

THE FIGHTING BISHOP:  
GEORGE EXTON LLOYD  
AND THE IMMIGRATION DEBATE

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THE FIGHTING BISHOP:  
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## Abstract

George Exton Lloyd made a considerable impact on Saskatchewan in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Among his many achievements, he fought in the 1885 rebellion, helped settle the Barr colonists in what is now Lloydminster, attracted teachers and missionaries to the West and served as Anglican Bishop in the Diocese of Saskatchewan during the 1920s. Providing the inspiration for his various activities and occupations was one all-encompassing desire: to create a Canada for the British. This thesis focuses on Lloyd's attitude towards a group that threatened this "ideal," the non-British immigrant, and assesses his impact on the immigration debate that raged in the country during the late 1920s.

As long as the numbers of foreigners remained "manageable," Lloyd was content to focus his energy on providing for their education and assimilation. When the numbers became "too large," however, Lloyd dedicated himself to restricting immigration. In the late 1920s, after the Railways Agreement was signed, Lloyd engaged in a vigorous campaign, opposing the new agreement and calling for quotas on non-British immigrants. This thesis concludes that he had a substantial impact. Not only did he affect common perceptions of the immigrant in the West, he also helped force the federal government to make changes to its

immigration policy, and he helped contribute to the defeat of a provincial government.

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Bishop George Exton Lloyd  
Circa Late 1920s

Provided by his granddaughter, Frances Lloyd



## PREFACE

My grandfather feared nothing, nothing! He'd stand up in front of God. (author's interview with Frances Lloyd, granddaughter of George Exton Lloyd, November 3, 1995).

Bishop George Exton Lloyd was a key figure in the immigration debate that raged in Saskatchewan during the late 1920s. His appeals for restricted immigration, while they appeared especially relevant in Saskatchewan, stirred up controversy across Canada. Nothing could have pleased Lloyd more. A complex man with an assortment of hopes, concerns and prejudices, Lloyd spent his life actively involved in battling enemies, both real and imagined, who challenged his plan for the creation of a British Western Canada, possessing "the same language, the same ideals, the same character, the same King, the same flag, and the same old Mother Church of England . . . ." When he saw this vision threatened by the large influx of Central and Eastern Europeans coming to Canada under the auspices of the 1925 Railway Agreement, he took it upon himself to try to alert both the federal government and the general population to the danger. Armed with an uncanny ability to influence others, and buttressed by his influential, highly visible, position in the Anglican Church, Lloyd played a dominant role in the immigration debate.

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<sup>1</sup>Canadian Churchman, July 2, 1925.

Best known for his leadership in settling the Barr colonists at the turn of the century, and to a lesser degree for his courageous action during the North-West Rebellion and his involvement in the development of Emmanuel College, Lloyd's legend lives on even to this day.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, while singing his praises, Lloyd's supporters have often overlooked the more controversial aspects of his career, including his role in the immigration debate.<sup>3</sup> To gain a more complete understanding of Lloyd's motivations and intentions, it is important that these issues be studied, not avoided. Some scholars, focusing on larger studies of federal immigration policy and the public response to this policy, have conceded that Lloyd played a part in the immigration debate of the late 1920s, but none of them has given more than a cursory look at the man and his times. This thesis looks at Lloyd and his contribution to the immigration debate within the context of his life experience and of the society in which he lived.

After a literature review, Chapter One of the thesis briefly sketches Lloyd's early life, with special emphasis on the events that helped shape his character and beliefs. A knowledge of Lloyd's character is essential for understanding

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<sup>2</sup>In a recent article in the Star Phoenix, Hugh Arcsott, local lawyer and former politician, listed Lloyd as one of Saskatchewan's great leaders. April 21, 1995.

<sup>3</sup>The whereabouts of Lloyd's personal papers are unknown, hampering a complete study of his life. As well, access to the Saskatchewan Diocese Archives is restricted.

the role he played in western Canadian history. Chapter Two concentrates on Lloyd's attitudes towards the non-British immigrant from the turn of the century to 1927. It is necessary to see the development of his anti-immigrant sentiment in some detail in order to explain and understand his actions after 1927. Chapter Three focuses on Lloyd's methods of operation and the views he expressed during the late 1920s, the period in which he increased his public attack against Canadian immigration policies. Chapter Four assesses his impact during this period. The epilogue briefly sketches his final years until his death in 1940 and his place in Canadian history.

The major sources for the thesis include various newspapers and journals, the papers of the Fellowship of the Maple Leaf and the National Association of Canada and those of Lloyd's personal papers that exist outside of the possession of the family. These personal papers are scattered throughout a number of archives and collections, including the Anglican Church General Synod Archives, the Saskatchewan Archives Board, the Bruce Peel Special Collections, and the Vera Fast collection.

Colourful and opinionated, Bishop Lloyd has been an interesting character to study. As Frances Lloyd remarked during an interview about her grandfather and his legacy, the Bishop was fearless. He was also controversial in his attitudes towards continental Europeans. But, as Frances

also pointed out, "he's British, he had no use for the Americans for Pete's sake."<sup>4</sup> Lloyd was British through and through. To protect the Britishness of Western Canada, he was willing to stand up, if not to God, to his own church and governments at all levels, and to the possible censure of public opinion.

To a large extent, the immigration debate of the 1920s is being replayed in the 1990s. There is a reaction, in less dramatically expressed terms, to the new immigrants from Asia, Latin America and other Third World countries who are settling in large numbers in Canada's cities. Many Canadians fear that these immigrants threaten the make-up of Canadian culture. Bishop Lloyd would have understood and supported such fears. The irony is that such sentiments are sometimes expressed by the descendants of the same immigrants he once fought so strongly against.

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<sup>4</sup>Interview with Frances Lloyd, November 3, 1995.

CHAPTER ONE  
BUILDING A NEW NATION

George Exton Lloyd believed there were two types of Englishmen in Canada, "those who, like their forefathers, can build up nations, men of grit, tone, force and bull-dog stick-at-it ness" and "the toast and butter, warm slipper, return to Liverpool-with a weary smile-men".<sup>1</sup> Lloyd was definitely a member of the former group. Never satisfied waiting for others to initiate change, Lloyd, serving in various roles as soldier, priest, educator, colonizer and moral reformer, made a considerable impact on Saskatchewan between 1885 and 1931.<sup>2</sup> While no comprehensive study of his life has been written, Lloyd's name and accomplishments can be found in works ranging from studies of the growth of the Anglican church and the development of education, to descriptions of the North-West Rebellion and analyses of anti-immigrant sentiment on the prairies. Taken separately, each of these works helps shed light on aspects of Lloyd's life and character, but, when put together, the specialized scope of each individual work makes the final composite both confusing and misleading.

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<sup>1</sup>Quoted in Lynne Bowen, Muddling Through: The Remarkable Story of the Barr Colonists (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1992), p. 125.

<sup>2</sup>Many of his actions had repercussions throughout the West.

Most studies of Lloyd portray him as either "saint" or "sinner." The former, usually found in church histories and studies of the Barr colony, often describe Lloyd as a man who could do no wrong; the second, in works concentrating on the immigration debate, depict the Anglican minister as an intolerant troublemaker. Neither extreme does Lloyd justice. To understand fully why Lloyd acted the way he did and to appreciate why he became involved in so many disparate ventures, it is necessary to realize that both his so-called "positive" and "negative" actions originated from a single all-encompassing desire -- a desire that was not uncommon among Anglo-Saxon settlers in the West. Lloyd, above all else, wanted the West to become a bastion of British culture, language, institutions, and ideals. He concentrated all his efforts in Western Canada towards establishing a "Canada for the British."<sup>3</sup>

Perhaps Lloyd's most significant contribution to the West was his involvement in the establishment of the all-British Barr colony in Western Canada. It was certainly his most publicized achievement. His actions here gained him the respect of leading members of the Anglican Church, who were then often willing to offer him greater responsibilities. They also put him in favour with a large segment of the Anglo-Saxon population. For the general populace, most of whom were not privy to the complete story, the heroic tales

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<sup>3</sup>This was the rallying cry of the Barr colonists.

of Lloyd's deeds, passed on by word of mouth, through the church and the press and through fictional and non-fictional works, placed the Anglican clergyman in an almost legendary position.<sup>4</sup> This positive reputation, influenced by the recollections of the colonists and by earlier works focusing on the establishment of the colony, has been sustained even to this day by a number of celebratory works about the Barr Colony and its first town, Lloydminster. Books like Lloydminster: Or 5,000 Miles with the Barr Colonists (1924), The Promised Land (1953), and The Lloydminster (1980) all contain glowing accounts of Lloyd's leadership and determination.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, few books written about the Barr colony provide a critical examination of the man.

Helen Evans Reid, the biographer of Issac Barr, the original leader of the Barr colonists, challenges some of the myths surrounding both Barr and Lloyd in her book All Silent All Damned: The Search for Isaac Barr (1969). She contends

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<sup>4</sup>For example, Harry Pick's work, a fictional account of the establishment of the Barr Colony, praises Lloyd while denouncing the initial leader of the colony, Isaac Barr: "Why a man of [Lloyd's] experience, and punch, and unbounded energy didn't throw up, or blow up, or attempt to wring Barr's neck is incomprehensible." Harry Pick, Next Year: The Story of the Barr Colonists (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1928), p. 39.

<sup>5</sup>J.H. McCormick, Lloydminster: Or 5,000 Miles With the Barr Colonists (London: Drames [Ye Olde St. Brides Presse], 1924); C. Wetton, The Promised Land, (Lloydminster: The Lloydminster Times, 1953); Ron Kenyon, ed., The Lloydminster (North Battleford: McIntosh Publishing Company Limited, 1980). Kenyon's book is a collection of excerpts from recollections and historical accounts of the colony.

that perceptions of both Lloyd and Barr were "distorted" by sensationalist headlines and by the recollections of colonists; these colonists, many of whom faced great hardships on the trail to the new colony, were willing to accept, and later perpetuate, stories about Barr's treachery and Lloyd's benevolence.<sup>6</sup> While Reid's success in dispelling some of the myths surrounding these two leaders makes her work a useful source, her conclusions must be approached with caution, as she is too obviously driven by a desire to exonerate Barr.<sup>7</sup>

The most balanced and objective depiction of Lloyd's involvement with the Barr colony is found in Lynne Bowen's Muddling Through: The Remarkable Story of the Barr Colonists (1992). While acknowledging the Barr colonists' debt to Lloyd, Bowen is willing to concede, albeit subtly, that not all of Lloyd's actions were laudatory. For example, Bowen points out that Lloyd, leading a group that had very little farming experience, would have been well advised to seek help from those already established on the prairie, but his determination to keep the colony all-British excluded a number of established farmers whose experience could have

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<sup>6</sup>Helen Evans Reid, All Silent, All Damned: The Search for Isaac Barr (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1969), pp. 142-143.

<sup>7</sup>She claims that Barr's image was sullied, in large part, because of the actions and exhortations of Lloyd. Reid, p. 143.



been a real asset to the colony.<sup>8</sup> While such insights are very useful, on the whole Bowen's work contributes only a very limited picture of the complex man who, for better or worse, was to become one of the most influential churchmen in Saskatchewan prior to 1930.

Many of Lloyd's colleagues, both in Canada and in Britain, wrote positively and enthusiastically about his contribution to the expansion of the Anglican Church on the prairies.<sup>9</sup> These authors, all Church leaders, were not seeking to write a "warts and all" objective account of the development of the Church in Canada; their works were written in order to promote missionary work and to encourage the expansion of the Church in the West. Consequently, their descriptions of the Church in general, and Lloyd in particular, are not impartial. Unquestionably, Lloyd deserved many of the accolades he received for the work he did on behalf of the

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<sup>8</sup>Bowen, p. 160.

<sup>9</sup>Reverend James Boyle, Sixty of Saskatchewan: An Account of the Greatest Effort made by the Church of England on Behalf of Her Own Children Abroad (Blackburn: Durham & Sons, 1908) (Boyle was the Organising Secretary of the Colonial and Continental Church Society); H.H. Montgomery The Church on the Prairie Second edition. (London: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1910); Reverend Norman Tucker, Western Canada (London: A.R. Mowbray, 1908) and From Sea to Sea: The Dominion (Toronto: Prayer and Study Union of the M.S.C.C., 1911); J.D. Mullins, "The Colonial and Continental Church Society in Rupert's Land" in editor Canon Bertal Heeney, B.D. Centenary Addresses and Sermons (Winnipeg: The Rupert's Land Celebration, 1920); and Canon Charles William Vernon, The Old Church in the New Dominion: The Story of the Anglican Church in Canada (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1929).

Church, but his inflexibility and his predisposition to challenge authority ensured that his life was rarely as devoid of conflict as the Anglican accounts suggest.<sup>10</sup>

While it might be easy to understand the reluctance of Lloyd's contemporaries to deal with current controversies within their own church, it is not so easy to accept similar indulgences by more recent scholars. Although contributing invaluable studies, three of the authors that deal with the Anglican Church in the West, Phillip Carrington, The Anglican Church in Canada (1963), T.C.B. Boon, The Anglican Church From the Bay to the Rockies (1962), and W.F. Payton, A Historical Sketch of the Diocese of Saskatchewan of the Anglican Church of Canada (1975)<sup>11</sup>, are more concerned with listing the names of various important church personalities and their achievements, and in cataloguing the general

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<sup>10</sup>Some of these writers were aware of this fact. For example, J.D. Mullins, the secretary of the Colonial and Continental Church Society (C.C.C.S) had a serious run in with Lloyd during World War I that forced Lloyd to resign as Principal of Emmanuel College. Despite this altercation, Mullins, when giving an address at the centenary celebration of the Diocese of Rupert's Land in 1920, had nothing but praise for Lloyd, and insisted that "it is impossible to overestimate the effects of this great pioneer's powers, backed by the continuous support and organization of my society." J.D. Mullins, Centenary, pp. 45-46.

<sup>11</sup>Phillip Carrington, The Anglican Church in Canada: A History (Toronto: Collins, 1963); T.C.B. Boon, The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies: A History of the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land and its Dioceses from 1820 to 1950 (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962); W.F. Payton, A Historical Sketch of the Diocese of Saskatchewan of the Anglican Church of Canada (s.n., 1974).

accomplishments of the Church, than they are in analyzing the Church's development and its relationship to western Canadian society. Consequently, most of them entirely overlook much of Lloyd's secular activities, such as his involvement in the immigration debate, and those that do acknowledge his role downplay it; their goal is to soft pedal anything that might be considered controversial. Payton's interpretation of Lloyd's involvement in the immigration debate, while a little more complete, is tempered: "sometimes [Lloyd's] remarks about the settlers from Europe were not too happily received because of the implied criticism that he made of the European settlers."<sup>12</sup>

Other historians, who are not nearly as charitable, did not ignore Lloyd's secular activities. Nevertheless, while authors interested in the immigration debate have acknowledged Lloyd as one of the "leading spokesmen" of "nativist sentiment" in Saskatchewan,<sup>13</sup> their descriptions of the role he played are incomplete. Only Howard Palmer, in

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<sup>12</sup>Payton, p. 112.

<sup>13</sup>Howard Palmer, Patterns of Prejudice: A History of Nativism in Alberta (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), p. 98. Others who have referred to his leadership are Donald Avery, Dangerous Foreigners: European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada 1896-1932 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1983), p. 107; Angus McLaren, Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990), p. 65; Martin Robin, Shades of Right: Nativist and Fascist Politics in Canada 1920-1940 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), pp. 52, 55-56; and James Gray, The Roar of the Twenties (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1975), pp. 278-279.

his study of nativism in Alberta, demonstrates that Lloyd's earlier career had some bearing on his later involvement in the immigration debate. On the other hand, Angus McLaren, Our Own Master Race, and James H. Gray, The Roar of the Twenties, are content simply to label Lloyd a "bigot."<sup>14</sup> Made without any real attempt to understand Lloyd's rationale for engaging in the debate, and without trying to understand why his appeals were so popular,<sup>15</sup> such judgements are unnecessarily harsh. Gray's suggestion, for example, that Lloyd became involved in the debate in the 1920s because he had suddenly acquired a phobia against the foreigner,<sup>16</sup> ignores the events that shaped Lloyd's own past.

Though he lived the major part of his life in Canada, George Exton Lloyd, who had been born and raised in Britain, spent his life promoting all things British. Considering the zeal with which he went about this task, it is unfortunate that little is known about his formative years.<sup>17</sup> He was born in Bethnal Green on January 6, 1861 to William

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<sup>14</sup>McLaren, p. 65; Gray, p. 278.

<sup>15</sup>It must be remembered that many of Lloyd's peers took him seriously; his was not a lone voice in the wilderness.

<sup>16</sup>Gray, p. 279.

<sup>17</sup>Most of the information comes from a thirteen-page sketch of Lloyd's life: Anglican Church General Synod Archives ACGSA, Anonymous, A Sketch of the Life of the Right Reverend George Exton Lloyd. M.A., D.D., L.L.D., Bishop of Saskatchewan 1922-1931 (Signed: Victoria, B.C., April 1943).

and Anne Lloyd.<sup>18</sup> His father's profession as a teacher forced the family to move many times during his youth. Eventually, George enrolled in St. John's College in London, where he hoped to bring up his educational standards to allow him to apply for army officer training.<sup>19</sup> He also enlisted with a volunteer regiment, the West Middlesex Rifles. Even at a young age he showed a proficiency for "climbing the ladder" and impressing his peers; he was promoted to sergeant in 1880 and won an award for his shooting prowess a year later. Despite this military success, which revealed his early drive, he abandoned his plans to join the army. Having taken a number of divinity classes in college, Lloyd found himself inspired by a speech made by the Bishop of Rupert's Land, who had come to Britain to promote missionary work in Canada. Passing up a possible military career, the young man decided to sail to Canada where, as teacher and preacher, he was to devote himself to promoting God and Empire. Despite the change in career, however, there remained echoes of a British army sergeant in many of the approaches he took in his new position.

Arriving in Canada on Good Friday, 1881, Lloyd found conditions in his first mission to be a little primitive.

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<sup>18</sup>Barr Colony Museum (BCHCC), Lloydminster File, Certified Copy of An Entry of Birth. Lloyd had seven siblings, four of whom survived child birth. When he was only eleven years old his mother died. ACGSA, Anonymous, A Sketch of the Life, 1.

<sup>19</sup> Date unknown.

Working in a sparsely settled area just north of Maynooth, Ontario, and living in a loft that leaked, he received a paltry ten dollars a month for instructing school children and giving church services.<sup>20</sup> He did not remain in this mission for long. In 1882, taking to heart the recommendations of a recent graduate, he decided to complete his divinity training at Wycliffe College in Toronto.<sup>21</sup> Still interested in the military, Lloyd also joined the Queen's Own Rifles, a Toronto militia unit that not only trained the men, but also offered them an opportunity to engage in athletic and social activities.<sup>22</sup> When the North-West Rebellion broke out in 1885, many members of the Queen's Own volunteered to serve their country; Lloyd was one of those volunteers.

For Lloyd, as for many other Canadians, the Métis rebellion appeared to be a direct attack against British authority, law and order. Such treason could not be treated lightly in 1885. Later in his life, Lloyd would refer to the necessity to retain the North-West Mounted Police under

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<sup>20</sup> Biographical information given by Lloyd at his final diocesan synod meeting. Journal of the Proceedings of the Synod of the Diocese of Saskatchewan (hereafter cited as Saskatchewan Synod Journal), 1931, p. 19.

<sup>21</sup>Lloyd remembers his decision to go to Wycliffe. On a boat trip with a recent graduate of Wycliffe College "I did the pulling while [sic] he sat in the stern and called me everything except a wise man for attempting to do Missionary work without a proper Divinity training and so I went to Toronto to finish my Divinity Course." Saskatchewan Synod Journal, 1931, p. 20.

<sup>22</sup> Desmond Morton, The Last War Drum: The North West Campaign of 1885 (Toronto: A.M. Hakkert Ltd., 1972), p. 30.

Dominion control in order to ensure that "British law and order" was preserved.<sup>23</sup> The North-West Rebellion helped enforce such order, since, as Lloyd pointed out "...the Indian learned that he could not buck the white man and so settled down to the new conditions."<sup>24</sup>

Singing songs like "Rule Britannia," Lloyd and the rest of the volunteers from the Queen's Own and other volunteer divisions, marched to Battleford to defend the town from the threat of nearby Cree Indians.<sup>25</sup> Led by General Otter, these men were eager to fight and were frustrated when their trek to Battleford met with no resistance. Sharing his troops' disappointment, Otter decided, without the consent of General Middleton, the commanding officer of the whole expedition, to initiate some action.

On May 1, 1885, Otter, accompanied by a hand-picked group of 325 soldiers, including George Exton Lloyd and fifty-nine other members of the Queen's Own, set out to attack a band of Cree Indians camped at Cut Knife creek.<sup>26</sup> The attack turned out to be a disaster. Momentarily caught off guard, the Indians quickly organized themselves and began a counter-

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<sup>23</sup>Canadian Churchman, September 3, 1914.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., August 27, 1914.

<sup>25</sup>Souvenir Number of Pictorial and Illustrated War News: A History of Riel's Second Rebellion, and How It Was Quelled (Toronto: Grip Printing and Publishing Company, July 4, 1885), 7.

<sup>26</sup>Morton, p. 103.

attack against Otter's men that was so successful that it forced Otter and his men to retreat. During this retreat, Lloyd, who stayed behind to try to help a couple of his comrades trapped by heavy native fire, was shot in the back and seriously wounded. His recovery would be both slow and painful.

Lloyd's bravery did not pass unnoticed; while attempts to have Lloyd awarded with the Victoria Cross by editors of The Illustrated War News went unheeded, his heroics gained him a North-West Field Force medal with clasp.<sup>27</sup> He was also honoured with the title of Chaplain of the Queen's Own, and he was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Rupert's Land.<sup>28</sup> Years later, stories of Lloyd's deeds during the Rebellion were still remembered and recounted. If his later involvement in helping to settle the Barr Colony elevated his status to that of a great patriot in the eyes of many of his contemporaries, his earlier heroic actions during the North-West Rebellion had already helped him establish a well deserved reputation as a "fighting clergyman."

Lloyd spent the better part of the next two years recovering from his wounds while ministering in Sunderland, Ontario. He also married Marion Tuppen, an English girl he had known before he came to Canada. In 1886 he accepted a

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<sup>27</sup> Souvenir Number of the Canadian Pictorial and Illustrated War News, p. 39.

<sup>28</sup> He was ordained priest in 1887.



position as Chaplain of the Reformatory for Boys in Penetanguishene, Ontario. Working at the reformatory, Lloyd exhibited two of the characteristics that were to become lifelong trademarks: a willingness to go to great lengths to promote causes he felt strongly about, and a fearless determination to attack anyone, including those in authority, who might stand in his way. Believing that the older boys at the reformatory, many of whom were in for serious crimes, should be separated from the younger ones, who were often there for petty misdemeanours, Lloyd pressed the authorities for separate housing. When his demands for change were not met, he took matters into his own hands, and created his own printing press from which he began to distribute, throughout Ontario, a small pamphlet entitled The Reformatory Press.<sup>29</sup> Lloyd's persistence eventually brought about the changes he desired, but his direct tactics had alienated the reformatory officials, and in 1890 he found it wise to accept an offer to become Rector of St Paul's parish in Rothesay, New Brunswick.<sup>30</sup>

Within a short period of time, Lloyd, at the suggestion of a group of residents, converted a tiny New Brunswick private

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<sup>29</sup>This pamphlet was sent to "the Judges, Clergy, M.P.s, and influential people interested in public affairs and the reformation of reformatories." Fast Files (FF), Diary File, p. 16. More than 5,000 copies were sent out during 1889.

<sup>30</sup>FF, Diary File, p. 16.

school into an Anglican residential school for boys.<sup>31</sup> The school flourished.<sup>32</sup> Again, Lloyd's efforts were rewarded by the authorities when he was granted an honorary doctorate by the University of New Brunswick in 1894, a distinction that was reserved for a few highly prominent individuals.<sup>33</sup> Despite his success, Lloyd would not remain in New Brunswick. Still suffering from the wound he had received during the Rebellion, and exhausted by his extensive duties at the school, Lloyd suffered a breakdown in the winter of 1895-96.<sup>34</sup> There is also some indication that Lloyd had become embroiled in controversy even here -- once again

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<sup>31</sup>Anonymous, Sketches of the Life, p. 5. Carrington, p. 227.

<sup>32</sup>Lloyd was named Principal of the school. Outgrowing its original location, the school was moved by Lloyd to beautiful grounds on College Hill, where, among other things, Lloyd made certain that the students were provided with military training. The Colonial and Continental Church Society (C.C.C.S.) believed that Lloyd's "energy and military discipline made the Rothesay Boys' School famous." The New Era, Vol. 5, October 1907.

<sup>33</sup>Religious historian, F.A. Peake, pointed out that "it was during this period that we get the first clear indication of Lloyd's conviction that he was not as other men and of his ability to convince others of that fact....That a relatively young and unknown clergyman could find his way into such illustrious company is indeed surprising and the records offer no hint of enlightenment." F.A. Peake, "Anglican Theological Education in Saskatchewan", Saskatchewan History Vol. 35 Winter 1982, p. 30.

<sup>34</sup>Anglican Church General Synod Archives (ACGSA), Lloyd (George Exton) Papers, Correspondence 1926-1947, George Exton Lloyd to H.B. Hall October 12, 1938.

foreshadowing his later conflicts with authority.<sup>35</sup>

Lloyd, under his doctor's advice, headed south with his family in search of a more recuperative climate. He spent the next two years preaching in various locations, including South Carolina, Jamaica and Texas, before coming back to Canada in 1898 to become editor of the Anglican paper, The Evangelical Churchman. In 1900 he returned to England to become deputation secretary for the Colonial and Continental Church Society (C.C.C.S.).

The Colonial and Continental Church Society, centred in London, was created to promote the spread of the Anglican religion by assisting clergymen, lay evangelists and school teachers to help spread the gospel all over the world.<sup>36</sup> Working as a deputation agent for the missionary society, Lloyd's job in England was to promote emigration to Canada. From 1900 to 1902, according to his own account, he "preached

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<sup>35</sup>Submitting his resignation to the Bishop of Fredericton, Lloyd admitted that he had alienated at least three prominent individuals, all of whom were making his job difficult. Provincial Archives of New Brunswick (PANB), Diocese of Fredericton Papers, Rector's Correspondence, Reverend George Exton Lloyd to the Lord Bishop, July 29, 1896.

<sup>36</sup>The society was the outcome of the amalgamation of two other Societies, the Newfoundland School Society and the Colonial Church Society, both of which were dedicated to increasing religious and educational teaching in various areas. Together in 1851 they formed "The Colonial Church and School Society", which changed its name to "The Colonial and Continental Church Society" in 1861. FF, General File, Taken from photocopied chapter from book, Author Unknown, Each Succeeding Year: A Short Sketch of the History of the C.C.C.S (London: The Colonial and Continental Church Society, n.d.)

147 times and addressed over 700 meetings and always upon the one topic 'The expansion of Canada.'"<sup>37</sup> His speeches generated a great deal of interest, especially from soldiers who, recently returned from the Boer War, were unhappy with the job prospects and sedentary lifestyle in Britain. Seeking further adventure, many of these men were drawn to stories of the untamed Canadian frontier. Sensing that there were large numbers of Britons similarly disposed, Lloyd published a letter in the London Times calling for good British settlers who were willing to take advantage of the opportunity the Canadian West provided. He warned that if they did not act quickly, Americans and "foreigners," who knew a good thing when they saw it, would quickly take all the available land.<sup>38</sup> Reprinted in a number of other newspapers, his letter not only caught the attention of a large section of the general public, which responded with thousands of letters, but also impressed Reverend Isaac Barr.<sup>39</sup>

Prior to the publication of Lloyd's letter, Barr had already begun devising a scheme to help bring a group of settlers to the Canadian prairies. Realizing that Lloyd

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<sup>37</sup>Bruce Peel Special Collections Library (BPSC), Lyle Files, Vol. 59, George Exton Lloyd to unknown, February 1, 1904.

<sup>38</sup>BCHCC, Lloydminster File, Lloyd, G.E. The Canadian Wheat Belt, September 22, 1902.

