his report to the Department of Agriculture, de la Mothe noted that Manitoba appeared "a priori" to possess great advantages over Quebec as a field for agriculturists. He had other thoughts about the West as a home for his compatriots:

> ...je crois qu'il serait imprudent de jeter dès maintenant dans les prairies du Nord-Ouest sans discernement et sans préparation, un nombre considérable d'émigrants de toutes conditions. Après m'être renseigné auprès des personnes compétentes du pays, je suis arrivé à cette conclusion que, pour que le mouvement qu'il s'agit de déterminer ait un caractère durable, il faudra surtout mettre les commencements à l'abri de tout échec.[11]

The government declined to open an agency in Alsace-Lorraine for reasons that are not explained,[12] but its

agents continued to study the chances of effecting an emigration movement from that part of Europe.[13]

The issue of continental immigration for Canada remained a controversial one throughout the 1870s. In 1878, John Lowe confided to Paul de Cazes that

> in my opinion the question of maintaining an Immigration Agency in Paris, has not been free from difficulty for the Government, and they were attacked for it during the last session of Parliament, the cry being there are no Immigrants coming from France; and many of those who have come are not very good.[14]

Within a month, Macdonald's Conservative party was back in office, but Lowe could not say what their policy vis-à-vis French immigration would be. He doubted that the Paris Agency would be maintained because the new ministers were pledged to a "policy of restriction and a good deal of impopularity" was attached to the kind of French immigration arriving in Canada."[15] For his part, Lowe felt that Canada should have an agent in France "who should be sort of a Consul, but this cannot be supported from the immigration vote, and there is no other at present."[16] Thus, as the 1870s came to a close, French Canada had not as yet progressed far along the way in the rapprochement between the 'Old' France and the 'New' France inaugurated by the mission of La Capricieuse to Canada in 1855.[17] In the West, Mgr. Taché had not even considered French immigration to help him consolidate his

French-speaking "block" settlement. He had been content to address himself exclusively to his French-speaking compatriots.

The 1880s witnessed a dramatic reversal in relations between French Canada and the francophone countries of Europe, as well as in the attitudes of the Church towards the continent as a source of reinforcements for French Canada. This was especially so with Archbishop Taché who had come to realize that he needed to find another source of Franco-Catholic settlers to complement the movement of French-Canadians to the West from Quebec and the United States. Contacts established during the 1880s between the Church and groups in Europe brought to Taché's assistance a number of lay and clerical organizations based in France and Belgium. In part, the federal government contributed to the creation of these links by appointing Hector Fabre as Canada's Commissaire Général in Paris in 1882.[18] Nonetheless, there were two distinct networks of contact operating in Europe: one favouring the movement of 'good' Catholic people to Western Canada, and another appealing to the more adventurous class of Frenchmen and Belgians.

The decade opened with the bishops of Quebec pondering the question of European immigration to Canada and concluding that they still had serious misgivings about it.

Archbishop Taschereau of Quebec did not want European immigrants for his province because they had been of poor quality in the past.[19] Bishop Laflèche of Trois-Rivières was equally unimpressed with it:

> Les essais tentés du côté de la France de la Belgique et de la Suisse nous ont amené une si triste population qu'il vaut certainement mieux avoir de bons et honnêtes protestants - car je crois qu'il n'y a rien de pire que des Catholiques avariés par la révolution - c'est une race qui n'a ni foi, ni loi, et qui ne peut que scandaliser nos bons fidèles. Néanmoins, Mgr Langevin [de Rimouski] croit qu'en s'entendant directement avec les Evêques de ces pays - l'on pourrait faire venir un certain nombre de bonnes familles.[20]

Bishop Jean Langevin of Rimouski, on the other hand, felt that there was a way of securing good Catholic settlers from selected areas in Europe for settlement in Mgr. Taché's archdiocese. He explained the plan he had in mind:

> Ce que je voudrais, ce serait une immigration de bons colons <u>travaillants</u> et <u>religieux</u> pour faire contre-poids au torrent protestant qui vous envahit et va peut-être vous noyer au Nord-Ouest.
>
> Comme il ne faut pas cependant dépeupler notre province de Québec, et que les Canadiens-français qui pourraient se diriger vers vos endroits, soit des Etats-Unis, soit de notre province, ne suffiraient pas à cette fin, je crois qu'au moyen d'une entente entre notre épiscopat et celui de certains pays Catholiques d'Europe, il y aurait moyen d'avoir des centaines de milliers de <u>bons colons</u>, tels que nous les désirons. Au commencement de l'établissement du Canada, n'avait-on pas réussi à obtenir des colons <u>de choix</u> bien religieux et moraux?[21]

Mgr. Taché had a mixed reaction to this proposal.

On the one hand, he found it odd that his fellow bishops were offering him the European immigration which they did not want. And he too had reservations about continental recruits: "A moins de pouvoir nous assurer une immigration des Catholiques enfants de l'Irlande, je crois que nous ne pouvons guère compter sur l'Europe." He much preferred French-Canadian reinforcements for the West, and said so. On the other hand, he desperately needed an influx of Catholic people to bolster the position of the Church and of the French-speaking element. Mgr. Langevin's plan, therefore, revived his hopes because there was still time to prevent the complete loss of Franco-Catholic influence.[22]

The breakthrough came later that year when a delegation from France visited Canada for the purpose of creating new commercial ties between the two countries. The Count Arthur de la Londe travelled to Western Canada where he met with Mgr. Taché and others in St. Boniface.[23] His proposal to cooperate with the French-speaking leadership of Manitoba in founding colonies of good Christian families brought out from France fell on receptive ears. Not only did his visit create links between the Franco-Canadian group of Western Canada and commercial interests in France, but it led to the establishment of a joint venture which was designed to introduce both French capital and settlers into Western Canada. Unfortunately, this

attempt at expansion of the French fact in the West failed,[24] but it created bonds between the two continents which had not previously existed.[25]

The movement of French-speaking Europeans to Western Canada in the period 1880-1894 owed much to the work of laymen and lay organizations. Men like T.A. Bernier in Manitoba and the Belgian journalist Louis Hacault, along with organizations such as the Société d'Immigration Française and the Société St-Raphaël of Belgium are examples of this non-clerical involvement. But they worked closely with the local clergy in the West who helped incoming immigrants select lands in existing or newly-created parishes. At the same time, this network depended on priests and other sympathizers in France and Belgium to refer prospective settlers to them. This Church-oriented network operated independently of the government sector and only rarely came in contact with other private and secular groups such as the Société Foncière of one Pierre Foursin.

T.A. Bernier, whose curiosity about Western Canada was kindled by the curé Antoine Labelle, arrived in Manitoba in 1880 with specific colonization objectives in mind.[26] He planned to work towards the consolidation of Mgr. Taché's "block" in southern Manitoba on the banks of the Red River, which he described as another St. Lawrence valley.[27] His

inspiration and motivation for involvement in the cause of the Bishop of St. Boniface came from his reading of Edme Rameau de Saint-Père's Une Colonie Féodale en Amérique. It left him troubled:

> Oh! que de choses seraient différentes de ce qu'elles sont aujourd'hui, si l'on avait mieux compris en France l'importance des établissements que l'on avait fondés ici...
>
> Or, nous sommes en train de refaire cette malheureuse page d'histoire. Si nous n'y prenons garde, les Canadiens français de Manitoba penseront de nous ce que nous pensons actuellement de la France.[28]

It was Bernier's presentation at the 1884 Congrès National, held in Montreal, on the role of French-speaking people in America and especially in Western Canada, which placed him in the forefront of the colonization movement.[29] The curé Labelle referred to him the project of the French publicist, Claudio Jannet, to establish a colony of young Frenchmen in Canada.[30] Bernier, who as first Mayor of St. Boniface was not only interested in promoting French immigration to Manitoba but also in developing a manufacturing base for the community,[31] could only encourage such a movement.[32] In December of that year, the publication Paris-Canada announced the first departure of some of Jannet's colonists.[33]

Bernier rapidly became the intermediary between the Canadian West and Europe. Pierre Foursin, Fabre's secretary, reported that the Paris office was distributing

one of Bernier's pamphlets.[34] The Superintendent of Catholic Schools in Manitoba was also in contact with the curé Labelle who was about to leave for Europe on a mission entrusted to him by the Canadian government.[35] The abbé J.B. Proulx, who was to accompany Labelle to Europe, told Mgr. Taché that the purpose of the trip was to "déterminer, pour le Canada, surtout pour les prairies du Nord-Ouest, un courant de saine émigration française parmi la classe agricole, aisée et catholique, en un mot d'amener des castors."[36] Following the return visit to Canada and the North-West in the Summer of 1885 of a French delegation,[37] Bernier organized a committee to study ways and means of attracting a French immigration to Manitoba.[38] This led to the dispatch of the Comte de St-Exupéry and of Genty de la Borderie as representatives of what Bernier described as "un certain monde qui s'inspire du Rév. Père Dulac, jésuite de Paris."[39] Only later did he learn that they were the special envoys of the Comtesse d'Albuféra, who was soon to be the patron foundress of the French colony of Fannystelle. In this way Bernier became involved in the establishment of the Fannystelle group. He welcomed the project as "la reprise des traditions françaises en notre pays en matière de colonisation."[40] In his mind, this was to be the first link in a chain of parishes extending westward from the Red River to the open

plains of the Territories and beyond.[41]

The five years Bernier devoted to the organization and development of Fannystelle were troublesome years. Nor could he rely too heavily on Mgr. Taché who, following the collapse of La Compagnie Canadienne de Colonisation,[42] adopted a more secondary role in colonization schemes by limiting his participation to the episcopal level. Invited by Bernier to support the efforts of the founders, Taché agreed to establish a parish there and hoped that this would be the prelude to a number of French colonies in the West.[43] His reluctance to do more for the settlement probably stemmed from reports reaching him to the effect that all was not well with the administration of Fannystelle's lands. He gave the countess his "plus chaleureuse approbation" for all her undertakings, but pointed out to her that there was a long chapter of troubles which threatened to jeopardize the colony's success. These he ascribed to "quelques unes des personnes qui se sont trouvées en rapport avec la fondation."[44] In any event, the Archbishop did not involve himself directly in the affairs of the Fannystelle group, beyond those matters pertaining to the ecclesiastical domain. T.A. Bernier's son, in his study on Fannystelle, argues that Mgr. Taché gave his wholehearted support to the promoters of the settlement.[45] But this view does not explain the comments contained in Senator

Bernier's own notes on the beginnings of Fannystelle--a document prepared for Dom Benoît's biography of Mgr. Taché--to the effect that the colony's leaders received very little sympathy from the outset, "pas même celle de Mgr Taché et de son clergé."[46] Unfortunately, no further explanation is given.

At the same time as he guided the colony of Fannystelle, Bernier stepped up his activities in other colonization areas. The Department of Agriculture published his booklet Le Manitoba - Champ d'Immigration in 1888, a brochure which summarized the colonization ideology of the Franco-Manitoban leadership and indicated the various regions of Manitoba where European or Canadien settlers could fix themselves close to people of their own nationality and faith. Reacting to the unfavourable reports circulating on Manitoba's suitability as a field for settlement, Bernier sought to combat the false impressions created by exaggerated accounts of frosts, droughts, a paucity of timber and water, and other dire calamities. More importantly perhaps, his work contained numerous testimonials from parish priests and individual settlers reporting on their achievements in the agricultural field.[47]

A second initiative taken by Bernier sprang from his position as Superintendent of Catholic Schools in Manitoba. When, in 1889, the matter of the education of deaf-and-dumb

children was raised in the higher councils of education, he assured Mgr. Taché that it was imperative for Catholics to exercise their rights in this area, a position he was adopting in formal discussions. Father Allard, the Grand Vicar of the archdiocese, had informed him of vague proposals to establish an orphanage, and he himself had learned of other plans put forward by the Société St-Raphaël of Belgium, "dont le but est de déterminer un courant d'émigration catholique vers nous." Was there not a way of bringing together these diverse elements, he asked Taché:

> Il me semble que la chose n'est pas impossible, et que si cette réunion de forces se faisait, il deviendrait facile d'ouvrir de nouvelles paroisses, de manière à occuper de nouvelles zones, où nous pourrions nous développer? Ne serait-il pas possible de donner comme premier noyau à ces nouvelles colonies, cet orphelinat qui pourrait à la fois être un orphelinat agricole et industriel, auquel on joindrait un établissement de sourds & muets.[48]

To this end, steps were being taken to appoint him as agent of the Belgian society in Manitoba. Furthermore, rather than negotiate arrangements on a number of projects by correspondence, Bernier proposed to go to Europe on a special mission. He wanted Mgr. Taché's support in Ottawa for a government commission that would allow him to meet with the various groups in France and Belgium interested in the Franco-Catholic community of Western Canada. With the Archbishop's approval and recommendation, he received this favour from Ottawa, but it was not until 1891 that

he was able to spend three months on the continent.[49]

Bernier's career as an active colonizer effectively came to an end with his withdrawal from the directorship of the Fannystelle colony in 1891. Besides, he soon became a Senator and consequently spent much time in Ottawa. There, he turned his attention to the Manitoba School Question and to his other duties. Nonetheless, he continued to concern himself with colonization matters, using his position to good advantage.

One important group involved in promoting European immigration to Western Canada was the Société d'Immigration Française.[50] Its secretary was Auguste Bodard, for several years the editor of the French-language Conservative Le Courier, published at Windsor, Ontario. His first contact with Mgr. Taché took place in 1887 when he toured the West on an exploratory mission.[51] Soon after, he informed the St. Boniface churchman of his plan to circulate a pamphlet in selected regions of France, Belgium, and Switzerland, on the agricultural resources of Western Canada. "Nous avons eu égard", he wrote to Taché in explaining the goals of the Society, "en faisant cette proposition à la crise momentanée que traverse l'élément français dans votre province par suite de son infériorité numérique..." He hoped that together they would succeed in making "du Manitoba comme de la Province de Québec un grand pays de langue

française, ce qui est le but de la Société."[52] He felt that it was imperative to have a publication of sorts, because the C.P.R. had just decided to cease publication of its Le Colonisateur Canadien, "et ne veut rien faire pour attirer dans l'Ouest l'élément français, quoiqu'elle ne le dise pas ouvertement."[53] Yet, a year later, Bodard's close working relationship with L.O. Armstrong of the same company, led to the C.P.R. defraying the cost of printing 50,000 copies of one of his pamphlets containing information on the new settlements in south-western Manitoba of the abbés Gaire and Royer.[54] Subsequently, the C.P.R. paid for the printing of other brochures in French on Western Canada.[55] Interestingly, by 1890 Bodard was so satisfied with the Company's initiatives that he told Mgr. Taché "[que] jusqu'à présent nous n'avons eu pour ainsi dire que la Cie du Pacifique et Mgr Labelle pour aider le mouvement."[56] Surprisingly, he did not mention the federal government which, by that time, recognized the Société d'Immigration Française as a Dominion Government Immigration Agency.[57]

Bodard's modus operandi was many-sided. For the most part, he helped prepare and distribute brochures on various regions of Canada--but primarily on Western Canada--among the agricultural class in France, Belgium, and Switzerland. Leaflets went out under the signature of clergymen

who were members of the Société and who put prospective settlers in touch with Bodard. Whenever possible, Bodard himself travelled to Europe and returned to Canada with a contingent of families bound for the West. On occasion, the Society addressed special leaflets to the capitalist class in Europe, informing it of the opportunities for investment in the Canadian West. As Secretary of the Société d'Immigration Française between 1887 and 1894, Bodard also wrote numerous articles published in Le Colonisateur Canadien, Le Bulletin de la Société Franklin, Le Tour du Monde, le Lyon Républicain, l'Indicateur Savoisien, and in other journals.[58]

Bodard's duties as a publicist show that he was only indirectly involved in the actual settlement of immigrants in the West. Settlers he accompanied to Manitoba and the North-West Territories were received by local clergy like the abbés Gabriel Cloutier, Télesphore Campeau, and J.M. Jolys, among others. But Bodard rendered the greatest service to the Franco-Catholic community by bringing together European groups and Church leaders in Western Canada. He introduced French priests intent on establishing parishes in the West to Mgr. Taché.[59] It was he who first established contact with Dom Paul Benoît, and who subsequently related to Mgr. Taché the availability of the Chanoines Réguliers de l'Immaculée Conception as colonizers.[60] Other

proposals which he submitted to Taché and his clergy included one from the bishop of Annecy to found a parish of Savoisiens in Canada,[61] another to build houses near Labroquerie, Manitoba, for as many as 400 Belgian families,[62] yet another to send French immigrants to the St. Léon region,[63] and, finally, one to establish a parish around an agricultural orphanage.[64] Bodard's group was late in coming to the aid of Mgr. Grandin, because there had been no opportunity for him to visit the Saskatchewan country, but he proposed to cooperate in the future with the Bishop of St. Albert.[65]

No quantitative assessment of the results achieved by Bodard and the Société d'Immigration Française is possible, although Bodard claimed at one point that he was sending between 450 and 500 people a year to Canada.[66] It can be safely assumed that members of the Société were careful in their selection of settlers for Western Canada, both in terms of the finacial resources required for a successful beginning in Canada and in terms of the 'moral' qualities required. Finding Archbishop Taché quite disheartened in 1892 about the future of his Franco-Catholic flock, Bodard assured him that it was still possible to strengthen the position of the French-speaking group and of the Church in the West. "Ce qu'il vous faut au Manitoba", he told Taché, "ce sont des électeurs catholiques et il

faut prendre les moyens de les attirer." "Si nous voulons", he continued, "avoir de l'influence en temps d'élection, il faut avoir des groupes de nos nationaux un peu partout..."[67]

With sentiments like those, it is not surprising that Bodard enjoyed the full support of the clergy. The curé Labelle, the founder of the Canadian section of the Société d'Immigration Française and Bodard's protector, praised his protégé in correspondence with John Lowe of the Department of Agriculture, and suggested on more than one occasion that the federal government employ Bodard as an immigration agent in France.[68] When no such appointment was forthcoming, Bodard was quick to charge the federal government and the French-Canadian deputation in Ottawa with neglect of French immigration: "Quant à nos ministres et députés canadiens", he told Taché, "nous n'avons jusqu'ici pu constater chez eux que l'indifférence la plus coupable pour la colonisation de langue française au Manitoba."[69] Mgr. Grandin of St. Albert added his support by urging the government to defray Bodard's travel expenses and to give him a bonus for each European immigrant sent to the West. Grandin, in a letter addressed to Senator M.A. Girard of Manitoba in 1892, noted that it was all the more important, "seeing that he, Bodard, in spite of his zeal & success, is not in any way encouraged as agents are in other countries, one might suppose that the Canadian

Government is trying to prevent French Immigration, which evidently cannot be."[70] Bodard was finally appointed a salaried Canadian agent in France in 1894.[71]

While the Société d'Immigration Française was the most active group sending French and Belgian settlers to Canada in the late 1880s and early 1890s, Church leaders maintained other contacts with European sympathizers. The Société St-Raphaël, organized in Belgium in 1888, proposed to assist Belgian immigrants bound for South America or Canada. The Secretary of the Société, Count Frédéric-Louis Walbott de Bassenheim, approached the Director of St. Boniface College in 1888 to obtain a local representative in the West who would receive immigrants and guide them towards existing parishes. It appears that T.A. Bernier took on this role.[72] The Belgian organization obviously made an impact in the West, because Mgr. Grandin asked Walbott de Bassenheim in 1892 if a way could be found to provide immigrants with loans prior to their departure for Canada. The Bishop of St. Albert thought that the greatest problem with those who came to Western Canada was their poverty and lack of financial means.[73] As late as 1896, there were still communications between clerical leaders and the Société St-Raphaël, especially with respect to the provision of priests knowledgeable in both French and Flemish.[74]

Other laymen who took an interest in the Franco-Catholic community of Western Canada were the Belgian journalist Louis Hacault, and the Vicomte Jules de Cuverville. Hacault's interest in directing some of his compatriots to Canada resulted from a meeting with the curé Labelle during the latter's trip to Europe in 1890.[75] A journalist of note with the Courrier de Bruxelles, Hacault made a brief visit to Manitoba a few months later and returned home convinced that "le Manitoba convient parfaitement à la colonisation belge."[76] So much so that he settled permanently in the province in 1892. Thereafter, he continued to write articles for Belgian newspapers on the Canadian West as a field of settlement for the surplus population of his homeland.

The young Jules de Cuverville, whose father had just completed a study on the Canadian economy,[77] proposed to establish a model French village in Canada which would serve as an example to those in France hesitant about emigration to Canada. He described the participants in the venture as "choisis parmi des gens sincèrement religieux et solides de principes."[78] The Archbishop, after consulting with his principal advisor on colonization matters, the abbé Gabriel Cloutier, told the Vicomte that he was pleased with the proposal even though there were great difficulties involved in its implementation.[79]

The abbé Cloutier thought that "un village modèle, c'est une grosse promesse, cependant elle peut se réaliser, pourvu que l'on commence avec prudence et sagesse."[80] And to show that they were not about to encourage the immigration of classes unsuited to the country, both Taché and Cloutier stressed the need for agriculturists:

> Il n'y aurait pas besoin des hommes d'art: maçons, charpentiers, etc. Qu'ils n'envoient ni médecins, ni bouchers, ni boulangers, cela ne sera pas utile dans le [pays]. Des médecins et bouchers il y en aura dans le voisinage. Pour le boulanger, il n'y en aura pas besoin avant quelques années; chaque fermier étant censé savoir boulanger son pain. Un homme qui aurait 10,000 francs, peut faire réussir une petite entreprise sagement conduite, mais il ne peut entretenir l'idée d'envoyer plusieurs fermiers avec cette somme.[81]

These and other projects[82] which came to the attention of Mgr. Taché during this period of blossoming relations between Europe and the Franco-Catholic community of the Canadian West show clearly how the climate of opinion had changed from that of the 1870s. In the fifteen-year period after 1880, the Church greatly benefited from its contacts with European colonization societies. What is striking is the role played by laymen, both those present in the West and those acting as agents in Europe. There was indeed a network operating between the two continents, and one especially favouring the Catholic element.

At the same time, however, there was another network

whose chief characteristic was that it addressed itself to French-speaking Europeans without regard to their religious background. This is not to suggest that the two networks were rivals or that there was no cooperation between them. It indicates instead that there were groups and individuals involved in promoting the settlement of Western Canada by French-speaking Europeans not necessarily identified with the clerical efforts of the Catholic Church.

Three cases illustrate this point. The first is Canada's Commissariat Général in Paris which, after its establishment in 1882 under the direction of Hector Fabre, set about to publicize the agricultural potential of the Canadian West. But there were ultramontanes in Canada who did not like Fabre. Jules-Paul Tardivel thought that his appointment was a scandal and that Fabre was not "l'homme qu'il nous faut pour choisir des immigrants 'sains' pour le Canada."[83] Still, the Commissaire Général was committed to the idea of expanding the influence of the French-speaking population in Western Canada, an optimism he expressed in a lecture before the members of la Société de Géographie Commerciale de Paris in 1884. "Nous pouvons ensemble nous emparer", he told his listeners, "d'une grande partie du Nord-Ouest canadien, y faire surgir une seconde province de Québec, y implanter une nouvelle France."[84]

The propaganda material of his Paris-Canada--its masthead described it in 1884 as "[L]'Organe International des Intérêts Canadiens et Français--included hundreds of reports and articles on life in Western Canada.[85] It was primarily an agricultural and business journal designed to stimulate the investment of French capital in Canada as well as the movement of people from the continent to the Canadian Prairies.

The two other cases of non-clerical organizations doing immigration work in Europe involve the founding of French colonies at Whitewood and Montmartre in Assiniboia, the first in the 1880s and the second in the early 1890s. The former was the undertaking of a group of French aristocrats intent on recreating a society of earlier times, while the latter was the work of Fabre's long-time secretary and principal collaborator at Paris-Canada, Pierre Foursin.[86] The "gentlemen-farmers" of La Rolanderie were of Catholic background, but their main purpose in coming to Western Canada was to engage in a series of speculative enterprises.[87] Pierre Foursin, the organizer in 1893 of the Société Foncière whose object was the implantation of French colonies in the North-West, was adept at bringing together a small number of investors in France, but lacked the experience to carry through on his proposals. His venture at Montmartre failed within three years and he

returned to France.[88] What is of significance is that neither of these two enterprises was under the patronage of the Church. Only in the early 1900s did Archbishop Langevin come to concern himself with the colonies of St. Hubert de la Rolanderie and of Montmartre as he contemplated the expansion of the Franco-Catholic element across the southern part of the Prairies.[89]

The pattern developed in the 1880s of a Church-oriented network of immigration operating between Europe and Western Canada continued in the years after 1890, but with one major variation: henceforth, missionary-colonizers based in parishes in the West travelled to Europe where they undertook to form contingents of settlers for the move to Canada. This new breed of colonizers, who largely replaced the laymen and lay groups so visible during the 1880s, comprised clergymen of European birth, education, and training. Their intimate knowledge of conditions on the continent and their circles of friends among the clergy of France and Belgium, together with their understanding of the needs and conditions in Western Canada, made them invaluable colonization agents in the service of Franco-Catholic interests. Significantly, they operated independently of governmental constraints, a move which allowed them to take initiatives which they could not have taken otherwise. But, at the same time, they stood to lose

by not benefiting from Ottawa's financial support for such things as transportation, the printing and distribution of brochures and leaflets, or the assistance of 'returnmen' with whom they could work. In the period from 1890 to approximately 1907, these colonizers became the mainstays of the Church's efforts to bring French-speaking Catholics from Europe to the West.

