Historical Papers
Communications historiques

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Volume 9, numéro 1, 1974

Toronto 1974

URI : https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/030781ar
DOI : https://doi.org/10.7202/030781ar

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Éditeur(s)

The Canadian Historical Association/La Société historique du Canada

ISSN

0068-8878 (imprimé)
1712-9109 (numérique)

Découvrir la revue

Citer cet article

Courville, L. D. (1974). The Conservatism of the Saskatchewan Progressives. *Historical Papers / Communications historiques*, *9*(1), 157–181. https://doi.org/10.7202/030781ar

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GOVERNMENT OF SASKATCHEWAN

The Conservatism of the Saskatchewan Progressives.

In reaching for an understanding of agrarian Progressivism on the prairies, historians to date have tended to concentrate on two approaches. One centers on biographical studies which delve into the philosophy and activity of prominent individuals directing the movement. The other approach, integrating a wide range of factors involved in the agrarian revolt, focuses on political aspects and, more specifically, on parliamentary matters. While such approaches have contributed substantially to our national history, they have left three important historical gaps.

First, it is clear that there has been virtually no research into the nature and ideas of what can be termed the middle leadership of the Progressives. This group would include such individuals as members of the federal and provincial legislatures, as well as prominent officers on provincial and local executives within the Progressive ranks. In other words, there has been no study in profiles comparable to that done by George Mowry in his *California Progressives.*

Second, none of the published works have consistently focused on provincial Progressivism. This subject has been seen only as peripherally important when it had some bearing on the fate of the federal party (as in Morton's, *The Progressive Party in Canada)* or on that of an individual (as in Rolph's study of Henry Wise Wood), or on the future condition of provincial parties and governments.[1]

Third, and most important, the Progressive movement in Saskatchewan has been historically cast in the shadows of the politically more visible Alberta and Manitoba wings. Where is Saskatchewan's counterpart to Manitoba's Crerar, or Alberta's Wood? Was Saskatchewan, the most agrarian of the western provinces, just not that important to the development of the farm movement or has its Progressive period been underplayed or overlooked? By ascribing a radical aspect to this earlier farm movement, Seymour Lipset sought to confirm the socialist base of the descendant C.C.F. He perceived class-conscious political and economic action by agrarian Progressives as the ideological umbilical cord that nourished the apparently socialist offspring.[2] The validity of Lipset's perception of the Progressive

movement and the nature of the character that it imparted to the C.C.F. will be examined later in this paper. Few historians have seriously questioned the substantial contribution of Saskatchewan Progesssivism to the election of North America's first avowed socialist government, yet the Progressives in their time had less direct impact in Saskatchewan than those in Alberta and Manitoba had in their respective provinces. The reader of Canadian history, then, is left with a number of loose ends when he turns to the Saskatchewan Progressives. Such a vacuum can best be summed up in one question. How and in what directions did the agrarian movement evolve in Saskatchewan from the founding of the New National Policy Political Association (the Federal Progessive Party) in 1919 to the emergence of the C.C.F. in 1933?

Recent periodical and unpublished literature has made it possible to begin to answer this question. By helping to reveal the social and political bases of the Saskatchewan Progressives, these works have provided the means for filling each of these historical gaps. When taken in perspective, they present a panorama of diverse individuals, views, and organizations – all united by an underlying and pervasive conservatism. Despite their name, the Saskatchewan Progressive middle leadership was not radical either in the sense of favouring extreme change or acting only on the basis of principle. They were conservative not only in their motives and social attitudes but also in their adopted means and in their objectives.

The term conservatism as used here, then, will have a variety of meanings not all of them compatible with each other: the social conservatism which defends the values of an established cultural group or occupational interest; the conservatism of bureaucratic entrenchment; the conservatism inherent in a commitment to gradual change; and the more classical conservatism which views society in organic or corporate terms. In the historical setting of the Saskatchewan of the 1920's, it became possible for these various conservatisms to coalesce. But the tensions between them also forced them apart in time.

Progressive profile within Saskatchewan

The social affiliations and family background of the middle leadership of the Saskatchewan Progressive Party in the 1920's point to at least two of these conservative aspects – an ethno-cultural exclusiveness and a reformist orientation.[3] Most surprisingly, these Progressives were not a farmer protest group either in the sense of all being solely occupied in agriculture or in the sense of all being exclusively concerned with agrarian problems.[4] While professionals were both attracted to and sought out as leaders of the movement, small businessmen were conspicuous by their absence. Indeed, the

rural professional was much more prevalent in the Progressive association than in the Liberal party in Saskatchewan at this time.[5] Most of the Progressive leadership was active in attempting to improve the quality of rural life as they encountered it. Some were executive officers of rural telephone companies. Others were members of school boards while still others were instrumental in the establishment of union municipal hospitals.

These people were also reformers beyond the bounds of the prairie village. Several were active in the Social Service Council of Saskatchewan. The Council's interests were varied and substantial. Its concern was expressed with regard to such issues as the containment of veneral diseases, the advancement of child welfare measures, the care of the feeble-minded, the improvement of parole regulations, the refinement of naturalization laws, and the discouragement of the employment of boys under fifteen years of age, or girls under twenty, as well as an ongoing concern for prohibition. It is of some interest that the Council worked very closely with the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association. At times they even used each other's research facilities.

In addition to these more obvious reform activities, a number of Progressives were found to have non-agricultural club affiliations which brought them admiration and prestige within their communities. These included membership in the Masonic Lodge, the Orange Lodge, the I.O.O.F., the Rotary Club, the Canadian Club, and the Canadian Legion.[6]

In the nature and scope of their reform activities, the Saskatchewan Progressives resembled their progressive counterparts in both the United States and Great Britain. Both in membership and in cultural preference, however, they displayed a distinctly British bias. A general comparison of the birthplaces of Saskatchewan Liberals and Progressives suggests that each group was dominated by those of Ontario origin (roughly equal at just over 50 percent). From that point on, however, they differed greatly. Remarkably few Progressives (3.6 percent compared to 14.3 percent of the Liberals) were prairie born. The fact that, apart from the Ontario born, the overwhelming proportion of the balance were born in the United Kingdom, makes the Progressives much less representative of the Saskatchewan population than the Liberals as far as birthplace is concerned, and also by inference, ethnic origin.[7] Making the relatively high figures for British birth among Progressives even more striking, is the much higher proportion of the American born among the Liberals.[8]

The propensity of American immigrants for the Liberal party may partially explain the failure of the Non-partisan League of North Dakota to take root in Saskatchewan in 1916-17.[9] Another contributing factor may

have been that American reform ran a distant second to British in the content of Saskatchewan progressive journals. These included such publications as *Turner's Weekly*, and *The Progressive* (and later *The Western Producer*) as well as the widely circulated *Grain Growers' Guide.*[10]

To the British bias of the Progressive middle leadership was added a further aspect of exclusiveness – an entirely Anglican and Non-conformist Protestantism. In contrast to Liberal leadership, Roman Catholics and Lutherans were nowhere to be found in the higher echelons of the Saskatchewan Progessive party.[11] While their reforming zeal cannot be doubted, its scope must have been and, as we shall see, was limited in some manner by their exclusive religio-ethnic characteristics. From the point of view of prairie demography such a group was essentially conservative in its social basis.

