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MANITOBA POPULISM AND THE FARMERS' MOVEMENT IN THE PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS OF 1920 AND 1922

by

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MASTER of ARTS

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ABSTRACT

The Political landscape in Manitoba experienced mammoth changes from 1920 to 1922. In 1920 the Manitoba Liberal party under the leadership of T.C. Norris had been in power for five years. During this period, this government had compiled a list of liberal legislative achievements. Ironically, by the end of the first term the Norris government found itself in a badly weakened state. In the 1920 provincial election the Liberals were returned to office with only a minority and by 1922 they were ousted completely by a newly formed party with strong populist roots in the province.

During this period, similar populist agitations were altering the political landscape all across the Canadian Prairies and the Great Western Plains of the United States. This study is concerned with the affect of these forces within the province of Manitoba and particularly the changes within the United Farmers of Manitoba (UFM). The UFM embodied the Manitoba incarnation of this populist movement, but its results contrasted greatly from those of similar political upheavals. Individual chapters are devoted to changes in legislative representation, party policy, and governmental pursuits. For chapter one, a collective biography was compiled of all candidates in both the 1920 and 1922 Manitoba provincial elections in order to form some basis for a discussion about who the Manitoba populists were and why they acted the way they did. Chapter two examines the campaigns, strategies, and platforms of the Manitoba farmers' movement (which initially began with the Farmers' group in the Manitoba Legislature and later became the UFM in 1922) as well as all other opposition parties in the accompanying campaigns in order to try and understand the concerns of Manitoba populists. Finally, the legislative measures sponsored by the Farmers' group and later the UFM were examined during the two intervening sessions from 1920 to 1922.

The study serves to examine the shift from partisan to non-partisan politics in Manitoba. What it shows is that populism and the farm movement in Manitoba was instrumental in the creation of a more non-partisan form of government. It also illustrates how the UFM was the same vehicle demanding a return to a much more conservative, non-interventionist approach to politics. The study highlights how the UFM was a populist movement riddled by contradictions, a divided and largely paralyzed political force in terms of personnel, policy and legislative pursuits. Ironically, under these conditions, the arrival of non-partisan politics and the rise of the Farmers' movement in Manitoba really led not so much to the destruction of traditional party politics, with the defeat of the Norris government in 1922, as it did to the undermining of their own agenda with the end of populist politics in the province.

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Preface

By 1920, the Manitoba Liberal Party under the leadership of T.C. Norris had been in power for five years. Elected by an enormous majority in the aftermath of the Conservative party's legislative building scandal of 1915, Norris optimistically looked upon his new 42/29 seat majority in the legislature as not so much a protest vote against blatant Conservative corruption as it was a mandate for Liberal change. He wasted no time, and by 1920 had compiled a bold list of new, liberal legislative achievements unparalleled by any preceding Manitoba legislature. The scope of the legislation was overwhelming, initiating reforms in many aspects of the lives of Manitobans from politics, education, industry and labor to public health and welfare and agriculture.[1] In spite of these best intentions and actions, by the end of its first term the Norris government found itself in a badly weakened state. The 1920 provincial election saw the Liberals returned to office with only a minority of legislative members. When a vote of non-confidence in the legislature forced a snap election in 1922, the Liberals found themselves ousted completely, replaced by a new, grassroots, agrarian based government promising a practical, pragmatic and efficient administration to make up for the years of accumulating deficits under Norris.[2]

This political story was by no means unique to the keystone province in the first few decades of the 20th century. During Canada's inter-war years, the preceding events were played out again and again, particularly (but not exclusively) in Western Canada as

part of a nation-wide progressive political movement. This Canadian version of the populist wave which swept across the United States in the 1890's was now initiating a challenge to Canadian parliamentary government.[3] Third parties were the big story in this challenge from 1910 to 1930 as they defeated governments across the country. Originally rising out of the early cooperative movements at the turn of the century, these early associations grew to become major political forces on the prairies. Up until World War I, Liberal or Conservative parties were the only parties capable of taking power either provincially or federally in Canada. However, from 1920 to 1922, four non-Liberal, non-Conservative parties were elected to legislatures across the country and a fifth, Liberal government in Saskatchewan, was forced to split from its federal wing in order to appease the provincial farmers' movement. Moreover, a new federal Progressive party in 1921 claimed 64 federal ridings in an election which left the new party the second most powerful group in the Canadian House of Commons.

The many political, economic and social changes associated with the agrarian revolt in Canada from 1916 to 1926 were preceded by some key ideological and philosophical influences that slowly made their way on to the Canadian prairies and laid the foundation upon which the farmers' movement would later be built. Ideological support for the farmers' movement came from many different directions after World War I. To begin with, each segment of a fractured, post-war Liberal party in Ontario made a number of gestures aimed at recruiting the growing agrarian movement in the west. However, these efforts were not always united, or conducted with the same goals in mind. For example, by 1919, Ontario Liberalism was reaching out to the west with the "compromise Liberalism" of Mackenzie King, convinced that government intervention and recognition of the welfare state were enough to lure western radicals back to the ranks of the Liberal party.[4] At the same time, the moderate reforms and radical talk of the United Farmers of Ontario (UFO) was providing a highly instructive outline which

western radicals would look back to years later, while the "Toronto centered business oriented liberalism" seemed to be pushing prairie radicals to break away altogether to pursue independent political action.[5]

These very influential Ontario ideological interests were not alone in the west and were forced to compete with a number of other interests at work on the prairies. For example, by virtue of its close relationship to both the United States and Britain, competing ideologies directly confronted and deconstructed many of these Ontario influences. In Populism and Democratic Thought in the Canadian Prairies, David Laycock wrote that,

> As one moved west, one found a greater tendency to supplement or replace radical grit and Liberal perspectives with British Labourite as well as "republican" ideas of American Jacksonian democracy, populism and eventually, Progressivism.[6]

These ideas carried even more weight when brought to bear in a region which still embraced its frontier status, was open to new ideas and was yet unencumbered by the range of institutions which typically generate and promote traditional political ideology.[7]

This fresh ideological ammunition did not seem out of place once legitimate philosophical justifications for the agrarian revolt were put forward. In the forefront of the arguments surrounding political economy and the problems of agriculture, industrial expansion and depression were four Queen's political economists whose scholarly work was central in these major Canadian debates from the 1890's to the 1930's. The work of Adam Shortt, Oscar Douglas Skelton, Clifford Clark and William Mackintosh by varying degrees supported agrarian agitation in the prairie west as either a route to social integration of rural-urban life,[8] a means to the reorganization and reform of the two-party system,[9] the democratization of the nation,[10] and (particularly in the case of Mackintosh) provided the agrarian movement with a national and historical perspective.[11] However, all agreed on the central role of agriculture in the political

reorganization of Canada, and the utter futility in pursuing any form of social or economic remedies while still disregarding the pivotal role of the farmers' movement.[12]

Beyond the academic debates, agrarian reform received much more visible, popular or philosophical support from a new social faith which was sweeping across the prairies. The social gospel accompanied the rise of the reform movement in the prairie west. This phenomena sought to strip away the individualism of the agrarian myth by preaching a social Christianity that attempted to create the kingdom of heaven on earth. Ultimately, the social gospel "was a religious expression, striving to embed ultimate human goals in the social, economic and political order."[13] "Insofar as the Western farmer was in need of a social faith for the new commercial age that was upon him, he found it in the social gospel."[14] Together the progressive movement and the social gospel grew to become a powerful force in the battle against the national system.

From 1919 to 1921 all of the prairie provinces in Western Canada seemed to be starting on the same page. All were feeling the pressures as a result of the influences mentioned above. Moreover, similar complaints concerning traditional party politics, freight rates, bank charges or the protective tariffs, and similar responses to these concerns, chiefly in the form of new third parties, were common to all three prairie provinces during this period. However, this initial progressive drive throughout the prairies in the early 1920's led Manitoba politics on the national and provincial scene in a very different direction from the subsequent political development in either Saskatchewan and especially Alberta.[15]

In Alberta the United Farmers of Alberta (UFA) was the chief agrarian organization speaking out for reform in the province during the 1920's. Organized officially in 1909, the UFA was originally (as in other provinces) closely aligned with the Liberal party until it was first elected to power in 1921 and easily reelected for the next 14 years in Alberta on a record of policy innovation. Under the leadership of first

Herbert Greenfield and then J.E. Brownlee, the UFA's success throughout the 1920's grew from a commitment to the new cooperative, economic organizations the government had championed throughout the province. The establishment of a wheat pool which could judiciously deliver the member's wheat to the foreign markets was the major contribution, but it was quickly followed by similar organizations for livestock, dairy, eggs and poultry.[16] This success was matched by other victories over railway lines, freight rates and the transfer of Alberta's natural resources from the federal to the provincial government. Unfortunately, the years of successful progressive government under the UFA were tarnished by the effects of the Depression in the 1930's. This challenge led to the dramatic rise of a second incarnation of these agrarian ideals. The introduction of Social Credit in Alberta and its system of monetary reform, which advocated adjustment of the banking system and a reform of credit and interest policies, offered both an explanation of the troubling economic conditions and a program of social action with which to proceed.[17]

Similar to the situation in Alberta, farming organizations such as the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association (SGGA) were initially closely aligned to the provincial Liberal party in Saskatchewan. In Saskatchewan, the Liberals had made every effort to co-opt the agricultural movement working hard to recruit farm leaders into their cabinet as well as implementing many farm organization resolution into their platforms. When the political militancy of the farmers organization was at its peak in the early 1920's, the Liberals worked even harder to separate themselves from their federal counterparts. They even went as far as to drop the "Liberal" title from their party for the more acceptable "Government" label.[18] These Liberal party efforts proved too much for the farmers' party which was unable to break the hold of a Liberal government which had in effect become a pseudo-farmers' party. The Liberal Premier W.M. Martin shrewdly adopted as his own policies calling for the reestablishment of the Wheat Board and drew

several key figures from the Saskatchewan farmers' movement into his own Liberal Cabinet.[19] With no valid complaints against the Liberal government, there was no common objective around which the activist farmers could rally and consequently no platform or party organization was developed to the point of offering any legislative challenge to the Liberals.[20] As a result, the Liberals were reelected in 1921 and carried on, with only one interruption, for nearly 25 years, at the precise time when traditional parties in neighboring provinces were meeting defeat at the hands of organized agrarian movements. The government went on to deal with several major issues such as prohibition, demands for better roads and advances in health and welfare while still remaining sensitive to many farming issues and ultimately preparing the cooperative, agrarian, populist, radical base for the eventual rise of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) in that province.

A United Farmers' government was also elected in Manitoba in 1922. Bracken's election in Manitoba ended a brief period of activist, reform government initiated by T.C. Norris. Meanwhile, the governments elected in Alberta and Saskatchewan were allowed to carry on with the agrarian reform movement programs. Honest, efficient, economic, but non-interventionist government became the new touchstone of the administration in Manitoba after 1922. The farmers focused on reduced expenditures as well as trimming the civil service to combat the provincial debt and larger public service that had accumulated during the Norris years.[21] Refusing to stop at the mere restoration of provincial credit, Bracken continued the cuts into public works programs, health and welfare, education, and many of the various programs designed to assist the agricultural community. Even during the Depression years, Bracken refused to bend over his philosophy of limited government and business-like administration. High unemployment costs were met with even higher taxes while at the same time cutting unemployment relief schemes, civil service salaries and other basic services.[22] Nevertheless, in spite of

the harshness of many of these cuts, the non-partisan, rigid economy of the government was supported, either on its own or in the form of a number of coalition governments, by farmers and businessmen alike. This led to a perpetuation of the principle themes of the Bracken government, a phenomena dubbed "Brackenism", into the succeeding Garson and Campbell administrations. Spreading like a mould from one government to another, fiscal restraint and an extraordinary lack of legislative initiative became principle features of Manitoba governments right up until the late 1950's, leaving the province decades behind in terms of the social and economic experiments which had been allowed to bloom in Saskatchewan and Alberta.[23]

Possible explanations for this apparent discrepancy between the fate of Manitoba and the developments in Alberta or Saskatchewan are no doubt numerous. Yet, the 1920 - 1922 period may be proposed as the key moment of closure for agrarian politics in Manitoba and the formative years for the dogma of fiscal restraint and political conservatism which was to follow.

The basic historical question here may be simply to ask, what did happen? Why was one of the most liberal, progressive, reform oriented governments of its time faced with dwindling support by 1920 and eventual replacement by 1922? Why was party government so discredited in Manitoba, even though it seemed to deliver responsive, activist government and legislation inspired by the party's and indeed the province's grassroots?

By the same token, why did the Manitoba farmers' movement encourage the disintegration of a government which went a long way to live up to the tenets of agrarian politics and the entire farm reform movement, especially in light of the actions of the governments that follow, actions which seem to run completely contrary to the direction of the farmers movement in the other prairie provinces? How does one account for the weakening of radicalism and rural protest in Manitoba? Clearly, among other things, the

political landscape in Manitoba was undergoing some changes from 1920 to 1922. What follows is a discussion of just how politics in the province of Manitoba and the Manitoba farmers' movement itself changed.

The whole issue of populism and progressivism in Canadian and American history can be a rather slippery subject. In this study too, there is a tendency to lump together the terms populist and progressive or the phenomena of agrarian discontent and the revolt against partyism. Nevertheless, whether speaking of the national Progressive party movement or the rise of the UFA, UFC (SS), UFM or UFO, a common element is the fundamental movement that first appeared in Canada with the defeat of reciprocity in 1911 and that flourished during and after the Great War.

American historians such as Lawrence Goodwyn wrote of the powerful mechanism of mass recruitment known as the cooperative movement as the key development in the formation of the populist revolt in the United States. American farmers who joined the cooperatives also joined the political arm of the movement, (the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union) were educated in and subsequently powered a mass democratic movement which challenged the existing corporate state and indeed the very world we live in today.[24]

North of the 49th parallel, W.L. Morton defined the Canadian progressive movement as basically agrarian in character and

> an expression of the farmers' revolt against the old national party and its system of fiscal protection, and against post-war inflation, indebtedness caused by wartime expansion, and the return of the free market in wheat with the termination of the Wheat Board in 1920.[25]

Similarly, Paul Sharp referred to the progressive movement as the crystallization of the "western outlook," the doctrines of which "remained at the political bedrock of the prairies."[26] These doctrines or demands remained the same for the entire movement, emphasizing favorable marketing prices, social control of currency and credit and the

expansion of cooperative enterprises. Writing some years later, David Laycock examined the central issues concerning prairie people through the ideology of crypto-Liberalism. A disguised Liberalism, that broke least with the contemporary Liberal party ideology, crypto-Liberalism nevertheless remained chiefly concerned with the disadvantaged position of prairie producers in the national wheat economy.[27]

All of these definitions, whether mass cooperative movement, revolt against a national party system, crypto-Liberalism or the crystallization of a regional perspective, are concerned with the same agricultural movement. It is this movement with which this study is concerned, and with which the employment of these terms is concerned. However, unlike the previous works, the task here is to simply examine the Manitoba farmers' movement in light of its own composition and experiences rather than concentrate on this larger national and international populist phenomenon.

The method shall remain quite simple throughout. The study will focus on the candidates, the campaigns and the legislative record of the farmers' movement in Manitoba from 1920 to 1922. Who was responsible for the shift from partisan to non-partisan politics in Manitoba from 1920 to 1922? Who were the Manitoba populists? What were these people thinking of in terms of policy and governmental reform and what did they actually do once elected to the legislature in 1920?

Chapter One is primarily concerned with the players during this 1920-1922 period. In an attempt to identify who was responsible for the shift from partisan to non-partisan politics in Manitoba, a group biography of all 302 candidates from both the 1920 and 1922 provincial elections was constructed. These candidates provided a fairly representative, province wide group, whose names and political affiliations were well known and whose personal histories and thoughts on politics were potentially accessible. The primary objective here was a clarification of just who the populists were on the Manitoba political scene. Were the reformers the members of the UFM just as in the

other prairie provinces, or were they in fact members of the Manitoba Liberal party, as that party's legislative record from 1915 to 1920 would seem to suggest?

The second chapter contrasts the political divisions based on the candidate analysis, with the political ideas (either personal or those expressed in party policies and platforms) of this group of candidates in the campaigns of 1920 and 1922. Split into two parts, the chapter begins with a general look at the campaign platforms and strategies of each party for 1920 and 1922, and continues with a more detailed discussion on some of the outstanding issues and themes in a few key ridings which were central to the UFM victory in 1922. Once again, the goal here was to try and determine just which parties or candidates were actually preaching the populist rhetoric of the time.

The final chapter is an examination of the legislative measures sponsored by the farmers from 1920 to 1922 in the Manitoba legislature. Providing a broader context for the first two chapters, this final analysis reveals the partisan base of the populists in Manitoba politics and leads to some conclusions regarding the character of the Manitoba reform movement and the move from partisan to non-partisan government from 1920 to 1922.

Endnotes to Preface

[1]On Manitoba and the Norris government see W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957) pp.348-355. Lionel Orlikow, "The Reform Movement in Manitoba, 1910 - 1915," Historical Essays on the Prairie Provinces, Ed. Donald Swainson (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1970) p. 227. and James A. Jackson, The Centennial History of Manitoba (Winnipeg: Stovel-Advocate Press, 1970) pp. 189-193.

[2]James A. Jackson, The Centennial History of Manitoba (Winnipeg: Stovel-Advocate Press, 1970) p. 208.

[3]For a brief summary of the similarities between agrarian problems in the United States after the Civil War and what occurred in the Canadian West after 1900 see M.S. Donnelly, The Government of Manitoba (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963) p. 57.

[4]David Laycock, Populism and Democratic Thought in the Canadian Prairies, 1910-1945 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990) p. 24.

[5]Laycock p. 26.

[6]Laycock p. 25.

[7]Laycock p. 27.

[8]Barry Ferguson, Remaking Liberalism: The Intellectual Legacy of Adam Shortt, O.D. Skelton, W.C. Clark and W.A. Mackintosh, 1890-1925 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990) p. 187.

[9]Ferguson p. 190.

[10]Ferguson p. 194.

[11]Ferguson p. 207.

[12]Ferguson p. 207.

[13]Richard Allen, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-1928 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971) p. 3.

[14]Richard Allen, "The Social Gospel as the Religion of the Agrarian Revolt" The Prairie West Historical Readings Ed. Douglas Francis and Howard Palmer. (Edmonton: Pica Pica Press, 1992) p. 567.

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[15]On the Alberta-Manitoba division within Progressivism see John Herd Thompson with Allen Seager, Canada 1922-1939: Decades of Discord (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1985) pp.35-36.

[16]Carl F. Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921-1935" Society and Politics in Alberta: Research Papers, Ed. Carlo Caldarola (Toronto: Methuen, 1979) p. 22.

[17]C.B. Macpherson, Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962) pp. 144-145.

[18]John H. Archer, Saskatchewan: A History (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1980) p.191.

[19]Archer p. 191.

[20]David E. Smith, Prairie Liberalism: The Liberal Party in Saskatchewan 1905-71 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975) p. 67.

[21]John Kendle, John Bracken: A Political Biography (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979) p.38.

[22]Kendle p.110.

[23]Rand Dyck, Provincial Politics in Canada (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., 1986) p. 354.

[24]Lawrence Goodwyn, The Populist Moment: A Short History of the Agrarian Revolt in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978) pp. xx-xxi.

[25]W.L. Morton, The Progressive Party in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950) p. 268.

[26]Paul F. Sharp, The Agrarian Revolt in Western Canada: A Survey Showing American Parallels (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1948) p. 189.

[27]Laycock pp. 23 & 30

Chapter One

A Collective Biography of the Candidates From the 1920 and 1922 Manitoba Provincial Elections.

Can party policy provide an entry into the broad contexts of party politics, including membership, representation, and policy? Previous examinations of the Manitoba provincial elections of 1920 and 1922 were based on these types of analysis. But, such a limited approach to politics leads to potentially misleading conclusions. For example, were the United Farmers of Manitoba (UFM) strictly a farmers' party through and through in the early 1920's? The UFM campaign in 1920 had its foundations in the argument that, first, traditional parties could no longer be trusted, and therefore, second, only actual farmers could be relied upon to represent farmers' best interests. However, by 1922, business interests were rumored to have been solidly behind the UFM and its calls for rigid economy. If this was the case, did businessmen constitute a substantial portion of UFM support as well. Adding to this uncertainty, there were also allegations of a great deal of movement from one party to another. There were rumors of Labour sympathies with the UFM of the 1920's. There were also charges that both Liberals and Conservatives were attempting to secure for themselves the nomination of the farmer candidates or were trying to substitute their own nominees as farmer candidates. Were the boundaries between Liberals, Conservatives, Farmers, and Labour so easily crossed?

Only an analysis of the candidates, both elected and defeated, would reveal who was behind the party policies. The question is not whether a government's policy reflects its social makeup, but rather, do the characteristics of the candidates in general suggest

certain policy goals. If we find out who was making party policy, we find out more about who it was made for as well as why it was made.

From this example, it may be suggested that an examination of the backgrounds of the candidates in the 1920 and 1922 Manitoba elections are of some interest. Were Manitobans witnessing the rise of a new, more liberal, progressive type of politician in the early 1920's? Were the candidates for the UFM different from any traditional party candidates put forward in the past? Did the UFM really elect a government of farmers to make policy for farmers in 1922?

This opening chapter is primarily concerned with who the reformers were in 1920's Manitoba. Was the UFM of 1922 the embodiment of the populist wave which had appeared in Saskatchewan, Alberta and even earlier on the Great Plains of the United States? Was the populist spirit given its best definition by the Norris Liberals which boasted an impressive, progressive legislative record from 1915 to 1920? Who was responsible for the shift from partisan to non-partisan politics in Manitoba?

Unfortunately, some political movements cannot always be neatly studied within the artificial political labels of Liberalism, Conservatism and Farmer or Labour politics. As a result, this chapter looks at the entire group of all 302 provincial candidates in both the 1920 and 1922 provincial elections on a very fundamental level, carefully breaking down the election results, recruiting of candidate and party identification of all the candidates along with the more traditional focus on occupation, education, previous political experience, birthplace, religion, age, and sex.

This preoccupation with structure rather than events or ideological or partisan labels is chiefly inspired by the British historian Lewis Namier. Namier's analytical history focused on the casual connections in history rather that the large all embracing explanations of historical events. For example, in the Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III, Namier studied the connection between the English Parliament

and the self interests of the members of Parliament. In his work Namier always "attributed the causes of men's actions... to something besides their professed motives... to something beyond the mind and its ideas."[1] He perfected his methods by going beyond the public records into private papers and diaries, recording just the facts and leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions.[2] One of his best justifications for his approach of analyzing the British House of Commons from the angle of purpose appears in The Structure of Politics where Namier wrote,

> Here is an ant-heap, with the human ants hurrying in long files along their various paths; their joint achievement does not concern us, nor the changes which supervene in their community, only the pathetically intent, seemingly self-conscious running of individuals along beaten tracks.[3]

Namier's approach took nothing for granted. Basing his research on grassroots politics he asked questions such as why did members enter politics, why did they act a certain way and what did they get out of politics?

Although Canadian followers of Namier are few, J.K. Johnson and Paul Cornell have used Namier's method. As a result, even if not widely applauded, this approach has led to reconsideration of the characteristics of party politics and electioneering that challenges many myths about the emergence of parties, the extension of the franchise and the shift to national issues. Johnson examined personal and public collective profiles to examine the fundamental building blocks on the road to a career of political prominence in early 19th century Canada.[4]

In The Pre-Confederation Premiers: Ontario Government Leaders, 1841-1867, J.M.S. Careless was also influenced by "Namierization" in this study of the evolution of the office of the Ontario premiership long before it was constitutionally proclaimed at Confederation. The Study focuses on the government leaders of pre-Confederation Ontario in the years from 1841 to 1867, but also looks well back beyond this period in order to explain the development of their careers, the forces which shaped them, and

how they in turn shaped the role of the premier in Ontario. Moreover, the study also occasionally considers the specific political and sometimes personal motivations for the premiers' actions.[5] The data in this study should shed some light on trends or collective characteristics which could be applied to populist influences in Manitoba and help to answer the key questions of who were the Manitoba populists in the early 1920's.

