

THE SASKATCHEWAN
GENERAL ELECTION OF 1929

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CONTENTS

Chapter 1:	The Setting	1
Chapter 2:	The Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan	16
Chapter 3:	Campaigns and Issues	31
Chapter 4:	The Constitutional Dispute of 1929	74
Chapter 5:	The Outcome	90
Appendix A:	Local Klans in Saskatchewan	1
Appendix B:	Saskatchewan Conservative Platform - March 15, 1928	2
	Saskatchewan Progressive Platform	3
	Co-operative Economic Group Principles and Policies	5
Appendix C:	Liberal Statement to the Electorate	7
	Opposition Petition to the Lieutenant-Governor	9
	Speech From the Throne - September 4, 1929	12
	Bibliography	

LIST OF TABLES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Map showing Seats Won by Government and Opposition	95	
Table 1	Percentage Increase in Total Vote	103
2	Increase in Party Vote	104
3	Government and Opposition Victories in Relation to Turnout	105
4	Seats Won in Proportion to Percentage of Total Vote Received	106

CHAPTER 1: THE SETTING

The democratic system of government is based on the dual right of the individual citizen to choose those who will govern him and to call to account those chosen. Without these two essentials no system of government can properly be called "democratic". An election, therefore, is an initial step in the political process, and the study of electoral behavior is of immense importance to a comprehension of the underlying processes through which men govern themselves, not only as members of a political unit, but also as segments of a social organism. An election and its preceding campaign is often a synopsis of the temperament of an era; to study an election campaign is to reveal the social harmony or disharmony, the economic prosperity or depression, of a particular point in time. The Saskatchewan general election of 1929 was such a synopsis.

There are many periods in history which may be regarded as watersheds in a political, economic and social sense. To Saskatchewan history the year 1929 is such a watershed: 1929 witnessed the first major symptoms of the economic depression which was to follow the prosperity of the previous half decade; 1929 saw the foundations of a new social order laid on the ruins of a no longer acceptable system of social relationships; and 1929 saw a break in the tenure of a government which had been in power since the inception of the province into Confederation. Economically, socially and politically the year 1929 may be thought of as a turning point in the Saskatchewan experience, and the one event which marks the divide is the election of that year.

No occurrence can be abstracted from its context and analysed in isolation however, and to speak of an election or an election year as a watershed necessarily implies that it is but the culmination of a series of events which interacted in such a way as to guarantee that election or that year its place in the history of this province. In order to analyse the importance of the election of June 6, 1929, therefore, it is first necessary to place it in its proper perspective.

It has often been said that the extent to which the people of Saskatchewan have progressed and prospered has been in spite of the environment rather than because of it. In 1905, when the province was created, Saskatchewan was still a harsh land, one of the last of the great North American frontiers, a land sparsely populated and subjected to the rigors of a frontier existence. Dependent upon one staple export for its prosperity, often ravaged by drought in summer and blizzard in winter, and bereft of many of the amenities of social existence, Saskatchewan, in the early years of its being, did not appear to hold much promise for its future inhabitants. Yet, into the province poured thousands of settlers spurred by the hope that a better life could be attained in this land.

Much of the area now known as Saskatchewan was settled in the years prior to 1914, and the majority of those who immigrated to the province were of Anglo-Saxon origin, from Great Britain, Eastern Canada and the United States of America. With them they brought their customs and traditions, and to them fell the political and cultural domination of the province. The process of settlement was not completed by these

people alone however: from Quebec came numbers of French-speaking 'canadiens'; from Northern Europe came Scandinavians and Germans; and, from Central and South Eastern Europe came groups of Poles, Ukrainians, Russians, Rumanians, Hungarians and other Slavic groups. These peoples offered to the province their language, their traditions and their religious heritage, and an ethnic and religious homogeneity was never realized in the province. In 1929, 25.4 per cent of the population was Roman Catholic, and 23.6 per cent was foreign born. The influx of these many different peoples introduced a disturbing element into a society engaged in the struggle to subdue a new land and adapt to a new way of life.

The business of working huge drafts of new elements into a young society that never had too much fixity of shape itself constituted a severe strain on the affiliations and traditions of the original groups.¹

The Scandinavian groups absorbed quite rapidly the political and cultural traditions of the predominant race, in part, perhaps, because of their experience with political institutions and the similarity in religious affiliation, but the French Canadians, and especially the groups from Central and South Eastern Europe, did not adapt so readily. Had the immigrants from Central and South Eastern Europe entered this country individually the process of incorporation might have been more rapid, but the vast majority were brought over in groups

1. A. R. M. Lower, Canadians in the Making, Toronto, 1958, p. 377.

by the Dominion Government, railway agents and colonization companies. Many immigrants who came to Saskatchewan fled from individual repression, but also, and of greater importance, they decamped because of group oppression, and, coming to a strange and foreign land, they tended naturally to cluster together, forming "cultural islands" which undoubtedly retarded the process of assimilation.² These groups, once settled, soon became conscious of their solidarity, of their differences from those on the outside, and often they became possessed of a desire to retain the "purity" of their islands from outside influences. In many instances, combined with this sense of racial and linguistic cohesiveness, was the realization of a religious difference. This is brought forth most cogently in the case of the French Canadian group, but it was equally true of the Central and South Eastern European groups, most of whom were also Roman Catholic.

Economic exigencies necessitated an acceptance of these "alien" peoples, but they were not regarded as social and political equals.

According to a historian of the time:

All that should be asked, and need be asked, of the foreign immigrant is that he should be industrious and lawabiding. If he tills his farm, or earns his wages in peace and quietness, and is an economic asset, and not an incubus, that is sufficient, for he is needed primarily not as a citizen or as a patriot, but as a tiller of the land, a builder of railroads, a digger of sewers, a hewer of wood and a drawer of water. It is too much to expect him to become a full fledged Canadian in feeling or in aspiration.³

2. C. A. Dawson, Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada, Toronto, 1936, p. IX.

3. N. F. Black, History of Saskatchewan and the North West Territories, Regina, 1913, p. 740.

The "New Canadians" were looked upon, if not as inferior, at least as adolescents who had yet to reach maturity.⁴ In the words of a contemporary observer:

The South Eastern European is so out of touch with the ideas and ideals that constitute the characteristic and most valuable elements in Anglo-Saxon civilization that the problem of assimilation is a serious one....⁵

The Anglo-Saxon and Protestant majority could not divert its attention from economic considerations to questions of race and religion however, and this fact combined with the First Great War and the sharp depression following that holocaust to give such assimilating forces as the public school, the necessity of carrying on business transactions in the English language, and the very proximity of the immigrant to Canadian institutions a chance to weave the fabric of a more homogeneous Western Canadianism, but by 1929 they had not yet completed their work. During the late nineteen-twenties the "New Canadian" was still regarded as alien, not yet an integral part of Saskatchewan society. The New Canadian himself was caught in an uncomfortable situation. Desirous of becoming accepted as a good citizen he had prospered by his industry and proven his political awareness. Yet, fearful of the strange society about him, and its possible rejection of him, he clung in other ways to his "cultural island". It was inevitable that the established and dominant group would resent these people seeking to share the advantages of its society without being

4. J. Hawkes, The Story of Saskatchewan and Its People, Regina 1924, p. 681.

5. Lower, Op. cit., p. 374

prepared to enter it unreservedly, and this indignation was heightened by the knowledge that recent immigration into the province showed a preponderance of non-English speaking, non-Protestant peoples. A growing suspicion of these different and apparently unassimilable groups gradually developed in the minds of those who had barely accepted them in the first place, and by the late nineteen twenties it was evident that a religious and racial storm was brewing.

.....

It is a myth that a frontier society inherently produces sturdy self-reliant citizens who make few if any demands on each other or the state.

It is in response to the challenge of the prairie that, if anywhere, the distinctive quality of the Saskatchewan experience is to be found.⁶

Co-operation stemming from economic motivations became the cornerstone of the Saskatchewan success: co-operation between individuals, co-operation between communities, and co-operation between society and the state. Faced with the probability of a perpetually unstable agricultural economy and beset by the predicament of buying on a protected market and selling on an open one, the farmers of the province soon realized the advantages of banding together to ensure the success of their labor. Throughout the province, in the early nineteen hundreds, farmers' co-operatives of all kinds sprang into being, crowned by the most powerful and successful of all Saskatchewan co-operative endeavors,

6. L. H. Thomas, The Saskatchewan Society, Regina, 1964, p. 1.

the Wheat Pool, which not only guaranteed the farmer a fair return for his produce, but also played a role in directing the political affairs of the province.

The state was never a "fringe benefit" to the Saskatchewan pioneer - rather, it played an integral and important role in his day to day existence. The government was always looked upon as an ally, an ally that could and should assist in the achievement of objectives beyond the slender resources of the individual or community. For example, roads to get the produce of a year's labor to market and education to help overcome the vagaries of a hostile climate were naturally assumed to be the responsibility of the state. In return, for services rendered, a government which anticipated agrarian desires and acted accordingly could expect its reward on election day.

.....

Contrary to the legend of radicalism which has grown about Saskatchewan political life, the electorate of the province has shown instead the traditional pragmatism and conservatism of a farming population.

This legend appears to have arisen out of the tendency of the Saskatchewan electorate to flirt with philosophies strange to the Canadian political scene. It is true that Progressivism, Social Credit and socialism have all flourished in the province at various times, but the Saskatchewan voter has not deviated from the traditional party

7. E. L. Eager, The Government of Saskatchewan, unpublished, p. 339.

allegiance with utopian objectives in mind. It has not been radicalism, but the perpetuation of an extremely unstable agricultural economy, that has dictated a search for palliatives not always apparent in the platforms of the "old line" parties. Canadian political reality declares that a Federal government seek support from all sections of the country, and as the greatest number of seats is to be won in the central provinces of Ontario and Quebec, Dominion governments have not been able to cater exclusively to the demands of the Western agriculturalist.

Canadian farmers have been a factor of significance in directing government policy only when their interests have clearly coincided with those of some other group in the community, whether merchant, carrier, or manufacturer.⁸

The Saskatchewan voter, therefore, has been forced to look beyond the traditional two-party system for relief, and herein lies the paradox. Although the Saskatchewan electorate has often been in sympathy with the avowed agriculturalist aims of a protest group, it has realized that only a federal law can lower a tariff, and that a small Saskatchewan protest contingent may have no effect whatever on legislation. Federally, Saskatchewan has always had to choose between alternatives. In times of economic depression the province has drifted from traditional moorings - with prosperity it has always returned to the fold.

Provincially, however, there has been little, if any, need to reconcile diverse interests. Throughout the province's entire history, and especially during the first quarter century of its exis-

8. V. C. Fowke, Canadian Agricultural Policies, The Historical Pattern, Toronto, 1947, p. 270.

tence,, the composition of the working population has been predominantly agrarian and agrarian interests have been paramount - a phenomenon which has given rise to remarkably unified demands upon provincial governments of the day.

During Saskatchewan's first two decades, the electorate looked to the government to aid in the development of the province and to provide the necessities which individual action could not attain. Highways, schools, court houses and social welfare measures were required at the time, and elections were fought on the means to attain these ends rather than on the ends themselves. Elections in Saskatchewan, prior to 1929 were, therefore, relatively free of the divisive emotionalism which can be stirred over matters of principle. To the Saskatchewan voter, theoretical principles were a luxury he could ill afford, and although the element of idealism was never lacking in political leaders of the time, among the voting population generally, the significant factor was the pressure of practical and everyday needs.⁹ This phenomenon was noted even before the province was created. In 1903, a prominent Liberal said this of the voting habits of the Saskatchewan electorate:

The West differs from the East. Party lines are not tightly drawn. Out of ten men you may find two out and out Liberals, two Conservatives and the other six are nothing politically. They will vote for the man for the Government perhaps because all is going satisfactorily, but not because of party and these are the ones that give victory or cause defeat.¹⁰

9. Eager, Op. cit., p. 339-40.

10. De Veber, Honorary President, Lethbridge Liberal Association, to Laurier, May 2, 1903, quoted in Dr. Eager's thesis, p. 208.

In 1905, and to 1929, the main political concern of the Saskatchewan voter was: "What can the next government do for me?" The party which answered that question satisfactorily was the Liberal party, and it was sustained in office throughout those years.

Governing a new and rapidly expanding land will present any government with innumerable opportunities to enact legislation that will enable it to advance not only the prosperity of those governed but also its own political fortunes. The first government of this province fell heir to such opportunities and through five successive elections¹¹ the Liberal party retained the seats of power to the right of Mr. Speaker. These governments maintained themselves in office through an assiduous cultivation of farmer support and by catering to agrarian desires as expressed through farm organizations such as the Grain Growers Association, and later, the Wheat Pool and the United Farmers of Canada (Saskatchewan Section). It was through such deference to the interests of the organized farmers that the administration came to be referred to as a "farmers" government, and the relationship was sufficiently close that, on occasion, Conservatives challenged the non-partisanship of the farmers' associations. Liberal governments paid very close attention to the resolutions passed at Grain Growers, and later United Farmer conventions, and many of them found expression shortly thereafter in Government proposed legislation. Even the personnel of the Government and the farmers' associations

11. 1908, 1912, 1917, 1921, 1925.

overlapped to some extent, as some of the more prominent leaders in the farmers' organizations were given cabinet positions: W. R. Motherwell, a founder of the Saskatchewan Grain Growers Association, became Minister of Agriculture in 1905 and remained in that position until 1918; George Langley, an initial Director of the Grain Growers, was taken into the Cabinet in 1912; C. A. Dunning, later Saskatchewan's third premier, was very active in farmer organizations; and, in 1921, Premier Martin, trying desperately to stem the Progressive tide in the province, named J. A. Maharg, then President of the Grain Growers Association, and a Progressive Member of Parliament as well, to the position of provincial Minister of Agriculture. In the words of the Moose Jaw News:

It is evident that the Saskatchewan Government intends to carefully nurse the province with a view to assuring itself of the support of the farmers and a further extension of its power....In Saskatchewan it would require but slight effort on the part of the farmer to return a strong farmers' government, but Mr. Langley, Mr. Dunning and others are taking every care that the attention of the farmers should be diverted from that fact.¹²

Over seventy per cent of the province's population resided on farms, and the intimate relationship which existed between Liberal Governments and the organized farmers cannot be underestimated as a factor in the Liberal success.

Progressive legislation based on agrarian demands was not the only factor contributing to the long Liberal reign. In an era of poor communication the power of the written word was extremely sig-

12. Quoted in F. W. Anderson, Farmers in Politics, unpublished, p. 68.

nificant, and the persuasion of the province's largest daily newspapers was decidedly Liberally biased.¹³ Only a few local weeklies scattered throughout the province were present to place the Conservative position before the public. One Conservative wrote to another in 1926:

You realize that the young people of this Province now have access only to Liberal propoganda of the type that is most one-sided and artificial and their only chance to learn of principles for which the Conservative party stands comes through the parents who will eventually pass away. Without a newspaper we have no chance of winning any seats in this Province and unless the rising generation is given a chance to absorb its principles the Conservative Party will become nearly, if not entirely extinct in Saskatchewan.¹⁴

Not until the summer of 1928, when the Regina Daily Star was established, by money contributed by R. B. Bennett¹⁵, it was rumoured, were the people of the province able to diversify their daily diet of Liberal propoganda with the viewpoint of an opposition group.

Although many factors contributed to the Liberal tenure of office, the Government was not without opposition. In fact, those campaigning against the Government in succeeding elections never received less than forty percent of the total vote cast.¹⁶ Included

13. Regina Leader, Regina Post, Saskatoon Star, Saskatoon Phoenix, Moose Jaw Times Herald.

14. Gardiner papers, March 10, 1926, 7877.

15. R. B. Bennett was then Leader of the Conservative Opposition at Ottawa.

16. Percentage of total vote cast for major parties in Saskatchewan - 1905-25.

Election	Liberal	Conservative	Progressive
1905	52.2	47.5	
1908	50.5	48.9	
1912	57.1	41.8	
	56.6	36.3	
	52.2	2.9	38.8
	53.7	15.1	26.4

in this opposition were many groups, which in part, explains the Liberal success, but none of them, prior to 1929, ever succeeded in uniting behind it enough support to win more than a handful of seats in the Legislature.¹⁷ Saskatchewan Conservatives, after their defeat in 1905, never accomplished the building of an organization sufficiently powerful to break the Liberal stranglehold on the province. As the party weakened and became disorganized in the face of continuous Liberal victories, some Conservatives took to running under different party labels,¹⁸ thus removing the name of the party from the public eye and lessening the chances of the party's attaining power. Not until the late nineteen-twenties did the Conservative party succeed in uniting under one leader and in rebuilding shattered party fortunes.

In 1922, inspired by recent farmer successes provincially (in Alberta, Ontario) and federally, some of the more militant Saskatchewan farmers formed the Saskatchewan Progressive Association in the hope of capturing the province for the ideals of group government, recall, and referendum. The movement was doomed from the beginning, however, as the Grain Growers Association maintained a strict official neutrality towards politics and successive sessions saw the Liberal Governments slowly erode its "raison d'etre". In the words of S. M. Lipset:

17. Party representation in the Legislature at the dissolution		
prior to the 1929 campaign stood at:		
Liberals		52
Conservatives		4
Progressives		6
Independents		<u>1</u>
		<u>63</u>

18. Mainly as Independents opposed to the Government.

The Progressive movement failed principally because it was more a product of immediate discontent than of long term crisis.¹⁹

Other groups as well had various reasons for opposing the Government. No government can remain in office for twenty-four years without arousing some antagonism over its policies. Some were angered at the dearth of good roads in their area; others at the failure to obtain a public building; many were alarmed at the apparent "Balkanization" of the province; and still others feared that the Government was oversolicitous to the Roman Catholic segment of the population. There were other grievances as well, but it was not until the election of 1929 that they all coalesced into one anti-government vote which, even then, was barely sufficient to overthrow the Liberal regime.

In almost sixty years as a province, Saskatchewan has had only four changes of government: 1929, 1934, 1944, and 1964, and two parties have held power in the province for twenty or more years at a time - the Liberals from 1905 to 1929, and the C.C.F. from 1944 until the last election. If one phenomenon can be singled out as characteristic of Saskatchewan politics, it is that the Saskatchewan electorate is not prone to change its government, and when it does, it does so on grounds of practical economics rather than over matters of principle. The one exception to this hypothesis is the election of 1929.

19. S. M. Lipset, Agrarian Socialism, Toronto, 1950, p. 60.

In 1929 the Liberal Government was resting comfortably upon its tradition of unbroken success²⁰ and the largest majority ever given it by the electorate of this province. To most observers at the time, all the usual signs pointed to a continuation of this tradition: economic conditions were good and taxes were reasonable; in the fall of 1928 Saskatchewan farmers had harvested the largest wheat crop in the history of the province, and prices had not yet been hit by the depression; Government finances showed a surplus; Saskatchewan roads were beginning to be gravelled; workmen's compensation and old age pension schemes had recently been introduced; and, the Government was planning to build a province-wide system of power manufacture and distribution. Materially, the province was better off than at any other previous time. Yet, in 1929, the Government suffered a stunning setback. In that year a government was toppled, not because Saskatchewan electors were economically depressed, but because they were emotionally aroused, and these emotions were stirred over issues fundamental to social and political harmony in the province.

20. Six election victories and ten of eleven by-election victories since the 1925 election.

CHAPTER 2: THE KU KLUX KLAN IN SASKATCHEWAN

The emotionalism which swept across Saskatchewan in the late nineteen twenties and found its political manifestation in the election of 1929 was not the product of a spontaneous eruption among the people of the province. Rather, prejudices which had been submerged in the struggle to subdue this land were skilfully sought out, fanned into overt animosity, and capitalized thereon by an organization strange to the Saskatchewan scene, the Ku Klux Klan.