<sup>39</sup>Isaac Barr was born in Canada in 1847, and later served as a minister in his home country before moving to America in the 1880s. He then made his way to England in early 1902.

shared many of his convictions, including a determination to keep the colony "All-British," Barr asked the deputation agent to assist him. Together, the two clergymen began to cultivate a plan to send over a large group of British citizens to Canada in order to establish an exclusively British community. While Barr was the driving force behind the scheme, Lloyd's influence cannot be overlooked. Public interest was promoted by his energetic and graphic descriptions of the opportunity Canada presented,<sup>40</sup> and even a number of those in positions of authority were swayed by his enthusiasm. After a meeting with Lloyd, W.T.R Preston, London Commissioner of Emigration to Canada, wrote to the Canadian deputy minister of the Interior, J.S. Smart, stating, "Mr. Lloyd certainly is very well connected, and his general appearance gives one the impression that he is a man with much more than the usual earnestness, which in so far as he is concerned is one of the purely philanthropic character."<sup>41</sup> Together, Lloyd and Barr were able to sell their plan to the Canadian authorities and to a large number of British citizens who, believing in the ability of the two leaders and in their positive representation of the Canadian West, decided to migrate to the Canadian prairies.

On March 31, 1903, 2500 settlers set sail from London on

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<sup>40</sup>Greater Britain Messenger, No. LV, April 1903, p. 51.

<sup>41</sup>BPSC, Lyle Files, Government official Correspondence Vol 10-15. W.T.R Preston to J.S. Smart, November 21, 1902.

the S.S. Lake Manitoba accompanied by their two leaders, the Reverends Barr and Lloyd. Lloyd had not originally intended to join the colonists, but his inability to find any other clergyman with the "proper" credentials convinced him to make the personal sacrifice.<sup>42</sup> The trip was almost instantly fraught with problems since both the leaders of the colonists and the Canadian government were ill-prepared to care for such a large number of settlers. Under such conditions, Barr quickly fell out of favour with the British emigrants, many of whom claimed that he was trying to cheat them. By the time the colonists reached Battleford in May 1903, the antagonism towards him had risen to such a level that the colonists decided that he must be deposed. Lloyd, who had won the admiration of the settlers early on during the ocean voyage, was chosen as his successor.

Lloyd's ability as leader received mixed reviews. While a large number of surviving accounts of the colony praised his leadership, colonist Ivan F. Crossley's comment that "[Lloyd] held the Colony together through difficult times and was loved by all" was not entirely accurate.<sup>43</sup> There is no question that Lloyd's leadership was important to the development of the colony; his abilities, however, did not go unquestioned by some Canadian authorities and by a number of

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid., George Exton Lloyd, "The Trail of 1903", 1940, p. 3.

<sup>43</sup>Saskatchewan Archives Board (SAB), Ivan F. Crossley, My Life and Experiences with the Barr Colony, 1960, p. 32.

the colonists, many of whom believed that he was a bit of an autocrat. The animosity of some towards Lloyd was quite pronounced, while others merely questioned some of his tactics. As one colonist remarked "we liked Mr. Lloyd very, very much, but he was a dictator with very strong ideas. He was under the impression that progress was entirely with his Church. He was above Barr, you understand, he was a representative of God."<sup>44</sup>

The Canadian government was not quite certain about how to deal with the outspoken clergyman. Not only did Lloyd expect a great deal from the colonists, but he was also determined to ensure that the Canadian government was prepared to do all that was within its means to assist the colony. Certainly he was able to accomplish much for the colonists by his entreaties; still, the arrogance of this clergyman, who considered that he "had done as much to make Canada known in England as a half a dozen Emigration Department officials put together," made him a hard man at times to bear.<sup>45</sup>

Above all else, Lloyd was determined to fashion a community consisting of exclusively British stock and based on the highest moral standards. He met resistance on both points. A number of colonists, believing that they would

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<sup>44</sup>Reid, p. 107.

<sup>45</sup>BPSC, Lyle Files, G.E. Lloyd Correspondence, Vol. 59, Lloyd to Unknown, February 1, 1904.

gain more experience by mixing with farmers already settled in the West than by secluding themselves in a British-only colony, broke with Lloyd when they realized that he was determined to exclude all but British immigrants from the colony. Relations between this group and Lloyd soured when a number of them decided to settle in Jackfish.<sup>46</sup> It was not the only group opposed to Lloyd. Within Lloydminster itself, there were two factions, one that supported the clergyman and another that opposed him. This division occurred for a number of reasons, not the least of which was the battle between the two groups over whether alcohol should be allowed into the colony.<sup>47</sup> Lloyd, in an attempt to "save" those who were too weak to make the "right" decision, tried to ban liquor from the colony. For him, the question in the new settlement was not so much "a question of whether a man has a right to take or leave a glass of ale. Here it is a question to so many young men of peril of absolute ruin in

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<sup>46</sup>One of the settlers in Jackfish wrote that Lloyd was an incompetent leader who should stick to his role as clergyman rather than try to lead the colony, which, he argued, was like "the blind leading the blind." BPSC, Lyle Files, Contemporary Newspaper Clippings, Vol. 40. Saskatchewan Herald, September 9, 1903.

<sup>47</sup>Lloyd lost this battle, but he won a great deal of respect for his actions in this losing cause. In his book Reverend James Boyle wrote that two sides were combatting in the colony, a battle in which "money and political interest backed up the one side, love of fellow man the other. Whisky got its way, and frail humanity was sacrificed for the interest of liquor traffic." Sixty of Saskatchewan, p. 22.



body and soul."<sup>48</sup>

Although not all of Lloyd's actions won him universal favour within the colony, stories of his leadership had gained him many supporters throughout the West. They certainly attracted the attention of leaders of the Saskatchewan Anglican Diocese. In 1905 the Bishop of Saskatchewan, Jervois A. Newnham, asked Lloyd to serve as Archdeacon and General Superintendent of all white missions for the diocese. Moving from Lloydminster to Prince Albert, Lloyd proved to be an invaluable addition to the administrative structure of the Anglican church in Saskatchewan.

Lloyd came into the diocese during a crucial period for the Anglican church. At the turn of the century, many Anglicans in the West were determined to avoid making the same mistakes the Church had made during the early years of expansion in Eastern Canada. Prior to the influx of large numbers of Europeans to Canada, the Church of England had provided more missionaries than any other denomination to carry out missionary work among the natives,<sup>49</sup> but it was not prepared to minister to the new European settlers.

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<sup>48</sup>Greater British Messenger No. LXX, August-September 1904, pp. 122-123.

<sup>49</sup>Trevor Powell, "The Church of England in the Dioceses of Qu'Appelle and Saskatchewan: Their Establishment, Expansion and Response to Immigration 1874-1914" (University of Regina: Unpublished M.A. Thesis, 1981), p. 137.

Consequently, other better organized denominations seized the opportunity to convert large numbers of these immigrants. As a result, by the early twentieth century, the Anglican Church, once one of the leading churches in terms of number of adherents, had fallen to fourth in the country behind the Catholic, Methodist and Presbyterian churches. This situation frustrated many of the western Church leaders and leaders of the various missionary societies in both Canada and Britain. Canon Tucker, secretary for the Canadian Missionary Society (M.S.C.C.), wrote:

Too often, in the past, the Church has waited till promising settlements had become established and were in a position actively to welcome and support her. Before that day came, enterprising neighbours had gone in, built their churches, brought all the people to their services, and all the children to their Sunday schools; and when, at last, the Church of England appeared on the scene she found the ground cut from under her feet, her own members often only half-willing to receive her.<sup>50</sup>

Lloyd shared the concerns of those who feared that the apathy of the Anglican Church was allowing other churches the opportunity to establish stronger positions within Canada. His concern would prove to be an important catalyst for many of his actions. In a speech in London to one of England's leading missionary groups, the Society for the Propagation of

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<sup>50</sup>Tucker, Western Canada, p. 121. This call was similar to one made by Reverend Boyle, who worked for the C.C.C.S., when he said that the West must not follow the patterns of the East: "now this is typical of Eastern Canada, the Church everywhere comes fourth. Do you like playing fourth fiddle?" Sixty of Saskatchewan, p. 56.

the Gospel (S.P.G.), Lloyd said:

Forty years ago in Ontario the Church waited because the people in the backwoods were only in fives. The Methodist saddle-bag riders went in and looked after the fives, and to-day they have the fifties and the Church has nothing. We will not repeat that mistake. If we cannot afford a loaf, we will offer them a slice until times improve and they can help a little themselves.<sup>51</sup>

From the time he had arrived with the Barr Colonists to the day he retired as Bishop, Lloyd engaged in a persistent fight to offer settlers in all areas of the diocese at least "a slice."<sup>52</sup> One of his primary contributions was his involvement in helping to promote a change in Emmanuel College's mandate, from an Indian training school to a divinity training school.<sup>53</sup> He, then almost single-handedly recruited the students necessary to ensure its continued success.

Lloyd's plan to gather and train students, inspired by the necessity to minister to such a large diocese, was unorthodox. Using the college as an "associate mission," he proposed a plan to bring a number of men from Britain to

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<sup>51</sup>BPSC, Lyle Papers, Vol. 57, Lloyd, G.E. "White Settlers in Canada," The Churches Missions in Christendom: Official Report of the Pan-Anglican Congress, Vol. VI, 1908, p. 5.

<sup>52</sup>His role had included overseeing the building of many churches in the West, setting up the Sunday School by Post in order to bring it to those who were secluded, and bringing British teachers to teach in these areas. BPSC, Lyle Files, Vol 1-7, Annual Report of the Colonial and Continental Church Society 1904-1905, pp. 46 and 135.

<sup>53</sup>Lloyd proposed this change at the 1905 Diocesan Synod and it was passed the next year.

serve as catechists.<sup>54</sup> Instead of simply taking divinity courses, they would, Lloyd believed, fill an important role in Saskatchewan by preaching in remote areas of the province for nine months of the year while returning to take divinity training for the remaining three months. In a province like Saskatchewan, he argued, these men would help to set the foundation from which the Church of England could begin to expand. They would, he said, "form little congregations of 10, 15, and 20, many of which would soon grow into large and self-supporting churches. It is by looking after the ten to-day that we shall gain possession of the field by and by."<sup>55</sup> Believing strongly in his mission, Lloyd volunteered to go to Britain to promote his plan and to gather sixty men.

Due to his energy and impressive oratorical skills, Lloyd received a great deal of support from both the C.C.C.S. and the S.P.G..<sup>56</sup> He was also able to induce fifty-six men, known

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<sup>54</sup>The use of an associate mission was not popular in Canada, but it appears Lloyd may have obtained the idea from the western United States. F.A. Peake, p. 32.

<sup>55</sup>New Era, Vol. IV Number 12, December 1906.

<sup>56</sup>Although the leaders of the C.C.C.S. and the S.P.G. initially had different plans for supporting the diocese before Lloyd came to Britain, "The enthusiastic and confident appeals of Mr. Lloyd, coupled with the definite character of his scheme, secured a remarkable measure of support for his proposals." BPSC, Lyle Papers, vol 1-7, Annual Report of the Colonial and Continental Church Society 1906-1907, p. 36. Bishop Newnham believed that Lloyd could not be ignored in Britain, for, "once there, with his foot upon his native platform, and the map of this great west in his brain...there was no withstanding his eloquence and inspiration." Saskatchewan Synod Journal, June 1907.

in legend as "the sixty of Saskatchewan," to return with him to the West. Once back, Lloyd decided that he would take full responsibility for overseeing and training these men. In 1908 he was made Principal of Emmanuel College.<sup>57</sup>

Although he was not trained to be a principal of a divinity school, Lloyd did a great deal to further the prestige of the college and increase ministrations within the diocese. His work, however, both as a promoter of the catechist scheme and as principal of Emmanuel college, did not go unchallenged. Taking pride in the high educational standards established for divinity ordination and concerned that attempts to decrease these standards would result in a second-class leadership, a number of prominent church leaders were worried that Lloyd's plans to educate the catechists put too much emphasis on "practical" experience and not enough on "theoretical" training.<sup>58</sup> Even within the West, where the need to encourage increased ministrations was great, there were many leaders who opposed bringing in catechists.<sup>59</sup> Both

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<sup>57</sup>He moved with the college when it was relocated to the University of Saskatchewan campus in 1909.

<sup>58</sup>Powell, p. 163. The High Churchmen were especially opposed to the scheme, a fact of which both Lloyd and Bishop Newnham were well aware. Newnham understood that the opposition believed they were diluting the church by "[admitting] into the sacred ministry a number of young men, insufficiently educated and prepared." Saskatchewan Synod Journal, June 1910.

<sup>59</sup>The scheme was accepted only in Saskatchewan. BPSC, Lyle Files, Vol. 1-7, Annual Report of the Colonial and Continental Church Society, 1907-1908, p. 39.

the Archbishop of Rupert's Land, S.P. Matheson, and the Bishop of Calgary, Jervois A. Pinkham, expressed concern that the catechists scheme decreased the prestige of the school and diluted its clergy.<sup>60</sup>

Lloyd also ran into opposition within his own college. In May 1913, Lloyd's principalship was questioned by three leading members of the Emmanuel College, H.S. Broadbent, William Ferguson and John Tuckey. The reasons for their discontent are unknown, but these men, led by Broadbent, put before the Emmanuel College Board a motion:

That while deeply appreciating the work done by Principal Lloyd for Emmanuel College, this Board does not consider that the work of Principal of a College is that for which he is best fitted, and therefore that Principal Lloyd be asked to send in his resignation of the post of Principal of Emmanuel College, and resignation to take effect on Sept 15, 1913.<sup>61</sup>

No reasons for this motion were recorded,<sup>62</sup> and while the

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<sup>60</sup>BPSC, Lyle Files, Vol. 9, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, J.D. Mullins, Secretary, C.C.C.S., to Bishop H.H. Montgomery, November 7, 1906 and Bishop of Calgary to Bishop H.H. Montgomery, November 7, 1906.

<sup>61</sup>SAB, Emmanuel - St. Chad Papers, Board of Governors, May 20, 1913.

<sup>62</sup>Perhaps G.F. Trench, a friend of Broadbent's, writing in 1962, knew the answer, when he said "As you know all the three men who went out to serve on the staff at Emmanuel in those early days were ultimately "casualties" because Lloyd could not bear any opinion but his own and though he needed British clergy (because he could not get Canadian) he did not really want them because they were men who had convictions, Tuckey (Irish), Broadbent and later Ferguson, who was outstandingly the best scholar." Quoted in F.A. Peake, p. 62.

church did perform an investigation into the matter, it was the other three, not Lloyd, who eventually resigned. Despite his victory, it was clear that Lloyd's aggressive behaviour was not accepted by everyone within the church. He would not be so lucky in his next confrontation with Church authorities.

While his relationship with the C.C.C.S. had changed since his early employment as its deputation secretary, Lloyd had remained an important liaison for the Society in Canada. Impressed by his oratorical skills, the Society invited him to speak in Britain in 1909, 1912 and 1915, in the hope that his impassioned speeches would increase interest in the Canadian West.<sup>63</sup> During the last trip, however, relations between Lloyd and the Society soured. Lloyd was still under the supervision of the C.C.C.S., since the Emmanuel College, struggling under the burden of debt, had been leased by the Society in 1914. This meant that Lloyd would have to gain the support of the C.C.C.S. before he pursued any further schemes to promote the church or mould morality in the West. His latest ambition had been to settle a large number of Anglican British teachers in remote areas of the diocese. These teachers would be responsible for educating and "Canadianizing" - which for him meant "Anglicizing" - the "foreigners" on the prairies, and for inculcating them with

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<sup>63</sup>The British Messenger, January 1922.

good, strong British morals and values.<sup>64</sup> The C.C.C.S. balked at Lloyd's proposal, not because it was opposed to the venture itself, but because it did not believe it had enough money to support such an ambitious plan at this time.<sup>65</sup>

The Society's refusal angered Lloyd. He had already succeeded in bringing in approximately twenty-five teachers from Britain to Saskatchewan in 1913<sup>66</sup>, and he now wanted the freedom to expand his work. In a fit of anger, he challenged the missionary society and resigned all contacts with them. Unknowingly, by breaking with the society, he also severed his ties with Emmanuel College. Believing that he could once again appeal to members of his own church, he returned to Saskatchewan in an attempt to retain his position as Principal. Led by Reverend Carpenter, who had overseen the college during Lloyd's absence, however, the diocese and the college upheld the Society's decision. Even though Newnham sang his praises in the Synod following Lloyd's official resignation, the Principal's supporters had been unable to

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<sup>64</sup>One of Lloyd's supporters said that Lloyd's plan had "two great and noble motives", to 'keep Canada British' and increase the prestige of the Anglican Church. ACGSA, Fellowship of the Maple Leaf Papers, Magazine of the Fellowship of the Maple Leaf, July 1917, p. 28.

<sup>65</sup>SAB, Emmanuel - St. Chad Papers, AII.31, J.D. Mullins to Reverend Carpenter, April 6, 1916.

<sup>66</sup>At this point he had the support of the C.C.C.S. Powell, p. 192.



help him this time.<sup>67</sup>

Not to be deterred, Lloyd moved back to Britain to pursue independently his plan to bring teachers to the West. He was determined to build on his earlier efforts by creating an agency which would oversee the settlement and certification of these teachers. Wanting to gather as much support as possible, Lloyd advertised his venture as non-political, favouring neither high nor low churchmen.<sup>68</sup> Defying the odds again, he was able to get a long list of influential leaders, both from Canada and Britain, to support his plan.<sup>69</sup> As a

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<sup>67</sup>Saskatchewan Synod Journal, 1916. It is clear that Lloyd had been Newnham's right hand man for many years, but there are indications, despite the Bishop's praise of Lloyd, that their relationship might have soured by this time. J.D. Mullins, when writing to Carpenter, referred on a number of occasions to a letter written by Newnham, which showed that Lloyd and the diocese would not be "reconciled." SAB, Emmanuel - St. Chad Papers, AII.31, J.D. Mullins to Reverend Carpenter May 10, 1917. Furthermore, Newnham was never one of the official supporters of Lloyd's teaching scheme. It is of interest to note that there were others in Saskatchewan who also were not Lloyd supporters. Reverend Canon Matheson, Rural Dean of Battleford, when writing about the settlement of the Barr Colony, praises Barr's contribution, but never even makes reference to Lloyd. SAB, Canon Matheson, The Work of the Church of England Among English Settlers in the Diocese of Saskatchewan in the Earlier Years of the Diocese, (August 29, 1917).

<sup>68</sup>Just to show how important divisions were within the Church, J.D. Mullins, Secretary of the C.C.C.S. wrote to Principal Carpenter that "Dr. Lloyd has also done much to alienate our constituency by saying that his scheme can be supported equally by High Church and Evangelicals." SAB, Emmanuel - St. Chad Papers, AII.3, J.D. Mullins to Reverend Carpenter, June 4, 1917.

<sup>69</sup>Despite the fact that Mullins believed that "on this side he eagerly claims the support of any who give him hearing but of downright adherents there are very few",

result, the Fellowship of the Maple Leaf (F.M.L.) was born.

Bringing in approximately 500 teachers between 1916 and 1928, the Fellowship, although never as successful as Lloyd originally hoped, did make an impact on the West.<sup>70</sup> Lloyd was certainly convinced that those teachers who arrived were helping him in his fight to keep Canada British. Referring to one settlement served by a female teacher, Lloyd said, "fifty mles [sic] from anywhere, very few visitors, no church nearby, twenty-eight children, eight Germans, seven Austrians, five Servians [sic], five Scandinavians, three English. Could they all speak English? They can now. They all stood up and repeated a Psalm and sang a hymn from memory and then answered all kinds of questions-flag-homes-religion."<sup>71</sup> Later in his career, Lloyd would focus more on restricting immigration altogether than on trying to "Canadianize" the "foreigner." For now, however, he was doing all he could to mould the morality of the inhabitants of the West by educating them and sheltering them from temptation.

Lloyd's attempts to educate the "foreigner" had been complemented by his earlier activity in trying to Ban the Bar in Saskatchewan. Believing that liquor was behind many of

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Lloyd received enough support, tacit or not, to launch his plan. SAB, Emmanuel - St. Chad Papers, A II.31, J.D. Mullins to Reverend Carpenter, May 10, 1917.

<sup>70</sup>Carrington, p. 261.

<sup>71</sup>Saskatchewan Synod Journal, June 18, 1921.

society's ills, negatively influencing both "foreigner" and British-born alike, Lloyd waged war against the pernicious liquid throughout his career. His greatest achievement occurred when, as leader of the Ban the Bar movement, he helped bring about the closure of the bars in Saskatchewan in 1915.<sup>72</sup> For years prohibition forces, often headed by members of the Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptist churches, had been trying to make headway in Canada against alcohol. In Saskatchewan, led by Lloyd and Bishop Newnham, the Anglicans also joined in the fray.<sup>73</sup> While Lloyd, if his efforts in the Barr Colony were any indication, would probably have preferred total prohibition, he, like Newnham, realized that such a strong policy would not win as much public support as a more cautious campaign.<sup>74</sup> Instead of total abstinence, he

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<sup>72</sup>As a sign of the respect Lloyd received for his leadership abilities, after presiding over the first meeting of the launching of the Banish the Bar Crusade, he was elected leader. He was considered so effective that in 1915 he was elected president of the Dominion Prohibition Alliance. In 1923 he was also made president of the Prohibition League of Saskatchewan.

<sup>73</sup>E. H. Pinno, unpublished Masters Thesis "Temperance and Prohibition in Saskatchewan" (Regina, 1971), pp. 13 and 16. Of the temperance debate, Bishop Newnham said, "I am glad to think that in Saskatchewan at least our church is in the forefront in this battle, and that many of our Clergy and Laity are working for this great end." Saskatchewan Synod Journal, June 1914.

<sup>74</sup>Pinno, p. 16. Lloyd, at a convention in Saskatoon, argued that the temperance movement was like an Oxford Cambridge boat race "If the eight man in one boat pulls one 32 strokes to the minute, another 30, and one 28, the crew will not win. The wise thing would be for the coxswain to arrange 30 to the minute, a long pull and a strong pull and pull together. We have in Saskatchewan all sorts of

encouraged the government to close the bars and restrict the sale of alcohol to government stores. On July 1, 1915, Saskatchewan Premier, Walter Scott, acceded to the movement's demands. Not realizing that the victory would be short-lived, Lloyd was jubilant. As a primary leader in the battle, not only had he achieved his goal, he had also won himself a number of supporters in the province, including members of other churches who had fought on his side.<sup>75</sup> His efforts were not forgotten by his own church either, and in 1921 he was elected Bishop of Saskatchewan. His election as Bishop gives some indication of just how popular he was. Despite the fact that he was no longer living in Canada, and that he had "burned numerous bridges" before he left, Lloyd's reputation as a leader and a man of action remained intact.

In the 1907 New Era, George Exton Lloyd, then Archdeacon, was described as:

A patriot, an imperialist, a churchman to the marrow of his bones, he has moved along that triple line through the whole of his career.... Tall, erect honest, benevolent and enthusiastic, deep lines in a face that looks older than it is, there are traces of an anxious and strenuous life -- of an overwrought nervous organism in a frame apparently too frail to bear the extreme pressure

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strokes. We've decided to ask the hot-blooded full prohibition people to modify their pace for a time, and the sluggish ones to pull up and all pull 30." SAB, Banish the Bar Crusade, Crusader Vol 1 Number 4, April 1914.

<sup>75</sup>Lloyd was not satisfied either to keep it at that; he pointed out once the bars were closed that "the fight had only begun." SAB, Banish the Bar Crusade, Crusader, Vol 2 Number 5. He also preached against alcohol during his trips to Britain.

that is continually placed upon it. With a passion for service that simply ignores fatigue and hardship....a strength of will and an energy of character that would force themselves to the front under any circumstances, and make themselves a factor to be reckoned with in the great arena of the modern world.<sup>76</sup>

By 1921, very little had changed. Although he had lost the lamb chop sideburns and moustache that adorned him for most of his earlier career in Canada, and had added a few pounds to his once frail frame, he still retained, beneath the new priestly attire, the same passion that had led him onto the battlefield in 1885. He also had the same determination that had given him the strength to lead the Barr colonists at the turn of the century, and the same fighting spirit which had inspired him to promote tirelessly the Anglican church and ferociously battle liquor. Armed with strong convictions and great oratorical skills, he was indeed a man to "be reckoned with in the great arena of the modern world." He was also, however, a wilful man, a man whose whole-hearted belief in the causes he promoted had often led him into conflict with others, and would continue do so. He was never afraid to alienate others, even those in prominent positions, when in pursuit of a "higher cause."

As Bishop, Lloyd was prepared to continue in his efforts to help create a British bastion in the West. For him, the rewards, if he was successful, were substantial. Not only was he advancing the diocese of Saskatchewan, he was helping

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<sup>76</sup>Quoted in Sketches of the Life, p. 13.

to build and educate a nation. Once Bishop, he made his intentions very clear: "it is not merely a matter of a little Mission here, and a Clergyman there, and another Mission over there; nor even is it the larger thing of the formation of a grand new Diocese. It is something far and away larger than that: it is the training of a New Nation."<sup>77</sup> As bishop, local hero and nation builder, Lloyd was able to pursue his vision with increased vigour. As determined as ever to battle all of those who threatened this vision, the "fighting clergyman," in the years ahead, set his sights on a group that he believed posed a real threat -- the "foreign" immigrant.

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<sup>77</sup>Saskatchewan Synod Journal, 1923.

CHAPTER TWO  
THE FIGHTING CHAPLAIN

When Reverend Sweeney, Bishop of Toronto, innocently proposed at the 1927 General Synod that Anglican ministers officially congratulate the Canadian government on its immigration policy, he did not foresee the antagonistic response his suggestion would engender. Far from wishing to congratulate the Dominion government for its endeavours, many ministers, using "as strong language as it was possible for clergy to use in public . . . ." <sup>1</sup> forcefully denounced the government's immigration policy; they strongly believed that this programme was threatening the British makeup of the country. Prominent among those who expressed concern were a number of ministers from the Diocese of Saskatchewan, including Bishop Lloyd, who proposed a motion calling for "the adoption of a quota policy to limit the number of certain classes of foreign-born immigrants admitted during any year to not more than 50 per cent. of the British born admitted during the previous year." <sup>2</sup> After much debate, the motion was passed. It was an important and encouraging success for Lloyd, who subsequently increased his attacks on Canada's Immigration Department. During the next few years

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<sup>1</sup>Sentinel, September 29, 1927.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

Lloyd would find many Canadians as receptive to his campaign, aimed at restricting the numbers of "undesirable" immigrants, as the Anglican ministry had been. His fervent appeal for restrictions on "un-preferred" immigrants during the late 1920s was not, however, the result of any radical change of thought on Lloyd's part, but rather the culmination of many years spent fighting what he perceived to be the deterioration of the Canadian nation.

Lloyd's life-long ambition was to help create a Canada that was both British and Christian.<sup>3</sup> Only by becoming a British stronghold, he believed, would Canada achieve the success for which it was destined. Writing to a friend in the late 1930s, Lloyd asserted that the British are a special "race," "not because we are White or Black but because, as far as I can see, we are the most Christian nation [and] that God's promises are actually being fulfilled in us as a people."<sup>4</sup> As an emissary of God, Lloyd believed that it was his duty to challenge **all** those who threatened to undermine the "Britishness" of the young nation. This Britishness,

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<sup>3</sup>For many years, on the four corners of the publication of the Fellowship of the Maple Leaf could be found the letters KCBC (Keep Canada British and Christian).

<sup>4</sup>Anglican Archives (ACGSA), Lloyd (George Exton) Papers, Correspondence, G.E. Lloyd to H.B. Hall, October 12, 1938. This reflects what he said earlier in life when he implored the S.P.G. to help make a difference in Canada, since "...the British Empire is a God given instrument for the good of the whole world..." Canadian Churchman, July 2, 1925.



while it often referred to race<sup>5</sup>, could also refer to religion, and to values and institutions that were perceived to be distinctly "British."

When he returned to Canada in 1903, Lloyd found his dreams of a distinctly British Canada threatened. Prior to the 1890s English Canada had been an Anglo-Saxon stronghold, but under Clifford Sifton, Canada's Minister of the Interior from 1896-1905, the make-up of the country had begun to change. Arriving at his post during a time of national economic revival, Sifton was determined to increase Canada's prosperity still further. The key to accomplishing this goal, he believed, was to fill the prairies with the best farmers available.<sup>6</sup> Since there were not enough British farmers willing to emigrate, he turned his attention to agriculturalists from other countries, including those from Eastern and Central Europe. Sifton was confident that these

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<sup>5</sup>The modern definition of race begins with the 18th century attempt to "classify" all mankind according to biological or physical types, using criteria such as colour and head shapes. Almost immediately writers began confusing physical characteristics with cultural ones, such as level of "civilization" and language. Lloyd generally divided people into categories, or "races," on the basis of ethnic differences, although he, like many of his contemporaries, also used it to refer to physical differences, both real and imagined. For a full discussion of the question of race in this period see Nancy Stepan, The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain 1800-1960 (London: Macmillan, 1982).