1. Election Results

Even the most cursory examination of the Manitoba election results for 1920 and 1922 reveals a significant shift in the performance of the main parties. While this was not unusual for any election, its significance lies in the fact that this new political force would emerge to control Manitoba politics for the next 30 years. The total number of candidates and seats won for each party in both 1920 and 1922 is shown in Table 1. There was a total of 147 candidates in 1920 and 155 in 1922. The most important numbers as far as the parameters of these two elections were concerned involved the Liberals and the UFM. In 1920 the Liberals nominated over one third of the total field of candidates from all parties. A total of 51 Liberal candidates ran throughout the province electing 21 of that number. At the same time, the United Farmers of Manitoba, which was just beginning to toy with the idea of entering politics and up until 1922 would only give conditional recognition to the entry of its locals into provincial politics, nominated 23 candidates and elected 12.[6] By 1922, the fortunes of these two parties had undergone a dramatic reversal. The Liberals nominated only 39 and elected only eight candidates in 1922. Meanwhile, the newly formed UFM had vaulted up to 50 candidates nominated and 28 elected. This shift in support was a difficult one to explain. Looking at the politics of the two parties revealed two groups equally aware of the importance of the role of agriculture within the Manitoba economy. Setting the politics aside for the

moment revealed essentially two parties vying for the one demographic gold mine of agricultural support. Why did one prevail over the other? Was it simply a matter of the farmers following the instructions of the UFM and loyally electing farmers to represent farmers. While it seemed logical to assume that the UFM support came from primarily one economic or socio/political group, it would have been naive to discount significant contributions from other areas. From where were the Farmers drawing their support?

Table 1

Number of Candidates Nominated and Elected by the Parties in 1920 and 1922

	1915	1920		1922	
Party	Elected	Number of Candidates	Elected	Number of Candidates	Elected
Liberal	42	51	21	39	8
Farmer (1)		23	12	50	28
Labour	1	14	11	19	6
Conservative	2	29	7	26	7
Independent	3	28	4	21	6
Socialist		2			
Acclamations			3		
Vacant	1				
Totals	49	147	55	155	55

(1) Included in the total number of UFM candidates for 1922 was G.H. Palmer who ran in 1920 as a Labour Candidate but in 1922 ran as the only candidate labeling himself as a Progressive.

Source: See the Canadian Parliamentary Guide 1915, 1920 and 1922 for a complete list of the candidates and results in the 1920 and 1922 Manitoba provincial elections and Appendix 1 and 2 for the lists of successful candidates following the Manitoba provincial elections of 1920 and 1922.

The election results listed in Table 1 seem to indicate that the UFM's chief source of support among the electorate were disaffected supporters of the Liberal party. Only the Liberals and the UFM experienced the great discrepancies in their numbers of

nominees and elected candidates from 1920 to 1922. All the other parties numbers were fairly consistent over these two years. If this was the case, did this loss of support among the general populace also translate into a direct loss of Liberal candidates into the ranks of the UFM?

2. Recruiting Candidates

From 1920 to 1922, the total number of Liberals that were first-time candidates in a Manitoba election increased from 10 to 17 while their total number of candidates decreased from 51 to 39.

Table 2

Numerical and Percentage Distribution of Candidates Who Ran in Only the 1920 or the 1922 Elections by Party

Party	Only in 1920	# of Candidates in 1920	Only in 1922	# of Candidates in 1922	Total for 1920 and 1922	% of Total Party Candidates in 1920	% of Total Party Candidates in 1922
Liberal	10	51	17	39	27	19.6	43.5
Farmer/UFM	14	23	21	50	35	60.8	42
Labour	5	14	8	19	13	35.7	42.1
Conservative	9	29	13	26	22	31	50
Independent	16	28	11	21	27	57.1	52.3
Socialist		2					

Source: The biographical data presented in all of these tables, unless indicated otherwise, was compiled from a number of different sources including the Canadian Parliamentary Guide, the Manitoba Scrapbooks and Manitoba Political Scrapbooks of the Legislative Library, a number of local histories as well as local newspapers including the Manitoba Free Press, The Brandon Daily Sun, The Banner (Russell), The Herald (Morris), the Swan River Star, The Pas Herald, The Eyewitness (Birtle), the Weekly Manitoba Lib. (Portage La Prairie), The Farmers Advocate, The Northender and The St. James Leader.

The percentages in Table 2 clearly demonstrate a decline in the number of experienced Liberal candidates from 1920 to 1922. In 1920, 19.6 percent of the Liberals were first time candidates. By 1922, this number had risen to 43.5 percent. The Conservatives had experienced the same loss of support among their own ranks, although on a much smaller scale from what the Liberals encountered. In 1920, 31 percent of the Conservatives running were first time candidates. By 1922 this number had risen to 50 percent. Labour candidates also experienced a minor increase in their number of first-time candidates from 35 to 42 percent from 1920 to 1922.

The main story as far as first-time candidates were concerned was with the Farmer and Independent candidates. From 1920 to 1922, the number of Farmer candidates increased from 23 to 50. These numbers were matched by an increase in first-time candidates from 14 in 1920 to 21 in 1922. However, the percentages revealed that the number of first-time candidates actually decreased from 60.8 percent 1920 to 42 percent in 1922. Many of the 27 new candidates to join the Farmers' movement had prior political experience. Taken as a group, the Independent candidates may also have benefitted slightly from the exodus of candidates from the Liberal party. While the number of total Independent candidates decreased from 28 to 21 between 1920 and 1922, the percentage of first-time candidates also dropped significantly from 57.1 percent to 52.3 percent. Where do these experienced candidates come from? Judging from the number of candidates alone it appears that the Farmers in particular benefitted greatly from the Liberal's political troubles with the addition of experienced candidates to their roster.

The distribution of candidates who ran in only the 1920 or 1922 elections hints at a great deal of movement of candidates among the established parties and especially between the Liberals and the Farmers. However, the huge influx of candidates into the UFM ranks in 1922 was not simply a result of Liberal members slipping into the ranks of

the Farmers' party. In fact, only two of the Liberal members of 1920 ran in the 1922 election under a banner other than that of the Liberal party, and neither of these two candidates were supporters of the UFM.

Nevertheless, the trend of movement away from the traditional parties was unmistakable. Table 3 clearly showed that in the 1914 Manitoba election, the Liberals and Conservatives combined, ran 94 out of a total field of 103 candidates and together claimed 89.4 percent of the popular vote. In 1915 they still had a solid hold on the Manitoba electorate running 90 of 97 candidates for 87.1 percent of the popular vote. By 1920, the Liberals and Conservatives were in serious trouble managing only 80 out of 147 candidates in 1920 and only 65 out of 155 in 1922. Their percentage of popular votes declined steadily from the 87 percent in 1915 to 53 percent in 1920, 39.5 percent in 1922 and remained below 50 percent until the formation of the Liberal-Progressive party in 1932 and the temporary revival of the Conservative party which lasted until the formation of the Union Government of 1941.

Table 3

The Number of Candidates, Seats Won, and Percentage of Popular Vote, by Party for the Elections of 1914, 1915, 1920 and 1922

	1914			1915			1920			1922		
Party	Candidates	Seats Won	% of Popular Vote	Candidates	Seats Won	% of Popular Vote	Candidates	Seats Won	% of Popular Vote	Candidates	Seats Won	% of Popular Vote
Liberal	45	20	42.8	44	39	54.1	52	21	35.9	38	8	23
Conservative	49	28	46.6	46	5	33	28	7	16.9	27	7	16.5
Socialist	4		4	2		2.6	4	1	3.3	6		2
Labour	3	1	6.3				14	10	17.8	14	6	14
Independent	2		0.4				24	4	10.6	20	6	11.7
Labour, Liberal and Independent				7	3	10.3						
Farmer							25	12	15.8			
UFM										50	28	32.8
Totals	103			97			147			155		
Liberal and Conservative Totals	94			90			80			65		

Source: Larry John Fisk, "Controversy on the Prairies: Issues in the General Provincial Elections of Manitoba 1870-1969," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1976. pp. 285, 311, 335 and 265.

While it may have been simply the result of sheer numbers, the Liberals appeared to fair far better, in terms of retaining their seasoned candidates, than any other party from 1920 to 1922. Table 4 showed 15 Liberals ran in both the 1920 and 1922 elections compared with only nine for the Conservatives, five for Labour, five for the Farmers and three for the Independents. Incumbents, such as these 15 Liberal members, would naturally have felt fairly secure with their party and likely would have regarded changing party allegiance at this point as nothing less than political suicide. However, beyond the Liberals and Conservatives, movement from one party to another on the whole was a more or less effortless and balanced affair. While the Independents lost four candidates from 1920 to 1922 to the United Farmers of Manitoba and Labour Parties, they gained five from the Liberals, Independents and Socialists. The Farmers also lost one candidate each to the Liberals and Independents, but gained five from the Conservatives, Independents and Labour. The exception lay with the Conservative party which could claim no converts from 1920 to 1922. The Liberals did little better, only managing to coax one member from another party into their fold.

Table 4

Candidate Movement From One Party to Another: Number of Candidates Lost, Remaining, and Gained by Each Party From 1920 to 1922

Party	Candidates Lost to Another Party	Candidates Which Remained in the Same Party for Both Elections	Candidates Gained From Another Party
Liberal	2	15	1
Farmer	2	5	5
Labour	2	5	4
Conservative	3	9	
Independent	4	3	5
Socialist	2		

3. Multiple-Party Identification

The Liberals and Conservatives must have been aware of these trends, since they appear to have tried to rectify the situation by trying to cash in on the wave of support for slightly more radical candidates with less respect for the restrictions of the traditional parties. Out of the 147 candidates running in the 1920 Manitoba election, 25 were found to have ties to more than one party (see Table 5).

Table 5

Candidates With Ties to More Than One Political Party for 1920 and 1922

	1920		1922	
Party	Elected	Defeated	Elected	Defeated
Liberal	1	2		1
Farmer/UFM		3	4	2
Labour	1	2	3	1
Conservative		2		
Independent	6	7	1	
Socialist	1			
Totals	9	16	8	4
Totals With Ties Elected and Defeated	25		12	
Total Number of Candidates in 1920 and 1922	145		153	

The majority of these, (13), were registered as Independent candidates but also had ties to one of the more traditional parties. By 1922, only 12 out of 155 candidates were

connected to more than one party. Out of these 12 candidates, six were UFM candidates who had ties to another party.

Taken all together, from 1920 to 1922, the total of 37 candidates with affiliations to more than one party could be divided up a number of different ways. For 16 of the 37 candidates, there was evidence that showed they were either Liberal or Conservative, candidates or organizers, who registered in this election under another title, with varying degrees of allegiance to the Liberal or Conservative Party. The chairman of the Conservative Association of Manitoba at the time was a Winnipeg lawyer and long-time Conservative party organizer by the name of R.A.C. Manning. Manning's constituency files contain limited correspondence with a number of Liberal candidates or party organizers in various constituencies who were registered as Independent candidates in the elections of 1920 and 1922. For example, R.J. Dalglish was registered as an Independent candidate in 1920 in the constituency of Gilbert Plains. However, Dalglish kept in close contact with Manning in order to acquire copies of the Gilbert Plains voters' lists as well as to express how anxious he was to have the Conservative leader speak in his constituency "in order to get things going in our Liberal opposition's home".[7] In the constituency of Gladstone, the Conservative Chairman of the Gladstone constituency, Ashberry Singleton wrote to Manning to report that failing to nominate a Conservative candidate in the constituency, the party had done the next best thing by placing an Independent candidate in the field. Singleton went on to explain the local Conservatives were "giving him our support and would be pleased to have you furnish us with all the literature you have that has any bearing on the present provincial campaign".[8] In the constituency of Russell, Manning also kept in touch with the local Conservative organizer A.S. Lannigan. Lannigan also ran as an Independent in the 1920 election race in Russell and Manning wrote that

> I was greatly pleased that you were nominated for candidate for Russell and I have no doubt that Russell will now be redeemed by the Conservative party.[9]

For many of these disguised Liberal or Conservative candidates, the reasons for running under the banner of another party are unknown. For example, in 1920 E.K. Dugard was a Conservative who was registered as a Farmer candidate in the Springfield constituency.[10] On the other hand, in the Arthur constituency campaign, D.L. McLeod was registered as a Conservative on the ballots, but was billed in local histories as a Farmer candidate. Oliver Calverley was a Conservative candidate for Fairford who had registered as an Independent.[11] Albert Lannigan and Fred J. Last were both Conservative organizers in their respective constituencies of Russell and Morris. However, both registered as Independents in the election.[12] E.B. Fisher, R.A. Knight and W.J. Harrington were also each Conservative party organizers who did not run under the Conservative party banner. Fisher was a Winnipeg lawyer and Conservative party organizer who ran as an independent in 1920, offering only the comment that he was a candidate "who seeks...[the Conservative party's] success along legitimate lines."[13] Other candidates were much more frank about their motives for switching parties or at least conducting their campaigns under the guise of another party's principles. Neil Thomas Carey along with J.H. Gislason and David S. Lyon were all Liberal candidates opposed to the Norris government in the 1920 election. Each claimed to be pledged to economy in government and an adjustment of the tax burden while condemning Norris for his reckless extravagance.[14] Robert J. Dalglish of Gilbert Plains tried to explain his stand as an independent supporter of the Conservative party by arguing "I am free from all ties but have the backing of a safe, strong party on a safe and definite program."[15] C.H. Forrester was a Winnipeg businessman and former candidate for mayor who was a long-time Conservative running as an Independent. He offered the following testimonial to his fellow constituents in the hopes of explaining his change of heart.

> I am what is termed a Liberal-Conservative and I am not going before my fellow citizens in any other disguise other than that I am still a Conservative, and will not be monkey-wrenched to give up my convictions and forced to subordination at the dictation of cliques and groups, which by their influence have betrayed the political parties of the past, and by their power have created a spirit of terrorism in the minds of electors.[16]

Brigadier General James Kirkaldy of Brandon was another Conservative candidate who claimed Independent status in the 1920 provincial election. In one of the more unusual campaign manoeuvres featured in the 1920 contest, Kirkaldy had offered to step out of the race for the Brandon seat in favor of an acceptable Liberal candidate if only the incumbent Liberal candidate S. E. Clement would do the same.[17] At the time, Clement was enduring heavy criticism for his inability to garner a cabinet seat, which many Brandon voters felt was essential to adequately represent his constituents. Nevertheless, Clement declined the offer and Kirkaldy's challenge ended in splitting the Liberal and Conservative vote in favor of the Labour candidate and future leader of the Canadian Labour Party, Albert E. Smith.

Were these examples evidence of the Liberals and Conservatives deliberately working both sides of the street? Were the actions of these loose cannons part of a deliberate party policy to try and gather seats under whatever means necessary, or was it nothing more than merely a shift in the candidates' professed title? Was the populist philosophy beginning to rub off on these people, leading them to split with their party over principle? Whatever the answer to these questions, the numbers clearly showed that the benefits to the Liberals and Conservatives were nonexistent. Moreover, it was also clear from these results that the UFM success in 1922 was not simply a case of stealing candidates from the traditional parties. One must look elsewhere to uncover who the Manitoba Progressives were in the 1920's. Further clues to the exact makeup of the new additions to the ranks of the UFM are available through a look at their occupational background.

4. Occupations

A quick glance at the occupations of the candidates for the elections of 1920 and 1922 shows that Manitoba farmers were far from under-represented in either election. Tables 6 and 7 show 33 candidates in 1920 and 1922 listed an occupation in the agricultural field. Members with a farming background laid claim to 13 out of 55 seats in 1920 (23.6 percent) and 23 out of 55 in 1922 (41.8 percent).

Table 6
Occupations of Elected and Defeated Candidates for 1920

Occupations	Liberal			UFM			Labour			Cons.			Indep.			Socialist			Total		
	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL
Professional																					
Law	3	6	9	1		1				4		4		2	2				8	8	16
Medicine/Dentistry	2	3	5							1	1	2		2	2				3	6	9
Engineer														1	1					1	1
Education							1	1	2				1		1				2	1	3
Total	5	10	15	1		1	1	1	2	5	1	6	1	5	6				13	17	30
Business																					
Company Director	2	1	3				1		1		1	1	2		2				5	2	7
Insurance and Real Estate	1	4	5				1		1		2	2		2	2				2	8	10
Merchant	5	2	7		1	1				1	2	3							6	5	11
Total	8	8	16		1	1	2		2	1	4	5	2	1	3				13	14	27
Agriculture	5	4	9	5	7	12				3	6	9		3	3				13	20	33
Other																					
Politics	1		1											1	1	1		1	2	1	3
Civil Service				1	1	2		1	1		1	1							1	3	4
Journalism	1		1				1		1										2		2
Accountant																					
Soldier		1	1								2	2								3	3
Minister							1		1										1		1
Vetrinary Medicine																					
Total	2	1	3	1	1	2	2	1	3		3	3		1	1	1		1	6	7	13
Labourer	1	2	3				2	3	5		1	1				1		1	4	6	10
No Information		7	7	2	5	7	1	1	2		4	4	3	11	14				6	28	34
Grand Total	21	30	51	9	14	23	8	6	14	9	20	29	6	22	28	2		2	55	92	147

Voters had sent a clear message that farmers should represent farmers in an agricultural province such as Manitoba. Table 8 showed that by 1922 Manitoba farmers were well

represented in provincial elections and within the Manitoba legislature itself. Constituting only 14 percent of the total Manitoba population in 1920, Manitoba farmers made up 22.4 percent of the field of total candidates and 23.6 percent of the legislative members. By 1922 this already strong representation was improved upon further as farmers made up 21.2 percent of the field of candidates and a whopping 41.8 percent of the members in the legislature. Without question, the agricultural occupational group outdistanced all other occupational groupings in 1920 and 1922.

While having a farming background was a definite advantage for any candidate regardless of his political leanings, a candidate with a profession behind him could definitely expect to encounter some problems.

The only other occupation approaching the success of the farmers was law,

Table 7
Occupations of Elected and Defeated Candidates for 1922

Occupations	Liberal			UFM			Labour			Cons.			Indep.			Socialist			Total		
	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL
Professional																					
Law	1	5	6	1	1	2				2	2	4	2	1	3				6	9	15
Medicine/Dentistry		3	3								2	2	1	1	2				1	6	7
Engineer		1	1																	1	1
Education				2	2	4	2		2				1		1				5	2	7
Total	1	9	10	3	3	6	2		2	2	4	6	4	2	6				12	18	30
Business																					
Company Director		1	1	2	1	3	1		1										3	2	5
Insurance and Real Estate	1	2	3	1		1		1	1				1		1				3	3	6
Merchant		1	1	1		1				1		1	1	1	2				3	2	5
Total	1	4	5	4	1	5	1	1	2	1		1	2	1	3				9	7	16
Agriculture	4	3	7	16	2	18		1	1	3	4	7							23	10	33
Other																					
Politics	1	1	2				1		1										2	1	3
Civil Service		2	2		1	1														3	3
Journalism		2	2		2	2	1		1	1		1							2	4	6
Vetrinarian											1	1								1	1
Accountant							1		1										1		1
Minister								1	1											1	1
Total	1	5	6		3	3	3	1	4	1	1	2							5	10	15
Labourer								4	4											4	4
No Information	1	10	11	5	13	18		6	6		10	10		12	12				6	51	57
Grand Total	8	31	39	28	22	50	6	13	19	7	19	26	6	15	21				55	100	155

Table 8

Distribution of the Major Occupations of Manitoba's Elected and Defeated Candidates for 1920 and 1922

	Elected				Elected and Defeated				Manitoba	
	1920		1922		1920		1922		1921	
Occupations	#	% (2)	#	% (2)	#	% (3)	#	% (4)	# (1)	% (5)
Professional										
Law	8	14.5	6	10.9	16	10.8	15	9.67	865	0.14
Medicine/ Dentistry	3	5.4	1	1.8	9	6.1	7	4.5	774	0.126
Engineer					1	0.68	1	0.64	759	0.12
Education	2	3.6	5	9	3	2	7	4.5	4,515	0.74
Total	13	23.5	12	21.7	30	20.4	30	19.3	6,913	1.13
Business										
Company Director	5	9	3	5.4	7	4.7	5	3.2		
Insurance and Real Estate	2	3.6	3	5.4	10	6.8	6	3.8	2,828	0.46
Merchant	6	10.9	3	5.4	11	7.4	5	3.2	6,936	1.13
Total	13	23.5	9	16.2	27	18.3	16	10.3	9,764	1.6
Agriculture	13	23.6	23	41.8	33	22.4	33	21.2	86,908	14.24
Other										
Politics (6)	2	3.6	2	3.6	3	2	3	1.9	70	0.014
Civil Service	1	1.8			4	2.7	3	1.9	6,533	1.07
Journalism	2	3.6	2	3.6	2	1.3	6	3.8	166	0.027
Vetrinarian							1	0.64	113	0.027
Accountant			1	1.8			1	0.64	166	0.091
Soldier					3	2			559	0.118
Minister	1	1.8			1	0.68	1	0.64	720	0.018
Total	6	10.8	5	9	13	8.8	15	9.67	8,327	1.36
Labourer (7)	4	7.2			10	6.8	4	2.5	21,538	3.53
No Information	6	10.9	6	10.9	34	23.1	57	36.7		
Grand Total	55		55		147		155		158454	25.97

(1)Census of Canada, 1921 Vol. IV, Occupations (Ottawa: F.A. Acland Printer to the King's most excellent majesty, 1929) Table 4, pp. 242-270.

(2)Percentage calculated out of a total of 55 members of the legislative assembly.

(3)Percentage calculated out of 147 candidates in the 1920 provincial election.

(4)Percentage calculated out of 155 candidates in the 1922 provincial election.

(5)Manitoba's total population in 1921 was 610,118. Census of Canada, 1921.

(6)The numerical total for Manitoban's engaged in politics as an occupation includes 55 members of the Manitoba Legislative Assembly and 15 members of the Canadian Parliament.

(7)The total of labourers in Manitoba for 1921 is a select number including only those listed as labourers under agriculture (17,242), manufacturing (21,538), and construction (1316) in the Census of Canada, 1921 pp. 754-766.

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running a very distant second with a total of 16 candidates in 1920 and 15 in 1922. However, this was a bitter sweet victory for Manitoba lawyers or any Manitoba professionals. In reality the number of professionals elected from 1920 to 1922 declined. The eight lawyers elected in 1920 were reduced to six in 1922. Three from the field of medicine and dentistry in 1920 dropped to one in 1922. The one exception here lies in the education profession. Candidates with a background in education had their numbers (and their spirits) lifted as more educators who had chosen to pursue elected office were rewarded with greater electoral success at the polls. All the other professions listed in Table 6 & 7 experienced a decline in representation from 1920 to 1922. Table 8 shows how the percentage of lawyers running from 1920 to 1922 dropped from 10.8 to 9.67. The number of physicians and dentists declined from 6.1 percent to 4.5 percent and engineers also experienced a very minor drop from 0.68 percent to 0.64 percent.

While more farmers were finding greater electoral success and fewer professionals were suffering more defeats, the business sector representation was routed from 1920 to 1922. Manitoba's business community may have been a strong supporter of the idea of

farmers in government, but their support was in no way based upon the presence of a large percentage of declared businessmen within the UFM itself. The total number of candidates with a business background while on par with agriculture and the professions at 18.3 percent in 1920, experienced a drastic drop to 10.3 percent in 1922. The number of candidates dropped in each category of the business group striking company directors, insurance and real estate men and merchants alike, leaving all of these candidates with fewer victories at the polls.

The "other" occupational group included career politicians, civil servants, journalists, labourers, career soldiers and ministers. The numbers in this group, like that of the professions, were fairly uniform as well. From 1920 to 1922 the total percentage of the candidates listed as "others" in the occupational groupings increased only slightly from 8.8 percent to 9.67 percent.

The candidates who laboured for a living also deserve a few extra words before concluding these general remarks on the occupational makeup of Manitoba electoral candidates. The percentage of labouring candidates, no matter how one tabulated the population of labourers in Manitoba, did not even approach the success of the farmers in 1920 or 1922. The census of 1921 categorized labour in such a way as to make it difficult to get a grand total of all labourers from all occupations. However, if the number of labourers from only the agricultural, manufacturing and construction categories are used, labourers numbered 21,538 or 3.5 percent of the total working population (see Table 8, "Labourers"). However, in 1920 only ten candidates (four of which were elected) had labour backgrounds, and in 1922 only four candidates had a labour background, but none were elected to the legislature.

In breaking the occupational groups down according to political party affiliation, it became clear that the Farmers' party was hardly solely responsible for farmer representation in the legislature, or among candidates. Tables 6 and 7 show that all of

the parties taken together in 1920 nominated 33 and elected 13 candidates with backgrounds in agriculture. The Farmers on their own nominated 12 and succeeded in electing five in 1920. However, the Liberals and Conservatives taken together nominated a total of 18 and elected eight candidates with farm backgrounds. The nine Liberals with farming backgrounds as a group in that party equalled the nine lawyers nominated from the Liberals' professional class. In any case, the traditional parties nominated more than half of the 33 candidates with a farming background and elected more than half of the total 13 farmer representatives in the legislature of 1920.