The characteristics and fields of operation of these European colonizers vary. There were religious orders which undertook colonization work as a collective enterprise, drawing upon the resources of houses based in Canada and in Europe. Among these, the Chanoines Réguliers de l'Immaculée Conception (CRIC) were the most active, because they lent members of their order for colonization work in all three Prairie provinces. On the other hand, the Prêtres de Sainte-Marie de Tinchebray (France) and the Missionnaires de Chavagnes (France) limited themselves to one or two mission centres. Besides these orders, there was a score of secular and regular priests who worked alone, either recruiting immigrants in Europe for settlement in one particular parish or bringing some to other parishes found in the West. The abbé Jean Gaire was the most active of these missionary-colonizers. He served Bishops Taché, Langevin, and Legal. Other colonizers who brought French and Belgian settlers to

Canada for the purpose of establishing a parish included Father Eugène Lecoq, O.M.I., of Ste. Rose du Lac (Manitoba), Father Hervé Péran, O.M.I., of St. Laurent (Manitoba), the abbé Paul LeFloch of St. Brieux (Saskatchewan), and others.

The Chanoines Réguliers de l'Immaculée Conception provide a unique case study. Especially so because they were led and inspired by Father--later Dom--Paul Benoît, who excelled as a colonizer, as well as being a prolific writer, a polemicist of wide reputation, and the confidant of Archbishops Taché and Langevin.[90] Colonization work was one of his constant preoccupations during the twenty-year period following his arrival in Manitoba in the Spring of 1891 with a group of French and Swiss immigrants. Not until his retreat from public life in 1910 did he lose interest in this work.[91]

The Chanoines Réguliers were first approached on the subject of Canadian settlement by Auguste Bodard early in 1889. Father Benoît, who first corresponded with the Secretary of La Société d'Immigration Française, was then a teacher in the order's institution at St. Claude, in the Jura département of France. For some fifteen years, he had watched the rural depopulation of the cantons bordering upon Switzerland. He felt that this migration resulted in "les plus funestes effets pour les âmes et pour les corps; nos campagnes en reçoivent un grand détriment et les villes

aucun profit." Was it not preferable, he asked, to channel the excess population towards the colonies? Of course it was, but neither Algeria nor South America was acceptable. Canada offered a better chance, "car nos montagnards sont accoutumés au froid; ils habitent un pays stérile, auprès duquel le Canada sera une terre promise; ils sont énergiques, persévérants, travailleurs." In addition, Father Benoît believed that it would be relatively easy to send at least fifty young people to Canada each year, thereby relieving the pressure somewhat on an overpopulated region of France, and indeed contributing to the social good by diminishing "cette effrayante plaie de la stérilité systématique." A number of villages, he thought, could be established in Canada by people from the Jura and from the Swiss canton of Fribourg. Confident that the bishops of these regions would enthusiastically support an emigration to Canada, he proposed that the best way of setting it in motion was by establishing a small colony of priests in Canada. "Quand les prêtres du même pays et ayant la même vie seront des deux côtés de la mer", he wrote, "il sera facile d'organiser une émigration dans les meilleures conditions possibles, non pas avec des aventuriers, mais avec des éléments irréprochables."[92]

Bodard sent along an excerpt from one of Father Benoît's letters to Mgr. Taché, adding that he had recom-

mended Manitoba as the most favourable place for the settlers who might be brought to Canada.[93] Dom Gréa, Superior of the Chanoines, in answer to a hurried letter from Taché, suggested that one of his men make an exploratory tour of Canada and that, in the meantime, he would be most pleased to meet with any visiting clergy from the St. Boniface diocese.[94] However, both Dom Gréa and Father Benoît, even before the latter's departure for a preliminary visit to Canada in the Summer of 1890, indicated that Manitoba appeared to be especially suited to their order's needs.[95] Bishop Taché, on the other hand, already envisioned the establishment of their colony in the St. Malo parish, within his compact "block" settlement.[96]

Both before and after his quick tour of Quebec and Manitoba, Father Benoît pursued an intensive propaganda campaign in France, and especially in the moutainous regions of the Jura. He did so in anticipation of an 1891 embarkment for Canada.[97] In spite of a call from the Mayor of St. Antoine to desist from his emigration work and of an official warning by the local préfet that this would be reported to the Minister of the Interior, Benoît continued to recruit settlers.[98] Some of these were referred to him by one Ch. Desaire, L.A. Aubry, and the abbé G. Biron, three friends of Canada.[99] Unfortunately, Benoît failed to receive the $5 bonus for each immigrant

brought to Canada which the Department of Agriculture remitted even to 'returnmen'.[100] Benoît originally estimated that some 100 families would accompany him to Manitoba in the Spring of 1891, but of the 66 families which actually made preparations to leave France, only 30 were ready for the April departure. Still, Benoît believed that it would be easy to create "un puissant et régulier courant d'émigration", composed of the best families "qui aspirent à émigrer, pour avoir plus de liberté religieuse."[101]

With the establishment of Notre-Dame de Lourdes in the Pembina Mountain region of south-western Manitoba in 1891, Dom Paul Benoît and the Chanoines Réguliers began to play a major role in the life of the Franco-Catholic community of Western Canada. They began almost immediately to give their colony an institutional framework. They built a church and opened a primary school, because "il n'y a jamais eu d'école dans toute notre immense paroisse."[102] Within a few months, Dom Benoît expressed the desire to Mgr. Taché of seeing the Chanoinesses des Cinq-Plaies open a convent for young girls in the region.[103] Yet, at the same time, Dom Benoît told his new bishop that he was inclined to favour the consolidation of his order in the province before reaching out further west. Nor did he plan on sending settlers to

Nominingue, in Quebec, should the Chanoines replace the Jesuits there.[104]

The first years were busy ones for Dom Benoît's order in the West. In 1892, French immigrants began to homestead in what became the community of St. Claude. They chose the location in order to be close to a C.P.R. line.[105] The Company reciprocated by promising a grant of land for the site of a church building.[106] The new settlement grew so rapidly that Dom Benoît foresaw the need for further expansion within a 20-25 mile radius of Notre-Dame de Lourdes.[107] By early summer of the following year, 48 homesteads had been taken around St. Claude,[108] prompting the colonizer to request from the Department of the Interior the setting aside of lands east of Notre-Dame de Lourdes as well as east and north of St. Claude.[109] The request was turned down by federal authorities, there being no provision in the law for making reservations of that type, although an inter-departmental memorandum indicated that such a reservation had recently been allowed for a Moravian settlement.[110] Over the years, the Chanoines never overcame the scarcity of homestead and other lands in the region, thus forcing Dom Benoît and his men to provide as best they could for incoming immigrants. They were not in danger of being confined too closely within the Pembina region, but they

were looking to the future. The parish of Notre-Dame, for example, grew slowly but steadily, from 481 souls at the end of 1893 (including 144 French-Canadians, 231 Frenchmen, 78 Swiss, 13 Belgians, and 11 Germans), to 567 inhabitants at the end of 1895 (including 158 French-Canadians, 309 Frenchmen, 80 Swiss, and 20 Belgians or Germans).[111]

In the years after 1895, Dom Benoît struck a balance between his responsibilities as superior of his order in Canada, his continuing interest in colonization work, and a score of other duties ranging from his writing of Mgr. Taché's biography to his involvement as an advisor to Archbishop Langevin in the conflict surrounding the rights of denominational schools in the West. But six years after his arrival in the West, he remained optimistic about the future of the Franco-Catholic community of Manitoba. Witness the letter he addressed to the French Consul in Montreal, in answer to the latter's views on the inadvisability of promoting a French immigration to Canada, and especially towards Manitoba and the North-West. After outlining the progress of the settlement of Notre-Dame de Lourdes since 1891, Dom Benoît concluded his rebuttal with these words:

> Nous sommes tout entourés de colonies de langue française fondées depuis 25 ans: Saint-Léon, Saint-Alphonse, Somerset, peuplés surtout de Canadiens-français; Bruxelles, peuplé surtout de Belges; Saint-Claude, Fannystelle, presque exclusivement composés de français. Ce sont des centres où la langue française sera à jamais parlée et où par conséquent l'influence française sera toute puissante de siècle en siècle.[112]

His optimism undoubtedly corresponded to that of Mgr. Langevin, even though it was far from being held universally.[113]

Yet, while it may have been Dom Benoît's desire to limit his endeavours to one region in the West, there were mounting pressures on him to lend members of his order for immigration and colonization projects elsewhere. From St. Albert came word that the Chanoines would be well received there, especially if they founded, said Bishop Grandin, "quelque chose comme à Notre-Dame de Lourdes au Manitoba; l'espace ne manque pas..."[114] A year later, Bishop Legal reminded Dom Benoît of Mgr. Grandin's hope to see a few Chanoines establish themselves in the diocese, more specifically at Vègreville.[115] The following year, 1902, Grandin admitted that he was concerned about Benoît's lack of a firm commitment to the proposal.[116] Yet another year passed before Legal finally learned that Father Augustin Bernier was being sent out to Vègreville.[117] Unfortunately, it was almost too late for the Franco-Catholic population to affirm

its presence in the region, or so Legal admitted in a letter to Benoît:

> Malheureusement nos catholiques ne se sont pas assez hâtés de s'emparer des terres, & bon nombre de protestants se sont placés au milieu d'eux; mais on peut espérer que, dans la suite, plusieurs de ces protestants se sentant mal à l'aise au milieu de catholiques, cèderont leurs terres, & seront remplacés par des catholiques...[118]

Meanwhile, Dom Benoît agreed to lend support to Bishop Pascal of Prince Albert by dispatching two members of his order to northern Saskatchewan. But there also, it was too late to make it into a francophone preserve. Father Albert Voisin told Benoît of the difficulties which confronted him in the area of Duck Lake:

> Si vous vous décidez pour cette fondation, je serais d'avis que vous y avisiez au plutôt et l'essentiel serait de trouver un ou même plusieurs noyaux de colons qui s'empareraient des terres avant l'affluence des autres nationalités. Il est incroyable combien la Saskatchewan est recherchée aujourd'hui. [...] Les Galliciens arrivent tous les jours par centaines, les Hongrois également. Si nous voulions avoir une région à nous il nous faut des colons en nombre suffisant pour les jeter un peu partout former des petits centres français et s'emparer des terrains. Le P. Vachon travaille je crois pour ces régions de l'ouest de Duck Lake et le R.F. Aufray [?] peut faire venir plusieurs familles de Bretagne. Il serait bon que quelqu'un de nos pères s'en occupe en France. On pourrait en visitant nos familles établies au Manitoba et ici prendre leurs statistiques et visiter ceux de leur connaissance [sic] qui pourraient se décider à venir. Il n'y aurait rien de tel qu'une visite de quelqu'un qui a vu.[119]

Dom Benoît undoubtedly grasped the implications of the situation. Failing a considerable emigration to Western Canada from his homeland, there could be little hope for the expansion of the French fact on the Prairies. But the Chanoines Réguliers had not sought to create a large emigration movement to Canada. They had always chosen the families they wanted to attract to Manitoba with great care. Furthermore, no member of their order was assigned to do immigration work in Europe on a regular basis. There were of course restrictions on the activities of religious orders in France which made this impossible. In the final analysis, however, they could not overcome the inescapable reality of a considerably larger Eastern European immigration making its way to Western Canada. Thus the immigration and colonization work of the Chanoines in favour of the Franco-Catholic groups of Western Canada became less and less successful. Benoît, the indefatigable monk, continued to receive and respond to hundreds of letters from European correspondents asking for his opinion on the value of lands in Canada and on the suitability of the country for young 'gentlemen' of 'good' families.[120] Even that came to an end in 1907 when Rome reformed the rules of the order. Internal problems arose, and the Chanoines were forced to withdraw from Vègreville. Dom

Benoît retreated into a self-imposed seclusion, and the colonization work of his order came to an end.

On the whole, the efforts of Dom Benoît and the Chanoines proved relatively successful.[121] They had set out to recreate a part of 'Old' France in the 'New World' in order to escape the anti-clerical movement in Europe and to find a milieu which would restore vigour to the "French race". It was by choice that they limited their activity to the intensive development of one region rather than attempt a vast programme of settlement further afield. When they did lend members of the order to other dioceses, it was more out of a sense of duty than out of a sense of commitment. Their greatest achievement was the occupation of an area of Manitoba which formed part of the French-speaking "block" in the province.

The experience of the abbé Jean Gaire was quite different.[122] He was attracted to the Canadian West after reading a brochure written by the abbé Jean-Baptiste Proulx.[123] He followed it up by writing directly to Mgr. Taché, exposing his plan to relocate a large number of his compatriots in Canada. He talked of people who were quitting "les campagnes appauvries et [sont obligées de] chercher fortune dans les cités industrielles de France où ils perdent les habitudes de religion."[124] He had a plan:

> ...le but de mon établissement serait, moyennant un travail de quelques années au profit de l'établissement, de fournir gratuitement à tout colon les terres, bestiaux, instruments, etc., nécessaires à son exploitation, de telle sorte qu'il serait assuré de pouvoir s'établir solidement sans avoir rien à débourser. J'obvierais ainsi à deux grandes difficultés qui arrêtent la plupart des colons: le manque de capital et l'incertitude de son avenir pour le colon.[125]

Taché's encouraging response prompted Gaire to emigrate to Canada in April 1888. And, as he recounted later, he decided from the outset not to accept a parish already well provided for, but to strike out instead for unoccupied regions:

> ...si je m'étais écouté, j'aurais accepté sans coup férir la direction d'un de ces beaux groupes canadiens de la Rivière-Rouge. Mais j'avais des plans bien précis en venant au Canada. Ce n'était pas un changement de cure que je cherchais, j'y venais pour y lutter sur la brèche. Je voulais aller où le danger me paraissait le plus grand. Les bords de la Rivière Rouge me paraissaient assez forts; ils n'avaient pas besoin de moi; plus à l'occident le centre manitobain (avec St-Léon et St-Alphonse) avait lui aussi ses bonnes citadelles. Mais l'ouest de la province qui ne possédait que quelques catholiques perdus au milieu de protestants à Oak Lake et Deloraine me parut absolument dégarni. Entre les deux localités se trouvait une vaste solitude. J'obtins facilement l'autorisation de m'y fixer. On crut en haut lieu que je m'illusionnais, on me laissa partir avec la conviction que je ne tarderais pas à reconnaitre moi même mon impuissance; mais on attendit vainement mon retour découragé.[126]

Far from being discouraged, Gaire was full of optimism. In the Fall of 1889, he went to Europe and returned in the Spring with eighty settlers.[127] The

federal government even agreed to pay him the $5 bonus for each immigrant he accompanied to Canada, although this was usually reserved for regular booking agents.[128] Like the Chanoines Réguliers at Notre-Dame de Lourdes, he began to build a parish complete with a school. He also planned on returning to France to recruit more settlers, but fatigue prevented him from doing so.[129] In his place, he sent Edmond Fasseaux, who made three trips to Belgium in the early 1890s as an official 'returnman'.[130] On each occasion, Fasseaux accompanied groups of forty and fifty settlers, destined for Gaire's colony at Grande Clairière or for the new settlements he established at Cantal in 1892 and at Bellegarde the following year. Over the next five years, Gaire steered European arrivals towards Dumas, Forget, and other places in the south-eastern part of Assiniboia.

Gaire's real career as an immigration agent in the service of the Church began in 1897. Responding to Archbishop Langevin's appeal in La Croix de Paris for moral and financial help in favour of the Catholic schools of Manitoba, he offered his services for a great crusade in Europe. He proposed to go to France "pour aller secouer nos français" and, at the same time, "[pour] m'occuper d'immigration."[131] With Langevin's approval, he prepared for a tour in selected regions of France by writing two

works: one was a study of the Manitoba School Question, and the other was an account of his experiences as a priest and missionary in Manitoba.[132] His objectives were to enlist a number of "zélateurs" for Langevin's Catholic schools, and to recruit agriculturists whom he proposed to place in the region around Moose Mountain. There was room there for 10,000 settlers, and he wanted the French-speaking element to occupy the country first. If only, he told Langevin, "nous pouvons y fixer 1000 [colons] avant le prolongement prochain du chemin de fer, ce beau district est à nous; car nous prendrons toutes les bonnes places; nous sommes là bons premiers."[133]

Gaire's double mission to Europe in 1897 was successful enough to spur him on to greater efforts. The parish priest at Bellegarde thought that "M. l'abbé Gaire a bien réussi dans le choix de ses émigrants et ... il a su aussi les bien diriger."[134] That was only the beginning for Gaire, who now decided that the time had come to publish a bulletin--Les Annales du denier du Manitoba--which would be concerned with the School Question and with immigration matters.[135] The two themes of schools and immigration were to remain inextricably linked in his lectures and articles as he conducted his work over the span of the next two decades.

Gaire carried on his European crusade in favour of

the Catholic schools of Western Canada and of French Catholic immigration to the Canadian West by making eight trips to the continent between 1897 and 1906.[136] While speaking of the Canadian Prairies, he planned to denounce the Laurier-Greenway Agreement of 1897. But he assured Mgr. Langevin that he would be careful in his comments on the School Question:

> Vous pouvez compter sur une prudence ferme de ma part dans mes appréciations des choses et des hommes. Les noms de nos oppresseurs et ceux des traitres seront peu cités et ils le seront toujours d'une façon irréprochable. Pas de qualificatifs, pas d'épithètes fâcheux dans ce que j'écrirai. Je veux surtout laisser parler les faits - ils sont assez éloquents par eux-mêmes - la noble indignation du lecteur viendra bien d'elle-même.[137]

Nonetheless, he found it difficult to refrain from criticizing Laurier and Tarte who, he felt, were surrendering the very soul of French Canada by their policies in the School Question. It was therefore important to maintain and strengthen the French fact in the West because, "si notre langue est supprimée ici, il n'y reste plus de Français; il n'y reste plus que des fils de Français angliphiés avec la foi catholique faisant naufrage pour un grand nombre comme dans les Etats-Unis."[138]

In Europe, Gaire relied on the network of sympathizers he built up through the newly-named Le Défenseur du Canada Catholique et français to facilitate his immigration work. By 1900, he had 400 "zélateurs" subscribing to the bulletin, and hoped to increase it tenfold. Through

these contacts, he found prospective settlers, and also obtained gifts or loans of money for the support of Langevin's schools. So encouraged was he by the reception he received in Europe, that he planned to spend a year and even two in France and Belgium, organizing groups of immigrants for Western Canada. He outlined his plan to Langevin in 1900:

> J'ai maintenant avec moi 400 zélateurs un peu partout avec lesquels il me sera facile de marcher à la conquête de 4,000 prêtres au moins, tant de France que de Belgique. Nous allons avoir sous peu un vrai mouvement national et très vivant de colonisation franco-belge en faveur du Canada sorti des couches les plus vives de l'élément catholique-français.[139]

With the help of the French and Belgian clergy, Gaire proposed to find settlers "dans les districts plus catholiques et moins riches, les plus capables de nous donner une immigration plus nombreuse et meilleure."[140]

During his prolonged stay in Europe in 1901-1902, and in each of his subsequent trips to Europe, Gaire not only determined hundreds of Europeans to emigrate to Canada, but also caused scores of priests and numerous religious orders to query the three bishops of Western Canada about the possibility of finding a place in their dioceses. These enquiries were prompted in part by Gaire's articles on Canada, but also by the state of apprehension created by the French government's laws

dealing with the status of religious orders.[141] Bishops Langevin and Legal took in a number of priests and orders, but were soon unable to accomodate all of them. One major obstacle to the acceptance of more 'refugees from Europe' was the bishops' requirement that their clergy be versed in at least two languages.[142] Indeed, in 1905 Mgr. Langevin informed Gaire that he could no longer accept priests in his diocese who spoke French only, unless they brought out enough settlers with them to form a parish.[143]

As he devoted more and more of his time to immigration work, the abbé Gaire evolved a series of plans to increase and facilitate French and Belgian emigration to the Canadian West. He set out to form small investment companies in Wauchope and Red Deer for the purpose of buying up lands for later resale to incoming settlers.[144] Another of his proposals was to form a Société de fermes du clergé français. According to his plan, he would invite members of the clergy especially to purchase or invest in the purchase of blocks of land which would be chosen so as to form reserves for European immigrants.[145] Mgr. Langevin approved of these schemes, but cautioned Gaire not to become a shareholder or director of these societies.[146] Mgr. Legal showed interest in these projects also, but wondered whether Gaire was about to introduce European clergy into his diocese without first obtaining

his permission.[147] In any event, it does not appear that Gaire's Société de fermes du clergé français went ahead. But he did continue for years to use sums of money entrusted to him by French land-owners to purchase lands in their name in southern Saskatchewan.[148]

The most productive years in Gaire's career as the Church's foremost European agent were those between 1900 and 1906. In 1904, for example, he brought over 500 French and Belgian immigrants to Canada. But he always had greater expectations than that. His unbounded enthusiasm reached its climax in that same year when he told Bishops Langevin and Legal that he fully expected to see 100,000 French-speaking immigrants settle in Western Canada over the next ten years. Indeed, he prophesied that the "Québec de l'Ouest" would lie at the foot of the Canadian Rockies.[149] Yet, within two years, Gaire made his last crossing to Europe, and although he carried on his colonization work at the local level in the West for almost twenty years afterwards, his great European crusade came to an end.

Gaire's withdrawal from the active list of European immigration agents requires some explanation because it was a turning-point in the history of the Church's efforts to bring French and Belgian settlers to Western Canada. He had previously talked of concentrating his energies on

developing the region around Wauchope in southern Saskatchewan where he lived.[150] Furthermore, he was concerned about his advancing age (he was 52 in 1905). But it may be also that he was finding it increasingly difficult to finance his frequent trips overseas. The best indication of that comes from a request he addressed to the Department of the Interior in 1905 asking for help in conducting his immigration and colonization work. When he was told that "it is regretted that the Department cannot assist you in your proposed undertaking on behalf of immigration", he presented his case to Prime Minister Laurier:

> Voilà le huitième voyage de propagande que j'entreprends en France en faveur de la colonisation au Canada. J'ai payé de ma bourse toutes mes dépenses et cependant j'ai amené ici directement plus de 1000 émigrants sans compter ceux que j'ai amenés indirectement. Ce n'est du reste que depuis que je publie à Lille, France, ma petite revue trimestrielle "Le Défenseur du Canada" qu'un mouvement réel de Français ici s'est vivement marqué.
>
> Je connais des agents d'occasion qui ont reçu des poignées de dollars et dont tout le succès n'est pas allé jusqu'à amener 25 émigrants au Canada.
>
> Je suis convaincu, Honorable Premier, que vous reconnaitrez avec moi que je ne suis pas traité comme je le nérite.
>
> J'ajoute que je n'ai jamais rien demandé au Gouvernement du Canada: si je le fais en ce moment c'est parce que le déficit de mes frais de propagande était devenu écrasant pour mes ressources trop faibles.[151]

It appears that a temporary arrangement between the govern-

ment and Gaire enabled him to carry on with his work for the 1906 season, but it was his last tour of Europe.

Any evaluation of Gaire's work as a colonization and immigration agent concerned with European emigration to Western Canada must take into account the clerical objectives he set for himself in 1897. He set out to recruit Catholic settlers in Europe as part of the Church's crusade to keep alive the fight for the recovery of Catholic rights in the field of education. In that respect, his work was a failure, because he never succeeded in causing a large enough movement of Catholics to Western Canada to redress the balance in favour of the Catholic element. But, in other ways, his efforts were moderately successful. He did, for example, open up new fields of settlement for the Franco-Catholic population and added to the "chain" of parishes stretching westward from the Red River. Furthermore, the initiative he showed in the area of interesting Europeans to buy lands in the Canadian West produced some results. Of course, these purchases were quite marginal when compared to the operations of other companies. Finally, through his propaganda work, Gaire found priests and religious orders willing and eager to serve the Church in Canada.

Gaire had imitators, but none of the other priests who engaged in recruiting European settlers for Western

Canada was his equal. Father Eugène Lecoq, curé of Ste. Rose du Lac, went to Europe in 1902 and again in 1906 to find families for his parish. He soon discovered, however, that preaching emigration to Canada was often a difficult task. He told Mgr. Langevin in 1902 that

> Bon nombre de fermiers voudraient venir, mais ils ne sont pas libres actuellement, et certainement les maîtres ne les lâcheront pas avant qu'ils n'aient fini leur temps. Il nous faut donc quelqu'un pour faire un choix judicieux parmi les gens, les encourager et les guider à l'occasion.
>
> C'est une tâche ardue que de prêcher l'émigration, les curés nous reçoivent à coups de fourche. Seul le curé de Moutiers a été bien aimable. Enfin peu m'importe si je puis réussir.[152]

Mgr. Langevin, who enjoyed going to Ste. Rose du Lac to relax, encouraged Father Lecoq to attract the best class of French settlers to this region, to mix with what he described as "plusieurs familles françaises de bonne noblesse et profondément chrétiennes."[153] Similarly, Langevin referred to Lecoq the numerous letters he received from concerned French parents who sought his opinion about the best way and the best place to groom their young sons for the pursuit of an agricultural career in the Canadian West. Langevin left it to Lecoq to find places for these 'gentlemen-farmers' in the 'good' families at Ste. Rose du Lac. This was one way of preparing future landowners to their vocation, and was one of the most important duties of Father Lecoq.

Father Lecoq's immigration work was only incidental to his parish duties. Two other clergymen, the abbé Paul LeFloch and Father Hervé Péran, were in the same position. LeFloch, founder of the colony of St. Brieux in Saskatchewan in 1903-1904, made only one return trip to France after his arrival in Canada. It came in 1909 when he received a grant for a free trip to France "à l'effet de recruter les derniers colons qui me manquent."[154] Father Péran, of St. Laurent (Manitoba), also received government aid in 1906 when he was paid a commission of $3 per capita for each of the 84 immigrants he accompanied to his parish.[155] Clearly, none of these three clergymen--Lecoq, LeFloch, and Péran--compared to such colonization and immigration agents as Dom Paul Benoît or the abbé Jean Gaire in terms of the success which accompanied their efforts. Nonetheless, their involvement in that type of activity indicates the importance which they and their Church leaders attached to the expansion and growth of the French-speaking population in the West.