<sup>6</sup>These new immigrants would travel and transport goods by rail, they would provide a market for eastern products, and they would help "secure the West for Canada." Howard Palmer, Patterns of Prejudice: A History of Nativism in Alberta (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), p. 22.

"stalwart peasants in the sheepskin coats" would become good farmers and eventually assimilate into the Canadian population.<sup>7</sup> There were many Canadians, including Lloyd, who did not share his optimism.

Even before he returned to Canada in 1903, Lloyd, in a letter published in the London Times, was alerting Britons to the danger Canada faced;<sup>8</sup> if Britain did not send men to settle in Canada soon, he warned, the vast tracts of empty land that were now available would within five years be filled by "Americans and foreigners."<sup>9</sup> His fears were not unwarranted. Under Sifton, British immigrants made up a mere 22 per cent of all immigrants in 1903; 33 per cent came from the United States and 34 per cent from "other" countries.<sup>10</sup> While the total number of "foreigners" living in Canada was not large enough to cause widespread panic, it did concern a number of Canadians, including Sifton's successor, Frank

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<sup>7</sup>Valerie Knowles, Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy 1540-1900 (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1992), p. 64.

<sup>8</sup>Barr Colony Archives (BCHCC), Lloydminster File, "The Canadian Wheat Belt." September 23, 1902.

<sup>9</sup>Lloyd's solution: "Why not make up parties of, say, 100 each and go out and settle by townships in company together? Why not a large party for next March? I am willing to do all I can to help." The very next year Lloyd was on his way to Canada with the Barr colonists. Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Knowles, p. 72. In 1897 immigration had been more than fifty per cent British (11,383 immigrants from Britain, 2,412 from U.S. and 7,921 from other countries).

Oliver.<sup>11</sup>

Convinced that the large influx of non-British immigrants threatened to dilute the "morality and intelligence" of the Canadian populace,<sup>12</sup> Oliver was determined to decrease the number of "foreign" immigrants arriving in the West while, at the same time, increasing the number of immigrants of the "right type" -- eastern Canadians, Britons and Americans. He only half succeeded; while he was successful in attracting a larger number of British immigrants, he was unable to stifle the flood of eastern and central European immigrants. Still, his policies won him support, even amongst the Anglophiles. Although the number of "foreign" immigrants coming to Canada rose during Oliver's first year in office, Lloyd applauded the new minister for "concentrat[ing] all his efforts to bring in English-speaking and Scandinavian immigrants."<sup>13</sup> This praise illustrated Lloyd's attitude towards "foreign" immigration; while he always remained concerned about the impact the "foreign" immigrants had, regardless of the number that were brought in, his fears were magnified when these numbers approached or surpassed the numbers of British immigrants arriving during the same period. His attitude was shared by many Canadians, who, in 1906, had every reason to

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<sup>11</sup>Palmer, p. 22.

<sup>12</sup>Quoted in Angus McLaren, Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990), p. 48.

<sup>13</sup>The New Era, Vol. 4 Number 12, December 1906.

be optimistic. In October of that year, for example, Lloyd could express satisfaction that during the last twelve months the number of "foreign" immigrants arriving had increased by only 7,000, while the number of Americans had increased by 14,000 and the number of British by 21,000.<sup>14</sup> Looking at these numbers, Lloyd believed he had at least as much reason to be concerned about the threat that American settlers posed to the "Britishness" of the nation.<sup>15</sup> He was not alone.

Many Canadians questioned the morality and strength of the American population at the turn of the century. During the late nineteenth century, before Canada's "foreign" immigration boom, America had opened its doors to immigrants from all over the world; the results of this policy met with mixed reviews. Although America prospered during this period, there were many North Americans who believed that the negative results of this open-door policy outweighed the positive. Writing during the late nineteenth century, George R. Parkin, a New Brunswick teacher who believed in stronger ties between Canada and Britain,<sup>16</sup> expressed consternation

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid. He could also take comfort in the fact that 120,799 Britons had been lured to Canada during a twelve month period in the years 1906 and 1907. This compared favourably with the 11,810 who had arrived during the same months in 1906-1907. Knowles, p. 84.

<sup>15</sup> When he wrote to the London Times before he came to Canada, Lloyd not only expressed fear about the foreign immigrant, he also warned that too many Americans were coming to Canada.

<sup>16</sup>It is interesting to note that Lloyd attempted to gain the support of Parkin for the F.M.L., and offered him

over the fact that the American policy of immigration was "steadily diluting the Anglo-Saxon element and diminishing the relative influence of the native American."<sup>17</sup> He, like many other Canadians, did not want to see Canada make the same mistakes.

Using the American model as an example, J.S. Woodsworth, Methodist minister and social reformer, advised Canadians in his book, Strangers Within Our Gates (1909), not to open their doors to "foreign" immigrants. "Only the most strenuous efforts on our part," he argued, "can prevent us sharing those evils which the best Americans so deeply deplore."<sup>18</sup> By 1915 he was even more adamant. Due to its smaller population, he warned, the threat of "foreign" immigration would be twenty-eight times larger for Canada than it was for America. This was a frightening statistic for Woodsworth and other Canadians who believed that the Americans had not yet solved their "problem."<sup>19</sup>

Some Canadians feared the dilution of the American

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a position within the Fellowship as "Deputy to the Bishop of Willenden as Chairman for the Committee of the Band of the Maple Leaf." National Archives of Canada (NAC), Parkin Papers, MG 30, D 12, vol. 44. G.E. Lloyd to Dr. Parkin, January 1, 1917. Parkin declined.

<sup>17</sup> George R. Parkin, Imperial Federation: The Problem of National Unity (London: Macmillan and Co. 1892), pp. 134-135.

<sup>18</sup>J.S. Woodsworth, Strangers within our Gates: Or Coming Canadians (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1909), p. 65.

<sup>19</sup>Canadian Churchman, February 11, 1915.

population would have a direct bearing on Canada. C.A. Magrath, Alberta Conservative Member of Parliament, for example, believed that immigration from America was a potential threat to the Anglo-Saxon make-up of the Canadian populace. Continued reliance on American immigration, he warned, could one day put Canada in the unenviable position of accepting many of America's "degenerates."<sup>20</sup> For other Canadians the threat was even more immediate. H.G. Herbert, one of Canada's border inspectors, believed that many "foreign" elements were already entering Canada through the "back door," crossing into Canada over the American-Canadian border.<sup>21</sup> Later in his career Lloyd would take up the fight against the American population on exactly this basis. Too many Canadians, he argued in 1928, were adding the number of American immigrants to the total number of British immigrants coming to the country. This was misleading. Of the 21,025 immigrants who arrived from America during a specified period "nearly 10,000 had their racial origin in no less than 39 foreign countries, some of them anything but 'preferred.'<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>C.A. Magrath Canada's Growth and Some Problems Affecting It (Ottawa: Mortimer Press, 1910), p. 128. It is unclear as to whether Magrath, when referring to degenerates, was referring to the Continental European. His references to non Northern Europeans who came to the United States as "dregs of the continent," however, leads one to suspect that he considered them to be the real degenerates in America. Magrath, p. 125.

<sup>21</sup>Quoted in Knowles, p. 89.

<sup>22</sup>Lloydminster Times, May 31, 1928. The term "foreigner" meant different things to different people

Despite these later concerns, however, Lloyd, during the first decade of the twentieth century, appeared to be confident that American immigration was primarily British, and that English immigration was, as a result, outnumbering that from unpreferred countries.<sup>23</sup>

Lloyd was equally concerned with the Canadian response to American ideas brought over by American settlers, as he was with the racial character of the settlers themselves. In 1908 he had brought before the Anglican General Synod a motion calling for an increased drive by the Church to bring in more Anglicans "not by twos and threes . . . but in streams five, ten, fifteen and twenty thousand"<sup>24</sup> to settle in the West, in order that they might counteract the growing number of non-

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during the early twentieth century. On most occasions, Lloyd used the term to refer to all immigrants arriving in Canada who were not from the British Isles or America, although he did, on occasion, also call Americans foreigners. More specifically, he referred to Continental immigrants arriving from countries like Russia, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Lithuania, Hungary, Romania, Poland, Ukraine and Yugoslavia as "non-preferred" or "un-preferred" foreigners.

<sup>23</sup>G.E. Lloyd, "White Settlers in Canada," The Churches' Missions in Christendom, in Official Report of the Pan-Anglican Congress, Vol. VI, 2. This ties in with historian Carl Berger's findings. He points out that a number of staunch pro-British advocates in Canada believed that the English-speaking population in Canada would always predominate, but that as the years progressed they began to get more concerned. Berger, p. 147.

<sup>24</sup>Quoted in Trevor John Powell, "The Church of England in the Dioceses of Qu'Appelle and Saskatchewan: Their Establishment, Expansion and Response to Immigration 1874-1914" (University of Regina: Unpublished Masters Thesis, 1981), p. 221.

British, non-Anglican immigrants who were arriving.<sup>25</sup> Although his motion was passed by the upper and lower houses of the church, the bishops, for reasons unknown, decided not to act upon Lloyd's proposal. In 1909, in a letter written to the Archbishop of Rupert's Land and the House of Bishops, Lloyd expressed his disappointment:

Twenty years hence, the bulk of Canada will be on the **great plains**, and the heart of the Canadian Empire that is to cover half North America will lie between the Rocky Mountains, and the head of Lake Superior, the International boundary line on the south and an unknown but continually receding line to the north. This new nation that is forming so rapidly is **not Canadian**. It is a general mixing of all nationalities, apparently **predominantly American**. This fact does not impress the visitor, because the Union Jack is flying -- the forms of law, order and administration are Canadian, and the external appearance is the same. But the underlying motives, the characteristics, and the religious tone are not Canadian. What they will be, GOD [sic] alone knows. A good deal will depend on what you say or do when you read such an article as this.<sup>26</sup>

Lloyd also questioned the loyalty of Americans. While he believed that the Americans were good farmers and were "in every way desirable citizens," he was worried that they had "no Imperial tendency or sentiment for the old country."<sup>27</sup> His

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid.

<sup>26</sup>ACGSA, Lloyd, G.E. "The New Nation" : a letter addressed to His Grace the Archbishop of Rupertsland and to their Lordships the Members of the House of Bishops. Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, 1909.

<sup>27</sup>ACGSA, Lloyd (George Exton) Papers, Clippings and Periodicals, Toronto Star, May 7, 1925. This mirrored his earlier concerns that the American settlers, even if their ancestors did come from Britain, would "vote for Union with



fears were shared by the Bishop of London, Reverend A.F. Winnington, who argued that "you cannot expect these Galicians or Poles or the thirty-eight percent of Americans to be as keen about the British Empire as we are ourselves."<sup>28</sup> Certainly Lloyd never lost sight of the danger American settlers posed to Canada, but as the threat of "Americanization" through immigration dropped during the 1920s,<sup>29</sup> he expressed less concern about the American threat, and more fear about the Galicians, Poles and other "un-preferred" foreigners.

Lloyd's concern about American values and qualities was part of a larger debate in Canada regarding country of origin. Many Canadians subscribed to theories of Anglo-Saxon superiority and were convinced that Anglo-Saxon countries, led by Britain, were leaders not only in industry, but also in morality.<sup>30</sup> They consequently reacted defensively against

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the States at once." Canadian Churchman, July 2, 1925.

<sup>28</sup>Canadian Churchman, August 26, 1926.

<sup>29</sup>Immigration from the United States from 1925 to 1929 totalled 124,264 immigrants, of the total 711,550 immigrants who came to Canada during that period. This was a mere 17.4%. Anglican Church of Canada Field Commissioners, The Report of the Field Commissioners to the Anglican National Commission (Toronto: Bryant Press, 1931?), p. 46. This compared to the years 1910-1914 when the United States had 605,498 immigrants out of a total of 1,661,425 (36.4%). W.G. Smith, A Study in Canadian Immigration (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1920), p. 114.

<sup>30</sup>America's status, although always high, was questioned at times because of the impact of the large number of foreign immigrants who had settled there.

immigrants from countries they considered backward and oppressed, who threatened to dilute Canadian stock and affect its 'average measure.'<sup>31</sup> In his book, Canada's Growth and Some Problems Affecting It, C.A. Magrath warned Canadians about the dangers of allowing too many immigrants of diverse background to pour into the country. The large numbers of non-British immigrants would soon swamp the country, he argued, and Canada's small population would find its standards, "physically, mentally, and morally," altered by the "average" of the new immigrant.<sup>32</sup> Lloyd, Magrath, and many other Canadians, especially in the West, believed that the immigrants who posed a particular threat were the continental Europeans from Eastern and Central Europe.<sup>33</sup>

Many English-speaking Canadians regarded Continental European immigrants as illiterate and uneducated, and commonly considered them to be morally as well as intellectually inferior to Anglo-Saxon settlers. There was no general consensus among Canadians, however, as to the

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<sup>31</sup> Magrath, p. 53. Of course response was affected by more than just racial ideology; it was often inspired by such factors as occupation and class. The problem for those studying these ideas is that it is never clear where ideology and personal interest intersect.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>As historian Howard Palmer points out, the continental European was at the head of the list for anti-immigrant sentiment in Alberta not because they were considered the most undesirable settlers, that distinction was saved for those with different pigmentation than the Anglo-Saxon, but because, in terms of numbers they provided the largest threat. Palmer, p. 31.

number of continental immigrants who should be allowed to enter the country during any given year. Or, for that matter, whether they should be allowed to enter the country at all, and, if allowed to enter, how they should be treated once they arrived. Part of the problem, as noted by historian Carl Berger, was that:

The familiar language of racism . . . frequently concealed confusion: it is not clear, for instance, whether [those who subscribed to racial theories] generally believed racial character to be permanently fixed and unchangeable or whether they really thought that habits and aptitudes could be learned and acquired.<sup>34</sup>

This confusion occurred, in large part, because there was little consensus among the major scientists who promoted these racial stereotypes.<sup>35</sup> Many anthropologists and biologists believed that there was a hierarchy of peoples,

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<sup>34</sup>Berger, Carl. The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 117.

<sup>35</sup>Many of these prominent scientists came from Britain and the United States. Britain did not have the same large numbers of immigrants in its major cities as the United States did - except in London where, in fact, racial and ethnic studies were more nativist in nature than in the rest of the country. Nancy Stepan The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain 1800-1960 (London: Macmillan, 1982), p. 126. On the whole, however, British scientists "approached the question of race on a more theoretical level than did their American counterparts. Their prejudices were a result of interest in a remote problem and not a direct response to racial conflicts." Elazar Barkan, Retreat of Scientific Racism: Changing Concepts of Race in Britain and the United States Between the World Wars (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 57. Canadians would certainly have been susceptible to ideas coming from both these major countries, although, for Canadians as for Americans, the problems of race were more real than theoretical.

and generally agreed on where the various "races" fit into this hierarchy. Where there was often little agreement was on the division lines that marked racial characteristics, where and how these characteristics originated, and just exactly what the impact of such characteristics were. Did a particular characteristic make a "race" inferior or superior? There was no general theory which explicitly stated which racial traits were hereditary and which were learned. Many Canadians consequently wondered whether a "foreigner" could be educated into desirable British traits.

This was a crucial question. Canadians tended to accept racial theories, promoted by eminent scientists, as incontestable.<sup>36</sup> The Archbishop of Rupert's Land could say with confidence that "it is recognized by all Anthropologists who have closely studied the racial characteristics of different countries that the most virile races and those which have the best mental, moral and spiritual character are those which inhabit Great Britain, Scandinavia, Holland, Switzerland and the Northern sections of Germany and France."<sup>37</sup> For many Canadians the "inferiority of certain

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<sup>36</sup>Barkan points out that in the United States "If since the post-World War II years a measure of scepticism has entered public discourse concerning the incontestability of scientific wisdom, its impeachable status before the war was hardly ever questioned." p. 82.

<sup>37</sup>ACGSA, Fellowship of the Maple Leaf Papers, Magazine of the Fellowship of the Maple Leaf, October and November 1927, p. 10. While the Germans may have been considered a desirable race, according to "scientific theory," their changing role in world affairs -- especially their

racism was no more to be contested than the law of gravity to be regarded as immoral."<sup>38</sup> On the other hand, while gravity appeared to be inalterable, there were those who believed that "foreign" immigrants could be taught to become better Canadians.

Lloyd, like many other Anglo-Saxons, did not question the racial hierarchy of nations. It is never completely clear, however, whether he ever truly believed that "unpreferred" immigrants could be completely assimilated into the Canadian population, or whether he really thought they had the potential to become "good subjects." While Lloyd did not question the physical strength of the continental Europeans or their ability to farm the land, he was concerned about their ability to become "good Canadians" and to accept and support the continuance in the new land of the English language and British institutions and values. Remarking upon the desirability of Doukhobors as farmers, Lloyd was willing

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participation in World War One -- continually altered their desirability as settlers. So science was not the only factor. Still, it can never be known whether many of these groups gained a good reputation because they deserved it by adapting more readily, or whether they adapted simply because they had been accepted more readily. J.S. Woodsworth was reflecting the feelings of many Canadians, including George Exton Lloyd, when he said of the Scandinavians "they assimilate with the Anglo-Saxon peoples and readily intermarry, so that they do not form isolated colonies as do other European immigrants. Where they have found settlements, they quickly learn English, and intermingle with the families of Canadian farmers . . . ." Woodsworth, p. 76.

<sup>38</sup>Barkan, p. 3.

to concede that during their first year, the Doukhobors, given their abilities as labourers, proved to be more productive than Englishmen, but that during the next year the Englishman was almost on an even level, and that "in the course of three or four years the Doukhobor is nowhere in comparison, so far as his general usefulness as a citizen goes."<sup>39</sup> What is unclear is whether Lloyd ever really believed that the Doukhobors or other "un-preferred" foreigners could learn to become "useful citizens." While he often promoted education as a means of improving the desirability of these settlers, he appeared to believe that improvement was really possible only so long as the numbers of "un-preferred" foreigners remained manageable.

Between 1911 and 1914 Canada faced a continental European inundation. In the 1911 fiscal year, 123,013 immigrants arrived from the United Kingdom, 121,451 from the United States and 66,620 from "Other Countries." In 1914 these numbers were 142,622, 107,530 and 134,726

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<sup>39</sup>BPSC, Lyle Files, Newspapers and Periodicals Vol. 40, Edmonton Bulletin, July 30, 1906. What he meant by usefulness can be determined by his later comments. Eight years later, travelling through the north, Lloyd argued that "if all that Canada requires in her settlers is hog-raisers and cow-punchers, then for the first 10 years the Galician has it over the Englishman. If on the other hand citizenship is estimated by a clean, law-abiding, respectable, Church-going community, with some culture and a larger outlook upon life, then these Englishmen have it by a very long way, and it would pay the Canadian Government in some way to put a preference upon this class of settler and help them settle on the land." Canadian Churchman, August 13, 1914.

respectively.<sup>40</sup> While British immigration had increased only marginally during the four years, and American immigration had actually decreased, "foreign" immigration had more than doubled. Lloyd's plans to help build "a Canada for the British" were threatened. To try to stifle this flow, Lloyd presented a motion at the Provincial Synod of 1913:

That [the Diocese of Saskatchewan Synod] is seriously concerned with the evidences of the increasing Foreignization of Canada and the very real danger of submerging Canadian character by the influx of thousands of immigrants of non-British and non-Saxon stock. We feel that every effort should be made to discourage this influx to at least such proportions as can be easily assimilated into the body of the nation without lowering the general tone of Canadian language, law, character and religious life.<sup>41</sup>

While his diocesan synod endorsed this resolution, the Provincial Synod found Lloyd's motion unacceptable. Since not all Anglicans shared Lloyd's deep-seated fear of the "foreigner,"<sup>42</sup> a much more tempered motion, proposed by Reverend J.J. Robinson, was passed. Robinson believed that it was necessary for every "true Churchman to do what they can both to endeavour to get into closer and more sympathetic touch with such immigrants, and also to offer to them such elevating and educational influences as they may be disposed

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<sup>40</sup>W.G. Smith, A Study in Canadian Immigration (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1920), p. 114.

<sup>41</sup>Saskatchewan Synod Journal, 1913.

<sup>42</sup>Powell, p. 221.

to accept."<sup>43</sup> He did not call for any restrictions on "foreign" immigration, a fact which greatly upset Lloyd. In 1913, from April to August, Lloyd argued, 106,955 non-English-speaking immigrants had been allowed into Canada, as compared to 68,158 during the same months the previous year.<sup>44</sup> Restrictions on the number of immigrants had to be imposed. While Lloyd's attempts to gain the support of the Provincial Synod had been derailed, his concerns did not go unnoticed by members of the church.

In 1914, Lloyd, at the request of the Colonial and Continental Church Society, was sent on a canoe trip down the North Saskatchewan River. Travelling over "hundreds of miles . . . over widely-scattered settlements, spreading over an enormous area, reached by the newest trails, fording streams and skirting sloughs,"<sup>45</sup> Lloyd made frequent stops in the various rural communities, English, French and "foreign," to take stock of how the Anglican Church was faring in these small communities in Northern Saskatchewan and Alberta.<sup>46</sup> His reports were published by the society, and were reprinted in the Canadian Anglican periodical, the Churchman. Although he

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<sup>43</sup>Ibid.

<sup>44</sup>Canadian Churchman, October 23, 1913.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., July 23, 1914.

<sup>46</sup>SAB, Emmanuel - St. Chad Papers, AII.31, J.D. Mullins to G.E. Lloyd, 16 April 1914. The journey began on June 19 in Edmonton, and ended earlier than it was supposed to on August 15 as a result of the outbreak of World War I.



continued to advocate restricting the number of "un-preferred" foreigners, Lloyd's primary goal on this expedition was to determine whether the schools and churches were properly "Canadianizing" and "Christianizing" the "foreign" settlers.<sup>47</sup>

Lloyd's conclusions were certainly coloured by his racial biases, but he appeared to be making an effort to keep an open mind. Referring to the Buchavarian<sup>48</sup> settlers, he wrote "they seemed clean, wholesome and anxious to be polite and did their very best to speak some English."<sup>49</sup> On the other hand, he did detect differences between the Buchavarians and some of the other "non-preferred" groups. They appear "to be a better class than the Galicians," he argued, "eager to learn English and anxious never to return to their own country."<sup>50</sup> Groups like this, with the proper tutelage -- namely Anglican -- had the potential to become, if not ideal Canadians, at least dependable citizens.

Travelling from one small community to another, Lloyd was distraught at the poor educational and religious facilities he found in the north. The "foreigners" could not be expected to become "Canadianized" under such conditions, he contended, especially when it was realized that many

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<sup>47</sup>Canadian Churchman, July 23, 1914.

<sup>48</sup>Lloyd was probably referring to Bukovinians.

<sup>49</sup>Canadian Churchman, July 30, 1914.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., July 23, 1914.

immigrants, gathered in their own separate communities, resisted "Canadianizing" methods and institutions.<sup>51</sup> Faced with this situation, Lloyd believed Anglo-Saxon Canadians could not afford to remain complacent. He did not advocate ridding northern Saskatchewan of all those who came from Central and Eastern European countries, nor did he propose trying to send out hundreds of ministers to proselytize them, although he always advocated bringing more clergymen into the North. In the end, Lloyd realized that the best way to mould the "un-preferred" foreigner was to bring into the West, as quickly as possible, a large number of "really Christian teachers" and "let them do what they can by individual conversation until the law provides for something more in the schools themselves."<sup>52</sup> His recommendations for hasty action were not ignored. As one editor of the Churchman wrote, "Lloyd's articles revealed things to more than our readers. We must not wait until peace is declared to face in earnest the actuality of having already some little Austria's, Russia's etc., in our own land, which threatens the Canadianizing of our heritage."<sup>53</sup> Lloyd was certainly not willing to wait. To Canadianize these "un-preferred" foreigners he suggested that the provincial

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<sup>51</sup>Many of these communities had been newly settled by foreigners, primarily Galicians, who found the wooded north appealing because of its close resemblance to home.

<sup>52</sup>Canadian Churchman August 6, 1914.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., September 24, 1914.

government should employ only the best native Canadian or English teachers to teach in the schools; absolutely no "foreign" teachers were to be used.<sup>54</sup> Inspired by this trip, Lloyd, once he returned to Prince Albert, quickly set in motion his plan to bring teachers to the West.<sup>55</sup>

Lloyd's attempt to educate the "un-preferred" foreigners was not motivated to any large degree by altruistic concern for their welfare; his reasons were selfish and "defensive."<sup>56</sup> Consequently, when the war broke out in 1914 and troops headed overseas, Lloyd could be found in Canada and England waging his own personal war against the two evils he believed posed the largest threat to the strength and morality of those at home: alcohol and the unassimilated immigrant.<sup>57</sup> Towards the end of the war, he focused particular attention on the latter. In 1918, while trying to attract teachers in London on behalf of the Fellowship of the Maple Leaf, Lloyd argued that "these enormous areas, with their possibilities for the Empire, we in England, by want of knowledge and sheer neglect, are letting slip into a national attitude that is

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<sup>54</sup>Ibid., July 23, 1914.

<sup>55</sup>Prince Albert Herald, August 15, 1922.

<sup>56</sup>Marilyn Barber, "The Fellowship of the Maple Leaf Teachers" in ed., Barry Ferguson, The Anglican Church and the World of Western Canada, 1820-1970 (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1991), p. 156.

<sup>57</sup>The two were very often connected, since non-British immigrants were often viewed by the British settlers as the main abusers of alcohol.

almost American, or even neutral, by the large influx of foreign elements we have made little or no effort to Anglicise."<sup>58</sup> The future of the country was at stake. As director of the Fellowship, Lloyd believed that he could, by sending a large number of British teachers to the West, not only "Anglicize," but "Anglicanize" the "foreigner." In the school room, these teachers would begin -- either overtly or subtly, as the case demanded it -- to "Christianize" the children.<sup>59</sup> Smart political creature that he was, however, Lloyd realized that he should not sell his idea as a strictly religious endeavour. In order to get support he often promoted the F.M.L. as a non-denominational organization, especially when it was going into districts in which the number of Anglican settlers was low.<sup>60</sup> Even if they were not teaching specifically Christian content, Lloyd believed that the teachers, simply by being good Christians, would provide an invaluable example to the "foreign" children. It was an idyllic vision of the impact teachers could have upon a community.

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<sup>58</sup>ACGSA, Fellowship of the Maple Leaf Papers, Magazine of the Fellowship of the Maple Leaf, April 1918, p. 3.

<sup>59</sup>Lloyd's conviction that "the hope of Canada is in her schools," Canadian Churchman July 23, 1914, mirrored the belief of many Canadians prior to the 1920s, who still hoped the foreigner could be assimilated. Palmer, p. 46. J.S. Woodsworth, for example, believed that "too great emphasis cannot be placed upon the work that has been accomplished and may - yes, must - be accomplished by our National Schools." Woodsworth, p. 234.

<sup>60</sup>Barber, p. 156.

There was nothing idyllic about the position the "foreigners" found themselves in during the war, and for a number of years thereafter. Few immigrants entered Canada during the war, but "foreigners" already settled in the country, especially "enemy aliens," often faced public condemnation, disenfranchisement and, in the more extreme cases, internment. After the war, these same immigrants were frequently blamed for labour unrest and communist activity. The general hostility towards the "foreigner," combined with high unemployment after the war,<sup>61</sup> ensured that the number of continental immigrants allowed to enter the country between 1914 and 1920 remained small.<sup>62</sup> In Saskatchewan, for example, the percentage of British immigrants arriving between 1916 and 1920 was 39.87% of the total number of immigrants, United States immigration 40.12% and European immigration a mere 17.74%.<sup>63</sup> Despite continued public animosity and the passage of immigration regulation PC 2668 in 1921,<sup>64</sup> however, these numbers changed in 1921-1922 to 43.36%, 24.83% and 28.76%

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<sup>61</sup>Knowles, p. 97.

<sup>62</sup>A number of restrictions were imposed on foreign immigration, including revising the immigration act in June 1919 to restrict entry of anyone arriving from countries that had fought on the "wrong side" during the war. Knowles, p. 100.