However, by 1922, the UFM would take over control of farmer representation in Manitoba. A total of 23 out of 33 candidates with a farm background were elected by all the parties in 1922. The UFM counted for 18 of these nominations and 16 of those elected. The traditional parties managed to elect the seven remaining farmer candidates in 1922. Clearly, candidates with farming backgrounds in 1922 had looked beyond the traditional parties for political representation, and particularly towards the UFM. The numbers in the professional ranks also suggest a similar shift in support, although on a much smaller scale. In 1920, the traditional parties had a lock on professional representation in the Manitoba legislature. A total of 13 out of a field of 30 professional candidates were elected in 1920. The traditional parties elected 10 out of their own pool of 21 candidates. The next closest for comparison were the independents, electing one of six, Labour electing one of two, and Farmers electing one of one. By 1922 the traditional parties' grip over the professional classes had begun to weaken. Tables 6 and 7 show the totals of nominated and elected candidates changed only by one in 1922, to 30 and 12 respectively. However, the UFM, Independents and the Labour party all benefitted from the professional classes at the expense of the Liberal party. The Conservatives once again nominated six professionals in 1922, but only two were elected. The Liberal party claimed only one seat out of a greatly reduced pool of ten

candidates. By contrast, the Independents elected four out of six, Labour two out of two, and the Farmers elected three out of six. Coincidentally, four of the UFM candidates in 1922 had backgrounds in education, and as was already shown, education was the only professional category which experienced any success gathering or electing candidates in the professional classes.

The traditional parties also lost a great deal of support from the business classes from 1920 to 1922. Tables 6 and 7 show that in 1920, 13 candidates with backgrounds in business were elected out of a field of 27. The Liberals and Conservatives together elected nine of these candidates out of their total of 21, with Labour and Independents responsible for two candidate elections each. By 1922 the representation of the business class had changed completely. Nine business representatives were elected out of a total of 16. However, the UFM and the Independents were responsible for six of the elections. The traditional parties only managed two elections after they lost 15 candidates, leaving only six to choose from in their field of business representatives.

In general terms, the differences between the parties in terms of occupational backgrounds were very small. However, there were some important exceptions to this rule. To begin with, the appeal of the Farmers' party to occupational groups other than agriculture was very limited in 1920. The Farmers had a total of 23 candidates in the election of 1920. Out of the 16 candidates for which there was information concerning their occupation, 12 had backgrounds in farming, two belonged to the civil service, and there was one merchant and one lawyer. Out of 16 occupational categories listed in Table 6, all of the Farmer candidates fit into four categories and 12 remained with no entries. This number was higher for the farmers than any other party in 1920. The Liberals had six occupational categories with no entry, Conservatives seven, Labour eight, and Independents eight. In fact, the Farmers had almost no representation in the professions or business classes at all (one merchant and one lawyer). Clearly they

nominated farmers to represent farmers and this was the basis of their political strength up to 1920.

By 1922, The UFM had a little more occupational breadth before it again turned to the electorate. This time only seven out of 15 occupational categories remained vacant. Instead of two, the UFM had 11 candidates running from the professions and business circles. However, at the same time, the other parties, particularly the Independent group and the Conservatives were beginning to thin out to the point of losing the representation of entire occupational groups. In 1922, the Liberals had five occupational categories out of 15 with no entry, Labour six, Conservatives 9 and Independents 10.

Strong agricultural support was essential for any legitimate political party in Manitoba during the 1920's. Obeying this simple guideline, the Liberal, Conservative and Farmer parties always fielded healthy slates of candidates with strong backgrounds in agriculture. However, the UFM's electoral success in 1922 could at least receive partial explanation from the party's new-found ability to draw support from a broader field of occupational categories. This broader appeal was no doubt aided by the disintegration of the appeal of the traditional parties among the professions and business. In other words, they too jumped political ships.

5. Educational Levels

While the livelihood of many of the UFM's new recruits in 1922 was in some way linked to the field of agriculture, these candidates were not political neophytes, nor did they suffer from a lack of education or political experience. The drain on the traditional parties from the fields of agriculture, the professions and the business sector also translated into an intellectual drain, this time primarily on the Liberal party itself as seen in Tables 9 and 10.

Table 9

Formal Education of Elected and Defeated Candidates by Party for 1920

Education	Liberal			UFM			Labour			Conservative			Independent			Socialist			All Party Totals		
	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL
Primary	6	5	11	2	1	3	2		2	1	6	7	2	2	4	2		2	15	14	29
Secondary	6	2	8	1	1	2				1	2	3	1		1				9	5	14
University	8	11	19	2		2	4	1	5	5	3	8	2	4	6				21	19	40
Totals	20	20	40	5	2	7	6	1	7	7	9	18	5	5	10	2		2	45	37	82
Nil	1	1	2	1	5	6		1	1	2		2		4	4				4	11	15
No Information		11	11	3	7	10	2	4	6		9	9	1	12	13				6	43	49
Grand Total	21	30	51	9	14	23	8	6	14	9	20	29	6	22	28	2		2	55	92	147

Table 10

Formal Education of Elected and Defeated Candidates by Party for 1922

Education	Liberal			UFM			Labour			Conservative			Independent			Socialist			All Party Totals		
	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL
Primary	2	4	6	8	3	11	2	2	4	1		1	1		1				14	9	23
Secondary	2	5	7	3	1	4	1		1				1		1				7	6	13
University	1	9	10	8	4	12	2	2	4	5	5	10	4	3	7				20	23	43
Totals	5	18	23	19	9	28	5	3	8	6	5	11	6	3	9				41	38	79
Nil	2	1	3	3	1	4		1	1	1	2	3		1	1				6	6	12
No Information	1	12	13	6	13	19	1	8	9		12	12		11	11				8	56	64
Grand Total	8	31	39	28	22	50	6	13	19	7	19	26	6	15	21				55	100	155

In 1920, the Liberal party had a greater number of university-educated candidates than any other party in the province at a time when such education was limited to less than five percent of the population. Table 11 showed that in 1920, while the Liberals both numerically and proportionately had the greatest number of university-educated candidates, only one party was found to be at a serious disadvantage by comparison. In 1920, only 8.3 percent or two out of 23 Farmer candidates had any university training.

These figure contrasted with the 37.2 percent in the Liberal party, 35.7 percent for Labour, 29.6 percent for the Conservatives, or even 23 percent among the Independents.

Table 11

Numerical, Percentage and Elected Distribution of University Educated Candidates by Party for 1920 and 1922

	1920				1922			
Party	Total Number of Candidates in each Party	Number of Candidates with University	% of Candidates with University	Number Elected with University	Total Number of Candidates in each Party	Number of Candidates with University	% of Candidates with University	Number Elected with University
Liberal	51	19	37.2	8	39	10	26.3	1
Farmer	23	2	8.3	2	50	12	23.5	8
Labour	14	5	35.7	4	19	4	22.2	2
Conservative	29	8	29.6	5	26	10	38.4	5
Independent	28	6	23	2	21	7	35	4
Socialist	2							

When the educational variables were broadened so as to include primary, secondary and university education, the outlook for the Farmers' party was even more disturbing. Table 12 showed that 38 of the 51 Liberal candidates in 1920 had some experience with formal education, working out to nearly 75 percent. The Conservatives came closest to challenging this standard with 62 percent, then Labour at 50 percent, Independents at 39.2 percent and finally the Farmers with only 29.1 percent.

By 1922, the discrepancy in education experience between the Liberals and the UFM was almost completely erased. The Liberal were only able to field half as many university-educated candidates as they had two years earlier (Table 11). However, the UFM had increased its number of university-educated candidates to 12 out of a field of 50, or 23.5 percent. The Labour candidates taken as a group were the only other group beyond the Liberals to lose support from its university-educated supporters. In 1922, Labour only filed four out of 19 candidates with university training or 22.2 percent,

down from 35.7 percent two years earlier. All other parties experienced very healthy increases. Like the UFM, the Conservatives nominated 10 of 26 candidates (38.4 percent) with university education, and even the Independent group benefitted with seven out of 21 or 35 percent of their numbers with a university background.

Table 12

Numerical, Percentage and Elected Distribution of Formally Educated Candidates by Party for 1920 and 1922

	1920				1922			
Party	Total Number of Candidates for each Party	Number with any Formal Education, Primary, Secondary or University	Percent	Number Elected	Total Number of Candidates for each Party	Number with any Formal Education, Primary, Secondary or University	Percent	Number Elected
Liberal	51	38	74.5	20	39	23	60.5	5
Farmer	23	7	29.1	5	50	27	54	19
Labour	14	7	50	6	19	9	47.3	5
Conservative	29	18	62	7	26	11	42.3	6
Independent	28	11	39.2	5	21	9	45	6
Socialist	2							

A broadening of the education variable to include primary, secondary and university training once again only served to confirm the trend of educated candidates leaving the Liberal, Conservative and Labour parties. At the same time, the UFM and the ranks of the Independents made great gains with educated candidates placing them on an equal footing with the pre-1920 levels of the traditional parties.

The number of candidates for which no information concerning education was available was not great enough to discount these trends. If further proof was necessary, an examination simply of those candidates elected would have confirmed this argument. It is fair to assume that if most of the candidates elected with university education belonged to the Liberal party, the Liberal must have had a greater number of university-

educated candidates. Moreover, it was also true that data on elected members was more complete than that of all of the candidates combined.

Examining solely those elected with a university education in 1920, the Liberals surpassed all other parties with eight elected members as opposed to two for the Farmers, four Labourers, five Conservatives and two Independents (see Table 9). By 1922, the standing of the Liberals and the UFM had flip flopped. The Liberals only elected one university educated member, whereas the UFM elected eight. The Conservative representation remained unchanged at five while Labour elected two and Independents elected four with university training. Numbers of those elected combining primary, secondary and university training also reflected this role reversal in the standing of the Liberals and the UFM, while the educated support of the other parties remained largely unchanged.

It is important to point out that, while it was true that one party always seemed to dominate the field of educated candidates, this did not directly translate into greater representation in the legislature. Tables 13 and 14 show that candidates with a university education were more successful at the polls than candidates with only primary or no formal education at all. Unfortunately, the numbers involved are so small (only 55 elected members) that any generalizations would probably have to include data on more than just two provincial elections.

Table 13

Percentage of Elected Candidates by Party and Level of Education for 1920

Education	Liberal	Farmer	Labour	Cons.	Indep.	Socialist	Total
Primary	10.9	3.6	3.6	1.8	3.6	3.6	27.2
Secondary	10.9	1.8		1.8	1.8		16.3
University	14.5	3.6	7.2	9	3.6		38.1
Nil	1.8	1.8	3.6	3.6			7.2

Table 14

Percentage of Elected Candidates by party and Level of Education for 1922

Education	Liberal	UFM	Labour	Cons.	Indep.	Socialist	Total
Primary	3.6	14.5	3.6	1.8	1.8		25.4
Secondary	3.6	5.4	1.8		1.8		12.7
University	1.8	14.5	3.6	9	7.2		36.3
Nil.	3.6	5.4		1.8			10.9

6. Previous Public Office

Closely associated to the formal education was also the informal or practical experience acquired by the candidates. Tables 15 and 16 divided this experience into four categories. The category dealing with municipal experience included candidates with a background on municipal or city councils, school board members, reeves or trustees. Only those candidates who had represented their constituents in the Manitoba legislature or in the Canadian Parliament were listed in the provincial and federal categories. The final category included any candidates with prior participation with any reform organizations. This category included members of social welfare organizations such as The Mothers' Association, The Manitoba Patriotic Fund, Christmas Cheer for Sailors, or the War Veterans' associations. Those active in trade union circles, organizers of a party in a certain constituency, or members of educational groups such as the Political Education League were also included in this group. Moreover, those who held membership in more socially oriented organizations such as the Masonic Lodge, Commercial Travellers, Rotary or Carlton Clubs, Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, Canadian Order of Foresters, Blue Lodge Masons, Yeoman, Orangemen or Women's Auxiliary members were all included. Not unexpectedly, judging from the educational statistics, the Liberals led the field in every category of informal experience in 1920.

Table 15

Municipal, Provincial, Federal and Other Informal Experience of Elected and Defeated Candidates From all Parties for 1920

Informal and Practical Experience	Liberal			Farmers			Labour			Conservative			Independent			Socialist			Totals		
	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL
Municipal	9	6	15	2	5	7	2	1	3	5	5	10	4	5	9	1		1	23	22	45
Provincial	14	10	24		1	1				2	5	7	3		3				19	16	35
Federal	1	1	2				1		1					1	1				2	2	4
Other	9	7	16	1	3	4	5	4	9	2	5	7	2	6	8	2		2	21	25	46
No Information		12	12	2	8	10	2	2	4	2	8	10	1	14	15				7	44	51
Grand Total	33	36	69	5	17	22	10	7	17	11	23	34	10	26	36	3		3	72	109	181

Table 16

Municipal, Provincial, Federal and Other Informal Experience of Elected and Defeated Candidates From all Parties for 1922

Informal and Practical Experience	Liberal			UFM			Labour			Conservative			Independent			Socialist			Totals		
	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL
Municipal	3	8	11	11	1	12	1	2	3	1	4	5	2	2	4	1		1	19	17	36
Provincial	4	12	16	7	2	9	3	3	6	6	4	10	5	1	6	1		1	26	22	48
Federal	1	1	2		1	1													1	2	3
Other	2	6	8	6	4	10	2	1	3	2		2	4		4	2		2	18	11	29
No Information	1	17	18	8	14	22		7	7	1	13	14	1	11	12				11	62	73
Grand Total	11	44	55	32	22	54	6	13	19	10	21	31	12	14	26	4		4	75		

This Liberal success was once again in sharp contrast to the relative inexperience of the Farmers' party. In 1920 the Liberals ran a total of 69 candidates with various municipal, provincial, federal and other formal and informal practical political experiences. The Farmers' group in 1920 could only manage 22 candidates with similar qualifications. However, by 1922 the formal and informal experience of the UFM candidates had grown to the point of equaling the Liberal party. By 1922 the total number of Liberals with relevant formal and informal experience had dropped from 69 to 55 while the numbers of UFM candidates with similar experiences had risen sharply from 22 in 1920 to 54 in 1922.

7. Birthplace

If there was one myth concerning Manitoba politics during the 1920's that held up under this examination of 1920 - 1922, it was the fact that politics in Manitoba was largely dominated by people born in Ontario. Tables 17, 18 and 19 show that in 1920, 48 out of a field of 147 candidates (32.6 percent) were born in Ontario. By 1922, this number had experienced only a minor decline to 42 out of 155 or 27 percent. Twenty-four Ontario-born candidates were elected in both 1920 and 1922, constituting 43.6 percent of the representation in the legislature. These number may not seem inappropriate when considering the potential influence of such a powerful provincial neighbor. However, as Table 20 pointed out, there were only 67,206 Ontario-born people, just over 11 percent of the population, in Manitoba in 1921. Looking strictly at these numbers it was clear that the 11 percent of Manitoba's population which hailed from Ontario had won nearly half of the representation in the legislature.

Table 17

Birthplace of Elected and Defeated Candidates by Party for 1920

Birthplace	Liberal			Farmer			Labour			Cons.			Indep.			Socialist			Total		
	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL
Winnipeg							1		1	1		1		1	1				2	1	3
Manitoba	2	1	3	1		1				1	1	2	1	1	2				5	3	8
The West																					
Ontario	14	8	22	2	3	5	1		1	6	8	14		5	5	1		1	24	24	48
Quebec					1	1				1		2	1		1				2	2	4
Maritimes	1	1	2				1		1										2	1	3
United States		3	3																	3	3
England	1	4	5	3	3	6	4	4	8		1	1	3	2	5				11	14	25
Ireland																					
Scotland	1	1	2					1	1		3	3		1	1	1		1	2	6	8
Ukraine		2	2	1		1							1		1				2	2	4
Scandinavian	1	1	2																1	1	2
Other	1		1											2	2				1	2	3
No Information		9	9	2	6	8	1	1	2		6	6		10	10				3	32	35
Totals	21	30	51	9	14	23	8	6	14	9	20	29	6	22	28	2		2	55	92	147

Table 18

Birthplace of Elected and Defeated Candidates by Party for 1922

Birthplace	Liberal			UFM			Labour			Conservative			Independent			Socialist			Total		
	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL
Winnipeg		1	1				1	1	2				1	1	2				2	3	5
Manitoba	1	1	2	3	1	4				1	1	2							5	3	8
The West																					
Ontario	4	9	13	12	1	13		2	2	6	5	11	2	1	3				24	18	42
Quebec		2	2	2		2					1	1	1		1				3	3	6
Maritimes		1	1		1	1		1	1		1	1								4	4
United States					1	1														1	1
England	1	2	3	5	3	8	4	2	6		1	1	1	1	2				11	9	20
Ireland					1	1														1	1
Scotland		3	3	1		1	1		1										2	3	5
Ukraine				2		2							1	1	2				3	1	4
Scandinavian	1	1	2																1	1	2
Other																					
No Information	1	11	12	3	14	17		7	7		10	10		11	11				4	53	57
Totals	8	31	39	28	22	50	6	13	19	7	19	26	6	15	21				55	100	155

Table 19

Percentage Distribution of Candidates by Birthplace for all Parties in 1920 and 1922

Birthplace	Liberal		Farmer/UFM		Labour		Cons.		Indep.		Socialist		Totals	
	1920	1922	1920	1922	1920	1922	1920	1922	1920	1922	1920	1922	1920	1922
Winnipeg		0.64			0.68	1.3	0.68		0.68	1.3			2	3.2
Manitoba	2	1.3	0.68	2.5			0.68	1.3	2				5.4	5.1
The West														
Ontario	14.9	8.3	3.4	8.3	0.68	1.3	9.5	7	3.4	1.9	0.68		32.6	27
Quebec		1.3	0.68	1.3			1.3	0.64	0.68	0.64			2.7	3.8
Maritimes	1.3	6.4		0.64	0.68	0.64		0.64					2	2.5
United States	2	2		0.64									2	0.64
England	3.4	1.9	4.1	5.1	5.5	3.8	0.68	0.64	3.4	1.3			17	12.9
Ireland				0.64										0.64
Scotland	1.3	1.9		0.64	0.68	0.64	2		0.68		0.68		5.4	3.2
Ukraine	1.3		0.68	1.3					0.68	1.3			2.7	2.5
Scandinavian	1.3	1.3											1.3	1.3
Other	0.68								1.3				2	
No Info.	6.1	7.7	5.4	10.9	1.3	10.9	4.1	6.4	6.8	7			23.8	36.7
Totals	51	39	23	50	14	19	29	26	28	21	2		147	155

Table 20

Numerical and Percentage Distribution of Manitoba's Population by Birthplace for 1921

Birthplace	Number	Percentage
Manitoba	291,462	47.77
The West	10,242	1.67
Ontario	67,206	11.02
Quebec	11,794	1.93
Maritimes	6,099	0.99
United States	21,644	3.55
British Isles (total)	111,759	18.32
England	68,080	11.16
Ireland	10,776	1.77
Scotland	30,592	5.01
Ukraine	4,230	0.69
Scandinavian	5,749	0.94
Manitoba (total)	610,118	100

Source: Census of Canada, 1921 Volume 2, pp.240 - 243.

The majority of the Ontario-born candidates was pooled in the traditional parties. Few distinctions can be made between the birthplace of the parties candidates from 1920 and 1922. The margins of difference are so small that distinctions are very minor, if not irrelevant. However, one distinction that remained very clear from 1920 to 1922 involved those Ontario-born candidates. In 1920, 22 Liberal candidates, 14 Conservative and five Farmers were all born in Ontario. By 1922 the Liberals had only 13 Ontario-born candidates whereas the UFM had grown to 13 and the Conservative remained essentially unchanged at 11. Once again, just as in the case of educational or occupational groups it appeared the Farmers had stolen a significant portion of Liberal support.

After Ontarians, the next largest group of candidates with a common birth place were the candidates born in England. In 1920, 17.2 percent of the Manitoba legislature

candidates were born in England compared with 13 percent in 1922. In both years these candidates were distributed more or less equally between all parties with the exception of the Conservatives. Only one candidate with an English background ran under the Conservative party banner in 1920 and 1922. This low level of English support was a noticeable contrast to the other candidates of English birth which numbered five in the 1920 Liberal party, six for the Farmers, eight for Labour and even five for the Independents. Indeed, the Conservatives were the least British of any party from 1920 to 1922.

While Ontario-born and English-born candidates were nominated more often in the elections of 1920 and 1922, this background in no way improved their chances of getting elected. Success rates of candidates born in Ontario or England were the same as candidates who were born in the Maritime or the Ukraine. The fact that birthplace had no effect on electability was best demonstrated by the peculiar numbers involving the candidates born in Manitoba.

Only five of eight candidates who were born in Manitoba were successful in the election of 1920. Proportionately speaking, this meant roughly 47 percent of Manitoba's native born population received only five percent of the legislative representation. While it may have been the case that a large number of candidates, for which no birth place information was available, were born in Manitoba, the Manitoba representation was still so small it warranted some comment. With so few candidates to speak of, the only thing that could be said with any certainty about the small numbers of Manitoba-born candidates was that they reflected the relative newness of the province in political terms. Over 80 percent of the Manitoba legislature candidates were from somewhere other than Manitoba in the early 1920's, thus making the province particularly susceptible to outside influences and creating a very cosmopolitan political culture.

8. Religion

Manitoba's five major religious groups, as far as the provincial elections of 1920 and 1922 were concerned, were the Presbyterians, Anglicans, Methodists and Roman Catholics. Well over 70 percent of Manitobans would have claimed some sort of affiliation with one of these groups in 1921.

Table 21

Numerical and Percentage Distribution of Candidates by Party and Religion for 1920

	Number							Percentage							
Religious Affiliation	Lib.	Farm.	Lab.	Cons.	Indep.	Soc.	Total	Lib.	Farm.	Lab.	Cons.	Indep.	Soc.	Total	Man.*
Presbyterian	17	2	1	5			25	33.3	8.6	7.1	17.2			17	22.6
Anglican	4	2	2	3	5		16	7.8	8.6	14.2	10.3	17.8		10.8	19.8
Methodist	9		1	2	1		13	17.6		7.1	6.8	3.5		8.8	11.6
Roman Catholic	2	1		4	2		9	3.9	4.3		10.3	7.1		6.1	17.2
Baptist	2		1				3	3.9		7.1				2	2.2
Greek Orthodox		1			1		2		4.3			3.5		1.3	9.2
Lutheran	2						2	3.8						1.3	6.4
Jewish															2.7
Labour Church			2				2			14.2				1.3	0.1
Union Church		1		1			2		4.3		3.4			1.3	0.5
Total	51	23	14	29	28	2	147								
No Information	12	14	6	11	19	2	62	23.5	60.8	42.8	37.9	67.8	100	42.1	

*Census of Canada, 1921 Table 34, pp. 572 - 573.

However, Tables 21 and 22 show that the representation of each of these religions, in the field of candidates or in the legislature itself, was well below their numbers in the general population. This held true for the Presbyterians who were the least under-represented with a total of 25 candidates among the parties in 1920, totaling 17 percent of the entire field (22.6 percent of the Manitoba population). At the other end of the spectrum, the Roman Catholics in Manitoba had only nine candidates in 1920 out of a field of 147, or 6.1 percent (17.2 percent of the Manitoba population). While it was difficult to draw

any conclusions from data in which there was no information on half of the candidates, some generalizations are necessary.

Table 22

Numerical and Percentage Distribution of Candidates by Party and Religion for 1922

	Number						Percentage						
Religious Affiliation	Lib.	UFM	Lab.	Cons.	Indep.	Soc. Total	Lib.	UFM	Lab.	Cons.	Indep.	Soc. Total	Man.*
Presbyterian	9	5	1	2	1	18	23	10	5.2	7.6	4.7	11.6	22.6
Anglican	2	4	2	3	3	14	5.1	8	10.5	11.5	14.2	9.5	19.8
Methodist	3	3	1	3	1	11	7.6	6	5.2	11.5	4.7	17.4	11.6
Roman Catholic	4	2		2	2	10	10.2	4		7.6	9.5	6.8	17.2
Baptist													2.2
Greek Orthodox		2			1	3		4			4.7	2	9.2
Lutheran	2	1				3	5.1	2				2	6.4
Jewish													2.7
Labour Church			2			2			10.5			1.3	0.1
Union Church		2				2		4				1.3	0.5
Chruch of Christ			1			1			5.2			0.68	0.1
Total	39	50	19	26	21	155							
No Information	19	23	12	14	13	81	48.7	46	63.1	53.8	61.9	51.1	

*Census of Canada, 1921 Table 34, pp. 572 - 573.

One of the most glaring under-representations involved the Roman Catholics who in 1921 made up 17.2 percent of Manitoba's general population. In both 1920 and 1922, Roman Catholic candidates never totaled more than seven percent of the field. Perhaps, the fact that they were so badly under-represented goes a long way in explaining the abolition of the bilingual system in 1916. During the 1915 campaign against bilingual instruction, it was the Conservatives who had taken up the defense of the rights of the French. If the party affiliation of nine Roman Catholic candidates can be considered representative, then the Conservative support of the French language had resulted in a small pocket of support. By 1920, the Conservatives nominated four and elected three of the total nine Roman Catholic candidates in the field. However, by 1922, the number of Roman Catholics in the Conservative party had slipped to the point that the Liberals had a greater Catholic representation. (See Tables 23 and 24) While obviously the

meager numbers were the problem, the most important point once again was that Roman Catholics did not or could not seek elected office in the Manitoba of the 1920's.