The Threefold Division of The Saskatchewan Progressive Leadership

Such a composition clearly set the Progressives apart from other groups in the prairie mosaic. An examination of their origins of support, however, reveals three seemingly unrelated roots to the movement – Conservative provincial rightists, partisan Liberal agrarians, and non-partisan agrarians of primarily British and Anglican background.

The established works in the corpus of literature on Canadian Progressivism attest to the essentially agrarian nature of western Progressivism. The "Farmers' Platform" or the "New National Policy" was, indeed, the political programme of the National Progressive Party. The general tenor of this policy statement can be seen in the characterization of agriculture as "the basic industry upon which the success of all our other industries depends".[12] Running on the Farmer's Platform, fifteen out of sixteen Progressives were elected in the 1921 federal election in Saskatchewan. They received 136,472 of the 225,236 votes cast in this predominantly rural and agricultural province. Their closest rivals, the Liberals, received 46,448.[13]

While the dominance of the farm element in the Saskatchewan movement is indisputable, the objectives behind the actions of individual agrarians is less well known. All of them no doubt sought some measure of redress for what they perceived as inequalities thrust upon the grain producer. The means of rectifying the situation in the eyes of most western farmers after 1919 lay in the creation of a third party. The real question, however, was: What was to be the function of this third party in relation to the existing party system? At this point, the middle leadership of the farm

element fell into two distinct categories – the partisan and the non-partisan agrarians.

The partisan agrarians were those individuals who had strong party ties prior to the advent of Progressivism and who had found their way back to their original party folds after the movement had apparently collapsed. Most were what W.L. Morton has referred to as " crypto-Liberals".[14] This group perceived their agrarianism as a counter balance to the high tariff eastern interests prevalent within the Liberal party at the time. By contrast, the non-partisan agrarians saw both the Liberal and Conservative parties as equally disdainful instruments of an undemocratic system. The Liberal allegiance of the partisans was quite understandable, however, considering the background of Ontario Clear Grittism and Blake Liberalism out of which most of them came. The influence of this tradition in imparting an aspect of religio-cultural and occupational defensiveness to their outlook is readily evident in the following statement:

> Grittism, in fact, reflected the democratic biases of the agrarian frontier: a deep and abiding suspicion of the commercial and transportation monopoly of Montreal; and a belief in egalitarianism and rugged individualism, in free trade and free land, in representation by population, and in strict supervision of, if not a limitation, on government support to business enterprise. The Clear Grits were almost exclusively Protestant, and their latent anti-Catholicism found expression and stimulation in the writings of George Brown.[15]

If, by some means, a low tariff adjustment could be effected and regional inequalities corrected, life within the Liberal Party would have been quite tolerable for most of the partisan Liberal Progressives. J. Fred Johnston, Andrew Knox, and Levi Thomson were elected as Liberal Unionists in the 1917 federal election.[16] Thomson, a lawyer who had studied law in Toronto, had, in fact, been elected as a Liberal in 1911 and was a confidante of provincial Liberal leader, Walter Scott.[17] He had unsuccessfully sought the Progressive nomination for the constituency of Qu'Appelle in 1921 but, when the Progressive star faded, he reverted back to his original ties.[18] Progressive members of Parliament Andrew Knox, John Millar, John Morrison and T.H. McConica had all supported the Liberal cause prior to the rise of Progressivism and had found themselves adherents of King Liberalism after its demise.[19] Charles Agar and George Cockburn had followed a similar path. Both men were successful farmers. Agar, in fact, with three and a quarter sections of well improved land was described as "one of the most successful farmers in the province".[20] Both had been elected to the Saskatchewan Legislature in 1921 in opposition to the Liberal government (Agar as a Progressive and Cockburn as an Independent).[21] Both were returned in the

1925 provincial election as Progressives and then both crossed the floor to sit in the Liberal benches on February 17, 1927.[22] As justification for their action, Agar read a letter from Sydney Bingham, a former Progressive M.L.A. for Wilkie constituency. Bingham had declared his approval of their action in crossing the floor and was quoted as stating that there was nothing left "to hang a hat on in provincial or federal progressivism except the one principle of party government", which was considered very much preferable to the "Wood theory of economic class groups".[23] The partisans preference for the party politics of caucus discipline was another vestige of their Liberal background. Charles Agar was, in fact, chosen as whip of the Progressives in the provincial legislature.[24] Andrew Knox was appointed whip of the Saskatchewan contingent of the Progressives in the House of Commons while J.F. Johnston, member for Last Mountain, was selected as chief whip of the federal caucus.[25]

An essential difference in attitude between partisan and non-partisan agrarians was vividly portrayed when campaign speeches for and by J.F. Johnston and M.J. Coldwell, delivered while on the 1925 federal election trail, were recorded on the same page of *The Leader* in the October 9th issue of that year. Speaking in support of Johnston's actions, J.A. Sandilands of Kenaston stated:

> "There were many things done by the King government that were not altogether satisfactory to the West, but Mr. King nevertheless had far more to offer than Mr. Meighen. Mr. Meighen blamed the King Government for many things, but offered no remedies".[26]

J.F. Johnston, himself, then "pointed out that every vote taken from him would go in favor of the Conservative candidate".[27] In contrast with this view, *The Leader,* under the heading of "Old Parties Offer Nothing Says Coldwell", presented the opinion of the Progressive candidate for Regina. It stated.

> Mr. Coldwell declared that Western Canada could not hope for anything from either the Liberals or the Conservatives while they were controlled by the present leaders. The Progressive party, he said, was the nucleus of an organization which would serve true and faithfully.[28]

Coldwell's statement is most significant, for there is a clear suggestion for the first time by a Saskatchewan Progressive that their party was perceived not to be an end in itself but rather the beginning, or "the nucleus" of a new political force in Canada. Its rise seemed to be necessitated by the ineptness and undemocratic nature of both the old parties. This suggestion was made explicit several weeks later when Mr. Coldwell's views were once

again expressed in *The Leader.* Disputing the contention that a vote for a "minority candidate" was a lost vote, he called the Progressive movement "the advance guard of the new alignment". He stated:

> "There may be a few casualties by the way, but I remember the time when a new party arose in Great Britain. Today we see that party about to form a government. It will not be very long. The analogy holds good in Canada".[29]

From this statement, it is clear that M.J. Coldwell received his non-partisan spirit from the success of the Labour party in its bid at displacing the Liberal party in Britain. But just who were the non-partisan agrarian Progressives[30] and out of what background did they come?

A significant pattern is revealed by the division of voting among Saskatchewan Progressives on the Woodsworth amendment to the Liberal government's 1924 budget. As Morton states, the Labour member's amendment was substantially the same as that moved by Robert Forke, the Progressive leader, in 1923. "It called for the lowering of the tariff on the necessities of life, the loss of revenue to be made up by taxes on unearned income, unimproved land values, and a graduated inheritance tax". A vote for the amendment, however, would be interpreted as a vote of want of confidence in the government. The partisan progressives obviously did not want to risk a Liberal defeat for fear of the fate that awaited them and the West at the hands of a Conservative ministry. All of the Saskatchewan partisan Liberal Progressives – Johnston, Knox, McConica, Millar, and Morrison – lined up in opposition to the amendment in spite of being "hoist with their own petard".[31] Of those Saskatchewan members who either opposed the amendment or didn't vote; namely, M.N. Campbell, O.R. Gould, A.J. Lewis, John Evans, and C.C. Davies, only the Conservative Campbell was a native born Canadian. All of the others had come to Canada from Britain between 1890 and 1910 at the politically formative stage of their lives; that is, from twenty to thirty years of age.[32] All, indeed, with the exception of John Evans, who was Welsh, came from England. Scrutiny of the ranks of the Saskatchewan Progressives reveals many English immigrants. This element included such prominent figures as Mrs. Violet McNaughton, M.J. Coldwell, George Burden, Thomas Sales, Samuel Whatley, H.G. Turnbull, Jacob Benson and John Wellbelove. Such people clearly had no traditional ties with either of the old Canadian political parties. The lack of a traditional affinity, however, does not fully explain why they did not merely accept one of the two existing parties as they stood. Not only did they opt for independent politics in the 1920's but also they were the group of Progressives which continued into the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation via the Saskatchewan Farmers' Political Association.