<sup>63</sup>Saskatchewan Census, 1926, p. 166.

<sup>64</sup>The new regulation increased the amount of money an immigrant had to have before he was allowed to immigrate to Canada. The regulation was aimed at restricting the number of immigrants arriving from the poorer Continental European countries. Palmer, p. 69.

respectively, much to the dismay of Saskatchewan's newly appointed Bishop, George Exton Lloyd.

Although he continued to support attempts to "Canadianize" those foreigners who were already in the country,<sup>65</sup> Lloyd began to call for more drastic restrictions on Canadian immigration. Speaking in Saskatoon in the winter of 1922, the Bishop advocated completely suspending continental immigration for the next ten years, thereby allowing time for the Canadian government to properly educate the "foreigners" that were already in Canada and to increase the number of British settlers coming to the country.<sup>66</sup>

The government could not heed Lloyd's advice. Although the Department of Immigration and Colonization was doing all it could to attract "preferred" immigrants from Britain and America, the numbers arriving were not large enough to meet Canada's needs. The Canadian government was having a difficult time enticing British farmers, who, in the main,

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<sup>65</sup>Prince Albert Herald, July 26, 1922. Barr colonist, J.H. McCormick, praised Lloyd for attempting to educate the "foreign" immigrant, although he realized that "Dr. Lloyd is not an encourager of alien immigration; no man has raised his voice more than he against the means by which a past Government, years ago, opened the ports to a questionable class of foreigner." McCormick, p. 234. He praised groups like the Masonic order for supporting teachers who taught in "foreign" areas, while insisting that even more should be done so that the "non-English portion of the population should enjoy the same fine educational facilities as the English speaking portion of the population was privileged to have." Prince Albert Herald, August 15, 1922

<sup>66</sup>Saskatoon Star, October 18, 1922.

had no desire to travel to Canada.<sup>67</sup> At the same time, opportunities in America, created by the opening of new land and the growth of large cities, were keeping potential American immigrants at home and, to make matters worse, were attracting Canadians as well; although the United States closed its doors to continental immigration in 1921, it had not put up any barriers against Canadian immigration. Many Canadians began to cross the border during the early 1920s in search of new beginnings, at a time when Canadian business was looking to increase immigration.<sup>68</sup>

Many businesses, including the two major railways, the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) and the Canadian National Railway (CNR), believed the best way to achieve prosperity, both personal and national, was to entice large numbers of farmers to the West. For the railways especially, the benefits of such a policy were clear: these farmers would travel by rail, transport their goods by rail, settle on railway land, and provide a market for eastern-Canadian goods.<sup>69</sup> The companies' subsequent appeals to the government initiated a breakdown in the restrictions imposed on

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<sup>67</sup>Yearly British immigration to Canada during the 1920s was only forty-five percent of that of pre-war levels. Donald Avery, Dangerous Foreigners: European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada 1896-1932 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990), p. 96.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 98.

<sup>69</sup>Palmer, p. 65.

continental immigration.<sup>70</sup> As a result, the percentage of British immigration to Saskatchewan during 1923-24 dropped to 30.70%, while American immigration became a mere 12.25% and Continental European immigration shot up to an amazing 55.76%.<sup>71</sup>

For Lloyd, the situation was rapidly becoming serious. On his annual tour to confirm Anglicans in the diocese, he expressed his fears quite clearly. "The present rate of non-English speaking people's influx into Canada is very rapid," he warned, "and ultimately Canadians will not hold their own."<sup>72</sup> At the 1924 Diocesan Synod he also alerted other ministers to the danger: "We want our own British blood settled in large numbers throughout this diocese, for if we have the land filled with little Asias and little Russias and little Balkans, it is going to make our Church work ten times harder, and in many cases impossible."<sup>73</sup>

In 1925, Lloyd's worst fears were realized with the signing of the Railways Agreement. Prior to that year, only the government had been allowed to issue certificates to potential immigrants from continental Europe. In an effort

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<sup>70</sup>A number of orders-in-council which restricted foreign immigration were either "repealed" or "modified" during 1923 and 1924.

<sup>71</sup>Saskatchewan Census, 1926, p. 166.

<sup>72</sup>Prince Albert Herald, October 13, 1923. See also October 15 and 16.

<sup>73</sup>Saskatchewan Synod Journal, June 1924.



to bring in more settlers, however, officials from the CPR and the CNR convinced the government to allow them to recruit agricultural labourers from eastern and central Europe -- under the agreement, they were not, however, to recruit anyone who was interested in joining the urban labour force in Canada. The government, now responsible only for giving these immigrants medical examinations and for checking their passports, abdicated its responsibility.<sup>74</sup> Given a freer hand to bring in settlers, the railway companies were soon transporting large numbers of continental immigrants into the country, many of whom, contrary to the letter of the agreement, had no intention of becoming farmers in the new land.<sup>75</sup> Cognizant of the anti-immigrant sentiment prevalent in Canada, the government did not initially publicize the agreement. It was not long, however, before Canadians were alerted to what was happening.

While they might not have heard about the Railway Agreement in 1925 or 1926, Canadians who read newspapers were soon aware that Canada's immigration policy was undergoing change, since these newspapers periodically printed the most recent immigration statistics. For example, on November 15,

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<sup>74</sup>Avery, p. 100.

<sup>75</sup>Although the railway companies were, by the letter of the agreement, supposed to check to make sure that all the new settlers stayed on farms for at least a year after they arrived, they did not. Myron Gulka-Tiechko, "Ukrainian Immigration to Canada under the Railways Agreement, 1925-1930," Journal of Ukrainian Studies, Vol. 16, 1991, p. 40.

1926, the Regina Leader published the numbers of immigrants who came to Canada from January to September of that year: Britain 41,419, United States 16,776 and 'other countries' 54,640. Upset by such statistics, Lloyd denounced the government's immigration policies at the 1926 provincial Synod.<sup>76</sup> "The British majority is gone" he claimed, "and the Anglo-Saxon majority is gone too . . . ."<sup>77</sup> While Canadians were not instantly up in arms against this "foreign deluge" and against the Railway companies who were assisting it, there were, by 1927, more and more Canadians who were beginning to share Lloyd's fears.<sup>78</sup> This included a number of members of the 1927 Anglican Synod.

The hostile response Reverend Sweeney received when he proposed that Anglican ministers praise the Canadian government's immigration policy provided an example, writ small, of the growing concern many western Canadians shared towards the large numbers of non-British immigrants arriving in the country. Led by a number of Western ministers, including Canon Heeney of Winnipeg, Canon Burd of Prince

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<sup>76</sup>Regina Leader, October 14, 1926.

<sup>77</sup>Saskatchewan Synod Journal, 1926. Lloyd did not mention the Railways Agreement in this speech.

<sup>78</sup>During the years 1924-1926 there was a small economic boom, which also explains, to some degree, the fact that there was less antagonism towards the foreigner during this period; these foreigners were not considered to be as much of an economic threat. Morrison Finley Smeltzer, "Saskatchewan Opinion on Immigration From 1920-1930" (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1950), p. 35.

Albert, Canon Armitage of Saskatoon, and Bishop Lloyd, these men raised a number of key objections to Canadian immigration policy. They refused, for example, to support a government they believed had done so little to attract larger numbers of British settlers; Canon Armitage was particularly distressed by the fact that "OUT OF ONE THOUSAND FAMILIES BROUGHT IN [to Saskatoon] ONLY TWELVE WERE BRITISH."<sup>79</sup> They also refused to support a government which they claimed was allowing two decidedly "un-patriotic" interest groups, the Catholic church and the transportation companies, to dictate immigration policy. Canon Burd, for example, charged that the federal government was employing twenty-eight Catholic priests who were openly recruiting continental immigrants.<sup>80</sup> These priests, he contended, were concerned only with promoting the cause of the Catholic church, not with furthering the national welfare of the country. He claimed that he had heard these priests boast that "the influx of Roman Catholics and foreigners which we have seen in the past year was nothing compared with what will happen next."<sup>81</sup> Should this trend continue, he bewailed, "with transportation companies bringing in aliens, to the exclusion of British, and with Roman Catholic priests acting as agents far out of proportion

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<sup>79</sup>Sentinel, September 29, 1927.

<sup>80</sup>He also claimed that there was only one Anglican on staff.

<sup>81</sup>Sentinel, September 29, 1927.

to the church population, the inevitable end must be that the Canadian West would lose its British connection and traditional sentiments."<sup>82</sup> The fears he raised about the impact of "foreign" immigration were echoed by Bishop Lloyd who called for a quota on all "un-preferred" immigration.

The concerns raised by Burd, Lloyd and others led to a long and heated debate in the Anglican Synod. Although not all the ministers shared the deep-seated fears of the Western representatives, a number of motions were passed. First, it was agreed that the federal government would not be praised for its immigration policy. Instead, the Anglican ministers passed a motion asking the government to call a conference of all interested organizations in order to discuss ways of increasing British immigration. Secondly, in response to Burd's claims that the federal government was employing too many Catholic ministers, the Synod passed a motion calling for the creation of a special committee, including all those ministers who debated on immigration affairs, to look into Burd's allegations. Finally, the Anglican Synod passed Lloyd's motion for a quota policy. The passage of these motions, and the positive response they received, were an important step in Lloyd's battle to retain a "Canada for the British." This battle heated up considerably during the next two years.

In 1927, 52,940 immigrants arrived in Canada from Britain,

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<sup>82</sup>Ibid., September 29, 1927.

23,818 from the United States, and 82,126 from other places.<sup>83</sup> Bishop Lloyd felt Canada to be threatened as it never had been before. He was not alone; Canadians from all walks of life began to ask themselves whether Canada, under these conditions, would be able to retain any of its British nature. As the fear grew, public pressure against the Immigration Department mounted. Prominent in the leadership of this movement was Bishop Lloyd. At the 1927 General Synod he joined with a number of other Anglicans in opposition to immigration policies, and during the next few years he continued this attack on his own. While his voice could often be heard above the rest, Lloyd did not stand alone. A large number of Canadians had, since at least the turn of the century, feared the impact of Continental immigration. For these Canadians, Lloyd would serve as one of the conduits of dissent in the period of intense debate that occurred between 1927 and 1930.

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<sup>83</sup>The Report of the Field Commissioners to the Anglican National Commission, p. 46.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE FIGHTING BISHOP

. . . it is a crime against Christianity, against civilization and against Canadian unity when a bishop, who should be following in the footsteps of the Prince of Peace and preaching the gospel of eternal love and the brotherhood of man, can see nothing better in Central Europeans than a class of "dirty, ignorant, garlic-smelling, unpreferred continentals." (Michael Luchkovich, Ukrainian-Canadian M.P., House of Commons, 28 May 1929)

In 1885, George Exton Lloyd displayed his mettle and fearless determination on the battlefield, earning himself "the sobriquet of the 'Fighting Chaplain.'"<sup>1</sup> Forty years later, he would prove as determined and aggressive off the battlefield as he was on. In 1928, armed only with a pen, Lloyd waged a personal war against what he considered to be the "excessive" immigration into Canada of "unpreferred" continentals.<sup>2</sup> Realizing that many Canadians were growing increasingly concerned about the "foreign menace," he capitalized on the publicity the Anglican Church received after the 1927 Synod, and launched a campaign against the Immigration Department. The "Fighting Bishop" was never one

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<sup>1</sup>Anglican Church General Synod Archives (ACGSA), Lloyd (George Exton) Papers, Periodicals and Clippings, Toronto Telegram, June 15, 1928.

<sup>2</sup>This term was actually an official term used by the government to describe immigrants arriving from countries like Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Austria, Hungary, Romania, Russia, Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania.

to work at half-speed. He took up the new challenge with typical vigour and enthusiasm, inundating the press with articles condemning the current immigration policies and travelling throughout the West promoting his views. Sometimes sprinkled with "colourful" words and phrases, his letters and speeches gained him notoriety and provided his detractors with the ammunition needed to label him hate-monger and bigot. Despite this criticism, however, the Bishop's letters, even when they did not meet with editorial approval or were filled with inaccuracies, were often printed. In the West, where anti-immigrant sentiment was high, the letters not only made for good press, they also reflected fears commonly held by Canadians from all walks of life.

Although he had been speaking out against uncontrolled immigration for years, Lloyd's audience prior to 1927 was limited. During the late 1920s, however, this changed, as more and more Canadians, especially in the West, became increasingly apprehensive about the large number of continental immigrants arriving in Canada under the auspices of the Railway Agreement. As a result, the rhetoric of various "patriotic" groups and individuals began to heat up and to attract increased public attention.<sup>3</sup> For Lloyd, his first real opportunity to express his fears to a national audience came during the 1927 Synod discussion on

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<sup>3</sup>Donald Avery, Dangerous Foreigners: European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada 1896-1932 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1983), pp. 107-108.

immigration. Working hand-in-hand with other leaders in the West,<sup>4</sup> Lloyd was able to use effectively the Synod as a forum from which to present his concerns about Canada's immigration policy. The resolutions he presented, on his own or in co-operation with others, not only helped to spark a vigorous debate in the Synod, but also caught the attention of the general public.

Many of the clergymen, including Lloyd, who spoke out against Canada's immigration policies at the 1927 General Synod relied as much on appeals to emotion and irrational fear as they did on factual evidence. This proved necessary, since much of the evidence they offered was open to question. The Minister of Immigration, Robert Forke, publicly challenged these men on a number of points. Among other things, he disputed their contention that twenty-five priests were employed by the Immigration Department. The real number, he claimed, was twelve, and their primary function was not to serve as immigration agents in foreign countries, as was suggested at the Synod, but to repatriate those of French origin who had left the country.<sup>5</sup> Forke also disputed their statistical evidence, pointing out that only 8,761 Hungarians had settled in Canada between April 1926 and the

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<sup>4</sup>A number of these western clergymen - especially Canon Armitage and Canon Burd - would prove to be important allies during the next few years in the fight against continental immigration.

<sup>5</sup>Western Producer, September 29, 1927.



end of July 1927. This was a far cry from the 48,000 Hungarians Synod members claimed had "recently" arrived.<sup>6</sup>

Despite the inaccuracy of some of the clergymen's claims, the Anglican debate created quite a stir. Many Canadians were "not so much concerned with the specific instances of alleged discrimination against British immigrants as with the Government policy as a whole in regard to immigration."<sup>7</sup> These Canadians, suggested one editor from the Western Producer, found in the Anglican debate "the crystallization of complaints and rumours that have been current in some circles in Canada for a long time."<sup>8</sup> The Winnipeg Free Press concurred:

The bulk of the allegations against the immigration policy of the Government appear to be based on evidence of the hearsay sort, but, when coupled with the well-known fact that similar

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Toronto Globe, September 22, 1927, as quoted in ACGSA, Fellowship of the Maple Leaf Papers, Magazine of the Fellowship of the Maple Leaf, Special Issue "A Vital Question: Community or Cosmopolitanism. Church State and Nation in the Canadian West: What will be the ultimate effect upon these if the present invasion of Non-British migrants continues?" Number 94, February-March 1928, p. 26. This general statement is supported by the following letter to the editor in the Winnipeg Free Press: "We are told that figures never lie, but facts sometimes compel us to conclude that they deceive.... The accusation that the policy of [the] immigration department is that of the Roman church may not be capable of proof. We have no time or means to prove things which are done in camera or to tabulate decisions where the minutes of the meetings are not made public; but wherever tendencies all point in one direction it is evidence enough for those who are concerned." Winnipeg Free Press, September 24, 1927.

<sup>8</sup>Western Producer, September 29, 1927.

charges are made almost every day in all parts of the Dominion, and that by many persons these charges are believed to be true, the time appears opportune for the Government to meet the situation with a plain and complete statement.<sup>9</sup>

Public interest in immigration, combined with the prominent position of the church in society, meant that the Anglican resolutions had to be taken seriously by the federal government and by the Minister of Immigration, Robert Forke. As one editorialist from the Regina Leader pointed out:

While many of the statements made at the recent General Synod of the Anglican church on the subject of foreign immigration were reckless and wide of the mark, it is evident that the discussion of the subject throughout the country that was precipitated there has spurred the Department of Immigration on to even more intensive efforts to see that the British strain in immigration continues uppermost.<sup>10</sup>

Although Forke challenged many of the Synod's assertions, he agreed to meet with a committee representing the Church in order to deal with some of the expressed concerns and allay fears.

The fears expressed by the Anglican Church -- a highly respected institution -- also lent credibility to the claims of some of the more "nationalistic" or "nativistic" organizations which had been voicing similar concerns. In the Orange Order newspaper, The Sentinel, it was argued that "when the General Synod of the Anglican Church met a few weeks ago and protested against the flooding of the country

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Regina Leader, September 30, 1927.

with Central Europeans, and against the special favours given to the Roman Catholic Church, the general public was awakened. Many who would not listen to the protest of the Orange Order were forced to give attention to the resolutions passed by the Anglican Synod."<sup>11</sup> The Ku Klux Klan also believed that the findings of the Anglican Synod had helped initiate important changes. As the Klansman pointed out, "when the stalwarts of the Anglican Synod cast the bomb into the Immigration Department . . . denials excuses and contradictions were poured into the press" and "a special committee was appointed by the House to investigate the charges."<sup>12</sup>

In early 1928 a special meeting of the Agriculture and Colonization Committee was called by the House of Commons to ascertain whether criticisms levelled against the Immigration Department by groups like the Anglican Church were legitimate. The committee's members were to evaluate the impact immigration had had on Canada, and review the Immigration Act and the Department of Immigration and Colonisation. They were also asked to report on possible revisions and improvements. Since opposition to department policies was widespread,<sup>13</sup> it was not clear whether the

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<sup>11</sup>Sentinel, November 17, 1927.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Among other groups which expressed concern about Canada's immigration policy in late 1927 and early 1928 were the premiers of the provinces, the Salvation Army, the

resolutions of the Anglican Synod, the Klan's assertions notwithstanding, had any significant bearing on Canadian Prime Minister Mackenzie King's decision to call the committee to action. The clergymen had, however, certainly helped to draw attention to the department. Realizing that the church's fears could not simply be dismissed, the House of Commons committee invited the Anglican Church to express its concerns before the members.

Of the twenty-nine individuals called to give evidence before the committee between February 29 and May 22, only two churchmen were invited, Canon Vernon, the General Secretary of the Council for Social Service of the Church of England, and Canon Burd of Prince Albert.<sup>14</sup> Both were ministers of the Anglican Church. Vernon, speaking on behalf of the church as a whole, diplomatically presented the resolutions passed by the Anglican Synod, including Lloyd's resolution for a quota. Careful not to criticize the government, he was content to suggest some possible ways of improving Canadian immigration, and to offer the services of the Church towards effecting

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Women's British Immigration League and the Canadian Legion.

<sup>14</sup>Canon Burd, like Bishop Lloyd, was very active in the campaign against non-British immigration. Like Lloyd, Burd had started his clerical training at Wycliffe college (1913). He had been ordained deacon and priest by Lloyd in 1922, and was later promoted to Archdeacon in 1929. After Lloyd's retirement in 1931 the diocese of Saskatchewan was split into two and Burd was appointed Bishop of the new Diocese of Saskatoon. T.C.B. Boon, The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies: A History of the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land and its Dioceses from 1820-1950 (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962), p. 325.

such changes. Realizing that there were others not as diplomatic as himself, Vernon was also careful to point out that "It should be borne in mind that opinions expressed by individual members of the Synod (as is the case also with Parliament) do not become the official utterances of Synod unless crystallized in a resolution adopted by the Upper and the Lower House of the Synod."<sup>15</sup> Vernon received a much warmer reception than did Canon Burd.

The House of Commons Committee agreed to give Canon Burd a hearing at the request of Bishop Lloyd,<sup>16</sup> on whose behalf the Canon spoke.<sup>17</sup> Quoting extensively from letters written by Lloyd, Burd's speech was very critical of the Immigration Department and its policies. Armed with little evidence to support his claims, however, he found himself facing a hostile audience. Innuendo and hearsay might have been enough to carry the discussion at the Anglican Synod, but the committee Burd now faced included many members from the Liberal government under fire; they demanded concrete evidence. Nor were they swayed by unsubstantiated

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<sup>15</sup>Select Standing Committee on Agriculture and Colonization: Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence and Report (Ottawa: Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1928), p. 410. (Hereafter cited as Select Committee.)

<sup>16</sup>There is no explanation why Burd went instead of Lloyd.

<sup>17</sup>It was made clear to the committee by the Anglican Church that Burd did not represent the feelings of the Church as a whole. Select Committee, p. 368.

allegations or statements, such as: "I have proof here which I am sorry I cannot use, but it is confidential."<sup>18</sup> Nor were they impressed with personal attacks on members of the Immigration Department, such as: "I think the Department of Immigration, at least from its British side, would be far more efficient if Mr. Egan [the Deputy Minister of Immigration] were moved to some other Department."<sup>19</sup> As a result, Burd's claims that the department was led by the Catholics, that it was bringing in too many Continentals and not enough Britons, and that it was conspiring against the Protestant religions, were, for the most part, rejected by the committee.<sup>20</sup> This did not, however, deter either Burd or Lloyd from making their views public.

Unhappy with the reception he had received at the hands of the Colonization Committee, Burd sent a letter criticizing the proceedings to newspapers throughout Canada. He claimed that while Committee members "would endeavour to be fair, it could readily be seen that their general attitude was that of

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 380.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 381.

<sup>20</sup>As evidence that such injustice was occurring, Burd read out a letter written by Lloyd, in which the Saskatchewan Bishop claimed that the Immigration Department had promised to provide the Anglican Church with more positions in the Immigration Department, but had then reneged on the promise. Burd and Lloyd were certain that the Catholic Church was not being treated this poorly. Select Committee, pp. 380-381.

defense of the government policy."<sup>21</sup> He then reiterated many of the concerns he had expressed before the Committee. Although public reaction to his letters was unclear, it was apparent that there were those who sympathized with him. The Toronto Mail and Empire, for example, stated that:

there was no excuse for the hostility shown by some of the members of the Immigration Committee at Ottawa.... Other witnesses had been treated courteously when they expressed certain opinions which were not unanimously acceptable and several of the Committee protested against the different treatment of Canon Burd.<sup>22</sup>

If the debate during the Anglican Synod had helped to increase public concern about the Immigration Department and its policies, the sittings of the Agriculture and Colonization Committee inflated awareness and interest even further.<sup>23</sup> Lloyd seized this opportunity. During the proceedings, the Anglican Bishop sent out a number of letters to Canadian newspapers outlining some of his criticisms of Canada's immigration policy and posing a number of questions he hoped the committee would attempt to answer. For example, did the government permit the railway companies, which were motivated strictly by profit, to dictate immigration policy? And, why was it allowing the country to become "flooded by

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<sup>21</sup>Western Producer, May 10, 1928.

<sup>22</sup>Saskatchewan Archives Board (SAB), Gardiner Papers, Newspaper Clippings, 158, Toronto Mail and Empire, April 28, 1928.

<sup>23</sup>Myron Gulka-Tiechko, "Ukrainian Immigration to Canada under the Railways Agreement, 1925-1930," Journal of Ukrainian Studies, Vol. 16, p. 51.

every kind of 'continental' while the 'Britishers' are few and far between?"<sup>24</sup>

While Lloyd might have been trying to make an impact on the committee through his letters, his real audience was the general public; he hoped that his letters would help inspire "every good Canadian to roll up his sleeves and fight."<sup>25</sup> He also wanted to ensure that Canadians were made aware that evidence presented before the committee was not necessarily valid. He claimed, for example, that many speakers were exaggerating the total number of British settlers in Canada,<sup>26</sup> and he warned that most of the explanations given for the low number of Britons arriving had "very little substance."<sup>27</sup>

Canadians, like Lloyd, who hoped that the Colonization Committee would recommend radical changes to Canada's immigration policy were disappointed. To alleviate some of the public's fears, the committee recommended that entry under the Railways Agreement be restricted to those from the immediate families of those already living in Canada. It also advised that the agreement be ended in 1930 at the end of its current term.<sup>28</sup> Realizing that the "immigration problem" was as much perceived as real, however, the

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<sup>24</sup>Saskatoon Star, April 22, 1928.

<sup>25</sup>Western Producer, May 3, 1928.

<sup>26</sup>Sentinel, May 31, 1928.

<sup>27</sup>Canadian Churchman, July 19, 1928.

<sup>28</sup>Select Committee, xi.



committee devoted a large portion of its final report to providing information it hoped would help eliminate "misapprehension."<sup>29</sup> Unfortunately, as government officials were to discover repeatedly during the late 1920s, the illogical fear and suspicion many Canadians shared towards the "un-preferred" foreign immigrant would not be pacified by government assurances that all was well. For these Canadians, the committee's recommendations were insufficient. An editorial in the Western Producer gave this critical assessment of the committee's work:

It did not determine what kind and what quantity of immigration was desirable. It went on the assumption that wholesale immigration was an essential, when it should have, first of all, inquired into the soundness of this assumption. It did not inquire deeply enough into the sources from which demands for greater immigration came. It did not look fully enough into the prospects ahead of the immigration which was coming. It did not examine the effects of past influxes of immigrants.<sup>30</sup>

For his part, Lloyd believed that the committee's recommendations had given "very little protection for the British blood and character of this nation..."<sup>31</sup> Worse still, he was convinced that Canada's current immigration policy not only challenged the "British blood" of the nation, but that

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid., 4.

<sup>30</sup>Western Producer, July 19, 1928.

<sup>31</sup>ACGSA, G.E. Lloyd, The Building of the Nation, Natural Increase and Immigration: a paper read before the Grand Orange Lodge of British America at Edmonton Alberta, July 26, 1928 (Toronto: Ontario Press, 1928), p. 9.

it also threatened the influence of the Anglican Church in the country. For Lloyd, a major culprit in creating the dual threat was the Railways Agreement of 1925.

From 1925 to 1930, 185,000 "un-preferred" foreigners arrived in Canada under the auspices of the Railway Agreement.<sup>32</sup> Despite these numbers, a large number of the Anglican ministers, especially in the East, were more concerned with pursuing missionary work in other countries than at home. For Lloyd, who believed that it was more important to take care of the growing population in Canada than to provide far away countries with men and money, the Anglican attitude was appalling. At the 1927 Synod, he therefore reacted with dismay to a resolution proposing that the Anglican Church of Canada fund a bishopric in Kangra, India.<sup>33</sup> In a letter to The Churchman, he wrote: "In this diocese we are reaching something over twenty-five thousand of our White settlers, but the computation is that thirty-one thousand who claim to be Anglicans are absolutely untouched by the ministration of the church."<sup>34</sup> Lloyd's frustration with some Anglican clergymen was clear. "If the whole of

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<sup>32</sup>Avery, Dangerous Foreigners, p. 101.

<sup>33</sup>He proposed an amendment that overseas work be postponed until such time as the Church of England had the West under better control. Until then, he argued, the money for foreign missions could be better spent at home. The Canadian Annual Review 1927-1928, p. 625. After much debate, the Church decided to pass the original resolution without amendment.

<sup>34</sup>Canadian Churchman, December 15, 1927.

this new country is to be given up to the Union Church", he wrote, then "why not say so at once and give up the long drawn out agony of making a pretence of what can only be called a 'farce.'"<sup>35</sup>

Lloyd must have understood, as did the editor of the Magazine of the Fellowship of the Maple Leaf, that the Church was not ready to minister to the large number of "un-preferred" foreigners coming into the West, and that "unable as the Church is to deal adequately with the present situation, it would be fatal for the future of Western Canada if British settlement declined further and the situation became controlled by those indifferent to the traditional ties that bind Canada to the Motherland."<sup>36</sup> Under such conditions, Lloyd was determined to make sure that the numbers of continental immigrants arriving decreased. To accomplish this, he realized he had to win enough public support to force the government into making changes.

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<sup>35</sup>Canadian Churchman February 9, 1928. Despite his fears that the United Church would dominate, Lloyd was not opposed to creating a union of all the protestant churches: "In 20 years time there would be no Anglicans, Presbyterians or Methodists in Canada, but a strong church would be guiding its energies in sending the gospel to the heathen, relieving the tremendous pressure on the mother churches in the home land and cultivating a Christian spirit, instead of stealing each others sheep." Prince Albert Herald, June 14, 1923. As long as there was no unification, however, Lloyd was as determined as any clergyman to see that the "sheep" were herded into the Anglican Church.

<sup>36</sup>ACGSA, Fellowship of the Maple Leaf Papers, Magazine of the Fellowship of the Maple Leaf, "A Vital Question", pp. 4-5.