Table 23

Religious Affiliation of Elected and Defeated Candidates by Party for 1920

Religious Affiliation	Liberal			Farmer			Labour			Cons.			Indep.			Socialist			Totals		
	ELECTED	DEFEAT	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEAT	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEAT	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEAT	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEAT	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEAT	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEAT	TOTAL
Presbyterian	10	7	17	1	1	2	1		1	1	4	5							13	12	25
Anglican	2	2	4	2		2	2		2	1	2	3	1	4	5				8	8	16
Methodist	4	5	9				1		1	2		2	1		1				8	5	13
Roman Catholic	1	1	2		1	1				3	1	4	1	1	2				5	4	9
Baptist	2		2					1	1										2	1	3
Greek Orthodox				1		1							1		1				2		2
Lutheran	1	1	2																1	1	2
Labour							2		2										2		2
Union Church				1		1					1	1							1	1	2
No Information	1	13	14	4	10	14	2	4	6	1	10	11	2	17	19	2		2	13	53	66
Total	21	30	51	9	14	23	8	6	14	9	20	29	6	22	28	2		2	55	92	

The Presbyterians, while still under-represented in the legislature when compared to the entire Manitoba Presbyterian population, were still the largest religious group in the legislature and in the Liberal party. Of the 25 Presbyterian candidates running in 1920, 13 were elected and 10 of these came from the Liberal party. The Liberals virtually dominated this religious group with a total of 17 Presbyterian candidates all their own. However, by 1922 this support, as was the case with all other categories outlined so far, also began to slide to the UFM. In 1922, the Liberals still nominated nine Presbyterian candidates, but only two were elected. By way of comparison, the Farmers of 1920 only elected one of two Presbyterian candidates. In 1922, the UFM

succeeded in electing five of five Presbyterians. Essentially the same shift in support occurred with the Anglicans from 1920 to 1922 with the added twist of a reasonably strong Anglican representation (three) among the Independent candidates. The Methodists were also very strong in the Liberal campaign of 1920. While this support also faded in 1922, it seemed natural attrition as opposed to the attraction to the UFM was chiefly responsible for the decline.

Table 24

Religious Affiliation of Elected and Defeated Candidates by Party for 1922

Religious Affiliation	Liberal			UFM			Labour			Cons.			Indep.			Socialist			Totals		
	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL
Presbyterian	2	7	9	5		5		1	1	2		2	1		1				10	8	18
Anglican	1	1	2	3	1	4		2	2	1	2	3	1	2	3				6	8	14
Methodist	1	2	3	3		3		1	1	1	2	3		1	1				5	6	11
Roman Catholic	1	3	4	2		2				1	1	2	2		2				6	4	10
Greek Orthodox				2		2							1		1				3		3
Lutheran	1	1	2		1	1													1	2	3
Labour Church							2		2										2		2
Union Church				2		2													2		2
Church of Christ								1	1											1	1
No Information	2	17	19	5	18	23	4	8	12	2	12	14	1	12	13				14	67	81
Total	8	31	39	28	22	50	6	13	19	7	19	26	6	15	21				55		

Perhaps the most striking category concerning the religious affiliations of candidates was the number of candidates for which there was no religious background. The fact that 50 percent of the candidates running in 1920 or 1922 chose not to mention their religious affiliation or simply found such issues inappropriate may be the most important piece of information to take away from the analysis of the religious groups.

One could argue that most candidates did not expect adherents of their faith to vote for them simply because they belonged to the same denomination. Moreover, apart from the weak correlations mentioned above, there was really no indication that adherents of a particular faith preferred to vote for a particular party. This was unusual considering the temper of the time. Perhaps the political differences would have been more pronounced had Roman Catholics in Manitoba maintained a greater interest or greater success in political action during the 1920's.

9. Age

Table 25

Numerical and Percentage Distribution of the Total Field of Candidates by Age and Party in 1920

1920

	Number							Percentage						
Age	Lib.	Farm.	Lab.	Cons.	Indep.	Soc.	Total	Lib.	Farm.	Lab.	Cons.	Indep.	Soc.	Total
Twenties														
Thirties	5	2	6	1	4	1	19	3.4	1.3	4	0.68	2.7	0.68	12.9
Young (20's and 30's)	5	2	6	1	4	1	19	3.4	1.3	4	0.68	2.7	0.68	12.9
Forties	11	5	4	10	5		35	7.4	3.4	2.7	6.8	3.4		23.8
Fifties	17	2	1	7	3	1	31	11.5	1.3	0.68	4.7	2	0.68	21
Middle-Age (40's and 50's)	28	7	5	17	8	1	66	19	4.7	3.4	11	5.4	0.68	44.8
Sixties	7	4		2	2		15	4.7	2.7		1.3	1.3		10.2
Seventies														
Eighties														
Older (60's, 70's and 80's)	7	4		2	2		15	4.7	2.7		1.3	1.3		10.2
Total	51	23	14	29	28	2	147							
No Information	11	10	3	7	14		45	7.4	6.8	2	4.7	9.5		30.6

It was a middle-aged field of candidates that contested the Manitoba elections of 1920 and 1922. Tables 25 and 26 showed that the bulk of the candidates in Manitoba came to politics in their middle-aged years. Forty five percent of the candidates in 1920

and 42.5 percent in 1922 were listed in their forties and fifties. The number of candidates classified as young (twenties or thirties) remained relatively unchanged from 1920 to 1922, between 10 and 13 percent. However, the number of older candidates, while relatively small in 1920, shrank even further by 1922. Fifteen older candidates (10.2 percent of the candidate population in 1920) were reduced to only nine or 5.8 percent of the total number of candidates in 1922.

Table 26

Numerical and Percentage Distribution of the Total Field of Candidates by Age and Party in 1922

1922

	Number							Percentage						
Age	Lib.	UFM	Lab.	Cons.	Indep.	Soc.	Total	Lib.	UFM	Lab.	Cons.	Indep.	Soc.	Total
Twenties		2					2		1.2					1.2
Thirties	2	7	4		2		15	1.2	4.5	2.5		1.2		9.6
Young (20's and 30's)	2	9	4		2		17	1.2	5.8	2.5		1.2		10.9
Forties	6	13	5	6	6		36	3.8	8.3	3.2	3.8	3.8		23.2
Fifties	13	6	2	9			30	8.3	3.8	1.2	5.8			19.3
Middle-Age (40's and 50's)	19	19	7	15	6		66	12.2	12.2	4.5	9.6	3.8		42.5
Sixties	4	2		1	2		9	2.5	1.2		0.64	1.2		5.8
Seventies														
Eighties														
Older (60's, 70's and 80's)	4	2		1	2		9	2.5	1.2		0.64	1.2		5.8
Total	39	50	19	26	21		155							
No Information	14	20	8	10	11		61	9	8.3	5.1	7	7		39.3

Not only were middle-aged candidates numerically predominant in 1920 and 1922, they also appeared to have the best chances of being elected to the legislature. However, these numbers fall into question if one considered the security of incumbent candidates in safe seats and the willingness of younger party members to run in constituencies in which they would have had no hope of success beyond gaining exposure in their own party. In any case, Table 27 clearly demonstrated the electoral success of middle-aged candidates.

In 1920 and 1922, 61.8 percent of the members of the Manitoba legislature were in their forties and fifties.

Table 27

Percentage of Elected Members in Specified Age Groups for 1920 and 1922

Age	Percentage Elected in 1920	Percentage Elected in 1922
Young (20's and 30's)	18.1	18.1
Middle-Age (40's and 50's)	61.8	61.7
Older (60's, 70's and 80's)	10.9	5.4
No Information	9	14.5

In keeping with this one tenet of electoral success, the traditional parties both ran slates of candidates that were considerably older than the other parties in both 1920 and 1922. Table 28 showed 54.9 percent of the Liberal candidates in 1920 and 48.7 percent in 1922 were middle-aged candidates. The Conservative party was even slightly stronger with this age group maintaining an average of 58.6 percent of middle-aged candidates in 1920 and 57.6 percent in 1922.

Older candidates were also well represented in the traditional parties and especially in the Farmers party of 1920. Over 17 percent of the Farmers' candidates in 1920 were in their sixties. This compared with 13.7 percent in the Liberal party and 6.8 percent in the Conservative ranks. Consistent with the earlier remarks regarding the older candidates, these percentages were reduced for all the parties in 1922 with the exception of the Independents. The UFM in particular lost a greater proportion of its older support than any other party, dropping from 17.3 percent in 1920 to 4 percent in 1922. While

this particular decline could have been the result of a mass exodus of older candidates from the UFM to the other parties or out of politics all together, it was more likely the result of the high numbers of candidates for which there was no age information.

Table 28

Percentage Distribution of Candidates Ages Within the Parties for 1920 and 1922

	1920						1922				
Age	Liberal	Farmer	Labour	Cons.	Indep.	Socialist	Liberal	UFM	Labour	Cons.	Indep.
20's								4			
30's	9.8	8.6	42.8	3.4	14.2	50	5.1	14	21		9.5
Young (20's and 30's)	9.8	8.6	42.8	3.4	14.2	50	5.1	18	21		9.5
40's	21.5	21.7	28.5	34.4	17.8		15.3	26	26.3	23	28.5
50's	33.3	8.6	7.1	24.1	10.7	50	33.3	12	10.5	34.6	
Middle-Aged (40's and 50's)	54.9	30.4	35.7	58.6	28.5	50	48.7	38	36.8	57.6	28.5
60's	13.7	17.3		6.8	7.1		10.2	4		3.8	9.5
70's											
80's											
Old (60's, 70's and 80's)	13.4	16.6		7.4	7.6		10.5	3.9		3.8	10
Totals	51	23	14	29	28	2	39	50	19	26	21
No Information	21.5	43.4	21.4	24.1	50		35.8	40	42.1	38.4	52.3

While middle-aged and older candidates seemed to prefer the sanctuary of the traditional parties in 1920, their more youthful counterparts in general received their best representation in the Labour party in 1920 and then with the Farmers in 1922. The Labour group had a total of six candidates still in their thirties in 1920. This number constituted nearly 43 percent of the candidates put forward by Labour and gave the group the distinction of having the largest number and percentage of candidates under forty years of age of any of the parties in Manitoba. The fact that the Labour party had

no candidates aged sixty or over, added to the party's radical and more youthful image. However, by 1922 there were still no candidates in their sixties in the Labour party, and the strong representation of candidates in their thirties was reduced by two. Labour support had increased by five candidates from 1920 to 1922. Unfortunately, younger Labour representation had either aged into their forties in the intervening two years or had moved to another party and was not replaced by any new, young, Labour candidates.

If one party was drawing young candidates away from the Labour party in 1922, the UFM would have aroused the greatest suspicion. The numbers of younger UFM representatives received a significant boost in 1922. The numbers of Farmer candidates that were in their thirties or younger, had increased to nine candidates in 1922 from only two, two years earlier. By way of contrast to the great success of younger candidates in the UFM and Labour parties, the Conservative party had no youth at all running in the 1922 election. The majority of Conservative candidates were between the ages of fifty and seventy years of age in 1922.

In general, the statistics on age show that the success of the traditional parties prior to 1920 was based on a large pool of middle-aged and older candidates. Their strength in these age groups was no doubt the legacy of many years in power with little legitimate opposition, except from each other. The success of the UFM in 1922 was also a result of electing more middle-aged candidates. While still not on the same scale as the traditional parties, the UFM increased its middle-aged representation in 1922. In 1920, the Farmers only elected two of five men in their forties and no men in their fifties. By 1920, the UFM had vastly improved its representation in this age group electing eight of 13 candidates in their forties and five of six candidates in their fifties (Tables 29 and 30).

Table 29

Age of Elected and Defeated Candidates by Party for 1920

Age	Liberal			Farmer			Labour			Cons.			Indep.			Socialist			Totals		
	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL
20's																					
30's	1	4	5	2		2	3	3	6	1		1	2	2	4	1		1	10	9	19
40's	4	7	11	2	3	5	3	1	4	6	4	10	2	3	5				17	18	35
50's	12	5	17		2	2	1		1	2	5	7	1	2	3	1		1	17	14	31
60's	4	3	7	2	2	4					2	2		2	2				6	9	15
70's																					
80's																					
No Information		11	11	3	7	10	1	2	3		9	9	1	13	14				5	42	47
Total	21	30	51	9	14	23	8	6	14	9	17	28	6	22	28	2		2	55	92	

Table 30

Age of Elected and Defeated Candidates by Party for 1922

Age	Liberal			UFM			Labour			Cons.			Indep.			Socialist			Totals		
	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL	ELECTED	DEFEATED	TOTAL
20's				1	1	2													1	1	2
30's		2	2	5	2	7	3	1	4				1	1	2				9	6	15
40's	2	4	6	8	5	13	3	2	5	3	3	6	4	2	6				20	16	36
50's	5	8	13	5	1	6		2	2	4	5	9							14	16	30
60's		4	4	2		2					1	1	1	1	2				3	6	9
70's																					
80's																					
No Information	1	13	14	7	13	20		8	8		10	10		11	11				8	55	62
Total	8	31	39	28	22	50	6	13	19	7	19	26	6	15	21				55		

In addition to this new-found strength among middle-aged representatives the UFM's appeal to younger candidates may have pushed them into the lead in 1922. In 1922, the UFM elected six of nine candidates in their twenties and thirties while the traditional parties combined only had two candidates from that age group, and neither one elected.

In summary, the UFM victory of 1922 could be attributed to its improved representation and support in every age group. However, just as big a factor in the UFM victory of 1922 was the traditional parties' loss of their many older, experienced, incumbent candidates by either defeat or retirement and the absence of a fresh, new, young wing to take these parties in a different direction. Still, the election of 1922 was only partly the triumph of a generation of younger candidates.

10. Sex

Although given little consideration up until this point, it was at precisely this time that female politicians were beginning to assert themselves on the Manitoba political scene. Prominent female politicians had been a part of the traditional party campaigns since 1915 and the introduction of female suffrage in Manitoba. By 1920 these same female party members were speaking out more and more often in support of their favored candidates and parties during provincial election campaigns and even a small group of women were beginning to pursue their own campaigns for elected office.

Those who had not yet chosen to take the next logical step and become candidates in provincial election campaigns remained very influential members within the old traditional parties and were rewarded for their loyalty with greater freedom to develop their own pet issues and initiatives. For example, Beatrice Brigden was a major Labour supporter during the 1920's who was concerned in particular with the problems

facing education in the province. In her speeches Brigden would often criticize the fact that

> while men and women expressed themselves in work and contributions in a productive sense to society, the present system of education failed to make any provision in that regard.[18]

Alice Munro of Winnipeg was another popular speaker at party rallies and election meetings who would always address her remarks to women electors.[19] In addition, Margarget McWilliams was a favorite female speaker at Norris Government functions often heard addressing legislation benefiting women such as minimum wage laws or the Mother's Allowance Act.[20]

The addition of this new group to the Manitoba political scene was largely welcomed by the already established political parties. In fact, the traditional parties encouraged women to redefine their role within the traditional party structure as long as the definition remained within the confines of their structure. To ensure this end, the traditional parties made special efforts to collect and contain the female vote. Prominent political women were employed to speak at party conventions and nomination meetings. Moreover, meetings which would have been of particular interest to women were well advertised by Manitoba political parties.[21]

When female candidates did begin to appear in the Manitoba election campaign of 1920, the majority chose to retain their traditional party labels while their campaigns revolved solely around the contemporary women's issues. For the first time in Manitoba, political meetings of just female candidates were beginning to be held. One such meeting on June 27, 1920 in the Winnipeg rink was billed as the first time in the history of the British Empire that a group of female candidates would appear together to present their claims of the suffrage of their fellow citizens.[22] However, while early female politicians in Manitoba initially seemed happy to embrace the principles of traditional party politics, the majority were never completely partisan creatures. Similar to agrarian or labour

radicals during the same period, the political women of the 1920's preferred to keep a comfortable distance from the traditional parties rather than risk too close an association with an already corrupt political system. Key figures such as Margaret McWilliams were political pragmatists, committed to existing political parties but also favoring women's organizations within those parties.[23]

In spite of the women politicians' attempts to run open-ended campaigns seeking the best from both worlds (both political and extra-political influence), their efforts did not translate into great electoral success. Table 31 shows that there were 10 female candidates (nine different women) running for seats in the Manitoba Legislature in 1920 and 1922.

Table 31

Women Candidates in the Provincial Elections of 1920 and 1922

Year	Candidate	Party	Constituency	Percent	Position
1920	Harriet Dick	Ind.	Wpg.	2.7	11/41
	Alice Holling	Ind.	Wpg.	0.2	35/41
	Genevieve L. Skinner	Cons.	Wpg.	0.7	27/41
	A. Pritchard	Lab.	Wpg.	0.7	24/41
	*Edith Rodgers	Lib.	Wpg.	3.2	09/41
1922	Lily Brown	Cons.	Wpg.	0.9	29/43
	Martha Jane Hample	Prog.	Wpg.	0.7	32/43
	Maude McCarthy	Lab.	Wpg.	0.1	42/43
	Alice Munro	Cons.	Wpg.	0.2	41/43
	*Edith Rodgers	Lib.	Wpg.	3.8	07/43

*Elected

Source: Mary Kinnear "Post Suffrage Prairie Politics: Women Candidates in Winnipeg Municipal Elections 1918-1938" p. 41. in Prairie Forum, Spring 1991, Vol. 16, No. 1, pp. 41-58.

In comparison to the number of male candidates, the women constituted a very small group of five out of 147 in 1920 and five out of 155 in 1922, or three percent of the total field of candidates. Curiously, the female candidates were far less persistent than the

male candidates. This lack of enthusiasm or interest, compounded by the already small number of female candidates led to equally poor results in the election, when only three candidates (two different women) were able to claim at least one percent of the first ballot votes. The fact that only one out of five candidates in 1920 ran again in the 1920 race was a reminder of the marginal and sacrificial quality of female electoral politics.

The failure of this first generation of enfranchised women to seek public office could be attributed to any number of reasons. To begin with, one could not ignore the fact that all the female candidates were seeking office in the city of Winnipeg. No constituencies beyond the capital city had approved a female candidate and it was reported that the number of women sitting on the party executive committees throughout the province was very small. While some argued that the city deliberately made more of an effort to have female representation at conventions, on committees and on their tickets, it was also true that the proportional representation system of voting adopted in Winnipeg in 1920 left room on the election ticket for practically all comers, including women.[24] Under this system, the city of Winnipeg was reduced to one big constituency and every candidate (41 individuals in 1920) were listed on the ballot. Voters then numbered their first choice, second choice, third choice and so on, all the way to 41 if they wished. The number of ballots required for election was determined by dividing the total number of ballots cast by the number of seats available. Candidates who exceeded this mark by one, were automatically declared elected. If 10 candidates failed to do this on the first ballot, the second choice on the extra ballots of those already elected, and those of the low men who were eliminated, were redistributed until 10 successful candidates remained.[25]

Beyond these obvious barriers to electoral politics for women in rural Manitoba, it was also true that becoming a candidate in municipal, provincial or federal politics

demanded specific qualities and sacrifices which often excluded rural women from the luxuries of political participation. Public women who hoped for any level of success

> had to have secondary and preferably higher education, a secure income, time away from work, and the conviction the municipal [or provincial] office could indeed make a useful and valuable contribution to society.[26]

It was for precisely this reason, as well as the fact that women were equally repelled by the partisan party politics of earlier decades, that the majority of public women in the 1920's preferred to work behind the scenes through women's organizations which could indirectly influence government legislation.

The female candidates themselves hailed from a wide variety of different backgrounds, personal histories and experiences. Nevertheless, all held a number of common interests or political and social concerns. Birth place records varied from Bristol, England and Colburn, Ontario to Norway House, Manitoba and revealed only that white, Anglo-Saxon women entered Manitoba politics in the 1920's. Occupations were equally diverse listing female candidates with long distinguished careers as journalists or lawyers to other women who had led equally long and distinguished careers as wives and mothers. Educational background paralleled the trend in occupation with women who had extensive university training to those with no schooling at all. Furthermore, female representation was not confined to one political party and if a traditional party was unable to field a female candidate, it still had a number of women working for the party cause behind the scenes.

What those women did have in common was age, (the majority in their early fifties) marital status (all had taken husbands) and extremely long records of public service. All of the political women running in the 1920 and 1922 elections held impeccable credentials as social welfare leaders each holding memberships with many social betterment plans. The resume of a typical female candidate such as Harriet Dick would boast membership or founding status in the Mother's Association (1907) the

Winnipeg Playground Commission (1909) or the Home Welfare Association. She participated in the drive for Mothers' Allowance legislation (1916) and with five sons of her own in the service she continued to support them abroad by working for war welfare organizations such as the Manitoba Patriotic fund or Christmas Cheer for Soldiers. Edith Rodgers, Manitoba's first and only female member of the Legislature elected in 1920, had a similar background as a society leader and social welfare worker. Rodgers based her successful campaign on many contributions made in connection with soldiers and dependents through organizations such as the Central Council of the Battalion Auxiliaries (Secretary), the Women's Auxiliary of the Great War Veterans Association (President), the Patriotic Fund, Convalescent Home, the Hospital Aid Society, and the Winnipeg General Hospital Board (first women member).[27]

However, similar public service backgrounds were in no way an indication of an ideologically homogeneous group. Their political sympathies go a long way in illustrating the different levels of participation for public women. For example, in 1922 a Progressive women's group held neighborhood meetings and teas. Usually held in one of the women's homes, they would endorse the Progressive party platforms and issue pleas for more cooperation between rural and urban areas. They would also use these meetings to emphasize more traditional women's issues by urging women to realize their responsibilities in connection with utilization of the franchise as well as focus on education and the home as the center of life in the country upon which everything else was dependent.[28]

Other women chose to stray further from the party fold. In 1920 Harriet Dick ran as an Independent candidate. Originally from eastern Canada and for many years associated with the progressive movement, Dick had been especially active in the drive for mother's allowance legislation and playgrounds for children. By 1920 she was completely ignoring any traditional party platforms, choosing instead to run as the

"Champion of the Child, Whose Deeds Speak Louder than Creeds" Manitoba's first children's candidate in a provincial election.[29]

Other public women chose a much more partisan approach when it came to the election campaign in 1920. Genevieve Lipsett Skinner ran as a Conservative in 1920 arguing she was the best fitted by nature, training and experience to be the spokeswomen for the women and children of Manitoba in the provincial legislature. Like the other women candidates, she had a long record of public service in the province through her involvement in organizations such as the Sunshine Society which clothed thousands of children yearly and provided pure milk for sick babies and invalids. However, she also had an excellent educational background. Beginning as a working girl in an Eaton's department store and later as a teacher in Norquay school, she worked as a journalist for 10 years before becoming a barrister in order "to more intelligently serve the interests of women and children."[30] Skinner was interested in better laws for women and children with more progressive educational policies. However, she was also an outspoken critic of government policy and frequently made herself available to speak in support of other Conservative candidates throughout the province. Common themes in her speeches concerned wobbling over the bilingual issue, a poorly administered Temperance Act and the extravagance of the government outlined in instances involving the parliament building, increases in the municipal levy and the addition of new taxes.[31]

In general terms, women candidates in 1920 and 1922 could be considered radical in as far as they expected to influence politics and legislation from the outside. However, they were not so radical that they would abandon all connections with established political parties. Differences between the candidates arose in terms of the extent one would partake in the traditional party politics in order to have her own concerns addressed.

11. Conclusion

If the UFM appeared to Manitobans as a bright new departure from the disappointments of the traditional parties in politics, were the candidates' characteristics reflective of this new approach? Did a new, more progressive type of politician take power in 1922 Manitoba? Certainly there was enough evidence for the traditional parties to think this was the case. Evidence suggested the Liberals and Conservatives were trying to portray their own candidates as perhaps slightly more radical or at least distanced from the traditional party line. While the actual effort was very small and the results of the manoeuvre inconclusive, the fact that they attempted to disguise their own candidates as Independent, Farmer or Labour candidates to rid themselves of the stigma of the traditional parties, indicated a significant difference existed between the candidates. On the other hand, the difference was not so great as to suggest to the traditional parties that nothing beyond simply changing the title under which a candidate was running was needed to rectify the situation.