While the Church's colonizers travelled to Europe in the early 1900s in order to direct a stream of 'good' Catholic settlers to Western Canada, the hierarchy tried in other ways to assist the movement. One proposal which captured Archbishop Langevin's interest and created great expectations in him was brought to his attention in 1898

when he attended the General Chapter of the Oblates in Europe. While there, he discussed with one Father Delouche the possibility of organizing a considerable Belgian emigration to Canada. The latter was quick to outline for him the plan he had been studying for some time:

> J'ai soumis un avant-projet d'oeuvre colonisatrice à différents personnages belges, et j'ai trouvé partout un accueil favorable. J'ai même prévu, il y a quelque temps, un Comité d'hommes influents pour prendre la tête d'un mouvement dans ce sens, et je crois que ce ne serait pas sans succès. Votre présence et la connaissance parfaite que vous avez de la question, Monseigneur, pourra faire réaliser une avance sérieuse au projet...[156]

Delouche's plan called for a committee to raise capital in Belgium for the purposes of buying lands and lending monies to prospective settlers. It aimed at grouping settlers in Canada into close-knit parishes, while providing them also with the services of teachers and priests of their language and faith. It was important, he thought, to meet the economic and religious needs of Belgians in a distant country. Of interest also was the fact that the Belgian Minister of External Affairs had indicated his support for such a scheme.[157]

Mgr. Langevin was immediately enthusiastic about the plan. He spent two weeks in Belgium, giving lectures on Canada and meeting with future members of the company.

He also wrote letters to prominent Catholics inviting them to join others in promoting the scheme. Following his return to Canada in August 1898, he continued to receive progress reports from Delouche who had taken the formation of a Société d'exploitation agricole du Canada well in hand. Furthermore, the appointment that same year of Tréau de Coeli as Canadian Immigration Agent to Belgium added to the mood of optimism. Indeed, Delouche even foresaw the establishment of a line of steamers operating between Antwerp and Montreal, a prospect which led him to push for the foundation of an Oblate-directed house in the Belgium port city which would receive and help prepare thousands of immigrants for the trip to Canada.[158]

So enthusiastic was Langevin that he sought to organize general support for this project. He told the Vice-President of the C.P.R. of this "business undertaking" which would not have a "religious character", but which brought together "prominent men" whom Langevin had met. "Belgians are far more practical than Frenchmen", said Langevin, and would need lands that would be purchased, presumably from the C.P.R., or granted by the government.[159] Secondly, Langevin asked S.A.D. Bertrand, one of the leading French-speaking Liberals in Manitoba, to recommend the project to Clifford Sifton and to urge

the Minister of the Interior to cooperate in every way possible with a delegation that was preparing to visit Canada and enter into negotiations with the government.[160] Finally, having apprized Laurier of the plan, Langevin invited the bishops in his ecclesiastical province to prepare for the forthcoming visit of the Belgian delegation by selecting guides who could best show them the country.[161] Ten months had now passed since the plan had first been talked about, and it appeared as though much desired French-speaking Catholic reinforcements were on their way.

It was almost too good to be true. Then problems arose and all seemed lost. The delegation, owing to the illness of one of its leading members, cancelled its tour of Canada in 1899. At the same time, Father Delouche was instructed to let up on his activities and take a rest.[162] Finally, in the Spring of 1900, four delegates travelled to Western Canada and reported favourably on what they had observed.[163] Once again, however, the hopes raised by this visit of members of the syndicate were shattered when no visible developments ensued. In May 1901, Delouche informed Mgr. Langevin that new obstacles had prevented the Société agricole from carrying out its plans:

> Je ne sais ce que devient la Société de Colonisation en formation, mais je crois qu'elle subit le contre-coup de l'épouvantable crise financière, commerciale et industrielle qui sévit sur l'Europe et sur Anvers en particulier; de là son retard. Il ne faut pas songer à son succès en ce moment. Impossible de trouver de l'argent en roulement pour les affaires courantes; à fortiori n'en trouvera-t-on pas pour des affaires à créer. Il faudra donc patienter encore.[164]

Regretfully, Langevin reported to his 1902 Provincial Council meeting that the colonization projects discussed at the 1899 session--including the plans of the abbé J.B. Morin and the Belgian proposal--had not borne fruit.[165] Nor did it appear that they were likely to be revived in the immediate future.

In spite of this bitter disappointment, Langevin did not abandon all hope of finding a group or groups of capitalists who would invest in Western Canada by buying up lands which could then be sold to Franco-Catholic settlers. He did not have to wait long before receiving a letter from Edmond Buron, a member of La Canadienne, a society organized in Paris in 1902 and whose object was to promote French and Catholic colonization in Canada.[166] But the St. Boniface Archbishop adopted a guarded position vis-à-vis this group, even though its secretary outlined plans for a quarterly publication for which Dom Benoît had agreed to write. In a marginal note, Langevin instructed his own secretary to reply that he welcomed all efforts

to establish closer ties between France and Canada, but that he would like to study "davantage votre organisation afin de la mieux connaitre et de lui prêter son concours plus efficacement quand elle lui donnera son patronage."[167] It may be that Langevin hesitated to commit himself beyond that because of the experience gained in the Belgian society, but another explanation is found in one of his letters written three years later. He expressed then his displeasure with La Canadienne because "le nom du faux oncle des Canadiens, le franc-maçon [Louis] Herbette m'empêche d'y avoir confiance."[168] In his mind, there was a distinction to be made between one Catholic group and a 'good' Catholic organization. He told one of his French correspondents that "les mauvais catholiques Français ont fait du mal au nom et à l'influence de la France..."[169] Thus, he was determined to work only with those groups whose membership was acceptable to him.[170]

Thereafter, Langevin concluded that there was little likelihood of finding a group of European investors to assist him in his mission. Yet he could not give up completely, especially in the face of immigration figures which included only a small number of French-speaking immigrants. "Faudra-t-il laisser à des étrangers de belles terres libres ou des terres à bon marché dans un

pays découvert par des hommes de notre foi et de notre race?", he asked of one sympathizer.[171] He could not understand why the French were not imitating the Americans who had made fortunes speculating on lands.[172] On another occasion, he urged a distinguished Frenchman responsible for the investment of Church missionary funds to lend part of those monies to religious orders which could then buy lands in the Canadian West and hold them for future immigrants.[173] But as time went by, the number of such appeals decreased to the point where he made no more.

There was a noticeable decline in the Church's involvement with European immigration after 1907. No major missionary-colonizer appeared on the scene to emulate Dom Benoît or the abbé Gaire. The only colonizer of note was the abbé Albert Royer who applied himself for more than a decade to the establishment of a French community at Ponteix in Saskatchewan.[174] All Mgr. Langevin could tell one of his correspondents in 1908 was that "Il y a ici un courant constant d'immigration de France et du Canada et des Etats-Unis nous amenant de bons colons catholiques, mais c'est un petit filet et les autres viennent par torrent."[175] And, he added, "j'ai déjà envoyé plusieurs prêtres en France pour aller chercher des colons." But what Langevin failed to say

was that he currently had no priest doing immigration work on the continent except the abbé Royer who was preparing to bring fifty settlers to his parish.[176]

The issue which requires an explanation is the functioning of two networks of immigration agents in France and Belgium in the period from 1890 to 1907, one operated by the Canadian government and the other by the Church, but only that of the State after 1907. Significantly, while the Western Church and the federal government cooperated in the repatriation programme aimed at French-Canadians living in the United States, they operated separately on the European continent.

The answer to this problem is threefold. Firstly, for ideological reasons, the Church preferred an immigration network which would send out only 'good' Catholic settlers chosen among the more conservative rural classes of France, Belgium, and Switzerland. Dom Benoît, the abbé Gaire, and other clergymen who recruited immigrants for their colonies in Western Canada, resolved to exclude what could be described as 'liberal-minded' people. They were not about to introduce into Canada elements which would bring with them the 'republican' and 'anti-clerical' ideas that created so many problems for the Church in Europe. Thus, it is probable that the Canadian Church did not want to leave to lay authorities the task of

recruiting settlers for the Franco-Catholic communities of Western Canada.

Conversely, the Canadian Government was reluctant perhaps to be identified in Europe with the 'conservative-minded' Church of French Canada. This was especially so after 1896 when the Liberal government proceeded with great caution in carrying out its immigration activities on the continent. Representatives of the Interior Department and of the Commissariat Général du Canada in Paris frequently alluded to the great circumspection which should govern the operations of agents. Paul Wiallard, Agent of the Canadian Government in France, advised the Interior Department in 1905 to guard against "having an Emigration Agent with an Emigration Office" in France, operating "openly, when the French law forbids it." He could not recommend the opening up of another Agency in France because the French Government had recently recalled to every mayor and prefect in the country the provisions of the law against emigration offices. The French authorities had done so, he said, "as the consequence of the unfortunate propaganda of last year [1904] to which some unauthorized private agents had been resorting to, attacking publicly, in lectures and newspaper articles, the Government of this country on his anticlerical politics."[177]

Wiallard later expanded on the problems created by independent colonizers operating in France at a time when the French Government was accusing the Canadian Government of condoning the activities of emigration agents on French soil. It was difficult, he told Laurier, to counter the accusations. After all, he added,

> ...n'avons-nous pas tout fait pour qu'on nous jette ce reproche à la face? Des 'farmer delegates' ou autres, de ce nombre plusieurs prêtres, dont l'imprudence égale le zèle, ont été dirigés, et sont chaque année dirigés vers mon district, où ils se livrent à un véritable travail de recrutement à ciel ouvert. Plusieurs ont défié publiquement le Gouvernement Français; ils nous ont valu la première circulaire, dite circulaire Combes, en 1904. Quelques-uns, l'abbé Gaire et l'abbé Le Floch, avant qu'ils n'appartinssent temporairement à notre staff, avaient déjà fait des quêtes pour leurs oeuvres existantes ou en projet, lançé des prospectus de fermes modèles, d'instituts agricoles ou autres établissements montés par actions, et surtout avaient cru bien faire en établissant un parallèle entre la prétendue persécution que subit le peuple de France et la parfaite liberté dont on jouit au Canada.[178]

It is easy to understand therefore why it had been found impossible, at least before 1905, to harmonize the divergent attitudes of the Church's agents and those of Canada's immigration officers.

Finally, as with the repatriation question, politics and patronage intruded in the European immigration service. Prior to 1896, the abbé Gabriel Cloutier of St. Boniface was the only clergyman from Western Canada to receive a government appointment for a brief trip to

Europe in order to find Belgian immigrants for Canada.[179] After the Liberal victory of 1896, no member of the clergy and no clerical colonizer received government assistance to do immigration work in France or Belgium. This did not change until the abbés Gaire and LeFloch asked for help in 1906 and 1909 respectively. Significantly, in the thirteen-year period separating Cloutier's mission to Belgium and Gaire's proposed trip to France, none of the bishops of Western Canada asked for government funds in support of their colonizers. Yet, at the same time, they approached the government repeatedly to name more repatriation agents or to increase the salary of the ones already at work. This suggests that both bodies viewed European immigration to Canada in quite different terms.

Of interst also was the distribution of patronage to Liberal supporters of the Laurier government. It is difficult to conceive of a Liberal government lending much support to an abbé Gaire whose travels in France and Belgium were part of a crusade to rally 'good' Catholics to the cause of Archbishop Langevin's struggle with the Laurier Liberals over educational rights in Western Canada. But it was easy enough to send staunch Liberal partisans to France or Belgium as temporary agents or as 'returnmen'. Henri d'Hellencourt, editor of the

Liberal L'Echo du Manitoba went to France on a special mission in 1901.[180] Joseph-Ernest Cyr of St. Boniface, a Liberal Member of Parliament between 1904 and 1908, was given a position in the Paris office following his withdrawal from political life.[181] Two of Clifford Sifton's faithful party workers from Deleau (Manitoba)--a community situated no more than ten or fifteen miles from the abbé Gaire's parish of Grande Clairière--went to Europe on at least two occasions as 'returnmen'.[182] And so on. There are numerous other examples of the Liberal pork barrel, not the least of which was the appointment of the Liberal Senator from Edmonton, Philippe Roy, as Haut Commissaire to France in 1911. It is no wonder therefore than the Conservative-leaning Church was excluded from political favours.

In marked contrast to the period between 1890 and 1907, when the Church's European colonization agents displayed their greatest activity, the period leading up to the Great War was one of relative inactivity. No colonizer of the stature of Dom Benoît or of the abbé Gaire appeared on the scene to organize a movement of French-speaking Catholics from Europe to Canada. Part of the explanation perhaps for the Church's failure to maintain the previous level of activity in Europe lies in the fragmentation of Church authority following the

establishment of the diocese of Regina in 1910 and of the diocese of Calgary in 1912. But it does not account for the hiatus between 1907 and 1910-12. The more likely explanation is that the Church recognized, as did the federal government, that it had to act with a great deal of discretion in France especially where the government denounced campaigns aimed at 'depopulating' France. The French consuls in Canada also urged the Quai d'Orsay to close the Canadian agencies in France.[183] So too did Paul Wiallard and Senator Philippe Roy of the Haut Commissariat who suggested that the Canadian Government abolish its special emigration branch and replace it instead with a general publicity branch.[184] Senator Roy told Prime Minister Borden in 1911 that the French authorities had warned one agent in France that he would be forcibly escorted to the frontier if he continued to conduct a direct propaganda in the French press in favour of French emigration to Canada.[185] Was the Church in the West aware of these difficulties? The bishops' correspondence does not cover this aspect of European immigration matters, but it is again most likely that the Church understood the hazards of carrying on an emigration programme that ran counter to the expressed wishes of both the federal and French governments. Indeed, this may provide a further clue for the abbé

Gaire's decision not to undertake further trips to Europe after 1906. Thus, to all intents and purposes, the Church's immigration network ceased to function after 1906-07.

* * *

The Church's immigration programme was markedly different from the repatriation campaigns conducted in the United States, because of the ideological factor which hampered a close cooperation between Church and State on the continent. While the evidence is not conclusive, it appears that there was a mutual reluctance on the part of Church and governmental authorities to be too closely identified with one another when the time came to undertake the recruitment of European settlers for the Canadian Prairies. Both institutions hesitated in the 1870s to involve themselves in European emigration to Canada. If Mgr. Taché turned to France and Belgium after 1880 for reinforcements to bolster his Franco-Catholic "block", it was almost an act of desperation. Still, he wanted only 'good' Catholic settlers. As a result, he relied on individuals and organizations which would direct the right kind of people towards his archdiocese. This was the beginning of a distinctive Catholic immigration network, one which carried through until the

mid-1900s. That network put the Church in contact with the Société d'Immigration Française, an organization dedicated to sending settlers of the 'right' mold to the Prairies. It was the Société which brought Mgr. Taché and the Chanoines Réguliers de l'Immaculée Conception together in the 1880s. As a result, this religious order sought to recreate in Manitoba and elsewhere in the West the type of society which belonged more properly to the Old Regime. The work of Dom Benoît and his Chanoines is perhaps the best example of an attempt to transplant into Western Canada a rural French society.

Ideological differences between the civil and religious powers of Canada are most apparent also in the abbé Gaire's immigration crusades in Europe. Not only did he strive to recruit Catholic settlers for his colonies in Western Canada, but he also sought to gain support in Europe for the struggle which the Western Canadian Church was waging against the Liberal government of Wilfrid Laurier. Again, as with repatriation, politics affected colonization work and drove a wedge between two groups which might have worked together for the benefit of all. Such, however, was the stuff of a fragment of Canadian society.

FOOTNOTES

[1] For the West, see Donatien Frémont, Les Français dans l'Ouest canadien (Winnipeg: Editions de La Liberté, 1959), pp. 1-5. For Quebec, see Pierre Savard, Jules-Paul Tardivel, la France et les États-Unis, 1851-1905 (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1967), p. 28.

[2] Savard, op. cit., p. 28, quotes Le Canadien, 14 avril 1881.

[3] Mason Wade, The French Canadians (Toronto: Macmillan, 1968), Vol. I, pp. 351-353.

[4] AAE, Fonds Grandin, F2, "Lettres de Taché à Grandin", St-Boniface, 8 décembre 1872, Taché à [Grandin].

[5] PAC, R.G. 17, no. 5618, Fort Garry, 17 February 1872, "Joint Address of both Houses of the Legislature of Manitoba" to [Governor Adams G. Archibald].

[6] Ibid., no. 4696, Order-in-Council, Ottawa, 1 August 1871. Provencher was given a salary of $1200 per annum in addition to his travelling expenses.

It appears that the young Provencher was not held in high esteem by the Franco-Canadian leadership of Manitoba. Mgr. Taché felt that he was too young to occupy a position of influence in William McDougall's entourage in 1869. See Dom Paul Benoît, Vie de Mgr Taché (Montréal: Beauchemin, 1904), Vol. II, pp. 16-17. Furthermore, A.A.C. LaRivière, following Provencher's instructions to go to Europe in 1872, confided to Mgr. Taché: "Comme vous l'avez appris avant moi, on nous a enlevé notre actif [the italics are LaRivière's] agent d'Immigration et il ne doit pas être remplacé. On ne doit même pas nous voter d'octroi pour l'Immigration. Devrons-nous regretter ces décisions? C'est ce que je suis à me demander. Je crois même pouvoir dire non! Nos compatriotes ne profiteraient certainement pas ou peu de ces agents, tandis que les Ontariens en auraient tout le bénéfice". See AASB, Fonds Taché, Montréal, 8 juin 1872, LaRivière à Taché.

Provencher, however, presented a thorough and detailed report to the Department of Agriculture in May 1872 on conditions in Manitoba. He also dealt with the problem of bonding privileges, and analyzed the opportunities awaiting prospective settlers in the province. See Canada:

Sessional Papers, 1872. Annual Report of Immigration Agent for the North-West, pp. 73-81.

[7] PAC, R.G. 17, LB, Ottawa, 29 May 1872, Lowe to Provencher. The classes in demand were the following: farmers, gardeners, agricultural and other labourers, artisans, and ordinary domestic servants, especially females.

[8] Ibid., LB, [Ottawa], 9 May 1873, John Lowe to [William] Dixon [Agent in London]. Lowe informed him that there was to be a new arrangement soon to bring out indigent and agricultural families to Canada at a reduced cost to them of $4 or $5 per adult. The arrangement was to apply to Quebec and Ontario, but the former was holding off because it was "very much exercised at the presence of the Communists" in the province.

[9] Ibid., LB, Ottawa, 19 September 1874, Lowe to Paul de Cazes. Paul de Cazes was a temporary agent in France between 1873 and 1878.

[10] Le Métis, 16 août 1873, quotes L'Evénement.

[11] PAC, R.G. 17, no. 9516, Ottawa, 23 novembre 1873, "Rapport de H. de la Mothe sur son voyage au Manitoba".

[12] Ibid., LB, Ottawa, 25 novembre 1873, J.C. Taché à de la Mothe.

[13] Paul de Cazes undertook a special mission in Alsace early in 1875, and reported to the Minister that he deemed it impossible "en raison des obstacles insurmontables [the italics are his] que le gouvernement allemand oppose à l'Emigration étrangère, d'y établir un mouvement appuyé sur des bases régulières. C'est tout au plus si, par l'intermédiaire de certaines agences occultes qui feraient passer les Emigrants sur les frontières suisse ou française on pourrait établir ainsi une immigration de contrebande de quelques centaines d'individus". On the other hand, de Cazes thought there were excellent opportunities of obtaining agricultural settlers from Switzerland. See PAC, R.G. 17 [Secretary's Correspondence], Paris, 7 mai 1875, Paul de Cazes, agent pour la France, à l'Hon. L. Pelletier de St-Just [sic], Ministre de l'Agriculture.

[14] PAC, R.G. 17 [Letterbook 1876-1881 - English and continental letters], [Ottawa], 12 September 1878, Lowe to de Cazes.

[15] Ibid., [Ottawa], 23 October 1878, Lowe to de Cazes.

[16] Ibid., [Ottawa], 5 January 1879, Lowe to de Cazes.

[17] Wade, op. cit., pp. 298-301. See also Armand Yon, Le Canada français vu de France, 1830-1914 (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1975), pp. 25-39.

[18] See Pierre Savard, Le consulat général de France à Québec et à Montréal, de 1859 à 1914 (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1970), pp.

[19] See Chapter III, p. 173.

[20] AASB, Fonds Taché, Trois-Rivières, 10 janvier 1880, Laflèche à Taché.

[21] Ibid., Rimouski, 14 février 1880, Langevin à Taché. The italics are Langevin's.

[22] Ibid., St-Boniface, 23 janvier 1880, Taché à Laflèche.

[23] See Chapter I, pp. 31-32.

[24] See Chapter I, pp. 33-34.

[25] There were, of course, contacts at the Church level between the Oblates of Europe and those of Canada. A number of that order's missionaries in Western Canada came originally from Europe. In May 1881, for example, four Oblates arrived in Mgr. Grandin's diocese from France. Among them was Father Emile Legal, later Bishop of St. Albert. Dom Benoît ascribes their coming to Canada to "les fameux décrets d'expulsion" of the French government. Benoît, Vie de Mgr Taché (Montréal: Beauchemin, 1904), Vol. I, pp. 416-417.

[26] Noël Bernier, Fannystelle, (Saint-Boniface, 1939), p. 15.

[27] AASB, Fonds Taché, [Document - 1881?]. T.-A. Bernier à [Tétreault?]. Bernier refers to this document in a letter to Taché in ibid., St-Jean, 15 août 1880, Bernier à Taché.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Le Manitoba, 24 juillet 1885.

[30] Ibid., 27 novembre 1884.

[31] In the Spring of 1884, when Manitoba was still in the depths of economic stagnation following the collapse of the "boom", Bernier convened a public meeting of taxpayers "pour prendre en considération le projet de voter un bonus pour l'établissement de manufactures dans les limites de notre ville". Ibid., 21 mai 1884.

[32] Paris-Canada, 24 décembre 1884, Jannet à Bernier.

[33] Ibid.

[34] PAC, R.G. 17, no. 66319, Paris, 31 juillet 1885, Foursin à John Lowe.

[35] See Elie-J. Auclair, Le Curé Labelle - sa vie et son oeuvre (Montréal: Beauchemin, 1930), pp. 80-82; 149-151; 164-165.

[36] AASB, Fonds Taché, Ste-Dorie (?), 3 février 1885, Proulx à Taché.

[37] See Léopold Lamontagne, "Le Roi du Nord et sa suite française à Winnipeg en 1885", CHAR (1954), pp. 36-44.

[38] Le Manitoba, 2 juin 1886.

[39] AASB, Fonds Taché, St-Boniface, 9 avril 1887, Bernier à Taché.

[40] Ibid., St-Boniface, 2 mai 1887, Bernier à Taché.

[41] See Chapter I, pp. 30-31.

[42] Ibid., pp. 34ff.

[43] AASB, Fonds Taché, St-Boniface, 5 août 1889, [Taché] à Bernier.

[44] Ibid., St-Boniface, 28 décembre 1889, Taché à Madame la Comtesse. He was probably alluding to conflicts which developed between the Chanoine Rosenberg and the abbé Léon Muller, first parish priest of Fannystelle.

[45] Noël Bernier, op. cit., pp. 36-38.

[46] AASB, Fonds Benoît-[Guéret], "Documents et lettres concernant la Vie de Mgr Taché". n.d., T.A. Bernier, "Fannystelle".

[47] See T.-A. Bernier, Le Manitoba - Champ d'Immigration (Ottawa, 1887). Although the publication date given is 1887, the brochure was in fact published the following year. It was a compilation of articles written by Bernier and published in Le Manitoba in 1887. There were many additions to the original text.

[48] AASB, Fonds Taché, St-Boniface, 25 janvier 1889, Bernier à Taché.

[49] Ibid.

[50] The founder of the Société appears to have been the curé Antoine Labelle of St. Jérôme. Its Canadian section included men like the Ontario Senator, Charles-Eusèbe Casgrain, of Windsor. The European committee was composed of a number of clergymen and laymen. The masthead of the letter paper used by the Montreal-based Société read thusly: "Société d'Immigration Française - Reconnue d'utilité publique le 2 août 1887".

[51] Paris-Canada, 1er septembre 1887. "Lettre du Nord-Ouest".

[52] AASB, Fonds Taché, Montréal, 10 octobre 1887, Bodard à Taché.

[53] Ibid., Montréal, 21 octobre 1887, Bodard à Taché.

[54] Ibid., Montréal, 17 avril 1889, Bodard à Taché.

[55] Ibid., Montréal, 3 août 1889, Bodard à Taché. Bodard reported that the C.P.R. had agreed to a second printing of a leaflet which he described as Le Grand Ouest du Canada. It appeared to be a translation of an English copy. Bodard did not like it, but it was the only way he could obtain a French printing. Besides, he was able to add supplementary material on the French parishes in Manitoba at the end. Finally, he pointed out that it was now the only pamphlet available in French, because the federal government appeared unwilling to prepare a second edition of T.A. Bernier's brochure, or to fund a new publication. See further in ibid., Montréal, 2 mai 1889, Bodard à Taché.

[56] Ibid., Montréal, 29 novembre 1890, Bodard à Taché.

[57] While it is not clear from Bodard's file in the Department of the Interior archives when Bodard began to receive financial support for his work with the Société,

the government allowed the organization to add the mention "reconnue d'utilité publique le 2 août 1887". It appears also that Bodard began receiving financial help circa 1892 in the form of travel assistance. Bodard himself became a salaried employee of the Department in 1894. See his file in PAC, R.G. 76, no. 1, passim.