The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan originated in Tennessee during the early years of the Reconstruction Era following the American Civil War. The activities of the Klan were at first directed at such justifiable ends as halting disorder and assisting in the enforcement of laws which protected the rights of individuals, but as an extra-legal body it liberated other more dangerous forms of lawlessness which it could not hold in check, and by 1873 the Klan, outside the South, was a synonym for clandestine murder, masked rebellion, and all the more sinister and dangerous elements in American life. Shortly thereafter, it was suppressed, and faded out of American life not to return until the early nineteen twenties. In those years the Klan, capitalizing on the psychological upheaval which arose out of confusion generated by American participation in the First World War, began a remarkable revival which, at its peak in the mid-twenties, spilled out of the South to pervade the whole of the United States. The ideals of the Klan did not attract many converts as it spread into the more cosmopolitan urbanized and industrialized North however, and by late

1924 Klan organizers, searching for more profitable areas in which to expand, were poised on the Canadian border.¹

Very early in 1925 the first Canadian Klan was founded in Toronto by two American "missionaries", Dr. C. L. Fowler and Mr. R. L. Cowan. Later that year Dr. J. H. Hawkins was brought in from the United States to assist in the task of recruiting members, and during the summer and fall of 1925 local Klans were established throughout Southern Ontario. The story of the Canadian Klan is not inspirational, for the Klan never grasped anything more substantial than a pecuniary justification for its existence, and more than once intra-Klan plots to obtain a greater share of monies collected threatened to destroy the organization.² Nevertheless, in the expectation of greater monetary reward, the Klan could act as a well-oiled machine. In the mid nineteen twenties the Canadian prairies appeared to offer such an opportunity, and in late 1926 Klan organizers crossed the Canadian Shield and entered Saskatchewan.³

The history of the Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan is one of a meteoric rise to fame or notoriety, a brief period of prominence, and a short decline to oblivion. The first Klan organizers in the province,

1. For a complete history of the Ku Klux Klan in the United States see J. Mecklin, The Ku Klux Klan, New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1924.

2. For a more complete history of The Ku Klux Klan in Eastern Canada, see the Gardiner papers, 12021 - 12065.

3. Saskatchewan at the time possessed one of the highest per capita income ratings in Canada.

Lewis A. Scott and Finlay Hugh Emmons, the latter better known as Pat Emmons, spent most of 1927 travelling across the province spouting Klan propaganda, burning crosses, selling memberships in the Klan at thirteen dollars a head,⁴ and establishing local Klans in as many centers as could support one. Late in that year, while boasting a membership of over forty thousand,⁵ they left the country, taking with them the proceeds of their venture, and the Klan in Saskatchewan faltered, but it did not die. Into the breach came Dr. Hawkins, who had finally been expelled from the Eastern organization, and J. J. Maloney, an itinerant preacher of religious and racial hatred, who had at one time taken Holy Orders. The Klan was reorganized on a purely provincial basis and once again the search was begun for membership fees. Throughout the summer of 1928 lecturers of the Klan crisscrossed the province, and it was during this period that the Klan achieved its moment of greatest prominence. The Liberal party, led by the premier of the province, J. G. Gardiner, spearheaded an attack on the Klan, newspapers printed innumerable letters from various people and organizations attacking or defending the Klan, and local Klans sprouted everywhere.⁶ The Klan could not sustain its drive however, and by the summer of 1929 it was evident that it was losing members.

4. The salesman was permitted to retain \$6.50 from each membership he sold.

5. Later, it was found out that total membership was much less than the 40,000 quoted.

6. Total membership probably reached 20,000 during the summer of 1928. For a complete list of local Klans see Appendix.

Although the lecturers went out again that summer, burning crosses could not compete for people's interest with the election campaign being waged, and with the advent of the depression the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, became truly invisible.

The reason for the Klan's sudden appearance in Saskatchewan is simple. Klan organizers, motivated by a desire for monetary gain, believed the province to contain a possible source of revenue.

Wherever they found a prejudice, Klan organizers exploited it; wherever they found a fear, they aggravated it; wherever they found a grievance they capitalized it.⁷

Why the Klan took root in Saskatchewan and flourished, even for the brief period that it did, is more difficult to fathom, for the reasons appear to lie deeper than a gullibility for high-pressure salesmanship. The success of the Klan has been ascribed to "a skilful salesmanship of hate which is effective in its appeal to the ignorant, the cruel, the cowardly and the vengeful"⁸, but this, too, is misleading, for although the baser motivations for joining the Klan were undoubtedly present in some, this alone cannot account for the rapid spread of the organization. The answer appears to lie in the doctrines preached by the Klan itself.

Calling themselves members of "the greatest Christian, benevolent fraternal organization in the world"⁹ Klan lecturers spread

7. Gardiner papers, 12635.

8. J. M. Mecklin, The Ku Klux Klan, New York, 1924, p. 12.

9. H. F. Emory, as quoted in the Regina Morning Leader, May 23, 1927.



throughout the province directing their attacks at everything non-Nordic, non-Protestant, and what they believed to be non-Canadian.

The creed of the Klan as laid down for Saskatchewan read:

The Klan believes in Protestantism, racial purity, Gentile economic freedom, just laws and liberty, separation of church and state, pure patriotism, restrictive and selective immigration, freedom of speech and press, law and order, higher moral standards, freedom from mob violence, and one public school.¹⁰

Interwoven among the moral and ethical platitudes one can perceive the groups and institutions within the province and the nation which were to bear the brunt of the Klan onslaught.

In the guise of protecting the purity of the Canadian way of life the immigrant from Central and South Eastern Europe was one of the first to be put under fire. Perusing Klan literature of the time one can read:

The Plain People of Canada realize that merely stopping the Alien Flood does not restore Canadianism nor even secure us against final utter defeat. Canada must also defend herself against the enemy within or we shall be corrupted and conquered by those to whom we have already given shelter. The first danger is that we shall be overwhelmed by the Aliens' mere force of breeding.¹¹

Why not spend some money to keep at home our native boys instead of bringing in these, which is the largest contributor to our crime list and by far the largest proportion of the inmates of our insane asylums?¹²

10. Gardiner papers, 12594.

11. Gardiner papers, 11553.

12. Gardiner papers, 11552.

Attacks on the immigrant by Klan lecturers at personal appearances

were no more subdued. From the mouthings of J. H. Hawkins:

The continentals cling together, form their own communities and do not become Canadianized. They live cheaply and can therefore underbid other labor, forcing the Canadian and British out of work.¹³

Their ideals, moral standards and ideals of government are not compatible with the ideals of Canadianism.¹⁴

I want to tell you tonight, men and women of Saskatchewan, that the time has come when you must, as you never did before, guard your Dominion. You must awaken to the situation you are facing and, as men, stand as a solid wall against invasion of your Dominion by those who cannot be assimilated, those with their own ideals, their own schools and their own Churches, and who refuse to learn your own language.¹⁵

Even more malevolent than these attacks on the immigrant was the criticism levelled at the Roman Catholic Church. Catholicism, as a religion, was pointedly omitted from the abuse, but alleged Catholic interference with such hallowed Canadian institutions as the public school and the separation of church and state was roundly condemned. Klan Klokards¹⁶ were both blatant and subtle in their vilification:

The Klan says that the schools should be free from sectarian influences, and that there should be one system of public schools throughout the Dominion, and the Klan will fight any Church attempting to dominate the schools....¹⁷

13. Gardiner papers, 13663.

14. Gardiner papers, 13506.

15. Gardiner papers, 13603.

16. Klokard - a teacher - i.e., a writer or lecturer.

17. Gardiner papers, 13663.

All our troubles, all the sedition, plotting and plans against the national school system are hatched in Quebec.¹⁸

The real indictment against the Roman Catholic Church is that it is fundamentally and irredeemably in its leadership, its politics, in thought and largely in membership, actually and actively alien, un-Canadian and usually Anti-Canadian....the Roman Catholics say they are loyal citizens. But, they do not tell to whom they are loyal first, for the truth would show that their holy father, the pope, is the primal factor.¹⁹

....the immigration policy of Ottawa is dictated by the Roman Catholic Church.²⁰

The church of Rome is not like any other Church. It does not demand liberty in order that it may be free to extend the principles of its faith, for it has the most perfect freedom now. It demands liberty in order that it may destroy liberty. It is not simply a religious body, but primarily a huge political machine working for supremacy. It seeks to dominate our national life and aims at making Rome the ruling power in our country.²¹

....because of actions of Mussolini in Italy the Vatican is to be moved to Canada.²²

These statements of the Klan reveal the strength of its appeal. Ancient prejudices and classical hatreds were resurrected, but they were camouflaged in an aura of preservative sanctimoniousness. Joining the Klan gave hundreds a vent for ingrained prejudices in the

18. Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, January 11, 1929

19. Gardiner papers, 11553.

20. Gardiner papers, 11397.

21. Gardiner papers, 11553.

22. Gardiner papers, 11396.

semblance of safeguarding all that is admirable in British institutions, Protestantism, and the Canadian way of life. Rarely did the Klan attack any group or any belief in a way that would not imbue its followers with a sense of protective self-righteousness, and the conveyance of this feeling was instrumental in its success in Saskatchewan. It requires little perspicacity to perceive the groups to which the Klan directed its appeal: the Protestant who already possessed a fear of the Roman Catholic Church and who, therefore, desired to guard against any clerical interference with public affairs; and, the Anglo-Saxon and anglicized Scandinavian who had begun to feel uneasy about the seemingly ever-increasing Slavic and French-speaking settlers entering the province, aliens who did not seem capable or desirous of assimilation. The Klan directed its propaganda at those who were insistent on like-mindedness and who demanded unswerving loyalty to Canadian institutions, and those who joined the Klan appear to have mentally stereotyped all immigrants as unassimilable inferiors, and all Catholics, because Rome assumes a sovereignty superior to that of the nation, as actual or potential traitors to the country. In the words of one commentator:

It is primarily because of the absence of critical and independent thinking in these matters that the Klan is enabled to exploit these traditional loyalties in its own interest.²³

23. Mecklin, Op. cit., p. 39.

The Klan played upon emotions latent in these people, and it was amongst these people that it gained the overwhelming majority of its members. The Ku Klux Klan was alien to Saskatchewan in the sense that it had never made an appearance here before, but in a sense it was also autochthonous, for it was nurtured on sentiments and prejudices that had been present in Saskatchewan society for years.

In a province populated by Protestants, Catholics and other religious groups, in a province racially composed of Anglo-Saxons and French Canadians, Scandinavians and Ukrainians, Germans and Poles, the effect of the Klan campaign on religious and racial amity was disastrous. For three decades these many different peoples had submerged their overt prejudices in the exigencies of a frontier subsistence, and they had made some progress towards eradicating these prepossessions. In most of these first or second generation Canadians however, racial and religious biases had not dissipated, and the Klan and its propaganda quickly reawakened a stir of antagonism. Questions of race and religion became volatile issues in Saskatchewan, issues which found political expression in the election of 1929.

The Klan, throughout its existence in the province, maintained continually that it was politically non-partisan. Klansmen were taught to vote for principles and to disregard party considerations; to vote for men and what they stood for.²⁴

24. J. H. Hawkins, as quoted in Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, June 30, 1928.

The members of the Ku Klux Klan are not so much concerned about which political party endorses their principles as they are about getting them put into practice. They feel that sound policy is never at variance with substantial justice, and it is safe to say that the party which comes nearest to adopting this attitude will receive the major portion of Klan votes at the next election.²⁵

Individual Klan speakers could not always repress their political predilections however, and as the Conservative campaign unfolded, and as it became apparent that the issues they were stressing were not dissimilar from those raised by the Klan, these factors combined to give many a Klan speech a decidedly political tinge. Premier Gardiner and the Liberal party became objects for abuse, and they were openly flayed by several Klansmen for exhibiting political favoritism towards Roman Catholics and alien groups. In the words of one Klan Klokard:

On the one hand, we have the incessant encroachments of an ecclesiasticism, whose brazen impudence knows no bounds. On the other hand, we have in office, men whose weakness and shortsightedness are most lamentable. The Public School peril²⁶ is neglected because of personal aims and interests.²⁷

Another Klan speaker, J. J. Maloney, attributed this statement to Premier Gardiner: "I was not born a Catholic, but if I had been I would have been a better man";²⁸ and called the Liberal party "the

25. Regina Daily Star, August 29, 1928.

26. The Klan believed the Catholic Church was attempting to subvert the public school system in the province.

27. The Klansman, May 15, 1929.

28. F. Freeman to J. G. Gardiner, Gardiner papers, 9028.

Jesuitical political machine of Pope Gardiner the First".²⁹ Although these attacks were undeniably a discomfort to the Liberal Government, they were but unofficial charges laid by individual members of the Klan. Officially, the Klan itself remained free of political entanglements and neither party had the wholesale weight of the Klan organization behind it at any point in the campaign.

Although the Klan could maintain an official neutrality in regard to Saskatchewan politics, its very presence in the province, and the political overtones that could be read into its activities, soon made it an object of partisan manoeuvring. Premier Gardiner, from the beginning, was aware of the possibility that the Klan might prove useful to the Conservative party. In a letter to Prime Minister Mackenzie King, dated August 23, 1927, he stated:

It would appear, from their general activities in this Province, that the main object of the organization is to spread propaganda which will be of benefit to the opponents of the Government, both Provincial and Federal, at the time of the next general election.³⁰

In response to a suggestion from the Prime Minister that he "expose (the Klan) as quickly and as completely as possible,"³¹ Premier Gardiner moved to the attack in the winter session of the 1927-28 Legislature.

We in Canada have never found it necessary to get proper enforcement of law and order by having an organization parading

29. Western Freedman, April 5, 1928.

30. J. G. Gardiner to W. L. M. King, August 23, 1927, Gardiner papers, 8161.

31. W. L. M. King to J. G. Gardiner, August 30, 1927, Gardiner papers, 8174.

about the country wearing hoods over their heads so that people do not know who they are. Any man who has not courage and backbone to stand out in the open has no place in British institutions of government....We have conducted the affairs of this Province in the interests of all the people, safeguarding at all times, so far as the constitution requires it, the interests of minorities within the Province, and we intend to go that far in the future, irrespective of whether there is a K. K. K. in the Province or not.³²

At first, the Premier confined his attacks on the Klan to attempts to destroy its respectability by accusing it of disrupting social concord in the province. Gradually however, as he became more convinced that the Klan was nothing else than a radical wing of the Conservative party, his tactics changed. Throughout the summer of 1928, he and the members of his Cabinet toured the province advising the people of the cabal which threatened them. Premier Gardiner at Dysart, June 1, 1928, charged:

It is well known that Dr. Anderson (Leader of the Conservative party in Saskatchewan) during the time of the Moose Jaw by-election, had attempted to interest the Klan in political activities, and it has since developed that the grand wizard of the Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan, Mr. Rosborough, and the Secretary of the Ku Klux Klan, Mr. Ellis, attended the Conservative convention at Saskatoon (March, 1928) as delegates and that in their company was Mr. Hawkins, an American organizer of the Klan, who sat through the whole convention and even took part in some of the activities.³³

Liberal newspapers took up the hue and cry:

The big talk of the Tories is the smoke-screen; but behind the screen is the old Tory plan to gain political advantage by stirring up religious and racial prejudice and hatred, this time through the K. K. K.³⁴

32. The Canadian Annual Review, 1927-28, Toronto, p. 503.

33. Saskatoon Daily Star, June 2, 1928.

34. Moose Jaw Times-Herald, May 26, 1928

Statements by Pat Emmons,³⁵ who had been brought back from the United States to stand trial for defrauding the public,³⁶ were eagerly repeated by the Liberal press. Emmons, in sworn testimony, declared that Dr. Anderson and other Conservatives had approached him several times to interest the Klan in politics, and that he was forced to leave the country because they had finally secured control of the Klan and were using it for political purposes. Liberals across the province were never convinced that the Klan and the Conservative party were not "hand in glove", and throughout the Arm River by-election campaign during October of 1928, and during the campaign preceding the general election itself, they persisted in their efforts to prove a tie-up between the two.

The Conservatives were vehement in their denial of any collusion between themselves and the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Dr. Anderson and his colleagues tried to disprove, in every possible way, each charge of collaboration thrown at them by the Liberal party. They were convinced that the attempt to link them with the Klan was merely a political move on the part of the Liberals aimed at blackening the Conservative party and stemming a pro-Conservative tide running in the province. The Emmons trial they regarded in such a way. Dr. Anderson, in his denial of Emmons' assertions, accused the Liberals of bringing back the former Klan organizer for the sole purpose of

35. Op. cit., p. 3.

36. The case was dismissed.

misleading the people. When the people refused to be deceived, he said:

They (the Liberals) quietly advised Emmons to leave the country, and forthwith he was taken over to a little town on the Milestone branch of (the) C. P. R. where in fear and trembling he hid behind a tombstone in the village graveyard until the train came along. This was the last act in the great Gardiner melodrama which was meant to cast a reflection on public men who were opposing the Gardiner government.³⁷

The entire Conservative approach to the question of the Klan's place in Saskatchewan society was different from that of the Liberals. The Liberal party, led by Government speakers and the Liberal press, strongly attacked the Klan in an effort to neutralize its possible political repercussions.

Now is the time to strike at them and I am proud to do it....³⁸

It is to be hoped that the Klan in Saskatchewan will curl up quietly in a corner and die. That will close a little incident in the annals of the province which our historians will record with mortification....³⁹

The Conservative party, on the other hand, did not condemn the Klan as an element undesirable and unwanted in Saskatchewan. Dr. Anderson, while maintaining that he was not a member of the Klan, stated continually that he had heard of nothing done by the Klan which was contrary to law and order, and he made it quite clear that he wanted the support of all persons who were opposed to the Gardiner Government.

37. Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, October 19, 1928.

38. Regina Morning Leader, June 1, 1928. Speech by Premier Gardiner.

39. Saskatoon Daily Star, May 15, 1928. Editorial.

The Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan was a curious phenomenon. The motivation for its original entrance into the province was pecuniary, its first leaders were blackguards who absconded with the funds of the organization, its bill of goods was racial and religious hatred, and yet it took root and flourished in a land where co-operation and social harmony were vital to the continued progress of the people. The Klan was not a political organization, there is no evidence of any collaboration between it and any political party, it took no active part in the politics of the province, and yet it played a very important role in Saskatchewan political life.

The political significance of the Klan in Saskatchewan is that it prepared the electorate for the type of campaign which was to be waged during 1928 and 1929. Through its attacks on the immigrant and the alleged ambitions of the Roman Catholic Church the Klan reached prejudices latent in Saskatchewan electors, arousing suspicions and antagonisms which spread across the length and breadth of the province. The Klan stirred the people of Saskatchewan as never before, and herein lies the key to an understanding of the election of 1929. Once antagonisms appeared and emotions were aroused over questions of race and religion, it was not difficult to implant the belief that the Liberal government at Regina was responsible for the conflict raging.

CHAPTER 3: CAMPAIGNS AND ISSUES

The political process in a democratic state is based on the conviction that the individuals and groups which constitute the political unit should direct the governing body according to their desires and aspirations, and that the body governing the state should reflect these wishes in its legislation. An election is the device whereby the inclinations of the electorate are made known, and an election campaign should, therefore, reflect the disposition of those governed. A political party which perceives the mood of the electorate and presents itself as the agent through which these desires can achieve political expression can expect to be granted the power to accomplish those ends - a party which does not, risks defeat at the polls.

Throughout 1928 and 1929 the Saskatchewan citizenry was aroused, and a party which appealed to the electorate primarily on emotional issues was successful in defeating a government which failed to perceive the effect of the Klan propaganda on those who grant political power.

Election campaigns are most often thought of as extending from the day the writs are issued until election day itself. Such was not the case with the 1929 election. The campaign which reached its culmination on June 6, 1929, extended over a period of more than fourteen months, dating back to the Conservative convention of March, 1928. Dr. Anderson and the other Conservative leaders, sensing a political advantage to be gained by capitalizing on the emotionalism

stirred by the Ku Klux Klan, laid before that convention the major issues¹ which they believed could accomplish the defeat of the Liberal Government: the abolition of sectarianism in the public schools of the province; an immigration policy based on the "selective" principle; an immediate return to the province of control over its lands and resources; the institution of a politically non-partisan civil service, and the necessity of a change of government. These issues formed the basis of every Conservative speech and editorial from that time onward. The Conservatives, in March of 1928, achieved an initiative which they retained until election day, and their campaign, viewed solely as an attempt to defeat the Liberal Government, was a masterpiece of political strategy.