Seventy-thousand letters! That was the number the F.M.L. estimated Lloyd sent out during the summer of 1928.<sup>37</sup> These letters, most of which denounced the Canadian immigration policy in general and the Railway Agreement in particular, were not only printed in newspapers across the country, but could also be found in publications produced by groups like the Ku Klux Klan, the Empire Club, the Orange Order, the United Farmers of Canada, and the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire. To supplement these letters, Lloyd also used his great oratorical skills to good measure. Taking advantage of his prominent position as Anglican Bishop, he spoke on immigration before a number of Canadian and British organizations including the Orange Order, the Canadian Legion, the Canadian Club, the Ladies Imperial Club, the Empire Club, and various Rotary Clubs. As well, he created an organization called the National Association of Canada (NAC) to "co-ordinate" or "pool" these various "loyal organizations into a single force."<sup>38</sup> He also spoke unabashedly about immigration during confirmation tours throughout his diocese. While the general message of these letters and speeches was always the same -- increase British while restricting continental immigration -- the content of

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<sup>37</sup>John E. Lyons, "George Saskatchewan," Vitae Scholasticae Vol. 7, 1988. p. 432.

<sup>38</sup>ACGSA. Lloyd, Building the Nation, p. 17. The National Association will be dealt with in greater detail later in the chapter.

each one varied. Lloyd's job, as he saw it, was to interest the public in his crusade. To do this, he had to speak to Anglo-Saxon fears and to challenge individuals and policies which supported unrestricted immigration.

Lloyd did not believe that a nation could create a strong and dependable citizenry by mixing together immigrants from various nations, and he therefore refused to give credence to those who claimed the "melting pot theory" was a practical option for Canada.<sup>39</sup> To the contrary, he suggested that the American experience illustrated the dangers of engaging in such an experiment. Speaking before the Orange Order, he warned that:

the U.S.A. have been toying with this idea for a long time past, but with their usual good sense, they have come to realize that it was a very expensive national toy, which instead of producing, as they always thought it was going to do, the super-man for a super-nation, has only produced a heavy crop of hyphenated Americans."<sup>40</sup>

As further proof, he quoted a Biology Professor from Leland University who warned that "the crossing of races on different levels is inadvisable. The inheritance of a superior race is a very precious possession to be conserved at all costs."<sup>41</sup>

Arguments such as these carried weight for those who

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<sup>39</sup>G.E. Lloyd, "Immigration and Nation Building" in Commonwealth and Empire Review, Vol. 49, 1929, p. 106.

<sup>40</sup>ACGSA, Lloyd, Building the Nation, p. 14.

<sup>41</sup>Sentinel, September 6, 1928.

accepted the proposition of the inherent superiority of the British race and were determined to retain its culture, language and traditions in the new land. The "foreign" immigrant appeared to threaten these values, and even the more moderate amongst this patriotic group would have agreed with Lloyd when he argued that "no one claims that the German or the Swede is less moral, or that the Greek and the Italian are not hard working. The essence of the objection to the 'open door' is that they are different in language, psychology, customs, and in many other ways."<sup>42</sup> The real question, he claimed, was not "whether these people can grow potatoes, but whether you would like your daughter or your granddaughter to marry them, that is, will they develop into good loyal citizens of Canada and the Empire?"<sup>43</sup>

In a letter entitled "British Australia, Mongrel Canada,"<sup>44</sup> Lloyd explained what would happen to a country in which too many different races were mixed: it would become "mongrelized." His use of the term mongrel, he later insisted, was not intended to refer to any "individual foreigner," but "was used deliberately to shew [sic] what this nation will become if the 'melting pot', 'open door' policy continues. It will be a 'Mongrel' Canada in

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid.

<sup>43</sup>ACGSA, Lloyd, Building the Nation, p. 12.

<sup>44</sup>Western Producer, May 3, 1928.

comparison with a 'British' New Zealand."<sup>45</sup> Likening Canada to a bulldog, he argued that the influx of "foreigners" would eventually result in a mixed breed:

Fifty per cent. is going to be bull dog. The two hind legs will be French poodle. One fore leg will be Austrian wolf hound and the other leg is sure to be German, for they are coming in by thousands. The tail will be Ukrainian, as that uses up 100% of the population, the poor Canadian dog will have no inside. As the British Tommy in the trenches would say, "nice dawg that, he ain't got no guts."<sup>46</sup>

In order to guarantee a populace of the highest pedigree, Lloyd believed that Canada should strive to model its country on the great nations of the past, Britain and Israel. Referring to scripture,<sup>47</sup> Lloyd pointed out that the Israelites in Old Testament times were not to mix with other nations, "and they were to be an example nation."<sup>48</sup>

There were many Canadians who found Lloyd's use of the word "mongrel" appropriate. One correspondent to the Saskatoon Star, Wm. L. Ramsay, wrote that mongrel means "indefinable breed" and that "man like any other animal mongrelizes when he mixes various races."<sup>49</sup> No good farmer hoping to produce a herd of prize Hereford cattle, he argued,

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<sup>45</sup>ACGSA, Lloyd, Building the Nation, p. 5.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

<sup>47</sup>Lloyd did not often refer to scripture in his battle against the immigrant.

<sup>48</sup>Lloydminster Times, October 18, 1928.

<sup>49</sup>SAB, Gardiner Papers, Newspaper Clippings, p. 158, Saskatoon Star, June 12, 1928.

would dare engage in such an experiment. Why should nation builders? Another correspondent, defending Lloyd's language, wrote:

He is simply more used to books and the correct meaning of words than most of us. Thus mongrel means confusion to him, while to a less educated man it means a low type of a dog. Choice of words does not affect the question, it has got to be grappled with, and Bishop Lloyd is the strongest man to come out up to the present."<sup>50</sup>

Lloyd's language and choice of words was not, however, so easily dismissed by all Canadians.<sup>51</sup> Many objected to Lloyd's use of the word "mongrel," especially since Lloyd and his supporters chose to overlook the fact that Britain itself had been created from an admixture of races including the "Celts, Danes, Angles, Norsemen, Gauls and Franks."<sup>52</sup>

It is not clear whether Lloyd's lack of diplomacy during the immigration debate was simply the undisciplined ranting of an obsessed Anglophile or the well-planned attack of a master tactician. Certainly he had never been the most diplomatic orator in the past. To Lloyd's credit, however, he was an old hand at winning support for various ventures. His influence over the Barr Colonists, his ability to win support for his plan to bring sixty catechists to the West,

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<sup>50</sup>Saskatoon Star, August 25, 1928.

<sup>51</sup> Lloyd's original letter, "British Australia, Mongrel Canada" initiated a debate that was long and heated. In the Saskatoon Star, for example, letters continued to be printed on the subject long after the initial letter was published.

<sup>52</sup>Saskatoon Star, August 18, 1928.



his leadership during the prohibition debate, and his creation of a Fellowship for teachers, without the support of the C.C.C.S., all attested to his abilities as a master motivator. During the immigration debate, his main goal was to win public support for his cause at all costs, even if it meant sacrificing his personal reputation.<sup>53</sup> When faced with opposition, the "Fighting Bishop" said:

I have faced the rifles of rebels on these prairies and endured every conceivable hardship imposed by climatic extremes to help keep this country British and I'm not going to be deterred at this late date by mere words or any other consideration from doing my duty as I see it.<sup>54</sup>

He was consequently unfazed by a personal attack made against him in the House of Commons by Michael Luchkovich, an M.P. of Ukrainian background, who labelled Lloyd the "false apostle of the Prince of Peace."<sup>55</sup> After reading Luchovich's speech, Lloyd, with a smile on his face, said "the more of this the

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<sup>53</sup>Perhaps he would have lived by the credo of the Orange Order: "The Loyal Orange Association perpetuates historical lessons which many people would like to forget; cheerfully faces public issues which others endeavour to evade; courageously assumes unpleasant Protestant and patriotic tasks which too many citizens are prone to dodge, and generously renders public services without fear of criticism or desire to receive political favours or material reward for itself or its members." Sentinel, July 7, 1925.

<sup>54</sup>ACGSA, Lloyd (George Exton) Papers, Periodicals and Clippings, Toronto Telegram, August 29, 1928.

<sup>55</sup>Michael Luchkovich, A Ukrainian Canadian in Parliament: Memoirs of Michael Luchkovich (Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1965), p. 61.

better."<sup>56</sup> One letter writer from Blaine Lake believed there was method to Lloyd's intemperate language:

Bishop Lloyd, I firmly believe, has no intention in the world of inflaming public opinion against any race, religion or individual now resident in Canada. I am sure he must be very much amused at some of the criticism hurled at his head. But he realizes that national problems are constantly being made the football of politicians of both parties and that united public opinion can rouse the government to action. The bishop, I believe, has deliberately provoked criticism in order that the matter be brought to a focal point in the mind of every thinking Canadian.<sup>57</sup>

This suspicion was echoed in a letter written to the Star Phoenix in 1928. The author, J. Beaman, who was much more critical of Lloyd's intemperate language, wrote:

No, it cannot be that the learned bishop conceived it as at all possible to launch his campaign successfully if unattended by violent outbreaks of excitement such as are usually caused by the firing of guns, the banging of drums, and almost any strange or loud noise. A dunce he is not, nor is he subject to fits of false starts . . . that idea . . . brought results probably far exceeding his wildest dreams. Well done, Bishop Lloyd.<sup>58</sup>

What Lloyd wanted was publicity, and the strength of his attack combined with its strong language assured that he received it.

Writing to Winnipeg clergymen in the summer of 1928, Lloyd warned of the problems Canadians would face if the current flood of "dirty, ignorant, garlic-smelling Continentals"

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<sup>56</sup>Saskatoon Star, May 31, 1929.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., July 7, 1928.

<sup>58</sup>SAB, Gardiner Papers, Newspaper Clippings, 58, Star Phoenix, October 20, 1928.

continued to flood into the country.<sup>59</sup> Language like this did not go unnoticed by Lloyd's detractors. Soon after the letter appeared in the newspapers, the press was flooded with letters from individuals and organizations denouncing Lloyd's harsh description of the "foreigner."<sup>60</sup> Even editors of many Western newspapers felt compelled to take the Bishop to task. If Lloyd's primary goal was to create public awareness, then his letter had initiated the desired reaction; Canadians across the country were reading his material. Many sympathized, and even among those who did not condone his language there were readers who agreed with his message. While such language was considered harsh by Lloyd's opponents, the sentiments he expressed were not uncommon.

Just as Lloyd's use of the term "mongrel" adequately reflected the attitudes many Canadians shared regarding the desirability of the "foreign" immigrant, so too did his use of words like "un-preferred," "ignorant" and "garlic-smelling." Many Canadians openly referred to the "continental" immigrant as "non-preferred." And, as W.J. Egan, the Deputy Minister of Immigration, admitted before the Agriculture Immigration Committee, the term was generally accepted in government circles.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup>SAB, Gardiner Papers, Newspaper Clippings, p. 58. Manitoba Free Press, July 18, 1928.

<sup>60</sup>This line became the battle cry of Lloyd's opponents into 1929 and 1930.

<sup>61</sup>Select Committee, p. 7.

Lloyd was not alone in believing that immigrants from Continental Europe were "ignorant" in comparison to the British settler. One school teacher, writing to the Saskatoon Star of her experiences in a 'Central European' colony in Saskatchewan, bemoaned that:

I have found illiteracy to a very great degree, and children of thirteen and fourteen years old have only reached grades two or three, while one or two were mentally unfit. One wonders how, if there is anything in heredity, how the elders of these children came to be passed into Canada.<sup>62</sup>

Her concerns were shared by more than just the "average" Canadian. A number of scientists in Canada promoted the idea that "mental defectiveness" was hereditary, and that it was more common in some ethnic groups than others.<sup>63</sup> As well, academics like economics professor, W. B. Hurd, often provided statistics which showed the "low educational standard" of some ethnic groups.<sup>64</sup> He wrote:

Of the ten most illiterate immigrant peoples of Canada, nine are from the South-eastern and Central parts of Europe, the tenth being the Chinese. Among the foreign born of North-western European origin less than 3.0% were illiterate in 1921, while over 22% of the immigrants of South-eastern and Central European extraction were unable to read or write any language. The Slavs as a group are our most illiterate, and the Austrians were not much better with 3.0% for the foreign born of Germanic extraction and 1.8% for

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<sup>62</sup>Saskatoon Star, August 18, 1928.

<sup>63</sup>Angus McLaren, Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990), pp. 50-51.

<sup>64</sup>W. Burton Hurd, "The Case For A Quota" in Queen's Quarterly, Vol. 36, 1929, p. 153.

the Scandinavians.<sup>65</sup>

Even those who defended the Continental Europeans often accepted the "ignorance" of these immigrants. F.J. Lange, a supporter of Continental immigration, and a common contributor to the Saskatoon Star mail box, quoted from a text book which described the English in the eighteenth century as "ignorant and often vicious. Their pleasures were coarse."<sup>66</sup> "Today", he wrote, "this description would apply word for word to some countries of Eastern Europe. Give those people a chance and they will advance just as the English people have."<sup>67</sup> Unfortunately, many Canadians did not believe that immigrants so different in language, dress, and customs could ever really become "English."

Lloyd's reference to the immigrants as "garlic-smelling" illustrated one of the many ways the Continental foreigner was distinguished from the more "desirable" Anglo-Saxon settlers. It was one of the more obvious differences. These "un-preferred" foreigners stood out not only because of their dress and their language, but often because of the aroma that permeated their clothes and person. As author James Gray pointed out, "if their public use of their native languages evoked the umbrageous comments of the Anglo-Saxons, their incurable addiction to the use of garlic in their cooking

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<sup>65</sup>Ibid., pp. 152-153.

<sup>66</sup>Saskatoon Star, July 7, 1928.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid.

drove them to distraction. 'Cooking with it? My God they couldn't stink like that just from cooking with it! They'd have to bathe in the stuff!'"<sup>68</sup> This smell, while perhaps distracting in itself, indicated a deeper concern held by Anglo-Saxons. If the continental foreigner was not changing his eating habits, then he was not assimilating or becoming "Canadianized."<sup>69</sup>

Although many organizations representing various ethnic groups in Canada took umbrage with Lloyd's letters and speeches, the Anglican Bishop rarely aimed his attack at specific ethnic groups. His goal was to question the desirability and assimilability of Continental Europeans in general, not to malign any particular group. In 1928, he did attack the railway department for transporting Jews into the country, arguing that "when Jews from Jerusalem are good enough material for the railways to import into Canada it is more than time that immigration from Europe were taken

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<sup>68</sup>James Gray, The Roar of the Twenties, (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1975), p. 233.

<sup>69</sup>Many "foreigners" in the West did not give up their foreign palate during the 1920s and 1930s. Gerald Friesen, The Canadian Prairies: A History, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 273. This disturbed men like Klan member, J.H. Hawkins, who warned that "foreigners" who "tighten their belly band for breakfast, eat spaghetti and hot dog and rye bread for lunch and suck in ... limburger cheese for supper" were unwelcome in Canada. Martin Robin, Shades of Right: Nativist and Fascist Politics in Canada 1920-1940 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), p. 36.

entirely out of the hands of the railway companies."<sup>70</sup> His antipathy towards this group had been evident years before when he battled for prohibition in Saskatchewan. At that time, he attacked the Jews for owning six of the forty-six liquor houses in Saskatchewan, and warned them "they must not defile the country by engaging in disreputable pursuits."<sup>71</sup> Still, in 1928 he denied that he had "a knife into those people. I have not. I would help the Jews willingly regain their Jerusalem and free themselves from oppression. I would give my money to such a cause, but I wouldn't help to make Canada a Jewish nation, nor Chinese nor Italian."<sup>72</sup> For Lloyd, whose primary aim was to ensure British preponderance, all Continental Europeans, regardless of their exact placement in his hierarchical scale of nations<sup>73</sup>, were considered a threat. To check the flow of all these "un-preferred" immigrants, he had to focus his attack on continental Europeans as a whole, and on those who were helping bring them into the country.

According to Lloyd, there were several groups and

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<sup>70</sup>Saskatoon Star, April 22, 1928.

<sup>71</sup>James Gray, Booze, The Impact of Whiskey in the Prairie West, (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1972), p. 183.

<sup>72</sup>ACGSA, Lloyd (George Exton) Papers, Periodicals and Clippings, Toronto Star, September 20, 1928.

<sup>73</sup>Lloyd's earlier writings show that he made distinctions as to the preferability of some of these Europeans in comparison to other continentals. Still, as a group, the "continentals" were low on his list of desirable nations.

individuals, including the Catholic Church, who shared the responsibility for the increased number of continentals arriving in the West. Because of its large size, the Catholic population was considered by many Protestant Canadians as a threat.<sup>74</sup> The Church's perceived involvement in helping bring "foreign" immigrants into the country served to magnify this threat even further. One correspondent, writing to The Sentinel in 1926, had this to say of the Catholic element in Canada:

The French leaders have now all the anti-British elements lined up - the Austrians, the Irish, the Galicians, the Poles and other foreigners. One of the chief devices they have arranged is to control the Department of Immigration and they intend to prevent British Protestant immigration by all possible means. Mackenzie King and Mr. Forke they use as tools, but despise them personally.<sup>75</sup>

In the West especially, where the federal government's relationship with the Catholics was regarded with suspicion, these claims, ludicrous as they might sound, were not considered unrealistic.<sup>76</sup> Similar concerns were expressed by

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<sup>74</sup>Saskatchewan in 1927 had a population of 850,000 of whom 233,000 were Catholic. Robin, p. 54.

<sup>75</sup>Sentinel, February 9, 1926.

<sup>76</sup>In the West, many Canadians believed that the Catholic church had a hold over the federal government. There had even been allegations that the government was using the natural resources in the West as a bargaining chip to help establish separate schools. William Calderwood, "Pulpit, Press and Political Reactions to the Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan" in S.M. Trofimenkoff, The Twenties in Western Canada: Papers of the Western Canadian Studies Conference, (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1972), p. 192.



various prominent groups and individuals. Viewing the Catholic Church as "the hidden hand,"<sup>77</sup> the Orange Order warned Canadians in early 1926 that "the Roman colonizers are making a dead set on the Province of Alberta just now. They are numerically weak there at present, as compared with other parts of the Dominion, and that is to be remedied by importations from Europe."<sup>78</sup> By comparison, J.J. Moloney, a Klan orator, warned western Canadians that Canada was the strongest and fastest growing Roman Catholic country in the world.<sup>79</sup> Similar warnings were also issued by Bishop Lloyd.

Lloyd had long considered the Catholic menace and the "foreign" menace to be interrelated. Speaking before the 1924 Diocesan Synod, he warned that the Roman Catholic bishops, who were organizing a society to bring Catholic teachers to the West, were going to have an easy time bringing large numbers of Catholics into the country, especially since there had recently been an increase in the number of Roman Catholics "on the staff of the Canadian Government Emigration offices in London."<sup>80</sup> In 1926, he

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<sup>77</sup>Sentinel May 24, 1928. Authors Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth argue that the Orange Order's views "differed only in degree, not in kind, from the norm of anti-Catholicism." Houston and Smyth, The Sash Canada Wore: A Historical Geography of the Orange Order in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), p. 143.

<sup>78</sup>Sentinel, February 2, 1926.

<sup>79</sup>Robin, p. 39.

<sup>80</sup>Saskatchewan Synod Journal, 1924

repeated this warning, claiming that the Catholics were becoming more and more involved in immigration matters.<sup>81</sup> Fearing that the Catholic influence was growing too strong, Lloyd, along with Burd, Canon Armitage from Saskatoon, and Macadam Harding of Qu'Appelle, presented the memorial at the 1927 Synod opposing the large number of Catholic priests employed by the Immigration Department.<sup>82</sup> The resulting public outcry forced Forke to take these Catholics off the immigration payroll. This action did not end Lloyd's concern.

During the late 1920s, Lloyd remained convinced that the Catholics, led by the Knights of Columbus and the Jesuits, were "the background of immigration conditions in Canada today."<sup>83</sup> Together, he feared, the "foreign" immigrants and the Catholics would prove quite a formidable opponent for a British population "divided into two or even three political parties . . . ."<sup>84</sup> Still, it was the "un-preferred" foreigner who attracted most of his attention. Although he continued to voice fears about the Catholic menace, Lloyd left the fervent anti-Catholic propaganda to the Klan and the Orange

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<sup>81</sup>Ibid.

<sup>82</sup>Robin, pp. 55-56.

<sup>83</sup>ACGSA, Lloyd (George Exton) Papers, Periodicals and Clippings, Toronto Star, September 24, 1928.

<sup>84</sup>ACGSA, Lloyd, Building the Nation, p. 3.

Order.<sup>85</sup> He feared the influence of all groups that were neither British nor Protestant, but realized that Catholic attempts to attract members of their own denomination were natural.<sup>86</sup>

There were other individuals and organizations, however, which he believed had no excuse for helping dilute Canada's population. At the top of this list were the two railway companies involved in the Railway Agreement, the Canadian Pacific Railway (C.P.R.) and the Canadian National Railway (C.N.R.). Negative public reaction towards the Railway Agreement in Canada was initially "muted,"<sup>87</sup> in part because the Agreement was signed during a period in which Canada was experiencing an economic upswing;<sup>88</sup> although always a cultural threat, these new immigrants were not initially perceived as an economic menace. In 1927 and 1928, however, this changed.<sup>89</sup> During the late 1920s, faced with a shortage of farming positions, more and more immigrants began to find their way into the cities, into the lumber and industrial camps, and into the mines where they displaced British and Canadian labourers because they were often willing to work

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<sup>85</sup>Saskatchewan Synod Journal, 1924.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid.

<sup>87</sup>Gulka-Tiechko, p. 36.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid.

<sup>89</sup>Avery, pp. 105 and 109 and Gulka-Tiechko, p. 48. Spring of 1927 is given as a seminal date by both authors.

for lower wages.<sup>90</sup> As a result, vocal opposition towards these immigrants, and towards the railways that transported them, grew. Suspicions that the railways were guilty of indiscriminately dumping immigrants into Canada were justified. Standing to make a profit from the importation of settlers, the railways tested the boundaries of the Railways Agreement by bringing in as many immigrants as they could, even when it was clear that a large number of these settlers did not intend to pursue agricultural careers in the new land.<sup>91</sup> Such activity did not go unchallenged by Lloyd.

Supported by evidence presented at the Agriculture and Colonization Committee hearing, Lloyd claimed that the railways were responsible for Canada's "foreign" population problem and the unemployment of British Canadians.<sup>92</sup> He consequently regarded the Railway Agreement as the "enemy of every British institution in the Dominion"<sup>93</sup> and "one of the most vicious things, from the standpoint of nation building, which has happened within my memory of 48 years in Canada."<sup>94</sup> Such language would appeal not only to those who feared that the immigrant posed a threat to pure Canadian blood, but also

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<sup>90</sup>Gulka-Tiechko, p. 48.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid., p. 40.

<sup>92</sup>SAB, Gardiner Papers, Newspaper Clippings, p. 58, Manitoba Free Press, July 18, 1928.

<sup>93</sup>ACGSA, Lloyd, Building the Nation, p. 7.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

to those who were concerned that these immigrants threatened to flood the labour market. Not only, Lloyd contended, were the railway leaders of the C.P.R. and the C.N.R., Edward Beatty and Henry Thornton, responsible for knowingly "prostituting" the blood of the Canadian nation,<sup>95</sup> but to make matters worse, they were filling the cities with "Continental" who will sleep 20 on the floor in a room," and who will eventually force the Canadian worker, who will not be used to living under such conditions, out of the workforce.<sup>96</sup> Since the agreement began, he claimed, 2,098 settlers had been brought to Winnipeg under the direction of the C.N.R. Of these, 1,785 were "foreigners," while only 300 were British.<sup>97</sup> The C.P.R., he contended, was equally culpable. During three weeks in early April, the C.P.R. brought in 1,680 Aliens to 170 British settlers.<sup>98</sup> The enormity of the situation led Lloyd to decry, "will those Canadians who object to the heading of this letter 'Mongrel Canada' please ask the premier why he gave these two railways the liberty to de-nationalize this country nearly three years ago?"<sup>99</sup>

While the Catholics and the railway companies might have

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<sup>95</sup>Western Producer, June 7, 1928.

<sup>96</sup>ACGSA, Lloyd, Building the Nation, p. 18.

<sup>97</sup>Western Producer, May 3, 1928.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid.

been responsible for actively seeking immigration, Lloyd believed that the Immigration Department in particular, and the federal government in general, had to shoulder the blame for Canada's immigration woes. It was the government, after all, that was responsible for allowing the railways and the Catholics, both of whom had a vested interest in bringing "foreigners" into the country, to do exactly that. Part of the problem, Lloyd believed, was that the minister of Immigration was allowing his department to be led by its Catholic deputy minister, W.J. Egan.<sup>100</sup> Inevitably, however, it was Mackenzie King and Robert Forke whom Lloyd held accountable. "I do not blame Sir H. Thornton or Dr. Black," the European Manager of the C.N.R.'s Department of Colonization and Development, Lloyd argued, "their business is to make the railway pay. But I do blame the premier and the minister of immigration for selling this nation's blood, character and future to make a railway dividend."<sup>101</sup>

For Lloyd, the best way to force the Immigration Department to impose restrictions upon the railways was to convince the federal government that it was in its best interest to end the agreement. To accomplish this, he needed to incite the public to action. In 1928, he warned that "If

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<sup>100</sup>Prince Albert Herald, Sept 27, 1928. Egan, who had earlier faced criticism at the Agricultural Colonization Committee meetings, provided an easy scapegoat for Canada's immigration woes.

<sup>101</sup>Saskatoon Star, June 30, 1928.

the Premier has not the courage to withdraw this Iniquitous Order in Council then it ought to be made very plain to the railway authorities that they exercise this ill-gotten franchise in opposition to the will of the people of this country, and that fact should be made unmistakeably plain to the Premier."<sup>102</sup>

Lloyd also believed that the public should exert pressure on the government to relax some of the barriers that he thought were stifling British immigration. In an open letter to Robert Forke, Lloyd contended "that the funnel was choked in Canada against British emigration."<sup>103</sup> He warned that "there are large numbers of Britishers who are willing to come to this country, but the trials through which they have to pass together with the possibility that they will not be selected, Deter [sic] a number who might otherwise make application."<sup>104</sup> High on his list of complaints was the "unfair" medical examinations potential British immigrants had to endure in Britain.<sup>105</sup> They were, he claimed, "rigid,

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<sup>102</sup>ACGSA, Lloyd, Building the Nation, p. 7.

<sup>103</sup>ACGSA, Lloyd (George Exton) Papers, Periodicals and Clippings, Toronto Mail, November 1, 1928. To blame, he argued was both the Canadian government and the Canadian High Commissioner of London. Prince Albert Herald, September 27, 1927.

<sup>104</sup>ACGSA, Lloyd (George Exton) Papers, Clippings and Periodicals, Toronto Mail, July 14, 1925.

<sup>105</sup> From November 1923 to November 1927, the Canadian government had relied on British doctors in England to check Britons interested in coming to Canada. Unfortunately, the system had proven inadequate, since many

searching and irritating as possible."<sup>106</sup> His sentiments were echoed by Canon Burd, who said, "There is no doubt whatever that the general opinion in England and in other parts of the Empire is that Canada is not keen on British immigration, but is content to fill her vacant lands largely with non-British people."<sup>107</sup> Both Burd and Lloyd believed that Canada would receive as many British as it wanted, as soon as it went out of its way to show Britons that they were welcome in Canada.<sup>108</sup> For Britons to feel truly welcome, however, Lloyd argued that Canadians would have to cease filling up the West with "that Continental Rabble."<sup>109</sup>

During the late 1920s, Lloyd also campaigned in Britain. His primary aim was to entice more British settlers to the

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of the immigrants, initially passed by the British doctors, would be turned away by Canadian doctors after they arrived in Canada. To alleviate difficulties, the Canadian government hired twenty-five Canadian doctors to travel around Britain checking immigrants before they left for Canada. This change met with considerable opposition. Select Committee, p. 6. Critics, like Lloyd, loudly denounced the new system which, they claimed, forced potential immigrants to travel great distances to see a doctor. Under such pressure, in the winter of 1928 the medical system was changed with twenty Canadian doctors overseeing several hundred British doctors. Lloyd gave his support to the changes, claiming that they showed the minister's intention to "give preference to British blood." Saskatoon Star Phoenix, December 20, 1928.