Examining the total field of candidates from 1920 to 1922 shows there was very little variation in the total number of candidates in any category. Essentially the same number of lawyers or farmers ran in the elections of 1920 and 1922. There was not a huge influx of university educated candidates from 1920 to 1922. There was roughly the same number of Ontario or English-born candidates running in 1920 as there were in 1922. The numbers of Presbyterians, Anglicans, Baptists or Lutherans received no drastic blows to their representation over the intervening two years. However, examining the representation of these groupings in the legislature or within specific parties shows that there were some significant differences between the candidates of 1920 and 1922. Regarding occupational groups, it was quite clear that the UFM took control of farm representation among all the candidates and certainly within the

legislature in the years from 1920 to 1922. The number of candidates claiming a background in agriculture remained unchanged from 1920 to 1922 at 33 candidates (Tables 6 and 7). However, the number of farmers elected to the legislature underwent a dramatic increase from 13 in 1920 to 23 in 1922. This was definitive proof that the UFM's promotion of farmers to represent farmers was a colossal success. In no other category involving occupation, birth place, religion, age or education was there such a dramatic shift in the makeup of elected candidates from 1920 to 1922. If one distinguishing characteristic of the 1922 election had to be named, the farmers' success in getting elected would without question top the list.

If 1922 was the beginning of a true farmer government in Manitoba, it was this characteristic alone which distinguished the UFM from the traditional parties which had preceded it. For instance, as was already pointed out, the Liberal and Conservative parties prior to 1922 had nominated a substantial number of candidates from Manitoba's farming community. It was also clear in 1920 that the Liberals dominated candidates that worked in the professions. Liberal candidates were also older, better educated and had a greater range of experiences related to politics than their opposition in 1920. Even in the areas in which a candidate's affiliation seemed to have no bearing on his electability, the traditional parties led the field in many of these categories. The Liberals had more Ontario-born candidates and more Presbyterian candidates than any other party in 1920. While the sheer number of Ontario-born and Presbyterian candidates running seemed to indicate it was an important factor, the election results do not lend themselves to this conclusion.

In any case, the point was that from 1920 to 1922 the Liberal and in some cases the Conservative hold over all of these groups was drastically weakened and the UFM took up the slack in every category. Every last bit of support for the traditional parties translated into new gains for the UFM. The UFM corralled all of the agricultural

support in 1922, but on the basis of occupational breakdown, age, education, political experience or even birth place or religion, there was little difference between the old Liberal party and the new UFM. By 1922 the UFM had made many gains with new occupational groups. Where the Liberal support had disappeared from the professional ranks, the UFM had improved dramatically. The UFM began to attract younger and older, better educated candidates with greater experience. The UFM of 1922 like the Liberal party of 1920 also developed a large group of Ontario-born representation and even the number of Presbyterian Farmers increased slightly to rival the drop of that denominations representation within the Liberal party.

In the end, the numbers regarding the characteristics of the UFM candidates in the elections of 1920 and 1922 did reflect a significant break with the traditional parties of the past. The greater emphasis on the actual farmer representation within the UFM was unmistakable by 1922. However, this shift in the personnel of the UFM had come at a high price. Whether by design or not, it was clear the UFM had become more like the traditional parties it had so openly despised. The characteristics of the UFM personnel in 1922 had definitely grown to resemble particularly the Liberal, but also the Conservative party of the pre-1920 period. If this was in fact the case, the next logical question is whether this shift in the party personnel had any direct effects on the party policy and consequently the election of the UFM in 1922. For example, had the UFM platform undergone a similar metamorphosis? To what degree were the traditional and (in the view of the Farmer's movement) tainted politics of the Liberal party responsible for its victory in 1922. Was the UFM as quick to absorb Liberal party policy as it had been to unite with former Liberal party members? A close examination of the party platforms, strategies and general approach to electioneering in the campaigns of 1920 and 1922 would go a long way in addressing some of these concerns.

Endnotes to Chapter One

[1]Ved Mehta, Fly and the Fly-Bottle: Encounters with British Intellectuals (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1963) p. 172.

[2]Mehta p. 163.

[3]Lewis Namier, The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1957) p. xi.

[4]J.K. Johnson, Becoming Prominent: Regional Leadership in Upper Canada, 1791-1841 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985) p. 8. and Cornell, P.G. The Allignment of Political Groups in Canada, 1891-1867 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962)

[5]J.M.S. Careless, ed. The Pre-Confederation Premiers: Ontario Government Leaders, 1841-1867 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985) p. 8.

[6]W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957) p. 374.

[7]Correspondence, R.J. Dalglish to R.A.C. Manning, 17 June 1920 R.A.C. Manning Papers. Folder 53, Gilbert Plains Constituency File. Public Archives of Manitoba, (PAM).

[8]Correspondence, A. Singleton to R.A.C. Manning, 25 May 1920 R.A.C. Manning Papers. Folder 55, Gladstone Constituency File. PAM.

[9]Correspondence, R.A.C. Manning to A.G. Lannigan, 4 June 1920 R.A.C. Manning Papers. Folder 73, Russell Constituency File. PAM.

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[10]R.A.C. Manning Papers. Folder 78, Springfield Constituency Campaign File. PAM.

[11]R.A.C. Manning Papers. Folder 51, Fairford Constituency File. PAM.

[12]R.A.C. Manning Papers. Folder 73 & 67, Russell and Morris constituency Files. PAM.

[13]F. H. Schofield, B.A. The Story of Manitoba Volume II Biographical-Illustrated (Winnipeg: The J.S. Clarke Publishing Company, 1913) p. 164.

[14]Campaign Flyer, R.A.C. Manning Papers. Folder 83, Winnipeg Constituency File. PAM.

[15]Clipping of a Statement by R.J. Dalglish in the Gilbert Plains Maple Leaf. 25 June 1920 R.A.C. Manning Papers. Folder 53, Gilbert Plains Constituency File. PAM.

[16]C.H. Forrester Campaign Flyer, 24 June 1920 R.A.C. Manning Papers. Folder 90, PAM.

[17]W. Leland Clark, Brandon's Politics and Politicians (Altona, Manitoba: Friesen Printers, 1981) p. 98.

[18]The Brandon Daily Sun (BDS) 16 June 1920 p. 6.

[19]BDS 19 June 1920 p. 1.

[20]BDS 22 June 1920 p. 1.

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[21]Manitoba Free Press (MFP) 28 June 1920 p. 6.

[22]MFP 28 June 1920 p. 6.

[23]Mary Kinnear, Margaret McWilliams: An Inter-war Feminist (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991) pp. 117-118.

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[25]Larry John Fisk, "Controversy on the Prairies: Issues in the General Provincial Elections of Manitoba 1870-1969," Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Alberta, 1976. p. 311.

[26]Mary Kinnear, "Post Suffrage Prairie Politics: Women Candidates in Winnipeg Municipal Elections 1918-1938," Prairie Forum Vol. 16, No. 1, (Spring 1991): p. 52.

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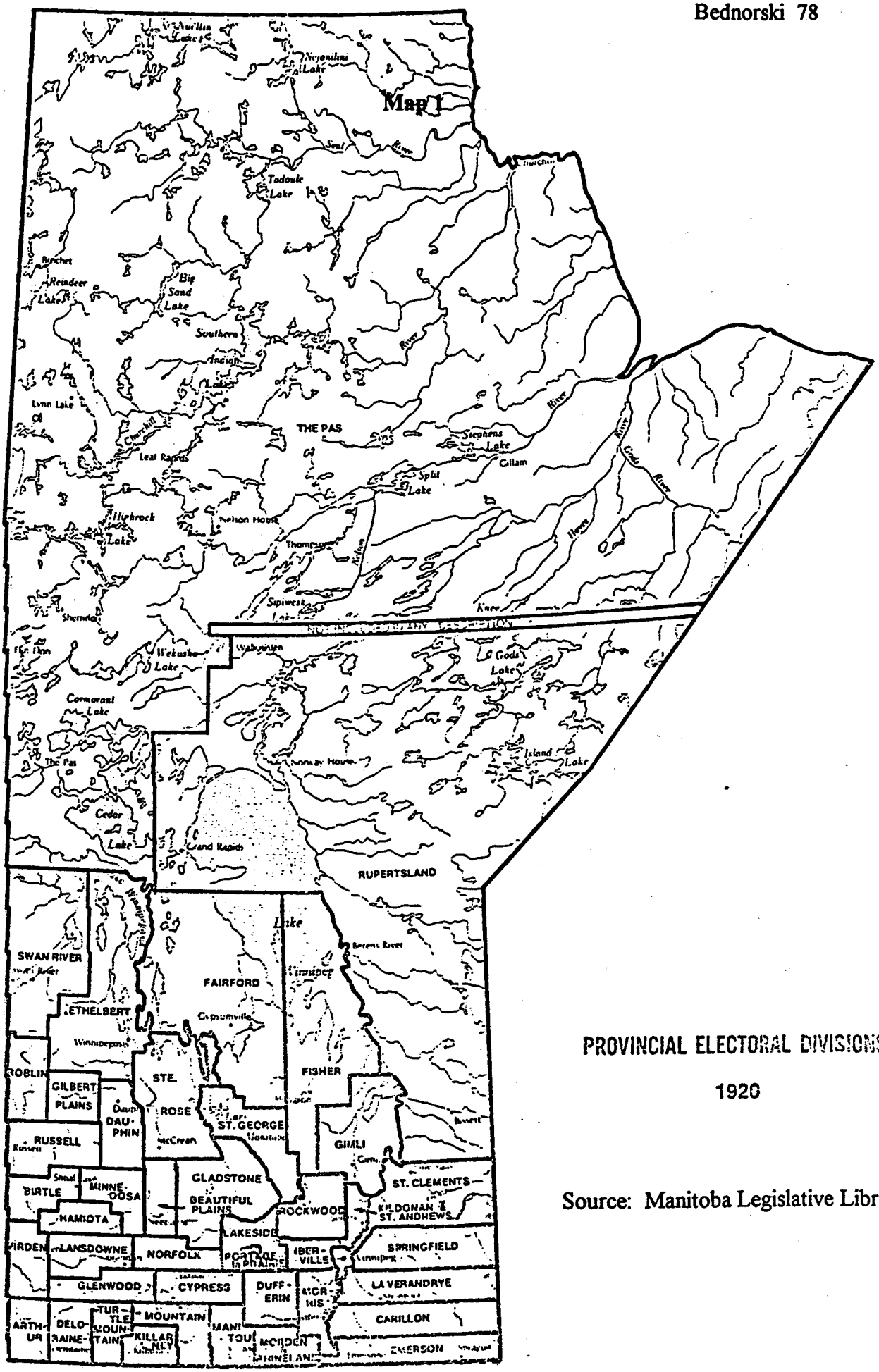
[28]MFP 7 July 1922 p. 10.

[29]MFP 28 June 1920 p. 2.

[30]MFP 28 June 1920 p. 3.

[31]BDS 24 June 1920 p. 1.

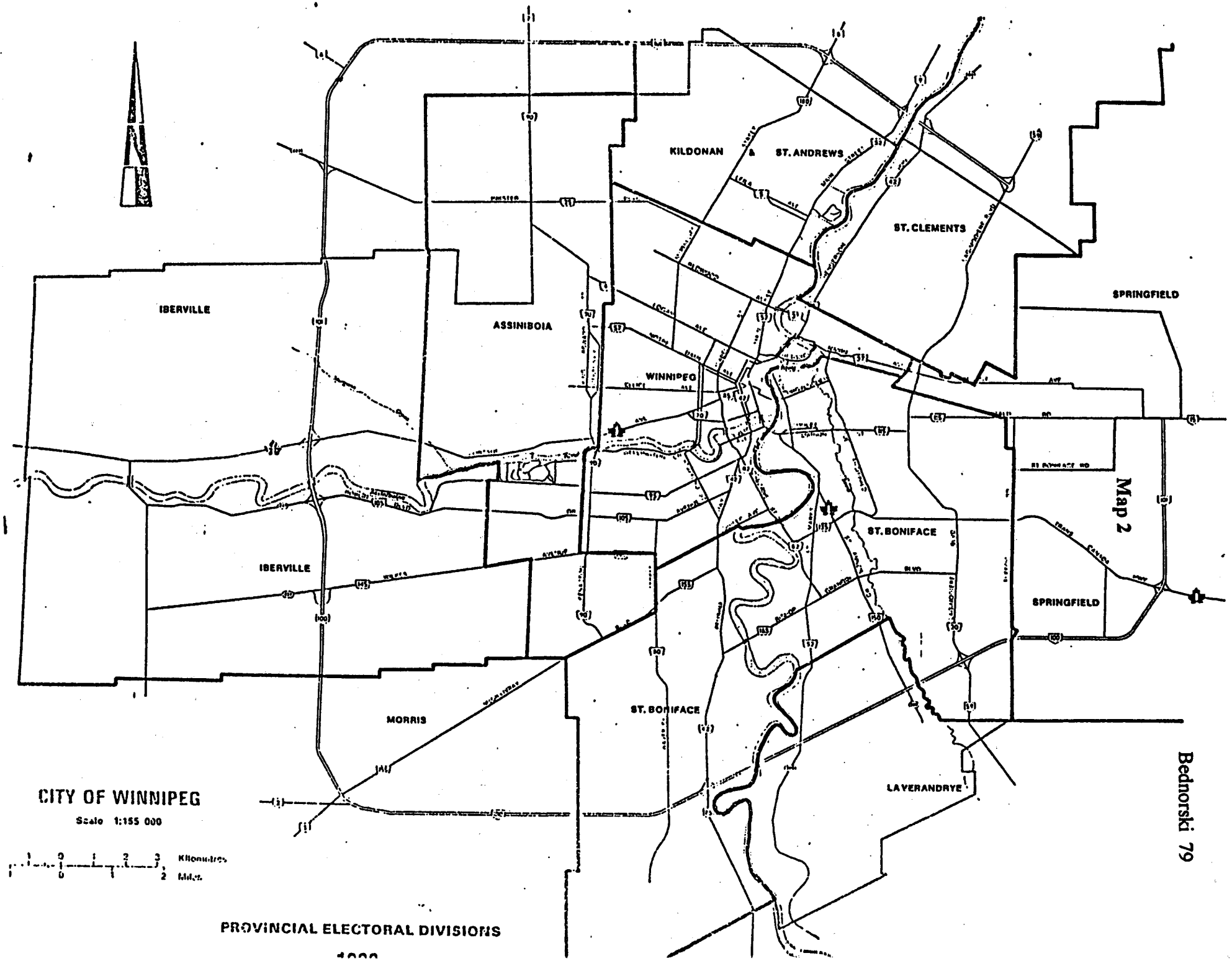


PROVINCIAL ELECTORAL DIVISIONS

1920

Source: Manitoba Legislative Library

Cartography by Surveys and Mapping Branch, Manitoba, 1987



Source: Manitoba Legislative Library

Map 2

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Chapter Two

Campaigns, Strategies and Electioneering in the 1920 and 1922 Manitoba Provincial Elections

By the 1920's, the United Farmers had become the political vehicle in Manitoba for the espousal of a populist philosophy which was sweeping across the Great Plains of North America in the early 20th century. The group biography in the preceding chapter painted a picture of this UFM party, centered around a large core of farmer representation, but quickly slipping into the familiar old mold of the traditional parties. Increases in the UFM's agricultural representation were accompanied by an increase in the number of what can only be called the more traditional or typical political candidates. The UFM was suddenly attracting more professional candidates, both older and younger, better educated and with greater political experience. All of these candidates, previously unheard-of in the UFM ranks, and all eagerly anticipating the farmers' rise to power were, perhaps unwittingly, threatening to turn the party into precisely the type of organization it had vowed to destroy. With the personnel of the party growing more and more to resemble the traditional parties of the past (which the farmers would have argued were predicated on characteristics such as partisanship and patronage) the evolution of the Farmers' platform in the same direction was quickly becoming a legitimate concern. Would this Farmers party be capable of running a campaign which would be able to adhere to true populist principles and not be marred by the internal contradictions within its own party? Were the United Farmers of Manitoba in danger of

drawing not only on the pool of the traditional supporters and candidates but also the party policies, platforms, strategies and campaign style of their chief political rival? Did the Farmers deliberately adopt traditional party candidates and then policies in order to win the Manitoba provincial election of 1922? With the characteristics of the candidates in the elections of 1920 and 1922 now firmly established, the actual policies and platforms of these candidates and their parties, hinted at in the campaigns and further revealed through a study of party strategies and electioneering, deserves equal treatment.

This chapter is divided into two parts. Part one examines the campaign of each party in 1920 and 1922 in terms of both platform as well as how the campaigns unfolded with regards to general party strategy. Part two goes beyond the provincial campaigns to a more detailed study of electioneering in rural and urban Manitoba. Several key ridings which seemed to best illustrate the shift to non-partisanship from 1920 to 1922 were selected from newspaper accounts of the local campaigns. The individual campaigns were then examined through these model studies in Deloraine, Morden-Rhineland, Dufferin, Manitou, Mountain, Norfolk, Brandon, Gladstone, Beautiful Plains, Virden and Lakeside to highlight specific issues and common themes significant in the UFM victory of 1922.

In the 1915 Manitoba provincial election, the Liberals won 39 out of 55 or 83 percent of the seats in the Manitoba legislature (see Table 3). As the results indicated, the 1915 campaign, like the election it preceded, was merely a formality. With the Farmers party just emerging in Manitoba, and the Conservative party still reeling from its governmental improprieties, the Liberal party's campaign, platform or policies were really of little consequence. A Liberal victory was a forgone conclusion. The only major issue during the entire campaign involved the scandal surrounding the construction of the Manitoba parliament buildings. Repeated references throughout the campaign to the contractor's receipt of kick-backs, which also found their way into Conservative party

campaign funds, had reduced the Conservative representation in the legislature to what seemed a still very generous five seats by the good graces of an extremely forgiving 33 percent of the Manitoba electorate. At its nadir, the Conservative party was still the second largest group in the legislature. The only other group which experienced any success at the polls in 1915 was the Labour group that managed to elect three of its members to the Manitoba Legislative Assembly.

With a convincing mandate under his belt, and the absence of any real opposition in the house, Norris refused to see his newly-won victory as anything less than a ringing endorsement of the Liberal party platform. He began immediately by leading his party through five years of government with some very innovative but also very costly legislative experiments.

1. The 1920 Campaigns

When the election was called in 1920, Norris and all of his candidates continued to campaign on the strength of this legislative record as well as the fact that beyond the Liberal party, he argued, there was no legitimate opposition to the present administration. Opening his party's campaign at a quiet meeting in Brandon on April 29th, around 90 supporters of the Liberal government listened to the premier's address which set forth achievements and the planned program of activities if returned to power.[1] Appearing confident of victory, Norris based his entire appeal to the electorate on his work during the last five years, which he argued had placed the province in the legislative forefront of all other provinces in the dominion.

This opening speech proved to set the tone for the entire Liberal campaign in 1920. Unfortunately, this strategy also resulted in leaving the Liberals on the defensive for many of the days leading up to the election. Moreover, this approach of focusing on

the government record also seemed to come at the expense of local issues in the campaign. The launching of the government campaign in Winnipeg saw members of the cabinet, candidates and other party officials speaking at four different meetings throughtout the city. Each speaker was given a few moments to comment on the record of the government.[2] Later in the campaign, key ministers such as Provincial Treasurer Ed Brown or Attorney General T.H. Johnson were forced to defend the government over particularly controversial issues. In Brandon, Johnson replied to charges of extravagance leveled by the opposition at the Norris administration.[3] Even Norris himself was pressured to the point of outlining in detail that spending was based on beneficial programs such as the rural credit scheme which had benefitted farmers who had been paying anywhere from eight to 20 percent interest on loans before the inauguration of the rural credit system.[4]

While the focus on government policy at the expense of local politics may have been unintentional at first, on at least one occasion Norris tried to deliberately play down local issues. The Liberal incumbent in the city of Brandon was having a particularly difficult campaign in 1920. Stephen Clement had been nominated by Brandon Liberals, against the advice given to his electors, who now wanted him to withdraw from the campaign. Upset by the fact that Clement had failed to achieve a seat in the Liberal cabinet, party supporters were even more hostile to the candidate when he blocked their schemes to have him replaced by a man of "cabinet timber".[5] When Norris arrived in town closing out his provincial campaign, he gave the usual account of his stewardship over the past five years. When Clement's speech was interrupted by the crowd with cat-calls and other remarks, Norris found himself lecturing the crowd to get away from personalities and deal solely with the government program.[6] A few days earlier he had left the same impression with a crowd in Winnipeg.

> Do not sacrifice your country's welfare at the call of party spite or personal ambition or local prejudice. Consider the elements opposed to the

> government. Think of what would happen if these elements chanced to get a majority of the members of the legislature and then you will work and vote for the ten government candidates in Winnipeg.[7]

Liberal concerns regarding the lack of a cohesive, organized opposition were not completely without grounds. Oddly enough, the opposition party with the best organized campaign, was also the weakest group in the legislature. Political scandal, peaking in 1915 with the construction of the new parliament buildings, had eliminated the Conservative party as a legitimate force in the 1920 election. Nevertheless, with only a handful of members sitting in the legislature and not including the Conservative leader, R.G. Willis, the party still offered a solid platform and the best campaign against the Liberal administration. On paper, the Conservative platform focused on the issues of a prohibition referendum, education and reclaiming power once delegated to all boards and commissions by past governments. The Conservatives also addressed the Patriotic Municipal Levy and promised rigid economy, good roads, sex equality, a survey of water power, the completion of the Hudson Bay Railway and the development of mining resources in Manitoba.[8] However, in practice, the Conservative campaign never strayed far beyond the issue of extravagance in government. Like the Liberals, the Conservative party also believed the only issue in the election was the government's record. However, they argued the heavy expenditures involved in the completion of the parliament buildings, the costs of commissions, the civil service and the government's controversial agricultural schemes were all services the government could ill afford.[9]

Beyond the two traditional parties, the next best organized group in the Manitoba legislature was labour. The most important groups in the Manitoba labour scene included a Labour party group led by F.J. Dixon, a One Big Union (OBU) section led by William Ivens and the Socialists best represented in the province by R.B. Russell. All of the men in these groups were socialists, but differed by degree over issues such as the level of political activity the parties should pursue. For example, the OBU was based on

the principle of non-intervention in politics. However, the Winnipeg labour group rejected this principle and in 1920, led by Dixon, J.S. Woodsworth and S. J. Farmer, broke from the Winnipeg Dominion Labour party (DLP) and founded the Independent Labour party (ILP). Rising out of arguments between Dixon and Farmer and a right wing labour element critical of the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike, the ILP became the most moderate party in the Winnipeg labour community. A social democratic party by design, the ILP welcomed a variety of labour politics with the exception of the very extremes of the Winnipeg labour movement.[10]

All of this left a Winnipeg labour community fractured among the non-political OBU, a right wing DLP still with ties to the old traditional parties, the social democrats of the ILP and a communist left wing embodied in the Workers' party. While ultimately hindered by this lack of continuity between the factions within the Labour group, they were able to issue a sweeping platform which included proportional representation and proposed amendments to the Workman Compensation Act.[11] However, each faction held separate campaign meetings in their constituencies and nominated and elected their own candidates throughout the province based on the strength of their own local organizations and some very effective advertising. For example, the Dominion Labour party sold its own newspaper, The Herald, to audience members at their own rallies. As an educational tool, the newspaper set forth party platforms and candidate histories. However, the newspaper was also important in that the funds collected from the paper sales were contributed to defray the expenses of the Labour party campaign.[12] Even Labour candidates somewhat removed from the mainstream of the movement such as Brandon's A.E. Smith ran very efficient campaigns, publishing their own newspapers to debate local labour issues. Smith carried on this publication, even in the face of local criticism revolving around a recent printer's strike in Brandon. Smith, who had once maintained that all government printing should be done in union shops, was now

criticized for arguing that this rule did not extend to his own Labour party publications in Brandon which were produced by scab printers.[13]

Smith needed a strong party machine in order to succeed in the very local campaign he had chosen to pursue. Prominent labour leaders at the time were very skeptical of Smith's selection as the local candidate in Brandon, arguing that putting forward a radical nominee was bound to cause a split in the labour vote.[14] However, Smith ran a clever campaign adopting his own platform speaking for vocational training, collective bargaining, enforcement of a national minimum standard of living, hydro extension and the socialization of industry and capital. He prefaced the release of the platform by stating very clearly that the Labour party in Brandon was not affiliated with the provincial party and that the political fight made in Brandon would be purely a local affair.[15]

The highly individual campaign run by Smith in Brandon was typical of the disjointed, disharmony which dominated the Labour campaign during 1920. Individual efforts over local issues, thrust half-heartedly under the Labour banner were very common. The situation in Brandon was not the only case in which the Labour group was forced to accept the terms of a particular candidate. When W.D. Bayley was chosen as the Labour candidate in Assiniboia, he issued five conditions of his acceptance of the nomination. Bayley maintained that $1000.00 must be raised by subscription for expenses and the candidate's deposit and that accurate accounts be kept of these funds. No person would be asked or hired to canvass for the votes, and if elected, his private finances would be subject to audit and report. In conclusion he reassured voters "that he would make no promises during the campaign as to what he would do if elected."[16]

Simplistic platforms such as the one outlined above were common among the ranks of the Farmer candidates. By 1920, the UFM still had no political organization and as a result no common political platform. Twenty-six Farmer candidates were nominated

in 1920, each conducting his own campaign concerned with each constituency's unique political debates. The UFM had decided in 1920 to give only conditional recognition to the entry of its locals into provincial politics. Beyond this, the Farmer group remained without a leader and the candidates totally dependent upon their locals for everything from financial assistance to composition of a platform.