Conservative strategists apparently had not heard of the "peak and pacing"² theory of election campaigning, for once they seized their initial advantage they "ran full out all the way",³ and the issues they chose to set before the public lent themselves readily to attacks on the Government which heightened the emotionalism already aroused within the electorate. The charges that the Liberal Government was permitting sectarianism to infiltrate the public school system and that it had no immigration policy which protected both the immigrant

1. See Appendix for complete Conservative platform adopted at that convention.

2. The theory that there is a rhythm and natural tide in any great campaign; the theory that it is essential to change mood and pace at the appropriate moment.

3. T. H. White, The Making of the President 1960, p. 318.

and the original settler were aimed directly at the same group in Saskatchewan society that was nourishing the Ku Klux Klan, the Protestant and Anglo-Scandinavian majority. If at any time the Conservative campaign appeared to be slackening in its drive, a charge of corruption was levelled at the Government to keep the public interested in the issues they were presenting and to make members of the Government appear as debased autocrats who no longer deserved public confidence. In any other election campaign the barrage of unproven and often unfounded charges thrown at the Government might have been regarded as irresponsible, but not in 1928-29. An electorate that was prepared to believe that its Government was partial towards a minority segment of the population could readily believe that it was capable of corrupt activities. The Conservative campaign must be regarded as one that appealed almost exclusively to the emotions. In the words of the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix;

The most striking characteristic of the attack directed against the Saskatchewan government is its disruptive tendency. Unable to present any cogent criticism of the government's general policy and without any clearcut policy of their own to offer, the Conservatives have sought to secure support by stirring up the muddy waters of religious and racial prejudice. It is perfectly clear that they are relying for success at the polls very largely on those unworthy prejudices which the organizers of the Ku Klux Klan were able to capitalize for their own profit in this province.⁴

The emphasis on issues with an emotional appeal relegated the rest of the Conservative platform to a position of secondary importance. In some instances local campaigners referred to it when a particular

4. Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, May 23, 1929, Murray Memorial Library, University of Saskatchewan,

plank would boost party fortunes in that constituency, but the more prominent Conservative speakers either ignored it or emphasized it sparingly. This fact gave rise to the Regina Morning Leader's editorial complaint that:

The programme of what the Conservatives will do if given office is pretty hazy. The electors who look at the issues dispassionately will realize that nothing of much account is offered in the Opposition platform. Whatever they may have to offer it is true that the Conservative campaigners have paid little attention to their platform in their public utterances. They have confined themselves almost entirely to abuse of the Administration.⁵

Throughout the entire campaign the Conservatives chose to accentuate, not their conservatism, but that they were an anti-government alternative. The defeat of the Liberal regime was foremost in the minds of all Conservatives and they were willing to join forces with any group or organization which would assist in the accomplishment of that end. The Conservative appeal detached many from their former Liberal allegiance who were antagonized by the alleged Government proclivity for the Catholic and the immigrant, but these votes would have had little political effect had it not been for the decision of many local Progressive organizations not to split the anti-government vote. As early as the Conservative convention in March of 1928 signs appeared that the next election campaign might be fought on a strictly Government versus anti-Government basis. In reply to Dr. Anderson's appeal for support from all groups opposed to the

5. Regina Morning Leader, April 9, 1929, P. A. S.

Government, Dr. Tran, the Progressive leader in the Legislature, wired the convention:

Heartily concur in the spirit of your deliberations. Gladly accept any democratic principle re co-operation.⁶

There was no official agreement between the Progressive and Conservative provincial executives with regard to limiting the opposition to the Government in the constituencies, but the Progressive platform⁷ did emphasize many of the same issues as did the Conservative, if to a less emotional degree, and under pressure from Conservative leaders many Progressive constituency organizations agreed to join with the Conservatives to defeat the Government candidate. Liberals were aghast that a movement as "liberal" as the Progressive should even consider alliance with a party as "reactionary" as the Conservative, but the lure of defeating the party which saw no merit in the co-operative principle, in politics at least, proved strong enough to overcome many Progressive objections to co-operating with the Conservatives. The approach to co-operation between Progressives and Conservatives was not uniform across the province: in some constituencies Progressives agreed to support the Conservative candidate; in others the reverse was true; in still other ridings a joint convention was held to nominate a candidate who entered the lists as an Independent. Agreements were not reached in all constituencies however: in a few seats where the Conservatives had reason to believe the Progressive

6. Ibid, March 15, 1928.

7. See Appendix for complete Progressive platform.

candidate would not support the anti-Government forces if elected, they found it necessary to run their own aspirant for office; in others the local Progressive organization would have nothing whatever to do with the Conservatives; and, in a few, the more militant Progressives ran candidates under the label of the "Economic Group", a curious sidelight to the election campaign.⁸ Three-cornered fights were nevertheless restricted to a mere twelve of sixty-three, and sawoffs undoubtedly had an effect on the outcome of the election.

In essence, the Conservative campaign was one born out of desperation, and this sense of urgency was manifest in every approach it took towards securing the defeat of the Government. Unwilling to attack the Liberal regime on its legislative achievement, Conservative strategists sought out and built issues on the emotionalism stirred by the Ku Klux Klan.

It would appear that Dr. Anderson, lacking any substantial ground of criticism and attack of the Government's record, and unable to formulate any alternative policy, has deliberately set out to stir up feeling over a subject he knows lies so close to the hearts of the people of Saskatchewan.⁹

Uncertain that a non-emotional appeal for support on the basis of the more mundane planks in their platform would defeat the Government, the Conservatives attempted to cast an aura of suspicion about the incorruptibility of Government members.

8. See Appendix for the platform of the Economic Group.

9. Saskatoon Star Phoenix, May 22, 1929. Editorial.

It was apparent at the beginning of the Conservative party's campaign in Saskatchewan that the plan was to attack the honesty rather than the efficiency of the Government.¹⁰

Fearful that they could not end the Liberal tenure of office unsupported, they appealed to all those in the province opposed to the Government.

The economic or political ideas of...a candidate may be in direct opposition to orthodox Conservative policy, but all is overlooked if he is willing to help turn the Government out.¹¹

Emotional, acrimonious, eclectic: such was the Conservative campaign.

In contrast, the Liberal campaign was complacent, overconfident, and defensive. The Liberal hierarchy, in its lack of comprehension of the mood of the electorate, fought a campaign singularly devoid of emotional appeal whatsoever. The Government staked its political life on its record of legislative achievement, and fully expected to be returned to power on the basis of this appeal.

The prosperous economic condition of the province was greatly stressed by Liberal speakers. Buoyant revenues and balanced budgets were pointed to as evidence that the province was progressing under Liberal administration. In his statement to the electors a week prior to the election Premier Gardiner noted that in comparison with the other provinces of Canada Saskatchewan was third lowest in both gross and net per capita debt, third highest in population, first in wheat

10. Regina Morning Leader, June 4, 1929. Editorial.

11. Ibid, May 22, 1929. Editorial.

production, first in per capita wealth, first in improved highway mileage and second in railway mileage.¹² Liberal speakers also accentuated the Government's close connection with, and concern for, the farming population as much as possible. In a letter to the retiring Secretary-Treasurer of the United Farmers of Canada (Saskatchewan Section) the Premier stated:

We at all times endeavour to serve the people of Saskatchewan to the best of our ability and since more than 70% of our people live upon the farms we, of necessity, give a great deal of consideration to the needs of agriculture.¹³

The number of grade roads that enabled the farmer to get his crop to the elevator was praised as an example of the foresight of the Liberal Government and Premier Gardiner promised the agrarian population that within four years Saskatchewan would have more gravelled roads than either Manitoba or Alberta. Government campaigners also stressed the social welfare legislation passed since 1925 in order to prove they had not stagnated after so many years in power. The province's public health scheme was touted as the best in the world; and workmen's compensation legislation, a minimum wage law, mothers' allowances and old age pensions were cited as examples of the Government's progressive concern for those it governed. The Star-Phoenix agreed:

12. Saskatoon Star Phoenix, May 30, 1929.

13. J. G. Gardiner to W. Thrasher, March 8, 1929, Gardiner Papers, 6823, PAS.

Here is further evidence that the Saskatchewan Government and its supporters, representing as they did a community mainly agricultural, were nevertheless awake to the demands ...for economic justice and protective legislation.¹⁴

Materially, the province had progressed under Liberal administrations, and on economic grounds the Government had reason to feel as confident about its prospects in a forthcoming election as did the Morning Leader.

The Gardiner Government has shown itself a government of action, a progressive, forward-looking administration, one that is really serving the people and which intends to keep on serving the people; and as long as it remains true to this function it will continue to command the hearty support of the electorate.¹⁵

Those directing the Liberal campaign completely misjudged the forces arrayed against them, and throughout the entire contest they exuded a misguided confidence. Premier Gardiner especially was extremely optimistic:

I have had considerable experience in campaigns in this province from 1905 down to the present and at no time previous to an election have I found sentiment so strongly in favor of the government as it is at present in the great majority of the constituencies.¹⁶

The greatest fear which we have at the present time is that our men may become overconfident and that we may lose some seats as a result of that feeling.¹⁷

It would appear from present indications that the Government will be as strong in the next House as in the last....¹⁸

14. Saskatoon Star Phoenix, May 27, 1929.

15. Regina Morning Leader, March 16, 1928.

16. J. G. Gardiner to N. McKay, August 4, 1928, Gardiner Papers, 8504-05.

17. J. G. Gardiner to the Honorable J. Malcolm, Minister of Trade and Commerce, April 17, 1929, Gardiner Papers, 9194.

18. J. G. Gardiner to W. Barrie, May 20, 1929, Ibid, 8973.

It is puzzling that so astute a politician as the Premier should have been so mistaken, for during the latter stages of the campaign word came in to him from all parts of the province expressing doubts as to the outcome of the election. For example, from the Cypress constituency:

Our Conservative friends are putting up a strong fight here, and we feel that your own personal appearance here is necessary to meet the situation.¹⁹

From the Cannington riding:

Although Cannington constituency has always had a Liberal member, we are looking on this occasion for a close contest, particularly if, as appears probable all the opposition supports the Independent candidate.²⁰

From Thunder Creek:

....there is a Conservative atmosphere here and I hear some of our Liberals talking favorably of conservatism.²¹

The Premier and his party were aware of the issues being used against them; in many of their speeches they condemned the injection of race and religion into politics, but, they misjudged the effect of this campaign on the electorate. The Government was convinced that the people of the province would reject the Conservative attempt to obtain votes through an emotional appeal on religious and racial grounds and they preferred, therefore, to concentrate on presenting their record to the people.

19. J. Hopkins to J. G. Gardiner, April 12, 1929, Ibid, 9353.

20. A Liberal to J. G. Gardiner, May 9, 1929, Ibid, 9309.

21. S. Forbes to J. G. Gardiner, May 25, 1929, Ibid, 9307.

The political import of the scandal charges levelled at the Government was not lost on the Liberal campaigners however, but here too they were at a disadvantage when compared to the Conservatives. The attempt to emphasize their record placed the Liberals on the defensive from the very beginning of the campaign and each charge of political corruption weakened their position. They were forced to answer for misdemeanors attributed to them, but the charges were not of a nature that permitted easy explanation, and each attempt to answer took time that would have been spent in extolling their record. The Morning Leader explained the situation in this way:

It is regrettable that the Government, in the present campaign, has not had the opportunity to properly present its record to the electors. The Ministers have been obliged to give too much of their time to nailing Opposition misrepresentation and mis-statements to permit of this. It has been a campaign in which the Opposition forces have done everything possible to divert public attention from the real issues of the campaign, to becloud the good record of the Administration.²²

To summarize the Liberal campaign is to say that they were victimized by their own over-confidence and trapped by the type of campaign waged by the forces opposing them. Their complacency led them to appeal to the electorate on the basis of a simple continuation of the policies they were administering at the time, and their over-confidence misguided them in judging, not only the strength of the emotional appeal of the Conservative campaign, but also the underlying factors which gave rise to the emotions themselves. The

22. Regina Morning Leader, October 24, 1928.

questions of major importance to the Protestant and Anglo-Saxon or Scandinavian were not what proportion of the civil service was Roman Catholic or what percentage of the immigrant population had learned English in the past decade. What aroused the majority group in the province was the possibility that their government had shown partiality to the Catholic and the immigrant, and this was the stigma the Gardiner Government had to dispel. As well, the Government permitted itself to be enmeshed in a series of scandal charges which it could neither properly deny nor completely disprove at the time. Self-contented, self-assured and defensive: such was the Liberal campaign.

The two different types of campaign were given their first test of strength in October of 1928 when the Government, noting the Opposition revival, and perhaps wishing to "nip it in the bud", called a by-election for the vacant seat of Arm River. This by-election was regarded by both Conservatives and Liberals²³ as a political barometer, the result of which could conceivably influence the result of the next general election, and both parties threw their full organizations into the fray. During the by-election campaign every major issue that was to be raised during the 1929 campaign was debated: sectarianism in the public schools of the province; the problem of immigration to Saskatchewan; the return of the natural resources to the province; partisanship in the civil service; political favoritism in the granting of government contracts; and, the first of the many scandal charges.

23. The contest was limited to these two parties.

The result of the by-election was inconclusive.²⁴ The Liberal candidate retained the seat for his party, but with a sharply reduced majority, and both parties claimed that from their point of view the result was a favorable omen. Howard McConnell, Junior Member for Saskatoon, on behalf of the Conservative party, stated:

We consider....in view of the greatly decreased majority from the last general election, that we have won a moral victory and that the government has suffered a defeat for itself and its policies. I think this is particularly true because the government threw its entire forces and organization into this conflict, a thing it couldn't do at a general election.²⁵

Premier Gardiner was the Liberal spokesman:

We are elated over the result of the Arm River by-election. The Conservatives and their allies²⁶ took the most efficient organization into the constituency to deliver the vote. They are to be congratulated upon polling the maximum Conservative vote.²⁷

The Arm River by-election was a dress rehearsal for the general election in June, 1929, and herein lies its significance. Not only were Saskatchewan electors made fully aware of the issues that would be confronting them, but they were also given their first real glimpse of the type of campaign that would be waged at the next general election. Arm River was a hotly contested by-election. Charges and countercharges flew across the constituency: both parties accused the other of injecting race and religion into politics; the

24.. The Liberal candidate received 2,764 votes; the Conservative 2,705.

25.. Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, October 26, 1928.

26. Premier Gardiner meant the Klan - letters to friends reveal this.

27.. Gleaned from the Star-Phoenix, October 26, and the Regina Daily Star, October 26.

Liberals accused the Conservatives of using the Klan for political purposes; and, the Liberals themselves were charged with everything from political corruption to destruction of the provincial public school system. Arm River was significant in another way as well. In that by-election over ninety per cent of the eligible voters went to the polls, a sign that the electorate was aroused and a portent that boded ill for the Government.

During the ensuing five months the issues which had appeared on the political scene seven months previously, and which had crystallized at Arm River, were kept in the political limelight. It was almost anticlimactic, therefore, when Premier Gardiner announced the date of the general election to be June 6, 1929. The campaign which extended from May 11, the date of the Premier's announcement, to June the sixth was undeniably one of the most hectic in the province's history, but the issues that the electors were to decide upon were those that had been before them for over a year.

.....

The campaign waged by the Conservatives was by far the more aggressive of the two, and the Liberal insistence upon relying on an appeal to their record left the Conservatives free to place before the public the issues they believed to be important. The major issues of the campaign, therefore, were those raised by the Conservatives; theirs were the issues that created interest in the election; theirs were the issues that combined to defeat the Government.

The most important issue raised by the Conservatives during the course of the campaign was the question of sectarianism in the public schools of the province. The "school question" was not new to Saskatchewan politics, the problem of the status of schools, both public and separate, was fully debated in the very first of Saskatchewan's elections. The root of the problem lay in the Saskatchewan Act of 1905 which guaranteed to minority groups the right to establish separate schools if they so desired, and if they limited religious instruction to the last half hour of the school day. The Government left school administration to the trustees of the local school districts, and out of this arose the issue of 1928-29. In essence, the problem was this. Most of the schools in Saskatchewan were public schools run by boards of trustees who were predominantly Protestant, as was eighty per cent of the province. In some areas however, Catholicism was the predominant religion, and the public schools in those areas were governed by boards of trustees who were of the Catholic faith. In some instances these trustees hired nuns to teach and permitted crucifixes and other emblems to be placed on the school walls. The Protestant minority in these predominantly Catholic areas had the right to establish a separate school, as did a Catholic minority in a Protestant area of the province, but in most cases there were not enough families to support a school of their own, and Protestant children were forced to attend the Catholic dominated public schools. Inevitably, complaints were heard from the parents of these children objecting to their offspring having

to come in contact with the garbed clericals and religious emblems of another faith. Two such protestations appeared in the Regina Daily Star, May 23, 1929:

It requires all my spare time to uproot the impressions received by my children who are taught by the nuns in the public school held in the Convent.²⁸

....I found my children in a darkened bedroom, under the influence of religious fear, with a picture of the Virgin, making the sign of the Cross and repeating certain prayers which they had been told were necessary for their salvation.²⁹

Another example was the complaint sent by the ratepayers of the school district of Laniwci to the Department of Education. In part, the letter read:

....the members of the present school board and the new teacher are Greek Catholics. They persecute the children who belong to the Greek Orthodox denomination....The Department of Education promised us to appoint an official trustee to investigate our school affairs, but no definite measures were undertaken to fulfill the promise up to now....We cannot compel our children to go to school where they meet with nothing but scorn, silent contempt, and neglect instead of education.³⁰

The ever watchful Orange Order seized upon these complaints as proof that the Catholic Church was attempting to subvert the public school system, and through its appropriately titled organ, The Orange Sentinel, and other pamphlets, it warned the Protestants of the province to guard against the menace which threatened them.

28. Regina Daily Star, May 23, 1929.

29. Ibid

30. Saskatoon Star Phoenix, May 25, 1929.

....Would you like to have a black-skirted "she-cat" of a Nun teach your children in a public school that you are a heretic and that you and your wife are living in sin and your family are bastards, then when chastizing your child to make it kiss the forbidden image, the crucifix....Better wake up before it is too late and we have a revolution, for as sure as you are alive, blood will be spilled if the Protestant people don't band together.³¹

Protestant sentiment in Saskatchewan is at last aroused at the encroachments of the Roman Church in the public schools. These institutions, which are supposed to be non-sectarian, are in many places conducted as Roman Catholic schools. Protestant children are required to kneel before the crucifix and the Virgin Mary.³²

The followers of Orangeism were also convinced that Liberal governments, at Regina and Ottawa, were responsible for the intolerable situation, and called upon all Protestants to cast down these governments from the seats of power.

....I cannot fathom how you that are MASONS can uphold the present Liberal Machine which is without a doubt controlled by Bishop Matthieu of Regina....If you believe in the faith of your fathers...you cannot vote Liberal in the next provincial election.³³

There is a golden opportunity in Saskatchewan at present to remove from the public school system the incubus of clerical domination with the school conditions of that province....the Government is to blame....there is little hope of any improvement while it remains in power.³⁴

31. Probably an Orange newsletter, Gardiner papers, 9723.

32. The Orange Sentinel, June 14, 1928, Gardiner papers, 6172.

33. Probably an Orange newsletter, Gardiner papers, 9723.

34. The Orange Sentinel, June 28, 1928, Gardiner papers, 13733.

The future political status of this Dominion may be said to depend upon the Province of Saskatchewan....Already the Province of Quebec, with its two and a half million population, is entirely under the control of the Roman bishops. That gives the Church such power in Eastern Canada as practically to put that portion of the Dominion under papal domination.... To get political control of Saskatchewan, therefore, means the ascendancy of Rome over this Dominion...the electors, themselves, should realize how much their future depends upon the success of the Protestant and patriotic elements of the province.³⁵

The implications of these attacks were not lost upon the Catholic sectors of the population, and believing the separate school system to be in danger,³⁶ they struck back bitterly in defense of themselves, their Church, and the school system as it existed at the time.