58 Ibid., Memorandum [1892?].

59 See AASB, Fonds Taché, Montréal, 20 décembre 1888, Bodard à Taché; ibid., St-Pierre, Man., 7 février 1889, Jolys à Taché; ibid., Montréal, 19 février 1889, Bodard à Taché; ibid., Montréal, 2 février 1891, Bodard à Taché.

60 See AASB, Fonds Benoît-[Guéret], "Pour notre histoire du Canada - fondation et origines", St-Claude, Jura, mars 1889, Benoît à Bodard. Bodard sent an excerpt from this letter to Taché a few weeks later. See AASB, Fonds Taché, Montréal, 17 avril 1889, Bodard à Taché. Taché, in turn, communicated with Dom Gréa of the Chanoines Réguliers de l'Immaculée Conception. See ibid., St-Boniface, 22 avril 1889, Taché à Dom Gréa.

61 AASB, Fonds Taché, Montréal, 17 avril 1889, Bodard à Taché.

62 Ibid., Labroquerie, 20 novembre 1889, P. Pelletier, prêtre, à Taché.

63 Ibid., Montréal, 21 juillet 1890, Bodard à Taché.

64 Ibid., Montréal, 22 décembre 1890, Bodard à Taché. This was probably the same proposal referred to by T.A. Bernier a year earlier.

65 AAE, Fonds Grandin, "O", Montréal, 7 février 1891, Bodard à Grandin. This would, of course, explain Grandin's intervention in favour of Bodard a year later.

66 See footnote 58.

67 AASB, Fonds Taché, Montréal, 5 septembre 1892, Bodard à Taché.

68 Labelle praised Bodard as "l'homme le plus qualifié que je connaisse pour remplir cette mission." See PAC, R.G. 17 [Deputy Minister's Correspondence], St-Jérôme, 30 novembre 1887, Labelle à Lowe. On another occasion, Labelle, in his official capacity as assistant

commissaire responsible for colonization programmes in the province of Quebec, urged the government in Ottawa to appoint Bodard as an agent in Europe, with specific duties in immigration matters dealing with Western Canada. Ibid., St-Jérôme, 28 février 1888, Labelle à Lowe. Labelle thought the time had come to take new initiatives in Europe, in part because he believed that repatriation was to be feared, "car il arrive souvent qu'un canadien revenant ici retourne aux Etats au bout d'un an ou deux et souvent en débauche plusieurs du pays qu'il entraîne avec lui."

69 AASB, Fonds Taché, Montréal, 2 février 1891, Bodard à Taché.

70 PAC, R.G. 76, no. 1, St. Albert, 21 February 1892, Grandin to Girard.

71 One obstacle to Bodard's appointment was John Lowe's opinion "that there is the very greatest objection to the sending of Agents from this country either to the United Kingdom or to the continent of Europe." The Department of Agriculture had discontinued that practice on the very strong recommendation of Sir Charles Tupper and, while Lowe had the highest opinion of Bodard, he was gainst sending him to Europe. A.M. Burgess, Deputy Minister of the Interior, did not concur in that view and recommended that Bodard be appointed Immigration Agent in Europe. Bodard's appointment became effective in March 1894. See ibid., Ottawa, 28 April 1892, Lowe to Burgess; ibid., Ottawa, 9 December 1893, Burgess to Daly.

72 See footnote 48. Also AASB, Fonds Taché, St-André près Bruges (Belgique), décembre 1888, Walbott de Bassenheim à [Hippolyte Lory, S.J.].

73 AAE, Fonds Grandin, LB 3, St-Albert, 22 août 1892, Grandin à M. le Comte Walbott de Bassenheim.

74 AASB, Fonds Langevin, LB 3, St-Boniface, 9 juin 1896, Langevin à Monsieur le Comte Walbott. On this occasion, Langevin wanted to interest the Société St-Raphaël in the land owned by the Corporation Archiépiscopale.

75 PAC, R.G. 17 [Deputy Minister's Correspondence], Bruxelles, 7 mai 1890, Hacault à Lowe.

76 Ibid., Montréal, 2 août 1890, Hacault à Monsieur le Ministre.

[77] See Armand Yon, op. cit., p. 194.

[78] AASB, Fonds Taché, Paris, 17 mars 1893, Jules de Cuverville à [Taché].

[79] Ibid., St-Boniface, 4 avril 1893, Taché à Monsieur le Vicomte.

[80] Ibid., [St-Boniface], [avril 1893], Cloutier à [Taché].

[81] Ibid.

[82] For example, Paris-Canada reported (9 septembre 1886) that "Mme la comtesse de Bruges de Gerpinnes se propose d'établir une colonie belge au Nord-Ouest. Elle s'est mise en relation avec Mgr l'Archevêque Taché."

[83] See Pierre Savard, Tardivel..., pp. 169-170.

[84] Paris-Canada, "Le Pacifique Canadien". Fabre's lecture appeared in five installments, beginning on 20 août 1884.

[85] Paris-Canada appeared on a somewhat irregular basis until 1905. It reprinted articles from scores of newspapers, including Le Manitoba. Among its contributors was Dom Paul Benoît of Notre Dame de Lourdes.

[86] See Roméo Bédard, Historique: Montmartre, Saskatchewan - 1893-1953 [n.p., n.d.]. See also the chapter on Montmartre in Donatien Frémont, Les Français....

[87] See the chapter on St. Hubert in Donatien Frémont, op. cit.

[88] Frémont, op. cit. See the chapter on Montmartre.

[89] See Chapter I, pp. 45-49.

[90] For a complete study of Dom Benoît's life and activities, see Maurice Dupasquier, "Dom Paul Benoît et le Nouveau Monde, 1850-1915", (thèse du doctorat ès lettres non publiée de l'Université Laval, 1970), Also, his article "Quelques aspects de l'oeuvre de Paul Benoît au Nouveau Monde, 1891-1915", Rapport de la Société Canadienne d'Histoire de l'Eglise Catholique, vol. 37, 1970, pp. 111-144.

[91] Modernization of his congrégation in 1907 forced Dom Benoît, against his will, to withdraw from public life. From 1910 to 1915, he led the life of a recluse, his death coming the same year as that of Archbishop Langevin.

[92] AASB, Fonds Benoît-[Guéret], no. 2, "Pour notre histoire du Canada. Fondation et origines", St-Claude Jura, mars 1889, Benoît, professeur à la maîtresse de St-Claude, à Bodard. This is the first extant document in the St. Boniface archives dealing with the CRIC and Dom Paul Benoît. It does not explain how Bodard came to address himself to their order in 1889. What it does demonstrate is Benoît's great concern for population questions, an interest that is so obvious in detailed reports on the progress of his settlements. These were published in Le Manitoba and in Paris-Canada.

[93] AASB, Fonds Taché, Montréal, 17 avril 1889, Bodard à Taché.

[94] Ibid., St-Claude [France], 20 juin 1889, Dom Gréa à Mgr Taché.

[95] Ibid., St-Claude, 20 juin 1889, Dom Gréa à Mgr Taché; ibid., St-Claude, 5 juillet 1890, Benoît à Taché.

[96] Ibid., Montréal, 19 juillet 1889, Bodard à Taché; ibid., Montréal, 21 juillet 1890, Bodard à Taché. It appears that Bodard first suggested the region to Dom Gréa, and that Taché later suggested that the colony could take root either around Labroquerie, St. Malo or Dufrost, all of them east of the Red River and in wooded areas.

[97] Ibid., St-Claude (Jura), 31 mars 1890, Benoît à Taché. See also the circular "Emigration au Canada" published in four regional newspapers of France and in L'Univers, in ibid., St-Claude, 14 octobre 1890, Benoît à Taché. The circular is dated 26 September. Benoît reported receiving twelve inquiries from families within a week of its publication.

[98] Ibid., Saint-Antoine, Isère, 25 novembre 1890, Benoît à Taché. The interdict against him forced Benoît to proceed with prudence. He explained that it was the result of two contrary currents in France, one favourable and the other opposed to immigration outside strictly French colonies.

[99] AASB, Fonds Benoît-[Guéret], no. 2, "Pour notre histoire du Canada. Fondation et origines", Dinan, 26 janvier 1890, Aubry à Benoît; ibid., Dinan, 4 février 1890, Aubry à Benoît; ibid., Dinan, 18 mars 1891, Aubry à Benoît; ibid., Paris, 28 décembre 1890, Desaire à Benoît; ibid., Paris, 12 février [?], Desaire à Benoît; ibid., Paris, 26 février 1891, Desaire à Benoît; ibid., Paris, 9 mars 1891, Desaire à Benoît; ibid., Paris, 7 avril 1891, Biron à [Benoît].

[100] AASB, Fonds Taché, Montréal, 29 novembre 1890, Bodard à Taché; ibid., Montréal, 19 décembre 1890, Bodard à Taché.

[101] Ibid., St-Antoine [France], 29 mars 1891, Benoît à Taché.

[102] Ibid., Notre-Dame de Lourdes, 11 août 1891, Benoît à Taché.

[103] Ibid., Notre-Dame de Lourdes, 24 octobre 1891, Benoît à Taché. The Chartreux did not come to Canada, and the sisters would not arrive until 1894.

[104] See footnote 102.

[105] Ibid., Notre-Dame de Lourdes, 5 août 1892, Benoît à Taché.

[106] AASB, Fonds Benoît-[Guéret], "Lettres de Mgr Taché", St-Boniface, 28 novembre 1892, Taché à Benoît.

[107] AASB, Fonds Taché, Notre-Dame de Lourdes, 19 décembre 1892, Benoît à Taché.

[108] Ibid., Notre-Dame de Lourdes, 1er juin 1893, Benoît à Taché.

[109] PAC, R.G. 15, no. 339948, Notre-Dame de Lourdes, 17 septembre 1893, Benoît à Monsieur le Ministre de la Colonisation; also, AASB, Fonds Taché, Notre-Dame de Lourdes, 1er octobre 1893, Benoît à Taché.

[110] Ibid., Ottawa, 6 March 1894, Memo for Mr. Burgess from [the] Secretary.

111 AASB, Fonds Langevin, "Etat général de la paroisse de Notre-Dame de Lourdes, au 31 décembre 1895". At the end of 1897, the parish was composed of 308 Frenchmen, 211 French-Canadians, 85 Swiss and others belonging to various nationalities.

112 Ibid., Notre-Dame de Lourdes, 20 décembre 1897, Benoît à Monsieur le Consul de France à Montréal. Benoît sent a supplementary article on his colony for publication in Le Manitoba, and told Langevin that "il n'y a que les ennemis de l'Eglise ou les ennemis du nom français qui peuvent être contraires à l'établissement de colonies françaises au Canada". Ibid., Notre-Dame de Lourdes, 26 décembre 1897, Benoît à Langevin.

113 Maurice Dupasquier distinguishes between those who were optimistic or not about the future of the French-speaking and Catholic populations of North America. He argues further that there were three opinions concerning their place in Western Canada; one believing in a predominantly French-speaking West; a second, focusing on a more or less viable 'survivance'; and a third, subscribing to an almost inevitable English-speaking region. He concludes that at the outset Dom Benoît, because of his contact with Archbishop Taché, Auguste Bodard, and Thomas Bernier, believed in the first option. See his "Dom Paul Benoît...", pp. 103-105.

114 AASB, Fonds Benoît-[Guéret], "Lettres épiscopales", St-Albert, 15 juillet 1900, Grandin à Benoît.

115 AAE, Fonds Legal, LB 2, St-Albert, 26 août 1901, Legal à Benoît.

116 AASB, Fonds Benoît-[Guéret], "Lettres épiscopales", St-Albert, 23 janvier 1902, Grandin à Benoît.

117 AAE, Fonds Legal, LB 4, St-Albert, 22 novembre 1903, Legal à Benoît.

118 Ibid.

119 AASB, Fonds Benoît-[Guéret], "Saskatchewan, 1902-1906", Bonne Madone, 18 janvier 1903, Voisin à Benoît.

120 Father Antoine Champagne, CRIC, the only surviving member of the order in Western Canada, and presently retired in St. Boniface, was for a time a secretary to Dom Benoît and well remembers answering hundreds of letters

addressed to his superior in the first decade of this century.

121 Maurice Dupasquier, op. cit., concludes that Benoît's work in Canada was "un échec en fonction de ses rêves." To which he adds: "Benoît a conduit ses compatriotes vers l'un des foyers les moins hospitaliers à sa culture." P. 387.

122 On Gaire, see Donatien Frémont, "Un apôtre de la colonisation française dans l'Ouest canadien: l'abbé Jean Gaire," MSRC/TRSC, tôme XLV, 3e série, juin 1951, pp. 9-14.

123 AAW, "Grande Clairière", "Notes concernant la fondation de Grande Clairière et des autres colonies ses filles de l'Ouest - rapide exposé du développement de ces diverses colonies franco-belges", [Grande Clairière], 8 octobre 1896, Gaire à Langevin.

124 AASB, Fonds Taché, Loisy (Meurthe-et-Moselle), 7 septembre 1886, Gaire à [Taché].

125 Ibid.

126 See footnote 123.

127 Ibid.

128 PAC, R.G. 17, LB, Ottawa, 10 May 1890, Lowe to Gabriel Cloutier, St. Boniface.

129 The writer has found no evidence that Gaire went to Europe between 1890 and 1897. He did, however, keep up a heavy correspondence with members of the clergy in France, some of whom asked to be admitted into the diocese of St. Boniface.

130 On his first return trip to Belgium, Fasseaux published a series of articles in English and Flemish in the Belgian press. He returned with 40 of his countrymen, and was followed by another 50 settlers. See Canada: Sessional Papers, no. 7, 1892. Report on a visit to Belgium. Le Manitoba (6 avril 1892) reported that Fasseaux accompanied 110 Belgian immigrants destined for Grande-Clairière, St. Alphonse, St. Léon, and Lake Dauphin. The St. Boniface weekly reported the following year (10 janvier 1893) that Fasseaux was in Belgium once more. The 'return-man' also told Mgr. Taché that he was in contact with the

important Catholic land-owners as well as with Belgian priests who wanted to go to Canada. See AASB, Fonds Taché, Binche (Belgique), 8 février 1892, Fasseaux à Taché.

131 AASB, Fonds Langevin, Grande Clairière, 16 janvier 1897, Gaire à Langevin.

132 Ibid., Grande Clairière, 16 avril 1897, Gaire à Langevin. The two works were Dix années de missions au grand Nord-Ouest canadien (Lille: Imprimerie de l'orphelinat de Dom Bosco, 1898), and La question des écoles catholiques et françaises du Manitoba (Canada); appel à la France et la Belgique (Lille: Imprimerie de l'orphelinat de Dom Bosco, 1898).

133 AASB, Fonds Langevin, Grande Clairière, 29 avril 1897, Gaire à Langevin.

134 AAAR, "Bellegarde", St-Maurice, 4 janvier 1898, Napoléon Poulin à Langevin.

135 This was probably the first name given to Gaire's publication which is best known as Le Défenseur du Canada catholique et français.

136 Gaire went to Europe in 1897, 1898, 1900, 1901-1902 (for almost a year), 1903, 1904, 1905 and 1906. The writer has found no evidence that he travelled to Europe after 1906. These trips were in addition to his return journey of 1889.

137 AAW, "Grande Clairière", Grande Clairière, 2 mars 1898, Gaire à Langevin.

138 Ibid., Grande Clairière, 20 décembre 1898, Gaire à Langevin.

139 Ibid., Grande Clairière, 15 mars 1900, Gaire à Langevin.

140 Ibid.

141 Laws passed by the French government in the early 1900s were a continuation of restrictions placed on the teaching of religion and on the authority of the Church in the field of education dating back to the last two or three decades of the 19th century. Other laws putting an end to the exemption from military service enjoyed by the clergy led a number of orders and seminarians to leave France.

[142] See my own, "Les exigences linguistiques dans le recrutement d'un clergé pour l'Ouest canadien, 1818-1920", in Sessions d'étude (1975), La Société canadienne d'Histoire de l'Eglise catholique, pp. 43-64. Also see Chapter VI, p.

[143] See Chapter VI, p. 416.

[144] Gaire formed a small company called "Assiniboia Alberta" around 1902. But he liquidated the store owned by the Society at Red Deer two years later. See AAE, Fonds Legal, Wauchope, 3 août 1905, Gaire à Legal.

[145] AASB, Fonds Langevin, St-Albert, 19 juillet 1905, Legal à Langevin. Gaire's proposal was contained in the latest issue of Le Défenseur du Canada catholique et français (avril-mai-juin 1905).

[146] Langevin's first exhortations to Gaire on this subject came in 1903. See, for example, AAR, "Wauchope", St-Boniface, 21 août 1903, Gaire à Langevin; see Langevin's reply in AASB, Fonds Langevin, LB 6, [St-Boniface], 7 septembre 1903, Joseph A. Trudel, prêtre-secrétaire, à Gaire. Gaire was told that Mgr. Langevin "tient aussi n'appuyer que l'oeuvre de la colonisation et Sa Grandeur dégage sa responsabilité de toute société ou association qui pourrait être fondée par des actions recueillies en France ou en Belgique".

[147] AASB, Fonds Langevin, St-Albert, 19 juillet 1905, Legal à Langevin.

[148] In 1910, Langevin told a French lawyer that Gaire "a acheté des terres pour le compte de propriétaires français qui ont ainsi fait profiter leur argent..." AASB, Fonds Langevin, LB 13, [St-Boniface], 19 février 1910, Langevin à A. de la Tours (France).

[149] See AAE, Fonds Legal, Mouvaux (France), 7 mai 1904, Gaire à Legal; AAR, "Wauchope", Mouvaux (France), 7 mai 1904, Gaire à Langevin.

[150] AAE, Fonds Legal, Wauchope, 3 août 1905, Gaire à Legal.

[151] PAC, MG 26 G [Laurier Papers], Wauchope, 13 mars 1906, Gaire à [Laurier]. Gaire previously wrote to Laurier, but that document is not in the Laurier Papers.

[152] AASB, Fonds Langevin, Paris, 22 février 1902, Lecoq à Langevin.

[153] Ibid., LB 9, St-Boniface, 9 février 1906, Langevin à François de Roussy de Sales. Of course Langevin coloured his description of Ste. Rose in this letter to a man he hoped to attract to the region. Still, he was genuinely impressed by the French settlers of Ste. Rose.

[154] PAC, MG 26 G [Laurier Papers], Colonie de St-Brieux, Sask., 11 juillet 1908, LeFloch à Laurier.

[155] PAC, R.G. 76, no. 471120, Ottawa, 24 August 1906, W.P. Scott to H. Péran.

[156] AASB, Fonds Langevin, Liège, 28 juin 1898, [Delouche ?, O.M.I.] à Langevin. Incomplete letter.

[157] Ibid.

[158] Ibid., Liège, 12 août 1898, Delouche à Langevin; ibid., Noviciat St-Joseph (Belgique), 14 [?] septembre 1898, Delouche à Langevin.

[159] Ibid., LB 1, Archbishop's Palace [St. Boniface], 9 January 1899, Langevin to Shaughnessy. In a closing sentence, Langevin revealed his own optimism for the project: "You see that I am a good immigration agent." The italics are Langevin's.

[160] PAC, MG 27 II D 15 [Sifton Papers], Winnipeg, 21 February 1899, S.A.D. Bertrand to Sifton.

[161] AASB, Fonds Langevin, Réunion à Calgary de Mgr L'Archevêque et des évêques de la Province écclésiastique de St-Boniface, du 4 au 8 mars 1899. In outlining to his suffragan bishops the Belgian proposal, Langevin pointed out that the members of the syndicate had already found close to five million francs which were to be used to acquire lands in Western Canada and settle Belgian families on them. It is also worthwhile noting that the meeting also supported the colonization proposals of Father Morin. It was decided that a letter should be addressed at the same time to the Quebec bishops, urging them to favour the movement of French-Canadians to Western Canada. Finally, there was a recommendation that measures be taken to develop the colony of St-Paul des Métis.

[162] AASB, Fonds Langevin, Liège, 2 septembre 1899, Delouche à Langevin.

[163] Ibid., Anvers, 9 mars 1900, Delouche à Langevin; ibid., Anvers, 17 mai 1900, Delouche à Langevin.

[164] Ibid., Anvers, 10 mai 1901, Delouche à Langevin.

[165] Ibid., Concile Provincial tenu à Saint-Albert les 7, 8, 9 avril 1902, sous la présidence de S.G. Mgr L.P.A. Langevin, archevêque de Saint-Boniface.

[166] Ibid., Paris, 30 avril 1902, Edmond Buron à Langevin. Langevin was absent from St. Boniface when this letter arrived. The Rév. Arthur Béliveau replied by saying that the proposals made--including one to place 50 French children on farms in Manitoba--would have to be studied.

[167] Ibid., Paris, 25 janvier 1903, Buron à Langevin.

[168] Ibid., LB 9, [St-Boniface], 28 mars 1906, Langevin à l'abbé Llobet [?], professeur au Collège de Juilly (France).

[169] Ibid.

[170] Mgr. Legal received in the same period an invitation from Buron to become a patron of La Canadienne. The Bishop of St. Albert admitted that he knew little about the association, but that he had enjoyed Buron's visit to the North-West the previous summer. He was prepared to become a supporter of La Canadienne because it had the sympathies of a French Catholic newspaper, La Croix. But he added the following remarks: "J'ai crû comprendre que la question de religion ne serait pas un motif d'inclusion de votre association, dans ce sens que vous accepteriez: Juifs, Protestants ou autres pourvu qu'ils soient français. En principe général, je ne mettrais pas d'objection formelle à une telle organisation, à condition toutefois que l'on veillât à ne pas laisser introduire dans l'association des personnes intrues dédiées subversives [sic] de toute société, ou des impies militants". AAE, Fonds Legal, LB 3, [St-Albert], 20 février 1903, Legal à Buron.

[171] AASB, Fonds Langevin, LB 11, [St-Boniface], 18 avril 1908, Langevin au Dr. A. Gallot [Galliot], Paris. Galliot had returned to France after having spent some years in Notre-Dame de Lourdes. While there, he decided

to interest people he knew to venture money into the land market of Manitoba. What success he obtained, if any, is not known. Galliot later returned to Manitoba.

172 Ibid.

173 Ibid., LB 13, [St-Boniface], 25 juillet 1910, Langevin à l'abbé Gravel (Gravelbourg). The man in question was one unidentified Captain Joubert.

174 See Donatien Frémont, Les Français..., pp. 105-107.

175 AASB, Fonds Langevin, LB 11, St-Boniface, 18 avril 1908, Langevin à M. le Chanoine Camus, Châlons-sur-Marne (France).

176 Ibid.

177 PAC, R.G. 76, no. 14202, Paris, 23 May 1905, Wiallard to W.W. Cory, Deputy Minister of the Interior.

178 Ibid., no. 18040 (part 1), Paris, 21 October 1910, "Resumé of Mr. Paul Wiallard's letter to Sir Wilfred Laurier"; also in MG 27 III B [Raoul Dandurand Papers]. I am indebted to Roxroy West for pointing out to me the French version of this document.

179 PAC, R.G. 17, [Deputy Minister's Correspondence], St. Boniface, 29 February 1892, Cloutier to [John Lowe].

180 See Bernard Pénisson, "Un hebdomadaire libéral: L'Echo du Manitoba (1898-1905)", RHAF, Vol. 28, no. 3 (décembre 1974), pp. 374-380.

181 See Cyr's file in PAC, R.G. 76, no. 804852. Cyr remained in Paris only a few months before taking another posting as a repatriation officer at Duluth, Minn.

182 See the file on Sébastien Deleau and Edward Colleaux in PAC, R.G. 76, no. 132687.

183 See Pierre Savard, Le consulat général..., Chapter IV.

184 See the reports of Paul Wiallard in Canada: Sessional Papers, for the years 1904 and 1907 especially. Furthermore, the annual statements of the Deputy Minister in the same Annual Reports touch upon the serious problems involved in conducting immigration and even informational work in France and Belgium.

[185] See PAC, MG 26 H [Borden Papers], Paris, 19 July 1911, Philippe H. Roy to Laurier; ibid., Paris, 17 October 1911, Philippe H. Roy to Borden.

CHAPTER VI

THE NATIONAL AND THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH

The implantation of the Catholic Church in Western Canada in the 19th century was almost exclusively the work of a French and French-Canadian clergy.[1] From the arrival of the first permanent missionaries at Red River in 1818 to the end of the first decade of the 20th century, leadership and expansion of the Church rested on the shoulders of men like Joseph-Norbert Provencher, Alexandre Taché, Adélard Langevin, Vital Grandin, Emile Legal, and Albert Pascal. Furthermore, it was the dedication of orders such as the Oblates, the Grey Nuns, the Jesuits, and The Sisters of the Holy Names which made possible the establishement and maintenance of such educational and charitable institutions as convents, colleges, hospitals, and vocational schools. These institutions fulfilled functions seen to be part of the Church's contribution to the building of a Franco-Catholic society in the West. This manifest "Frenchness" of the Church reflected in large part the predominantly French-speaking clientele of what came to be looked upon as a "national" Church, at least until the early 1890s. Thereafter, the arrival of other Catholic groups such as the Flemish, Ukrainians, Germans, and Poles, added to a growing number of Irish

Catholics, forced the French-speaking clerical leaders to accelerate the move towards a "universal" Church, one which would cater to the needs of each national group.[2]

The transition from a "national" to a "universal" Church was not effected without some difficulty. It was natural for the French-speaking clergy to look upon the French-speaking population as the group which in the past had helped establish the Church on the prairies, and as the collectivity which could be relied upon to spearhead moves to safeguard or, in the case of the famous Schools Questions, to recover rights which were deemed fundamental to the survival and expansion of the Church. Thus the role played by Church leaders in promoting and facilitating French-speaking colonization and settlement on the Canadian prairies was in keeping with the object of advancing the interests of the Church itself.