> Some of the Farmers' candidates were nominated by Conventions of the United Farmers regularly called and representative in character, some came from varied gatherings representing only a section of the respective constituencies; some were chosen by Conventions having no connection with the U.F.M. None were formally endorsed by the Central Executive,[17]

wrote the Canadian Annual Review citing a statement by W.R. Wood, UFM secretary. The arrangement resulted in an extremely confusing situation that was wide open to a variety of abuse, but was not out of place given the scattered campaigns of the other parties.[18]

None of the political parties in 1920 seemed interested in injecting any energy or innovation into their campaigns. The Liberals were content to campaign on a misguided belief in the strength of their own past legislative record. On paper the Conservatives appeared more energetic, but in practice, their campaigns never strayed far from the single issue of Liberal extravagance. Even the Labour campaign, which initially appeared to have some teeth, was ultimately weakened by individualistic efforts and disunity among the entire labour movement as a whole. This was not an encouraging start for a legislature which had some difficult problems to face after 1920. The outcome two years down the road should have been clear from the onset.

2. The 1922 Campaign

The severe economic recession which followed World War I was as devastating in Manitoba as it was anywhere else in Canada. The break-up of the Canadian Wheat

Board, and the subsequent collapse of world wheat prices, the failure of the Home Bank and the lack of movement concerning freight rates or the tariff only served to further aggravate farmers already suffering from the depression. These fears found little relief in a Manitoba legislature which by 1922 had been plagued by political squabbles resulting in only legislative inactivity.

By 1922, the UFM had managed to eliminate some of the weaknesses from their campaign. While the party still remained without a leader, for the first time in 1922, the UFM officially entered an election campaign adopting both a provincial platform and a policy for the election. The UFM was encouraged by the success of the United Farmers in Alberta, the break through by the federal Progressive party a year earlier and certainly their own achievements in the 1920 provincial election which had elevated the Farmers group to the second largest party in the legislature. With this kind of encouragement, a greater political role for the UFM in 1922 seemed almost unavoidable, especially in light of the economic and political distress the province was experiencing.

The new UFM platform of 1922 tried to speak to some of these concerns and fears. In an attempt to ensure the legislature would be less susceptible to the paralyzing controversies of the past two years the Farmers proposed direct legislation, proportional representation, the preferential ballot and only a refusal of supply or a specific vote of want of confidence as capable of defeating the government. Education policy focused on strict attendance, consolidation, and further development at the university level. More controversial policies, such as the extension of costly farm loans programs were lumped with the traditional demands for the transfer of natural resources or completion of the Hudson Bay Railway. Rounding out the platform were calls for sex equality before the law, a child welfare system, prison reform, the creation of fields of taxation for income, inheritance, corporations and railways as well as the institution of complete prohibition.[19]

Standing alone, the UFM platform drew its fair share of criticism. For example, there was not one policy in the UFM platform that the Norris Liberals had not addressed at one point over the previous seven years. Moreover, the proposed extension of the school system, farm loans, rural credits, the Animal Purchase Act, government utilities, the government elevator program and the Hudson Bay Railway were all extremely expensive undertakings which undermined the UFM's own demands for greater economy in government.

Further contradictions arose when the Winnipeg Progressives released their own platform. The Progressive Party was formed early in 1922 when it became clear that the UFM, which was very strong in rural Manitoba, did not yet have the depth to properly challenge the traditional parties in the city of Winnipeg. This urban wing of the farmers' movement pledged cooperation with the UFM adopting the principles of their platform and nominating candidates on the basis of this union. They argued that the UFM was guaranteed a majority in the election and that in order to maintain strong rural-urban cooperation the Progressives should be elected as Winnipeg's best chance to make a valuable contribution to the government of the province.[20] However, problems arose when the Progressives, and especially potential leader George F. Chipman, condemned the Liberals for reckless expenditure of provincial funds when the UFM was advocating a platform on par with anything the Liberals had attempted since 1915.[21]

Beyond the official entrance of the UFM into the campaign of 1922, the structure of the campaigns as far as the strategies of all of the parties were concerned, changed very little by 1922. All of the other party campaigns were conducted in much the same manner as in 1920 with few exceptions made for the new and powerful force in agrarian politics. Norris continued his appeal to the electorate relying wholly upon what he considered to be seven years of progressive rule and legislation. Newspaper ads claimed the Liberal candidates stood for "a record of achievement in progressive legislation

without precedent in Canada."[22] If there was one change in the Liberal campaign from 1920 to 1922, it was that the party seemed to be thrown on the defensive even more often. Early in the campaign Norris had taken on the Winnipeg Progressives and the UFM arguing the two would never be able to join forces after the election. The Progressives had preached economy while the UFM had proposals involving huge expenditures. This inconsistency carried over into the prohibition issue, with the UFM entirely opposed to the policy while the Progressives advocated a referendum on the matter. However, the Norris attacks on the UFM campaign based on what he referred to as "organized hypocrisy" were few and far between.[23] For most of the campaign Norris found himself on the defensive. Defending his governmental record over seven years against the charges of extravagance, he asked of the electorate, "how, as exponents of British fair play, they could turn out of office an administration which had not failed to keep every election pledge."[24] Repudiating charges of affiliation with the federal Liberal Party, Norris boasted there was no provincial government more unpopular with the King administration than that of Manitoba.[25] Norris was even forced to reconfirm support for his own more popular policies such as the national school system, arguing in Gladstone, Manitoba that he was proud to defend such legislation.[26]

Most of these charges that were launched at the Liberals had there origins with a Conservative Party whose campaign had also undergone few revisions since 1920 and still considered the Liberals their chief political foe. The Conservative party had remained under the leadership of R.G. Willis until 1922 despite the fact that Willis did not have his own seat in the legislature. J.T. Haig had capably fulfilled the role of Conservative House Leader for the 1920 to 1922 period. However, on April 5, 1922 a current Conservative member of the legislature, Major F.G. Taylor, was elected as the new leader to guide the party through the upcoming election. Unfortunately, the Conservative platform, while still substantial, offered little new direction for the 1922

campaign. Beyond the 1920 platform the party was pledged to economy in administration, reorganization of the civil service, amalgamation of the agricultural college and the university and the reduction of taxation.[27] In terms of strategy, the party had chosen to make economy in government the chief issue in the campaign with repeated mention of the Norris government's affiliation with the federal Liberal Party.

The Labour group, an already badly divided organization in 1920, had no success over the two intervening years in coordinating the varying degrees of opinion within the Winnipeg labour community. During the campaign the issues which concerned labour such as unemployment, education, housing or workman compensation were largely marginalized by the other parties.[28] However, it was on the strength of these issues combined with the overwhelming personal popularity of figures such as F.J. Dixon, J.S. Woodsworth, James Winning, E.F. Bayley, A.E. Smith, William Ivens or R.B. Russell that the Labour group continued to affect electoral results in the province.

While campaign platforms and strategies for all of the parties saw little improvement from 1920 to 1922, the general approach to conducting a campaign also remained relatively unchanged during the early 1920's. The campaign began for most parties with a general convention held by a particular party for the purpose of nominating candidates. In each constituency an enthusiastic collection of party supporters would gather to nominate their candidates. The first order of business was usually the election of new officers such as the president, vice-president and secretary of the local Liberal Association. On most occasions a government representative or high party official would also be present to give an account of recent party activity. A nominating ballot would then be taken. Sometimes a whole slate of candidates would be available to choose from, sometimes only one candidate would be nominated, and occasionally a party local might choose not to run a candidate at all.[29] Quite often these meetings would be attended by members of other organizations such as the Grain Growers'

Organization, the Great War Veterans Association (GWVA) or even the local representatives of an opposing party. It was also becoming more common for these meetings to attempt to break with the traditional party politics and make special efforts to go beyond the rank and file of the party to appeal to those special groups beyond the loyal party men. A unique Labour Party meeting in Assiniboia in support of W.D. Bayley also featured a report submitted from a children's convention held earlier in the day which had also confirmed the nomination of Bayley as the children's candidate.[30] In the 1922 campaign the Progressive Party held a rally at river park in Winnipeg open to any interested in the party's platform. Roughly 200 people attended the open air gathering making for a lively proceeding. In addition, speakers were filmed by a motion picture machine and a band performed just prior to the main speakers remarks.[31]

Once the campaigns were underway, candidates could be found speaking in schools, community halls, town halls or on street corners. Quite often a candidate who had his platform challenged by an opposition candidate would attend the challenger's meeting to defend his principles. It was also common for special interest groups to call meetings when they desired an expression of views from every political party on a particular issue. For example, a stormy meeting held in Winnipeg's Board of Trade Building by the Moderation League was attended by 2000 people curious over the future of Manitoba's liquor legislation.[32]

3. The Election Results

Static platforms, lethargic strategies and a blase approach to the overall electioneering in the campaigns seems to suggest the parties were quite sure of victory (if a member of the government) or resigned to try and maintain the status quo against what they might have considered an overwhelming Liberal opponent (if in the ranks of the

opposition). However, the election results indicate that the contest was anything but a runaway for the Liberal party and that in fact, the parties did a very poor job of trying to decipher any kind of voter trends throughout the campaign. For example, there were many more close decisions in Manitoba's 55 electoral divisions during the 1920 electoral campaign than in the 1922 race (See Appendix 3 "Candidate Majorities in Manitoba's Electoral Divisions for 1920 and 1922"). Speaking strictly in terms of rural Manitoba or everything beyond the Winnipeg city borders, where the election was fought for the first time on the newly instituted proportional representation plan (See Maps 1 & 2 "Provincial and City of Winnipeg Electoral Divisions"), there were signs of a great deal of indecision within the Manitoba electorate revolving around the main parties in 1920.

During the 1920 provincial election there were 14 different constituencies in which the provincial legislative seats were won on the basis of less than 100 votes (See Table 32 & 33). Out of the 14 seats, nine were won with majorities of 50 votes or less, seven with as few as 20 votes between them, and five with 10 votes or less constituting a majority. By the same token, there were only nine rural constituencies in 1920 reporting landslide majorities (which for the purposes of this study exceeded 400 votes) for a particular candidate.

By 1922, much of this demographic indecision revolving around the main parties, and so visible in the results from 1920, was largely resolved. In 1922 rural Manitoba voters went to the polls with far greater political conviction and certainty. In 1922 only five rural constituencies saw victories with less than 100 votes determining the majority. (90 in Ste. Rose, 83 in Dauphin, 47 in Cypress, 31 in Manitou and 9 in Roblin) At the same time, 24 candidates in rural constituencies were granted majorities of over 400 votes (24 constituting well over half of the total rural seats and three times the number of 400 plus majorities for 1920).

Table 32

Record of Majorities for Each Constituency According to Size in the Manitoba Provincial Elections of 1920 and 1922

1920		1922	
Range of Victory as Expressed in Votes	Number of Victories in that Range	Range of Victory as Expressed in Votes	Number of Victories in That Range
1	1		
4	2		
5	1	9	1
10	1		
20	2		
20-40	1	9-40	1
40-50	1	40-50	1
50-100	5	50-100	2
100-150	7	100-150	3
150-200	2	150-200	3
200-250	1	200-250	2
250-300	4	250-300	1
300-350	4	300-350	2
350-400	1	350-400	3
400+	9	400+	24
Acclaimation	3	Acclaimation	2
Totals*	45		45

*The numbers above do not include the results for the city of Winnipeg in 1920 or 1922.

Source: Constituency majorities are recorded in the Canadian Annual Review, 1920 p. 752. and CAR, 1922 pp. 775-776.

Taken together, these numbers from both the 1920 and 1922 elections do offer some explanation with regards to the UFM victory in 1922. Considering first the larger number of narrow majorities in 1920 as compared to 1922, they clearly suggest that the

formal organization of the UFM in 1922 was enough to turn the tide in some of these very close races (See Table 33).

Table 33

The 1922 Election Results for Constituencies Which Had Seen Some Very Narrow Majorities in 1920

	1920		1922	
Electoral Division	the Winner in 1920	Majority in 1920	the Winner in 1922	Majority in 1922
Arthur	Lib.	10	UFM.	360
Fairford	Lib.	5	Lib.	412
Gilbert Plains	Lib.	20	UFM.	545
Glenwood	Farm.	4	Lib.	518
Roblin	Farm.	4	Cons.	9
Rockwood	Farm.	1	UFM.	668
Turtle Mountain	Lib.	6	Cons.	104
Carillon	Farm.	48	UFM.	306
Lakeside	Lib.	23	UFM.	490
Dufferin	Lib.	77	UFM.	155
Emerson	Farm.	64	Indep.	431
Fisher	Farm.	81	UFM.	227
Morden-Rhineland	Cons.	62	Cons.	337
Springfeild	Lab.	59	UFM.	160

Source: The Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1920 & 1922.

In the 1920 election, out of the 14 constituencies decided by less than 100 votes, six were won by Farmer candidates with some very slim majorities. (In Fisher, Mabb won by 81, in Emerson, Yakimischak by 64, in Carrillon, Duprey by 48, in Glenwood, Robson by 4, in Roblin, Richardson by 4, and in Rockwood, McKinnell by 1) By 1922, in these same 14 constituencies the Farmers now had control of nine of the seats, with the added bonus of much more convincing mandates. (In Arthur, McLeod won by 360,

in Gilbert Plains, Berry by 545, in Rockwood, McKinnell by 668, in Carrillon, Prefontaine by 306, in Lakeside, Campbell by 490, in Dufferin, Brown by 155, in Emerson, Yakimischak by 451, in Fisher, Bachinsky by 227, and in Springfield, Barclay by 160).

Table 34

Majorities Won in Long-time Opposition Seats Which Shift to the UFM for the First Time in the 1922 Provincial Election

Constituency	The Winning Party in 1920	By a Majority of,	The Size of the UFM Majority in the Same Seat in 1922
Arthur	Lib.	10	360
Birtle	Lib.	134	597
Brandon	Lab.	604	1221
Deloraine	Lib.	315	183
Dufferin	Lib.	77	151
Gilbert Plains	Lib.	20	545
Gladstone	Lib.	180	878
Hamiota	Lib.	347	403
Iberville	Indep.-Cons.	accl.	612
Lakeside	Lib.	23	490
La Verandrye	Indep.	314	440
Manitou	Cons.	259	31
Minnedosa	Lib.	267	806
Mountain	Lib.	126	612
Norfolk	Cons.	217	137
Russell	Lib.	632	394
St.George	Lab.	117	652
Springfield	Lab.	59	160
The Pas	Lib.	434	354
Virden	Lib.	291	777

Source: The Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1920 & 1922.

However, tight races in particular constituencies usually indicate problems with regards to party definition. In some cases, local platforms had overlapped, blurring party lines, making it difficult to distinguish what the electorate was saying when votes were cast. Keeping this in mind, the constituencies in which dramatic political change had occurred were much more revealing. The races in closely contested seats are not nearly as interesting as seats in which long-term Liberal or Conservative hegemony was thwarted by a substantial Progressive victory in 1922. In these ridings, the reasons for the shift in support from opposition to UFM should be even more pronounced and easily identifiable.

In 1922, 20 legislative seats were lost by one of the various opposition parties in the House to the United Farmers of Manitoba. Table 34 shows that by far the majority of these seats, 13, came to the UFM at the expense of the Liberal Party. Of the remaining seven, three were taken from various Labour candidates, two from the Conservatives, one each from a candidate claiming Independent-Conservative status and one from a straight Independent candidate. Why did the voters in these key constituencies shift their support to the United Farmers of Manitoba in 1922? The main issues in these local campaigns, and especially those highlighted in races in which a large opposition majority in 1920 was reversed for large UFM victory in 1922, are central in understanding the UFM's success throughout the rest of the province.

4. The Rural Campaigns

Deloraine was one of these seats that turned around dramatically for the UFM in 1922. A strong Liberal victory at the polls in 1920 by a majority of 315 votes was followed by a UFM victory of 183 votes two years later. In this constituency the Liberals had constantly found themselves at the defense of their government's

expenditures from 1915 to 1922. Party faithful such as the President of the Deloraine Liberal Association, S.K. Colquhoun argued that Liberalism still stood for advanced legislation and that his party had nothing of which to be ashamed. "Cost of government had not increased out of proportion to the cost of living all over the country."[33] Moreover, he argued

> a great deal of the expenses of the province were legacies from the old Tory regime and other expenditures such as good roads, farm loans and rural credits were a result of the demands of the people.[34]

The incumbent Liberal candidate from Deloraine and Minister of Education, Robert S. Thornton, tried to overcome this criticism of his government's expenditure by focusing on the Liberal's controversial school legislation. In his address to the delegates at the Deloraine Liberal Convention Thornton maintained

> as member for Deloraine and Minister of Education it has been my privilege to assist in removing the system of multilingual schools which was steadily dividing the people of Manitoba by barriers of speech and nationality and in establishing in their place Canadian schools and instruction in English and while I have a voice in affairs I will maintain the system and resist all encroachments from whatever source they come.[35]

This policy met with some success in Deloraine chiefly because of the constituency's ethnic composition. However, even under these favorable conditions, the school issue alone was not strong enough to carry the seat for the Liberals, and certainly in other constituencies boasting a richer ethnic makeup, the policy was extremely detrimental for the Liberal Party. Fortunately for the Liberals, this was one weakness which the UFM could not use to its advantage.

From the onset of the campaign UFM candidates had been denying reports that changes to the School Act would be under consideration if the Farmers were elected. Eventually the President of the UFM, Colin H. Burnell, who had failed to achieve his own nomination for the election, officially announced that the School Act would remain unchanged in the event of a UFM victory. He went on to label all those who dared to

raise the race question as unpatriotic and maintained the chief aims of the farmers movement was to bring all the nationalities together in an effort to create the best type of national spirit.[36] The UFM's very positive support of the Norris education legislation caused as many problems for the Farmers' party as it had for the Liberal party which initiated the reforms. This was particularly true in constituencies which contained large French-speaking or Mennonite communities.

One such community was situated in the constituency of Morden-Rhineland. While similar to the neighboring Deloraine constituency only in terms of general location and the focus on farm issues, the ethnic makeup of the Morden-Rhineland constituency ensured very different election results in 1922. Here the Conservative party dominated the 1920 and 1922 elections, winning by a majority of 337 votes in a 1922 campaign which surely would have been won by the UFM were it not for the unique ethnic makeup of the constituency. The Morden-Rhineland constituency contained just over 3200 voters in 1922. Of this number, 1500 were Mennonites, 400 were of mixed ethnic background and roughly 1300 were English-speaking farmers.[37] The campaign in this divided constituency quickly developed into a straight Conservative versus Farmer battle, with the Liberals unable to even field a candidate. The incumbent candidate, Conservative Jack Kennedy, had taken over this once Liberal stronghold in the election of 1920. Prior to 1920, Morden-Rhineland had been held since 1892 by the extremely popular Liberal Minister of Agriculture and Immigration Valentine Winkler. However, the Norris governments controversial education legislation followed by Winkler's death in 1920 had resulted in the success of the Conservative Kennedy who fared well among the constituency's Mennonite community. By 1922 Kennedy still had a firm hold on the seat although he was somewhat disturbed to see the recent departures of Mennonites who, faced with the Liberal school legislation, had decided to leave their farms in the south-western section of the constituency to seek greater linguistic and educational

freedom in Mexico and Alabama. The Manitoba Liberal Party, realizing the folly of running a candidate in a constituency so hostile to its educational policy, refused to put a Liberal candidate forward in the Morden seat. However, a strong Liberal presence was not entirely absent from the campaign. John Sweet, the UFM candidate in the constituency, had staunch roots in the area not only as a farmer, but also as a Liberal and a most vocal supporter of the Liberal education legislation. Not surprisingly, UFM attempts to organize locals in Mennonite districts were met with little enthusiasm. Nevertheless, the straight UFM-Conservative battle that developed in the constituency proved quite lively with both sides accusing their opponents of deception. The UFM claimed Kennedy had promised control over schools would be returned to the Mennonites and that the drought of the last few years would end.[38] On the other hand, the Conservatives used Sweet's old Liberal leanings against him very effectively to come away with the victory.

Another straight Farmer-Conservative battle took place just north of Morden-Rhineland in the constituency of Dufferin. The UFM organization was much stronger in this constituency, and in the end, it was largely responsible for the Farmer's success in snatching the seat away from the Liberal party in 1922. In a race very similar to the one in Morden Rhineland, the absence of a Liberal candidate in the field was of a great advantage to the Farmers of Dufferin. The Liberal unpopularity in constituencies such as Dufferin and Morden-Rhineland was largely the result of the Department of Agriculture's policy regarding drainage in the districts.[39] The decision by the former Liberal member for Dufferin, A.E. August, to withdraw from the race and not oppose a Farmer nominee eliminated any chance of the confusion between Liberal and UFM candidates (as in the case of Sweet in Morden) or policies (such as land drainage in Dufferin).

Also as in Morden-Rhineland, the Conservative candidate in Dufferin was a leading citizen in the community. H.E. Robinson was a well spoken, prominent lawyer

with a long record of municipal service as well as service to the Conservative party. By way of contrast, the UFM candidate was as well known as Robinson, but was extremely proud of the fact that he was an admitted neophyte to politics. Brown's campaign emphasized his inexperience as one of his political strengths. This strategy paid off with the Farmer candidate's general acceptance and then recognition as a man eminently fair in his dealings.

This kind of recognition would not have been possible without the very thorough and unrivaled organization of the Farmers' party within every district of Dufferin. In constituencies such as Dufferin and others with strong UFM organizations, relative unknowns could be put forward with surprisingly little trouble. The farmers of Dufferin were so well acquainted with the UFM platform that the actual candidate was not a matter of surprising importance. The UFM had achieved this dominance by presenting their organization to the public using the personal canvass route and refusing to let the campaign develop along the more traditional lines of public meetings.[40] In the end, Brown's relative inexperience in politics was more of an asset than detriment to his campaign. Astute observers noted that

> With a ready-made first class organization ready to his hand in the UFM locals Mr. Brown's present lack of weapons of politics, good speaking ability, ready affability and so on, is very little of a handicapp.[41]

In addition to the obvious power of the UFM organization in many of these rural south-western Manitoba constituencies, the French vote had also become a factor of considerable weight in constituencies such as Dufferin, Manitou and Mountain. Politics in these rural communities was still heavily influenced by the early French settlement in the region. Early Manitoba French settlement along the Red, Assiniboine, Seine and Rat Rivers of the Manitoba Lowlands, as well as the more remote colonies established in the areas north of Roblin, at St. Lazare, Lettelier, Ste. Rose du Lac or on the east bank of Lake Manitoba at St. Laurent were well known in Manitoba.[42] More important in this

section of south-western Manitoba was the band of French settlements extending from the west end of Winnipeg around St. Francois Xavier and extending south-west into the surrounding countryside through Fannystelle, Haywood, St. Claude, Notre Dame de Lourdes and St. Alphonse.[43] Politics in Dufferin, Manitou and Mountain were still heavily influenced by this band of early French settlement. In spite of the fact that by 1920 their numbers were rather small, many of their issues remained in the political forefront. Perhaps the reason for the importance given to the French vote stemmed from the wide open political field in these areas. The United Farmers in the constituency of Mountain alone had 18 individuals vying for the party nomination. Manitou also at one point had five declared candidates for its own seat. With such divided electorates the possibility of a minority candidate increased as did the importance of the French minority which was singled out as the deciding factor in many of these constituencies.

In Dufferin, the French vote had been estimated at roughly 700 out of a possible 4000. Most of these French voters were centered around the town of Carmen which had long been a Conservative stronghold in the constituency.[44] In Manitou an estimated 1200 out of 4000 potential voters were suspected of a French background. As a result, organizers in the constituency were anticipating a large anti-Norris vote as a result of the government's school legislation. The Conservatives had taken the Manitou seat in the last election when J.S. Ridley won a minority victory in 1920. Since this rather tenuous victory there were rumors that Ridley's French supporters were upset with his stand against the Moderation League petition on prohibition. In addition, there were other rumors that Ridley had made promises with regards to the return of the control of the schools to French districts which he had found impossible to keep.[45]

In the constituency of Mountain (which in 1920 elected a Liberal representative by 126 votes only to elect a UFM member by a 612 vote majority in 1922) the French vote was estimated at nearly one third of a total vote of around 2400. Once again, as in

Dufferin, the outcome of this seat seemed to hinge on the Liberal school legislation as the incumbent Liberal J.B. Baird tried to repeat his victory of 1920. A second major issue arising in this campaign which overshadowed the French school issue and could have worked in the favor of the Conservative candidate George M. Frazer, arose from the mounting confusion in a number of constituencies between the Liberal and United Farmer candidates. Prior to 1922, the UFM nominee, Charles Cannon, had been very active in the Mountain constituency acting as the President of the local Liberal Association for the past 13 years. Long considered the backbone of the Liberal party in this constituency, Cannon's sudden defection caused a great deal of confusion in the constituency. Long time Liberals felt betrayed by Cannon's actions and because Norris was still relatively popular in Mountain, the Cannon departure had brought little new support to the UFM in the constituency.[46] Nevertheless, just as in the case of UFM support of Liberal education legislation, the Farmers were able to overcome the confusion with the Liberal party candidates because of their superior local organization.