These attacks teach us to keep on our guard. They show us that we must strengthen our organizations and line up under our banners and around our chiefs, around our schools against which our adversaries seem to concentrate their hatred. If we are attacked as French Canadians it must not be forgotten that we are also attacked as Catholics and that consequently it will be necessary to make arrangements with other Catholic groups to organize our common defense. Our adversaries will then realize that we form a force that it would have been better not to challenge.³⁷

Once the question of sectarianism in the public schools of the province had arisen, the Conservative party was able to build an issue out of it which eventually became a potent anti-government force. Conservative strategy was skilfully planned: posing as the defenders of the public school system they were able to promise a cessation of

35. Ibid, May 23, 1929.

36. Le Patriote de L'Quest, September 21, 1927, Gardiner papers, 12028.

37. Le Patriote de L'Quest, June 13, 1928, Gardiner papers, 13680.

the ill-will which had grown up throughout the province, and at the same time insinuate that either the Liberal Government was unaware of the problem or that it was favouring a certain sector of the population.

During the campaign Conservative speakers and the Conservative press extolled the merits of the public school system and deplored the strife which resulted when non-sectarian schools were allowed to be defiled with the garbed clericals and emblems of a religious faith. According to the Regina Daily Star:

The trouble in the Saskatchewan schools has been caused by permitting public schools to be held in convents and in the basements of Roman Catholic churches, by permitting crucifixes to be erected, and by permitting Catholic nuns to take the place of lay teachers in the public schools of Saskatchewan.³⁸

Dr. Anderson regarded the public school as "the cornerstone of civil and religious liberty, a preventive of anarchy, pauperism, vice and crime",³⁹ and he stated time and time again that he was willing to suffer defeat rather than waver one iota from his purpose to give the youth of the province an education that would bind them together as Canadian citizens undivided by sectarian antagonisms.⁴⁰ Unlike the "school question" which had disrupted the social and political concord of several provinces in the past, the issue in Saskatchewan was not whether separate schools had a right to an existence apart from the public school system. To quote Dr. Anderson:

38. Regina Daily Star, May 23, 1929.

39. Ibid, June 1, 1929.

40. Ibid, May 1, 1929.

I have no quarrel with the supporters of the separate schools, or parochial schools. The party which I have the honor to lead recognizes the right of parents to educate their children along these lines.⁴¹

The issue which the Conservatives brought to the public attention was interference with the non-sectarianism of the public schools and this they promised to halt if elected. How they planned to accomplish this was made apparent during the session of the Legislature immediately preceding the election. In order "to promote unity and harmony and co-operation among the people who support the public schools, (and) to remove some of the causes of recent trouble in the public school districts of the province",⁴² Dr. Anderson proposed an amendment to the School Act which, if adopted, would have removed garbed clericals and religious emblems of any faith or order from the public schools of the province. The amendment was truly a masterful political manoeuvre. If the Government had agreed to its passage it would have admitted that religious animosity had arisen over the public school and that it was to blame for the occurrence; if it rejected the amendment the Liberal party could be tarred with the brush of pro-Catholicism. The Government chose to reject the amendment, on the grounds that the grievance had not yet reached a proportion that warranted legislative action, but in so doing they abetted the Conservative cause among provincial Protestants, and this meant votes on election day. The refusal of the Government to pass the amendment allowed the Regina Daily Star to say of it:

41. Ibid, May 28, 1929.

42. Ibid, January 30, 1929.

The enemies of religious and of mutual welfare are those who foment differences and breed distrust in otherwise peaceful communities. It is especially abhorrent when done to maintain in power a leprous political plunderbund.⁴³

The Liberal party generally mishandled their answers to the charges laid against them. Although they appeared at times to realize the import of the campaign being waged by the Conservatives and their allies,⁴⁴ instead of concentrating their entire forces on eradicating the belief that they were partial towards the Roman Catholic element of the population, the party spent the greatest portion of its time attempting to prove that the charge of sectarianism in the public school system had little basis in fact. Liberal speakers during the campaign produced scores of statistics to show that the problem was not sufficiently grave to cause alarm, and undeniably they were correct⁴⁵ - instances of overt Protestant-Catholic antagonism over the schools were few. The more important problem facing the Liberals remained nevertheless, and they did little to improve their position. In some cases, in

43. Ibid, February 18, 1929.

44. Premier Gardiner, on more than one occasion, intimated that he believed the Conservatives were trying to make him appear partial to Catholicism.

45. Number of school districts	4,840
Number of teachers employed	8,500
Number of pupils enrolled	225,000
Number of nuns teaching in 1928	153
Number of schools with nuns teaching in 1928	43
Number of pupils in schools with nuns teaching in 1928	7,081
Number of Protestant pupils taught by nuns	117

From a Department of Education memo in the Gardiner papers,
6085.

fact, their speeches could have only hurt them politically. An example of such a speech was that made by Premier Gardiner, Minister of Education, when the issue first achieved prominence. After quoting figures to show the relative numbers of Catholics and Protestants in the province and in the Department of Education⁴⁶ he stated:

I think every fair-minded person will agree that if any religious sector of our population has reason for complaint on the score it is the Roman Catholics and not the Protestants.⁴⁷

A speech such as this, and others, which attempted to play down the issue could not be expected to pacify an aroused Protestantism. The Government misjudged the significance of the sectarian charge, and in misjudging it, failed to perceive its political importance.

An outcry in much the same vein raised by the more vocal Conservatives was that religion was being taught in the Catholic separate schools of the province at times other than those permitted by law,⁴⁸ and that anti-Protestant sentiments were being instilled in the children who attended those schools. Their complaint centered around a text used by those Catholic separate schools where French was the language of instruction in the first two grades,⁴⁹ and they illustrated their point with these two quotations from the text, Cours Francais de Lectures Graduées:

46. Twenty percent of population was Roman Catholic, whereas only twelve percent of the employees in the Department of Education were Catholic.

47. Regina Morning Leader, October 4, 1928.

48. One-half hour at the end of the school day.

49. The use of French in the first two grades was permitted in cases where children understood little or no English.

In 1897 at London, a Protestant minister entered one day a Catholic church with his little child of five years. The little girl noticed the lamp which burned before the altar and said to her father: "Father, why this lamp?"

"It is, my daughter, to mark the presence of Jesus, who is behind that little golden door."

"My father, I would like to see Jesus."

"My child, the door is not open. He is hidden, you cannot see Him."

The child replied, "Oh, I would like to see Jesus."

They next went into a Protestant Church. Note, no lamp.

"Father", said the child, "Why is there no lamp here?"

"My child, it is because Jesus is not here."

And since then the child would talk of nothing but the church where the lamp burned.

"I would like to be where Jesus is", she said.

The father was touched, and wavered. He must renounce his faith and for him it meant ruin. No matter (at what cost) this was not important. The father and mother were converted, saying: "Let us go where Jesus is". Today they are poor, but they are where Jesus is.⁵⁰

In Christian countries the piety of the faithful erects the cross on public places and on highways to remind travellers of the love of our Saviour. The good children hang the cross on the wall of their room, and in the morning and at night they say their prayers at its feet.

Follow their example, my little friends.⁵¹

Although the number of children affected by this literature was small, the principle underlying the Conservative complaint loomed large in the eyes of many Protestants. This issue added fuel to the already flaming anti-Catholic sentiment and the Government was once again castigated for permitting such propaganda to enter the school system.

The issue which went hand in glove with the religious question was that of immigration to the province. As was the case with the

50. Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, February 24, 1929.

51. Ibid, February 24, 1929.

sectarian issue, it was the Orange Order, this time assisted by Bishop Lloyd of the Anglican Church⁵², which took up the Klan attack on the immigrant from Central and South Eastern Europe, and they were scarcely less vituperative with their broadsides.

We have 110 languages in Canada today. All the nations of the world are represented inside our portals. We respect their countries, but these countries are not sending us their best, and we believe that a great many are being brought out for not the best purposes and under the wrong auspices. it is unfair to bring in large numbers of these immigrants until we are able to properly assimilate them....⁵³

The Roman Catholic Church is heartily opposed to immigration from Britain to this continent.⁵⁴

Bishop Lloyd characterized the immigrants as "dirty, ignorant, garlic-smelling, (and) unpreferred",⁵⁵ and warned that wherever they obtained a foothold they would drive out the English-speaking settler or laborer.

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.⁵⁶

The Conservative party, which made immigration a political issue, showed, on the whole, less emotionalism over the question than either

52. Diocese of Prince Albert.

53. Saskatoon Star, July 9, 1928, excerpt from a sermon delivered by Rev. Canon W. L. Armitage to Orangemen at Saskatoon, Gardiner papers 10377.

54. The Orange Sentinel, December 29, 1927.

55. Letter from Bishop Lloyd to other clergymen, quoted in the Manitoba Free Press, July 18, 1928, Gardiner Clippings File, Roll 8.

56. Ibid.

the Orange Order or Bishop Lloyd, but there was a radical wing in the party,⁵⁷ and it is interesting to note the varying shades of attack on the immigrant as one reads excerpts from first a Klan speech, then an article by an Orangeman, a speech by an aroused Conservative, and then the official policy of the Conservative party itself.⁵⁸

The policy of the Conservative party towards immigration, as laid down in their convention in March of 1928, was based on the principle of "selective" entry to the country. Dr. Anderson, personifying the more moderate group in the party, maintained at all times that he was not against the immigration of any particular racial group to the province. In fact, he stated at various places that while working amongst these new Canadians⁵⁹ he had learned to respect and admire many of their ideals. What concerned him was the fact that so many immigrants were allowed to settle in the province before they had employment, and that little had been done by the provincial government to ensure their rapid assimilation. A Conservative Government, he promised, would establish a department of immigration that would work in conjunction with the Federal Government to select

57. Interview with M. A. MacPherson, May 14, 1964.

58. If placed on a spectrum, the speeches on the Catholicism and immigration issues would read in degree of emotional attack on these groups, from the Klan as the most vituperative, through those of the Orange Order, the more rabid Conservatives, the moderate Conservatives, and finally, in direct opposition to the Klan, the appeals for tolerance made by the Liberal Party. In many cases, it is almost impossible to tell one from the other.

59. Dr. Anderson, from 1911 to 1924, was Inspector of Schools for the New Canadians.

immigrants suited to both the economic and racial situation in the province, and would make certain that jobs were awaiting those coming to Saskatchewan. He called the policy of the Liberal regime a "crime against humanity",⁶⁰ and bolstered his argument with instances of aliens committing suicide and British immigrants returning to the "old country" because they could not find work. The more radical section of the party attacked the Government in another way, building the issue into one of racism. The electorate was exposed to statements such as these:

The biological fact that the intermingling of the nationalities will eventually degrade the character of the people is being overlooked, and the utmost indifference is being shown to the ousting of native born and British settlers from employment by the government in office.⁶¹

The public of Saskatchewan is alarmed at the extent to which the province has been handed over to Latin and Slavic races from central Europe.⁶²

The reaction of the Liberal Government to the issue raised was simple, and their approach to the question was similar to that followed in meeting the issue of sectarianism - they roundly condemned the Conservatives for injecting race into politics and attempted to play down the question as much as possible. During the course of the campaign the Liberals tried to establish themselves as the party of racial tolerance, and appeals such as these were aired:

60. Regina Daily Star, May 23, 1929.

61. Regina Daily Star, October 11, 1928, editorial.

62. Ibid, January 2, 1929, editorial.

We believe that every citizen of our province has something to contribute to its development and future welfare. There is no place in this province for those hatreds, bigotries, discords and strife which have existed in other lands.⁶³

The situation calls for sober thinking and not for hysterical cries of alarm or violent expressions of racial prejudice. No matter what may be done about it now, Western Canada is in fact and will remain a "melting pot" of various nationalities. The foreign-born in the west have made interesting contributions to the life and culture of the new country. They are industrious and law-abiding. The experience of Western Canada until now would certainly not justify a policy of discouraging the immigration of European settlers....⁶⁴

Even more important to the Liberal response were the arguments that the federal government controlled the admittance of immigrants to the country, that once in Canada, Saskatchewan could not close its borders to the immigrant, and that the proportion of non-Canadian born in the province was extremely low and was dropping with each successive year. The truth in these arguments⁶⁵ was apparently not as strong as the appeal to race, however, and the immigration issue can be singled out as another major cause of the Liberal defeat.

One of the major issues raised by the combined opposition groups was that of obtaining from the Dominion Government full provincial control over the lands and natural resources within the province, alienated since 1905. In that year the Laurier Government, while

63. Regina Morning Leader, May 29, 1929. Speech by W. Patterson.

64. Saskatoon Daily Star, May 14, 1928. Editorial.

65. Total population of the province in 1926 was 820,738. British born - 624,548, or 76.1%; Foreign born - 196,190, or 23.9%. Of these 70% were naturalized British subjects.

acceding to demands for provincial status, withheld the public domain on the grounds that the Dominion owned the land by right of purchase,⁶⁶ and that the interests of Canada demanded that these lands be opened to immigration as rapidly as possible. The entire question of provincial rights became a major issue in the provincial election of 1905, but opposition to the Dominion retention faded as it became apparent that the province was actually better off without the lands and resources, at least at the time: the costly administration of the domain was paid by Ottawa; the proceeds from the sale of the school lands were invested on behalf of the province and the interest accruing from the investment was given to the province each year; the province received a substantial annual subsidy from the Dominion in lieu of the resources; and, no one knew then how valuable the lands and resources might prove to be. The feeling that the province had been placed in an inferior position with respect to the older provinces of the Dominion never completely died away however, and in the late twenties two events occurred which brought the question back into the political arena: Bram Thompson, K.C., a Regina lawyer, proved that the lands never belonged to the Dominion at any time;⁶⁷ and, by 1928 oil and minerals were discovered on both borders of the province,⁶⁸ creating

66. From the Hudsons Bay Company, who possessed a charter from King Charles II.

67. He found that in 1868-69, when the Hudsons Bay Company relinquished control over the lands, they reverted to the Crown which then transferred administrative control to the Dominion.

68. Oil at Lloydminster; mineral wealth at Flin Flon.

the belief that Saskatchewan herself might be rich in these resources. The Dominion administration of Mackenzie King admitted the Thompson assertion in 1927, and this was the signal that many groups felt should have spurred the Gardiner Government to action. Even the Regina Leader prodded the Government to negotiate the return of the alienated domain:

Control by the Dominion of the natural resources of any of the provinces is so foreign to the letter and spirit of the terms of Confederation and the British North America Act as to impress people with its absurdity in increasing degree as time goes on.⁶⁹

The Liberal regime at Regina appeared to be in no hurry, however, and by the summer of 1928 the Opposition was beginning to berate the Government for not meeting with the Dominion Government to settle the issue. Finally, in February of 1929, Premier Gardiner and others of his Cabinet went to Ottawa to demand:

1. the return of all unalienated natural resources;
2. a subsidy in perpetuity of one million two hundred fifty thousand dollars;
3. an accounting of all lands sold since 1905;
4. the transfer of school lands and the school lands trust fund to provincial control; and
5. the validation of all lands and titles issued by the Dominion during its administration of the province's lands.⁷⁰

The King Government agreed to return the lands and resources to provincial control, but only if the province would accept in perpetuity a

69. Regina Morning Leader, July 11, 1928.

70. At the conference Premier Gardiner also demanded an extension of Saskatchewan's boundaries north to Coronation Gulf and east to Chesterfield inlet. He claimed that the province's natural mineral area extended out of Saskatchewan north into the territory being asked for, and that the natural outlet to the sea for these minerals was Chesterfield Inlet. The Regina Daily Star said of the demand:

The amusing argument that Saskatchewan needs an "outlet" to the Hudson's Bay and the Arctic Ocean, was no doubt penned by someone who conceived Manitoba as a hostile state, and feared lest the Regina Daily Star and the CPR when it reaches Fort Churchill,

- be closed to the wheat growers and cattle ranchers
- Saskatchewan.

-February 16, 1929.

subsidy of seven hundred fifty thousand dollars to be paid in compensation for the years the lands were alienated. Premier Gardiner refused to accept this offer and on his return to Regina gave this explanation for the disruption of the conference:

The present arrangement provides that our subsidy goes on to increase until when our population reaches 1,200,000. We are entitled to \$1,125,000 in perpetuity. \$375,000 a year in perpetuity is more money than you or I can estimate. It will pay the interest for all time to come on \$75,000,000. We do not intend to throw that revenue away.⁷¹

The Leader was quick to jump to the defense of Mr. Gardiner, but the Opposition and their press chided him for not having enough faith in the future of his own province to accept the lower figure offered by the Dominion in the expectation that revenues from the lands and resources would at least match, if not exceed, the extra \$375,000 the Government at Ottawa refused to grant. Dr. Anderson appealed to the electorate:

The Liberal Government has been dilly-dallying to get a return of the resources or an accounting for a quarter of a century. Give us four years and we will get what they have failed to do in twenty-four.⁷²

The Regina Daily Star was more stern in its appraisal of the Liberal lack of accomplishment:

....the record of the Gardiner Government in this matter has been one long course of equivocation, prevarication and procrastination, while, all along the people have been given assurance that the Government had done all that was possible and that there was no doubt that their lands would be restored to them in quick time.⁷³

71. Gardiner papers, 11851.

72. Regina Daily Star, June 4, 1929.

73. Ibid, April 15, 1929.

The appeal to provincial pride and the attack on its inactivity the Government found difficult to counter. It might be expected that Premier Gardiner hoped to return from Ottawa and fight an election as the leader of the party which brought back the public domain and made Saskatchewan the equal of any other province in the Dominion, but the failure of the conference caused him and the Liberal party to approach the issue in a different way. They were forced to attempt to convince the electorate that the Premier was correct in his refusal to accept the Federal offer and that shortly the Government at Ottawa would accede to the provincial demand, but these semantics could not be as effective as the Opposition appeal.

The last of the major issues to be placed before the public were those arising out of the cry - "Break the Machine". It was well known in Saskatchewan that the Liberal party used a political "machine" to maintain itself in office and this knowledge gave the opposition forces an opportunity to malign the Government with the misdeeds of its creation. The anti-Government forces insisted that the Government, in sanctioning the existence of the "machine", was also guilty of its misdemeanors, and therefore no longer deserving of public office.

The opposition, in their attacks, failed to make any distinction between the ineffectual formal Liberal organization and the effective informal "machine". The formal organization of the Liberal party was a mere concession to democratic theory;⁷⁴ it seldom met, and when it

74. E. Reid, "The Saskatchewan Liberal Machine Before 1929," Party Politics in Canada, Toronto, 1963, pp. 49-59.

did, few decisions of political importance were made. As Escott

Reid states:

The formal organization constituted a democratic facade which hid from the common gaze the naked autocracy of the effective party management.⁷⁵

The informal organization of the party was the "machine", a widespread yet tightly-knit body which maintained a constant watch for grievances in the constituencies, and advised the Government as to the best means of eliminating them. This was the group of men which helped keep the Government in office for over two decades.

The head of the informal organization was the provincial organizer, and his assistants were highway, liquor and other Government inspectors. Each highway inspector, of whom there were about seventeen, was given charge of three or four ridings to supervise, and in conjunction with the top-ranking Liberal,⁷⁶ and other party supporters in a constituency, he was responsible for organizing the seat for the Liberal candidate. In each poll a record was compiled of the religious and racial backgrounds of the voters and each voter was then placed into one of three or four categories: Liberal, Conservative, Progressive, or Doubtful. This being done, the object of the organizer and his workers was to ensure the contentment of Liberal supporters, weaken opposition strength if possible, and bring into the Liberal camp as many of the "Doubtful" group as could be persuaded. Rural polls could be categorized very

75. Ibid, p. 50.

76. M. L. A. or prospective candidate.

easily, and on election day informal party predictions as to how the riding would vote seldom varied by more than three or four ballots from the final figures published by the Returning Officer.⁷⁷ In days when a great many public works were needed throughout the province, the machine did not hesitate to keep a constituency or individual in line by "pork-barrel" methods.