In this chapter, we examine the changing nature of the attitudes of the Church and of the Franco-Catholic minority toward non-French-speaking immigration to Western Canada, Catholic or otherwise. The shifts in attitude of the Church are apparent in three stages which set apart the development of settlement in the West. In the 1870s, the French-speaking element <u>was</u> the Church. That was the era when duality flourished in Manitoba especially. But, beginning in 1880, Church leaders recognized that the Franco-Catholic

group was unable to keep pace with the English-speaking and Protestant majority. While not abandoning the concept of duality, Archbishop Taché moved to obtain Irish and other European immigrants for his archdiocese. Gradually, the influx of Irish, Flemish, German and, later, Hungarian immigrants forced the Church to adapt to the needs of these new arrivals. The strategy of bringing together all Catholic forces to exert political influence in the West had its origins in the early 1890s. But it was primarily after 1896, under Archbishop Langevin's direction, that the programme of marshalling the various Catholic nationalities under one banner took root. As will be seen, the predominantly French-speaking hierarchy walked a narrow line during the first decade of the 20th century as it tried to reconcile the special status--and indeed the special role--of the Franco-Catholic group with the rights and needs of other national communities.

* * *

The guiding principle and assumption behind the colonization efforts undertaken prior to 1896 by the leaders of the Franco-Catholic community of Western Canada was the belief that the future of the country rested on a partnership between the French-speaking and English-speaking elements. This view followed naturally from the existing balance

between the two groups at the time of the annexation of the North-West to the Canadian Confederation in 1870. Furthermore, the institutional framework of Manitoba after 1870 reflected this basic duality.[3] Subsequent events of course demonstrated that if Manitoba had been established along the lines of a Quebec model, by the late 1880s the Ontario element had succeeded in transforming it into the model of an "Ontario democracy".[4] Nonetheless, these developments did not deter the French-speaking leadership from continuing to agitate for a return to the original arrangement.

It was this belief in duality which prompted Mgr. Taché and his supporters to favour a movement of French-Canadians from Quebec and from the United States toward Manitoba and the North-West. As early as 1859, the St. Boniface pastor had written about the North-West as a field for French-Canadian settlement, in a letter to S.J. Dawson:

> Canadien-Français de coeur autant que d'origine, je verrais sans doute de préférence nos terres occupées par quelques-uns de nos braves et respectables habitants du Bas-Canada, si pour des raisons particulières et exceptionnelles, il leur faut s'éloigner du lieu qui les a vus naître, s'ils sont décidés à prendre le bâton de pélerin, au lieu de les voir se diriger vers les Etats-Unis. J'aimerais mieux les voir venir à la Rivière-Rouge.

. . . . . .

> Personne au reste n'a plus droit à l'occupation de cette vallée de la rivière Rouge, et même de la rivière Saskatchewan, que les Canadiens d'origine française. Ce sont nos pères, ces hardis pionniers de la civilisation, qui les premiers ont pénétré jusqu'ici. Rien de plus naturel que de voir nos frères s'emparer de nouveau des terres découvertes par leurs ancêtres et consacrées par eux à devenir le théâtre de la régénération des races infortunées qu'ils y trouvèrent.[5]

The arguments contained in this appeal were to become standard ones in the years after 1870, although it is unlikely that a call for settlers based on a romantic view of the past would bear fruit. Still, in 1874, speaking before the members of the Institut Canadien of Ottawa, Joseph Royal echoed Mgr. Taché's earlier views when he argued that the expansion of French Canada beyond the borders of Quebec was part of "les destinées providentielles de la famille française."[6]

Unfortunately, Providence decreed otherwise. While Le Métis editorialized that the two central Canadian provinces were the only possible sources of excess population for Manitoba, because the distance separating Red River from maritime ports precluded a European immigration,[7] the movement of Ontario settlers into Manitoba was already larger than that from Quebec. So successful was the former migration that by the end of the decade the idea of institutional duality was already under attack.[8] Furthermore, the beginnings of Mennonite and Icelandic group settlements in

1874 and 1875 respectively, followed in 1879 by the opening of a direct railway link between East and West through St. Paul and Pembina, signified that the federal government was prepared to open up the Canadian West to other nationalities and that there was now no obstacle to European immigration itself.

What was the response of the French-speaking and Catholic leadership to these developments? On the one hand, the influx of Ontarians was a matter of great concern to Mgr. Taché. "Si c'est possible, envoyez-nous du monde", he told Bishop Laflèche of Trois-Rivières. "Si nous n'avons point d'immigration catholique, nous sommes perdus à tout jamais; le flot Ontarien de nous déborder de toutes parts."[9] This does not suggest that the Archbishop was opposed to the arrival of Ontarian settlers in Manitoba. Rather it indicates how he felt about the need for French-Canadian colonists who would ensure the maintenance of duality in Manitoba by counter-balancing the influx of an English-speaking population. On another occasion, George Roy, president of La Société de Colonisation du Manitoba, indicated that the French-speaking element did not object to English-speaking settlement in Manitoba. He told a gathering in 1876 that,

> ...nous ne voulons que travailler avec nos frères anglais à augmenter la prospérité du pays, et ... nous ne voulons pas empiéter sur

> leurs droits mais seulement essayer de conserver la juste part d'influence à laquelle nous avons droit comme Canadiens-Français, c.-à-d. comme premiers pionniers de ce vaste Nord Ouest.[10]

On the other hand, the reaction to Mennonite and Icelandic immigration was mixed. If one excepts the unfortunate incident which took place at White Horse Plains on July 1, 1873, when a group of métis confronted the Mennonite delegates,[11] the initial response at least was not totally unfavourable. Le Métis commented rather laconically that the arrival, in the summer of 1874, of some 300 Mennonites had been well received, "surtout par le monde commercial"! The editorialist thought that they had a "caractère étrange", but that "si, de leur aveu, le maniement des armes ne les amuse guère, ils pourraient, peut-être, devenir d'excellents colons."[12]

Furthermore, the Franco-Manitoban leadership soon learned that the generous terms made to the Mennonites could be used to advantage in lobbying for French-Canadian repatriation. In an address to the Hon. Letellier de St. Just, Minister of Agriculture in the Mackenzie government, on the occasion of his visit to Manitoba during the summer of 1875, the Hon. Marc-Amable Girard referred to the assistance extended by the federal government to the Mennonites as an important precedent. He put the case for the Société de Colonisation de Manitoba this way:

> L'esprit chevaleresque de vos aieux et des nôtres se serait peut-être ému à la pensée d'un peuple dont le bras ne s'arme pas même quand l'ennemi menace ses foyers. Moins enthousiastes que nos pères, nous pouvons nous réjouir à la pensée et à la vue d'un peuple qui veut cultiver les immenses prairies qui nous environnent. Puis, dans ce secours donné aux émigrants d'outre mer, la société de colonisation et toute la population Française de Manitoba, voit le prélude de l'assistance que le Gouvernement de la Puissance doit nécessairement accorder à ceux de nos compatriotes, qui après avoir été sur la terre étrangère, désirent se rapatrier...[13]

When the Franco-Manitoban group felt later that its demands were not being met by federal authorities, the tone of its feelings toward other minorities in the province changed somewhat. Le Métis, the St. Boniface weekly controlled by the Conservative M.P. Joseph Royal, did not hesitate to depreciate the accomplishments of the Mackenzie government by suggesting that it had not sufficiently concerned itself with the problem of repatriation. After attributing this lack of interest to the "fanatisme et les préjugés de Mills, espèce de pédant ridicule, demi yankee, demi ontarien, incapable de contenir dans une étroite cervelle aucune saine idée, aucun bon mouvement patriotique", the editorialist called for policies which would strengthen "notre élément religieux et national dans ce vaste Nord-Ouest."[14] He maintained that the French-speaking population was prepared to live in harmony and on good terms with other linguistic and religious groups, and even quoted with approval Lord

Dufferin's view that "la variété d'origines est la source mystérieuse de la force et de la vitalité du peuple canadien."[15] Yet, immediately thereafter, Le Métis reversed its field:

> L'immigration ménnonite a été une grande faute; l'immigration islandaise fut pire; ce qu'il nous faut, ce sont des colons d'Angleterre, ce sont des immigrants canadiens qui vivent aux Etats-Unis, ce sont les bonnes familles canadiennes des autres provinces à qui le terrain manque pour établir leurs nombreux enfants.[16]

Obviously, the belittling of Mennonite and Icelandic immigration was part of a political lobby designed to pressure the government into maintaining the transportation subsidy first granted to repatriates in 1875. Now, early in 1879, the Conservative government indicated that this arrangement would be terminated as of the first of March.[17] In condemning this change in policy, Le Métis reiterated its view that "notre meilleur colon est ou l'émigré anglais ou le canadien, soit français soit anglais, rapatrié des Etats-Unis."[18] It went on to explain that the French-Canadians living in the United States were more readily adaptable to the laws and institutions of Western Canada than were the Mennonites and Icelanders who would not be "naturalisés à ce point" before at least twenty-five years.[19] Naturally, for political reasons, no such criticism was directed against English-speaking settlers from Ontario or the British Isles.

The Church, led by Mgr. Taché, was undoubtedly quite

troubled by the relatively small number of French-Canadians electing to settle in Manitoba, especially compared to the larger English-speaking and predominantly Protestant groups moving into the Canadian West. This development prompted the St. Boniface Archbishop, in the years after 1879, to reach out for new sources of French-speaking reinforcements from Europe. More importantly perhaps, he decided at the same time to support the movement of other Catholic groups towards the Prairies. Thus, he welcomed the proposal of the Reverend Théobald Bitsche to locate a number of German Catholic families from Bruce County, Ontario, in the Pembina Hills region.[20]

That was a significant turning-point in the history of the Church. Throughout the 1870s, Mgr. Taché had given little thought to the prospect of obtaining non-francophone Catholic settlers for the West. By 1880, however, he was in great need of Catholic immigration. Father Lacombe, with whom he discussed the general situation, agreed with him and submitted a plan to counter "la grande immigration étrangère, qui nous envahit de tous côtés et menace de nous enlever l'importance religieuse et politique, que nous conservons encore."[21] The time had come, he thought, to undertake a final and supreme effort to prevent the country from falling into the hands of the English and Protestant elements by bringing "en ce pays quelques centaines de

familles, Canadiens-français du Bas-Canada et des Etats-Unis, et même des Irlandais, qui pourraient être recrutés dans les villes de la Grande République."[22] Clearly, Lacombe preferred French-Canadians as settlers and suggested Irish immigration almost as an afterthought.

Meanwhile, from Quebec City came word that bishops in that province were considering ways of promoting Catholic immigration to Canada. Archbishop Taschereau told Mgr. Taché that the objective was to prevent the Catholic population of Canada from being overwhelmed by an influx of Protestant groups. For his part, he was opposed to French, Swiss, or Belgian immigration, because recent experiences had proven unsatisfactory. Irish immigration, added the Archbishop, did not pose the same dangers, but again recent experiences showed that it was unsuitable for Quebec and that the Irish preferred the United States to Canada. Taschereau left it to Taché to decide what was best for Western Canada, but he thought that Catholic immigrants recruited from different sources "formeront difficilement une masse assez homogène et assez unie pour prêter main-forte au clergé." He concluded; "Il me semble qu'une population catholique homogène, compacte et sincèrement attachée à sa religion, surnagera toujours et finira même par prendre le dessus."[23]

While he shared many of the opinions of the Quebec

episcopacy, Archbishop Taché could not afford to disregard the impact which other Catholic groups could have on the position of the Church in the West. He concurred in the view that little could be had from Europe, but did not dismiss the possibility of obtaining Irish Catholics.[24] What Taché was arriving at was a new colonization programme in which Catholic European immigration would complement the movement of French-Canadians from Quebec and the United States to the West. While he continued to lobby intensively in favour of French-Canadian repatriation until his death in 1894, he simultaneously supported moves to promote French-speaking immigration from Europe, an Irish immigration movement, and other immigration initiatives involving Flemish, Italian, and Polish peoples. In essence, he was receptive to all types of national groups, although one suspects that he viewed French-speaking colonization efforts more sympathetically.

In any event, Archbishop Taché never expected that the non-French-speaking Catholic immigration would ever surpass the number of Franco-Catholics in his archdiocese. Therefore, unlike his successor, he apparently never conceived of an overall plan for the integration of French-speaking and so-called "ethnic" groups into a cohesive Catholic force. Of course, it must be recalled that it was only in the last three or four years of his life that German,

Polish, and Ukrainian immigration began to trickle into the country. But the issue of multilingualism in the Church --first raised by Flemish settlers in the late 1880s--was to become a contentious one in the period after 1896. For the moment, Taché responded to immediate needs while maintaining that the French-speaking population enjoyed a special status as a "charter" group within Western Canadian society and, by implication, within the Church.

The plan proposed by Lacombe in 1880 to attract Irish Catholics to Manitoba was the first serious attempt to attract new Catholic elements to Manitoba. But the idea was not new. As early as 1871, the abbé Georges Dugas told Mgr. Taché that priests in the diocese of St. Paul were prepared to help direct Irish immigrants towards settlements in Manitoba.[25] Mgr. Taché himself had an exchange of correspondence along similar lines in 1873-74 with groups in Toronto who wanted to promote Irish Catholic settlement in the North-West.[26] Nothing appears to have come from these proposals. Again, Father Lacombe reported to Taché in 1876 that Bishop Ireland of St. Paul, who was connected with a plan of Irish immigration organized by railway companies in the United States, promised to send some families from among the ones he would receive to Manitoba.[27] Still nothing happened.

Now, in 1880, Father Lacombe had a long interview

with Bishop Ireland of St. Paul and Archbishop Lynch of Toronto on the subject. Both assured him that they would support and encourage the movement of Irish Catholics into Manitoba.[28] On the basis of that commitment, Lacombe therefore sought to secure from the federal government two townships for French-Canadian and Irish Catholic settlement near Turtle Mountain.[29]

Early in 1881, Archbishops Taché and Lynch made overtures to John A. Macdonald for a colonization project which they were prepared to sponsor. Acting through a Toronto barrister, J.J. Foy, they inquired about lands which the government might make available to them.[30] Lynch admitted that Irish emigration was a risky affair, owing to the Irish clergy's opposition. If the Canadian government was prepared to support and help this "starving people" begin farming operations in Canada, it could then "bid for the prize."[31] Subsequently, the two churchmen had conversations with Sir Alexander Galt, Canadian High Commissioner to London, in which they repeated that in return for their assistance in promoting immigration to Manitoba, they expected the Canadian government to allocate lands to a Society to be formed under their auspices.[32] Galt assured them that the government would receive their suggestions with utmost satisfaction and that the details could be settled "in such manner as to meet your approbation."[33]

The plan for Irish immigration now merged with the proposals of the Société Foncière du Canada.[34] In his application to the government for 200,000 acres of Dominion Lands, Joseph Royal referred to the possibility of settlement "by colonies drawn from Ireland, Belgium and the United States of America."[35] Bishop Ireland had endorsed the project as had Archbishop Lynch. The former further suggested that Royal establish contact with the Irish American Colonization Company of Dublin and with the Catholic Colonization Society of the United States. Ireland even recommended the intermingling of groups as a means of stimulating competition.[36]

Almost two years after Lacombe's initial proposal, the plan for Irish immigration was still at the stage of discussions. At last, late in 1881 it appeared that matters were coming to a head. Archbishop Lynch was awaiting permission from Rome to form a syndicate in England and was preparing to leave for Ireland.[37] For his part, Archbishop Taché responded quickly to Macdonald's idea that the Irish immigration "be located in such a way as to form religious congregations" by suggesting the reservation of the unoccupied portions of two townships near the newly-established French-Canadian settlements in the Pembina Hills.[38] Interestingly, these lands were located in areas which Taché had been coveting for years.[39]

The year 1882 proved decisive for the Irish coloni-

zation scheme. It began with a disagreement between J.J. Foy, still acting as agent for Taché and Lynch, and the government over the conditions under which lands would be made available to the proposed Society. It was Taché's understanding that lands were to be given free for this special colony; officials of the Department of the Interior proposed that the colony come under the ordinary colonization schemes and that the usual prices be paid for lands. If this was the case, asked Foy, where was the inducement to form a company?[40] Further difficulties arose when it appeared that Macdonald had decided that none of the lands named in the application could be reserved for the Irish colony, in spite of assurances to that effect given months previously.[41] The problems were surmounted when the first selection of lands made by Taché was reserved from ordinary Homestead and Preemption entry and held subject to first entry by Foy or his representative.[42] In addition, the Department of the Interior reserved a district of country chosen by Mgr. Taché near Edmonton for the Irish immigrants.[43]

Once the land matter was resolved, there still remained the organization of the colonization society. The Canadian government hoped that Archbishop Lynch's visit to Ireland would yield results in that direction. Lynch proposed to borrow £200,000 set aside for emigration under the Irish Land Act.[44] But before an application for a loan

could be made, a company had to be formed in Canada, and the delay involved in giving notice of it in the official journals meant that no actual emigration could take place during the 1882 season. Furthermore, there was the possibility of other societies applying for the monies prior to the formation of the colonization society sponsored by Lynch and Taché.[45] Still, Macdonald hoped that the two archbishops would pursue their scheme.[46]

It does not appear that this was done, as no further reference to the plan is extant in Mgr. Taché's papers. What, if any, concrete results stemmed from the publication in the Irish press of letters by Archbishops Lynch and Taché. Morgan's Annual Register for 1882 notes that this correspondence "produced very beneficial results on the minds of the Irish people."[47] The only other indication that at least part of the larger scheme was retained is found in an exchange of letters in 1889 between Mgr. Taché and the Hon. Edgard Dewdney, Minister of the Interior.

The St. Boniface pastor wanted to ascertain whether the reserve of lands in south-western Manitoba entrusted to J.J. Foy seven years earlier would be maintained. The reason for Taché's concern was that it might be withdrawn at a time when settlement of the area was progressing fairly well. There were prospects, he claimed, of a large immigration in the Spring.[48]

The flood of Irish immigrants which Taché hoped to locate in his archdiocese had not yet materialized by the end of the 1880s. That could only be a source of disappointment to him, but he had known others. Church records contain little information on other Catholic immigration movements, but there were a number of proposals put forward in the course of the decade. What became of the proposal emanating from The Association for Promoting State Directed Emigration & Colonization is not known.[49] Nor is it known what Mgr. Taché told Angus Macdonald, Bishop of Argyll and the Isles in Scotland, in answer to an enquiry concerning the spiritual and material well-being of some forty Gaelic-speaking families which may have located in the St. Boniface archdiocese.[50] Similarly, how did Taché respond to the possibility of a Catholic colony of Roumanians in 1885?[51] Finally, we can only imagine his reaction when told that Italian immigration to Canada could not succeed.[52]

It is easy to understand Taché's concern, therefore, in the mid-1880s, faced as he was with the problem of the Catholic element steadily losing ground to the Protestant majority. Furthermore, the institutional framework of Manitoba established in 1870 was rapidly coming apart. Most significant perhaps was the danger facing the continuing existence of the dual confessional school system.

The report for 1886 of the Catholic Section of the Board of Education, of which Mgr. Taché was a member, gave warning of the consequences of an immigration which did not contain enough Catholic elements:

> L'immigration, qui est, d'ailleurs toujours bien vue, nous amène cependant de nouveaux éléments parmi lesquels nous rencontrons des esprits peu au fait non seulement de notre système d'éducation, mais surtout de nos idées sur cette matière. Il nous faut être conséquemment d'une vigilance continuelle pour ne pas laisser fausser dans son application notre loi des écoles, si équitablement concue, et qui ne demande qu'à être bien comprise pour rallier toutes les sympathies. Nous avons du reste à signaler l'entente qui existe entre les deux sections ... pour rendre harmonieux le fonctionnement de la loi.[53]

The following year, the Archbishop himself indicated in a letter to T.A. Bernier--for inclusion in the latter's Le Manitoba - Champ d'Immigration--that French-Canadians were lagging behind other groups. Indeed, it grieved him to admit that "non seulement l'Angleterre et l'Ecosse ont fourni chacune plus de colons au Manitoba que la Province de Québec, mais la Russie elle-même en a fourni autant."[54]

The one source of encouragement for Taché was the arrival of Belgian farmers into the West. And, he appears to have made no distinction between Flemish and Walloon settlers. All were equally desired. Throughout the 1880s, there were expectations that Belgium would send a considerable number of settlers to Manitoba. Archbishop Lynch was apparently quite impressed by Joseph Royal's statement

to the effect that there was a possibility of securing between 300,000 and 400,000 immigrants from Belgium.[55] The actual number of arrivals in Western Canada of course never approximated that figure, but it undoubtedly generated much optimism in the ranks of the Franco-Catholic leadership. The pages of Le Manitoba and of Hector Fabre's Paris-Canada are filled with accounts of Belgian settlement in Manitoba and in the Territories at the beginning of the 1890s. The Belgian settlers at Bruxelles, St. Alphonse, and Deloraine, among others, impressed the clergy by their industry and rapid adaptation to the country.

The introduction of these non-French-speaking groups into the West after 1880 obviously necessitated adjustments on the part of the predominantly French-speaking Church which was now called upon to provide pastoral services to parishes and missions where languages other than French or English were spoken by settlers. There may have been a desire on the part of Mgr. Taché and his clergy to gather together settlers belonging to distinct linguistic groups into separate parishes, but this was not always possible.[56] The abbé Théobald Bitsche, for example, used to good advantage his knowledge of four languages in the parish of St. Léon where Métis, French-Canadians, Germans, and some Irishmen had all taken up lands. Inevitably, there arose

conflicts between national groups.[57] The greatest difficulty was finding clergymen able to minister to all Catholics of all nationalities. Mgr. Taché was concerned about this need, and sought to recruit bilingual or multilingual priests.[58] The need for this was brought home to him by the Count Louis Waldbott de Bassenheim, of the Société St-Raphaël of Belgium, who maintained that the successful emigration of Belgians to Canada hinged in part on the presence in Manitoba of a clargyman or layman who could speak Flemish and French.[59] Thus, the language issue became a factor both in the organization of immigration campaigns and in the establishment of parishes composed of settlers belonging to a number of linguistic communities.

Further west, Bishop Grandin of St. Albert shared much of the concerns of his Metropolitan. Writing to Archbishop Taschereau in 1889, he lamented the changes which had taken place in the Territories since the annexation of the Hudson's Bay lands to the Dominion of Canada. Of great concern to him was the paucity of Catholic settlers. "Après l'annexion", he wrote, "les immigrants vinrent en grand nombre, et je n'oserais assurer que sur cent il se trouvât dix catholiques."[60] He certainly did not want to accuse the new English and Protestant majority of mistreating the Catholic minority because "il y a parmi les nouveaux venus bien des familles respectables et honnêtes qui déplorent

la guerre qu'on nous fait."[61] He charged instead that it was the staff in the Department of Indian Affairs which was at the source of the difficulties experienced by the minority. Having said this, Grandin went on to argue that what was needed was a French and Catholic immigration. Certainly that was preferable to the existing state of affairs, which he described thusly:

> On nous envoie dis-je pour utiliser nos terres des gens de toute nation, de toute religion, trop souvent aussi des gens sans foi et sans religion; On va chercher bien loin des Ménonites [sic], on reçoit même les Mormons qu'on semble vouloir donner en exemple aux Pieds-Noirs et on laisse partir chaque année une foule de Canadiens honnêtes et laborieux, mais trop pauvres pour venir s'établir ici.[62]

For Bishops Taché and Grandin, the society taking shape in Western Canada in the early 1890s was one far removed from that which they had known in the past. Taché had spent over forty years in the West, while his suffragan bishop at St. Albert had been in the country almost as long. In their view, Western Canada must remain a place where the Franco-Canadian and Anglo-Canadian elements should live side by side while respecting the duality of institutions fashioned in the early 1870s. But the number of immigrants not belonging to either of the two "charter" groups--in addition of course to the native population--was increasing rapidly. It was not, however, until after Mgr. Taché's death in 1894 that the dimensions

of this new type of immigration began to assume major importance in the minds of Church leaders. Where the older generation of churchmen had not really considered the implications of this "ethnic" immigration, their successors increasingly had to contend with a new order of things.

As Western Canadian society became increasingly pluralistic in the 1890s, the Church itself became more and more conscious of its universal features. Church leaders began to grasp the size and significance of the "ethnic" immigration and, more importantly, to relate it to issues which weighed heavily upon their minds. The education question which, above all others, absorbed the attention of Archbishop Langevin and his suffragan bishops during the years from 1896 to the Great War, led to the devising of new strategies designed to rally Catholics of all nationalities under a common banner and in defense of a common cause. While pursuing the struggle over the Schools Questions at the national political level, Church leaders favoured Catholic immigration as never before, sought to promote the establishment of homogeneous Catholic settlements, and encouraged their flocks to agitate for the recognition of their rights in the field of education. This was a significant turning-point both in the history of the Church and of the francophone community of Western Canada. The Church, by seeking to create stronger ties between

Catholics of all nationalities acknowledged that non-French-speaking Catholic minorities would play a large role in the pursuit of clerical objectives. The Church, as never before, would have to harmonize the special status of the francophone group in Canada and on the Prairies with the needs of other incoming Catholic minorities. Lastly, it assumed that there would arise no difficulties in obtaining the support of all Catholic minorities, including the French-speaking one. Unfortunately, as events were to show, there were indeed serious problems in effecting a rapprochement between these groups, and implications which no one could foresee in 1896.[63]

In that year, there were already indications that Church leaders were quite aware that governments, in their rush to settle the country, would likely make few distinctions between classes of settlers. One such intimation came from Bishop Pascal of Prince Albert in a wide-ranging memorandum to Prime Minister Laurier. He called for measures to facilitate the rapid development of the country and expressed his full support for all initiatives in the area of immigration and colonization:

> Le pays est assez vaste pour reçevoir des colons de tous les pays et pour que ceux-ci vivent côte à côte en bonne intelligence, nous serons donc toujours contents de voir arriver de nombreux émigrants dans le N. Ouest canadien et nous approuverons tout ce que fera le gouvernement pour nous attirer des colons sans distinction de leur nationalité.[64]

Equally revealing were his suggestions that guides appointed to accompany settlers to vacant lands should speak the language of the new settlers, English, French, German, etc., as the case might be; that doctors, whose want was greatly felt, could render valuable services by speaking these same languages; and, finally, that the government should furnish teachers for each of the new settlements, but that

> Ces instituteurs devraient toujours pouvoir enseigner les deux langues officielles l'anglais et le français aux enfants d'origine française, l'anglais et l'allemand, l'anglais et le polonais etc. Les instituteurs devraient toujours parler non seulement l'anglais mais aussi la langue des colons parmi lesquels ils se trouvent, pour pouvoir se faire comprendre.[65]

Pascal's letter to Laurier is interesting in a number of ways. In the first instance, it suggests that at least one prominent Church leader in the West considered English to be the foremost language on the Prairies, although it refers to the two "official languages". Pascal certainly accepted the view that immigrants would learn English rather than French as their "official" Canadian language of everyday communication. There is no suggestion here that the new arrivals should somehow be Frenchified. But it does indicate that the Church valued the retention of French as the "mother" language; in this respect, Pascal's stance presaged the interest which the episcopacy of Western Canada would manifest for bilingual education in Manitoba and in the

Territories. Similarly, the call for bilingual guides and teachers accorded itself with the Church's own policy of seeking out bilingual or multilingual clergy for parish duty. None of this, however, was intended to minimize the particular place of the francophone community within the larger Catholic body, because Pascal closed his *memorandum* to Laurier by pressing him for the appointment of one of his priests as repatriation agent in the United States. Thus there was room for repatriation and foreign immigration in the Church's overall strategy.