A further inquiry into the backgrounds of these English agrarians reveals that, with the exception of A.J. Lewis, a Presbyterian and later United Church minister, and John Wellbelove, a Methodist, all of these people were Anglicans. These Anglican radicals may seem an anomaly in the light of the common association of non-conformity with radical politics and Anglicanism with Toryism in nineteenth century Britain.[33] But, as Henry Pelling states:

> Towards the end of the nineteenth century, however, this distinction between the churches is less reliable than before . . . All churches, whether Nonconformist or not, were influenced by contemporary discussion of the social problem, and in many cases it was the Anglican clergyman who was boldest in support of the Socialist cause, for he was more independent of his congregation than many members of Nonconformist ministries, and could act more freely as his conscience moved him.[34]

The Lambeth Conference of the Church, meeting in 1888, even appointed a committee on socialism. Its report, indeed, declared that "No more important problems can well occupy the attention – whether of clergy or laity – than such as are connected with what is popularly called Socialism".[35] The religious background of the Anglican non-partisans and its social and political implications, then, may have been a factor for choosing a movement which they perceived as being more socially deomocratic than either of the established parties.

Undoubtedly, individual reasons played a great role in shaping their new allegiance as well. M.J. Coldwell entered University College, Exeter as a Conservative. After two years of debating with fairly radical students; mostly from Wales, he became a firm supporter of the newly formed Labour Party.[36]

Coldwell did not readily forget what he had learned at this time of his life. He came to Canada in 1910 at the age of twenty-two and as late as 1923 addressed a "People's Forum" in Regina on "The British Guild System or a Plan for Economic Democracy". During this discussion he stated that the guild system might be applied to western agriculture.[37]

Another English Progressive, Thomas Sales, had come from Nottingham to Canada in 1900 at the age of thirty-two. Nottingham was in the center of a region where the co-operative movement was very strong. He was a butcher in England and an avid supporter of the labour movement. Mrs. E. Paynter, the step-daughter of Sales, stated that he brought his co-operative principles over with him. She also affirmed that he would have been a Labour representative just as readily as a Progressive. While most of the other English Progressives came from areas in England where there was no great regional co-operative

movement, all came from areas that had a few strong centers of the movement.[38]

It is clear, then, that there were a number of avenues open to these English Progressives leading to a non-partisan stance in Canadian politics. When one considers that the English-speaking population of Saskatchewan between 1901 and 1911 rose from 40,094 to 251,010, even taking into account population movements from Ontario and the United States, the cultural effect of British immigration must have been very great indeed.[39]

Unlike the agrarians whose discontent was primarily focused on a threatened rural economy, the third root to Saskatchewan Progressivism, the Provincial Rights group, had emerged out of an early non-partisan tradition of the territorial period and saw its primary focus as regional inequality in a federal state. The Conservatives, following Frederick Haultain, transformed themselves into a Provincial Rights Party in 1905 as a strategy directed against the Saskatchewan Act as it was first enacted by the Laurier Government. The contentious constitutional issues raised by the Act – the establishment of separate schools and the retention by the federal government of the natural resources of the province – were regarded by this group very much as related problems.[40]

Their connection is readily apparent in the adoption of a resolution at the 1905 Provincial Rights Party convention calling for the establishment of "a Provincial University, completely free from sectarian influence or political control . . . with an ample endowment from the lands of the Province still retained by the Federal Government".[41]

Initially fed on a home grown product – French Catholic – English Protestant rivalry – the bigotry of the Provincial Rights group soon expanded to embrace the products of the Sifton immigration policy. In the 1905 provincial election, the Liberals won twelve out of thirteen newly settled northern constituencies while the Provincial Rights Party won eight of the twelve more established southern constituencies.[42] Newspapers that supported the Provincial Rights Party strongly reacted to this voting pattern. They referred to the areas which Haultain's followers lost as those "where development is crudest, where the foreign element is most pronounced, and where reliable news and views were least accessible".[43] Whether it actually represented a majority of that sector may be doubted, but the Provincial Rights Party became the staunch defender of Anglo-Saxon Protestantism.

The continuity from Conservative Provincial Rightists into Saskatchewan Progressives was evident when on August 4, 1924, forty persons met at Springside, Saskatchewan, to form the Provincial Reform Party and then went on to assist in organizing the Provincial Progressive

Association. The principal founders of this new party were Dr. T.A. Patrick, a Haultain supporter in the North-West Territories Assembly from 1897 to 1903, and a member of the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association and A.C. Stewart, who was to be elected as an Independent in the 1929 provincial election. The party was formed ". . . for securing inherent constitutional rights of (the) province, and for giving every Saskatchewan elector a chance to choose between this policy and one of subordinating Saskatchewan's rights and affairs to the interests of other parties at Ottawa".[44] Dr. Patrick had stated that the grievances of the western provinces included Dominion control of crown lands, under – representation of the western provinces in the Senate, and failure to complete the proposed Hudson's Bay Railway. The most important aspect of this gathering, however, was that the chairman opened the meeting with an explanation that he had received a letter from a constituency organization requesting that a meeting be called to appoint delegates to attend a founding convention of the Provincial Progressive Association to be held the next day on August 5. The meeting was arranged by Patrick and Stewart and the Provincial Rights group became an integral part of this association. Such support, however, was not unqualified. Stewart apparently thought it necessary to explain that the Provincial Progressives were in no way connected with the Federal Progressives. It was felt that the group could best champion their cause solely from within a provincial forum. It should not be concluded, though, that these people were averse to addressing themselves to the rising tide of Saskatchewan agrarianism. Indeed, they were building on an early working relationship with the farm movement.

In 1905, the Provincial Rights Party nominated as many farmers as did the Liberals. Numbered among its supporters were leaders of the principal farm organization, the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association (S.G.G.A.). In reference to the Provincial Rights Party it has been stated that "Because of the looseness of its organization it could embrace both Tories and farm radicals without putting a strain on the principles of either".[45] One such radical farm group, the Comrades of Equity, were a considerable factor in the election of a Provincial Rights candidate in the provincial constituency of Pheasant Hills in 1908. The objective of the Comrades in taking political action was to effect "government ownership of elevators, railways, telegraphs and telephones, and the administration of the public domain by the province in the interests of the people".[46] It is clear, then, that an early working agreement had been reached between a farm element that perceived its *raison d'etre* as rural advancement and a group of conservatives who were bent on rectifying what they saw as regional inequalities in a federal system. Close personal ties between individual Provincial Rightists and agrarians served in continuing to foster this relationship.[47] Perhaps the most significant factor in

bringing and keeping these two seemingly unrelated groups together, however, was an affinity of attitude reflected in the nativism of the S.G.G.A. itself.