Seldom, though, did it corrupt by buying votes with money. It used the more sophisticated method, when seducing an individual, of offering him a job or a contract, and when it tried to seduce a section it offered a road or a public building.⁷⁸

A Liberal "machine" did exist in the province prior to 1929 and undeniably it was used by the Government in its attempt to be returned to office.⁷⁹ Some Liberals believe that had the machine been less confident of victory during the campaign enough seats could have been retained in the Liberal camp to win the election.⁸⁰ This is questionable, for an organization, regardless of its effectiveness, will keep a government in power only in a close election where the electorate is apathetic towards the outcome. In 1929, where the tide running against the Government was largely emotional, the very presence of

77. Reid, Op. cit., p. 53.

78. Ibid, p. 58.

79. Interviews with M. A. MacPherson and George Spence.

80. Interview with W. A. Tucker.

the machine probably harmed the Liberal cause more than it aided it, for no organization can completely cloak the instances when it slips across the line separating legal and illegal methods of obtaining support, and the opposition was able to unearth enough scandals to tar the Government with the corruption of its machine. As well, people dislike being manipulated, and in 1929 those who formerly regarded the machine cynically seemed to develop a sense of pride and self-satisfaction in voting as they pleased and against corruption.

The campaign against the machine was long and vocal, opposition speakers presenting themselves as leaders of a movement growing amongst the electorate, an uprising that would overthrow a debased Government. Editorially, the Regina Daily Star commented:

There is developing a revolt of the people against Machine Rule, which is becoming more active as the organization spreads. The Opposition is attracting to its ranks large numbers of those who have been adherents of the Gardiner Government, but who are now convinced of the political dishonesty of that Administration and disgusted with the autocratic methods displayed by the Premier.⁸¹

It is a revolt of the people against Machine Rule, of autocracy against democracy.⁸²

According to the Opposition, the fight was not against Liberalism:

....it is a fight against corruption masquerading in the garb of Liberalism - making it a veritable death-shroud.⁸³

81. Regina Daily Star, November 13, 1928.

82. Ibid, October 22, 1928.

83. Ibid, June 1, 1929.

....no longer is it a Liberal government, but rather a machine that has sacrificed every Liberal doctrine to remain in power.⁸⁴

The Conservatives particularly condemned the Government's practices of using the civil service for political purposes and the granting of contracts to party supporters without public tender, and they promised to halt such procedures if elected.⁸⁵ Dr. Anderson continually attacked the principle of employing only political friends in government departments and denounced the watchdogs of the Government in the constituencies.

It is true they have normal departmental duties which they, in haphazard fashion, carry out, but their principal work is to exercise vigilance at all times on behalf of the government; to attempt to scatter dissension in the ranks of the opposition, to spy on all political activities that threaten the governing party, to recommend to department heads where to spend the public money to best political advantage - in other words, where the most votes can be secured.⁸⁶

The Regina Daily Star was no less acrimonious in its attacks:

In Saskatchewan the practice of patronage is that by which the Gardiner Government lives, moves and has its being. It is by patronage that the Machine gets in its dirty work, the whole province is corrupted, the vote is herded, and a misleading expression of public opinion is secured. It is by patronage that party leaders are pitchforked into public positions for which they are totally unfitted, inefficiency is tolerated at the expense of the taxpayer, and the peoples' money is recklessly and extravagantly expended.⁸⁷

84. Ibid, April 29, 1929.

85. In office, Dr. Anderson instituted a non-partisan civil service based on competitive entrance examinations and promotion on merit.

86. Regina Daily Star, March 26, 1929.

87. Ibid, September 28, 1928.

The province is over-ridden by the Machine-controlled Government which hugs to its bosom a small army of heelers, grafters, crooks and sycophants.⁸⁸

The opposition forces used as proof of their general accusations anything and everything of a scandalous nature that could blacken the name of the Government, regardless of how many years ago, or under what Administration, the alleged scandals occurred. Some of the charges they presented themselves - others were laid by "interested" citizens. The charges brought against the Government and its machine may be classified according to degree of attention given them in the speeches and in the press of both groups. Charges that the Government had sent the machine into Manitoba to defeat the "Farmers" Government;⁸⁹ that a foreigner told a Conservative lady to "Go to Hell" when she protested the placing of a Liberal poster on her picket fence; that the Government preferred to hire foreigners instead of veterans in some places; that the Government, knowing in advance the date of the election, bought up all radio time for the night prior to the election; that Liberals, long dead, had been placed on the voters' list; that Liberal scrutineers refused to swear in Conservatives who wished to vote at advance polls; that aliens were naturalized before the law permitted so they could vote for Liberal candidates; that Premier Gardiner had refused to dismiss two employees of the Highways Department who had defrauded the public because they were good party

88. Ibid, May 4, 1929.

89. The election of 1927. A former Liberal worker claimed that he and others had been sent into the province to help try and defeat the Bracken Government.

workers; that the Government hired a Galician as an inspector of fur-bearing animals in the Rosthern riding when the only fur-bearing animals there were gophers; that Machine workers told newcomers to the province that they would lose their language and religion if the Conservatives were elected; that the Premier did not take his crop to the Pool elevator; and, that the Government burned Alberta coal in public buildings instead of coal produced at Estevan, were given scant attention by the opposition and were almost completely ignored by the Government. The charges that were debated across the province were that the Government had little respect for either the Legislature, the electorate, or the judicial system; that the Government was in league with the liquor interests in the province; and that the Government had introduced race and religion into the politics of the province.

The charge of Liberal arrogance rose out of Conservative attempts to question under oath a known Liberal organizer and highways inspector, J. G. Cameron, at a Public Accounts Committee hearing.⁹⁰ The Liberal majority on the Committee, led by Premier Gardiner, refused to allow Cameron to testify on the grounds that no definite charge had been laid against him. Immediately the refusal was made known the Regina Daily Star accused the Premier of disregarding the rights of the opposition in his fear that Cameron would reveal the corrupt methods used by the Liberals to maintain themselves in power.

90. The Conservatives wished to examine his expense accounts.

Tammany Hall and the sordid municipal politics of Chicago never produced such a spectacle as this - where public men conducting a public enquiry into the expenditure of public money refused to have a machine politician placed on oath for fear he might tell the truth.⁹¹

The Government, for its part, pointed out that the Provincial Auditor had already declared Cameron's accounts to be in order, and counter-charged that the Conservatives had declined to introduce a substantive charge against Cameron so the Government would refuse to put the highways inspector under oath and they could then go to the people declaring that the Government had violated the rights of the Legislature.

Nothing excites an electorate as easily as the suspicion that the electoral system has been tampered with, and this impression the Conservative party tried to implant with their charge that the Machine had stuffed ballot boxes in the Happyland constituency during the election of 1925. The Conservatives charged that the Government knew of the incident shortly after its occurrence, but, fearing a public outcry, did nothing to correct the illegality. The Liberal retort was that if the Conservatives knew of an irregularity they should have brought it before the Legislature to be aired instead of waiting until an election campaign to resurrect the issue. It was their contention that Dr. Anderson and his colleagues kept the affair quiet until they could use it with greater sensational effect. The barrage

91. Regina Daily Star, March 2, 1929.

of insinuation and counter-insinuation proved nothing conclusively, and after the election the Happyland scandal faded from public view.

Charges were hurled at the Government with astonishing rapidity, several of which claimed that the Machine had interfered with the administration of justice, and that the Government had allied itself with the liquor interests in the province. The most important of these were the Gallen and Taylor charges and the Bronfman scandal. Gallen and Taylor were one time members of the provincial police force,⁹² and the essence of their attacks was that in order to protect its Liberal friends the Machine had both bribed witnesses,⁹³ and warned local bootleggers of impending raids by the police.⁹⁴ In the case of Harry Bronfman it was alleged that the Government did not wish to prosecute this individual for fear that he would reveal the bond between the Government and the bootlegging interests in the province.⁹⁵ The Government had little difficulty disproving the

92. Disbanded in 1928.

93. Gallen charged that in the case of J. R. Paisley, a Liberal party worker accused with the theft of \$15,000 from the Municipality of Victory, the Machine sent him around to bring the witnesses for both the defense and the prosecution to the trial, and that on the way he bought them bootleg liquor in attempt to influence them. He further stated that Paisley had told him that the case had been fixed a good month in advance of the trial by the Machine.

-Regina Daily Star, May 29, 1929.

94. This was but one of the charges made by Taylor, a former Inspector of the Provincial Police, albeit perhaps, the most important. He also claimed that during election time he often got instructions from Regina not to prosecute liquor cases, and that in many cases he found bootleggers in possession of Special Quantity Permits issued to them by Government liquor vendors in order that they could purchase quantities of liquor for bootleg purposes.

-Regina Daily Star, June 3, 1929.

95. Dr. A. L. -son, as quoted in the Regina Morning Leader,

substance of the Opposition's charges⁹⁶ in this instance: the major offenses with which Bronfman could be charged were under federal jurisdiction, and Mr. Lapointe, the Federal Minister of Justice, declared that his Department could not find enough evidence to warrant prosecution.⁹⁷ The allegations of Gallen and Taylor, made during the latter stages of the campaign, were more difficult to disprove in the short time available before election day. The Government, of course, denied all, but these charges undoubtedly hurt their cause, for they added to the already prevalent suspicion that it was not above using corrupt methods to maintain itself in power.

The cumulative impact of these scandal charges on the electorate was undoubtedly profound, but of even greater significance was the Conservative charge that the Government, for political gain, had permitted the seeds of racial and religious discord to flourish and finally break out in open antagonism. The essence of the Conservative contention was that the Government, not wishing to lose its support amongst the Catholic-immigrant sector of the population, had allowed abuses to thrive in the public school system hoping that the Protestant

96. About 1919 liquor export houses were allowed to operate in Saskatchewan under Federal law. A number of these were owned by Bronfman. A Federal Royal Commission investigating customs found out that Bronfman may have bribed a police inspector, and prescribed that legal action be taken against him.

-Regina Morning Leader, May 14, 192

97. The Anderson Government placed Bronfman on trial - the case was dismissed.

majority would not discover them. Dr. Anderson, in one speech, accused Premier Gardiner of being the man "who has done more to create racial and religious strife and discord throughout the length and breadth of Saskatchewan than any other single individual since 1905",⁹⁸ and the Regina Star charged that:

....the Gardiner government stands for sectarian influences in our public schools. They have countenanced it and by laxity in administration have encouraged it. For the sake of temporary political assistance they have transgressed every rule of reason that should govern our public schools. Through their inaction and gross neglect certain districts of the province have been torn with dissension and the flames of discontent, dissatisfaction and mistrust have spread like a prairie blaze....⁹⁹

In their attacks on the Government the Conservatives could also pose as the party which would restore the public school system to its proper non-sectarian state and thus halt the discontent which had engulfed the province. Dr. Anderson declared repeatedly:

We are prepared to introduce a policy that will promote and create harmony, co-operation and peace among the supporters of this great agent of Democracy - the Public School.¹⁰⁰

It has always been my aim to draw all sections of the people together, irrespective of creed, and to follow the lead of those men who believe in unity and the building up of a spirit of Canadianism of which all could be proud.¹⁰¹

The Government did not let this attack go by unchallenged. Throughout the campaign they charged that it was the Conservatives who had

98. Regina Morning Leader, October 9, 1928.

99. Regina Daily Star, March 27, 1929.

100. Ibid, May 13, 1929.

101. Ibid, October 8, 1928.

brought race and religion into politics, and that it was they who must accept the blame for any conflict in the province. A plea for tolerance was the entreaty of Premier Gardiner and the Liberal party.

In true Christian faith there is no element of hate, the religious thought of the Christian people is based on the principle of mankind which is the brotherhood of love. Listening to the venomous outbursts of our opponents is to realize that they are damning the faith to which we belong.¹⁰²

Let us be tolerant, the one with the other, for only in that way can Canada and Saskatchewan become what is the wish of every right thinking man and woman.¹⁰³

These attempts at rebuttal neither met nor overcame the charges laid by the Conservatives. The question was not which party had introduced race and religion into politics, but rather, what had caused racial and religious antagonisms to be aroused in the first place, and the Liberal party, holding political office, was naturally looked to for an answer. It was here that it failed: blaming the Conservatives for building political issues out of race and religion did not detract from the fact that, to many, the grounds for the issues did exist;¹⁰⁴ appeals for Christian tolerance, admirable though they were, could not eradicate the belief, held by many, that the Liberal party had become overly partial to the Roman Catholic and the immigrant.

The impression must not be given that the issues mentioned thus far were the only questions of state that were discussed during the

102. Saskatoon Star Phoenix, May 28, 1929.

103. Regina Morning Leader, October 13, 1928.

104. Sectarianism in the public schools; the influx of too many aliens believed to be unassimilable.

campaign. Liberal insistence on appealing to the electorate on their past record inevitably forced more mundane issues into the debate. Highways, long a political football in Saskatchewan politics, were resurrected once again in 1929. The Government pointed with pride to the innumerable feeder roads they had built over the years, and promised to begin gravelling the major highways¹⁰⁵ as soon as weather conditions permitted. This of course evoked a reply from the Conservatives - a truly uneconomical plan to build three paved roads, two east and west and one north and south, within the next four years. Government finances, the administration of mental asylums and homes for the aged, government financial assistance to farmers, the necessity of an independent audit, and public ownership of power were all raised during the campaign. Nevertheless, important though they may have been in preceding elections, they were but minor debating points in 1929.

The issues of greatest significance in the 1929 election were those that appealed, not to the pocketbook, but to the emotions: sectarianism in the public schools, the influx of aliens, natural resources, the Liberal machine, and the scandal charges levelled at the Government. It was upon these issues that the Opposition built its campaign, and it was the reaction of the electorate to these issues that brought about the result of June the sixth, 1929.

105. Saskatchewan had only 64.3 miles of gravelled highway as of January, 1928.

-Saskatoon Star, January 14, 1928.

CHAPTER 4: THE CONSTITUTIONAL DISPUTE OF 1929

Election day produced the "greatest political surprise in Canadian politics in many years".¹ Saskatchewan electors, in a stunning reversal of form, abandoned their twenty-four year allegiance to the Liberal party in response to the appeal of the anti-Government forces. Liberal representation in the Legislature fell from fifty-two to twenty-six on June the sixth;² the Conservative party increased its members from four to twenty-four; the Progressive movement captured five ridings; and six constituencies returned Independent candidates. The unexpected success of those opposed to the Government created a situation unprecedented in the Saskatchewan experience. The sharp reduction in the number of Liberal candidates returned made it uncertain whether the Government could remain in office, and no group in the Legislature possessed sufficient support to take its place. For the first time in its political history the province was faced with the possibility of a minority government - a predicament which precipitated a constitutional crisis that took three months to resolve.

Reaction to the outcome of the election varied greatly throughout the province. The opposition forces, in cutting Liberal representation in the Legislature by half, accomplished a truly remarkable

1. Moose Jaw Times Morning Herald, August 1, 1929.

2. Twenty-six were elected on June 6; two in deferred elections later in the summer.

feat and their supporters were elated with their success. The

Regina Daily Star expressed its exultation in this way:

The impossible has been accomplished. In the hour of its greatest strength, the government has fallen. Bloated with a sense of its own power it has gone the way of all tyrants.³

Conservative leaders, although sharing the feelings of their followers, took no credit for themselves. Dr. Anderson and his colleagues continued their pre-election pretense and maintained that the result was the product of a popular revolt against a Government that had outlived its usefulness. In the words of M. A. MacPherson:⁴

The people have spoken. The people chose good government. The people have done with the machine and they are going to get good government.⁵

Liberals were both stunned and angered at the outcome. Although some party members had expected a reduction in their representation,⁶ no Liberal had anticipated a situation where the Government might not be able to remain in office. Premier Gardiner's first reaction was this:

The result was undoubtedly a surprise. The propaganda put on constantly during the past eighteen months seems to have convinced the public that there is something not altogether right with the Administration, and it has exercised its right to check up.⁷

3. Regina Daily Star, June 7, 1929.

4. MacPherson was later Attorney-General in the Anderson cabinet.

5. Regina Daily Star, June 7, 1929.

6. Interview with G. Spence, Minister of Highways, Railways, Labour and Industries in the Gardiner Cabinet, May 14, 1964.

7. Regina Morning Leader, June 7, 1929.

Not all Liberal supporters accepted the debacle with the equanimity of the Premier. One wrote to him shortly after the election:

It is astounding that so many persons should be led away by the transparent course of untruthful vilification and absolute lies to which the Conservatives descended, and of which the so-called Independents and Progressives eagerly took advantage.⁸

The unexpected success of the opposition forces may explain the jubilation and despair expressed by various sectors of the population, but both sentiments were premature, for the election was not finalized with the first counting of the ballots. Several recounts were called for immediately, two deferred elections in the most northerly constituencies⁹ remained to be held, and the inconclusiveness of the result gave rise to unprecedented constitutional questions which were not finally settled until the Government was defeated on the floor of the Legislature three months after election day.

The weeks following the announcement of the election results were filled with debate which attempted to resolve the political stalemate in the province. Conservatives, excited by the anticipation of complete victory, pointed out that the Progressives and Independents who won seats in the Legislature were elected in opposition to the Government, and they called upon Premier Gardiner to resign. According to Dr. Anderson:

8. C. Sutton to J. G. Gardiner, June 13, 1929, Gardiner Papers, 10097.

9. Ile a la Crosse and Cumberland.

The popular vote against the government leaves no room for doubt as to the will of the people. I would say there is only one course before the Government and that is to resign.¹⁰

His contention was given added weight by the actions of the Progressive and Independent Members-elect. At a joint meeting of Members¹¹ returned in opposition to the Government, the Progressives and Independents agreed to co-operate with the Conservatives, on certain conditions,¹² to secure the downfall of the Liberal regime. They accepted Dr. Anderson as the leader of the allied groups,¹³ and agreed to support a resolution prepared earlier by the Conservatives which read:

WHEREAS the Conservative (Progressive and Independent)¹⁴ Members-elect were elected in the recent Provincial election as opponents of the present Gardiner Government:

AND WHEREAS in our opinion the electors of Saskatchewan have voiced decisively their condemnation of the present Gardiner administration:

WE, the Conservative (Progressive and Independent) Members-elect call upon Premier Gardiner and his Government to resign immediately.¹⁵

10. Regina Morning Leader, June 10, 1929.

11. Actually not all members attended - G. J. MacLean, Member-elect from Cut Knife, did not attend the meeting.

12. The terms asked were:

1. reform of the civil service
2. retention of the identity of the groups
3. freedom in the matter of federal politics

- Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, June 12, 1929.

13. Dr. Anderson resigned as head of the Conservative Party.

14. Actually, two resolutions were passed, one by the Conservatives and one by the Progressives and Independents acting together.

15. Gardiner Papers, 10038 and 10036.

The decision of the opposition groups to band together under the leadership of Dr. Anderson was meant to convince Premier Gardiner that his Government would not be sustained in any future legislative session, and its desired effect was to force his immediate resignation. The Premier refused to acknowledge the Opposition resolution however, and he declined to declare his intentions until he had sought the advice of those who supported him.

The unforeseen and inconclusive outcome of the election left Premier Gardiner undecided as to the proper course for him to follow. Had there been only two parties contesting the election, and only two represented in the Legislature, there would have been no alternative but for him to resign, but the presence of the Progressive and Independent groups holding a balance of power between his party and the Conservatives complicated the issue. In spite of the resolution passed by those groups demanding his resignation, he was not convinced that certain of them could not be won over to the Liberal camp - enough to survive a vote of non-confidence when the Legislature held its next session.¹⁶ There is evidence that the Premier even hoped to persuade portions of the Progressive and Independent groups to join him in a coalition government, but he was advised against such an arrangement by prominent persons in the Liberal party, both in Saskatchewan and at Ottawa. T. C. Davis, Attorney General in the Gardiner cabinet, warned the Premier of the dangers in having to rely upon smaller groups to stave off defeat.