A second indication that the Church was coming to value the contribution which other "ethnic" groups could make to the Catholic cause was clearly implied in charges that the Church's "enemies"--who presumably exercised great influence in shaping government policy--discriminated against Catholic immigrants. Bishop Grandin explained it to Mgr. Merry del Val, Apostolic Delegate to Canada, in this way:

> ...dans la pratique, ils [nos ennemis] favorisent ce qui est protestant, par là ils ont l'appui des différentes sectes dont ils espèrent venir plus facilement à bout que des catholiques. Ainsi sous prétexte de favoriser l'immigration, ils ont fait des concessions aux Mennonites, aux Mormons, concessions qu'ils n'ont jamais faites pour favoriser des agglomérations de Belges ou de Polonais, parce que ces derniers sont catholiques. Depuis quelque temps, il nous vient un bon nombre de sujets Russes, Polonais, Slaves etc.; dès qu'on a constaté qu'ils sont généralement catholiques

> les journaux ont crié contre cette classe de sauvages d'une nouvelle espèce qui ne pouvaient que retarder la civilisation de ce pays. On aurait voulu que non seulement le Gouvernement n'en laissât pas venir d'autres, mais qu'il rapatriât ceux qui sont venus.[66]

The very defensiveness manifest in Grandin's confidential declaration reveals the frustration of Church leaders in the face of their continuing difficulties over education rights in Manitoba and the Territories. The obvious lack of a large French-speaking immigration made it even more imperative that all Catholic immigration be encouraged.

But the most explicit statement on the value of Catholic colonization came from Archbishop Langevin in 1898 when he joined three issues into a cohesive plan of action: the Schools Questions, Catholic immigration from Eastern and Western Europe--as well as from French-Canadian centres in North America--, and the special status of the French-speaking community. The Metropolitan felt that it could take between five and ten years to achieve a successful conclusion of Catholic grievances. He told the abbé Gaire of his plan:

> Or, d'ici là, nous allons nous fortifier. Que l'on favorise l'immigration plus que jamais, surtout l'immigration française, mais je n'exclus personne, Galiciens, ou Russes, ou Allemands. Tout catholique est le bienvenu, mais les Français le sont deux fois.[67]

Nonetheless, while giving his blessing to all types of Catholic immigration, Langevin made a clear distinction

between the place of the French-speaking community and of "ethnic" groups in Western Canadian society. At the Provincial Council meeting held in Calgary the following year, the Western bishops reiterated their conviction that French-Canadian repatriation should have priority over foreign immigration. In a joint letter addressed to Laurier, in support of a repatriation proposal submitted by the abbé Jean-Baptiste Morin, they argued that "Il ne s'agit pas d'amener des hommes étrangers à nos moeurs et à nos institutions, mais bien des sujets britanniques qui désirent revenir vivre à l'ombre et sous la protection du drapeau anglais."[68] They further explained their preference by adding:

> Nous ne nous occupons que d'une classe d'émigrants, parce que nous les connaissons plus particulièrement et qu'ils ont des droits spéciaux à notre sollicitude, mais, à Dieu ne plaise que nous ayons, par là, l'intention de nous désintéresser des autres colons qui pourraient nous venir, et qui seraient les bienvenus.[69]

What emerges from the pronouncements of the three bishops of Western Canada over a three-year period is a mixed policy. The Church indicated that it supported the federal government's plans to increase the number of immigrants destined for Western Canadian lands; the Church favoured Catholic immigration of all types as a means of strengthening its position in the West and welcomed all new arrivals; but the Church still preferred French-speaking

recruits because it deemed them better suited to the needs and existing institutions of the country. In other words, the Church was more active in promoting repatriation than in lobbying for "foreign" immigration. Langevin and Legal, for example, wrote letters in support of 'returnmen' going to Belgium, France, or the United States, but sent none in support of similar agents seeking to travel to countries in Eastern Europe.[70] The only activity of the Church abroad with respect to "ethnic" groups related to finding clergy for parish work.

Of course, there were exceptions to this general rule. At one point, Mgr. Langevin renewed the interest showed earlier by Mgr. Taché in Italian immigration, although he doubted whether "notre climat rigoureux soit supportable pour les Italiens."[71] Yet a few months later, he encouraged the Bishop of Treviso to consider the advantages available in Canada for homesteaders, adding that "les habitants du Nord de l'Italie [Lombardie] pourraient très bien vivre ici."[72] Also in keeping with his predecessor's line of conduct, he approved of Irish immigration. Not satisfied with the work of Charles Devlin, a government agent, he gave approval to the dispatch of Brother J.M.J. Mulvihill, O.M.I., to Ireland in the interest of the archdiocese. Langevin thought it "désirable et même providentiel."[73] At first, the government would not give Mulvihill an appointment, but soon

relented and defrayed his expenses for a four-month sojourn in the "Old" country in the company of Devlin.[74] Langevin considered it an important mission because there were rumours that the government was thinking of cancelling the homestead provisions. But there may even have been more on the Archbishop's mind as he seemed to suggest in what may only have been a jocular aside to Mulvihill: "Hélas! , he wrote, "Les barbares venus d'Europe apprécient mieux le pays que les Canadiens et les Irlandais!"[75]

What did Langevin mean by this? Was his perception of foreign immigrants that of "barbares"? Was he merely trying to spur his colonizer on to greater activity? In part, the answer to these questions lies in his obvious frustration in the face of the trickle of French-speaking settlers into the West. At the same time, there was considerable immigration from Eastern Europe. He could not totally regret this development, because it added to the overall Catholic population which was losing ground to the various Protestant denominations.[76] But one senses that the Archbishop would have preferred the trend to be somewhat different to say the least.

Not that Langevin or his suffragan bishops were unmindful of the benefits of this Catholic immigration. But they continued to hold to a view which ranked the French-speaking population first, with the Anglo-Saxon or Irish

element second. Next came the Flemish immigrants which were held in great respect because they were considered excellent agriculturists. The Germans followed, with the Poles, Hungarians, and Ruthenians trailing behind.

This informal ranking of national groups within the Catholic community was based on several considerations: ancienneté as a Catholic group in Canada, status in the body politic, importance of lay and clerical organizations, adaptability to the Canadian milieu, and general standing in society at large. By this yardstick, it was obvious that the French-speaking people stood out as the leaders of their Church. Had they not implanted the Church in the West, organized the parish system, built the schools, provided clergy for scores of institutions and good works, and, above all, stood in the forefront when the Church was attacked? Furthermore, given the belief in the basic duality of the country, it was natural to think of the French-speaking element as a fundamental participant in the development of Canadian society. The Irish, for their part, occupied an increasingly important place in the Church owing to the strength and influence of the Irish generally in Ontario and the Maritimes. And their influence spread to the West in the first two decades of this century, culminating in the appointment of Irish bishops to the sees of Calgary and of Winnipeg.[77] The Flemish, on the other hand,

were never numerous enough to command that sort of respect, but they were nonetheless valued because of their Western European origin, their past devotion to the Church, and their strong sense of community. The Poles, while more numerous than the Flemish, were somewhat taken for granted. They created few problems, appearing to be steadfast and dutiful. Their integration into the Catholic community was effected without serious conflict. Lastly, the Hungarians were too few in number to carry much weight.[78]

The Germans constituted a special case. There had of course been some German-speaking Catholic immigration to Manitoba from Ontario with the Reverend Bitsche in the 1880s, followed by a trickle of others in the 1890s. But the significant movement of German Catholics into Western Canada beginning in 1902 and initiated as a joint venture by the Catholic Settlement Society of St. Paul, Minn., the German American Land Company, and members of the Order of St. Benedict, aroused considerable interest in Church circles.[79] It is not known whether Bishop Pascal of Prince Albert played a role in their decision to locate within his diocese, but Archbishop Langevin took note of the considerable area of land that they proposed to colonize and recommended the Society to Bishop Legal. "Si vous aviez des townships fertiles", he wrote, "et que vous leur demandiez d'y envoyer des colons, ils le feraient je crois."[80]

What appeared attractive was the intention of F.J. Lange, president of the Society, "to undertake our work with the French and Polish elements, here in the States, at once..."[81] The Archbishop of St. Boniface continued to favour the work accomplished by the Catholic Settlement Society, recommending it to the C.P.R.'s Land Commissioner in 1904.[82] Further west, Mgr. Legal also showed his continuing interest in the class of German immigrants introduced into the country by Lange. After the latter became a Canadian government agent in Wisconsin--charged with German immigration matters--he experienced difficulties with officials in the Deparment of the Interior. Legal personally intervened twice with Prime Minister Laurier, alleging that "on veut se débarasser de lui à tout prix, & que l'irrégularité alléguée n'est qu'un prétexte."[83] In his view, this clearly showed that "une certaine classe redoute l'influence catholique."[84] Laurier's answer was that there was no "fanatisme" involved in this case and that the government had a number of Catholic agents.[85]

The establishment of St. Peter's colony and later of St. Joseph's colony--under a new Catholic Colonization Society also organized by Lange--firmly rooted German Catholics as a force within the Catholic Church of Western Canada.[86] The compact settlements organized in Saskatchewan and further strengthened by the presence of a German clergy

became the envy of other Catholic groups. The newly-consecrated Bishop of Regina, Mgr. Elzéar Mathieu, pointed to them as models to be imitated:

> J'avais pensé que nous pourrions faire un groupement de nos canadiens français comme celui qui existe pour les allemands. C'est cette union qui les a rendus forts, qui leur permet de se sentir les coudes et de réclamer leurs droits avec plus d'espoir de les voir respectés. Si nous pouvions établir des sociétés du genre de la leur composées des catholiques de langue anglaise, des catholiques de langue française, puis unir ces différentes sociétés les unes aux autres, quelle force nous aurions. Nous voulons la même chose; nous tendons au même but; il doit y avoir moyen de vivre unis. Avec des sociétés ayant à peu près les même règlements, ayant pour officiers des hommes de tact et d'expérience qui se rencontreraient de temps en temps, nous nous entenderions plus facilement, nous obtiendrions plus sûrement la paix nécessaire au succès. Il est indéniable que la société des allemands dans l'Ouest fait une bonne oeuvre.[87]

So successful were the German Catholics in providing for themselves that the Benedictine Fathers were given the responsibility of ministering to the needs of a score of predominantly German-speaking parishes and missions. The monastery of St. Peter's became an Abbey in 1911 and an Abbey Nullius in 1921, thereby conferring on it greater status. Within two decades therefore, the large German minority gained autonomy within the larger Catholic community, a distinction which neither the Flemish, nor Poles, nor Hungarians achieved.[88]

The Ruthenians also constituted a special case, but

for radically different reasons. Their arrival in increasing numbers in Western Canada after 1896 created numerous problems for the Church hierarchy. Initially, they were identified with other Eastern European Catholics such as the Poles and Hungarians. As such, they were perceived to be one of those peoples who would require a great deal of time to absorb Canadian values and institutions. It is doubtful whether any Church leader saw them as playing a meaningful role in the conduct of the affairs of the Church. They were described as "pauvres Galiciens",[89] as "braves gens",[90] as "pauvres gens menacés de perdre la foi",[91] or as vulnerable to the proselytizing of the Protestant denominations.[92] Archbishop Langevin and his suffragan bishops adopted a paternalistic attitude towards them. The episcopacy saw itself charged with a heavy responsibility in trying to bind these new immigrants to the Canadian Church.

In addition, there were other unique problems involved in answering to the needs of the Ruthenians. As with other immigrant groups, they cherished their language and customs. But, in addition, they also insisted on retaining their Greek rite. This raised the possibility of their asking for clergy from their homeland, a prospect which Church authorities in Western Canada dreaded because of the married status of that clergy. Thus, for all these reasons the Ruthenian immigration appeared to be more of a

burden than a benefit.

The multiple stages through which the Ruthenian immigrants passed appeared to confirm that view. At the outset, Mgr. Langevin and Mgr. Grandin thought it sufficient to call upon two Polish-born Oblates, Fathers Albert and William Kulawy, to serve the needs of their compatriots first and those of the "pauvres Galiciens" afterwards.[93] Recognizing, however, that they desired to maintain their rite, Mgr. Langevin called upon the Franciscan Order to come to the aid of his diocese and those of his suffragan bishops. He preferred a religious order to secular priests, and also desired clergy conversant in French. He confessed that, at the moment, "je n'ai pas un seul prêtre qui puisse les comprendre parfaitement et surtout qui puisse célébrer selon ce rite."[94] Finally, he denied that there was any intention of bringing the Ruthenians to abandon their rite in favour of the Latin one. At the same time, Bishop Pascal travelled to Austria-Hungary and to Rome in search of funding and clergy for the Ruthenian missions.[95] As early as 1898, therefore, the French-speaking bishops of Western Canada were deeply embroiled in issues which they could not anticipate.

Not until the appointment in 1912 of Nicéta Budka as bishop of all the Ruthenians in Canada was the Ruthenian question partially resolved.[96] In the intervening

years, however, there were agonizing debates over Church authority, the retention, abolition, or modification of the Greek rite, and the advisability of training Latin clergy for that rite. Nationalist elements within some Ruthenian communities clashed openly with the French-speaking episcopacy, accusing it of wanting to Frenchify and Latinize the Ukrainians. The latter could not know that even Church leaders were divided over the best course to follow. Mgr. Langevin argued that a grant of autonomy to the Ruthenians in Canada would perpetuate the Greek rite, create a double or multiple jurisdiction over Catholic policy, and eventually lead to the introduction of married clergy.[97] On the other hand, Mgr. Legal pointed to the realities of the situation: "On aura beau apprendre la langue, bâtir des écoles, [...], on ne deviendra jamais des prêtres ruthènes..."[98] The final outcome was almost inevitable given the official Church encouragement to the preservation of national identities through the medium of the school or the parish.

Mgr. Langevin's position against shared jurisdiction at first appears unyielding and inflexible. It is crucial, however, to assess his stand in the light of the long-term objective which he desired: the recovery of rights to publicly-financed confessional schools for Catholics in all of Western Canada. In a mémoire sent to all members of the

Canadian episcopacy in 1901, he linked immigration and the Schools Questions once more:

> L'arrivée de centaines de familles catholiques venant de la Galicie et d'ailleurs nous a fait espérer que si nous tenons encore la position durant quelque temps nous deviendrons assez forts pour faire respecter la Constitution du pays ou pour nous suffire à nous mêmes.[99]

The hopes engendered by the arrival of Catholics belonging to other nationalities led him, as the most prominent churchman in Western Canada, to envisage at some later date the affirmation at the political level of rights deemed inalienable. That could only take place if there was unity within the Catholic community. In his mind, and almost certainly in those of his suffragan bishops, the existing French-speaking bishops were best suited to bring it about.

Bishops Langevin, Pascal, and Legal had no difficulty, in the light of not inconsiderable Catholic immigration from European countries, deciding on ways of uniting their congregations into a cohesive force. They sought to group incoming Catholics into compact parishes where, if necessary, it would be easier to organize and sustain parish schools. Archbishop Langevin probably had this in mind when, in 1908, he told Bishop Legal that he was totally in favour of opening up the Métis colony of St. Paul to all Catholics:

> Vos pauvres gens ne sont pas capables d'utiliser...le riche héritage que le bon P. Lacombe a su leur procurer, et si vous taillez dans cette réserve de belles paroisses catholiques, ce sera un événement heureux pour nous.
>
> Je signerai donc des deux mains la demande au Gouvernement Fédéral d'ouvrir cette réserve, à la condition toutefois que ce soit pour les Catholiques seulement.[100]

To that end, the episcopacy across Canada joined with laymen in establishing The Catholic Immigration Association of Canada, whose object was to receive incoming Catholic immigrants at Quebec and channel them towards information offices in Winnipeg and elsewhere. "Notre but", the abbé Philippe Casgrain, Secretary of the Association, told Mgr. Legal, "est de grouper les Catholiques par l'entremise de ces bureaux..."[101] One member, T. Stedman of Winnipeg, helped prepare a Catholic Immigration Key Map which was "obviously for the purpose of guiding and directing people of Catholic faith towards points in the three Western Provinces at which provisions have already been made in the way of Catholic Churches & Missions."[102]

What proved even more challenging, as part of the overall strategy, was the Church's conviction that the way of uniting Catholics was by maintaining each national language as a sine qua non for the retention of one's faith. This led Church leaders, especially Mgr. Langevin, to exploit the bilingual provision contained in the Laurier-

Greenway Agreement. The Canadian Annual Review for 1902 reported the rationale which the Archbishop of St. Boniface gave in this respect with reference to the needs of Galicians:

> Education was, he declared, their primary requirement, but there were difficulties in the way. 'Schools must be established for them according to the law, and the English language should be taught in those schools. The school law of the country had also consecrated the bi-lingual system, and these people as a matter of right might have their children taught their own language, together with the English, and as a matter of fact they desired it strongly. But, if all agreed that English must be taught, all did not admit the desirability of teaching their national language. Now the Gallicians believed they must keep their language, particularly, because they believed it was the best means of keeping their faith'.[103]

In keeping with this line of thought, Mgr. Langevin and his fellow bishops engaged in a protracted struggle with governments, newspapers, and other religious denominations in the West, over the maintenance of the bilingual system in the schools.[104]

But, while this particular aspect of the Church's activities in the West has received considerable attention it was simultaneously faced with the problem of having to provide clergy for mixed parishes or of finding teachers for the local schools. If the Church argued that the State should respect the languages spoken by its citizens, so too should it serve its congregations in their diverse languages. Mgr. Taché had first encountered this difficulty in the 1880s.

Now, at the turn of the century, there were even more national groups to contend with. How would the French-speaking bishops respond?

The considerable correspondence of Mgr. Langevin and of Mgr. Legal reveals that this issue occupied much of their time in the years after 1898.[105] Both churchmen endeavoured to recruit clergymen or religious orders who could function in a multilingual setting. Indeed, they even began to turn away unilingual French-speaking priests. The new policy was announced in Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface in 1905:

> Il n'y a plus guère de place en ce moment dans nos diocèses pour les prêtres étrangers ne sachant ni l'anglais, ni l'allemand, ni le polonais, ni le hongrois; mais tout prêtre français sera le bienvenu s'il veut fonder une paroisse en pleine prairie vierge en y ammenant des colons. Il y a encore des immensités libres.[106]

On another occasion, Mgr. Langevin explained to one member of the Missionnaires du Sacré-Coeur, an order based in Quebec which agreed to send men to Saskatchewan, that there were language requirements for service in the Qu'Appelle Valley:

> [A] Qu'Appelle...la population est de 323 âmes dont 153 Allemands, 115 Canadiens Français et 55 Irlandais ou Anglais. A Indian Head, il y a 378 âmes dont 320 Allemands de Hongrie, 32 Irlandais ou Anglais et 24 Canadiens Français...il faut parler trois langues à Qu'Appelle.[107]

Scores of religious orders were approached, either because they were suited for teaching assignments or for parish work,

and always because they had bilingual or multilingual subjects. There was, however, one other requirement when considering clergy for the prairie dioceses: the preference for those who spoke French and another language. That was in keeping with the bishops' desire to have at least one language common to all missionaries and religious men and women. It was never an absolute rule, but it does indicate how Church leaders mixed their Franco-Canadian nationalism with their universalism as pastors of diocesan flocks.

Unfortunately, events conspired against this plan to bring about a union of all Catholics. It was unrealistic to believe that settlers or immigrants belonging to many nationalities would share the same ideological or political constructs. Furthermore, by promoting national identities, the French-speaking churchmen merely contributed to demands for national church organizations under the control and direction of clergy belonging to this or that nationality. All one can say in the defense of Archbishop Langevin and his fellow bishops is that they acted in good faith, believing always that others would understand and accept their line of conduct. There was nothing wrong with their goal of encouraging Catholic immigration to the Canadian West, although they accepted it as second best to French-speaking colonization efforts. Once they recognized, however, that the latter was insufficient to counter what was perceived as

a Protestant threat against long-standing Catholic rights, especially in the field of education, they made plans to welcome all other Catholic groups and to fashion a strong and politically active Catholic force. At this point, their preference for French-speaking settlement was challenged by their universal duties and responsibilities as churchmen. Again, they believed that it would be possible to reconcile their role as pastors of many national flocks while continuing to favour and hope for a larger movement of French-speaking people to Western Canada. Mgr. Taché, as first metropolitan of the ecclesiastical province of St. Boniface, maintained that the French-speaking element enjoyed a special status in Canada and in the Canadian West. His successor, Mgr. Langevin, along with the bishops at Prince Albert and St. Albert, agreed with that view. All three acted on the basis of that assumption.

Historians have scarcely begun to assess the implications of the rapprochement between French-speaking settlement and "ethnic" immigration on the Prairies. Nor have they begun to appreciate the dilemma which it created for churchmen and laymen alike. Most importantly, the distinction between French-speaking rights and those, if any, belonging to all Catholics, was blurred by the constant association of all nationalities under the Catholic umbrella.

That certainly had not been the intention. In 1902, Mgr. Langevin told William-Edmond Blumhart, formerly a proprietor of Montreal's La Presse, that it would be impossible to maintain close links between the two groups. Furthermore, he claimed that the movement to defend the interests of the non French-speaking minorities "fortifie la position du français."[108] He saw the other nationalities contributing indirectly to the defense of French-language rights, which were separate from, but not totally divorced, from Catholic rights. To the Provincial of the Frères de la Société de Marie, he explained the manner in which schools grouping students belonging to diverse nationalities should function:

> Je désirerais bien que, désormais, les Frères réunissent, à part, les petits Canadiens-Français, pour leur enseigner le syllabaire et la grammaire française. Il peut se faire que la chose soit plus difficile dans le local actuel, ...mais il faudrait cependant l'organiser dès le début de l'année et réunir ainsi les enfants séparément de temps à autre.
>
> Nous avons lutté pour que l'on enseigne le Polonais et l'Allemand et même le Galicien qui ont des droits cent fois moindres mais qui les ont quand même, il serait impardonnable, de notre part, de négliger le français chez ceux qui seuls ont une mission spéciale à remplir, mission à laquelle les autres nationalités s'associeront en ce qui concerne les intérêts religieux de ce jeune pays.[109]

There was, regrettably, a widening gulf between the intentions fixed in the minds of the Western Canadian bishops and the realities of a society becoming more and more plura-

listic. What the former perceived as the special mission of the French-speaking population--to lead Catholics of all nationalities toward the recovery of educational rights wrongfully taken away, and to gain acceptance and recognition for linguistic, if not political, equality between the French-speaking and English-speaking communities--, the latter interpreted as an obstacle to the "Canadianization" of immigrants and as a divisive and impractical demand in a region of Canada where English must predominate. There could be no special status for the French-speaking element. Besides, by identifying themselves so closely with the "ethnic" groups, the francophone group itself came to be seen as 'just another ethnic group'.[110] Thus, it became impossible in 1916 to exempt the French-language bilingual schools from the Manitoba government's decision to abolish the bilingual clause contained in the Laurier-Greenway Agreement of 1897. Unwittingly, Archbishop Langevin and the other Western bishops had contributed to a situation which they had not foreseen. In the final analysis, however, they cannot be held responsible for attempting to redress an imbalance which resulted from the lack of French-Canadian migration towards Western Canada. As Paul Crunican concludes in his study of the Manitoba School Question: "...the French decline in the West was not simply something that English Canadians caused to happen to French Canadians. It was also

something that French Canadians, by doing something else, allowed to happen to themselves."[111]

* * *

A study of the position of the Church in Western Canada vis-à-vis "ethnic" immigration and settlement after 1870 reveals that the French-speaking bishops had a marked preference for settlers of their own nationality. At the outset, in the 1870s, it was natural for them to behave that way, because of their expectation that the only Catholic group of any size which was likely to take root on the Prairies was that from French Canada. As early as 1880, however, Mgr. Alexandre Taché moved to attract other Catholic settlers to Manitoba and the North-West Territories, responding as he did to the deteriorating status of the francophone element as a political force in that region of Canada. First the Church sought Irish immigrants; later, it favoured both Flemish and Walloon immigration.