When the Reverend Dr. J.G. Shearer, honorary secretary of the Dominion Social Service Congress addressed the 1918 Grain Growers' convention, he received a tumultuous ovation for stating: "For the future of our country, English as the one language in our schools is the essential principle of our great democracy".[48] The convention then went on record as calling for "the exclusive use of the English language and English readers in the elementary school".[49] It is worthy of note that one of the advocates for entry of the Grain Growers into provincial politics at the 1921 convention, F.S. Wilbur, related his position to the Separate School question. He stated that the only way the farmers could be both logical and consistent was to build the structure of the "New National Progressive Party" on both federal and provincial levels. With this idea in mind, Wilbur referred to Premier Martin's retort to the Trustees' demand for the abolition of separate schools. The Premier had stated that the provincial authorities had nothing to do with the question as it was purely a federal matter. Mr. Wilbur stated:

> They dare not touch the matter of the separate schools . . . The School question goes down to the bottom of politics in this province. I am not criticizing the government but the system . . . Manitoba took the point of view that the school question was a provincial matter. They passed legislation which was disallowed when it came before the Federal House but although it was held to be ultra vires, sufficient agitation was brought to bear by the Manitoba government so that a remedial measure was passed. If we get our N.N.P. in Ottawa the question of national schools in Saskatchewan is settled.[50]

This likeness of mind that prevailed among the Provincial Rights Conservatives and the organized farmers was one of the factors facilitating the eventual union of federal and provincial Progressives into one association in 1926. This merger did not modify the primary focus of the Provincial Rights group, however, for as late as February 22, 1927, a resolution was unanimously passed by the Saskatchewan Progressives to the effect that the Provincial Government continue to urge that the Dominion Government transfer Saskatchewan's natural resources to the Province.[51] The extent of the Provincial Rights involvement in the Progressive ranks and the consequent drain of energy from the Conservative party cannot be accurately gauged. In 1924, however, a leading agrarian newspaper, *The Progressive*, commented:

> There always seems to be something lacking about the Conservative Party; in British Columbia it has no leader, and on the prairies it has no followers.[52]

The Provincial Rights Conservatives, the partisan Liberal agrarians, and the non-partisan agrarians were the three main groups, then, that comprised the Progressive ranks. Not all non-partisans, however, were English immigrants. One notable exception was A.J. McPhail, the Ontario born first president of the Wheat Pool, who once commented with regard to a prominent member of the Liberal Party and a Liberal-turned-Tory Unionist: "Poor old Motherwell has sold out bag and luggage. He is almost in the same class as Calder".[53] Most of the middle leadership non-partisans, however, were English born. In the light of the background of all the middle leadership of the Saskatchewan Progressives, one must question Lipset's contention that the Progressive movement was instrumental in breaking down partisan ties.[54] Two of the three main elements involved, at least in Saskatchewan, came out of a non-partisan tradition while the other, by and large, returned to its originally partisan fold. As long as regional inequalities overlapped with designs for economic class advancement, all three groups found compatibility under the Progressive roof.

Having looked at a profile of the Saskatchewan Progressive middle leadership and examined its threefold division, it is now possible to understand more completely their outlook on certain social issues.

Social Attitudes of Saskatchewan Progressives

While their religio-ethnic base set them apart from other groups in the prairie mosaic, the prior social and political experience of individual Progressives had molded their attitudes toward two important and related issues of the 1920's – immigration and labour. This fact, coupled with the continued existence of the kindred political forces out of which the origins of the movement emerged presaged the disintegration of Progressivism as a viable political force.

The partisan agrarians, like their Liberal colleagues, showed themselves to be most favourable to an open-door immigration policy even in a time of economic depression. Characteristic of their views was the belief expressed in 1921 by the Progressive leader and later Liberal Senator, T.A. Crerar, that a large population would ensure stable profits for the railways.[55] Of a similarly pragmatic bent was J.F. Johnston's opinion that the only way to reduce the tax burden was to increase the population.[56] Several, in fact, went further and appealed on an emotional level for those nationalities that they deemed to be maligned. John Morrison, for example, pleaded before the House especially for the removal of the restrictions imposed on immigration from alien enemy countries since the end of the first World War.[57] Most partisans,

then would have agreed with C.W. Stewart when he said, "We can indeed welcome practically all races, all those who will assume the responsibilities of good citizenship in this country".[58]

The partisans' attitude in this matter, though, contrasted greatly with their antipathy toward labour – an inclination which they shared again with many Liberals. The social philosophy of Mackenzie King's Liberalism was clearly revealed by King's description of the action of striking Nova Scotia miners who were presented with a wage cut of 37½ percent in 1922. He called the strike a "policy of ca'canny, or sabotage, or loafing on the job".[59] Expressing a similar sentiment, the partisan Progressive, John Morrison, saw increased immigration as a means of dealing with such "ca'canny". He stated:

> This country needs hundreds of thousands, aye, millions of men who are not afraid of hard work. We want men who will work more and talk less than some people we have in this country.[60]

Dispelling any notion of the common interests of farmers and labourers as far as he was concerned, T.H. McConica, the Progressive member of Parliament for Battleford, stated:

> I resent the idea that there is a parallel between the man who shirks his task and the farmer who finds that he cannot raise an abundant crop. The farmer did not put in his crop for some other man; it was his own crop, and it was his own failure if he did not reap the harvest he expected. He did not accept any man's wages for which he was expected to raise a full crop and then only try to raise half a crop.[61]

In contrast to such views, the non-partisans, probably largely owing to their British Labour background, were genuinely sympathetic to labour. John Evans, the Welsh-born member of Parliament for Saskatoon (later Rosetown) stated that he believed that the Nova Scotia miners were "simply goaded into rebellion".[62] It is interesting that J. S. Woodsworth wrote to another prominent non-partisan, English-born, Violet McNaughton, to enlist her assistance while he was awaiting trial on a charge of seditious libel as a result of his involvement in the Winnipeg General Strike. He wrote:

> You know the industrial as well as the agricultural problems. You know the advanced labour legislation of the old country. Is it not possible to have the farmers use their influence (1) to abolish all orders-in-council; (2) to give absolute freedom of speech, press and association; (3) to give the foreigners a fair deal; (4) to restore for all trial by jury, etc.[63]

In the light of such an appeal to one so prominent in farm circles as Mrs. McNaughton, it may seem rather peculiar that no assistance from Saskatchewan farmers was forthcoming. It was not until 1922, however, that

Mrs. McNaughton and a few other like-minded people were in a position to really influence the policy of the S.G.G.A.