16. J. G. Gardiner to W. L. M. King, June 14, 1929, Gardiner papers, 9941.

It will be a continual log-rolling and bargaining proposition which will ultimately disgust the people and effect the extinguishment of the Government and the various groups which make it up.¹⁷

He believed that the Government should meet the new Legislature as soon as possible to determine which party the smaller groups would support,¹⁸ and this opinion was concurred in by Prime Minister Mackenzie King who wired Premier Gardiner five days after the election:

I do not think you should try to arrange to carry on permanently but rather aim at having a clear cut decision...registered on (the) records of (the) Legislature as to (the) political party to which (the) Progressives and Independents desire to give their allegiance and this will compel a return to (the) two-party system in (the) province and give (the) Liberals an unbroken front in opposition.¹⁹

The Prime Minister followed up this advice with another suggestion four days later:

I think it most important (that) your plan should be announced in its entirety and at (the) earliest date possible....your position should be that you are endeavouring to save (the) public in (the) long run by holding on till (an) exact decision can be definitely and constitutionally ascertained.²⁰

A caucus of elected and defeated Liberal candidates, held on the weekend of June the fifteenth, accepted the advice tendered. They decided that the Government should continue in office until a special

17. T. C. Davis to J. G. Gardiner, June 20, 1929, Gardiner papers, 9595.

18. Ibid.

19. W. L. M. King to J. G. Gardiner, June 11, 1929, Gardiner papers, 9943.

20. Ibid., June 15, 1929, 9940.

session of the Legislature could be called to clarify the situation, and issued an explanatory statement to the electorate which read in part:²¹

....the Government party comprises the largest group in the House, supported by a considerably larger popular vote than was accorded the next highest group....I am not aware of any precedent in Great Britain or in Canada for recommending, before Parliament or a Legislature meets, that the leader of a party commanding the second largest group in the House should be called upon to form a government. There are, however, many precedents for meeting parliament with a minority group when no group has a majority and allowing parliament to decide....no official report has been presented to the government of the findings of any conference which may have been held among other groups elected to the Legislature. I have therefore taken the responsibility of advising His Honour, the Lieutenant-Governor to summon the Legislature at as early a date as possible²²To adopt any other course would be to deny the right of the people to express their views and govern themselves in the manner provided for by the constitution, through, namely, their elected representatives and in accordance with well established Parliamentary procedure.²³

The Liberal decision to cling to power evoked this outburst from an enraged Regina Daily Star:

Thin technicalities and unsound precedents are seized upon and shamelessly paraded in an effort to bolster up the pitiable position of a shattered government, a broken leader and a horde of machine workers paralyzed with fear at the thought of a new administration assuming power and letting the light shine upon sinister aspects of machine government. The Machine must have time to cover its tracks. It hopes to gain it in this disreputable, unconstitutional manner.²⁴

21. See Appendix for complete statement.

22. The Legislature could not be called until the deferred elections were held.

23. Gardiner papers, 9757-58.

24. Regina Daily Star, June 17, 1929.

The more responsible Opposition leadership was not as incensed as was the Star. Dr. Anderson, upon learning of the Liberal determination, merely commented:

Since Mr. Gardiner has decided to meet the legislature, there can be but one result and that is his defeat in the early hours of the session.²⁵

This did not mean however, that he and his supporters were to make no further attempts to place themselves in office before the session was convened. In reply to the Liberal assertion that Dr. Anderson possessed the confidence of only the second largest group in the Legislature,²⁶ every Conservative, Progressive and Independent Member-elect signed a declaration stating his intention to support Dr. Anderson if he were called upon to form a government.²⁷ When this action failed to move Premier Gardiner from his decision to remain in office until he had been defeated in the Legislature, the Co-operative Opposition brought a petition before Mr. Newlands, the Lieutenant-Governor, informing him of their agreement to act as one, and calling upon His Honour to dismiss his present advisers. The petition read in part:²⁸

....all the Conservative, Progressive and Independent members-elect signed document(s) demanding the resignation of the Government....that sworn copies of said documents have been duly dispatched by registered mail to Premier Gardiner.... Independent and Progressive Members-elect were invited to co-

25. Regina Morning Leader, June 18, 1929.

26. Supra, p. 80, lines 8, 9.

27. They agreed to govern as the Saskatchewan Co-operative Government.

28. See Appendix for complete petition.

operate with the Conservatives in forming a new administration and agreed to do so....the Liberal Government in Saskatchewan has been hopelessly defeated at the polls and does not possess the confidence of the electors of Saskatchewan or of the elected members of the Legislature....THAT to call a special session of the Legislature in order to have your petitioners repeat in the Legislature what they have already stated over their signatures is entirely unnecessary....because it is the intention of your petitioners to express at the earliest possible moment....their lack of confidence in the Liberal administrationTHAT it is a well established convention that when a Government after an election, is left with a minority of supporters, and there is an alternative Government, with a definite majority in sight and with a chosen leader, it is the duty of the Government to resign....WHEREFORE your Petitioners pray...that your Honour dismiss your present advisers at the earliest possible moment and call upon Mr. J. T. M. Anderson to form a new Government.²⁹

The Lieutenant Governor declined the petition, declaring that he believed the Government, supported by the largest group in the House, had a constitutional right to meet the Legislature, where the matter would be finally resolved.³⁰

The Opposition press condemned the refusal of the Lieutenant Governor to dismiss the Gardiner Administration as a blatant example of political favoritism on the part of a person supposedly above partisan politics. Liberals, on the other hand, charged that no persons other than Ministers of the Crown had a right to advise the Lieutenant Governor, but in neither case was the action taken unconstitutional. The instrument which provoked the controversy was the Opposition petition to the Lieutenant Governor, and although it may

29. Gardiner papers, 10041-44.

30. Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, July 27, 1929.

have been "without modern precedent in British parliamentary practice",³¹ it is a prerogative long established in British common law that any of His Majesty's subjects may petition the Crown. Equally as constitutional is the privilege of the Crown to accept or reject any petition brought before it.

The question of greater constitutional significance is whether the Government had a right to remain in office in the circumstances which existed at the time. The Regina Daily Star claimed that the decision of the Progressive and Independent Members-elect to support Dr. Anderson meant that the Gardiner Administration no longer possessed the confidence of the largest group in the Legislature, and therefore, it had no constitutional right to linger in office.³² The truth of this contention cannot be borne out. In the words of Premier Gardiner:

....I had a long talk with Sir Winston Churchill³³ on this matter and his statement to me was that not only were we justified in meeting the House but that we would have been absolutely wrong in doing anything else.³⁴

Mr. Alpheus Todd, the most noted authority on constitutional procedure at that time, states:

The verdict of the country having been pronounced against ministers at a general election, it is, nevertheless, competent for them to remain in office until the new Parliament has met and given a definite and final decision of their merits; for the House of Commons is the legitimate organ of the people, whose opinions cannot be constitutionally ascertained except through their representatives in Parliament.³⁵

31. The Winnipeg Tribune, July 27, 1929, Gardiner Clippings File, Roll 10.

32. Regina Daily Star, June 13, July 3, July 19, 1929.

33. Churchill visited Regina during the summer of 1929.

34. J. G. Gardiner to C. Stuart, August 22, 1929, Gardiner papers, 10117.

35. A. Todd, Parliamentary Government in England, quoted in Gardiner papers, 19582.

According to the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, admittedly a partisan journal, there was not one precedent which would have justified Premier Gardiner, as the head of one minority group, handing over the reins of government to a still smaller minority party before the Progressive and Independent Members, who held the balance of power, had voted on the floor of the Legislature.³⁶

The Government, however, did have several recent precedents on which to base its decision to meet the Legislature. In the British general election of 1885 three distinct groups were elected to Parliament, none of which possessed a majority of seats. The Conservative Government of Lord Salisbury was supported by only the second largest group in the House, but he chose to come before Parliament where he subsequently met defeat. In 1923 Mr. Baldwin was the Leader of a Conservative Government in Britain when he appealed to the country. The new House was composed of two hundred fifty-eight Conservatives, one hundred ninety-one Labourites, one hundred fifty-seven Liberals and nine other Members. The Government, in a minority, but with the largest group of supporters, met the House which rejected its leadership. In 1925 the Government of Prime Minister Mackenzie King was returned in a minority position - one hundred and sixteen Conservatives, one hundred and one Liberals, and twenty-eight Progressives, Labour members and Independents having been elected. Prime Minister King chose to meet the new House rather than resign, and he was sustained in office from early January to late June, 1926.

36. Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, July 13, 1929.

The British constitution does not recognize political parties. A Government, to remain in office, needs only the support of a majority of Members elected, and who these individuals will support can only be decided on the floor of the House. Although Premier Gardiner, knowing the determination of the combined opposition groups to defeat his Government, may have shown a disregard of the gentlemen's agreements which assist in the easy transition from one administration to another, there can be no doubt as to the constitutional correctness of his decision to meet the Legislature.

The two deferred elections were held during July and August,³⁷ Liberal candidates being returned in both constituencies, and the setting was complete for the special session of the Legislature that was to remove all uncertainty as to which group would form the next Government of the province.

The session convened on September the fourth amid speculation that the Government would resign if the Liberal nominee for Speaker was not accepted by the House. A Member of the Opposition was elected on a recorded vote, but the Government maintained that this could not be taken as an expression of want of confidence since the Legislature was not properly constituted as a house of parliament until a speaker was in the chair. The vote taken to elect a speaker was

37. Ile a la Crosse - July 16; Cumberland - August 12.

in itself an unusual occurrence in Canadian politics,³⁸ but the correctness of the Government contention that the vote could not determine the matter which necessitated the calling of the Legislature cannot be questioned. It is a well recognized custom that the election of a speaker is merely an organizational duty of parliament, and that the defeat of a government can only be effected if the government, on its own initiative, regards a challenge to its nominee for speaker as a vote of confidence in itself. The Right Honorable Arthur Meighen, Leader of the Conservative Opposition in 1926, stated at the beginning of that parliament:

....the first duty of the House (to choose a Speaker) has not historically been one which has generated any discussion or any controversy....As yet, we sit in the House all as equals, and our duty is to take that step in organization constituted by the election of a speaker.³⁹

The right of the Government to remain in office after its party's choice for Speaker proved unacceptable to the Legislature was not questioned by the Opposition Group. It was content to await the Speech from the Throne before it secured the long looked for defeat of its opponent.

38. Only on two previous occasions was a recorded vote on the election of a speaker taken:

1. When the fifth session of the third Federal Parliament was convened in 1878, the Liberal Prime Minister, Mackenzie, nominated a member personally objectionable to the Conservative Opposition. Sir John A. Macdonald forced a recorded vote on the election of Mr. Anglin.
2. In 1886 in the Province of Quebec, a Conservative Government which had been defeated at the polls exercised its right to meet the Legislature. Its nominee for speaker was defeated and it resigned rather than meet defeat over another issue.

39. Hansard: Canadian House of Commons Debates, 1926 session, vol. 1, p. 2.

The Government's decision not to regard the election of a speaker as a vote of confidence in itself was not the product of an inordinate desire to cling to power. Rather, it was part of a calculated manoeuvre to split apart the combined group facing it, or failing that, to fix upon the Progressive and Independent groups the sole responsibility for placing a Conservative Government in power. Their strategy was apparent in the Speech from the Throne, which read in part:⁴⁰

....my advisers are of the opinion that the earliest possible opportunity should be given the Independent and Progressive members to declare, in accordance with known constitutional practice, to which of the two historic parties they are prepared to give their support.⁴¹

Immediately Premier Gardiner proposed acceptance of the Speech, Dr. Anderson moved an amendment of want of confidence in the Government on behalf of the Co-operative Group, but the fact that the Speech was read provided the Government with an opportunity to direct its appeal to the Progressives and Independents in the Opposition ranks. Government speakers stressed the unique position of these groups in the Legislature, essentially a balance of power between the Liberal and Conservative parties. T. C. Davis claimed that no Member in either group had received a mandate from his constituents to align himself with the Conservative party, and he charged that if any had done so

40. See Appendix for complete Speech from the Throne.

41. Gardiner papers, no pagination.

they had betrayed the very platform on which they had been elected - to be independent in the Legislature, and not to join any partisan caucus.

The government feels it is entitled to a public statement from both groups that they are one, and particularly a public statement from the Progressive group that they have abandoned their ideas on the party system of government, and that they are now joining a political party.⁴²

Premier Gardiner, in continuing the appeal to the Progressive and Independent groups, declared that if they defeated his Government it would be their responsibility to ensure that a new Government, a Conservative Government, was maintained in office, and once this occurred they would be bound by the decisions of the Conservative caucus.⁴³ In reply to these exhortations E. S. Whatley (Progressive-Kindersley) read this prepared statement to the Legislature:

We (the Progressive Members-elect) can interpret the vote of the people on June 6 in no other way than as a vote of want of confidence in the present government. Having lost thirty-four candidates out of a field of sixty-three in the general election it is obvious that the government is defeated. It is evident that the people have lost confidence in the administration of this government and in our opinion its resignation is long overdue.

Our duty is clear. In order that His Majesty's government may be carried on we have no alternative under the existing party system to support a new government. This we are prepared to do and to continue to support such new government so long as its legislation and administration is in the interests of the people of the province and maintained on a strictly non-partisan basis.⁴⁴

42. Legislative Assembly Debates, from the Regina Morning Leader, September 5, 1929.

43. Legislative Assembly Debates, from the Regina Morning Leader, September 6, 1929.

44. Ibid.

When A. C. Stewart (Independent-Yorkton) read a similar declaration on behalf of the Independent Members-elect, the defeat of the Gardiner Government was assured.

The ensuing vote adopted Dr. Anderson's want of confidence amendment to the Speech from the Throne and Premier Gardiner tendered his resignation to the Lieutenant-Governor the next day, ending twenty-four years of Liberal rule in the province. A Co-operative Government, under Dr. Anderson as Premier, was instituted within a week, culminating a Conservative struggle for political power which had begun, in the face of seemingly insurmountable odds, eighteen months previously.

CHAPTER 5: THE OUTCOME

A change of government is a rare occurrence in Saskatchewan,¹ and the defeat of the Gardiner administration in 1929 was especially unexpected for it was a deviation from a voting pattern that had been traditional from the first Liberal victory in 1905. The major concerns of the electorate during the first two decades in the political history of the province were material,² and Saskatchewan electors were noted for voting, not on idealistic or emotional grounds, but as their economic welfare dictated. Liberal Governments, acknowledging this behavior, maintained themselves in power through twenty years by constant legislative action and a judicious use of patronage which met the desires of the agrarian population, and the Gardiner Government, in continuing this practice, fully expected to be granted four further years of office in 1929. During the late nineteen twenties, however, economic considerations no longer occupied the complete attention of the electorate as issues fundamental to social harmony in the province came to the fore. Questions of race and religion, never before fervid issues in Saskatchewan, rose out of the social history of the province to stir emotions which were to have profound political repercussions on the election of 1929. In fact, the defeat of the Liberal Government in that year may be seen as the culmination of an emotional upheaval within the province - a social transfor-

1. Supra, p. 14.

2. Supra, p. 9.

mation misunderstood by the Gardiner Government, but capitalized on by the Conservative campaign which grew out of and drew upon the occurrence itself.

The history of Saskatchewan in the early years of this century is remarkable in its lack of racial and religious antagonism which might have been expected to arise when the longer established and more numerous section of the population³ was subjected to an influx of immigrants from every corner of Europe,⁴ aliens who transported intact to this country their own languages, customs and religions. The social concord which existed in those years however, was not based upon an acceptance of the immigrant as an equal⁵ whose culture and ideals were making worthy contributions to Saskatchewan society. Rather, it developed out of the exigencies of a frontier subsistence, and the predisposition of the newcomer to leave to the establishment the social and political domination of the province.⁶ A social harmony erected on these foundations cannot survive the removal of its sustaining factors however, and during the decade prior to the election of 1929 the conditions which nourished its existence began

3. The Anglo-Saxon and Protestant group which had come from Eastern Canada and the British Isles.

4. Supra, p. 3.

5. Supra, p. 5.

6. Non-Anglo-Saxons or non-Scandinavians contested only six seats in 1925.

to disappear. Farms which had been homesteaded a generation previously were now viable economic units, and the sharp depression which coincided with the return to a peacetime economy came to an end. During this period as well, the New Canadian who had hitherto been content with his position of social and political inferiority began to move out from his isolated islands into fields of endeavour previously regarded as preserves of the anglicized and Protestant majority. Prosperity meant that attention could be diverted from economic considerations, and the "different peoples", the New Canadian and the Catholic,⁷ suddenly became subjects upon which interest was focussed. An unreasonable fear that these "foreign" elements would destroy the social system if they were permitted to become integral parts of it, or attain positions of power within it, revived prejudices dormant for years, suspicions that had been submerged, but not eradicated, in the struggle to survive in a new land. In the latter nineteen twenties, conditions that could lead to an outburst of racial and religious antagonism were prevalent in Saskatchewan, and the spark which set off the explosion was provided by the Ku Klux Klan.

The Klan, through its attacks on the Catholic and the immigrant, heightened the religious and racial emotionalism simmering within the province, and herein lies its significance as a factor in the defeat of the Gardiner Government. In arousing the electorate over questions of race and religion, the Klan prepared it for the type of

7. Most often one and the same, plus numbers of French Canadian Roman Catholics.

9.

campaign which was to be waged by the Conservatives and the major issues upon which they would appeal for support - the necessity of preventing sectarianism in the public schools, and the importance of a scientific and selective scheme of immigration. As well, Klan charges that the Catholic and the immigrant were undesirable elements in Saskatchewan society provoked the Government to come to the defense of these groups, creating the suspicion in the minds of many that the Liberal party had a certain predilection for the Catholic and the immigrant in preference to the group which comprised a preponderance of the voting population, the Protestant and the Anglo-Saxon-Scandinavian majority. Two newspaper editors wrote at the time:

Premier Gardiner's attack on the Ku Klux Klan displeased many and they were by no means all Conservatives.⁸

A large proportion of the electorate honestly thought that a vote for the Liberals was a vote for the Catholics.⁹

The campaign waged by the Conservatives throughout 1928-29 spelled the doom of the Gardiner Government, for it directed into political channels the emotionalism which had risen out of the social composition of the province and which had been heightened by the charges of the Ku Klux Klan. The Conservative campaign was one of emotion, growing out of and drawing upon the racial and religious antagonism within the province. The major issues which they raised, that sectarianism had infiltrated the public school system and that

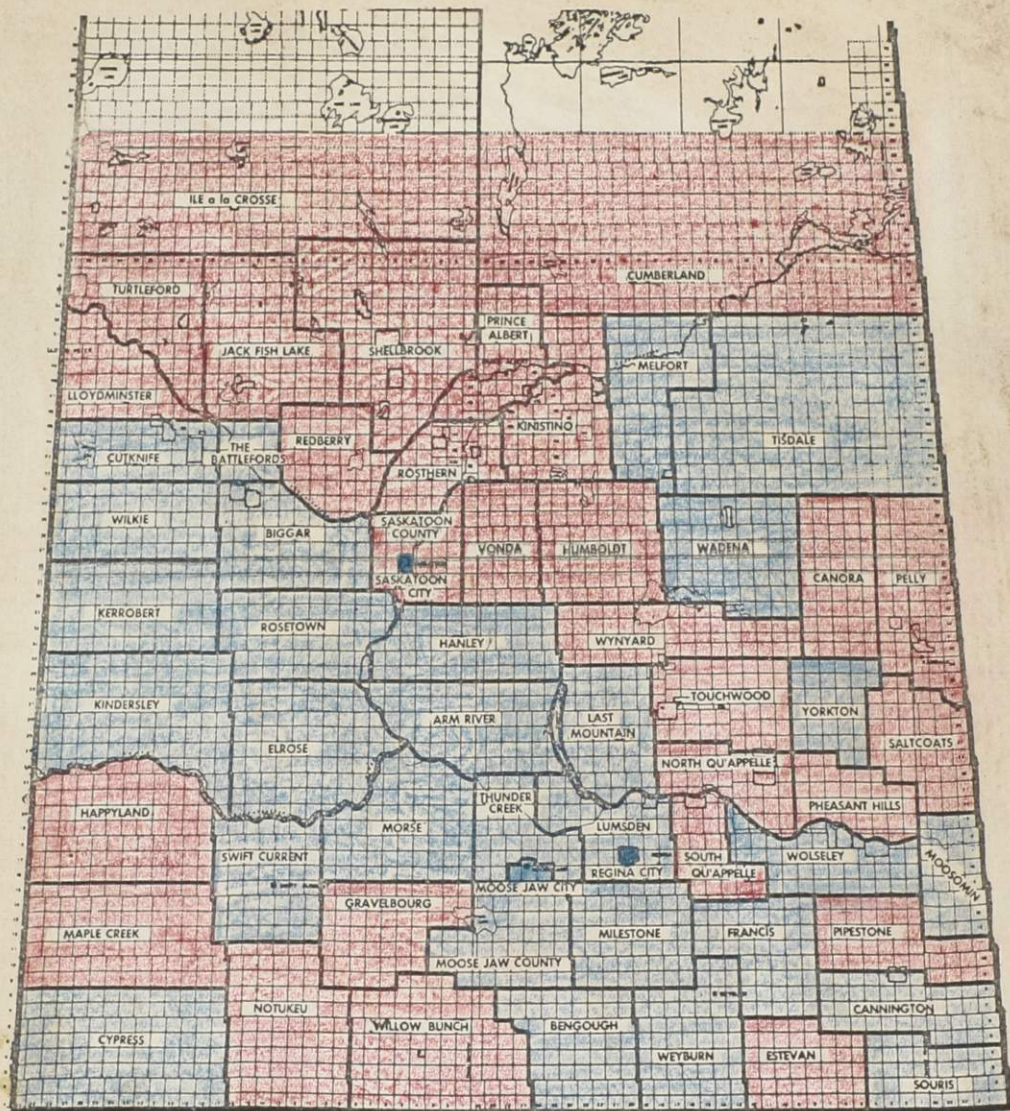
8. The Riverhurst Courier, June 7, 1928, Gardiner Clippings File, Roll 8.