This same confusion between Liberal and UFM candidates and policy seemed to arise in many of the rural constituencies during 1922. In other seats in which only one Liberal or UFM candidate was running, a popular strategy for the local Conservatives focused on trying to force another Liberal or UFM candidate into the field in the hopes that they would split the vote and allow the possibility of a minority Conservative victory. This approach was exactly what the Conservatives attempted in the constituency of Norfolk. Here the incumbent Conservative candidate R.J. Waugh tried in vain to force a Liberal into the field in order to fend off what proved to be his inevitable defeat at the hands of the UFM nominee John Muirhead. Two attempts were made to have a candidate nominated by Liberal convention in the constituency, both were defeated, and the constituency was allowed to swing from a 1920 Conservative majority of 217 to a UFM candidate by a majority of 137 votes. Each effort in the end

was attributed to Conservative influences and the hope that a third candidate would improve Waugh's standing.[47] This hope of provoking a three-way contest was really the last chance for Conservatives in races beyond the belt of scattered French settlement into south-western Manitoba. Like much of the south-west, Norfolk was a predominantly British settlement. As the Conservative campaign moved into these regions they lost the support of the French vote, the issue of school legislation, and with them many of their chances for election.

The city of Brandon was one constituency in which just such a three cornered contest seemed assured. However, the Brandon situation was not a typical case of the UFM overwhelming one of the opposition parties. In fact, the UFM did not even run a candidate in the 1920 or the 1922 Brandon contests. A Labour candidate won the Brandon seat by a majority of 604 votes in 1920 only to be quickly ousted in 1922 by a very well organized, fusionist campaign which claimed a majority of 1221 votes. In spite of the UFM's absence, the election in Brandon was interesting not only for the radical change of heart of the electors over such a short period of time, but also for the issues raised during the course of the campaign. In the 1920 provincial election a three way race in Brandon resulted in the election of the Labour candidate A.E. Smith. Representing his party's first bid for provincial office in the city's history, Smith (along with the unsolicited assistance of Independent candidate James Kirkaldy) succeeded in defeating the incumbent Liberal candidate James Clement. Riding a wave of post war Labour unrest which at its peak manifested itself in three general strikes in Brandon in the first few months of 1919, the 1920 provincial election provided the perfect opportunity for local Labour to make its presence felt.[48] Smith won the 1920 election with the narrowest of majorities taking 2007 of 4655 total votes while his two opponents, Liberal S.E. Clement and Independent James Kirkaldy split the majority of the votes between them with 1403 and 1245 respectively.

Smith had obviously pushed the bounds of traditional Labour support in the city of Brandon in 1920, and his success was clearly fleeting. After a less than productive two year session in the Manitoba Legislature, local politicians began to rally their forces in order to defeat Smith's re-election bid. Determined to prevent any hope of a minority victory in 1922, Brandon's Liberal and Conservative parties combined in a loose coalition and nominated one fusion candidate to defeat Smith.

J.H. Edmison was the man agreed upon as the fusion candidate and he went on to conduct a very personal campaign against the Labour member. Edmison's campaign was two fold, focusing on the futility of group government, especially as exemplified in the last two sessions of the Manitoba Legislature, as well as how a representative like Smith could only serve to weaken an already delicate situation.

The personal campaign against A.E. Smith was best summed up in a statement made by Brandon Alderman Robert Crawford who submitted in a north end meeting in Brandon on the 29 of June 1922 that

> observations of his [Smith's] actions in the last two sessions of the legislature has led me to believe he is not a sane man to represent Labour.[49]

In the same speech he went on to fault the incumbent candidate for defeating the government when their was every prospect of good legislation being pushed through the House, for voting against the liquor referendum, for being a mud-slinger and for his socialist tendencies.[50]

Edmison's campaign in Brandon touched on all of these crimes by Smith in what became a mission bent on assassinating the incumbents personal and professional character. Yet, the onset of the campaign was not as nasty as it would later become. Initially the enemy was group government and Edmison emphasized that he stood as a citizens candidate and a straight independent, not tied down to any party, and responsible only to the citizens of Brandon as a whole. If elected he maintained he would be at liberty to vote to the best of his judgment and in his own words "promote any measure

which will advance the well being of the people."[51] He also firmly opposed group government or any other scheme which could chance to end in the same legislative disaster witnessed by the entire province from 1920 to 1922. He maintained government needed a working majority to function properly, and as a non-partisan, he could work with any government as an independent supporter.

As the campaign developed further, the chief fusionist issue with regards to A.E. Smith became his defeat at any cost. Edmison began by emphasizing that he could be just as good a Labour representative as Smith had been in Brandon. However, later he began to cast Smith as a socialist, too radical to act as a true representative of the local Labour community. He carried on by attacking Smith's attitude towards British institutions in general and argued that Brandon had suffered economically during Smith's tenure as MLA as business had been frightened away from the community. Edmison even went as far as to hold Smith at least partially responsible for the lavish expenditure of the Liberal government while acting as Brandon's representative. Moreover, Edmison argued that he would never spend three days of legislative time saying what could be said in 10 minutes as Smith was accused of doing in his own reply to the throne speech.[52] The fusion candidate argued very wisely that he constituted the most responsible, economy minded candidate and that a vote for Smith was indirectly a vote for the continuation of the legislative uncertainty Manitobans had experienced over the last two years.

Smith of course, denied all of the fusion candidates accusations and went on to consistently criticize the "foolish fusionists" who had dismissed their own party principles so quickly in order to unite and make a desperate grab for power.[53] With regards to the accusation he was an advocate of the Soviet system, he argued that his only comment was that each country should be allowed to adopt any system of government without outside interference. Furthermore, he maintained his only comment regarding British

institutions was a remark that such institutions were elastic and should be adapted to the changing conditions of the times.[54]

By the time of the election, the campaign in Brandon had proved quite successful for the fusion forces. A very successful smear campaign against Smith, partisan politics and the futility of group government was very convenient for both the Liberal and Conservative parties in Brandon. For their part, Liberals managed to avoid some of the awkward fiscal criticism leveled against their own government in other constituencies by uniting with the Conservatives in the face of a perceived greater enemy in the radical labour candidate. By the same token, Conservatives who had been disappointed provincially and federally in the Brandon constituency during 1920 and 1921 were happy to contribute to the fusion campaign as opposed to having no voice in the campaign at all. In the end, Edmison won the seat, carrying the city of Brandon in the largest majority ever given a candidate in Brandon for a provincial seat in the legislature.

Unfortunately, for the Liberals and Conservatives, Brandon was by far the exception in comparison to other constituencies of primarily British stock in rural south-western Manitoba. Once again in constituencies such as Gladstone and Beautiful Plains the Liberals were forced back to the defense of their government's fiscal policies at the mercy of the attacks of the Conservatives, whose only hope lay in a minority victory if the Liberals and the UFM were to split the vote. While Beautiful Plains had been a UFM stronghold throughout 1920 and 1922, Gladstone was another constituency in which a Liberal majority in 1920 was reversed in the favor of the UFM in 1922. In Gladstone, and in other constituencies like it, the Liberal frustration with the entire campaign would occasionally break through to the surface. Liberal candidate David Smith in Gladstone, during frequent recitations of the benefits of farm loans, rural credits and the provincial savings legislation, occasionally found himself attacking the local farmers as "ungrateful

for the mercies they had received by opposing the government and trying to turn it out of office."[55]

Virden was yet another of these constituencies in which a sizable majority of 291 votes for the Liberal George Clingan in 1920 was lost to the UFM's R.H. Mooney who claimed a 777 vote majority in 1922. Here the Liberal candidate George Clingan had also picked up on Smith's sense of frustration arguing it was only common sense to reelect a party which had done so much for the farmers, in the way of school legislation as well as other humanitarian measures. While government expenditures were high, services had been rendered for the sacrifice.

In these constituencies, the United Farmers justification for their opposition to the Liberal government remained unchanged. In most cases the UFM had not gone out of their way to criticize past Liberal legislation which had been so beneficial to the farmers. Leaving the criticism to the Conservatives, some farmers would even admit some Liberal legislation had been very beneficial. However, some candidates such as UFM representative R.H. Mooney of Virden could never come to terms with the Liberal argument that

> because it [the Liberal government]has done the right thing in regard to passing measures, it should lay claim to support of the electors as an almost divine right.[56]

He carried on by stating that elector ingratitude was not a factor in the election and that the UFM was

> the only party which had a chance of getting a majority in the House and therefore of being in a position to lessen the taxation burden and effect an improvement in the economic condition of the province.[57]

Other UFM candidates throughout the province kept up this defense of their party's motivation. In Lakeside, a young Douglas Campbell running in his first election campaign argued the old two-party system had failed Manitobans. Party members were not able to judge legislation on merit and the entire system was governed by patronage.

He went on to argue the independent structure of the Farmers party was unique and that they were the only ones that could be trusted to keep down expenses and build up the revenues.[58] Picking away at these central themes, Campbell also succeeded in snatching the Liberal stronghold of Lakeside, taking the constituency by a 490 vote majority in 1922 from the Liberals.

The campaigns in rural Manitoba were to be governed by a number of different issues in 1920 and 1922. However, in these particular constituencies of Deloraine, Dufferin, Manitou, Mountain, Norfolk, Gladstone, Virden and Lakeside, where significant opposition victories in 1920 were overthrown by an overwhelming drive in favor of the UFM in 1922, there were a number of common themes which seemed to work in the Farmers' favor.

Most prominent among all of these issues was the consistent criticism regarding what was considered extravagant use of public funds by the Norris government. Growing out of the war burden, its recessional aftermath and the depression that followed, extravagant government expenditure was the central feature of the Deloraine campaign and it loomed in the background of all the other constituencies, periodically appearing to put local Liberals in their place.

Throughout the rest of the province the only other issues which could be considered major or province wide factors of the same degree as government expenditure were the issues of school legislation and prohibition. However, neither of these issues was given any consideration by the provincial leaders of any party going into the election and as a result were not issues in every constituency. For example, Liberals, Conservatives and Progressives alike had agreed that any more amendments to the School Act regarding bilingual education would be out of the question. By the same token, all parties with the exception of the UFM, were in favor of a referendum on the prohibition question. However, this stance by the UFM was thrown into question when

the Progressive party (the urban wing of the UFM) announced it also favored a referendum on the sale of liquor before June of 1923.[59] With all parties reluctant to take a stand and raise these highly explosive issues, the debate was left to the individual points of view of candidates in the various constituencies which dared to broach the subject. As a result, prohibition only became an issue in constituencies in which it was already rumored that the liquor was flowing. Moreover, Liberals in constituencies such as Deloraine, Norfolk or Brandon, with an ethnic makeup which could be considered sympathetic to the Norris education legislation, could try and use the issue to their advantage. However, Liberals in Dufferin, Manitou and Mountain, with a stronger French and a more diverse ethnic vote were wise to avoid the question of bilingualism in education.

The reluctance of the main parties to take issue with one another over questions such as education or prohibition did lead to accusations that the Liberals and the UFM were identical parties or that the UFM candidates were merely Liberals in disguise. In those constituencies in which there was some confusion between the Liberal and the UFM candidates, it was always the UFM organization in the constituency which made the difference. The newspaper reports of the rural campaigns clearly show that the UFM's powerful local organizations ensured the election of their candidates regardless of their past political associations or their lack of past political associations.

Finally, it was also clear that the UFM hit on a major concern of many Manitobans when they outlined the need for a more stable government. The fusion candidate in Brandon emphasized throughout his campaign that he stood as a straight independent, free of party ties and responsible only to the citizens of Brandon in a definite appeal to the non-partisanship of Brandon electors and there desire for a stable majority government.[60] The UFM candidate in Virden announced that in his opinion the Farmers were the only party capable of achieving a majority in the House.[61] At the

same time, UFM candidate Douglas Campbell in Lakeside constituency continued to attack the old two party system which he argued had broken down under the weight of patronage and partisanship.[62]

5. The Winnipeg Campaign

The significance of these issues highlighted in the rural Manitoba campaigns was confirmed by the Winnipeg electorate. While reluctant to vote for the Progressive candidates in their own constituency, Winnipeg voters nevertheless understood the basis of their appeal. Only one Progressive member was elected in Winnipeg under the proportional representation system used in 1922. Certainly one reason why urban support was not forthcoming for the Winnipeg Progressive party stemmed from the discrepancies which arose between the UFM and Progressive platforms.

Winnipeg Liberals such as W.H. Trueman were quick to argue that the UFM and Progressive parties would never be able to unite after the election if both continued to campaign on their existing platforms.[63] He pointed out that local Progressives were preaching economy while the UFM platform contained new proposals for huge public expenditures. He went further by outlining the inconsistencies in the stance of each party on the question of prohibition and declared that

> The Winnipeg Progressives should be standing with either the Conservatives or the Liberals as the policies of those parties were more in line with the retrenchment demanded by Craig and Chipman.[64]

Winnipeg Labour members and Conservatives were just as upset with the contradictions between the UFM and the Progressives. Labour member F.J. Dixon characterized the Progressives as nothing more than castoffs of the old-line parties.[65] Similarly, Winnipeg Conservatives found it ironic that a group which argued against party politics was now so anxious for its own political organization.[66]

The Progressive party tried to rectify this awkward situation arising from the inconsistencies of the two platforms by emphasizing that there was "a community of interest" shared by the two parties which acted as "a joiner of hands" between the rural and urban candidates from the UFM and the Progressives.[67] Unfortunately, they also stressed the importance of having representation from the city in what they were positive would be a new farmer government and may have alienated Winnipeg voters more by arguing that

> Winnipeg could not afford to stand out, hence, it was suggested it was the duty of electors of the city to return progressive candidates.[68]

While the opposition parties in Winnipeg seemed to enjoy emphasizing the communication problems between the city Progressives and the United Farmers, once beyond these circumstantial attacks, the urban and rural campaigns were virtually indistinguishable. Premier T.C. Norris opened the Liberal party's final Winnipeg rally announcing he was the leader of a responsible government and had nothing for which he should apologize. Once again he found himself listing the campaign promises of 1915 which had been fulfilled and in some cases expanded upon. One final time he addressed the charges of extravagance laid against his government by arguing

> There was a cry for reduced expenditure but none of the opponents of the administration had the courage of declaring where the cut should be made especially if they were addressing the people in the rural districts of the province.[69]

He went on to argue that when charging extravagance one must show services were not rendered for the money spent and he closed by maintaining that he could not recall a Manitoba government that had not been charged with extravagance.

Just as concerns over the charges of extravagance against the Liberal government remained unchanged in rural or urban constituencies, calls for economy in government were unwavering in each region as well. The Winnipeg Conservative party seemed to lead this charge, campaigning that

> a vote for the Norris administration meant endorsation of extravagance; a vote for the Progressives meant a vote for one knew not what, while a vote for the Conservatives stood for the endorsation of economy.[70]

Their case asserted that Norris had increased government expenditure from $4,500,000 to $10,000,000 since 1915, and that the Progressives in Ontario had nearly doubled expenses from $10,000,000 to $18,000,000 in only two years.[71] For the elector set on economy in government, the Conservative party argued it was the only logical choice.

Finally, it was also true that concerns over the needs for stable government as well as the conduct of politicians within that government carried over from the rural to the city constituencies. However, in the urban areas, responsibility for voicing these concerns shifted from the UFM to the various Labour candidates in Winnipeg. Candidates such as Union Labour representative James Winning, with sixteen years of service and experience in Winnipeg trade union circles hoped his expertise would

> command the individual support of those who desired representation by men who are pledged to legislate and not play politics.[72]

He accused opposition members and his own Independent Labour representative in the last session of the Manitoba legislature of seeking their own personal gratification over the interests of those who elected them. For example, on the issue of the Talbot motion of non-confidence in the Norris administration, he argued the members "displayed a deplorable deficiency of political tact."[73] He went on to argue that if the defeat had been delayed, important measures could have been passed that would have provided relief to thousands of Manitobans.

6. Conclusion

In the end, surveys of electioneering in 1920 and 1922 reveal that the problem of government expenditure had become a major concern in the Liberal campaign in both

rural and urban Manitoba. The controversial education legislation of the Liberals also proved to be highly problematic. In constituencies where citizens of ethnic backgrounds other than French saw their own schools and languages ignored by the provincial government in favor of a small minority, sometimes non-existent in their constituency, the legislation was extremely controversial. However, in constituencies holding strong French speaking communities the Liberal efforts in education proved not far reaching enough to win the continued support of the voters. Both issues paled in comparison to the mammoth UFM grassroots organization in every constituency. While this organization was not yet up to speed in constituencies such as Winnipeg, in rural seats the UFM election machine was able to override any problems such as uncomfortable similarities between the UFM and Liberal candidates and policies, and vault farmer candidates to power on the strength of arguments that a party system riddled by contradiction and corruption had failed Manitobans.

With one important exception, the platforms and strategies of the main parties changed very little in the elections of 1920 and 1922. Liberals campaigned both years on the strength of their political record as a government while giving little credence to arguments that the extravagant nature of their finances over the last seven years was anything more than an unfortunate symptom of an increasingly complex age. The Conservative party during this period was best remembered as the weakest party in the legislature, but with the best organization in the house, constantly challenging, debating and attacking the government on every matter with extraordinary energy and zeal. Unfortunately, they seemed unable to identify their true opponent in the 1922 race and as a result continued beating a Liberal dead horse while a UFM dark horse ran away with the victory. Labour was a legitimate force in Manitoba politics during these years held back by its lack of continuity and coordination among the very different factions within its own party. The exception, of course, was provided by the United Farmers of

Manitoba. By 1922 the party had evolved from the local campaigns conducted in the absence of an overall political organization or platform, into an official party.

The fact that the UFM campaign platform and strategy was heavily criticized for its similarity to its Liberal opponents and by its dissimilarity from its Progressive brethren was of little consequence, for ultimately the election outcome was determined by issues beyond the realm of simple policy concerns. The electioneering revealed many issues such as Liberal government expenditure, school legislation, a volatile French vote, the failure of the two party system and most importantly, a massive UFM organization which ultimately turned the election in the favor of the UFM. In the end, this massive political machine was the only obvious distinction between the UFM of 1922 and the traditional Liberal or Conservative parties of earlier years. What was left was a party of purely populist appeal based on unshakable, grass roots support, yet, with the discipline and legitimacy of a long standing traditional party by way of its newly expanded personnel. In addition, while the UFM had admitted policy similarities to one of the old traditional parties, these similarities were to a liberal platform which was nothing like the platforms of the former old-time parties. In most ways the Liberal platform from 1915 on was more liberal and more progressive than any other party in Manitoba. With this overwhelming provincial support, strong standing in the legislature, the respect of the other parties and secure, sensible policy goals, the UFM seemed poised to carry populist reform in Manitoba to new heights or at the very least continue the progressive administration initiated by the Liberals seven years earlier.

However, the years of minority government from 1920 to 1922 clearly showed that the UFM had an agenda very different from the political platform on which it was elected. Moreover, the years following 1922 would never be described as a shining example of prairie populism. What happened in those two formative years to the UFM in the Manitoba legislature? The situation seemed like the ideal opportunity for the

UFM. Holding the balance of power in the house, the UFM could have used this advantage to push the Liberal government whichever direction they desired while still remaining free from blame if any of their reforms backfired. Having already discussed the policy suggested by the social makeup of the Manitoba populists and the policy suggested in their election campaigns, the actual policy they both attempted and achieved must be considered.

Endnotes to Chapter Two

[1]The Brandon Daily Sun (BDS) 30 April 1920 pp. 1-2.

[2]Manitoba Free Press (MFP) 17 June 1920 p.1.

[3]BDS 19 June 1920 p. 1.

[4]MFP 11 June 1920 p. 2.

[5]BDS 16 June 1920 p. 1.

[6]BDS 28 June 1920 p. 7.

[7]MFP 26 June 1920 p. 9.

[8]Canadian Annual Review (CAR) 1920 p. 748.

[9]Lary John Fisk, "Controversy on the Prairies: Issues in the General Provincial Elections of Manitoba 1870 - 1969," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1975, p. 296-297.

[10]D.C. Masters, The Winnipeg General Strike (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950) pp. 144-147.

[11]CAR 1920 p. 751.

[12]MFP 3 June 1920 p. 4.

[13]BDS 15 July 1922 p. 4.

[14]BDS 15 April 1920 p. 2

[15]BDS 28 April 1920 p. 1.

[16]MFP 2 June 1920 p. 5.

[17]CAR 1920 p. 750.

[18]W. L. Morton, Manitoba: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957) p. 375.

[19]CAR 1922 p. 772.

[20]MFP 28 June 1922 p. 1.

[21]MFP 28 June 1922 p. 1.

Endnotes to Chapter Two (continued)

[22]MFP 8 July 1922 p. 7.

[23]MFP 4 July 1922 p. 6.

[24]MFP 5 July 1922 p. 4.

[25]MFP 7 July 1922 p. 2.

[26]MFP 10 July 1922 p. 1.

[27]CAR 1922 pp. 773 - 774.

[28]Fisk p. 328.

[29]MFP 3 July 1922 p. 4.

[30]MFP 2 June 1920 p. 5.

[31]MFP 8 July 1922 p. 3.

[32]MFP 12 July 1922 p. 2.

[33]MFP 27 June 1922 p. 1.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Ibid.

[36]MFP 6 July 1922 p. 1.

[37]MFP 29 June 1922 p. 12.

[38]Ibid.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Ibid.

[41]Ibid.

[42]Thomas R. Weir ed. Economic Atlas of Manitoba (Manitoba: Department of Industry and Commerce, 1960) p. 36.

[43]Weir p. 36.

[44]MFP 29 June 1922 p. 12.

[45]MFP 30 June 1922 p. 9.

Endnotes to Chapter Two (continued)

[46]MFP 1 July 1922 p. 8.

[47]MFP 3 July 1922 p. 4.

[48]W. Leland Clark, "Politics in Brandon City, 1899 - 1949," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1976. p. 171.

[49]BDS 29 June 1922 p. 1.

[50]Ibid.

[51]BDS 24 June 1922 p. 1.

[52]BDS 29 June 1922 p. 6.

[53]MFP 3 July 1922 p. 4.

[54]Ibid.

[55]MFP 10 July 1922 p. 1.

[56]MFP 8 July 1922 p. 4.

[57]Ibid.

[58]MFP 13 July 1922 p. 2.

[59]CAR 1922 p. 770.

[60]MFP 24 June 1922 p. 39.

[61]MFP 8 July 1922 p. 4.

[62]MFP 13 July 1922 p. 2.

[63]MFP 4 July 1922 p. 6.

[64]Ibid.

[65]MFP 14 July 1922 p. 10.

[66]MFP 5 July 1922 p. 10.

[67]MFP 8 July 1922 p. 3.

[68]Ibid.

[69]MFP 15 July 1922 p. 8.

Endnotes to Chapter Two (continued)

[70]MFP 5 July 1922 p. 2.

[71]Ibid.

[72]MFP 14 July 1922 p. 10.

[73]Ibid.

Chapter Three

The Manitoba Legislative Record Under the Progressives From 1920 to 1922.

This final chapter is an examination of the legislative measures sponsored by the Farmers' party during the two intervening sessions from 1920 to 1922. The conclusion of this two-year period left many arguing that it was the first time group government had been exercised in the Manitoba legislature.[1] However, the legislative record indicated it was two years of group opposition to the government (and even this was not united) rather than a group, non-partisan legislative effort. The examination of the first session focuses on this move towards group government and then reviews five major political challenges which seem to have been initiated by, or a result of, this non-partisan movement in the house. In the study of the second session, essentially the same pattern is followed for what turned out to be a session similar to the first. In particular, major challenges to the government as well as the budget battle are discussed followed by a review of the initiative of P.A. Talbot that finally led to the defeat of the Norris government.

The opening of the first session of the sixteenth legislature of Manitoba marked the beginning of a number of firsts in Manitoba politics. It was the first time in the history of the province that a government faced the house with a minority number of members. It was also the first time the legislature had been confronted with more than two main parties in the house. For the first time, a woman, Mrs. Edith Rodgers, had been elected in

Winnipeg to the provincial parliament on the Liberal platform. It was the first time the Speaker was required to vote to break ties in the house and it was also the first time that three elected members of the legislature were unable to assume their seats in the house. Winnipeg MLA's George Armstrong, William Ivens and John Queen were jailed because they were completing sentences imposed in connection with the Winnipeg Strike of 1919.