Like most Canadian labour bodies, the non-partisan agrarians favoured a highly selective or exclusively British immigration policy. Their motives for taking such a stand, however, varied. Characteristic of the view of a group of moderate Progressive reformers was the opinion expressed by campaign speaker, Mary McCallum, when in 1921 she stated:

> If Canada were healthy we would have many immigrants come here to stay, industries developing, fair profits to all engaged in work and an ability to meet our national obligations.[64]

These Progressives were most vocal in an attempt to dispel any image of the Canadian west as a "land of milk and honey". O.R. Gould, the Progressive member for Assiniboia, recommended that immigration officials should send copies of Hansard to prospective immigrants rather than the persuasive lithographed propaganda that was being distributed.[65] Such concern for the immigrant was further revealed in a letter written by A.J. McPhail to Violet McNaughton in April, 1923. In this correspondence, McPhail registered his approval of the position taken by the Albertan Progressive, E.J. Garland, who demanded the elimination of misrepresentation in immigration literature, the establishment of a voluntary, as opposed to a patronized system of immigration, and the medical inspection of all intent upon immigration.[66]

This suggestion revealed his desire to curb the advertising programs of the various transportation and colonization companies who profited from immigration. The extent of their control was most unsatisfactory to these reformers. Gould complained that:

> There are individuals back of the Canada Colonization scheme who desire to have more people located on the lands throughout the West in order that they may climb upon their backs. Apparently they are on the backs of the people at the present time and we ask them to get off, rather than bring in more people so that they may continue their present operation.[67]

During the 1925 federal election campaign, M.J. Coldwell insisted that any immigration policy be accompanied by a "scientific and sound land settlement scheme, under direct control of government".[68] Even as late as 1930, Annie L. Hollis pointed to the discriminatory treatment imposed on women immigrants from continental European countries as opposed to that received by British women brought out in accordance with the Empire Settlement Plan.[69]

In contrast to the moderate views of such non-partisan Progressives, John Evans' opinion on immigration appears to be tinctured with nativism in which he represents a more radical wing of the non-partisans. He emphasized that during the period 1911 to 1918, about 750,000 immigrants had come to Canada from the "seething centres of unrest and ignorance" in continental Europe exclusive of Germany and Austria".[70] It is of some interest that although Evans found his way to the C.C.F. after the collapse of the Progressives, he differed in his attitude toward immigration from most of the moderate non-partisans like M.J. Coldwell, A.L. Hollis, and Violet McNaughton. While they focused on the welfare of incoming immigrants, Evans was concerned with the effect of these immigrants on the existing social and economic class structure. His attitude was not only more nativistic but it was more radical by being more all-embracing in its scope than that of his reform-oriented colleagues. He rejected the ostensible reason that a vigorous immigration policy was being pursued to populate the West.

> We know and the laboring class knows too, that it was carried on for the purpose of furnishing cheap labor in our factories and on our railroads.[71]

This Progressive parliamentarian's discriminatory and class-centered analysis of the immigration policy was similar in its character to the view espoused by A.J. Macauley when he appeared before the Saskatchewan Royal Commission on Immigration and Settlement in 1930. Macauley had never been in the middle leadership ranks of the Saskatchewan Progressives. One of the first five members of the C.C.F. to be elected to a legislature in Canada, this doctrinaire agrarian had found his way to that party via the Williams' camp in the United Farmers of Canada (Saskatchewan Section).[72] When asked whether he favoured selective immigration, he replied:

> I believe that Canada should be reserved for the British race because they will help to preserve the standard of living. If we continue the present system of immigration, we will not be able to. The present is simply a system of exploitation . . .The manipulation of the grain exchange has taken millions of dollars out of hundreds. It has been a detriment to all industries. If we had a class of people that we could assimilate we could do more to stop that.[73]

Macauley's colleague and leader, George Williams, had expressed similar sentiments before the Commission. He stated, however, that not only the British, but also the Scandinavian and Teutonic people should be given preference in immigration, as these nationalities constituted the most "co-operatively minded" of prospective citizens. Evans, then, like Macauley and Williams, saw in the immigration policy of the day, an entrenchment of the existing economic class structure with all its barriers against material

advancement of the industrial and agricultural working classes, and advocated a racial immigration policy as one means of impeding that development.

The attitude of a non-partisan like A.J. Lewis on this subject bore a superficial similarity to the view expressed by the doctrinaire agrarians. In response to a statement on immigration made in the House of Commons by a Mr. Euler in which this member for North Waterloo had used the phrase "brotherhood of man", Lewis stated:

> I wonder whether the brotherhood of man takes in the black man and the yellow race as well as the white race. Of course, I do not believe in these people being admitted here, but it seems to me to be a little inconsistent, when you are speaking of the brotherhood of man . . . to discriminate against these races . . . I believe . . . that a British country, or a country that was settled by the British to a large extent, should be populated by that stock.[74]

Both the remarks made by Evans and his more doctrinaire agrarian colleagues on the one hand, and those of Lewis on the other, were tinged with nativism but the likeness of the two ends at that point. Lewis, who was to become a Kligrapp, or official, in the Saskatchewan Ku Klux Klan, was a candid racist.[75] Even though he entreated others to give the working man the respect and the dignity that any labourer deserved, at no time did he rationalize his discrimination in terms of the existing class structure.

Various shades of conservatism are apparent in non-partisan opposition to an open immigration policy: first, a gradualist reform-oriented posture of those individuals whose paramount interest was in the welfare of immigrants; second, an inflexible, nativistic, and yet, more all-embracingly radical attitude of those concerned with the economic class structure; and third, a more purely nativistic racist stance. The conservatism of the non-partisans toward immigration was comparable only to the conservatism of the partisans toward labour. The conservatism of both these groups, however, was complemented and undergirded by the position taken by the Provincial Rightists on these issues. Dr. Reginald Stipe, the Progressive member from Hanley who entered the Anderson Government stated that he and most of his colleagues were opposed to the activities of labour unions.[76] Referring to the second issue he said that:

> the vote of every immigrant that entered the province was ear-marked for the Liberals. The only group that we had a chance to win were the British newcomers.[77]

The Progressives, then, were in many ways an inert or even reactionary force pitted in opposition to social and economic change.

The attitudes of both agrarian wings of the movement toward such social issues as labour and immigration emphasize the untenable position and even ephemeral nature of Saskatchewan Progressivism. The movement as a whole certainly does not qualify for Lipset's role as a radical forerunner of the C.C.F. Tensions within were undoubtedly aggravated by the appeal of continuing Liberalism and Conservatism in the province, to say nothing of the Ku Klux Klan.

The Impact of the Bureaucratic Entrenchment of Progressives

This implicit internal conflict was further intensified by yet another dimension of conservatism - the bureaucratic entrenchment of some individuals in the highest ranks of the farm movement.

Partly because of its own initially limited scope and appeal, a group of Anglo-Saxon Protestant Progressives had little difficulty in reaching and then dominating the highest echelons of organized agriculture in Saskatchewan. Such leadership was provided until 1922 by a group of men who, through the instrument of the interlocking directorate, controlled the farm movement and manipulated it to their own advantage. These men – J.A. Maharg, J.B. Musselman, Thomas Sales, A.G. Hawkes, H.C. Fleming, John Evans, Thomas Teare and W.J. Orchard – had found a power base in the Saskatchewan Co-operative Elevator Company. With the phenomenal success of this company in wheat marketing – a success resulting largely from solid financial support by the provincial Liberal government – their leadership over farm ranks was incidently assured. This "Co-op" elite became bureaucratically entrenched to such an extent that by 1919, they dominated the boards and, in turn, executives of both the Co-operative Elevator Company and the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association and consequently, the leadership of the New National Policy Political Association (or the Federal Progressive Party in Saskatchewan).

The heavy handed tactics employed by this elite in "guiding the movement" prevented the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association from itself becoming a political party in 1919 and then in 1921 succeeded in thwarting a "grass-roots" bid for provincial political action.[78] Their opposition to political action and their resistance to new solutions to grain marketing problems led to an organized revolt within the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association. Those challenging this entrenched clique were referred to in the press as the "Ginger Group". Led by A.J. McPhail, Violet McNaughton, and George F. Edwards, they found a means of displacing the

Co-op faction in the development of a contract wheat pool. When this new leadership, with shrewd assistance from Liberal Premier Dunning, became totally preoccupied with the success of this new marketing venture, political leadership by the agrarian Progressives was effectively neutralized.[79] Ironically it was at this moment in time that the federal Progressives, out of desperation, turned to their provincial counterparts for a revitalization of the movement. Accordingly, a merger was effected in 1926 between the Saskatchewan Federal Progressive Association and the autonomous Provincial Progressive Association.