<sup>106</sup>ACGSA, Lloyd, Building the Nation, p. 20.

<sup>107</sup>Sentinel, May 17, 1928

<sup>108</sup>ACGSA, Lloyd (George Exton) Papers, Periodicals and Clippings, Toronto Telegraph, June 15, 1928.

<sup>109</sup>Canadian Churchman, July 19, 1928.



West, while at the same time warning of the dire consequences Canada faced if they did not come. In an interview with the London Sunday Express, he predicted that the Western Canadian provinces in Canada might secede from the British Empire and join the U.S.A. should immigration patterns continue: "I see miles and miles of our beautiful territory passing into the hands of every kind of foreigner, including American."<sup>110</sup> He also tried to influence public opinion in Britain through the pages of the F.M.L. magazine,<sup>111</sup> and through speeches and letters aimed at attracting British teachers and missionaries to help win the young country back for the British. In both Britain and Canada, Lloyd's message was reaching the ears of those who shared his concern about Canadian immigration policy.

In Canada, the conclusions of the Agriculture and Colonization Committee meetings provided evidence that other

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<sup>110</sup>ACGSA, Lloyd (George Exton) Papers, Periodicals and Clippings, Toronto Star May 7, 1925.

<sup>111</sup>In early 1928, the F.M.L. published a special edition of their magazine entitled "A Vital Question," whose sole intention was to try to rally vocal support and financial assistance from Britain from those who wanted in to help keep Canada a British country in blood, language and culture. Among other things, the magazine reported the concerns of the Canadian Anglican Bishops, including Bishop Lloyd, and the final report of the 1927 Diocese. It also warned that there were many groups "anxious" to keep Britons from coming to Canada. "A Vital Question," Magazine of the Fellowship of the Maple Leaf, February and March, 1928, 32-33. The Fellowship then, at the request of Lloyd, distributed thousands of copies of this magazine throughout Canada and raised £1,000 to help Lloyd spread his message. Ibid., March and April, 1929, pp. 3-4.

Canadians were voicing concerns similar to those expressed in Britain, about the medical system used in the recruitment of immigrants, and Canada's immigration policy, vis-a-vis Britain, in general.<sup>112</sup> Many witnesses before the committee had voiced their fear that the federal government was not doing all within its power to attract the right type of settlers, especially British,<sup>113</sup> and that the Canadian government was actually deterring "preferred" immigrants by setting extremely high standards, by forcing them to undergo a number of physical exams and by making them fill out "unnecessary" paper work.

In Britain during the same period, many British newspapers carried negative reports of Canada's immigration policy.<sup>114</sup> The London Times, for example, claimed that Mr. Forke was promoting an anti-British immigration program by imposing difficult medical restrictions.<sup>115</sup> There were also a number of prominent British figures, including the Anglican Bishop of London, who were making similar statements to those made by Lloyd. They believed that Canada was allowing far too many

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<sup>112</sup>Select Committee, p. 6.

<sup>113</sup>For example see Select Committee, pp. 6-7, 265.

<sup>114</sup>One example, originating in the London Morning Post and reprinted in a Saskatoon newspaper, reported that it was rumoured in London that "the federal government under [King's] leadership has somehow or other given the impression, which we hope is fallacious, that it does not want a free and abundant flow of British people into Canada." Star Phoenix, October 10, 1928.

<sup>115</sup>Sentinel, February 2, 1928.

continentals into the country and not enough Britons.<sup>116</sup> His sentiments were echoed by two of Britain's former prime ministers, Stanley Baldwin and Ramsay MacDonald.<sup>117</sup> At times their condemnation bordered on the ridiculous. MacDonald, for example, chastised Canada for accepting only the very best Britons, and for leaving "the Mother Country with the derelicts, the old people" and the "diseased" where they were more "likely to be a public charge there than they would be in a country where their chances are greater."<sup>118</sup>

While many of the accusations coming from both Canada and Britain were far-fetched or ill-informed, they could not be ignored. The persistently negative press forced Prime Minister King to speak out in London against the claims that Canada was opposed to British immigration.<sup>119</sup> "All I know," he complained, "is that there are unmistakable evidences of an organized effort in both this country and ours to keep this falsehood afloat."<sup>120</sup> At the head of this organized effort was Lloyd. Though most of the fears did not originate with Lloyd, his constant letters and strong stand fed already

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<sup>116</sup>Regina Daily Post, June 20, 1928.

<sup>117</sup>Quotes by Baldwin appeared in the pages of the F.M.L. newsletters.

<sup>118</sup>Regina Daily Post, August 4, 1928.

<sup>119</sup>National Archives of Canada (NAC), MG 26 J6, Immigration British, 1928-48, Vol. 121 File 30, Clipping of The Times, October 11, 1928.

<sup>120</sup>Ibid.

existing prejudices and fears. One of the instruments he used to reinforce this message was the National Association of Canada.

In November 1927, the women's association of the Fellowship of the Maple Leaf donated close to £400 to help Bishop Lloyd fund the creation of a new organization, the National Association of Canada.<sup>121</sup> Lloyd had convinced these women that this new organization would help to unite concerned Canadians into a cohesive and potentially influential group, devoted to retaining in Canada "the supremacy of British language, law, traditions, blood characteristics . . . and loyalty to the crown as the king pin of Empire."<sup>122</sup> He had reason to believe such an organization could succeed. Earlier, in 1925, on a train bound from Edmonton, Lloyd had met with a small group of men in order to discuss the negative impact Catholicism and "foreign" immigration was having on Canada and to examine possible solutions to the perceived problems. These men, representing various patriotic organizations in Canada, including the Orange Order, the Masons and the Sons of England, had responded positively to Lloyd's plan to create

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<sup>121</sup>Lyons, p. 432. The Maple Leaf March and April 1929; Members of the F.M.L. endorsed his plan wholeheartedly, although a number of them feared the consequences of engaging in Canadian politics, so the Women's association of the F.M.L. took over. ACGSA, Fellowship of the Maple Leaf Papers, Minutes of Executive Meeting, November 25, 1927.

<sup>122</sup>ACGSA, Lloyd, Building the Nation, p. 4.

a new non-sectarian, non-political association devoted to increasing British immigration while stifling "foreign" immigration. Their support convinced Lloyd to proceed with his plans. Although it took him a number of years to collect the required funds, in early 1928 Lloyd was finally able to establish the National Association of Canada, thanks to the support of the women's association of the F.M.L..

Little is known about the National Association or its membership. Lloyd, who travelled throughout the West making speeches on behalf of the organization, was very visible, but the identity of most of its other members remains a mystery.<sup>123</sup> While this lack of available data makes it difficult to draw conclusions about the Association's influence on the general public, there is enough evidence to indicate that the NAC made its mark on the immigration debate during the late 1920s.

Between April 1928 and early 1929, dozens of letters were sent to the federal authorities on behalf of the National Association of Canada. Arriving from destinations across Saskatchewan, including Runciman, Lucky Lake, Regina, Prince Albert, Leask, Bulyea, North Battleford, Copeau, Webb and Turtleford, as well as from Winnipeg and Grande Prairie,

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<sup>123</sup>Besides Lloyd, only two members of the National Association are identifiable: E.F. Halliday, who was from Bulyea, wrote to the government on behalf of the National Association, May 12, 1928, and Mansel Hunt, from Copeau, sent a number of letters to the Sentinel. Example March 14, 1929.

Alberta, these letters were signed by men and women who appeared determined to keep their identities secret. Instead of signing the letters with their given names, they autographed the letters with titles designated to them within the organization: Master, Chaplain, Secretary or Member of Council. The letters they wrote, although often varying in content, usually contained a consistent and straight forward message for federal and immigration authorities: increase British immigration and decrease "un-preferred" immigration." Their letters all contained, to varying degrees, the same messages and concerns voiced by the founder of the Association, Bishop Lloyd. A major topic covered in these letters was the suggestion that immigration quotas be established.

One of Lloyd's most important contributions to the immigration debate was his plan to implement a quota. He believed that:

in the year 1901, the population of Canada was as homogeneous as it will ever be, and it is suggested that the Quota should be 2% of that Census, but where any nation had exceeded their quota share in the last 27 years their share shall be correspondingly reduced over the next 23 years, so that at the end of that period, in 1951, every alien nationality will be just double what it was in 1901, but the Nation will be homogenous.<sup>124</sup>

He believed that if the public supported this quota plan, then the government would eventually be forced to comply. In the first instance, however, he had to bring other prominent

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<sup>124</sup>ACGSA, Lloyd, Building the Nation, p. 27.

individuals and organizations on side. Before a large gathering of the Orange Order, he said:

if I could convince you to adopt a resolution favouring my "Quota scheme," which I am putting before you now, it would strengthen my hands greatly in pressing this matter home to the mind of the general public. That everyone will see eye to eye in every detail is not to be expected, but it would be a great strength to me, (in a battle which is not going to be easy, and in which those who lead, will have to suffer all kinds of abuse) if you see your way to do this.<sup>125</sup>

Lloyd was successful. Not only was his proposed quota endorsed by the Orange Order<sup>126</sup>, but the Ku Klux Klan also appealed for the exact same plan in 1930.<sup>127</sup> Lloyd believed that if this quota was adopted, that Canadians could begin the process of building a country based on the finest stock and blood. The quota was, however, just a part of Lloyd's solution to the immigration "problem."

In July 1928, Lloyd spoke before the Grand Orange Lodge of British America on the subject of "The Building of the Nation." In the speech, which took over an hour, Lloyd proposed twelve solutions to Canada's immigration "problem," none of which was especially novel, complex, or hard to grasp.<sup>128</sup> Together, however, they provided a detailed,

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<sup>125</sup> Ibid., pp. 26-27.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

<sup>127</sup> Klansman, Vol. 2 Number 8, April 1920, p. 3.

<sup>128</sup> These twelve objectives were: 1. End the Railway Agreement; 2. Stop Canadians from leaving the country in such large numbers; 3. Increase the number of Britons coming annually from 60,000 to 75,000; 4. End the

coherent plan, aimed at increasing British immigration by reducing the number of barriers to passage and by offering incentives like free land and substantial loans, while dramatically reducing immigration from "un-preferred" countries.

Lloyd had a mission in 1928. He wanted to unite the public in opposition against government policies which continued to allow large numbers of non-British immigrants into the country. For him, these policies were comparable to an act of war against the British integrity of the young country. In the face of this threat, he implored Canadians to stand up and fight. Speaking to Orangemen in Hamilton in September, 1928, Lloyd encouraged Canadians to "do by active ballots what your sons and daughters did a little while ago by bullets," or, he warned "those brave men who faced death in the trenches fourteen years ago will have fought in vain."<sup>129</sup> As a self-appointed leader of public opposition,

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discriminatory policies of the Immigration Department and the Health Department against British settlers; 5. Decrease the Urban population and increase the rural population correspondingly; 6. Alter education system in order to keep rural children from being tempted by the big city; 7. Attempt to repatriate those of British origin in the United States; 8. Do not impose a quota on Norwegians, Danes and Icelanders; 9. Propose more efficient and fair homesteading system that catered to British settlers and native Canadians; 10. Loan sufficient amount of money to new settlers to help them through the early years; 11. Impose a quota; 12. Reduce the number of Africans and Asiatics in the country. ACGSA, Lloyd, Building the Nation, pp. 18-29.

<sup>129</sup>ACGSA, Lloyd (George Exton) Papers, Periodicals and Clippings, Toronto Star, September 20?, 1928.



Lloyd dedicated himself to making his "troops" aware of the problems they faced, and to giving direction to their opposition. Through his letters and speeches, Lloyd focused the fears that were already in existence. If enough Canadians began to decry specific government policies, Lloyd believed, then the government could do nothing else but submit to their requests. In the late 1920s, the government would find itself forced to make changes. Lloyd had done his part.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE BATTLE ENGAGED

The excitement of the Provincial and Federal elections having passed away: victors and vanquished having explained to their own satisfaction the various causes that led to their elevation or defeat, it is high time that some concerted action be taken to publicly acknowledge the great work done by The Bishop of Saskatchewan to focus the attention of the people on the great issue at stake and the dangerous position into which this country was drifting. Above all party considerations Bishop Lloyd has been the means of welding public opinion on the side of the maintenance of British ideals and British institutions in this country.<sup>1</sup> (I. Finn, Orange Sentinel, 1930)

Bishop George Exton Lloyd was one of the most visible and outspoken opponents of Canada's immigration policy during the late 1920s. He was also one of the most influential. Through his numerous letters and speeches, Lloyd was able to effectively reach and influence a Canadian audience that depended upon newspapers, speeches and pulpits for its information. Feeding upon common fears and prejudices, the Anglican bishop helped convince many Canadians that Canada's immigration policy posed a threat to the country's well being. Having warned them, he then channelled the public's resistance by directing their attack against the authorities he deemed responsible. In turn, these "alerted" Canadians, through public pressure and the ballot box, helped push

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<sup>1</sup>Sentinel, September 4, 1930.

governments, both provincial and federal, into making changes.

Lloyd did not single-handedly overthrow governments, nor did he directly influence changes in government policy. He was not that powerful. Still, it is clear that his numerous and passionate attacks against Canada's immigration policy, and against the provincial and federal governments that supported this policy, had an impact upon the general public. As Canadians grew increasingly concerned about the large numbers of continental Europeans arriving in the late 1920s, there was a corresponding growth of interest in Lloyd's letters. Although there were other groups, like the Ku Klux Klan and the Orange Order, which expressed fears about increased continental immigration, their venom was reserved particularly for the Catholic church. Lloyd, on the other hand, focused his attention on Canada's immigration policy. Consequently, it was he who led the attack against the Railways Agreement and against those responsible for initiating the Agreement, the leaders of the federal government and, more specifically, members of the Immigration Department. His hard fought campaign helped bring about a number of changes on both the provincial and national scenes: dramatic alterations were made to Canadian immigration policy, the Railways Agreement was terminated, and a provincial government was overthrown.

Part of Lloyd's contribution was made through the

auspices of the National Association of Canada. According to Lloyd, the association had been created in order to "arouse the British population of Canada to the immediate need of denouncing the Railways Agreement and demanding its abrogation at once."<sup>2</sup> As leader of the National Association, Lloyd did everything he could to promote the organization and its message in the West. Not only did he attract the support of a number of prominent organizations, including the Sons of England, the Empire Club, the Canadian Club and the Orange Order, but he also appealed to the general public. For example, on 12 September, he, along with Anglican ministers Canon Armitage and Canon Burd, spoke to over 300 people at St. John's Hall, Saskatoon, on immigration. The meeting, attended by invitation only, was sponsored by the National Association of Canada.<sup>3</sup> Later, while on his annual visit to various communities in the winter of 1928, Lloyd also delivered a number of speeches in small towns like Macklin, where "despite the fact that it was shopping day and movie day, a goodly number of people turned out . . . to hear the Rt. Rev. Bishop Lloyd of Saskatchewan, speak on behalf of the National Association of Canada, on the subject of 'Nation

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<sup>2</sup>Anglican Church General Synod Archives (ACGSA), G.E. Lloyd, The Building of the Nation, Natural Increase and Immigration: a paper read before the Grand Orange Lodge of British America at Edmonton Alberta, July 26, 1928 (Toronto: Ontario Press, 1928), p. 7.

<sup>3</sup>Saskatoon Star Phoenix, September 13, 1928.

Building.'"<sup>4</sup> After the meeting was over, a collection was taken and people were given the opportunity to join the association. The day before, the editor of the Unity Courier reported that "the fact that Chautauqua was in full swing" did not stop a large group from listening to Lloyd speak on immigration.<sup>5</sup> The editor further informed his readers that Lloyd, "On his return to Prince Albert . . . will send your editor particulars and membership cards of this Association. We shall then seek to gain as many members as we possibly can get to help in reaching the ideals of the National Association."<sup>6</sup> It must be assumed, given the positive response Lloyd received in places like Saskatoon, Unity, Macklin, Evesham, Senlac and Elstow, that the association's ranks increased during many of these stops. While it may not have been alerted to all of the Association's activity, the federal government was aware that the Lloyd-led Association was gaining adherents.

Although Lloyd's signature was not attached to any of the letters which reached the federal government courtesy of the National Association, it was clear that it was his message which had influenced the authors. Most of the letters contained passages that very closely resembled extracts of

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<sup>4</sup>Saskatoon Star Phoenix, November 8, 1928.

<sup>5</sup>Saskatchewan Archives Board (SAB), Gardiner Papers, Newspaper Clippings, 58, Unity Courier, November 7, 1928.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

Lloyd's own speeches; as well, many of the authors, as did Lloyd, specifically blamed the federal authorities for Canada's immigration woes, while offering the authorities a chance to redeem themselves by increasing British immigration and decreasing "foreign" immigration. If the authorities refused to comply, a number of the writers warned, the public would have to hold the prime minister and the Immigration Department directly responsible.

Many of the letters signed by the National Association in 1928 warned the government that the general public was growing increasingly alarmed about the threat posed by "un-preferred" foreign immigrants. Their concern, the National Association warned, did not augur well for those in power who were doing nothing to ameliorate the situation. One letter writer from Winnipeg, for example, cautioned government officials that "the axe is surely swinging above the heads of those who are responsible for this state of affairs."<sup>7</sup> Another from Copeau insisted that there were "a large number of people in Canada who are rapidly coming to the Bishop's opinion, or 'obsession,' that this is a British country," and warned that the government had consequently better find "backbone enough to maintain your convictions, as we believed your convictions to be when we elected you, or the people

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<sup>7</sup>National Archives of Canada (NAC), RG 76, Immigration Papers, National Association of Canada. Vol. 335 No. 348818, Master and Council, Winnipeg Branch, to The Honourable Robert Forke, May 5, 1928.

will find someone who has got the backbone."<sup>8</sup> For its part, the Association did everything it could to ensure that the public exerted pressure on the government. It apparently had some success. While some members of the government were to claim that the demands made by the National Association should not be taken seriously, their actions belied their words.

In December 1928, F.C. Blair, the Assistant Deputy Minister of Immigration, sent a memo to another member of the department: "I quite agree with your view that we should not take very seriously the annual deluge from the National Association of Canada. In this respect it is pretty much in the same class as several other Organizations that come to life about once a year and write us a number of letters."<sup>9</sup> Earlier the same year, Blair had sent a similar memo to Egan:

This letter is somewhat along the lines of a series addressed to the Right Honourable the Prime Minister during recent weeks and referred to this Department for attention. By looking over our file on the National Association of Canada I notice that no less than four of the letters are in what is apparently the same handwriting and all on behalf of different Councils. It is undoubtedly part of an organized plan directed at the Government with a view to creating the impression that the Government is doing more to promote immigration from foreign countries than it is in the British Isles.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., The Master Council of Copeau to Honourable Robert Forke, November 28, 1928.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., F.C. Blair to Mr. Buskard December 5, 1928.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., F.C. Blair to W.J. Egan, May 20, 1928.

Blair had reason to be suspicious about the authenticity of some of the letters. There were at least two letters, arriving from Winnipeg and Prince Albert, that were obviously written by the same person,<sup>11</sup> and there were a number of letters from destinations other than Prince Albert that listed a Prince Albert box number as their return address. As well, a study of the handwriting of the letters from Leask suggests that, although there were three different people writing, they were interchanging titles.<sup>12</sup> Despite these inconsistencies, it is clear when comparing the letters that there were enough different writers to warrant some concern amongst the federal authorities. Unless they were completely oblivious to what was going on in the West, these same authorities must also have been alarmed by that the NAC was generating support in Saskatchewan.

F.C. Blair's reaction to a letter written by a westerner, C.B. Martin, who was travelling through Ontario, reveals the Immigration Department's sensitivity to the influence the National Association was having in the West. Although Martin never identified himself as a member of the National

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<sup>11</sup>Although this author does not claim to be a handwriting expert, it is obvious to him that a letter dated May 21 1928 from Prince Albert as well as one dated April 30 from Winnipeg were indeed written by the same person.

<sup>12</sup>There are possible explanations for this irregularity. For example, it is possible that the letters were dictated by these officials to a number of different people.



Association, his attack on the Railways Agreement<sup>13</sup> convinced Blair that he was "undoubtedly stirred up by the National Association of Canada to write the letter but evidently forgot to indicate that in his letter."<sup>14</sup> Certainly the National Association was not the only organization or individual that was promoting anti-immigrant sentiment; it was, however, singled out by Blair. No wonder, when even prominent westerners, like Grande Prairie MP, D.M. Kennedy, felt compelled to write the government to ask whether claims made by the National Association against the government were true.<sup>15</sup>

If the immigration officials had really been confident that the National Association did not pose a serious threat, they would have done their best to ignore the Association's letters altogether. Instead -- especially during late 1928 and early 1929 when public animosity towards the government's immigration policy was high -- the government's replies to NAC letters were, at times, lengthy and involved. On 3 May 1929, for example, Mr. Egan sent a long letter to the Secretary of the National Association in Regina, in which he challenged the National Association's claims that "non-

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<sup>13</sup>NAC, RG 76, Immigration Branch Papers, National Association of Canada, Vol 335 No. 348818. C.B. Martin to Hon. Charles Stewart, May 26, 1928.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., Memo from F.C. Blair to Mr. Hughes May 6, 1929.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., D.M. Kennedy to W.J. Egan, May 28, 1928.

preferred" immigrants were being shown preferential treatment over British immigrants.<sup>16</sup> This is hardly the response that would normally be given to an organization viewed as of little consequence. Harry Baldwin, the Secretary to the Prime Minister, praised the letter and suggested that Egan make the letter into a pamphlet "since it deals in a masterly fashion and in a most admirably tempered style with a situation about which many people of good-will are grossly ill-informed."<sup>17</sup> Ill-informed or not, the public was growing increasingly concerned about immigration during the late 1920s,<sup>18</sup> and groups like the National Association, led by men like Lloyd, capitalized on the growing fears.

If the government had its eye on the National Association, it must also have recognized the influence of its leader, Bishop Lloyd. Although there is very little evidence to suggest that the federal government was granting Lloyd a great deal of attention, there is enough to indicate that its leaders were aware of him. Not only did a number of government officials receive open letters courtesy of the

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid., W.J. Egan to the Secretary of the National Association in Regina, May 3, 1929.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., Harry Baldwin to W.J. Egan May 4, 1929.

<sup>18</sup>For example, the Saskatoon Star reported in August 1928 that "it is quite right and proper that Mr. Mackenzie King should have devoted a part of his speech to immigration for unless all signs are wrong this problem is the one with which the Canadian people, or at least the people of the west, are most concerned at the moment." Saskatoon Star August 7, 1928.

Bishop, but it was clear that the prime minister, Mackenzie King, and the immigration minister, Robert Forke, both had, at the very least, some interest in Lloyd's activities. King's secretary, for example, forwarded to Forke's secretary a letter in which he wrote that "the Prime Minister has asked me to bring to the attention of your Minister the enclosed copy of a letter from Mr. T. C. Davis, together with Bishop Lloyd's pamphlet."<sup>19</sup> In the letter, Davis, a Saskatchewan Member of the Legislative Assembly, informed King that Lloyd was not suited to be a member of the cloth, but that he "was cut out to be an agitating politician. His natural bent, therefore, drives him to an active part in politics."<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, Davis warned, Lloyd was at the head of an association which was "a sort of half brother to the K.K.K."<sup>21</sup> Correspondingly, Forke, who believed that Lloyd had a bit of an obsession when it came to things British,<sup>22</sup> informed King of the speech Lloyd made before the Orange Order of Canada in Edmonton.<sup>23</sup> While these examples are limited, it is clear that officials in the nation's capital

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<sup>19</sup>NAC, King Papers, MG 26 J1 volume 161 1357559. Harry Baldwin to M.J. Cullen October 14, 1929.

<sup>20</sup>Quoted in Martin Robin, Shades of Right: Nativist and Fascist Politics in Canada, 1920-1940 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), p. 52.

<sup>21</sup>Quoted in Robin, p. 293.

<sup>22</sup>Prince Albert Herald, September 27, 1928.

<sup>23</sup>NAC, King Papers, MG26 JI vol 152 129580-129581. Robert Forke to Prime Minister King July 26, 1928.

were aware of Lloyd. He was, after all, playing a major role in inciting the public, especially in the West, against the government. His influence was one of the reasons why the Liberal government was forced to re-evaluate and revise its immigration policy.

By the end of the 1928, growing unemployment, combined with rising nativist fears, ensured that Canadians were becoming increasingly vocal in their opposition towards Canada's immigration policy. Led by men like Lloyd, the pressure they exerted on the government forced it to initiate change. The first move designed to pacify the public was taken in December 1928, when the Immigration Department made public its new plan to attract more British immigrants to the country. Included in the plan was a reduction in the fare for third class passengers from £18 15s to £10, the offer of free passage to young boys between fifteen and nineteen who arrived at "provincial reception and distributing centres," and the expansion of medical inspection to allow potential British immigrants the option of being tested by one of 500 British doctors instead of by one of the small contingent of Canadian doctors.<sup>24</sup> For those who hoped to ensure British preponderance in Canada, these changes were encouraging. They were not, however, sufficient to quell public discontent. In conjunction with the improved policy for British immigration, many Canadians demanded a corresponding

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<sup>24</sup>Regina Morning Leader, December 21, 1928.

curtailment of "foreign immigration." This goal was realized early in the new year.

Realizing that there was a "very strong feeling against the unduly large proportion of foreign, as compared with British immigrants" entering the country, the Deputy Minister of Immigration, W.J. Egan, issued a public statement in January promising that "Only thirty per cent of the number of agricultural labourers from non-preferred countries, who came to this Dominion during 1928 will be allowed to enter Canada during 1929."<sup>25</sup> These new restrictions, although they did not meet with universal approval, were supported by many Canadians,<sup>26</sup> including members of the press.

The editors of a number of Canada's prominent newspapers -- many of whom were far more sympathetic towards "foreign" immigrants than were men like Lloyd -- congratulated the government on its decision to restrict "foreign" immigration. Editors from both the Toronto Globe and the Toronto Mail and Empire, for example, argued that the new limitation on "foreign" immigration would ensure that Canada would remain a comfortable home for British settlers.<sup>27</sup> More cautious praise was offered by an editor from the Calgary Herald, who,

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<sup>25</sup>Saskatoon Star Phoenix, January 10, 1929.

<sup>26</sup>One Regina newspaper, for example, reported that "it is evident that public opinion in Canada is with the Department in the issue which has been raised." Regina Daily Post, January 30, 1929.

<sup>27</sup>Saskatoon Star Phoenix, January 15, 1929.

while applauding the restrictions, expressed his concern that the changes might have come too late, since "it is known to all that already the prairie provinces are dotted with foreign settlements whose population preserve their national-tongue and customs. The neighbouring province of Saskatchewan is totally foreign in many sections."<sup>28</sup> Even the Saskatoon Star Phoenix, although tempered in its support of the new policy and a long-time opponent of Bishop Lloyd, acknowledged that the Railways Agreement needed to be altered, since it "unquestionably served to bring in more eastern and southern Europeans than the country could conveniently absorb."<sup>29</sup> The Star's interpretation of the new policy was revealing; that even those who publicly supported and defended the "foreign" immigrant could find the new regulations encouraging indicates the extent to which nativist concerns permeated Canadian society during the 1920s. This climate ensured Bishop Lloyd's success.

Lloyd was pleased with the changes made by the immigration department in late 1928 and early 1929. After having been an adamant, vocal adversary of the federal government and the immigration department for many months, he was quick to commend publicly the minister of immigration, Robert Forke, when each of the government's new policies were announced. To Lloyd, not only were these moves an important

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., January 25, 1929.

step towards recreating British preponderance in Canada, but just as importantly, they indicated an acknowledgement by the government that there were problems with the current immigration system. Since he realized change could not occur without this acknowledgement, Lloyd found the shift in attitude encouraging; after Forke made public the government's plans to pursue actively British immigrants in late 1928, Lloyd congratulated the minister for taking his "first real step forward, evidencing as it does, his own expressed desire to give real preference to British blood."<sup>30</sup> Lloyd's support increased still further once the government's subsequent decision to restrict "foreign" immigration was made public.