The 1890s marked a turning-point in the relations between the French-speaking and "ethnic" groups which began to move into Western Canada from Eastern Europe. At first, little thought was given to the importance which this new immigration could have within the Catholic body. It was only in the late 1890s, under the guidance of Archbishop Langevin, that the bishops began to develop a plan which

would build on the numerical support which Ruthenians, Poles, and Germans, brought to the Church, in order to fashion a Catholic political force which would strive to recover the rights of Catholics to publicly-financed denominational schools under Church control. That struggle dominated every action taken by the episcopacy in the field of immigration and settlement.

In the process of attempting to create unity and cohesion among Catholics belonging to various nationalities, the Church leaders consciously effected a rapprochement between their favoured French-speaking compatriots and the newly-arrived immigrants from Eastern European countries. In their view, they were merely bringing together groups which had a complementary role to play vis-à-vis one another. Also, as part of the overall strategy, the Church promoted the retention of maternal languages as an indispensable tool in the preservation of one's faith. The bilingual and multilingual policies which followed as corollaries led to the active recruitment of clergymen and of religious orders which could serve the needs of mixed Catholic communities. It is most important to remember, however, that while pursuing these policies, Church leaders never ceased to maitain that the French-speaking collectivities occupied a special place both within the Catholic Church--as leaders of the Catholic forces--and within Western Canada--as outposts

of French Canada. That was a normal stance for a Church heavily imbued with a strong sense of French-Canadian nationalism. Besides, Mgr. Langevin and his fellow bishops continued to hope and call for a large movement of French-speaking people into the Canadian West. When it did not take place, the privileged position of the French-speaking people within the Church was challenged by other Catholic groups which sought, and obtained, the appointment of clerical leaders belonging to their own nationality.

The change from a dual to a pluralistic society in Western Canada, then, was accompanied by a parallel transformation of the Church from one predominantly composed of French-speaking elements to one bringing together diverse and often competing national groups. The adjustment required by this new order of things created a dilemma for Church leaders caught between their affinity for French Canada and their duties as pastors of the universal Church. The compromises which they attempted between these two responsibilities inevitably pleased no one and were of great consequence for the French-speaking community which, by 1915, was hard pressed to have its claim as one of the "charter" groups of Western Canada recognized by one and all.

FOOTNOTES

[1] For a survey history of the Catholic Church in the West, see Adrien-Gabriel Morice, Histoire de l'Eglise catholique dans l'Ouest canadien du lac Supérieur au Pacifique, 1659-1915) (Saint-Boniface: Chez l'Auteur, 1921-23), 4 Volumes.

[2] The Western Canadian historiography on conflicts between 'national' groups within the 'universal' Church has grown in recent years. See John Reid's thesis on the erection of the Catholic archdiocese of Winnipeg, as well as articles by Robert Choquette, Raymond Huel, Gilbert Comeault, and myself. See the bibliography for titles.

[3] See C.J. Jaenen, Glimpses of the Franco-Manitoban Community/Regards sur les Franco-Manitobains (Winnipeg: The University of Winnipeg, 1976).

[4] See Allan A. Roscoe, "The Manitoba Act in transition, 1870-96: the transformation of Manitoba's French-Canadian politico-cultural institutions" (Unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Manitoba, 1968).

[5] This excerpt from Taché's letter dated 7 February 1859 is in appendix to the 1901 edition of Taché's own Esquisse sur le Nord-Ouest de l'Amérique (Montréal: C.O. Beauchemin & Fils, 1901), pp. 176-177. Taché used this letter in reply to criticisms of his colonization policies raised in the Ottawa weekly Le Canada in 1894.

[6] Le Métis, 28 mars 1874, quoting le Courrier d'Outaouais.

[7] Ibid., 11 septembre 1872.

[8] In 1877, Le Métis expressed concern about a movement organized, it claimed, by "certains brouillons, venant d'Ontario, soulevés sans cesse par un ou deux ministres protestants", and which sought to force the Legislature to establish a system of "écoles mixtes". It called upon all moderates on the English side and upon all French-speaking people to unite "pour résister à la tyrannie et pour revendiquer la liberté de conscience et les droits de la minorité sur cette question des écoles, comme sur toutes les autres questions". Le Métis, 18 janvier 1877.

[9] Dom Paul Benoît, Vie de Mgr Taché, II, p. 196.

[10] Le Métis, 9 mars 1876.

[11] Frank H. Epp, Mennonites in Canada (Toronto: Macmillan, 1974), pp. 191-192.

[12] Le Métis, 8 août 1874.

[13] Ibid., 15 août 1875.

[14] Ibid., 9 janvier 1879.

[15] Ibid. [16] Ibid.

[17] PAC, R.G. 17, LB, Ottawa, 18 février 1879, Lowe à Lalime.

[18] Le Métis, 24 avril 1879.

[19] Ibid.

[20] AASB, Fonds Taché, Formosa, Ontario, 26 mai 1879, Bitsche à Taché; ibid., Saint-Boniface, 21 juillet 1879, A.A. Cherrier à Taché; ibid., Saint-Boniface, 4 août 1879, Bitsche à Taché.

[21] Ibid., Winnipeg, 4 janvier 1880, Lacombe à Taché.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid., Québec, 12 janvier 1880, Taschereau à Taché.

[24] Ibid., Saint-Boniface, 23 janvier 1880, Taché à Mgr Laflèche.

[25] Ibid., St-Paul, Minn., 11 juin 1871, Dugas à Taché.

[26] Ibid., Toronto, Crown Lands Office, 6 November 1873, A. Kirkwood to Taché; ibid., 17 November 1873, Kirkwood to Taché; ibid., 5 May 1874, Kirkwood to Taché.

[27] Ibid., St-Paul, Minn., 31 janvier 1876, Lacombe à Taché.

[28] Ibid., Toronto, 6 février 1880, Lacombe à Taché.

[29] Ibid. Lacombe was anxious to obtain these townships because a Protestant minister from Emerson was apparently eyeing the region for English settlers. See also, PAC, MG 26 A [Macdonald Papers], Toronto, 6 February 1880, A. Morris to Macdonald. Morris told the Prime Minister the same story, adding that he thought the land was "wide enough for all & both interests can be accomodated."

[30] PAC, MG 26 A [Macdonald Papers], Ottawa, 7 January 1881, J.J. Foy to Macdonald. Lynch's letter is enclosed, but not Taché's.

[31] Ibid., Toronto, 11 May 1881, Lynch to Macdonald.

[32] Ibid., St. Boniface, 6 September 1881, Taché and Lynch to Galt, Winnipeg.

[33] Ibid., Winnipeg, 7 September 1881, Galt to [Taché].

[34] See Chapter I, p. 33.

[35] PAC, R.G. 15, no. 38474, Ottawa, 14 October 1881, Royal, Vice-President and provincial Manager of La Société Foncière du Canada, to Macdonald.

[36] AASB, Fonds Taché, Toronto, 7 octobre 1881, Royal à [Taché].

[37] PAC, MG 26 A [Macdonald Papers], Toronto, 22 December 1881, Lynch to Macdonald.

[38] Ibid., St. Boniface, 23 December 1881, Taché to Lynch. Also found in AASB, Fonds Taché.

[39] Taché and the Société de Colonisation du Manitoba had sought as early as 1877 to secure lands in this area. See Chapter I.

[40] PAC, MG 26 A [Macdonald Papers], Toronto, 19 January 1882, Foy to Macdonald.

[41] Ibid., Toronto, 23 January 1882, Foy to Macdonald.

[42] AASB, Fonds Taché, Ottawa, 29 March 1882, A.M. Burgess, Secretary of the Department of the Interior, to Foy. (Copy),

[43] PAC, MG 26 A [Macdonald Papers], Ottawa, 15 March 1882, Macdonald to Galt; PAC, R.G. 15, no. 43888, Ottawa, 22 March 1882, Memorandum (re selection of lands proposed by Archbishop Taché for Archbishop Lynch's purposes).

[44] PAC, MG 26 A [Macdonald Papers], Dublin, 12 April 1882, Lynch to Macdonald. See also ibid., Ottawa, 15 March 1882, Macdonald to Galt. Macdonald asked Galt to prod the British government into putting £200,000 in the hands of the company for which the two churchmen from Canada would be sponsors.

[45] Ibid., Toronto, 2 June 1882, Galt to Lynch.

[46] Ibid., Rivière du Loup en bas, 3 August 1883, Macdonald to Lynch. This invitation followed a second trip to Ireland by Lynch in the Summer of 1883. Macdonald thought that if fifty families could be settled comfortably, then the flow of immigration would be steady afterwards.

[47] Henry J. Morgan (ed.), The Dominion Annual Register and Review for 1882 (Toronto: Hunter, Rose and Company, 1883), p. 131.

[48] AASB, Fonds Taché, Montreal, 21 January 1889, [Taché] to Dewdney. Dewdney assured Taché that the reserve in question had not been cancelled. See ibid., Ottawa, 21 February 1889, Dewdney to Taché.

[49] Ibid., London, 30 September 1883, J.F. Boyd to Taché.

[50] Ibid., Oban, Scotland, 1 May 1884, Macdonald to Most Reverend Archbishop of St. Boniface.

[51] Ibid., [Winnipeg], 5 May 1885, W.B. Graham, Dominion Immigration Agent, to Taché. Graham wished to introduce two members of an advance guard of Catholics who were visiting the country with officials of the Department.

[52] Ibid., Winnipeg, 9 October 1884, Maurizio de Bosdari to Taché. The Count told Taché that 30 Italians had come to Winnipeg the previous winter, only to suffer from frost-bite. He said that they were anything but pioneers, were wholly unused to roughing it, and could not adjust because of their different ways, temperament, noisy sociability, their daily use of wine, and the problems of

clothing. In addition, they had never seen farm machinery, did not want to be isolated and, above all, they were not accustomed to a severe climate. The experiment failed and a public subscription helped defray costs of their removal to Chicago.

53 PAM, Department of Education, Letterbook of the Superintendent of Catholic Schools, Report for 1886. See also Chapter III, p. 191.

54 [Saint-Boniface], 23 novembre 1887, Taché à Bernier in T.A. Bernier, Le Manitoba - Champ d'Immigration (Ottawa: 1887), pp. 4-5.

55 AASB, Fonds Taché, Ottawa, 14 mars 1882, Royal à Taché.

56 No specific documentation dealing with this point has been found. It is quite likely that Taché would have liked to bring this about. On the other hand, the number of non French-speaking people in almost all of the Catholic parishes prior to 1890 was small. Therefore, it is possible that the Archbishop felt that either their numbers would not increase significantly or that they would integrate within the francophone or anglophone communities. In any event, it was almost impossible to tell a settler where he should take up land.

57 See my own "Les exigences linguistiques dans le recrutement d'un clergé pour l'Ouest canadien, 1818-1920", in Sessions d'étude (1975), La Société Canadienne d'Histoire de l'Église Catholique, pp. 43-64.

58 One example of this was an attempt to find a Polish-speaking priest for a group of Polish families which apparently entered the archdiocese in 1892. See AASB, Fonds Taché, Liverpool, England, 3 May 1893, Joseph Langberg (?) to Taché.

59 Ibid., St-André près Brugès, Belgique, 25 décembre 1888, de Bassenheim au [Père Lory, s.j.].

60 Ibid., St-Albert, 20 novembre 1889, [Grandin] à Taschereau (copie).

61 Ibid. 62 Ibid.

[63] For a recent discussion of this issue, see Gilbert-Louis Comeault's "Les rapports de Mgr L.-P.-A. Langevin avec les groupes ethniques minoritaires et leurs répercussions sur le statut de la langue française au Manitoba, 1895-1916", in Sessions d'étude (1975), La Société Canadienne d'Histoire de l'Eglise Catholique, pp. 65-85.

[64] PAC, R.G. 15, no. 420689, Montréal, 18 novembre 1896, Pascal à Laurier. Pascal made other recommendations concerning Indians, the boring of wells, the establishment of butter factories, and the construction of cable ferries on the two branches of the Saskatchewan River.

[65] Ibid.

[66] AASB, Fonds Langevin, St-Albert, 24 avril [1897], Grandin à del Val (copie). Grandin was writing to Mgr del Val in connection with the latter's mission to Canada to inquire into the School Question. It is possible that Grandin exaggerated the situation to impress the delegate with the plight of the Catholic population and their schools in the Territories. In any event, it shows how one Churchman was sensitive to the numerical contribution of non French-speaking groups to the Church. There were occasional charges that governments were unfavourable to Catholic immigration. Im a report for the Secretary of State's office in Rome, Bishop Legal once wrote that the federal government "se garde bien de favoriser l'immigration catholique. On fait de grandes dépenses pour assister [?] l'immigration protestante & on laisse les catholiques de la province de Québec aller s'établir aux Etats-Unis." Furthermore, he charged that the government lost interest in Galician immigration when it was realized that they were predominantly Catholic and that the assistance formerly extended to them was withdrawn. See AAE, Fonds Legal, LB 2, St-Albert, 15 novembre 1900, Legal à Son Excellence Mgr Diomède Falconio, Délégué Apostolique au Canada.

[67] AASB, Fonds Langevin, LB 1, Saint-Boniface, 5 avril 1898, Langevin à Gaire.

[68] PMAA, Fonds Oblat, D IV 505, Calgary, mars 1899, [Langevin] Au nom des Vénérables Suffragants de la Province ecclésiastique de Saint-Boniface, à Laurier.

[69] Ibid.

[70] While no such letters were uncovered during the research, it is possible that there were in fact some. The point is that the bishops appeared to be content with providing for the immigration that came rather than working actively to increase it. Of course it is also difficult to imagine what measures they might have taken had they been so inclined.

[71] AASB, Fonds Langevin, LB 2, [Saint-Boniface], 16 juin 1900, Langevin à Mgr [C.-A.] Marois (Québec). The latter had referred to Langevin a request from Mgr. Mandes [?] of Treviso, Italy.

[72] Ibid., [Saint-Boniface], 4 octobre 1900, Langevin à Mgr Mandes [?], évêque de Trévise, Italie. Langevin suggested that the best way of proceeding was first to send out a young priest who might then involve some wealthy land-owners in recruiting poor people. He further recommended that the Italians engage in dairy farming in Canada.

[73] Ibid., LB 3, Ottawa, 1er mars 1901, Langevin au Père Camper, o.m.i., Vicaire des missions.

[74] Ibid., LB Oblats 1, [Saint-Boniface], 4 février 1902, Langevin à Grandin.

[75] Ibid., [Saint-Boniface], 24 septembre 1902, Langevin à Mulvihill.

[76] The 1901 Census shows that there were 68,787 Roman Catholics in Manitoba and in the Territories of Saskatchewan and Alberta, compared to 93,177 Presbyterians, 72,089 Methodists and 70,553 Anglicans. In 1891, the figures had been 33,579, 51,508, 36,417 and 45,018 respectively for the Catholics, Presbyterians, Methodists and Anglicans.

[77] For a discussion of the events surrounding these appointments, see Robert Choquette, "John Thomas McNally et l'érection du diocèse de Calgary", in Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, Vol. 45, no. 4 (janvier 1975), pp. 401-416; also, his "Adélard Langevin et l'érection de l'Archidiocèse de Winnipeg", in RHAF, Vol. 28, no. 2 (septembre 1974), pp. 187-208. See also, Raymond Huel's "The Irish French Conflict in Catholic Episcopal Nominations: The Western Sees and the Struggle for Domination Within the Church", in Study Sessions (1975), The Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 51-70.

[78] There is, unfortunately, no detailed breakdown in any of the censuses of the number of Catholics belonging to each nationality. The Census of Canada for 1901 gives 35,672 Roman Catholics for Manitoba, 17,651 for the Saskatchewan Territory, and 15,464 for the Alberta Territory. Assuming that all of the people of French origin--including any who were French in name only but excluding the Métis--were Catholic (24,310), that would mean that the French element still constituted more than one-third of the Catholic population.

[79] See C.A. Dawson, Group Settlement - Ethnic Communities in Western Canada, in W.A. MacKintosh and W.L.G. Joerg, Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, Vol. VII (Toronto: Macmillan, 1936), pp. 284-287.

[80] AASB, Fonds Langevin, LB 5, [Saint-Boniface], 2 février 1903, Langevin à Legal.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Ibid., LB 7, [Saint-Boniface], 19 November 1904, Langevin to F.G. [?] Griffin.

[83] PAC, MG 26 G [Laurier Papers], St-Albert, 26 mars, 1906, Legal à Laurier. In an earlier letter to Laurier, Legal reported that " Mr. Lange ne peut manquer de s'apercevoir que dans les sphères du Gouvernement, il y a un certain nombre d'employés qui sont très peu disposés à favoriser l'immigration catholique, et il éprouve en conséquence quelques embarras qui l'empêchent d'obtenir des résultats encore plus considérables." See ibid., St-Albert, 20 novembre 1905, Legal à Laurier.

[84] Ibid., St-Albert, 26 mars 1906, Legal à Laurier.

[85] Ibid., Ottawa, 2 avril 1906, Laurier à Legal.

[86] The difference between the two colonies was that St. Peter's was a more homogeneous colony and that it grouped mostly American-borm Germans, while St, Joseph's had more heterogeneous elements, including many from Germany and Russia. See Dawson, op. cit., pp. 287-289.

[87] AAR, "Lettres de Mgr Mathieu, 1912-1914", [Régina], 4 septembre 1912, Mathieu à Langevin.

[88] In 1916, it was reported in Le Canada Ecclésiastique that there were in the diocese of St. Boniface,

31,551 Catholics of French-speaking origin, compared to 12,916 of Polish origin, 11,547 of English origin, 2,055 of German origin, and 1,434 of Flemish origin. The diocese of Edmonton claimed 11,300 Catholics of French-speaking origin, 9,800 of English origin, 4,500 of German origin, and 9,200 of diverse origins. In the diocese of Regina, there were 22,000 Catholics of French origin, 18,000 of German origin, 8,500 of English origin, 4,200 of Polish origin, and 4,000 of Hungarian origin. No figures were given for the two dioceses of Prince Albert and Calgary.

It should be noted that there was a movement in the early 1900s to organize a Polish Independent Church, one which would not acknowledge the authority of the Pope.

[89] AASB, Fonds Langevin, St-Albert, 13 avril 1897, Grandin à Langevin.

[90] Ibid., LB 1, Saint-Boniface, 25 septembre 1898, Langevin au Père Raphaël, Vicaire Général des Franciscains.

[91] Ibid., [Saint-Boniface], 4 novembre 1898, Arthur Béliveau, prêtre secrétaire, à Son Eminence le Cardinal Ledochowski, Préfet de la Sacré Congrégation de la Propagande.

[92] Ibid., Saint-Boniface, 15 novembre 1898, Langevin à la Mère Supérieure Générale des Franciscaines Missionnaires de Marie. This was a recurring theme in the correspondence, as there were stories about the Presbyterians and others trying to win over the Ruthenians by building schools and churches for them.

[93] Ibid., St-Albert, 13 avril 1897, Grandin à Langevin. The brothers Kulawy worked out of the Holy Ghost parish in Winnipeg, especially founded in 1899 to cater to Poles, and incidentally, to Ruthenians.

[94] See footnote 92.

[95] Ibid., Paris, 28 novembre 1898, Pascal à Langevin. Returning to Paris after a three-week trip to Austria-Hungary, Pascal reported that he had met with civil and ecclesiastical authorities there, all of whom had shown a great deal of interest and sympathy for the missions in Canada. He now proposed to ask Rome to allow the introduction of a religious order in Western Canada familiar with the Greek rite--presumably the Basilians which he was told were the most suitable candidates--and to press Church

authorities in Rome to allow a special collection among the 3,000 priests under the Ruthenian episcopacy in the Old World.

96 What is meant here is that the religious affiliation of the Ruthenians was clarified. There remained nonetheless a Ruthenian question in that the French-speaking bishops of Western Canada continued to seek the support of this national and religious group in the struggle over schools.

97 AAE, Fonds Legal, LB 2, St-Albert, 22 octobre 1900, Legal à Lacombe. Legal doubted whether the Greek rite could be phased out in Canada. He wrote: "Mais comment réussirions-nous à écarter de ces gens [les Ruthènes], ces prêtres des Etats-Unis, qui viennent malgré nous, ou plutôt sans tenir compte de la juridiction qu'ils devraient demander de l'évêque du diocèse?"

98 AASB, Fonds Langevin, St-Albert, 2 juillet 1900, Legal à Langevin.

99 Ibid., Saint-Boniface, 27 septembre 1901, "Mémoire envoyé à l'épiscopat canadien et aux Eminents Cardinals Rampalla et Ledochowski.

100 Ibid., LB Oblats III, [Saint-Boniface], 24 mars 1908, Langevin à Legal. See also Drouin, op. cit., pp. 299 ff. The italics are Langevin's.

101 AAE, Fonds Legal, Québec, 24 avril 1912, Casgrain à Legal. Other prominent members included Sir François Langelier, the Archbishop of Quebec, Sir Adolphe Routhier, Sir George Garneau.

102 AAR, "Colonization and Immigration", Winnipeg, 25 April 1912, T. Stedman to Mgr. Mathieu. Stedman was one of the leading members of the Catholic Immigration Association of Western Canada.

103 The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs (1902), p. 468. Langevin spoke before members of the Catholic Club of Winnipeg. Similar statements can be found in Les Cloches de Saint-Boniface during these years.

104 See the excellent study by Manoly R. Lupul, The Roman Catholic Church and the North-West School Question (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), or Ramsay

Cook, "Church, Schools, and politics in Manitoba, 1903-1912", in CHR, XXXIX (March 1958). There are still many unexplored facets of this issue, particularly the impact of the bilingual schools on relations between the French-speaking community and the other ethno-cultural groups.

105 It is assumed here that Mgr. Pascal of Prince Albert was equally taken up by the issue. See my own, "Les exigences linguistiques dans le recrutement d'un clergé pour l'Ouest canadien, 1818-1920", in Sessions d'étude (1975), La Société Canadienne d'Histoire de l'Eglise Catholique, particularly pp. 54-60.

106 LCSB, Vol. IV, no. 20 (décembre 1905), p. 306, "Avis au Clergé Français".

107 AASB, Fonds Langevin, LB 1, [Saint-Boniface], 2 novembre 1908, Langevin au Père [François-Xavier] Maillard, Québec.

108 Ibid., LB 4, [Saint-Boniface], Langevin à Blumhart.

109 Ibid., LB 6, [Saint-Boniface], 20 juillet 1903, Langevin au Rme Père Meyer.

110 See Gilbert Comeault, op. cit., for an analysis of the reaction of the Winnipeg Free Press to the rapprochement between the francophone and "ethnic" communities.

111 Paul Crunican, Priests and Politicians - Manitoba schools and the election of 1896 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), p. 321.

CONCLUSIONS

This study of the Catholic Church's involvement in the movement to establish a large French-speaking population in Western Canada in the period 1870-1915 reveals a committed, often frustrated, and deeply nationalistic Church leadership which failed to achieve its objectives. Bishops Taché, Grandin, Pascal, Langevin, Legal, and Mathieu sought to attract sufficient numbers of French-speaking people to maintain a balance between the francophone and anglophone groups in the West, as well as a balance between the Catholic and Protestant forces. By 1915, however, the Franco-Canadian communities of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta constituted no more than 10% of the total population in each province. Furthermore, the failure of the Church to have the rights of Catholics recognized in the field of education, following a struggle which began in 1890 if not before and which remained an issue of major importance throughout the next twenty-five years, demonstrated that the Catholic element exercised less influence in the West than the Church wanted.

The sense of defeat experienced by the French-speaking bishops stemmed in large part from their ideology. They were conservative-minded, staunch believers in agra-

rianism as a way of life, somewhat paternalistic as seen in their attitudes towards the Métis, and above all perhaps determined to build a society in which the Church would play a leading role. They were ultramontanes for the most part. Bishops Taché, Grandin, Pascal, and Langevin were the western versions of Bishops Laflèche and Bourget. In addition, their preference for group settlements over individual homesteading indicated their desire to create a monolithic and homogeneous society in which the church, the parish, the school, the family, and a rural way of life would complement one another.

There is no doubt that this ideological stance of Church leaders in the West made their defeat even more painful. Given their belief in agrarianism, the exodus of French-Canadians from Quebec to the towns and manufacturing centres of New England distressed them greatly. They could not understand why their French-Canadian compatriots failed to take advantage of the opportunities awaiting them on the Canadian Prairies. They considered the West to be a natural extension of the patrimoine of French Canada, a romantic vision which had its roots in the 18th century travels of the LaVérendrye family to the country beyond the Great Lakes. Nor could men like Taché or Langevin comprehend the failure of Quebec leaders to grasp the importance which a strong French-speaking

presence in the West could have for the future influence of French Canada in Confederation.

Generally, relations between Franco-Catholic leaders in the West and the clerical and lay élites of Quebec were strained, at least over this issue. From 1870 forward, Church leaders, politicians, missionary-colonizers, and journalists from the West sought to convince their counterparts in la belle province of the need to strengthen the francophone groups in the newest region of Canada. Western opinion held that it was in the best interests of Quebec to send its excess population to the Prairies. By that was meant not only those French-Canadians who were quitting la mère patrie for the United States, but also those who stayed in their native province and moved into the Laurentian shield north of the St. Lawrence. Clearly, the Western leadership wanted Quebec to promote openly the migration of the Québécois to the West. It claimed all along of course that the object was not to depopulate the Mother province, but the pronouncements of Taché, Pascal, and Langevin, among others, show that Western leaders would not just be content with the "crumbs" from Quebec.