With the ascent of the Provincial Rights group to a dominant position within the Progressive forces, and the coincident emergence of a reinvigorated Conservative party fed on the throes of religio-racial emotionalism stirred by the Ku Klux Klan, the Progressives were displaced as senior partners in the anti-Liberal alliance.[80] Although the Provincial Rights faction may have led the Progressives into J.T.M. Anderson's Conservative camp, a number of non-partisans who had become *bona fide* Klan members undoubtedly approved of their leadership in this respect. Either sympathy with the Klan's regligious and racial prejudice or political frustration, or both, probably, motivated these people. Although at long last they were party to the successful wresting of provincial power from the Liberals in 1929, their association with a most unpopular government, elected to office at the beginning of the Great Depression, effectively destroyed the Saskatchewan Progressives as a political force in its own right. It was in the formative period of the Conservative-Progressive alliance that most of the partisans retreated into their original home – the Liberal party.

Non-partisans and the C.C.F.

The more moderate non-partisans of primarily British and Anglican background had always been averse to the tactics of the Klan. After the formation of the Anderson Government they withdrew temporarily from provincial politics to concentrate their attention on the farm movement as it was then represented by the United Farmers of Canada (Saskatchewan Section).[81] Within this organization they imparted a moderation that was most evident in their opposition to the campaign for a compulsory wheat pool and their endorsation of gradualist parliamentary political action. Their reform orientation, centered on openess of association and freedom of choice, appears in marked contrast to the relatively radical stance of the new leadership of George Williams, A.J. Macauley, and Frank Eliason that had arisen outside of Progressive circles, springing from such organizations as the Farmers' Union, the Farmers' Political Association and the Farmers'

Educational League. Such a gradualist conservatism was carried over into the C.C.F. by these non-partisans via the Saskatchewan Farmers' Political Association (not to be confused with the more radical Farmers' Political Association headed by Williams).

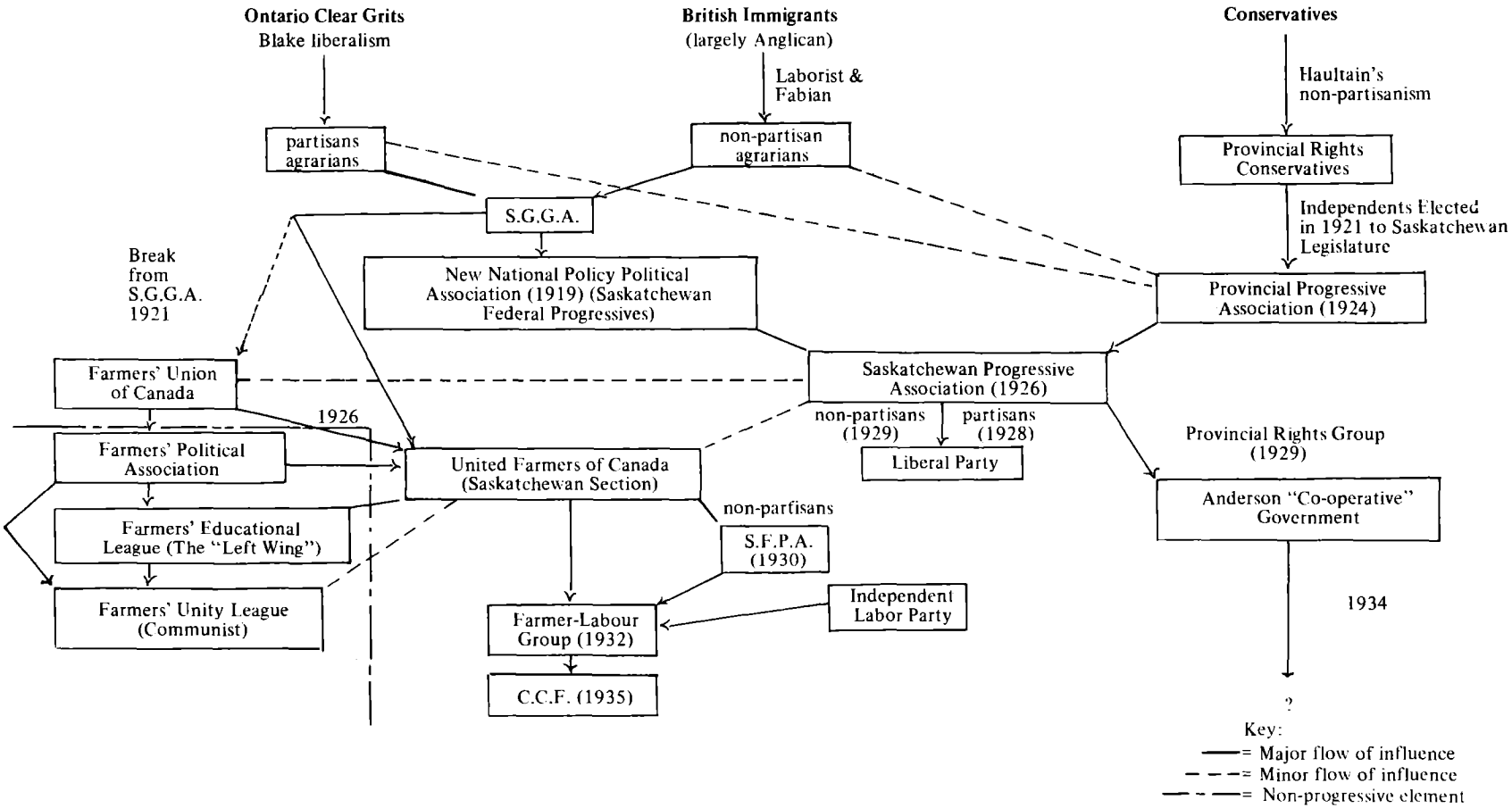
The fact that the S.F.P.A. and the Williams clique could continue to work together in the C.C.F. in spite of their differences is best understood within the theoretical framework presented by Gad Horowitz.[82] Employing the Hartzian concept of cultural fragments.[83] Horowitz attempts to account for the presence of socialism as a "legitimate" political force in English Canada. He concludes that it was either brought over by British socialists and, therefore, because it was neither foreign in its personnel nor its ideology, it was incorporated into "the English-Canadian cultural mix" before it congealed, or, it was derived from an earlier toryism. The salient fact in Horowitz's analysis, however, is that toryism and socialism find a common ideological ground in that both expound a corporate-organic view of society.[84]

This organic conception of society can be seen in the sympathy of the predominantly British and Anglican non-partisans toward labour and in their opposition to an "open-door" immigration policy which they saw as harmful for the whole of western Canadian society as well as the individual immigrant, as well as in Coldwell's application of guild ideas to prairie agriculture. Their attitudes toward these issues reflected a degree of corporatism not to be found in the individualist posture of their partisan colleagues. In this respect, the non-partisans were of a common mind with the Williams group in the U.F.C., differing only in the degree to which such collectivism should be pursued. Both groups were closer to conservative than to liberal social thought, and at the same time both groups were less rooted in the cultural biases of Canadian Protestantism than were the partisan Progressives.