Satisfied that the government had taken two important steps forward, Lloyd was determined to ensure that it was not impeded from making further 'progress'; when the C.P.R. and C.N.R. -- which were hurt most by the changes in 1929 -- challenged the government's decision to curtail "foreign" immigration, the ever vigilant bishop was quick to respond. In an open letter addressed to Mackenzie King, Lloyd encouraged the prime minister to ignore railway officials, to support the policies put forward by the immigration department, and to listen to the public, which he contended,

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<sup>30</sup>Regina Leader, December 20, 1928.

was sending the government clear signals on how it felt.<sup>31</sup>

He argued that:

The railways have dominated Canada to such an extent that the Department of Immigration cannot stand by its decision unless they are strongly supported by public opinion. I believe that opinion has been steadily forming in the Dominion during the year 1928 and is now ready to support the Department on the two steps they have taken recently (1) to open the ways from the British Isles and (2) to curtail the irrational privileges granted to the railway companies commonly known as "the railway agreement."<sup>32</sup>

Lloyd need not have worried. Instead of giving in to railway pressure, the federal government reduced the railway quota by another twenty-five per cent in the fall of 1929,<sup>33</sup> and, in October 1930, cancelled the Railways Agreement altogether.

Although no in-depth study of Lloyd's involvement in immigration has previously been made, historians have generally acknowledged his influence on the national immigration debate.<sup>34</sup> They have realized, as did many of Lloyd's contemporaries, that the Anglican bishop was a force to be reckoned with during the 1920s. Soon after the government publicized its decision to increase British immigration in 1928, the Regina Morning Leader found it

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<sup>31</sup>NAC, King Papers, MG26 J1, vol 164, 139380-139382. Open letter from Bishop Lloyd to Mackenzie King. January 31, 1929.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., 139381.

<sup>33</sup>Saskatoon Star Phoenix, September 27, 1929.

<sup>34</sup>For example, see Donald Avery, Dangerous Foreigners: European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada 1896-1932 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1983), p. 107.



significant that the federal government had "received the indorsation [sic] of Bishop Lloyd, who, to date, has been one of the most vigorous critics of the Canadian immigration policy."<sup>35</sup> Other newspapers, including the Manitoba Free Press, the Toronto Daily Star, and the Saskatchewan Star Phoenix, also mentioned Lloyd when reporting on the government's restriction of continental immigration in 1929<sup>36</sup>, while the Winnipeg Tribune went so far as to refer to the new government policies as "approximating the quota system that Bishop Lloyd of Saskatchewan, the Canadian Legion and other individuals and organizations have been advocating."<sup>37</sup>

Although hardly unbiased, the Fellowship of the Maple Leaf also paid tribute to Lloyd's involvement in the campaign against "foreign" immigration,<sup>38</sup> and reported at its executive meeting that:

...no doubt the Committee had seen in the Press that the Minister for Emigration for Canada, owing to the pressure of public opinion, had been compelled to reduce foreign Emigration to one-third its former volume. The Times of present date stated the railway companies had tried to get this abrogated, but the Minister said in view of the pressure of the Provinces this could not be

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<sup>35</sup>Regina Daily Post, December 20, 1928.

<sup>36</sup>For example: Saskatoon Star Phoenix, Jan 11, 1929; SAB, Gardiner Papers, Newspaper Clippings, 58, Manitoba Free Press, February 5, 1929, and Toronto Daily Star, January 17, 1929.

<sup>37</sup>SAB, Gardiner Papers, Newspaper Clippings, 58, Winnipeg Tribune, January 11, 1929.

<sup>38</sup>ACGSA, Fellowship of the Maple Leaf Papers, Magazine of the Fellowship of the Maple Leaf, April 1929, pp. 5-6.

done. There was no doubt that this whole position was due to the work of Bishop Lloyd and the financial help given by this Office."<sup>39</sup>

The Fellowship was right. The public outcry against the Railways Agreement and against the federal immigration policy had indeed forced the federal government to alter its policy and decrease "un-preferred" immigration. And it was Western Canadians, facing the most immediate threat from continental immigration, who had exerted the most pressure.

As early as late 1927, the Assistant Deputy Minister of Immigration, F.C. Blair, had recognized that trouble was brewing in the West. Writing to another member of the Immigration Department he said:

It appears to me that there is a gathering storm rising in the West and that we will not be able to find very much shelter in the statement that the Government handed over to the Railways, under an arrangement which tied our hands, the right to move any number of people whom they can place at farm work in Canada, regardless of whether these are actually fit for or intend to take farm work.<sup>40</sup>

Blair's weather forecast proved accurate. As continental immigration continued to rise in the late 1920s, a storm began to gather in the West. At its centre was Bishop Lloyd; while most of the federal authorities might have believed that Lloyd was full of "hot air," it was clear that his huffings and puffings were proving influential. Even his

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<sup>39</sup>ACGSA, Fellowship of the Maple Leaf Papers, Minutes of Executive Meeting, January 25, 1929.

<sup>40</sup>Gulka-Tiechko, "Ukrainian Immigration to Canada under the Railways Agreement, 1925-1930," Journal of Ukrainian Studies, Vol. 16, p. 49.

detractors realized his influence. A writer to the Western Jewish News, and an opponent of Lloyd's anti-immigrant campaign, had this to say of Lloyd's impact upon the federal government:

The Bishop of Saskatchewan has left his footprints, not only through the West where the mark takes the form of bitter animosity and race-resentment, but also in the sands of policy in the Department of Immigration. His influence has carried weight, and we now see that the innovations and changes of immigration policy, if they do not exactly follow the pattern of Bishop Lloyd's recommendations, are at least noticeably colored by them.<sup>41</sup>

Lloyd's footprints, left in the wake of his great letter writing campaign, could be found in Ottawa. He had indeed left his mark. His success on the national scene, however, was a direct result of his influence in the West, especially in Saskatchewan, where his concerns about continental immigration closely resembled those of a large percentage of the population. It was in this province, which was undergoing many dramatic changes during this period, where his influence was most pronounced, and the mark most indelible. The 1929 provincial election was a good case in point.

On June 6, 1929, after more than twenty years of provincial rule, the Liberal party, led by Jimmy Gardiner, was defeated in the Saskatchewan provincial election. There were a number of reasons for the surprising loss. Among them

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<sup>41</sup>SAB, Gardiner Papers, Newspaper Clippings, 58, Western Jewish News, January 31, 1929.

was the growing suspicion among some members of the electorate that the Liberal government was showing too much favour towards two groups long considered a threat to the Anglo-Saxon-British character of the province, the Catholics and the "un-preferred" foreign immigrants.<sup>42</sup> While these concerns were not new - during the long Liberal tenure Saskatchewan had never been lacking in racial or religious bigotry<sup>43</sup> -- they were exacerbated during the late 1920s. What particularly concerned the Liberal government was the fact that those who were leading the attack against the Catholic and the "foreign" immigrant were also adept at portraying the provincial government as the villain.

Led by men like J.J. Moloney, the Ku Klux Klan did its best during the late 1920s to convince Anglo-Saxons that the provincial Liberal government was sympathetic towards the Catholic Church<sup>44</sup> -- a serious charge in a region which had

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<sup>42</sup>It is of interest to note that the areas in which the Liberals had a lot of support were usually filled with a high percentage of Catholics and foreigners, but that they suffered in areas where Anglo-Saxons predominated. Patrick Kyba, "Ballots and Burning Crosses: the Election of 1929" in Norman Ward and Duff Spafford., eds., Politics in Saskatchewan (Toronto: Longmans Canada Limited, 1968), p. 122.

<sup>43</sup>David E. Smith, Prairie Liberalism: The Liberal Party in Saskatchewan 1905-1971 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), p. 144.

<sup>44</sup>Raymond J.A. Huel, "J.J. Moloney: How the West was Saved from Rome, Quebec, and the Liberals" in John E. Foster, ed., The Developing West: Essays on Canadian History in Honor of Lewis H. Thomas (Alberta: University of Alberta Press, 1983), p. 228.

long suffered religious controversy and where many Protestants regarded Catholics with suspicion. Playing on these fears, the Klan warned the citizens that the Catholic church, if it was not restrained, would continue to increase its influence in the region through nefarious means; in The Freedman, a newspaper founded by Moloney, the Klan repeatedly condemned the government for allowing Catholics to run schools where nuns walked the halls in their full habit, where the Union Jack was taken from the front of class rooms and replaced with crucifixes, and where children were forced to kiss the crucifix when they were being punished.<sup>45</sup> The Klan's success in convincing the public that these stories were true was reflected in its rising popularity in the province during 1928 and 1929. As political scientist David Smith notes, however, it is important to realize that the Klan was responsible for "coalescing opposition" not inventing it.<sup>46</sup> The same was true for Lloyd. Like leaders of the Klan, Lloyd worked with fears that were already prevalent in the province and gave them voice.

During the late 1920s large numbers of "un-preferred" foreign immigrants were allowed to enter the country under the auspices of the Railway Agreement. In Saskatchewan in particular, this increase was very pronounced; in 1921, over 50% of the population in the province had been Anglo-Saxon in

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<sup>45</sup>The Freedman, April 5, 1928.

<sup>46</sup>Smith, p. 144.

heritage, but by the end of the decade the British element had been reduced to a minority.<sup>47</sup> Fearing that this trend would continue, citizens of Saskatchewan were susceptible to the anti-immigrant campaign promoted by groups like the Ku Klux Klan and the Orange Order<sup>48</sup> and by individuals like Bishop Lloyd.

In March of 1929, upset by the provincial government's "pro-Catholic" and "pro-immigrant" stance, Lloyd warned Gardiner's Liberals of his determination to campaign against them.<sup>49</sup> He was never able to fulfil his promise. In April of the same year, suffering from complications of his old war wound, the Anglican Bishop was forced to leave the country in order to recuperate. He returned with only enough time left to deliver one parting shot at the Liberal regime before the election. Claiming to be a "life-long" Liberal, Lloyd denounced the Gardiner government as being "in no sense whatever" a Liberal government,<sup>50</sup> condemned the Premier for supporting non-British immigration, and criticized his pro-Catholic response to the school question. Although this last minute appeal could not have had much of a direct influence

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<sup>47</sup>The minority was just under 50%. Robin, p. 50.

<sup>48</sup>Although the Klan's primary target was the Catholic Church, it was able to portray the immigrants swarming into the country as simple-minded, "illiterate" pawns of the Church. The Freedman, August 1927.

<sup>49</sup>Sentinel, March 28, 1929.

<sup>50</sup>Saskatoon Star, June 5 1929.

upon the election results, Lloyd's overall influence was still pervasive.

James Gardiner knew how dangerous groups which promoted anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant feeling, such as the Ku Klux Klan, were to his party. In a letter written on 3 August 1927, he warned Prime Minister King that the Klan's primary objective was to "spread propaganda which will be of benefit to the opponents of the Government, both Provincial and federal" and observed that in Saskatchewan it appeared "to be rallying to its cause those who have been very rabid against us."<sup>51</sup> To combat this menace, Gardiner began to collect all the material he could find on the Klan, and, in January 1928, when he felt confident that he understood its weaknesses, began to challenge the organization publicly.<sup>52</sup> The resulting battle has been well documented. Although Bishop Lloyd was also campaigning against the Liberal party, Gardiner never engaged Bishop Lloyd in the same manner.

Gardiner was aware of Bishop Lloyd's anti-immigrant campaign. As he did with the Klan, the Liberal premier collected a thick file of newspaper articles by and about Lloyd.<sup>53</sup> Unlike his response to the Klan, however, he did not

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<sup>51</sup>SAB, Gardiner Papers, Newspaper Clippings, 58, J.G. Gardiner to Mackenzie King August 3, 1927

<sup>52</sup>Robin, p. 63 and Gray, Roar of the Twenties, pp. 284-286.

<sup>53</sup>SAB, Gardiner Papers, Newspaper Clippings, 58. There are 139 clippings in this file, all of which mention Lloyd.

publicly challenge Lloyd -- probably because Lloyd, prior to Gardiner's call for a provincial election, had focused most of his attacks on the federal government. Gardiner must also have realized that attacking the leader of one of the largest churches in Saskatchewan could be politically damaging. This did not inhibit him, however, from making generally criticizing all religious leaders who were "attempting to stir up religious and racial prejudice within the province of Saskatchewan."<sup>54</sup> He recognized that the Klan's success in Saskatchewan was due to the fact that it only had "to capitalize [on] the activities of the Anglican Church and others in opposition to the policy of the Federal Government and to complain that we had been particularly friendly to the Catholic Church."<sup>55</sup> Had Lloyd not taken ill, and had he been able to carry out his campaign against Gardiner as he promised, the provincial leader would probably have been hard-pressed to continue ignoring the bishop.

Although the Klan's role in helping defeat the provincial government in 1929 has been studied,<sup>56</sup> Lloyd's has not. There are a number of obvious reasons for this oversight, including the difficulty in assessing the importance of a man who was not even on the continent during the crucial months leading

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<sup>54</sup>Prince Albert Herald, June 2, 1928.

<sup>55</sup>Smith, p. 146.

<sup>56</sup>See for example Smith, Prairie Liberalism, and Robin, Shades of Right.



up to the election. Despite his absence, Lloyd was certainly convinced that his campaign had influenced the provincial election. He claimed that this campaign, funded by the F.M.L, and promoted by himself was "undoubtedly" the reason why Gardiner was defeated.<sup>57</sup> The F.M.L. agreed with his assessment, and argued that "the National Association in Canada, founded by Bishop Lloyd, brought about the downfall of the Gardner [sic] Government in Saskatchewan, which indirectly affected the Federal Government's attitude at Ottawa on this important question."<sup>58</sup>

Given the source, the observations made by Lloyd and the F.M.L. must be taken with more than just "a grain of salt." They should not, however, be dismissed. If, as a number of historians argue, the Klan, by promoting anti-Catholic and anti-"foreign" sentiment, had a hand in the provincial defeat, then surely Lloyd must also be given his due. J.S. Woodward, the editor of the Saskatoon Star Phoenix in 1929, certainly thought so. Though Lloyd had been absent for a number of months prior to the election, Woodward, when summing up the Liberal defeat in the pages of the Queen's Quarterly, argued that "the campaign put up by Bishop Lloyd of the Anglican diocese of Prince Albert against the influx of 'nasty garlic-smelling, unpreferred continentals', as his

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<sup>57</sup>ACGSA, Fellowship of the Maple Leaf Papers, Minutes of the Executive Meeting, July 5, 1929.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., November 27, 1931.

lordship termed them, and a suggestion from the people who attacked the school administration that there was a move, sponsored by the federal government, to bring about Catholic domination of this province had some bearing" in the election results.<sup>59</sup>

Woodward was right. Although there is no quantifiable method available with which to assess the degree of Lloyd's impact, it is clear that he affected the public's attitude towards "foreign" immigration. His letters, found in newspapers across the province, helped fuel anti-immigrant sentiment during 1928 and early 1929, and promoted the general atmosphere of fear later capitalized on by groups like the Ku Klux Klan and the Orange Order. These letters were the key to Lloyd's success in influencing changes at both the provincial and national levels. Despite the fact that many editors disapproved of the Bishop and the message he was sending, no one was as effective as Lloyd during the late 1920s at disseminating anti-immigration propaganda to the public through Saskatchewan's newspapers.

During the 1920s, when newspapers in Saskatchewan were politically affiliated,<sup>60</sup> all the major newspapers in the

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<sup>59</sup>J.S. Woodward, "Current Events," Queen's Quarterly, Vol. XXXVI, 1929, p. 548.

<sup>60</sup>J.W. Brennan, "Press and Party in Saskatchewan, 1914-1929," Saskatchewan History Volume XXVII, 1973, p. 81.

province, except two, were Liberal;<sup>61</sup> the Western Producer put forth the political planks of the Progressive party, while the Regina Daily Star, first published in July 1928, was produced by the Conservative party. This Liberal dominance in the press should have posed a problem for Lloyd, since the federal immigration policies he attacked were implemented by the federal Liberal government, and since Premier Gardiner, who relied heavily on the Catholic and immigrant vote, was unsympathetic towards his views. The Saskatoon Star, and its successor the Star Phoenix, which attacked Lloyd on a number of occasions, were very much opposed to Lloyd's rhetoric. One of its more subtle attacks against the clergyman was made in August 1928 in an editorial focusing on the long tenure held by many Canadian bishops. The editor attributed this longevity to "the spiritual calm they maintain in the midst of difficulties . . . ,"<sup>62</sup> while recognizing that there were "exceptions to all rules. Spiritual calm can hardly be said to pervade the see of Saskatchewan, yet the present incumbent of this bishopric is a veteran in the service of his church and the Star would be the last to wish that his tenure be shortened by undue mental storm and stress."<sup>63</sup> The Star Phoenix was not alone in condemning Lloyd; both the Morse News and the Swift Current

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<sup>61</sup>Ibid., p. 88.

<sup>62</sup>Saskatoon Star, August 7, 1928.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid.

Herald also took Lloyd to task,<sup>64</sup> and a number of newspapers, including Lloyd's local paper, the Prince Albert Herald, even went so far as to refuse to publish Lloyd's letters.

The editor of the Herald was extremely critical of Bishop Lloyd. In May 1928, he referred to one of Lloyd's letters as "not only inaccurate but offensive,"<sup>65</sup> and in June he delivered a scathing attack when he suggested that the bishop, facing a plight similar to that experienced by Mother Goose's Humpty Dumpty, was cracking up.<sup>66</sup> These editorial attacks on Lloyd attracted the attention of John Graham from Catsworth Ontario, who wrote: "You have no right. . . to inflict such editorials as that of the 27th June upon your readers. I am offering no brief for Bishop Lloyd, but I say this, either you should write Bishop Lloyd to say that you do not wish to receive letters from him for publication, or else, publish them, treat the Bishop and your readers as well with common courtesy."<sup>67</sup> The editor apparently accepted Graham's advice. Although the Herald continued to print editorials collected from other newspapers that criticized Lloyd,<sup>68</sup> it no longer printed either Lloyd's letters or its

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<sup>64</sup>SAB, Gardiner Papers, Newspaper Clippings, 58, Morse News, July 19, 1928.

<sup>65</sup>Prince Albert Herald, May 5, 1928.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., June 27, 1928.

<sup>67</sup>Prince Albert Herald, July 9, 1928.

<sup>68</sup>Examples are the Manitoba Free Press, Ibid., July 21, 1928; The Sarnia Free Press, Ibid., September 10, 1928

own scathing editorials.

The Herald was not the only newspaper to censure Lloyd. The Alameda Dispatch also refused to print the letters of a bishop who it claimed had "managed to use the press in the recent past to get into the lime-light and by his un-Christian and insulting remarks has brought about quite an extensive controversy in the country...."<sup>69</sup> Even the editors of the Western Producer, after receiving numerous complaints from readers about the large number of anti-immigrant letters published in the letter box,<sup>70</sup> requested that "those of our correspondents who make a speciality of delving into the vexed question of racial and religious distinctions, to consider whether or not they are doing anything useful or helpful."<sup>71</sup> Publication of letters dealing with immigration dropped dramatically thereafter, and letters from Lloyd, although they could be still be found in other newspapers, could no longer be found in the pages of the Producer.

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and the Saskatoon Star Phoenix, September 10, 1928.

<sup>69</sup>SAB, Gardiner Papers, Newspaper Clippings, 58, The Alameda Dispatch, August 22, 1928.

<sup>70</sup>For example, Ben Torchy of Ituna wrote in questioning why Lloyd's letters were printed since "the Western Producer has a large circulation, and many reading this article would become sympathizers of the author's beliefs and thereby the public opinion regarding different questions about nation building would be somewhat modified." Western Producer, October 4, 1928. In another letter, a French-Canadian and Roman-Catholic family refused to renew their subscription because of derogatory letters, including those by Lloyd. Ibid., October 11, 1928.

<sup>71</sup>Western Producer, December 27, 1928.

The fact that Lloyd faced editorial disapproval in many Saskatchewan newspapers, and in a number outside the province<sup>72</sup>, did not necessarily harm the Bishop's campaign. If Lloyd believed that any publicity was good publicity, then he would have been pleased with the attention he was receiving. As well, the fact that many of these newspapers continued to print Lloyd's letters, even though they disagreed with him, strengthened his credibility and ensured that his message was read throughout the province. And although there were many Canadians who disapproved of his language, there were many who approved; just as there were editors who attacked him, there were also those who supported him.

In Saskatchewan, the editor of the Unity Courier wrote of Bishop Lloyd's "conviction and courage" and published glowing reports of Lloyd's contribution to the West, as did the editor of the North Battleford Optimist; both recounted stories of Lloyd's heroic actions in 1885 and 1903, and maintained that his current campaign was simply a more recent example of the bishop's strength and conviction.<sup>73</sup> Other Saskatchewan newspapers which backed Lloyd included the

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<sup>72</sup>Examples: ACGSA, Lloyd (George Exton) Papers, Clippings and Periodicals, Manitoba Free Press, May 9, 1928 and May 17, 1930.

<sup>73</sup>SAB, Gardiner Papers, Newspaper Clippings, 58, The Unity Courier, October 3, 1928.

Indian Head News,<sup>74</sup> the Sintaluta Times,<sup>75</sup> and the Melfort Journal.<sup>76</sup> There were even a number of newspapers outside of Saskatchewan that publicly supported him. The editor of the Banff Crag and Canyon printed Lloyd's "Nation Building" speech in instalments, because he believed that Lloyd's words would "prove to be very interesting reading to anyone who has given any thought" to the immigration question.<sup>77</sup> As well, Lloyd received positive press in the Toronto Globe<sup>78</sup>, which was Liberal, in the Toronto Telegram,<sup>79</sup> and in the Toronto Daily Star. Editorials and articles which focused on Lloyd could be found in newspapers all over the country, including the Ottawa Citizen<sup>80</sup> and the Ottawa Journal,<sup>81</sup> the Edmonton Bulletin,<sup>82</sup> the Fort William Daily Times, the St. Catherine's

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<sup>74</sup>Ibid., Indian Head News, November 15, 1928.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., Sintaluta Times, May 24, 1928.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., Melfort Journal, May 29, 1928.

<sup>77</sup>Banff Crag and Canyon, August 17, 1928.

<sup>78</sup>Example: "The letters from Bishop Lloyd, which were published in The Globe, have been severe in their criticism, but based on a foundation, and from a motive which can hardly be questioned." SAB, Gardiner Papers, Newspaper Clippings, 58, The Toronto Globe, May 10, 1928. See also Ibid., September 18, 1928.

<sup>79</sup>ACGSA, Lloyd (George Exton) Papers, Clippings and Periodicals, Toronto Telegram, August 29, 1928.

<sup>80</sup>SAB, Gardiner Papers, Newspaper Clippings, 58, Ottawa Citizen, October 8, 1928.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., Ottawa Journal, November 16, 1928.

<sup>82</sup>SAB, Gardiner Papers, Newspaper Clippings, 58, Edmonton Bulletin, September 28, 1928.

Standard, the Brantford Expositor, and the Border Cities Star.<sup>83</sup>

Regardless of whether he was receiving editorial approval, Bishop Lloyd was establishing a reputation for himself. Even the negative press he received benefitted his cause, since it increased his notoriety and ensured that his controversial views would provide interesting stories for newspapers across the country. It was this exposure that concerned Lloyd's opponents, many of whom feared that Lloyd's message would carry a great deal of influence among the general public.

Christian Smith, the leader of the Netherlands's Colonization Board, summed up the fears shared by many Canadians of "foreign" extraction when he wrote:

Reading of Bishop Lloyd's latest attempts to upset Canadian unity, I am tempted to exclaim, as did an English King, "will no one rid me of this insolent priest?" . . . . In conclusion, I would say that I consider Bishop Lloyd a menace to the public peace and I think it is a pity he was ever let into this country. However, the bishop is sowing his seed and as he sows he will probably reap.<sup>84</sup>

The strong attacks made against Lloyd by leading members of the "foreign" and Catholic populace in Canada illustrated the degree to which Lloyd was "sowing his seed." Canadian religious leaders, continental organizations, government officials, and "foreign" newspapers all took Lloyd to task

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<sup>83</sup>Extracts of which can be found in the Saskatoon Star Phoenix, June 15, 1929.

<sup>84</sup>Saskatoon Star, August 4, 1928.



because they feared his influence. For example, Reverend P. Oleksiew, administrator of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Diocese in Canada, prayed that Lloyd might stop "creating unnecessary hatred between the Ukrainians and English speaking population," while Reverend S.W. Savchuk, head of the consistory of the Ukrainian Orthodox church and pastor of the Cathedral in Winnipeg, questioned why Lloyd - who he contended had a good reputation amongst the Ukrainian settlers in his diocese - would try to turn people against Ukrainian settlers.<sup>85</sup> Voicing the concerns of the German community, the Edmonton-based German weekly, Der Herold, attacked Lloyd,<sup>86</sup> and the Regina German Catholic Association passed a resolution stating that it would not let Lloyd's attacks go unchallenged. The association expressed its hope that "all concerned authorities, the press as well as the sensible thinking good willed members of the Anglican Church themselves will take their stand against the before-mentioned disturbance of the religious and national peace."<sup>87</sup> French newspapers like Le Devoir and Le Patriote and Jewish newspapers like the Western Jewish News and the Israelite Press also printed editorials and features criticizing Lloyd

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<sup>85</sup>SAB, Gardiner Papers, Newspaper Clippings, 58, Manitoba Free Press July 23, 1928.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid., Manitoba Free Press, October 6, 1928.

<sup>87</sup>Regina Daily Post, October 1, 1928.

and his message.<sup>88</sup>

One of the most publicized attacks on Lloyd was made by the first Ukrainian MP, Michael Luchovich, in the House of Commons in May 1929. Despite the Klan's prominence in Saskatchewan at this time, it was Lloyd that Luchovich singled out. He angrily contended that:

there is some sinister power in Canada whose main purpose is to engineer a so-called pogrom against Ukrainians in Canada, to compromise them in every possible manner, and whose despicable plans have no doubt gained the sympathy and unqualified support of the Advocate and Bishop Lloyd . . . .<sup>89</sup>

Luchovich subsequently sent 4,000 copies of this speech to interested individuals across the country.<sup>90</sup>

A major concern shared by Luchovich and Lloyd's other opponents was that Lloyd, as a representative of the church, spoke not only as an individual, but also on behalf of the church. One contributor to the Manitoba Free Press wrote: "I would suggest that if the reverend gentleman wishes to imply that any particular race will prostitute the blood of this nation, he take off his frock before he speaks, then there would be no misunderstanding as to whether it is the church

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<sup>88</sup>ACGSA, Lloyd (George Exton) Papers, Clippings and Periodicals, Le Patriote, August 8, 1928; Western Jewish News, September 27 1928; Israelite Press as quoted in Toronto Globe, July 23, 1928.

<sup>89</sup>Quoted in the Appendix of Michael Luchkovich, A Ukrainian Canadian in Parliament: Memoirs of Michael Luchkovich (Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1965), p. 65.

<sup>90</sup>Luchkovich, p. 25.

speaking through its bishop, or just plain George Exton Lloyd giving us his quaint, if unflattering, views."<sup>91</sup>

In August 1928, the Church of England issued a stern warning to Bishop Lloyd for his use of intemperate language and threatened to take action if the Bishop continued his vituperative attacks against the "foreigner."<sup>92</sup> Although Lloyd's opponents could take some satisfaction from the verbal spanking meted out by Lloyd's superiors, they were disappointed that the Canadian church did not follow the mother church's lead; there was no corresponding denouncement made by leaders of the Canadian church. Although Canon Vernon, the general secretary of the Council of Social Service of the Church in Canada, made it clear that "Bishop Lloyd's views are definitely not those of the Church of England in Canada,"<sup>93</sup> neither Vernon nor any other prominent members of the Anglican Church in Canada made much of an attempt to silence the Saskatchewan Bishop. The frustration Lloyd's opponents felt was mirrored in a letter written to the Saskatoon Star Phoenix, in which the author suggested that the Anglican Church take the lead in opposing Lloyd's language:

Since Mr. Lloyd happens to be an Anglican, it would be fitting for the Anglican church to lead

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<sup>91</sup>SAB, Gardiner Papers, Newspaper Clippings, 58, Manitoba Free Press, June 26, 1928.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid., Regina Leader, August 1, 1928.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid., Regina Daily Post, October 3, 1928.

the way in this respect. Until she does so, indeed, the other churches may not feel free to speak their minds. They may naturally fear that a rebuke to the bishop might be interpreted as a blow at a rival body; and in any case they may well think it seemly that the bishop should first be dealt with by his own ecclesiastical brethren .