The Quebec response on almost every occasion when this issue was raised was quite predictable: there must be no depopulation of Quebec. As A.I. Silver has

demonstrated, Quebec leaders were concerned primarily with provincial autonomy and with the retention of French-Canadians within their province. In the face of a massive exodus of Québécois to the United States, they were not about to encourage their population to migrate to Western Canada. Nor were they convinced that the future of French Canada lay in expansion. All they were prepared to do to assist their compatriots in the West was urge those Québécois who were absolutely determined to leave their native province to choose the Canadian West over the United States. That message was contained in the "Lettre Circulaire" of 1871, drafted by the Quebec bishops in conjunction with Bishop Taché of St. Boniface, and often referred to when Franco-Canadian leaders from the West called for new initiatives in Quebec in favour of the francophone settlements of the Canadian West. Forty years after it was first read from the pulpits of Quebec, this pastoral letter remained the definitive guideline under which Quebec leaders cooperated with their Western friends.

The divergence of views between East and West on the subject of French-Canadian settlement of the Prairies led to frequent clashes in private and public. Jules-Paul Tardivel clashed openly with a score of critics from the West, including Bishops Taché and Grandin. Whether

these conflicting viewpoints harmed the cause of French-Canadian colonization in the West is doubtful, but they certainly reveal a deep gulf between Quebec and the Franco-Catholic groups of Western Canada. Furthermore, as the status of the Western Franco-Catholic community deteriorated in the face of a growing English-speaking and Protestant hegemony, all members of the élite in the West tended to blame Quebec for this state of affairs. More so after the Schools Questions became a symbol of the minority position in which the francophone and Catholic collectivities found themselves after 1890. Churchmen and laymen, Liberals and Conservatives, all attacked Quebec for its indifference vis-à-vis the plight of their communities. This would not have happened, they said, if only Quebec had sent more of its population west.

Naturally, French-speaking leaders in the West erred in thinking that French-Canadians would move into their region if told to do so by the clergy and politicians of Quebec. They also believed, wrongly as it turned out, that if only the case for Western settlement were put to French-Canadians living in Quebec and the United States, there would follow a considerable movement towards the West. But as we have seen, this was not the case. The failure of the repatriation programme illustrates the

disinclination of French-Canadians to listen to the admonitions of scores of repatriation agents telling them that they should go west for their own benefit. The missionary-colonizers involved in repatriation work in Quebec and the United States admitted themselves that it was most difficult, if not impossible, to direct a large French-Canadian population towards Western Canada. Federal authorities responsible for immigration matters agreed with this assessment and consequently allocated less money and manpower to repatriation programmes than to other programmes aimed at increasing the population of the West.

What the Church could not obtain from French Canada, it sought to find in Europe. In spite of the reservations which even Mgr. Taché had vis-à-vis European immigration to Canada, it was obvious as early as 1880 that French Canada would not suffice as a source of Franco-Catholic population for Western Canada. When the opportunity arose for the creation of links between groups in France and Belgium and colonization bodies in Western Canada, the Archbishop of St. Boniface was filled with renewed hope. In the years that followed, there was indeed the beginning of a European emigration to Canada, but once again the number of arrivals in the West was no match for the influx of immigrants from the British Isles or

from other parts of the continent. In the years after 1896, concerted efforts in Europe by the abbé Jean Gaire and others succeeded in adding to the Franco-Canadian population of the West. Still, this immigration was meagre compared to that from Eastern Europe, with the result that Franco-Catholic leaders turned their eyes once more to Quebec for reinforcements. The call for settlers from the Mother province produced only marginal results. There were never enough new recruits to overcome the lead taken by the English-speaking element.

If the Church hierarchy met with defeat in its campaigns to bolster the position of the Franco-Catholic groups in the West by increasing the French-speaking population through repatriation and immigration programmes carried on in Quebec and Europe, it was not for a lack of clerical involvement. Archbishop Taché made colonization one of his priorities. He acted with shrewdness, for example, in his attempt to create a compact "block" settlement in southern Manitoba. The complete story of the special land grant to the Métis and Half-Breeds of Western Canada has not been told as yet, but it is quite apparent from the discussion here that Taché proposed to create a reserve for the French-speaking group in Manitoba by consolidating blocks of land in the Red River valley in the interests of his flock. If he appeared to behave

conservatively in his choice of settlers, especially during the 1870s, it was because he had a plan to hold together his "block" settlement. He found investors to buy up lands of those Métis who wanted to sell their claims; he encouraged his colonizers to bring settlers with sufficient means to purchase these lands; and he lobbied extensively in Ottawa and in Winnipeg to prevent the break-up of his "block" at the hands of speculators. Nor was he the only Church leader to become directly involved in land matters. Archbishop Langevin invited a number of groups to acquire parcels of land in the West, and even used the financial resources of the Corporation Archiépiscopale to keep the lands of La Rolanderie in French Catholic hands.

The picture that emerges from this study is that of a Church which operated at the public and political level when circumstances demanded that it do so. Church leaders well understood that politics and patronage were an integral part of colonization and immigration questions. Ironically, the Church obtained more favours from Liberal governments in Ottawa than from Conservative administrations with which it identified more readily. Moreover, French-Canadian repatriation and French-speaking European immigration to Western Canada were most successful during the rule of the Laurier Liberals in Ottawa. Yet, it was

in the years after 1896 that the Church was most estranged from the federal government in Ottawa. The rift grew out of the Church's condemnation of the Liberals over their stand on the Manitoba School Question. What might have been achieved had Church and State cooperated more closely on a programme of European emigration to Canada is unanswerable. The duplication of immigration networks on the continent especially was unfortunate because the Church, as seen in the case of the abbé Gaire, did not possess the financial and human resources needed to mount a well-organized immigration service. In the final analysis, however, it is likely that there would have been little difference in the number of arrivals for Western Canada, but the rivalries could not make easier what was already a difficult enough task.

Another important aspect of this study concerns the relations between the predominantly French-speaking hierarchy in the West and the national groups which made up the Catholic body. The Church under Taché, Grandin, Langevin, and Legal, had natural affinities for the Franco-Canadian element, because each of the bishops believed that the French-speaking element would continue to be the most important group within the institutional Church. Besides, they subscribed to the view that there were and should be two Canadas, one French and the other

English. Furthermore, it was not until the early 1880s that Mgr. Taché thought of recruiting Irish Catholics for his diocese. That he did so demonstrates that he was torn between his attachment to French Canada and his allegiance to the universal Church. He wanted to see a large French-speaking population in the West, but at the same time he realized that alone the French-Canadians could not exert enough political influence as Catholics to maintain or recover if need be rights deemed fundamental. The reference point was obviously the dual confessional school system then in existence in Manitoba, but already threatened by groups within the general population which preferred a non-sectarian school system. In addition of course, Taché and those after him saw settlement in Western Canada in terms of competing empires, one Catholic and the other Protestant. It was therefore of great importance to add whenever and however possible to the overall Catholic population.

What Mgr. Taché began, and what Archbishop Langevin and his suffragan bishops continued, was a policy of rapprochement between the Franco-Catholic and "ethnic" groups in the West. In doing so, the French-speaking hierarchy made it quite clear that the francophone group had rights which the other national groups did not have. There was danger in this policy, both because it exposed the hierarchy

to charges of favoritism, and because it raised the very real possibility of alienating the Franco-Catholic and the other Catholic groups from one another. The "ethnicization" of the Catholic hierarchy in the 1900s was partly a result of a policy stressing national ties. In defense of Mgr. Langevin, who was unquestionably the strong man in the Church and to a large extent in the Franco-Canadian communities of the West, one can say that he had a marked preference for his own nationality, but that, at the same time, he made every effort to respond to the needs of other national groups within his Church.

The long-term effects of the colonization and immigration programmes carried on under the auspices and direction of the Church have been threefold. Firstly, the "block" settlement plan of Mgr. Taché has survived, in that the regions where he sought to implant French-speaking communities remain to this day bastions of the French fact in the West. On the other hand, the "chain" settlement concept developed under the pressure of time and circumstances by Mgr. Langevin led to the isolation of a number of French-speaking communities from the larger "blocks". That isolation has facilitated the rapid assimilation of large numbers of people of French-speaking origin. It is important to note, however, that men like Langevin dreamed of the day when French-speaking people from Quebec

or elsewhere would soon fill up the gaps between the links in the "chain" of settlements stretching westward from the Red River to the mountains. Here was the abbé Gaire's dream of a new Quebec at the foot of the Rockies!

The dream was never realized, with the result that today the French-speaking population in the West is one of a score of minority groups. At least it is perceived that way, in spite of attempts on the part of Franco-Canadian leaders to demonstrate that history, tradition, and past practice enshrined the special status of the francophone element as one of the "charter" groups involved in the development of the country west of the Great Lakes.

Finally, the failure to introduce a larger Franco-Catholic population into Western Canada signified that the predominantly French-speaking Church which had been part of the Western scene since the 18th century now had to share its power with other groups. It was almost inevitable that this should take place, but the surrender of authority was not effected without conflict.

APPENDIX A

"Lettre circulaire de 1871"

Archevêché de Québec, 23 octobre 1871.

Monsieur le Curé,

Au milieu des questions importantes qui font l'objet des préoccupations des évêques de la province ecclésiastique de Québec pendant leur réunion, il en est une sur laquelle ils veulent attirer votre attention avant même de se séparer.

Cette question que l'on peut appeler vitale à cause de ses immenses conséquences sur notre état social et religieux, est la question de la colonisation. Nous ne pouvons que gémir à la vue du grandenombre de nos compatriotes qui désertent journellement le foyer domestique, la terre natale pour aller demander à la prosperité de nos voisins un bien-être qu'il nous semble pourtant possible de trouver ici, au milieu des avantages nombreux que la Providence a départis à notre chère patrie.

Votre coeur comme le nôtre ressent tout ce que cet état de choses a de pénible, aussi nous n'avons pas besoin d'insister pour faire comprendre nos trop justes regrets à cet égard.

Notre unique but, dans cette lettre collective, est d'encourager votre zèle, au milieu des efforts qu'il fait pour s'opposer à ce torrent d'émigration qui prive la patrie des bras et de l'intelligence d'un grand nombre de ses enfants.

Le remède efficace à ce mal ne peut se trouver que dans le succès qui couronnera les tentatives faites pour rappeler et retenir dans les différentes provinces de la Confédération canadienne ceux de nos compatriotes que la nécessité ou l'amour du changement ont poussés ou poussent encore vers la terre étrangère. Le résultat obtenu par les sociétés de colonisation nous remplit de joie et de consolation et nous permet d'espérer qu'un jour notre beau pays sera tout occupé par ses propres enfants et que les Canadiens n'auront point le regret d'avoir privé leurs descendants de la terre que la Providence leur avait destinée.

Que tous les Canadiens continuent cette noble et patriotique oeuvre de la colonisation de nos terres inoccupées.

Les sacrifices faits dans ce but ne peuvent qu'attirer la bénédiction du ciel.

Notre jeune pays n'est pas renfermé dans des limites assez étroites pour qu'il soit nécessaire de l'abandonner.

Plus que jamais d'immenses étendues de terrains s'offrent à notre population dans les limites même de la patrie.

L'acquisition du territoire du Nord-Ouest, la création de la province du Manitoba offrent un avantage réel à ceux qui n'aiment pas le défrichement des terrains boisés et qui pourtant voudraient s'éloigner de la paroisse qu'ils habitent.

Il n'est pas nécessaire de passer la frontière canadienne pour trouver les riches prairies de l'ouest.

Notre pensée n'est pas de demander aux paisibles et heureux habitants de la Province de Québec, de changer une position certaine et avantageuse pour les incertitudes et les risques d'une émigration lointaine, mais s'il en est auxquels il faut un changement et auxquels il répugne de s'imposer les rudes labeurs de bucherons, à ceux-là, monsieur le curé, veuillez bien indiquer la province du Manitoba.

Un octroi gratuit de 160 acres de bonne terre de prairie est promis par le gouvernement à tout homme de 21 ans qui voudra aller se fixer dans ces nouvelles contrées.

Ces contrées si nouvelles pour les individus, ne le sont pas pour le Canada.

C'est l'énergie de nos pères qui les a découvertes; c'est le zèle de nos missionnaires qui les a régénérées et préparées à l'ère de prosperité qui semble les attendre. Ces contrées lointaines ne sont donc pas la terre étrangère.

Environ la moitié de la population y parle le français et est d'origine canadienne, en sorte que de toutes les paroisses on est certain d'y trouver des parents, ou au moins des amis.

Dans cette nouvelle province, il y a un collège où les garçons peuvent recevoir une éducation soignée; des

couvents où les filles puisent l'instruction qui leur est prodiguée au Canada. Des missionnaires, trop heureux du renfort qu'ils recevront par cette émigration, étendront volontiers aux nouveaux venus l'affection qui les anime envers leurs ouailles actuelles.

En colonisant une partie du Manitoba, les Canadiens-français s'assurent dans la législature fédérale l'équilibre qu'ils y possèdent aujourd'hui, et qu'ils perdront nécessairement s'ils ne sont point en nombre dans Manitoba et le territoire du Nord-Ouest.

Nous considérons donc, M. le curé, comme chose bonne et désirable, l'établissement de quelques-uns des nôtres dans ces régions et nous verrions avec plaisir qu'il se fît quelque chose dans ce sens; si, par exemple, entre deux ou trois paroisses, on pouvait assurer le concours d'une famille honnête, chrétienne et laborieuse, qui irait former dans le Nord-Ouest une population comme celle qui est venue, il y a deux siècles, jeter les fondements de notre nationalité au Canada.

Vous apprendrez dans la première partie de l'hiver, par les journaux, ce que le gouvernement doit faire pour faciliter le transport et l'établissement des colons du Manitoba; nous vous écrivons aujourd'hui afin que vous connaissiez notre intention à ce sujet et que, si l'occasion s'en présente, vous puissiez diriger de ce côté ceux qui voudraient émigrer.

Par cette émigration d'un genre nouveau, nos compatriotes he se sépareront pas de nous, ils resteront canadiens, soumis à nos institutions religieuses et civiles, dans un milieu où leur foi ne sera pas exposée; où, au contraire, ils aideront à faire luire ce divin flambeau, au milieu des vastes déserts de l'Ouest, qui n'ont été découverts par nos pères que dans une pensée toute de foi.

E.A., Arch. de Québec,
Ig., Ev. de Montréal,
Jos. Eugène, Ev. d'Ottawa,
Alex., Ev. de Saint-Boniface, O.M.I.
C., Ev. de Saint-Hyacinthe,
L.F., Ev. de Trois-Rivières,
Jean, Ev. de St-G. de Rimouski.

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I MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

Archives of the Archdiocese of Edmonton (AAE)

These consist principally of the Fonds Vital Grandin and of the Fonds Emile Legal. Each includes the letter-books of the first two bishops of St. Albert. In addition, the correspondence received is contained in some sixty-five boxes, with the papers grouped by correspondents. Among these are Mgr. Taché, Father Albert Lacombe, Mgr. Langevin, Dom Paul Benoît, the abbés J.B. Morin, Jean Gaire and J.-A. Ouellette, numerous officials of the departments of governments, and all major political figures, including Wilfred Laurier, Frank Oliver, and others.

Archives of the Archdiocese of Regina (AAR)

The ecclesiastical records are grouped on the basis of correspondence exchanged with parish priests. They date from circa 1895. It appears that all the correspondence addressed to Archbishop Langevin of St. Boniface prior to the erection of the diocese of Regina in 1910 was subsequently transferred to the chancery at Regina. Only the correspondence received at St. Boniface is found here. Mgr. Langevin's responses are found in his letter-books at the Archives archiépiscopales de Saint-Boniface. Other boxes contain the letters of Mgr. Elzéar Mathieu on such issues as schools, missions and colonization matters.

Archives archiépiscopales de Saint-Boniface (AASB)

Four collections were used:

A) Fonds Alexandre Taché. It includes the voluminous correspondence received by the Archbishop until his death in 1894. The papers are organized chronologically, and are followed by rough drafts of letters sent by Mgr. Taché. Unfortunately, there exist no letter-books, making it most difficult to know how Taché responded to the numerous enquiries and matters which came before him.

B) Fonds Adélard Langevin. Also arranged chronologically, and includes all correspondence received by him from the early 1890s to his death in 1915. Well complemented by 19 letter-books of a general nature and 5 letter-books dealing exclusively with matters affecting the Oblate order.

C) Fonds Arthur Béliveau. Arranged by subjects. Includes some letter-books. See especially the file marked "Colonisation".

D) Fonds Dom Paul Benoît-[Guéret]. So-called because it contains the papers of Dom Benoît uncovered by the Guéret family in 1974 and donated to the St. Boniface Archdiocese. The material is arranged chronologically under some forty headings used by Benoît himself.

Archives of the Archdiocese of Winnipeg (AAW)

Another collection dating from circa 1895, and consisting of papers transferred from St. Boniface to the new archdiocese of Winnipeg established in 1915. The arrangement is by parish, with additional files covering other issues.

Archives de l'Evêché de Gravelbourg (AEG)

The parish correspondence dates from circa 1902. It appears that these papers were transferred from Regina to the diocese of Gravelbourg soon after its erection in 1930. It includes correspondence initially addressed to Mgr. Langevin, and subsequently to Mgr. Mathieu. Regrettably, the file on the parish of Gravelbourg itself contains little information on the activities of the abbé Pierre Gravel.

Archives de la chancellerie de l'archevêché de Montréal (ACAM)

Only the file on the diocese of St. Boniface was consulted, along with the letter-books of Mgr. Ignace Bourget for the period 1870-1876.

Glenbow-Alberta Institute Archives (Calgary)

Unfortunately, the C.P.R. Papers yielded little useful information for the present research. The Dewdney Papers also contained little.

Public Archives of Canada (PAC)

The Manuscript Groups consulted proved of inestimable value in complementing ecclesiastical papers found elsewhere. Except for the Lowe Papers, only select correspondents were read among the papers of the following:

a) Sir Robert Borden
b) Sir Adolphe Caron
c) Raoul Dandurand
d) Sir Wilfred Laurier
e) John Lowe
f) Sir John A. Macdonald
g) Sir Alexander Mackenzie
h) Sir Clifford Sifton
i) Israël Tarte
j) Sir John Thompson

Provincial Archives of Manitoba (PAM)

Five collections were consulted:

a) Adams G. Archibald
b) Sir Joseph Dubuc
c) Sir Alexander Morris
d) Louis Riel
e) Department of Education

Provincial Museum and Archives of Alberta (PMAA)

One large collection of papers deposited here was most useful. The Oblate Archives, covering the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta as well as the Yukon and North-West Territories, contain considerable private correspondence between the Oblate bishops of the West on the one hand, and their superiors in Europe, their members in Western Canada, and numerous other groups and individuals on the other hand. There are hundreds of boxes, not yet indexed fully, but having a useful finding aid.

Saskatchewan Archives Board (Regina)

Only the microfilm copy of Mgr. Elzéar Mathieu's private journal was consulted.

II GOVERNMENT RECORDS

The records of provincial government departments are not available as yet, at least for the three Prairie Provinces. This explains why it is that part of the story cannot be told. We do not know how individuals, private organizations, or the various churches related to the provincial administrations in matters such as colonization, immigration work, public works, and the like.

Public Archives of Canada (PAC)

The following Record Group collections found in the PAC were of great value. Only select files were consulted:

a) Department of Agriculture
b) T.P. Devlin Papers
c) Interior Department - Dominion Lands Branch
d) Interior Department - Immigration Branch
e) Privy Council
f) Railways
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Le Manitoba. 1882-1915 (years relevant to this study). This was the new name given to Le Métis by its new proprietor, A.A.C. LaRivière. It became a staunchly Conservative weekly until it passed into the hands of the Bernier family in 1896, becoming once again the organ of the Archbishop of St. Boniface.

Paris-Canada. 1884-1909. The "organe international des intérêts canadiens et français", founded by Hector Fabre, Canada's Commissaire Général in Paris. Contains numerous accounts and reports on Western Canada.

Le Colonisateur Canadien. 1885-1898. Published at first by L.E. Carufel and the C.P.R., but taken over by the abbé C.A. Beaudry in 1889. He published it until 1893 with financial assistance from the Department of Agriculture in Ottawa. Taken over subsequently by the Société Générale de Colonisation et de Rapatriement de Montréal.

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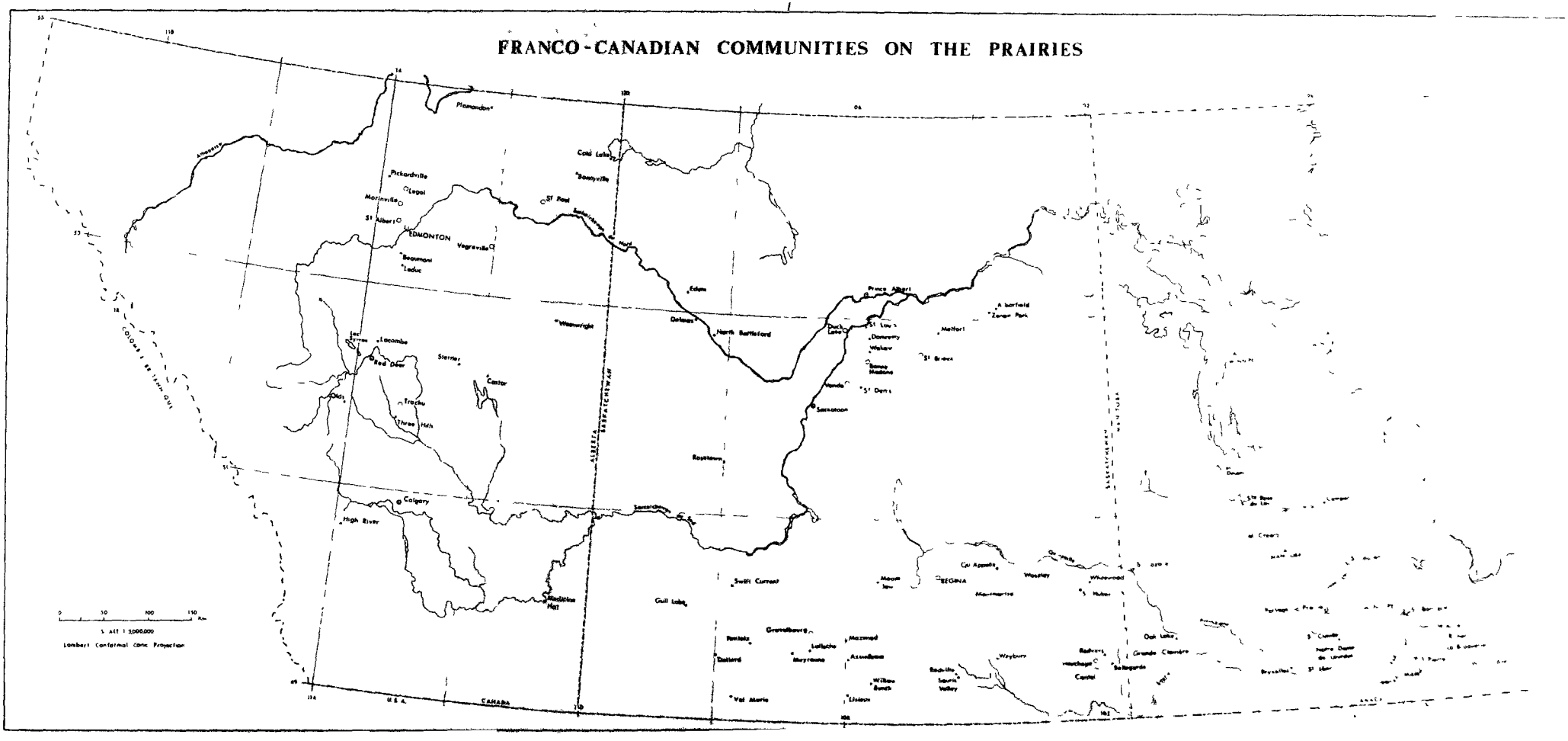
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FRANCO-CANADIAN COMMUNITIES ON THE PRAIRIES


Plamondon
Cold Lake
Bonnyville
Pickardville
Legal
Morinville
St Albert
EDMONTON
St Paul
Vegreville
Beaumont
Leduc
Edam
Prince Albert
Meadow Lake
St Louis
Domremy
Wakaw
Melfort
Star City
Wynyard
Watrous
Canora
Kamsack
Yorkton
Wadena
Melville
Esterhazy
Wauchope
Broadview
Grenfell
Whitewood
Wolseley
Moose Jaw
Gravelbourg
Mossomin
Assiniboia
Wilcox
Bengough
Shaunavon
Maple Creek
Swift Current
Gull Lake
Medicine Hat
Redcliff
Brooks
Oyen
Hanna
Drumheller
Three Hills
Olds
Didsbury
Innisfail
Sundre
Rocky Mtn House
Red Deer
Lacombe
Ponoka
Stettler
Castor
Wainwright
Vermilion
Lloydminster
Provost
Consort
Oyen
Calgary
High River
Okotoks
Strathmore
Drumheller
Hanna
Rosetown
Saskatoon
Biggar
Unity
Kindersley
Lashburn
Meadow Lake
Flin Flon
Creighton
Thompson
Lynn Lake
Leaf Rapids
Snow Lake
Cranberry Portage
The Pas
Grand Rapids
Moosonee
Moose Factory
Timmins
Kapuskasing
Hearst
Cochrane
Iroquois Falls
Matheson
Kirkland Lake
Englehart
Val Marie
Ponteix
Lafleche
Maryfield
Radville
Weyburn
Estevan
Bienfait
Carnduff
Oxbow
Arcola
Moosomin
Virden
Melita
Souris
Boissevain
Killarney
Deloraine
Rapid City
Minnedosa
Neepawa
Gladstone
Portage la Prairie
Carberry
Brandon
Virden
Oak Lake
Grande Clairière
Baldur
Glenboro
Treherne
Holland
Cartwright
Rivers
Wawanesa
Elkhorn
Russell
Binscarth
Birtle
Dauphin
Ste Rose du Lac
Ste Rose du Lac
Ste Amelie
Ste Amelie

THE METIS LAND GRANT AND FRANCO-CATHOLIC "BLOCK" SETTLEMENT IN THE RED RIVER VALLEY