Lipset's contention, then, that the Saskatchewan Progressives were a radical forerunner of the socialist C.C.F. fails on two counts. First, it fails to account for the over-all conservatism of the earlier movement, discernible in four specific dimensions – an Anglo-Saxon Protestant value system, an occupational group-interest, a bureaucratic entrenchment and a reformist gradualism. Second, it fails to appreciate the nature of the Progressive-C.C.F. tie, in that the radical elements within the C.C.F. at its founding – the Farmers' Union, the Farmers' Political Association, and the Farmers' Educational League – are treated as though they were all a part of the Progressive heritage, when in fact they arose outside it. In short, Lipset failed to discern the conservative character of the social bases of Saskatchewan

APPENDIX "A"

SASKATCHEWAN PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT: ITS EVOLUTION AND INTERACTION



Progressivism and its moderating influence on the younger movement. Indeed, the Progessives may have been paving the way for what Northrop Frye describes as the only truly conservative party in Canada in the twentieth century – the C.C.F.[85]

NOTES

[1] See G. Mowry, The California Progressives, (Berkeley, 1951), W.L. Morton, *The Progressive Party in Canada*, (Toronto, 1950); and W.K. Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood of Alberta*, (Toronto, 1950).

[2] S.Lipset, *Agrarian Socialism*, (Garden City, New York, 1950).

[3] For the purposes of this study the Progressive middle leadership is defined as the elected members of Parliament returned in the 1921 federal election, the members of the Saskatchewan Legislative Assembly elected in 1925, and the signatories to the charter of incorporation of The New National Policy Political Association. A comparative group of Liberals was examined consisting of many of those elected in 1925 to serve in the Sixth Legislature of Saskatchewan.

[4] Information collected on twenty-nine Progressives indicated that ten, or about one-third, were engaged solely in agriculture, another third in farming and another occupation simultaneously, and about one-quarter in a "non-farm" concern. This last category included three physicians, one lawyer, two teachers, and one Protestant minister. By comparison, of thirty-three Liberals on which occupational data was secured, twelve (36.4 percent) were employed solely in agriculture. Only one, however, was simultaneously engaged in agriculture and another occupation, while twenty or fully 60.6 percent were exclusively concerned with a non-farm occupation. This category included a number of small businessmen.

[5] Only five of the twenty-nine Progressives examined, came from families with an extensive agricultural background. The most prominent factor in contributing to their status would seem to be education. Of twenty-six people on which educational data was found, eleven had advanced formal education by 1921. This included those with degrees in medicine, law, education, divinity, and graduate studies. Most of the Progressive professionals were members of agricultural societies or co-operatives. No such affiliations for the Liberal professionals are listed in the *Canadian Parliamentary Guide*.

[6] For a detailed resume of information on the middle leadership of the Saskatchewan Progressives especially concerning residence and constituency, ethnic origin, birthplace, occupation, economic status, religion, education, and family background and social affiliations, refer to Appendix A of L.D. Courville, "The Saskatchewan Progressives" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Saskatchewan, Regina Campus, 1971).

[7] Information obtained on twenty-eight Progressives reveals that 39.2 percent were born in the United Kingdom as opposed to 11.4 percent of a sample group of thirty-five Liberals.

[8] Only 3.6 percent of the Progressive sample group was U.S. born as opposed to 17.1 percent of the Liberals. Approximately 12 percent of the Saskatchewan population of 1921 was born in the United States. See Norman L. Gold, "American Immigrations To The Prairie Provinces of Canada: 1890-1933", (unpublished PhD. dissertation, University of California, Berkley, 1933). Such evidence suggests the need for a reappraisal of the direct effect of American populism on the Progressive element, at least in Saskatchewan.

[9] For an account of the impact of the Non-partisan League on the farm movement in Saskatchewan, see F.W.Anderson "Farmers in Politics 1915-1935", (unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, 1949), pages 45-49.

[10] Indeed, the author perused the Guide in 1918, 1919 and 1920 and was unable to find one article relating to United States progressive developments.

[11] See Table 1 on Religious Affiliations of Progressives And Liberals in L.D. Courville, "The Saskatchewan Progressives" (unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, Regina Campus, 1971), page 59.

[12] W.L. Morton, page 303.

[13] *Directory of Members of Parliament and Federal Elections For the North-West Territories and Saskatchewan 1887-1966.* (Regina and Saskatoon: The Saskatchewan Archives Board, 1967), page 54, hereinafter cited as *Directory of Members of Parliament*.

[14] There are two exceptions to the tendency of this group of retreating back to the Liberal party. Neil McTaggart, the Progressive M.P. for Maple Creek from 1921 to 1925, was later run deferally as a Progressive Conservative under John Bracken. P.E.I. born M.N. Campbell, the Progressive member for Mackenzie from 1921 to 1933 and a one-time member of the "Ginger Group" had secured a position on the federal Tariff Board under R.B. Bennett's administration. From this point forward the author will use the term "partisan" as being synonymous with "partisan Liberal progressive". See W.L. Morton, pp. 200-201.

[15] George M. Hougham, "The Background and Development of National Parties", in *Party Politics in Canada*, edited by Hugh G. Thorburn (Scarborough, 1967), page 5. The Clear Grits drew their strength from rural Ontario with the exception of the Ottawa Valley. The original Ontario homes of most partisan Liberal Progressives were clearly subject to Grit influence. J.F. Johnston came from York County; Levi Thomson from Erin, and Charles Agar from Belfast, both in Wellington County; John Millar from Woodstock, Oxford County; John Morrison from Peel County; and George Cockburn from London, Middlesex County. All were Protestants. See the *Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1918 and 1922 edited by Colonel Ernest J. Chambers (Ottawa, 1918 and 1922).

[16] *Directory of Members of Parliament, p. 10.*

[17] Archives of Saskatchewan (hereinafter cited as A.O.S.), Scott Papers, p. 38038, Scott to Levi Thomson, 28 December. 1905.

[18] This information was related to the author by George F. Edwards in an interview on June 25, 1970. Edwards was a vice-president and later president of the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association and a member of the Progressive Executive in Saskatchewan. He eventually became a Liberal himself.

[19] W.J. Patterson, Liberal Premier of Saskatchewan from 1935 to 1944, related information to the author in an interview on May 15, 1970. It was later corroborated by R.L. Stutt, a former head of the Field Service Department of the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool and an active Progressive who later became a member of the C.C.F.

[20] John Hawkes, *Saskatchewan And Its People,* Volume II, (Chicago-Regina, 1924), p. 1333.

[21] *A.U.S., Directory of Saskatchewan Ministries,* pages 38-39.

[22] C. Hopkins, *The Canadian Annual Review of Canadian Affairs, 1926-27*, (Toronto, 1926-27), (Hereinafter cited as C.A.R.).

[23] *IBID.*

[24] *IBID.*

[25] W.L. Morton, p. 152.

[26] *The Leader,* October 9, 1925, p. 2.

27 *IBID.*

28 *IBID.*

29 *The Leader,* October 21, 1925, p. 8.

30 I have used the term "agrarian" to refer to those individuals who saw their political basis of action as an attempt to redress agricultural grievances but not necessarily to refer to those gainfully employed in the agricultural industry. This definition necessarily includes such professional people as M.J. Coldwell, Violet McNaughton, T.H. McConica, and the Reverend A.J. Lewis.