. . . "94

Indeed, the attitude of the other churches towards Lloyd remained, for the most part, a mystery. Most religious leaders did not challenge Lloyd, at least publicly. A report by a United Church committee, selected to study the position of non Anglo-Saxons (1930-1931) in the West, indicated how some members of the United Church felt towards Lloyd. One question asked members of the church community "Is the attitude of the Anglican Church towards these people [the "foreigner"], better than that of the United Church?"<sup>95</sup> One of the responses the committee printed rebuked Bishop Lloyd's description of the continental European: "The answer is 'No', and such phrases as 'garlic smelling continentals' would never be used by United Churchmen."<sup>96</sup> Still, the United Church, which had more known members in the Ku Klux Klan than any other denomination,<sup>97</sup> was hardly one to throw stones,

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<sup>94</sup>Saskatoon Star Phoenix, October 27, 1928.

<sup>95</sup>SAB, The Records of the United Church of Canada, Committee to Study Non-Anglo-Saxons, 1930-1931, XI.C.5.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid.

<sup>97</sup>William Calderwood, "The Rise and Fall of the Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan," Unpublished Masters Thesis (History), University of Saskatchewan, Regina Campus, 1968, p. 180.

especially since there were members, like Reverend Banks, who publicly supported Lloyd.<sup>98</sup> The support many religious leaders showed for Lloyd and the Klan should come as no surprise. During the 1920s, the fear and uncertainty regarding the impact "foreign" immigration would have on the country was widespread: it affected the general populace, it affected businessmen, it affected politicians, and it affected religious leaders, including many members of the Anglican Church.

In 1926, the editor of the national Anglican newspaper, The Churchman, advocated restricting "foreign" immigration. He contended that "the common sense of that attitude is apparent. Long before the Roman times, and always since, the peoples who have since made up the British people (namely the Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, Dutch, Teutons) were the leading exponents of democracy. A British country should be mainly British with just a leavening of other racial stocks."<sup>99</sup> His views were not uncommon amongst the Anglican leaders. The next year at the Canadian Anglican Synod, when the issue of immigration was brought to the fore, the heated exchange amongst the ministers proved that there were many Anglican ministers, especially in the West, who supported limiting the

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<sup>98</sup>When Lloyd was in Senlac giving a speech on behalf of the National Association he was thanked by Reverend W. Banks of the United Church when the speech was concluded. Saskatoon Star Phoenix, November 8, 1928.

<sup>99</sup>Canadian Churchman, September 30, 1926.

number of "un-preferred" foreign immigrants who arrived in the country.

It was the Saskatchewan delegation of ministers which had initiated the debate over Canadian immigration policy; many ministers in Saskatchewan, besides Lloyd and Burd, supported restricting "un-preferred" foreign immigration. Canon Armitage, for example, made his views clear when he proposed a motion at a Saskatoon Ministerial Association meeting which read: "we fear that the principle of the separation of Church and State is being threatened in the conduct of the Department of Immigration and we ask that our representative in the Federal Government investigate the matter carefully and make available to this Association any information with regard to this question which it is in his power to procure."<sup>100</sup> The motion was passed. Like Lloyd and Burd, Armitage also made speeches on immigration before organizations like the Saskatoon Orange Lodges,<sup>101</sup> while Reverend Adcock of Regina, who spoke at one of the meetings sponsored by the National Association, introduced a resolution at the Anglican Synod of Qu'Appelle in Regina on 8 June 1928, calling for a federal quota on "un-preferred" immigration.<sup>102</sup> These were just a few of the ministers who

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<sup>100</sup>The Canadian Annual Review, 1927-1928, p. 190.

<sup>101</sup>Saskatoon Star, July 9, 1928. He also spoke in Smiley Saskatchewan before 2,500 Orangemen on the subject of immigration. Ibid., July 18, 1928.

<sup>102</sup>Saskatoon Star, June 8, 1928.

supported Lloyd. When Lloyd retired in 1931, it was Canon Cross who wrote to Premier J.T.M. Anderson suggesting that Lloyd be made a senator,<sup>103</sup> and when Lloyd passed away in 1940, Canon Haynes revealed his own feelings on the "foreigner" when he pointed out that "now after sixteen years we are seeing the organization of internment camps for those people whose wholesale admission His Lordship so strongly deprecated."<sup>104</sup>

Of course, not all the leaders in the Anglican church supported Lloyd, although most of those who disagreed with the Saskatchewan cleric remained silent. Even those who did publicly denounce Lloyd's language, often betrayed their own nativist sentiments. Bishop Gray of Edmonton, for example, although he was portrayed by some newspapers as the voice of reason, expressed his concern that the West was becoming a little too much like a "tower of babel."<sup>105</sup> Similarly, Canon Nelson Smith of Minnedosa, although objecting to Lloyd's "abusive language," believed that it was "an outrage that this British country should be overwhelmed with undesirable settlers" and agreed that "any united effort to convince the government that the western provinces are finding the immigration policy of the last few years intolerable is

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<sup>103</sup>NAC, Bennett Papers, Vol. 700, 429685, C. Cross to J.T.M. Anderson, May 15, 1931.

<sup>104</sup>ACGSA, Lloyd (George Exton) Papers, Clippings and Periodicals, Lloydminster Times, December 12, 1940.

<sup>105</sup>Saskatoon Star Phoenix, September 24, 1928.

worthy of support."<sup>106</sup> Whether Smith realized it or not, Lloyd was trying to achieve exactly that. Capitalizing on his prominent position within the church and the community, Lloyd had set out to unite Canadians in opposition to the federal immigration policy.

Many of Lloyd's most adamant supporters belonged to "patriotic" western organizations. Members of the Canadian Legion, the Canadian Club, the Ladies Imperial Club, as well as Rotary clubs and various local, provincial and national chapters of the Orange Order, came in large numbers to hear Lloyd speak. A number of organizations also published his letters or promoted his ideas. The Orange Order, which also played an important role in assisting the Klan,<sup>107</sup> was especially supportive of the Saskatchewan Bishop.<sup>108</sup> It was the Orange Order which invited Lloyd to speak before its national meeting in 1928, and then printed this speech in pamphlet form and distributed it;<sup>109</sup> the speech became the basis for a series of letters Lloyd wrote to newspapers around the country. The Order also provided a forum for Lloyd's views in its publication, The Sentinel. A number of

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<sup>106</sup>Manitoba Free Press, July 14, 1928.

<sup>107</sup>Calderwood, p. 173.

<sup>108</sup>This is especially significant given that the Orange Order was prospering in Saskatchewan during the 1920s even though its prominence in the rest of the country was decreasing, Smyth and Houston, p. 164.

<sup>109</sup>Sentinel, August 2, 1928.



articles and editorials gave testimony to his courage and patriotism: "Bishop Lloyd is a remarkable man. That has been known widely for a long time, but the fight he is putting up at the present time is for a man of his age proof of courage and determination such as few men possess, or would be able to carry out."<sup>110</sup>

Lloyd's fight also won him the support of a number of other pro-British organizations, including the Empire Club, the Ku Klux Klan, and the Sons of England. The Empire Club and the Klan both printed articles written by Lloyd in their respective periodicals,<sup>111</sup> while the Sons of England, Prince Albert local branch, put itself "on record in support and in favour of the recent regulations put into operation by the Hon. Robert Forke, Minister of Immigration, in regard to the Quota system for immigrants intending to migrate to Canada from 'non-preferred' countries, hereby adopting the principle enunciated by George Exton Lloyd, bishop of Saskatchewan."<sup>112</sup> The support shown Lloyd by groups like the Orange Order, the Klan, the Empire Club, and the Sons of England was not surprising, since they were all fighting for the same thing:

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<sup>110</sup>Ibid., September 27, 1928.

<sup>111</sup>G. E. Lloyd, "Immigration and Nation Building", in Commonwealth and Empire Review, Vol. 49, 1929; Klansman, Vol 1 Number 2, November 1928. Interestingly, it was the editor of this newspaper who proposed a quota plan in 1930 exactly like the one Lloyd had been calling for quite some time.

<sup>112</sup>Saskatoon Star Phoenix, March 1, 1929.

a British Canada.

There were other organizations whose members also found themselves susceptible, although to a lesser degree, to Lloyd's language. Members of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (I.O.D.E.), for example, despite being heavily involved in helping educate the "foreigner," still expressed concerns about the growing number of continentals arriving in Canada; in May 1929 they endorsed a motion:

that we reiterate . . . that the difficulty of recruiting British migration should not be accepted as an argument for the present undue preponderance of foreign-born from non-preferred countries and from the United States and urge that this flow be brought into conformity with the possible number of British and 'preferred countries' settlers who can be obtained annually.<sup>113</sup>

One of its leading members, Charlotte Whitton, wrote:

The Daughters of the Empire believe that the interests of world peace, no less than of Canada and the British Empire, depend upon the maintenance of the preponderance of the basic stocks of this country in this Dominion, and their preservation and adaptation of British modes of life and government to conditions in this land. We believe that the time has come for us and all those who are like-minded to declare the strength of their convictions and the pride of their prejudices.<sup>114</sup>

Given these convictions, it is no surprise that the I.O.D.E. printed a portion of Lloyd's Nation building speech in its

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<sup>113</sup>Ibid., May 30, 1929.

<sup>114</sup>Echoes, (official magazine of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire), National Archives Library, October 1929.

monthly periodical, Echoes.<sup>115</sup>

The attitude of organizations like the United Farmers of Canada and the Canadian Legion towards the "foreigner" was a little less clear than that of the pro-British organizations. Although both groups expressed official sympathy for the "foreign" immigrant<sup>116</sup> -- the U.F.C. even went on record with its claim that "There are no non-preferred races as far as we are concerned"<sup>117</sup> -- the unofficial response of their members was not always as conciliatory. In the spring of 1928, for example, the Legion set up a committee "to inquire into the subject of immigration,"<sup>118</sup> which, among other things, sent out a questionnaire to all branches of the legion. The responses they received revealed that branches were not devoid of nativist sentiment. When asked to describe the "foreigners," they depicted them as belonging to "in groups," condemned them for "over-crowding" and "undercutting" labor, and denounced them as "radically of undesirable types" and as "not being bona fide settlers."<sup>119</sup> It was clear from these descriptions that there were members of the Legion who would

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<sup>115</sup>Ibid., March, 1929.

<sup>116</sup>Although they sympathized with the foreigner, both the Legion and the U.F.C. agreed that the Railway agreement should be annulled. Western Producer, April 19, 1928.

<sup>117</sup>Western Producer, May 10, 1928. Canadian Legion echoed similar sentiments in its report on immigration Western Producer April 5, 1928.

<sup>118</sup>Ibid., March 29, 1928.

<sup>119</sup>Ibid., April 12, 1928

have been sympathetic to Lloyd's views. Even the Western Producer's decision to censor Lloyd's articles reveals that there were those within the U.F.C. who supported him; had Lloyd been the only one contributing anti-immigrant letters, then he likely could have been ignored. That is not, however, what happened. Lloyd's letters, when printed in periodicals like the Western Producer, or in newspapers like the Star, almost invariably initiated a torrent of responses from supporters and opponents alike.

During 1928 and 1929, the question of immigration was on the minds of many Canadians. One contributor to the Star's letter box revealed the public's obsession when he observed, "I notice with a measure of intense disgust as well as consolation that the immigration question is gaining more public attention every day. The man in the street is constantly discussing it. It is on everybody's lips."<sup>120</sup> Editors of the Star Phoenix, who were also aware of the growing concern, reported:

It is quite right and proper that Mr. Mackenzie King should have devoted a part of his speech to immigration for unless all signs are wrong this problem is one with which the Canadian people, or at least the people of the west, are most concerned at the moment. The letter box of the Star contains daily a quota on the subject from all parts of the province. With some of the correspondents it is impossible to agree, but none the less the fact that so many take the trouble to write shows that immigration is a topic about which they are thinking deeply, and it is highly probable that their less vocal neighbours are

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<sup>120</sup>Saskatoon Star, September 1, 1928.

doing the same thing.<sup>121</sup>

Even though the editors of the Star disapproved of Lloyd's language, they included his letters, not only because they believed that the "Right Rev. George Exton Lloyd, as bishop of Saskatchewan, holds a position of great prominence in the life of this province," but also because they realized that he had "strong views on the immigration question which others may share."<sup>122</sup> Many did, and their support was reflected in the Star's letter box.

Lloyd's contribution to the public's obsession with the immigration question was impressive. Between the middle of May and September 11, 1928, 203 letters were printed in the Star letterbox, of which approximately 83 dealt in some form or fashion with immigration. Of these, ten were by Lloyd, twenty were opposed to him, and nineteen supported him. In other words, more than one third of all the letters focused on immigration, and almost one quarter of the total number of letters printed, were either written by, or alluded to, Lloyd. In comparison, there were only thirteen that mentioned the Ku Klux Klan.

The public responses to Lloyd's letters varied from adamant opposition to enthusiastic support, and everywhere else in between. There were those who supported him simply because they shared his views, and others who appeared as

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<sup>121</sup>Saskatoon Star, August 7, 1928.

<sup>122</sup>Ibid., August 15, 1928.

impressed by his reputation as they were by his ideas.<sup>123</sup> On the other hand, he received vicious condemnation from "foreigners" who were directly affected by his attack<sup>124</sup>, and by a smaller number of Anglo-Saxons who apparently, did not feel as threatened by the "foreign" contingent as were many of their brethren.<sup>125</sup> The letters which were most revealing, however, were those written by Canadians who, although they disagreed with Lloyd's language or with some of his arguments, still found something in Lloyd's message with which they could agree.

Although one writer to the Saskatoon Star Phoenix advocated showing a "true Canadian spirit in our attitude towards the stranger within our gates," he was also concerned that these "foreigners" were taking jobs and reducing wages

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<sup>123</sup>In the Saskatoon Star, for example, one man wrote of Lloyd: "His work in Canada as a teacher, a soldier, a colonizer and a missionary in western Canada entitle him to first rank as a Canadian patriot" and consequently, these deeds "quite apart from his important position in the Church of England, entitles him to a serious hearing for his views", Sept 22, 1928. There were many others who shared these sentiments. J. A. Horsely of Saskatoon, (June 23, 1928) and V.J. Ferguson (August 11, 1928) said almost the same thing. Ferguson goes so far as to provide a long list of Lloyd's exploits. S.A. Barker called him a nation builder, Ibid., August 25, 1928. See also Geo H. Lord in Western Producer, August 16, 1928.

<sup>124</sup>One example among many: One letter writer, who signed himself a "dirty continental," wrote "it ill becomes a church dignitary to expose his ignorant venom, hatred, prejudice and bigotry . . . ." Saskatoon Star July 23, 1928.

<sup>125</sup>For example, see Saskatoon Star, June 23, 1928 and Western Producer August 23, 1928.

for "those who have toiled consistently in the heat of the day."<sup>126</sup> Though not as strong in their opposition towards the "foreigner" as Lloyd, there were others who were not impervious to Lloyd's rhetoric. Writing to the Star in June 1928, W. Norman Lovett argued that some of Lloyd's language "was most indiscreet of him and it was incompatible with that conduct which befits the dignity and distinction of his exalted position, but even so, the full value of his information and grave warning, in connection with this vital problem of immigration, surely far outweighs his regrettable imprudence."<sup>127</sup> Later in July he followed this up by concluding "as I have previously stated and now repeat, I am reluctantly compelled to declare my stand in defense of Bishop Lloyd's unflinching attitude on the immigration menace."<sup>128</sup> Writing to the Star Phoenix, John C. Mortimer recognized that "even those who applaud Dr. Lloyd know in their own hearts that his message and manner are not in this case the message and and [sic] manner of his Master".<sup>129</sup> He further contended:

It is not suggested that the man on the street is opposed to Dr. Lloyd in the mere matter of immigration. As far as that goes, thousands of average men are undoubtedly sympathetic. It may even be that the Bishop speaks for the majority.

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<sup>126</sup>Saskatoon Star, July 27, 1928

<sup>127</sup>Ibid., June 30, 1928.

<sup>128</sup>Ibid., July 25, 1928.

<sup>129</sup>Saskatoon Star Phoenix, October 13, 1928.

But that, for the present, is not the point. The point is this: that even those who agree with the Bishop regarding immigration are more or less conscious of the fact that his lordship's [sic?] attitude and language are not the attitude and language that would be adopted by Christ.<sup>130</sup>

Like him or love him, agree with him or disagree with him, Canadians, especially in Saskatchewan, had a hard time ignoring Lloyd; he was everywhere.

Buttressed by his influential, publicly visible position in the Anglican Church, and armed with a tireless determination and uncanny ability to influence others, Lloyd played a key role in the immigration debate in Saskatchewan in the late 1920s. On a general level he was able, through his numerous letters and speeches, to make a substantial contribution to the anti-immigrant, anti-Catholic mood which permeated the province of Saskatchewan, a mood which helped bring about the downfall of the provincial Liberal government. Appealing to common prejudices and fears, he successfully stirred many Western Canadians into action, wakening them to the "danger" he believed Canada faced, and then directing their attack against those he deemed responsible. It was this leadership which made his message, and consequently his impact, unique. Although there were many individuals and groups, including the Ku Klux Klan and the Orange Order, stirring up anti-immigrant sentiment in the province, it was Lloyd who led the attack against the

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<sup>130</sup>Ibid., October 13, 1928.



Railways Agreement and the federal authorities. And it was his message, appealing to Canadians from all walks of life, including political figures, church leaders, and newspaper editors, that helped shape and focus the public opinion that forced the federal government to make changes to its immigration policy. Having fought one of the biggest of the numerous battles of his career, George Exton Lloyd could take satisfaction in knowing that he, the "Fighting Bishop" had triumphed.

## EPILOGUE

I admire Bishop Lloyd for his courage. Courage is the highest attribute of man. So different than those yapping mongrels that hide their objective (disruptive) and their individuality (for shame's sake) or hide both.... The bishop is by nature and ability a builder, an Empire builder; his whole life work shows that. In his youth Geo. Exton Lloyd fought for his country, later his sons fought on and now lie in Flanders fields. He settled two thousand English whose wealth aggregated three million dollars. These added wealth and credit to Canada. He follows a profession that makes him poor and keeps him so. (W.L.M Ramsey, Saskatoon Star Phoenix, August 25, 1928)

Where one would expect mature thoughts of a man who should have reached the age of discretion - but apparently hasn't - the unsavory, ill-reeking, rabid, emotional outbursts of one George Exton Lloyd, who in the security of his clerical title, attacks in rather untheological manner all who do not happen to have the somewhat dubious privilege of being of 'pure' Anglo-Saxon stock. (A. Schacter, Western Producer, October 25, 1928)

Many historians interested in specific aspects of Lloyd's career have been willing to label him as either saint or sinner. The problem with these generalizations is that they have often been made on the basis of limited evidence. Those who have studied his involvement with the Barr colony have come to different conclusions than those interested in his anti-immigrant activity. Both sides ignore the fact that for Lloyd these two activities, as well as many of his other ventures, were inextricably connected. Most of Lloyd's actions, both positive and negative, were the result of one all-encompassing desire -- the desire to keep Canada British.

He was willing to do everything within his power to achieve this goal, whether it meant taking up arms in 1885, recruiting British immigrants, educating the immigrants once they had arrived, or attempting to restrict immigration from countries which he felt posed a threat to his ideals. To judge Lloyd by today's standards would make it easy to attack many aspects of his ideal. In the 1920s, however, there were many Canadians who shared some or all of Lloyd's convictions, fears and prejudices. They differed from the Bishop, in that Lloyd was a man of action. While other Canadians discussed their feelings at home or at work, Lloyd took his to the newspapers and the pulpit. Blinded as he was by his overriding desire to keep Canada British, the Bishop disseminated an anti-immigrant message that helped feed prejudice, ill-will and even hatred. It was not an accomplishment of which to be proud. Lloyd's actions, however, revealed a more moderate personal attitude. His attempts to bring in teachers to help educate the immigrants, and ministers to bring spiritual comfort to them demonstrate that he did think these new immigrants could be trained to be good Canadians as long as their numbers remained manageable. If he was a bigot, his bigotry was not of the same obnoxious quality as that of groups, like the Ku Klux Klan, that directed their attack against the immigrants that were already in Canada. Some of Lloyd's actions were admirable and some less than admirable, and in his life there were

enough of each so that it would be difficult to label him either saint or sinner. In any case, the question of whether Lloyd was good or bad, right or wrong, is not very important. It is more important to try to understand what he did and why he did it and to show that his actions were influential. After all, he did help force a federal government to change its policies and he helped to defeat a provincial government.

Lloyd's strong convictions and intense spirit ensured that he was, for better or worse, always at the centre of some new scheme or controversy. Because he was so pugnacious, he fought his battles with all the fire of his being. But even the strongest of flames can burn down; throughout his life, Lloyd had periodically suffered because of his war wound. Whether or not it was a flare up of this wound which forced him to take a leave of absence in 1929 is unknown. It is clear, however, that the strain of his job and his public campaigns had a heavy toll. Although he continued to write letters regarding the immigration issue after his return from England in 1929, he was unable to maintain the same level of involvement. He was simply too sick. Consequently, in 1931, under his doctor's advice, Lloyd decided to leave the demanding life of a Diocesan Bishop and retire to warmer climes in Victoria, British Columbia.

Even in retirement, Lloyd was not content to remain idle. Although the abrogation of the Railways Agreement and the

realities of the Depression ensured that non-British immigration to Canada was minimal in the 1930s, Lloyd remained constantly vigilant. Above all, he wanted to guarantee that the Canadian government did not slip again into another ill-planned agreement with the railways. He therefore reacted antagonistically towards a speech made in 1937 by Edward Beatty, in which the president of the Canadian Pacific Railway suggested Canada try to implement 'controlled' immigration. In an open letter, Lloyd warned Beatty that any attempt to revive the old Railways Agreement would meet with the opposition of the National Association of Canada.<sup>1</sup> Faced with a new immigration challenge, the National Association of Canada had been born again. In a letter sent to Prime Minister King, Lloyd provided the resolutions of two British Columbia Districts, representing the concerns of 113 persons. The resolutions demanded that the government:

RESTRICT the IMMIGRATION to Canada to  
English, Scotch, Irish and Welsh settlers  
together with Norwegians, Icelanders, Danes and Swedes  
and NO OTHERS except  
members of these stocks or origins and French from U.S.A.  
and that  
for humanitarian purposes only, the Father, Mother,  
Son or Daughter of persons of other racial origins  
already resident in Canada, be admitted by special  
authority of the Director of Immigration, for the  
purpose only of rounding out broken families.  
And that

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<sup>1</sup>National Archives of Canada (NAC), Mackenzie King Papers, MG 26 JI, Vol. 236, Open Letter from Reverend George Exton Lloyd to Sir Edward Beatty, February 9, 1937, 203036.

the "Railways Agreements of 1925 and 1927["]  
be TOTALLY ABOLISHED.<sup>2</sup>

In his late seventies, and far from the main battlefield in the West, Lloyd was still leading all the troops he could muster in his battle for a British Canada. But his age and his health caught up to him. Less than a month away from his eightieth birthday, Lloyd died in Victoria, British Columbia on December 8, 1940. It is hard to imagine, however, that the fighting Bishop ever stopped battling. Perhaps his granddaughter is right, and he is even now standing up to God in heaven.

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., Reverend George Exton Lloyd to Right Honourable Mackenzie King, March 27, 1937, 203039.

Appendix I

Manitoba Free Press

Winnipeg, Wednesday, July 18th, 1928.

(Page 9.)

Bishop Lloyd Writes Winnipeg Ministers.

Says "Dirty Continental" Arrivals out of  
Proportion to Britishers.

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A number of Winnipeg clergymen have received a letter from the Right Rev. George Exton Lloyd, Bishop of Saskatchewan, dealing with Continental immigrants. The letter, which is addressed to the ministry of the Protestant churches (sic) of the western provinces, is as follows:

"Rev. and Dear Brother,- I have received a number of letters asking whether something cannot be done to stop this serious influx of Continentals into the three western provinces. The statements made in these letters are serious, such as the following:

"1) 'Practically every church in the west had to contend with relief during the months of last winter, and for many of them there was a real problem to solve. In view of the large number of foreign immigrants coming in, the question next winter is going to be acute.'

"2) There is a great deal of unemployment among our British friends due to the low wages the foreigner will work for, and thus any work that might be available is quickly picked up by the foreigner.'

"3) 'These dirty Continentals coming in are out of all proportion to the British immigrant.'

"4) 'These continentals are begging from door to door or are working for a dollar a day.'

"The evidence submitted to the immigration investigation committee at Ottawa shows that the two railways are the chief aggressors in this matter,, Sir Henry Thornton, in his annual report for 1927, showed that the C.N.R. had brought in thirty-eight thousand six hundred and eighty-five European settlers and only about nine thousand of these were British.

"The evidence of Dr. Black, of the C.N.R. Colonization department before the committee, protesting against the abuse of the 'nomination system', showed that what with bogus "nominations" and "permits", the country is being deluged not only with Continentals as against British but with 'non-preferred' Continentals at that. Every

institution this country possesses will be demoralized if the railways are allowed to continue this flooding process.

"The Ottawa committee recommended to parliament the non-renewal in its present form of the Railways agreement, expiring in 1930. But why should this western country be inflicted with another three years of these dirty, ignorant, garlic-smelling, unpreferred Continentals, as we have been in the last three years? Surely this country ought to be able to govern its railways rather than let the railways demoralize our population.

"It is no use appealing to the Roman Catholic clergy to help, because they as well as the poor type politicians, are the profiteers. The best work in this connection is being done by the National Association of Canada, but, whether you lend your assistance in that way or not, at least you might write your individual protest to the government and approach your municipalities and urge them to take some step to mitigate this national nuisance.

"Believe me to be, yours very faithfully,

(Sgd) GEORGE EXTON LLOYD,  
Bishop of Saskatchewan.

Western Producer.

May 3, 1928.

BRITISH AUSTRALIA MONGREL CANADA

Editor. The Western Producer.

Dear Sir.--With a heading like that every good Canadian will want to roll up his sleeves and fight. And rightly so. But what are the facts?

Something over 113,000 immigrants entered Australia during the year 1928 and of these more than 83,000 were British. About 20,000 were foreigners, and they came from no less than 30 different countries, so that the number from each alien source was very small indeed. The majority of Australians are determined that their country shall be kept not only a "white man's land," but predominantly "British" at that.

Now how do we stand in Canada? Yes, Canada, because the alien floods in the West will reach the rest of Canada before long. Let me give your readers only four recent facts:

1.--The Saskatoon Star of March 16th reports "In the Canadian National Railway programme to date the approximate number of those who have arrived in Winnipeg, the



disseminating point, is 2095. If these 300 have been British, 450 are Scandinavians, 50 Belgians, 100 were Dutch, some 200 were Germans, 550 Ruthenians, 200 Poles, 125 were Czechoslavics and 120 were Hungarian. Total 300 British and 1785 Aliens."

2.--Of the total of 885 already settled in Saskatchewan since March 1, 100 were British, 175 were Scandinavians, 20 Belgians, 25 Dutch, 125 Germans, 200 Ruthenians, 100 were Poles, 60 Hungarians and 50 were Czechoslavics. One hundred British out of 885. So much for what the Nationals are doing to populate the country with aliens.

Now what is the Canadian Pacific Railway doing:

3.--Winnipeg, April 13.--"The coming week will see approximately 2,000 new settlers arrive in the West over Canadian Pacific lines. The first special train will arrive in Winnipeg on Monday made up of well over 700 new settlers almost entirely from the central European countries. The second train will arrive the next day, having around 350 immigrants, 120 from Central Europe, 60 from Scandinavia, and the balance from Great Britain. On Thursday, another solid trainload of Central European immigrants will reach the West, numbering approximately 800." So that, in three days, the C.P.R. dumped into the West 170 British settlers to 1680 aliens, mostly of central European origin. It is not stated who made up the balance of the 2,000. It is nearly certain they were not British, because, had they been so, the railway companies would have told us of them three times over.

4.--A few days ago a trustworthy friend went down to the immigration building in Prince Albert to ascertain what was happening. The register showed that between March 1st and April 21st inclusive, there were 225 arrivals and of those only 18 were British and there was also 1 Dane. All the others were non-preferred Europeans, chiefly Poles.

We have been warned already that the Germans, Hungarians, Poles, Ruthenians, Dukhobours, Russians and Mennonites are coming in floods. Will those Canadians who object to the heading of this letter "Mongrel Canada" please ask the premier why he gave these two railways the liberty to de-nationalize this country nearly three years ago? It will take another two years to stop the flood, even if this iniquitous (sic) agreement is abrogated immediately.--Yours faithfully, George Exton Lloyd, Bishop of Saskatchewan, Bishopsthorpe, Prince Albert, Sask.



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