

extensive timber cutting interests, something not emphasized by Professor Arthur although she does include one document (p. 259) that claims that at least by 1887 Fort William had probably become the chief timber depot of the upper lakes. Generally, a more systematic account of the economic development of this and the succeeding period would have been useful. Only Professor Arthur, of course, knows whether it would have been possible. Were there, for example, customs records for Fort William comparable to those given for 1889-90 for Port Arthur (p. 260-61)? If so, and if they were included here, a very different picture of the economic activity of the district would undoubtedly be revealed.

A final major section of the volume might have concentrated on what Professor Arthur calls in one of her titles, "The Zone of Transit." The period from the 1870's to 1892 was one when transportation was the key to development, when lake transport was being supplemented by and integrated with the railway — when the district began to play its permanent key role in the development of the Dominion from sea to sea. It is this that is the basic theme to which all else relates. Interacting and over-lapping are the construction of the railway itself, the rivalry it brought on between Port Arthur and Fort William, the building of grain elevators and docks, the growing and diversifying economy, and the consequent social changes among both whites and Indians. In connection with the latter, the seeds of later problems in the district are clearly evident. In 1882, for example, the Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs wrote to Macdonald: "undue pressure was brought to bear on Chief Binnessie to induce him to sell his land" (p. 185) — and this by the local Indian agent! A few months later in another letter to Macdonald he acknowledged that licenses to cut timber on Indian land, secured by another Indian agent, were "utterly spurious and invalid" (p. 186).

Greater emphasis on the post-1855 period and on major developmental themes might, it seems to this reviewer, have produced a more useful book. As it stands, however, it is undoubtedly a major contribution to the understanding of the Thunder Bay District and to this period of Canadian history generally.

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PAUL RUTHERFORD, ed. — *Saving the Canadian City, the First Phase 1880-1920. An Anthology of Early Articles on Urban Reform*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974. Social History of Canada Series, #22.

Professor Rutherford has put together an interesting collection of writing on urban problems, turned out by a small group of journalists, social activists, municipal politicians and intellectuals who concerned themselves with the future of Canada's cities round the turn of the century. The book is divided into four sections dealing with public utilities, social issues, town planning and the reform of municipal government, the articles in each section being arranged in chronological order. Most of the leading lights among the middle class intelligentsia of urban reform are represented, and the articles demonstrate their strengths and their weaknesses, the successes and their (much more numerous) failures. Delineated here is that brand of cautious progressivism which pervaded the thought of many educated anglophones of that era whether the subject was politics, the drink question, religion or the rights of women. This collection succeeds, then, as a kind of self-portrait of a mentality.

How did these reformers conceive of the future of the city (by which they usually meant Toronto or Montreal)? As Rutherford points out, their social concerns remained firmly rooted in their class background. The ideal city they modelled upon the joint stock company, believing that the respectable propertied classes (the shareholders) had a greater

stake in the city's future than the less fortunate. The lower orders were expected to bow to the superior wisdom and managerial expertise of their betters who should make up the board of directors. The frequent failures of an unruly electorate to do so distressed these reformers, but the confidence which their evangelical Protestantism gave them regarding the progress of mankind towards perfection was not shattered.

Fittingly, perhaps, one of the most enthusiastic expressions of such sentiments in this book is provided by the young Frank Underhill, in 1911 an undergraduate at the University of Toronto. Faithfully parroting these advanced social views he penned a hymn of praise to the commission form of city government which catalogued the accepted wisdom of the day concerning urban problems: "the council... does not attract the biggest men in the city"; "since the interests of the ward as compared with the broad interests of the whole community are comparatively petty, we are fairly certain to get petty men to represent them"; "most lamentable... of all — after we have gathered together a council of corner grocers, ward politicians and loyal Orangemen, we leave them down at city hall with nothing to do but talk." How much wiser to place the city's fate in the hands of four or five truly "big" men as Des Moines and Galveston had done, putting an end to all the ward-heeling and log-rolling. Henceforth, civic tasks would be executed with clinical efficiency by experts and not by gangs of rapacious "boodlers."

That peculiar brand of reform optimism is quite effectively captured in this anthology, but a couple of criticisms might be made regarding the choice of material. It hardly seems necessary to include an entire chapter from a book already reprinted in the same series, J.S. Woodsworth's *My Neighbour*. More serious is the failure to include any of Goldwin Smith's writings on municipal problems; the sage of the Grange was an extremely important and influential conduit through which American ideas entered Canada. As Rutherford notes such ideas played a crucial role in shaping reform thought here. Moreover, nobody conveyed quite as Smith did the unbending élitism of these reformers, for instance, when he wrote, "A great city requires an administration expert, stable and responsible. Nothing can in reality be less responsible than a council, the composition of which is changed every year."