31 Morton, p. 191, See *Debates,* House of Commons, Canada, Volume III, 1924, pp. 2220-2221.

32 See *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide,* 1924.

33 Henry M. Pelling, *Social Geography of British Elections,* (New York, 1967), pp. 431-433.

34 Henry M. Pelling, *The Origins of the Labour Party 1880-1900,* (Oxford, 1965), p. 125.

35 *IBID.*, p. 127

36 A.O.S., Transcription of an interview of M.J. Coldwell by Sandy Nicholson, 1963.

37 *The Leader*, April 2, 1923, p. 2.

38 See the map on the spread of co-operation in England on the inside cover of G.D.H. Cole, *A Century Of Co-operation*, (Stockport, 1944).

39 In the same period, the continental European population in Saskatchewan rose from 32,413 to 187,472, see A.S. Morton, *History of Prairie Settlement*, (Toronto, 1938), p. 127.

40 For an account of the constitutional problems involved in the separate schools issue in the North-West Territories and Saskatchewan, See George M. Weir, *The Separate School Question In Canada,* (Toronto, 1934), pp. 62-81.

41 *C.A.R., 1905*, p. 234.

42 D.H. Bocking, "Saskatchewan's First Provincial Election", *Saskatchewan History*. Volume XVII, 1964, p. 52.

43 *The Vidette* (Indian Head), December 29, 1905, as cited in Bocking, p. 52.

44 *The Leader,* August 4, 1924, p.3.

45 D.S. Spafford, "Independent Politics in Saskatchewan Before the Non-partisan League". *Saskatchewan History,* Volume XVIII, 1965, p. 3.

46 *IBID.*, p. 5.

47 *The Diary of A.J. McPhail,* ed, Harold A. Innis, (Toronto, 1940). Dr. Patrick not only was a member of the S.G.G.A. but also was a close associate of A.J. McPhail, the brilliant young secretary of that organization and the first president of the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool. Dr. Tran was an executive officer of the Kamsack Agricultural Society while Mrs. Flatt, the wife of Dr. C.E. Flatt, was at one time the president of the Women's Section of the Grain Growers' Association.

48 *Daily Post,* February 13, 1918, as cited in R.J.A. Huel, "L'Association Catholique Franco-Canadienne De La Saskatchewan: A Response to Cultural Assimilation 1912- 1934", (unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, Regina Campus, 1969).

49 *IBID.*

50 A.O.S., Minutes of the 1921 S.G.G.A. Convention, p. 97. Although Wilbur's facts pertaining to Manitoba were incorrect; that is, the Manitoba government's school acts were declared *intra vires* by the Privy Council and a remedial order was prepared to revoke them, the general effect of provincial pressure was successful as he implied.

51 *C.A.R., 1926-27*, p. 432.

52 *The Progressive,* July 17, 1924, p. 4.

53 A.O.S, McNaughton Papers, McPhail to McNaughton, 23 May 1922.

54 Lipset, p. 82.

55 M.F. Smeltzer, "Saskatchewan Opinion On Immigration From 1920-1939", (unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, 1950), p. 11.

56 *The Leader,* October 9, 1925, p. 2.

57 Canada House of Commons, *Debates*, 1923, Volume II, p. 1239

58 *Debates,* 1922, Volume III, p. 2604.

59 *Debates*, 1922, Volume I, p. 539.

60 *Debates,* 1924, Volume IV, pp. 3560-3541

61 *Debates,* 1922, Volume I, p. 526.

62 *Debates,* 1924, Volume V, p. 4623.

63 McNaughton Papers, File AI.D.69, J.S. Woodsworth to V. McNaughton, 11 February, 1920.

64 *The Saskatoon Phoenix,* October 27, 1921, as cited in Smeltzer, p. 30.

65 Smeltzer, p. 18

66 McNaughton Papers, A.J. McPhail File, A.J. McPhail to V. McNaughton, 23 April, 1923; For Garland's speech in the House of Commons, see *Debates*, 1923, Volume III, p. 1201.

67 *Debates,* 1923, Volume II, p. 1359, as cited in Smeltzer, p. 23.

68 *The Leader,* October 9, 1925, p. 2.

69 Proceedings of *The Royal Commission On Immigration and Settlement (Saskatchewan).* 1930, (hereinafter cited as Sask. Immigration Commission), Volume I, No. 29, p. 40.

70 *The Saskatoon Phoenix*, November 17, 1921, p. 1.

71 *IBID.*

72 The struggle between the Williams faction and the Progressive element in the U.F.C. (S.S.) over the compulsory pooling issue is discussed in Chapter VI of L.D. Courville, "The Saskatchewan Progressives".

73 *Sask. Immigration Commission,* 1930, Volume I, No. 34, pp. 26-30.

74 *Debates,* 1923, Volume II, page 1225.

75 On one occasion he rose in the House of Commons to ask his friends to look at "the Japanese problem" and to increase their birth rate if they did not want to commit "race suicide". See *Debates,* 1922, Volume III, p. 2259.

76 Interview with Dr. Stipe, Vancouver, British Columbia, June, 1970. Tape in possession of the author.

77 *IBID.*

78 For a full appreciation of the devices employed by the "Co-op elite" in directing the farm movement, see L.D. Courville, "The Saskatchewan Progressives", pp. 107-142.

79 See W. Brennan, "The Public Career of Charles Avery Dunning in Saskatchewan." (unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, Regina Campus, 1968).

80 For an account of the influence of the Klan on both the Progressives and the Conservatives, see W. Calderwood, "The Rise and Fall of the Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan", (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Saskatchewan, Regina Campus, 1968). While Calderwood did specifically exclude M.J. Coldwell from those influenced by the Klan, he did not realize that a significant group of moderates averse to the Klan and its tactics existed within the Progressive party. Indeed, he refers to a "Progressive mentality" to which the Klan could appeal.

81 The United Farmers of Canada (Saskatchewan Section) was formed in 1926

by the union of the S.G.G.A. and the Farmers' Union of Canada. This latter organization was formed largely from dissidents who left the S.G.G.A. as a result of the "co-op elite's" bureaucratic entrenchment. Founded on such bases as "industrial action" or agrarian syndicalism, however, it was much more radical in orientation and provided a framework in which a new agrarian leadership would eventually emerge as economic conditions worsened.

82 G. Horowitz, "Conservatism, Liberalism, and Socialism in Canada: An Interpretation," in *Party Politics in Canada*, ed. by Hugh G. Thorburn. Reprinted from the *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science,* XXXII, No. 2, May, 1966. *Political Science*, XXXII, No. 2, May, 1966.

83 Louis Hartz, *The Founding of New Societies,* (New York, 1964). Hartz approaches the study of new societies founded by Europeans in terms of cultural "fragments" thrown off from Europe. Depending on its chronological point of departure from the parent European culture, the new society will be ideologically either feudal or Tory, liberal whig, liberal democrat, or socialist. As Horowitz notes, however, "although the point of departure is reasonably clear, it is difficult to put one's finger on the point of congealment." See Horowitz, p. 60.

84 But whereas socialism has a radical-rationalist-egalitarian component derive from whiggery and liberal democracy, toryism is elitist and hierarchical. See Horowitz, p. 56.

85 Northrop Frye, "In Quest of Identity and Unity," *The Globe Magazine,* February 20, 1971, p. 12.