9. Moose Jaw Times Herald, July 31, 1929, Gardiner Clippings File, Roll 11.

the Government possessed no rational immigration policy, were not in themselves sufficient to effect the defeat of the Liberal Administration, but each issue accentuated the belief that the Catholic and immigrant groups were subverting the social system of the province, each issue heightened the suspicion that the Gardiner Government had sanctioned this occurrence in return for political support, and each issue attracted to itself enough former Liberal support to account for much of the opposition surge in strength. The Liberal party at the zenith of its power was a coalition of Catholic, immigrant and Protestant Anglo-Saxon farmers.¹⁰ These were the sectors of the population upon which the Liberal party based its success, and the continued support of all three groups was necessary to retain office in 1929. Liberal votes came, primarily, from only two of the three groups on election day however, for the suspicion that the Government had favored the Catholic and the immigrant caused many of the latter group to defect from the party to the opposition camp. "Liberal support in 1929 was based, to a large extent, on Roman Catholic voters,"¹¹ and as most of the immigrant settlements were Roman Catholic, a racial division occurred as well. The constituencies won by the respective sides contesting the election, as shown on the map below, bear out the truth of this assertion.

10. A. J. Milnor, Agrarian Protest in Saskatchewan, unpublished Ph.d. thesis, Duke University, 1962, p. 46.

11. Ibid, p. 66.



ELECTORAL DIVISIONS, 1920
(Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Legislatures)

63 Members

Red - Ridings won by Liberal candidates.

Blue - Ridings won by Opposition candidates.

Generally speaking, the largest concentrations of Catholic and immigrant groups in the late twenties were to be found in the south western border region of the province, the northern areas of the province, and the region south east of Saskatoon extending to the Manitoba border.¹² The constituencies which fell into these broad categories in 1929 were: Happyland, Maple Creek, Cypress,¹³ Netekeu, Willow Bunch, Gravelbourg, Rosthern, Redberry, Jackfish Lake, Turtleford, Ile a la Crosse, Cumberland, Shellbrook, Prince Albert, Kinistino, Vonda, Humboldt, Wadena,¹⁴ Canora, Pelly, Wynyard, Touchwood, Yorkton,¹⁵ Pheasant Hills, and Saltcoats.¹⁶ These seats contained the majority of those attacked by the Klan and who felt the Conservative campaign was directed against them, and twenty-two of the

12. Ibid, p. 61.

13. The Conservatives executed a smart political manoeuvre in Cypress. Noting the antagonism between the French Canadians and Scandinavians in the riding, D. Corry, the first Conservative nominee, of English descent, withdrew from the race, and J. Gryde, of Norwegian descent, was given the Conservative endorsement. The Scandinavian vote plumped heavily for Gryde, and the seat was won for the Opposition. Ibid, p. 59.

14. Milnor describes Wadena as a "microcosm", p. 72.

15. Yorkton constituency contained a large population center. All ridings which contained a center of this type were won by Opposition candidates with the exception of Prince Albert. These centers were Regina, Saskatoon, Moose Jaw, Prince Albert, North Battleford, Yorkton, Swift Current, Weyburn.

16. Melfort and Tisdale were omitted for these ridings were overwhelmingly settled by Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian immigrants in the early part of the century.

twenty-five returned Liberal candidates to the Legislature. The conclusion to be drawn is obvious: support for the Government, that is, support for the status quo in education and immigration policy, was largely centered in areas with a high percentage of Roman Catholic and Central European immigrant groups. As the concentration of these groups increased in the constituencies, the Liberal vote tended to increase proportionately,¹⁷ and the opposite was of course true - the great centers of opposition strength were located in areas which were predominantly Protestant and Anglo-Saxon or Scandinavian. The reduction in Liberal representation on June the sixth must be attributed mainly to a voter realignment on religious and racial lines, a phenomenon never before present in the Saskatchewan political experience.¹⁸

The Gardiner Government never understood the political import of the emotionalism stirred over race and religion, and this ignorance was as much a factor in its defeat as the Conservative campaign which capitalized upon it. Even when the interregnum between election day and the special session provided pause for reflection, members of the Government could not fathom the major reason for their lack of success. The comment of T. C. Davis to Premier Gardiner two weeks after the election symbolizes the want of comprehension which characterized Liberal thinking throughout the campaign:

17. Milnor, Op. cit., p. 58.

18. Ibid, p. 67.

We were...beaten upon a fictitious religious issue, the whole of which was based on utter falsehoods....Power has been procured in this Province by the Tories through deliberate fraud....¹⁹

The sectarian and immigration issues raised by the Conservatives may have been insignificant in themselves,²⁰ but the Government failed to perceive that they were rooted in basic racial and religious prejudices which were held by many within the province. In order to offset the Conservative appeal the Government had to prevent the emotionalism arising out of these prejudices from being directed against itself, and this it did not do. Liberal speeches on these issues concentrated almost entirely on appeals for tolerance and attempts to minimize Conservative charges, rather than on efforts to dispel the impression that the party had favored the Catholic and immigrant groups. The Government allowed itself to be stigmatized with the tinge of pro-Catholicism and alienism, and thus lost the support of the one essential sector of the voting population that had formerly ensured Liberal victories at the polls.

This apparent political suicide may in part be explained by the Government's belief that the electorate could not be swayed by appeals to race and religion. Premier Gardiner was convinced that the Conservative campaign could do little harm to his position. In a letter to Prime Minister Mackenzie King, written during the summer of 1928, he stated:

19. Memo from T. C. Davis to J. G. Gardiner, June 20, 1929, Gardiner papers, 9594-95.

20. Supra, p. 51

We may have lost an occasional Liberal who holds rather strong views in opposition to Catholics and foreign speaking people but we will have gained a great deal of support from reasonable people all over the province.²¹

The Liberal victory in the Arm River by-election added to this conviction. Arm River was a constituency in which very few non Anglo-Saxon, non-Scandinavian and non-Protestant peoples had settled, and it was felt that if the Conservative campaign was to win them a seat anywhere it would be in that riding. Although the Liberal margin of victory was minute,²² they did retain the seat, strengthening the Government's belief in the rationality of the voting population. The Star-Phoenix expressed Liberal thinking succinctly in its editorial comment on the vote at Arm River:

The Conservative party on the whole we feel can take but little aid and comfort out of the result....To a very large extent they made the issues and the people have rejected them on the grounds which they chose.²³

Here again the Government allowed itself to be misled, for the Liberal victory in Arm River was not as much a rejection of the Conservative appeal to racial and religious prejudice as an electoral susceptibility to the manipulations of the machine.

The entire Liberal campaign was a series of misguided decisions which ultimately led to their defeat. Not only did the Government fail to comprehend the possible political repercussions of the emotionalism within the province, but the appeal it directed to the electorate

21. Letter from J. G. Gardiner to W. L. M. King, June 7, 1928, Gardiner papers, 8192.

22. Liberal - 2764. Conservative - 2705.

23. Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, October 26, 1928.

provided no diversion that could channel the aroused sentiment to its advantage. Saskatchewan, in the late nineteen twenties, was abreast a wave of unprecedented prosperity, and the knowledge that the electorate had always voted on economic grounds lured the Government into believing that it would be returned to power if it merely promised to continue the policies that it was administering at the time. The decision of the Government to appeal for support on the sole basis of its past record placed it in a defensive position from the opening moments of the campaign. In its over-confidence the Government left the opposition free to place before the electorate the issues it believed to be important, and the opposition forces made full use of the opportunity presented them. In contrast to the Liberal campaign, the opposition groups, particularly the Conservatives, brought forth issues which drew upon the emotion stirred over questions of race and religion. Not only was this done through the sectarian and immigration issues, but through charges of machine manipulation and Government corruption as well. Even the debate on the natural resources question was in essence an appeal to provincial pride. Singly, none of the charges levelled at the Government could have effected its defeat, but their cumulative impact combined to produce the feeling that the Liberals had stagnated in office and that they had been corrupted by their lengthy stay in power. When added to the suspicion that the Government was partial to the minority groups in the province, the sentiment grew that it was time for a change.

There were other factors in the Liberal defeat which, although

not as important as those discussed above, must not be left unrecognized. Premier Gardiner himself noted one of these in a letter to a friend shortly after the election:

We lost seven or eight seats simply because we could not convince our own workers that there was any danger of the seats being lost.²⁴

The organization apparently fell prey to the same feeling of overconfidence as did the Government. The very presence of the Machine may have cost the party votes as well, for opposition speakers decried it as being too powerful in its effects on the political life of the province. The impact of the Regina Daily Star upon the electorate must not be underestimated. Although it claimed to be an "independent" paper, its editorials were decidedly anti-Liberal, and it was the only daily in the province which disseminated the Conservative stand on public issues. An indication of its importance to the Opposition victory may be ascertained in the tributes paid its editors by opposition campaigners the day after the election results were made known.

Dr. Anderson: The Regina Daily Star in its public spirited campaign of education and enlightenment and its appeal to the forces of decency in our province, has been a great boon to all those who have been fighting for the public rights.²⁵

A. C. Stewart: Beyond question, your editorials and news items were a vital contributing factor towards the success of the forces opposed to the Gardiner Machine and its subsidized press.²⁶

24. Gardiner papers, 9642.

25. Regina Daily Star, June 7, 1929.

26. Ibid.

No party can remain in power for twenty-four years without antagonizing at least certain portions of the population because of its action or lack of action, and in 1929 the Gardiner Government fell heir to the anti-Liberal vote which was the accumulation of these grievances. There is also the possibility that some voters, though satisfied with the Government's record in office, supported Opposition candidates in the simple desire to strengthen its representation in the Legislature. In the words of J. S. Woodward:

It is...quite on the cards that a number of Liberals voted against the administration on the ground that a strong opposition was desirable. And they are possibly quite shocked to find that, while there will be²⁷ a strong opposition, it is likely to be of the Liberal party.

It is perhaps significant that Mr. Gardiner concurred in this sentiment:

Even though they had nothing to complain of with regard to our record of administration...they seemed to feel that the time had come when the lessening of the strength of the Liberals in the Province would do no harm. They started out to lessen that strength in too many places, the result being that we find ourselves today in a position where it is almost impossible to carry on.²⁸

Once again, though the above factors may not have been decisive in themselves, they added to the anti-Government vote on election day.

The campaign conducted by the opposition created an interest in the outcome of the 1929 election never before present in Saskatchewan politics, an interest that was reflected in the increased numbers of those casting ballots on June the sixth. On election day, both

27. J. S. Woodward, "The Saskatchewan Election", Queen's Quarterly, 1929, pp. 546-550.

28. Gardiner papers, 9577.

general groupings in the province, the Anglo-Scandinavian Protestant majority and the French Canadian immigrant Catholic minority, believed themselves to be voting either to obtain or retain policies important to them, and others went to the polls in response to the issues and charges presented by those in opposition to the Government. Whereas in 1925 only sixty-four per cent of those eligible to vote cast ballots, in 1929 this percentage rose to eighty-one per cent.

TABLE 1

	Percentage Increase in Total Vote			
	Eligible Voters	Total Vote	Percentage	Percentage Increase
1925	339,900	216,587*	64	100,458
1929	391,713	315,172*	81	216,587

* Ballots counted actually totalled 247,759 and 361,263. However, Saskatoon, Moose Jaw and Regina were two-member seats so this number had to be reduced by the figure obtained when the total vote from these three cities was divided by half. This was also done for party support in Table 2.

Source: Directory of Saskatchewan Ministries Members of the Legislative Assembly and Elections, The Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina, 1954.

The increased percentage turnout was another contributing factor to the Liberal defeat, for the more than forty-six per cent increase in those voting, in terms of those eligible to vote, must be associated with an anti-Government sentiment. The truth of this assertion is revealed by both the percentage increase in the vote received by the

Government and the Opposition, and the percentage increase in those voting in seats won by the Government and Opposition respectively.²⁹

TABLE 2
Increase in Party Vote

Party	1925	1929	Increase	Per Cent Increase
Liberal	116,431	150,957	34,526	29.6
Conservative	32,731	104,507	71,776	
Progressive	57,104	24,988	-32,116	
Independent	10,321	32,778	22,457	
Economic Group	--	1,942	1,942	
Combined Opposition	100,156	164,215	64,058	64

Source: Directory of Saskatchewan Ministries Members of the Legislative Assembly and Elections, The Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina, 1954.

Table 2 shows that the Government did not garner enough of the increase in ballots cast to maintain its position relative to the Opposition forces. The increase in vote from 1925 was almost one hundred four thousand, of which the Government received only 29.6 per cent, the remainder being cast for Opposition candidates. Nor did it bring into its camp enough of the electors who had formerly voted Progressive, these voters casting ballots for anti-government candidates.³⁰

29. The latter is a technique used by Professor Meisel in his study, The Canadian General Election of 1957, University of Toronto press, 1962.

30. The Progressives ran far fewer candidates in 1929 than in 1925 - 16:40.

TABLE 3

Government and Opposition Victories in Relation to Turnout

Per Cent Increase	Turnout and Opposition Victories	Turnout and Liberal Victories
0 - 19	1	4
20 - 29	5	6
30 - 46.3*	8	7
46.4 - 59	11	3
60 - 69	3	2
70 - 79	3	1
80 - 110	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
	32**	25***

* 46.3 was the median increase in turnout in the province.

** There were three double seats in 1929 - Regina, Saskatoon, and Moose Jaw.

*** Three seats were won by acclamation in 1925, and therefore no comparison is available. These seats were Cumberland, Maple Creek, and Rosthern.

Source: Compiled from the Saskatchewan Directory.

Table 3 shows that as the percentage increase in the total vote rose in the vast majority of the constituencies, sitting Liberals were in greater danger of losing their seats, and the increase in turnout must, therefore, be associated with an anti-government sentiment.

The increased percentage turnout also did away with a bias in the electoral system which had favored the Liberal party for some time. In 1925 the Government won over four-fifths of the seats in the Legislature with little more than half the ballots cast, but in 1929 this bias levelled out to a great extent, and each group won close to the number of seats it would have received under a system of proportional representation.

TABLE 4

Seats Won in Proportion to Percentage of Total Vote Received - 1925 - 1929

Party	Seats Won	% of Seats Won	% of Total Vote
Liberal	52	82	53.1
Conservative	3	5	15.1
Progressive	6	10	26.4
Independent	2	3	4.8
Combined Opposition	11	18	46.9

Party	Seats Won	% of Seats Won	% of Total Vote
Liberal	28	44	47.8
Conservative	24	38	33.2
Progressive	5	8	8.0
Independent	6	10	10.4
Economic Group	0	0	.6
Combined Opposition	35	56	52.2

Source: Compiled from the Saskatchewan Directory.

Another factor which undeniably led to a reduction of Liberal representation in the Legislature was the agreement between many local Progressive and Conservative associations not to split the anti-Government vote. There were sixty-three seats at stake in the 1929 election - the Liberal party contested all sixty-three, the Conservatives forty, the Progressives only sixteen, and the Economic Group ran in three. Fifty ridings were contested by only a Government candidate and an Opposition candidate, and the Opposition won thirty of these. Seven of the twelve three-cornered fights were won by Liberals, and a Government candidate won the only four-cornered contest in 1929.³¹ It might be noted as well that Conservative party

31. Redberry

supporters appeared more willing to vote for any anti-government candidate than was true of those who had previously voted as Progressives or Independents. Not one Progressive or Independent was elected in a constituency in which the Conservatives ran a candidate, whereas the Conservatives were victorious in four ridings when opposed by another opposition candidate as well as the Government nominee.

The Liberal defeat in 1929 may be attributed to many factors: Liberal misunderstanding of the forces arrayed against them; the defensive campaign of the Government; the belief that the Government had exhibited political favoritism to minority groups in the province; the presence of the machine and the scandals which were ascribed to it; the belief that the Government had stagnated after so many years in office; and the general feeling that it was time for a change. The importance of these factors may be emphasized in varying degree, but underlying everyone of them, and in many instances giving rise to them, is the fact that June the sixth, 1929, was the political denouement of an emotional upheaval never before present in the Saskatchewan experience. Every significant issue raised during the campaign either grew out of or drew upon this emotionalism stirred within the electorate; the sectarian issue emerged from the antipathy between Protestants and Catholics which sprang from ingrained prejudices inflamed by the Klan; the question of immigration arose out of hostility engendered by the attempt to destroy (and subsequently the attempt to defend) an unsatisfactory system of social relationships; and, the natural resources issue and the scandal charges drew

upon and increased the sentiment already directed against the Gardiner Government. The election of 1929 was the political expression of a social transformation occurring within Saskatchewan which injected questions of race and religion into provincial politics, and the termination of Liberal tenure in the province must be seen in this perspective.

.....

In discussing the politics of Canada, and especially Western Canada, one must never forget that the Canadian people are not a homogeneous body. The fact that Canadians do possess different ethnic backgrounds and religious affiliations is perhaps the most important single factor one must take into account when talking about the politics of this nation. As a multi-racial, bilingual, and religiously diverse people, Canadians have been forced to found their political system on something other than these emotionally volatile bases, and it has not been to the detriment of Canada generally, and Western Canada in particular, that economic considerations have been the major concerns of the inhabitants. An underlying social harmony is vital to the smooth operation of the Canadian political system, and past experience has shown the two to be mutually dependent. When questions of race, religion and social relationships have remained dormant, the Canadian political mechanism has functioned reasonably well - when they have not, these questions have had severe political repercussions.