For all its value this book should not be mistaken for a complete survey of the ideas of Canadian urban reformers of the time. While it contributes towards an understanding of the intellectual peregrinations of certain members of the middle classes, it ignores a larger and practically more significant group of agitators — working class leaders. The two did not share identical goals by any means. Not for these trade unionists and budding socialists the promotion of "big" businessmen and experts insulated from the will of the people. They sought not the bureaucratization but the democratization of municipal government, and they had the troops to carry the day at the polls. As a general rule it might be said that significant developments in urban affairs occurred when middle and working class reformers were able to agree upon common objectives and to carry the electorate with them. In 1892, for example, Toronto voters rejected a reform candidate for mayor put forward by the Board of Trade with the slogan, "A Business Man and a Business Plan." But in 1897 it was agreed that both honesty and efficiency required the creation of a Board of Control to discharge the executive functions of the council. Not, however, the kind of Board that Goldwin Smith and friends had in mind but an elected one.

This book serves to remind us of how much remains to be done in writing the history of urban Canada, for it seems to succeed more as intellectual than as social history. We are left largely in the dark about whether these reformers really altered the substance of municipal politics or only changed appearances. Perhaps, like the Clean Government League of Plutoria in Stephen Leacock's wonderful satire on "The Great Fight for Clean Government," they did little more than apply cosmetics while the shareholders of utilities companies were lining their pockets. Until scholars get to work on municipal history we cannot tell, but judging by the amount of dust gathering in the local archives I have visited,

that hasn't happened yet. This anthology might serve as a warning to urban historians to stop attending panel discussions and get to work.

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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.

PAUL CRUNICAN. — *Priests and Politicians, Manitoba Schools and the Election of 1896*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.

It is ironical that the little white prairie school house, so humble and unassuming in aspect, could precipitate a controversy capable of shaking the country to its political and cultural foundations. The story begins in the 1870's when the federal government made provisions for the continuance of denominational schools in the West to accommodate the Catholic and largely French-speaking population. But by 1890 the native born were a minority, and the newcomers, mostly English-speaking Protestants, began to press for their own distinctive educational institution, the public school. The result was the clash of both religious and ethnic loyalties in a conflict that inevitably drew the Roman Catholic Church into politics. It was a classic colonial situation: the western hierarchy assisted materially by their Quebec brethren, appealing to the "imperial" authorities at Ottawa to help protect their indigenous institutions from the encroaching colonists. In the process the lines separating Church and State, never distinct in Canada, became very blurred indeed.

Despite the importance and peculiarly Canadian nature of the church-state issue that emerged in the western school questions, Canadian historians have never had the advantage of full-length, dispassionate, and authoritative studies on the subject. We are now indebted to Professors Lupul and Crunican for filling this gap. Their books will remain the standard works for years to come.

Much of their strength lies in the thoroughness of the research. In addition to the personal papers of the main political figures and the representative newspapers, both authors have made extensive use of new material in ecclesiastical archives across the country. Both books have useful annotated bibliographies and appendices. Lupul prints the eleven versions of the controversial education clause of the 1905 Autonomy Bill, showing its amendments by churchmen and politicians. Crunican's detailed tabulations of election results in Quebec, 1891-96, provide a wealth of information for those seeking their own conclusions about the significance of the 1896 election.

Each book makes a singular and valuable contribution to Canadian history, but their usefulness is enhanced if taken together, because they complement each other so well both by virtue of the contrasting nature of the two school questions and by the different approaches of the authors.

Lupul's book is primarily a contribution to western history. His main characters are the western churchmen Taché, Langevin, Legal, Grandin, "Premier" Haultain, Protestant and Catholic spokesman like Frank Oliver and Charles Rouleau. He ferrets the school debates of the Territorial Assembly out of the *Regina Leader* and the correspondence of the representatives. Despite the lack of Haultain papers, Lupul draws a comprehensive and integrated picture of the talented prairie leader.

Crunican, an easterner, is concerned with the impact of the Manitoba school question at the national level. The period from the passage of the offending public school Act to the fateful Brophy decision is treated in a brief introductory chapter. The main thrust of the