An election, the one aspect of political behavior which is shared by a majority of citizens, is often an enunciation of the underlying disposition of the electorate, and an election campaign is recurrently symptomatic of not only the economic welfare of the populace, but also the social concord which exists between the various sectors comprising the political unit. 1929 is most often thought of as a watershed in Saskatchewan history in only an economic sense, for the conditions which were to produce the severe depression of the nineteen thirties were first apparent late in that year. As a result, it has been forgotten that 1929 was also a turning point in the Saskatchewan experience in a social and political sense, and that the election of that year marks the divide. The election of 1929 is significant to Saskatchewan political history in that it was the expression of a disruption of social harmony which had a profound impact on the politics of the province. In 1929 a voting pattern that had been traditional since the creation of Saskatchewan as a province was broken. On June the sixth, 1929, Saskatchewan electors disregarded their economic well-being and defeated a Government on issues that had aroused emotions over questions of race and religion.

APPENDIX A

LOCAL KLANS IN SASKATCHEWAN

Abbey	Andlater	Ponteix
Aberdeen	Foam Lake	Prince Albert
Abernethy	Fort Qu'Appelle	Qu'Appelle
Alsask	Govan	Radville
Aneroid	Grenfell	Readlyn
Asquith	Hanley	Regina
Assiniboia	Harris	Ridgedale
Balcarres	Hazenmore	Rocanville
Bateman	Imperial	Rosetown
Bengough	Indian Head	Saskatoon
Bethune	Kerrobert	Semans
Biggar	Kincaid	Shaunavon
Birch Hills	Kinistino	Sintaluta
Blaine Lake	Kipling	Star City
Blucher	La Fleche	Stoney Beach
Bounty	Langbank	Strasbourg
Bracken	Lanigan	Swift Current
Broadview	Limerick	Tessier
Cabri	Loverna	Tisdale
Ceylon	McCord	Unity
Colonsay	Macrorie	Vantage
Congress	Maple Creek	Verewood
Conquest	Melfort	Viceroy
Constance	Melville	Viscount
Coronach	Meyronne	Wadena
Craik	Michellton	Wakaw
Crane Valley	Milden	Wapella
Creelman	Milestone	War-time
Davidson	Moose Jaw	Watrous
Delisle	Moosomin	Watson
Demaine	Mortlach	Whitewood
Dinsmore	Mossbank	Wilcox
Dummer	Neville	Wilkie
Dunblaine	Nipawin	Willow Bunch
Earl Grey	Nokomis	Wolseley
Elbow	North Battleford	Woodrow
Elfros	Ogema	Wynyard
Elrose	Osage	Yorkton
Estevan	Outlook	Young
Eston	Perdue	

APPENDIX BSASKATCHEWAN CONSERVATIVE PLATFORM - MARCH 15, 1928

1. Immediate return of the natural resources of the province and compensation for lands and resources alienated,
2. Aggressive immigration policy based on the selective principle,
3. Thorough revision of the educational system of the province,
4. Encouragement of diversified agriculture and creation of wider markets for home products,
5. Improvement of conditions of labor generally,
6. Policy of economy and retrenchment,
7. Balanced industrial development,
8. Amalgamation and co-ordination of all public welfare services,
9. Establishment of an individual investigating commission on public health and the creation of free consultative clinics,
10. Development of the power resources of the province as publicly owned and operated utilities,
11. Development of provincial coal deposits,
12. Approval and encouragement of co-operative enterprises,
13. Strict provincial law enforcement,
14. Furtherance of scientific research,
15. Conservation of fur-bearing animals and development of the fur industry,
16. Promotion of a campaign of temperance education through public school text books,
17. Political equality of the sexes,
18. Reorganization of the provincial farm loan board,
19. Public tender for public contracts,
20. Preference for Canadian and British made goods,
21. Co-operation of political groups and individuals opposed to the present administration,
22. Reorganization of the civil service,
23. Free speech in radio broadcasting,
24. Reduction in the automobile license tax,
25. Preference to returned soldiers in civil service positions,
26. Eradication of bovine tuberculosis.

APPENDIX BSASKATCHEWAN PROGRESSIVE PLATFORM

1. Equal Rights For All, Special Privileges to None,
2. Representative and Responsible Government by:
 - a. Democratic selection and election of Candidates with Constituency autonomy,
 - b. Cooperative Government,
 - c. The setting of a fixed period for elections,
 - d. Compulsory publication of all sources of campaign funds,
 - e. Preferential ballot,
3. Honest and Efficient Administration by:
 - a. Rigid supervision of public finances,
 - b. A Civil Service Commission free from political partisanship,
 - c. Abolition of Government patronage,
 - d. Strict economy in Government Administration consistent with efficiency,
 - e. Government contracts by public tender only,
 - f. 1. Gasoline tax for highway construction and maintainance,
2. Motor license, flat rate basis, for registration purposes only,
 - g. Reduction in number of Judicial Districts, Land Registration Districts and Constituencies,
 - h. Transferring the work of the Official Guardian to the Department of the Attorney General,
 - i. Removing all election machinery from the sphere of political partisanship,
4. Recognition of the importance to Saskatchewan of our primary industries by:
 - a. Utilization of the credit of the Province to develop our primary industries,
 - b. Recognition of the Farm Loan Board as a benefit to be set up on a business basis free from political influence with sufficient capital to cause a general reduction in interest rates on farm mortgages,
 - c. Encouragement and active assistance for general cooperative effort,
 - d. Drastic reduction in the expenses of attending the Saskatchewan Agricultural College, with the view of giving every farm boy and girl an opportunity to obtain adequate instruction in scientific agriculture,
 - e. Adequate facilities for scientific research,
5. Natural Resources.
 - a. The immediate return of the Natural Resources of the Province with compensation for land and resources alienated and:
 1. Retention and development of resources returned in the public interest,
 2. Public ownership or control of public utilities and their operation for the benefit of the people,

APPENDIX BSASKATCHEWAN PROGRESSIVE PLATFORM CONTINUED:

6. Good Roads in Saskatchewan.
 - a. The formation of a Highway Construction Policy freed from the trammels and abuses of partyism by:
 1. Placing the sole responsibility in the Department of Highways for all the highways comprised in the Provincial Highway system whether improved or not,
 2. Abolition of the road grant system,
 3. Placing the main market roads and feeder system under the control of the Rural Municipalities and providing a source of revenue based on the difficulties of construction and the volume of traffic,
7. Complete educational opportunities for each Saskatchewan boy and girl.
 - a. Revision of our educational system to meet adequately the social and economic needs of our people,
 - b. Building up a permanent and efficient teaching profession within the province,
 - c. Freedom of our public schools from sectarian influence, with increased emphasis on moral training.
8. Public Health.

Recognizing that the health of our people is essential to the welfare of our province and is therefore the responsibility of the State:

 - a. Free consultive medical clinics,
 - b. Early consideration of a State Health Insurance Scheme on a contributory basis,
 - c. Sterilization of mental defectives,
9. Co-operative Insurance.
10. Free Legal Information Bureau.
11. Elimination of private interests in the Manufacture and Sale of intoxicating liquors.
 - a. Government operation and ownership of all plants engaged in the manufacture of liquor so long as the sale of liquor is approved by the people,
 - b. The prohibition of all liquor advertisements within the province,
12. An Immigration Policy which will insure the permanency of British Institutions and Ideals.
13. We believe in a scientific scheme of land settlement.

APPENDIX BCOOPERATIVE ECONOMIC GROUP PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES

1. Equal rights for all; special privileges to none,
2. Representative and responsible government by:
 - a. democratic selection and election of candidates with constituency autonomy,
 - b. cooperative government,
 - c. fixed period for elections,
 - d. compulsory publication of all sources of campaign funds,
 - e. preferential ballot,
3. Honest and efficient administration by:
 - a. rigid supervision of finances,
 - b. a Civil Service Commission free from political partisanship,
 - c. abolition of government patronage,
 - d. government contracts by public tender only,
 - e. gas tax for highway construction and maintenance,
 - f. reduction of judicial districts and constituencies,
 - g. transferring the work of the Official Guardian to the Department of the Attorney - General,
 - h. removing all election machinery from the sphere of political partisanship,
 - i. independent audit of provincial finances,
4. Recognition of the importance to Saskatchewan of our primary industries by:
 - a. utilization of the credit of the province to develop primary industries,
 - b. reorganization of the farm loan board on a business basis free from political influence, with sufficient capital to cause a general reduction in interest rates on farm mortgages,
 - c. encouragement and active assistance for general cooperative effort,
5. Natural Resources.
 - a. immediate return with compensation for land and resources alienated,
 - b. development of resources in the public interest,
 - c. public ownership or control of public utilities and their operation for the benefit of the people,
6. Good roads in Saskatchewan.
 - a. formation of a highways construction policy freed from the trammels and abuses of partyism,
 - b. abolition of the road grant system,
7. Complete educational opportunities for each Saskatchewan boy and girl.
 - a. revision of the system to meet adequately the social and economic needs of our people,
 - b. building up of a permanent and efficient teaching profession within the province,
 - c. freedom of public schools from sectarian influences.

APPENDIX BCOOPERATIVE ECONOMIC GROUP PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES CONTINUED:

8. Public Health.
 - a. free consultative clinics,
 - b. early consideration of a state health insurance scheme on a contributory basis,
 - c. sterilization of mental defectives,
9. Cooperative Insurance.
10. Free legal information bureau.
11. Elimination of private interests in the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, and prohibition of all liquor advertising in the province,
12. An immigration policy which will insure the permanency of British institutions and ideals,
13. A scientific scheme of land settlement,
14. Recall.

APPENDIX C

LIBERAL STATEMENT TO THE ELECTORATE

The official figures of the voting make it clear that the Government party comprises the largest group in the House, supported by a considerably larger popular vote than was accorded the next highest group, and a somewhat larger popular vote than that received by any two other groups combined.

The election is not yet completed, nor can it be until the official counts have been made and all requirements of The Saskatchewan Election Act, especially with respect to recounts, complied with, and the two deferred elections held.

It became my duty as Prime Minister to acquaint His Honour, the Lieutenant-Governor, with the situation as it exists; this I have done. Two courses of procedure have been given careful consideration:

1. That His Honour be asked to call upon the leader of the second largest group to form a government.
2. That His Honour be asked to summon the Legislature at the earliest possible date for the purpose of determining before the public and on the floor of the Legislature the will of the elected representatives as to who is in a position to carry on the Government.

With respect to the leader of a political party not having a clear majority in the Legislature and not even comprising the largest political group in the Legislature, being called upon to form a government, the Cabinet is of the opinion that responsible self-government calls for a decision by the Legislature itself, not by informal group caucuses held behind closed doors, but by all the elected representatives of the people speaking and voting on the floor of the Legislative Assembly.

I am not aware of any precedent in Great Britain or in Canada for recommending, before Parliament or a Legislature meets, that the leader of a party commanding the second largest group in the House should be called upon to form a government. There are, however, many precedents for meeting Parliament with a minority group when no one group has a majority and allowing Parliament to decide. This happened as recently as 1923 in Great Britain and 1925 at Ottawa.

No official report has been presented to the government of the findings of any conference which may have been held among other groups elected to the Legislature, but press reports of a conference held on Tuesday last, as reported by two Conservative members indicate a discussion of certain conditions of agreement "in the event of the present government resigning" which might conceivably be acceptable to all members of the House. Among the matters assented to was the contention that the groups should retain their identity. This would still leave a minority group in control of the Government and place the full responsibility

APPENDIX CLIBERAL STATEMENT TO THE ELECTORATE CONTINUED

upon the Cabinet for having created the condition. This responsibility should be assumed by the elected representatives of the people. Electors have no information as to the course of reasoning by which the conclusions were arrived at. They have a right to know officially as a result of discussions in the Legislature the views of their elected representatives on such important matters before a Cabinet assumed the responsibility for turning over the administration to another minority.

I have therefore taken the responsibility of advising His Honour, the Lieutenant-Governor, to summon the Legislature at as early a date as possible after the elections are completed in accordance with the Saskatchewan Election Act. This will be as soon as possible after the 12th of August when the Cumberland deferred election will be held.

In reaching the conclusion to meet the Legislature, the Government has no desire even to appear to flout the opinion or will of the people, but representing the largest group in the House, supported by a larger popular vote than was accorded any other party, the Government believes it to be its duty in the best interests of the province to adhere to the accepted constitutional procedure of both Britain and Canada. To adopt any other course would be to deny the right of the people to express their views and govern themselves in the manner provided for by the Constitution, through, namely, their elected representatives and in accordance with well established Parliamentary procedure.

In the short interval that must elapse until the election is fully completed and the Legislature meets, it is the intention of the Government to refrain from making appointments other than those which the carrying on of the public business may demand.

APPENDIX COPPOSITION PETITION TO THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR

THE PETITION of the undersigned, Members-elect of the Legislature of the Province of Saskatchewan, at the election held on the Sixth day of June, A.D. 1929, humbly sheweth:

1. THAT on Tuesday, the Eleventh day of June, A.D. 1929, all the Conservative Members-elect of the Saskatchewan Legislature met together in the Saskatchewan Hotel in the City of Regina, and signed the following document demanding the resignation of the Government of the Honorable J.G. Gardiner, Premier of Saskatchewan, said document being in the following words and signed as herein indicated:

WHEREAS the Conservative Members-elect were elected in the recent Provincial election as opponents of the present Gardiner Government:

AND WHEREAS in our opinion the electors of Saskatchewan have voiced decisively their condemnation of the present Gardiner administration:

WE, the Conservative Members-elect of the Saskatchewan Legislature call upon Premier Gardiner and his Government to resign immediately.

J.T.M. Anderson, Saskatoon City,
 Jas. F. Bryant, Lumsden,
 H.K. Warren, Bengough,
 S. Whittaker, Moose Jaw County,
 R.H. Smith, Moose Jaw City,
 F.D. Munro, Moosomin,
 Wm. J. Greaves, Melfort,
 J.E. Gryde, Cypress,
 J.A. Mereley, Moose Jaw City,
 W.W. Smith, Swift Current,
 A.J. McLeod, Wilkie,
 D.S. Hutcheon, Arm River,
 H.A. Lilly, Thunder Creek,
 R.^F. Eades, Morse,
 James Cobban, Elrose,
 Jas. Grassick, Regina,
 W.W. Miller, Biggar,
 W.G. Bennett, Wolseley,
 W.O. Fraser, Souris,
 Nat Given, Rosetown,
 Howard McConnell, Saskatoon City,
 W.C. Buckle, Tisdale,
 M.A. MacPherson, Regina City,
 R.L. Hanbidge, Kerrobert.

APPENDIX COPPOSITION PETITION TO THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR CONTINUED

2. THAT on Tuesday, the Eleventh day of June, A.D. 1929, the following Independent and Progressive Members-elect of the Saskatchewan Legislature met together in the Saskatchewan Hotel and signed the following document demanding the resignation of the Government of the Honorable James G. Gardiner, Premier of Saskatchewan, said document being in the following words and signed as herein indicated:

WHEREAS the Progressive and Independent Members-elect were elected in the recent Provincial election, as opponents of the present Gardiner Government:

AND WHEREAS in our opinion the electors of Saskatchewan have voiced decisively their condemnation of the present Gardiner administration:

WE, the Progressive and Independent Members-elect of the Provincial Legislature, call upon Premier Gardiner and his Government to resign immediately.

A.C. Stewart, Yorkton,
 S.N. Horner, Francis,
 S.W. Arthur, Cannington,
 E.S. Whatley, Kindersley,
 R.S. Leslie, Weyburn,
 S.W. Huston, The Battlefords,
 J.V. Patterson, Milestone,
 R. Stipe, Hanley,
 J.R. Taylor, Wadena,
 J. Benson, Last Mountain.

3. THAT sworn copies of said documents have been duly dispatched by registered mail to Premier Gardiner who is fully advised of the situation.

4. THAT following the signing of the said documents Independent and Progressive Members-elect were invited to cooperate with the Conservatives in forming a new administration and agreed to do so. That at a meeting of Conservative, Independent and Progressive Members-elect J.T.M. Anderson was elected as leader of the cooperating groups on a motion moved by R. Stipe, M.D., and seconded by Mr. W.C. Buckle.

5. THAT Premier Gardiner has refused to resign and has announced his intention to summon the Legislature at an early date because "The Cabinet is of the opinion that responsible self-government calls for a decision by the Legislature itself not by informal group caucuses held behind closed doors, but by all the elected representatives of the people speaking and voting on the floor of the Assembly."

APPENDIX COPPOSITION PETITION TO THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR CONTINUED

6. THAT twenty-six members were elected as supporters of the Liberal Government in Saskatchewan, and thirty-five members in opposition to the Liberal Administration, and that even if the Government was successful in winning the two deferred elections, the Liberal Government in Saskatchewan has been hopelessly defeated at the polls and does not possess the confidence of the electors of Saskatchewan or of the elected members of the Legislature.
7. THAT the said Government is carrying on as if it had not been defeated and we strenuously object to the present Liberal Administration continuing to carry on when the said administration has not the confidence of the electorate.
8. THAT to call a special session of the Legislature in order to have your petitioners repeat in the Legislature what they have already stated over their signatures is entirely unnecessary and at the same time is an expensive procedure, because if the said session of the Legislature is called it is the intention of your petitioners to express at the earliest possible moment, by a vote in the House, their lack of confidence in the Liberal administration, and following the defeat of the Liberal administration, there will be a considerable delay occasioned by the formation of a new ministry, the election of the ministers, and by the fact that it will be necessary for the new ministers to become acquainted with their departments and to prepare the programme of Legislation for submission to the Legislature.
9. THAT it is a well established convention that when a Government after an election, is left with a minority of supporters, and there is an alternative Government with a definite majority in sight and with a chosen leader, it is the duty of the Government to resign and facilitate the coming in of the new Government at the earliest possible date in order that the business of the country may not suffer. The procedure proposed by Premier Gardiner and the unnecessary delay occasioned thereby is creating uncertainty, is unsettling business, impeding progress and is not in the interests of the people of Saskatchewan.

WHEREFORE your Petitioners pray that since Premier Gardiner does not possess the confidence of the Legislature, that your Honor dismiss your present advisers at the earliest moment and call upon Mr. J.T.M. Anderson to form a new Government.

APPENDIX CSPEECH FROM THE THRONE - SEPTEMBER 4, 1929.

Mr. Speaker and members of the Legislative Assembly: .

It is my privilege and pleasure to welcome you to the first session of the Seventh Legislature of the Province of Saskatchewan.

The gradual return to better health of His Majesty, King George V is a cause for great rejoicing among all our people. We are thankful indeed that a kind Providence has spared him for further service to the British Empire.

My advisers are of the opinion that the results of the recent elections have rendered it desirable to summon the Legislature at the earliest moment possible, having regard for the time at which all the writs were returnable, in order that any uncertainty arising from the results of the elections, as to which political party should administer the affairs of the province, may be removed, and opportunity thereby accorded of provision being made for the future government of the province in accordance with the wishes of the electors as determined in the Legislature through their duly elected representatives. The poll taken on June the sixth has resulted, as you are aware, in the return of 26 Liberals, 24 Conservatives, 6 Independents and 5 Progressives. Two deferred elections have since been held, at each of which a Liberal member has been returned. In the circumstances, my advisers are of the opinion that the earliest possible opportunity should be given to Independent and Progressive members to declare, in accordance with known constitutional practice, to which of the two historic parties they are prepared to give their support. Pending a decision in the matter of political support, my advisers are of the opinion that it is not desirable to submit a programme of legislation for the consideration of the members.

Because of the special nature of the session it is the intention to introduce legislation providing for remuneration which will be in keeping with the time occupied in your duties.

Members of the Legislative Assembly, may Divine Providence guide and bless your deliberations.

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* Scattered copies only of these papers are to be found in the Gardiner papers and the Gardiner Clippings File. The Gardiner papers are the property of the Honorable J. W. Gardiner, Minister of Public Works, Government of Saskatchewan. The Gardiner Clippings Files are in the Public Archives of Saskatchewan, Regina.