These unusual circumstances had no small effect on activity in the legislature. From the outset it was obvious that the balance of power in the legislature had shifted drastically and that nothing would be taken for granted. Even the most routine legislative activity was scrutinized by the opposition forces and led to the establishment of many new records in the house. For example, debate on the reply to the speech from the throne lasted six weeks. Albert E. Smith (Brandon city), William Ivens (Winnipeg) and Joseph Bernier (St. Boniface) each spoke for three days on the subject, also new house records. In this kind of forum, it was barely possible to complete the most general business of the house. Debate on the government estimates was the only other major initiative the government was able to pass in what remained of the session. Like the debate on the throne speech, the proposed expenditures were heavily criticized. Many attempts by the Conservative leader in the house, J.T. Haig, and his party (and to a certain extent F.J. Dixon and the Labour group) to cut the estimates were undertaken, but, ended with little real results.

This new zeal which was gripping the opposition parties, while encouraging, was costly in terms of legislative business. Seriously challenged on many occasion throughout the first session, Norris survived on every challenge to continue to conduct provincial affairs. However, on two occasions, the future of the government was put in real jeopardy. In each case the right of the government to carry on was challenged by votes of non-confidence which split the house. The government had to be saved by the casting vote of the speaker J.B. Baird from the Mountain constituency on both occasions.[2] These

were more direct challenges than were seen in the last three or four legislatures, and in terms of legislative production proved very costly.

1. The 1st Session of the 16th Legislature

A respectable 222 bills were presented in the first session in 1920. However, only 55 were assented to by the closing of the session. While the reduced legislative production was no doubt a result of extensive debate, the origins and tone of the legislation also underwent some changes. One-third of all the bills in the first session were brought forward on behalf of the municipalities. Seventy private members bills were also a part of the 222 total, but only 17 of these were placed on the statute books. Calls for the provincial government to operate more along the lines of a provincial council seemed to be paying off with direct municipal legislative dividends.[3]

From the very outset, Premier T.C. Norris recognized the changed character of the legislature and accepted that the functioning of the government was at the complete mercy of the house. In a review of the past legislative enactments and a forecast of certain measures to come, the throne speech also spoke of a "spirit of unity and cooperation" necessary in order to face the problems confronting Manitobans. In conclusion there was a further plea to all members

> that in all your deliberations and decisions you will be guided solely by the desire and determination to advance the true welfare and the best interest of all the people of the province.[4]

This early recognition and appeal to the non-partisan character of the assembly, and the absolute necessity of consensus in order for the continuation of government, was unavoidable for Norris. The election of the 29th of June 1920 had created a very awkward situation in the legislature (See Appendix 4). The Liberals had claimed 21 of 55 seats in the 1920 Manitoba election. The Farmers group won nine seats, Labour eight,

Conservatives nine, Independents six and Socialists two. Six distinct groups were identifiable from the election returns of 1920 and it seemed early on that none of them had any intention of cooperating with the Liberals in any form of coalition. Even among Norris's own party supporters, there were those who harbored serious reservations concerning the future of party government.

By the beginning of the first session on February 10, 1921, the members of the house lined up quite differently. While the Liberals still retained their 21 members (with the exception of J.B. Baird who was appointed Speaker of the legislature) the Farmers' group had grown from nine to 16 members. Labour had grown from eight to 10 members and the Conservatives had suffered a loss of two members down from nine to seven. The largest shift here involved the Farmer and Independent groups. All of the candidates who registered and won election as Independents in 1920 (with the exception of F.J. Dixon) had affiliated with the Farmers to form the Independent-Farmers group. These men included A.R. Boivin (Iberville), N.A. Hryhorchuk (Ethelbert), H.L. Mabb (Fisher), P.A. Talbot (La Verandrye) and the man that would lead the Independent-Farmers through the next two sessions, William Robson (Glenwood). F.J. Dixon went on to lead the Labour group in the legislature and was later joined by George Armstrong and John Queen, the only two candidates registered as Socialists in 1920. The Independent-Farmers even acquired recruits from the Conservative party. Joseph Bernier and Joseph Hamelin were both registered as Conservatives for the purposes of the 1920 election. However, by February 1921, both were sitting with the Independent-Farmers group. Early in the session, Joseph Bernier would shift his party allegiance one more time, abandoning the Independent-Farmers and sitting as the only Independent candidate in the house. He continued to argue throughout the session that he constituted a fifth group in the legislature all on his own.

Despite those shifts in allegiance, the general mood in the house with regards to party government or cooperation with the Liberals remained unchanged. The

Independent-Farmers, the second largest group in the house, had flatly refused to be responsible for maintaining the government in power and had gone as far as to refuse the role of the official opposition. This duty fell to Conservatives, who relished the role of official opposition and were perhaps the most resistant of any party to do away with the old partisan party politics of the past. By way of contrast, the Labour group was so opposed to old party politics and partisanship, that any cooperation, even among Labour members as a group, had become almost impossible. There were several instances of Labour members openly disagreeing in the legislature much to the amusement of the other members.[5] Under these conditions, Norris had no choice but to try and reach some level of consensus and cooperation among the members of the House.

In his own reply to the speech from the throne, Norris defended his decision to remain in power, arguing he could not call another election until he was absolutely sure the new group composition of the legislature was unmanageable. "If we had asked for dissolution and appealed to the people without meeting the members-elect of the new legislature," Norris said,

> we would have placed upon the government the responsibility for a general election, without a fair effort being made to ascertain whether the government could be successfully carried under the group system of parties. Interpreting the will of the people as expressed at the polls, it would appear that they desired that an effort be made along that line, and that there be not a rigid adherence to the two party system that had prevailed heretofore.[6]

Norris made it clear that he was more than willing to confer and cooperate with those who would have it, for the sake of the public interest. If this cooperation involved some form of group government, Norris seemed perfectly willing to live with that. However, he also made it very clear that it was not the intention of the government "to cling to office for the sake of office holding".[7] Any opposition focusing solely on the obstruction or the embarrassment of the government would create an impossible situation in which the

government would have no choice but to ask the voters to use their judgment in the resolution of the matter. He declared:

> The electors of Manitoba chose this legislature last June to conduct their business, but should the events of the next few weeks demonstrate the impossibility of trying to carry on under conditions that are either impossible or too difficult to cope with, we will then present the case to the electors of Manitoba at as early a date as possible, and ask them to use their best judgment in the solution of the situation.[8]

Norris was determined to give more direct meaning to this general recognition of the necessity of cooperation. At an early stage he announced he would call informal conferences of the whole house in the hopes of achieving this consensus on many controversial matters. In addition, he made no attempt to place a majority of government members on these committees. Placements on these committees were appointed on a percentage basis with the government retaining 40 percent, the Independent-Farmers 30 percent, Labour 20 percent and the Conservatives 10 percent. The concessions of a 20 percent majority for the opposition in the committees and the potential to guide government policy through the informal conferences at first seemed to have a great deal of appeal among the Liberals, the Independent-Farmers and the Labour groups.

Other members of the Liberal party supported Norris in this stand. Liberal A.E. August, in the first reply to the speech from the throne, characterized the past Liberal government as having stood for the highest interests of the province. He attributed the Liberal loss of support in the 1920 election to three reasons. August admitted general unrest and the "national school" legislation were major hurdles the government was unable to overcome. He concluded that the third and most important factor was feelings among the electorate that "the old party system should be replaced by group government."[9] August welcomed this change of heart by Manitobans by admitting that he had always believed every class in society deserved representation in the legislature. However, he made it clear that he was against any measure, including group government, if it meant

putting the province through the expense of another election.[10] John McConnell also voiced his support for his fellow party members Norris and August when commenting on group government. Frustrated over the lack of legislative activity one month into the session, McConnell argued it was time for the five separate groups in the legislature to join forces and together map out a plan for the future of the province.[11]

The leader of the Independent-Farmers group, W. Robson, seemed to agree with the Liberal assessment of the political situation. In by far the shortest reply to the throne speech, Robson refused to complement or condemn the Norris government of the past or present. He maintained that legislation enacted from 1915 to 1920 was "legislation which any sane government would have enacted". Later, taking exception to accusations that the Independent-Farmers were in the house to promote class legislation, he gave Norris all he could have asked when he claimed that his party was there "to legislate for the benefit of the country at large".[12] Other Independent-Farmers echoed this sentiment when considering the concept of group government or some kind of coalition with the Liberals. W.C. McKinnell announced that

> I absolutely intend to give the government all the support of which I think it is worthy,... I was not elected to defeat the government or support it. I was elected to support good legislation, irrespective of where it came from.[13]

This was a well-worn sentiment from the election campaign of 1920, used especially by the Independent-Farmers, and one which appeared to hold true throughout both sessions of the sixteenth legislature. McKinnell went on to praise the advantages of group government and criticize the present form of party politics which presumed that worthy legislation was only that which was proposed by the government party. In addition, and almost contradicting his previous criticism, McKinnell also lamented the fact that the same government could be defeated on minor bills or snap divisions that could be construed as anything but votes of non-confidence.

> I think it is a shame that the country should be put to the expense of an election simply because the government of the day happens to be defeated in a division over a single bill. I fail to see how it cannot deal with measures like a municipal council or a school board.[14]

This question of expenditure was one that weighed heavily on the minds of the Independent-Farmers when discussions involving group government arose. Independent-Farmer D. Yakimischak of Emerson announced that he also supported the idea that groups should have representation in the government in proportion to their numerical strength which had been first suggested in the session by F.J. Dixon. However, in the same breath Yakimischak argued that it was not the right time for this reform.

> It would be useless for the government to go to the country so soon after the elections. The problem should be faced, and some practical way of carrying on arranged.[15]

The problem mentioned above was that of governing and the practical way of carrying on was a call for the Independent-Farmers to reach some kind of working agreement with the Liberals. These sorts of statements revealed just what a patient group of reformers the Independent-Farmers were in the early 1920's. The Independent-Farmers were reasonably confident that a satisfactory government could be extricated from the confused and tangled political groups presently sitting in the legislature. They argued this was the mandate the voters had given the legislature and therefore it was the mandate to which they must abide. Reforms such as group government were acceptable as long as they did not put any unnecessary financial burdens on the electorate or detract from the important business in the house.

Labour leader F.J. Dixon appeared to be much more uncompromising in support of any group-government arrangements. Dixon maintained in his reply to the throne speech that any hopes of stable government along these lines would only succeed when each group in the legislature was given proportionate representation in the cabinet.[16] However, other Labour members were less rigid in terms of the actual makeup of a group government arrangement and more encouraged in terms of cooperating with the present

Liberal government. Labour member A.E. Smith's remarks regarding the address continually alluded to how the days of the party system had come to pass, facing disintegration not only in Canada but around the world. He stated:

> It is not probable or even possible, that an obstruction known as Liberalism or Conservatism will ever come again to mean what it has meant in the past to the people of this country.[17]

But, Smith did not consider the current administration completely without merit. For example, when addressing the issue of the national school question, the member for Brandon argued that it was the old party system and not the current legislature which was responsible for the problems surrounding the issue. Smith even commended the government for the proposed child welfare legislation announced in the throne speech and expressed a hope that the comprehensive bill on the subject would be supported unanimously in the house. Indeed, the worst thing that Smith could say about the government was that the throne speech was "mild and colorless in view of the fact that the government was confronted with tremendous demands."[18] This approach was no doubt encouraging for Norris who could see there was room for movement within the Labour ranks. Smith's outlook seemed even more peculiar if one considered that this more agreeable point of view with regards to government cooperation was put forward by the same man who would later in the same session put Dixon's original idea in the form of a resolution calling for the reconstruction of the cabinet in a way that would make it reflect the group character of the house.[19]

The smallest group in the legislature, (if one refuses to accept the idea of Joseph Bernier composing a group of his own) was also the group to cause the most problems for the Liberal government from 1920 to 1922. The Conservatives, led by J.T. Haig, were by way of contrast, completely uncooperative, refusing to attend Norris' informal conferences and stubbornly taking the government to task for all manner of legislation. Haig was also the only member of the legislature to ask the hard questions concerning group government

such as what would it mean or how would it work?[20] Haig's unqualified opposition to the Norris government and his skepticism of the group government scheme prompted his opponents to accuse him of employing "old party tactics" for purely political ends.[21] However, this opposition was the sole impetus for most of the interesting exchanges in the first session of the legislature.

While all of the groups in the legislature (except for the Conservatives) seemed intent on working out some type of partnership with which to carry on government, activity in the first session indicated that there was still considerable opposition to primarily the Norris government and perhaps secondarily the principle of group government. Throughout the first session there were three votes of non-confidence brought directly before the legislature. In addition, debates over group government and changes to the Manitoba Elections Act were examples of issues that turned into tests of confidence when resolutions on these issues split the house and forced the speaker to use his casting vote to save the government. There were also a number of votes which should have led to clear divisions along party lines, but instead turned into further tests of confidence in the house by splitting the vote of the legislature. Taking into consideration the actual votes for want of confidence and the other occasions when the house vote was split, the Liberal right to govern was challenged a total of five times in this three-month session.

The first house division in the session arose over a proposal to petition the Dominion government for the release of the members of the Manitoba legislature jailed in connection with charges stemming from the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919. While this vote was not a call for confidence in the government and did not result in a split of the voting members of the house (at least in terms of numbers), it was an extensively debated issue and the first indication of how the group legislature would begin to divide over specific issues.

The proposal to petition the Dominion government for the release of George Armstrong, William Ivens, Richard Johns, William Pritchard and John Queen was the first major debate to consume the first session of the sixteenth legislature. The original motion was put forward on the 15 February 1921 by F.J. Dixon and the labour group calling for the unconditional release of the prisoners. Dixon argued that it was essential to representative government that all members of the house should be present during the session. However, while he claimed to argue on behalf of all members of the house, he was particularly concerned with the Farmer and Labour groups which he maintained were chiefly concerned with the destruction of privilege.[22] All five men had been jailed on charges of seditious conspiracy nearly a year earlier. While serving this year-long sentence, three of the strike leaders (Ivens, Queen and Armstrong) were elected to the Manitoba legislature in the 1920 provincial election. The Labour argument urging the house to petition the Dominion government for the immediate release of the prisoners was led by F.J. Dixon and was grounded in a number of Labour grievances. The argument was interesting not only in terms of the contradictions which Dixon outlined in government policy, but also in the contradiction implicit in his appeal for the Farmers support. For example, Dixon argued he was not asking the members of the legislature for a pronouncement on the convicted men's guilt or innocence. However, at the same time, he maintained that sedition was a vague term and that the election of 1920 had acted as an appeal to a larger jury. He stated that during the strike of 1919 workers had been urged to use their ballots to express their discontent, but had then had their faith in legitimate political action shaken when their candidates were jailed.[23]

In an attempt to reach out for the support of the Independent-Farmers group, Dixon maintained that the one goal that the two groups had in common was the destruction of privilege. In an attempt to forge a stronger bond between the two groups he outlined specifically the danger this privileged class represented.

> If the retention of members of the Legislature [sic] Assembly in jail were not discountenanced, some government might assert that the Farmers were guilty of a conspiracy of restraint of trade, for proposing to form a wheat pool, and throw some of their members into gaol.
>
> Some men in high places who ought to know better, ... have already denounced the Farmers active in the political field as Bolsheviks. Canada is not in so much danger from the so-called "Reds" as it is from the "Yellows", those who are afraid to make any serious attack on monopoly and special privelege.[24]

He went on to argue that the world was faced with the choice between progressive economic changes and chaos. "It is the reactionaries anxious to hold things as they are and prevent any substantial change," he stated "who are the real menace to society."[25] This would have been a grand argument raised at a One Big Union rally or a meeting of the Democratic Socialist party, but the pitch was wasted on the Independent-Farmers. Dixon had no way of knowing at the time, but he had just stumbled on the very reason why a Farmer-Labour partnership would not succeed beyond this vote in 1920 Manitoba. The reactionaries Dixon identified were the very Farmers' group he was wooing. They were the ones hoping to prevent any substantial changes to a battered farm economy hindered by agricultural depression.[26]

For T.C. Norris and the Liberal party, the resolution was a serious matter, although they felt it lacked the perilous connotations Dixon had implied. Norris interpreted the resolution as a request for the unconditional release of the prisoners. This, he argued, was a breach of the rights of the legislature which would lead to a difficult situation in which the legislature would be overruling a decision of the courts. Norris saw no reason why he would want to open this can of worms. His conviction was fortified when he was assured by the Dominion government that the prisoners could have obtained parole if they had only asked.[27]

On this one issue the Conservatives were in complete agreement with the Liberals. Conservative W.J. Tupper of Winnipeg was one of the first members of his party to speak on the issue. He argued, like Norris, that the petition was a request for legislative

acknowledgment that there was an error in the courts. He urged Dixon not to give new cause to the discontent of 1919 and revise his motion so that it would only be a petition for mercy and then the House would be able to support it.[28] The Conservative leader, J.T. Haig, agreed with Tupper and on the day of the vote for the resolution, proposed the amendment for which Tupper had been pleading. Haig's amendment resulted in the house urging release of the strike leaders on the condition they asked for parole. He justified his actions, arguing

> it is one thing if the release of the Labour men is demanded merely for the purpose of attending to their business in the legislature, while it is another if the legislature is asked to express an opinion as to whether the strike leaders were properly convicted and their imprisonment justified.[29]

Whether the members of the legislature were afraid to resurrect the strike issue or not, and whether the judgment of the courts was proper or not, clearly the issue was not for the house or the Labour party to decide. However, this fact was lost in the arguments.

Throughout the debate it was clear to all the members that the petition would be won or lost in the ranks of the Independent-Farmers' group. Opinions among the Farmers over the issue appeared divided in debate. For example, Dixon's original resolution in the house was seconded by the Independent-Farmer party member A.E. Kristjannson. P.A. Talbot would later join Kristjannson in supporting the resolution as drafted, maintaining "He did not see anything in it which amounted to censure of the courts."[30] Other Independent-Farmer members did not carry this same conviction. H.R. Richardson the Independent-Farmer member for Roblin actually proposed the original amendment to Dixon's resolution, prior to Haig's amendment, which saw the defeat of the resolution. Richardson's amendment reduced the resolution to a simple appeal for clemency and was seconded by another Farmer, R.W. Emmond. Justifying his actions, Richardson agreed with Dixon that farmers, like workers, had similar aspirations and both were victims of privileged interests. However, Richardson also argued that he believed all men were equal and laws were rarely miscarried. He maintained, "the desire of the Independent-Farmer

party is to secure harmony and lend helpful cooperation in the house for the best interest of the province."[31] In the end, he refused to give Labour any support at all for fear of stirring up Labour strife or indeed any kind of conflict which would delay legislative business.

On the 19th of February, 1921, the resolution was defeated by a vote of 26 to 22. As a result of Haig's amendment, the house had officially gone on the record as urging the release of the imprisoned Labour members on the condition they asked for parole. The vote separated the house quite nicely along partisan lines, squaring off the Liberals and the Conservatives in direct opposition to the Independent-Farmer and Labour groups. Only one Farmer voted with the government (Joseph Hamelin) and only two members of the government party were absent for the vote (George Clingan and George A. Grierson).

The first actual attempt to defeat the government came in the form of an amendment to the speech from the throne. On the 26 February 1921, J.T. Haig introduced the amendment which, if adopted, would have been equivalent to a vote of censure on the government. The amendment ended once and for all any early speculation over a Liberal-Conservative agreement to cooperate which had arisen during the debate over the Labour group's petition to release the strike prisoners at the opening of the session. In fact, with the exception of that first vote, the Conservatives seemed to be preparing to oppose the Liberals at every given opportunity.

Haig had already made it very clear he would have no part of the group government schemes bantered about by the other parties. Less than a week into the sitting the Conservatives announced that they intended to make their focus for the session the financial affairs of the province. The Conservatives immediately requested returns on provincial expenditures and bond sales as well as information regarding the legal fees paid by the government from 1910 to 1920. They also asked for copies of all tenders and contracts issued in connection with the extension of hydro-electric power services in the province. Haig was determined to find something with which to embarrass the

government either in the details of the expenditures under the past and present administrations, or by minor inquiries such as those into the traveling expenses of the provincial treasurer, Ed Brown.[32]

The actual amendment to the throne speech stemmed from these early fiscal concerns. Haig had moved that a clause be added to the speech expressing regret that it did not include any mention of an effort to reduce the municipal commissioners' levy so as to provide only enough revenue to cover the cost of the Mothers' Allowance Act, the expenses of judicial districts, and the expenses of the Ninette Sanitorium.[33] The powers of municipal commissioners had come under fire most recently with regards to rising street car fairs at the hands of the public utilities commissioners. Haig argued that the commission was a violation of the principles of democratic administration, maintaining they were used in order to distance a government from difficult or unpopular decisions. Arguing the courts were much better equipped to make these decisions, Haig called for the complete abolition of the commission system.[34]

In reality, the actual content of the amendment was of little consequence. While the Liberal party found these tactics frustrating, they eventually accepted them as part of the procedure. Provincial Treasurer Ed Brown was perhaps the least patient with the Haig Amendment. His hostility may have been a combination of the personal insult he felt by the question cast over his own travel expenses, or the fact that a government had a bill ready, depending on whether the house brought it forward, to abandon the levy if the house so voted.[35] T.C. Norris took the challenge much more like a seasoned veteran of the legislature and a traditional parliamentarian prepared for a populist threat to the parliament. He refused to explain why the members should support the government. Instead, Norris simply felt it was his duty to explain the circumstances and the consequences of the proposed amendment. Norris argued that considerations of these types of amendments was not infrequent in British legislatures. He stated that they were

proposed solely to test the confidence of the house in the government and if they were approved the government would be defeated. He maintained,

> The question at this stage is not whether the members are in favor or against the proposals contained in the amendments. The only question is whether they want to defeat the government of the day.[36]

This was a key question for legislature members when considering how to vote on the issue. Some felt that the amendment was still simply another example of partisan politics at work. The Labour group refused to participate in the vote stating that "to preclude any possibility of being suspected of participating in a political manoeuvre the party would refrain from voting."[37] Independent-Farmer member A.E. Kristjannson had outlined similar concerns shortly after the amendment was proposed two weeks earlier. Kristjannson accused Haig and some of the other members of the house of using "old party tactics" in the legislature. He went on to argue that Haig's amendment was

> made not because the leader of the Conservative party believed that the speech from the throne would serve the province any better with the amendment, but simply because it altered the political situation in such a way that there might be a leverage in it possibly for the purpose of gaining his or the Conservative party's political ends.[38]

Other Farmers were less inclined to agree with a theory of political warfare and considered the issue (against the wishes of T.C. Norris) based on the content of the amendment rather than as a straight vote for confidence. Independent-Farmer member P.A. Talbot had for years been a firm believer in the reduction of the municipal levy. Furthermore, he believed there was solid grounds for the amendments because of the Liberal governments failure to gain a majority in the legislature. However, he also believed that while the amendment may have been correct in principal, the timing was poorly planned.

> The amendment had created a most embarrassing position, as they were asked to reject the government or support it without knowing whether it was worth supporting or not, and merely on the speech from the throne.[39]

The debate over censuring a government that had not been allowed to prove whether it could govern, and the accompanying expense of an election, was an often-repeated concern for the Independent-Farmers.

In the end these concerns won out within the Independent-Farmers' group and the amendment was defeated in the legislature 25 to 10. Only three farmers voted to censure the government (Duprey, Hamelin, and Talbot). Joseph Bernier, by this time the sole Independent member in the Legislature, also supported the amendment. The only four French-Canadian members of the house were joined in their support of the amendment by every member of the Conservative party except for their leader, F.G.Taylor of Portage La Prairie. Joseph Bernier had later proposed an amendment to Haig's original amendment of the throne speech, constituting a second challenge to the government. Bernier proposed that there should be no vote until the provincial treasurer had told the house exactly how he proposed to raise revenue for the remaining provincial affairs.[40] However, the Conservatives abandoned the four French-speaking members on this proposal and the amendment was defeated 32 to 4. The Liberals, of course, voted solidly against both the amendments and every member of the Labour group refused to take part in either vote.

The next two major issues the Liberals were to face in this session very nearly resulted in the government's defeat, each causing divisions in the house which had to be broken by the casting vote of the speaker. The first issue revolved around amendments to the Manitoba Election Act which provided for the introduction of preferential voting in single member constituencies when more than two candidates were running.

This seemingly harmless bit of legislation suffered an unusual journey through the house. Initially introduced in the hopes of satisfying opposition requests, the proposed legislation nearly toppled the government on its second reading and was later killed in committee in the hopes of avoiding any further controversy. The bill had originally been introduced by the Attorney General, T. H. Johnson, on what was argued by Norris as the recommendation of the UFM at their fall convention in Brandon, Manitoba.[41] The

Minister of Public Works, C.D. McPherson, also backed up the bill as a "sound proposition" which was not designed to aid one party more than another but rather ensure that real majorities were won by constituency representatives.[42]

Opposition parties saw the bill very differently. The Conservatives regarded the bill as another symptom of an extravagant and scheming government. F.G. Taylor based his opposition on the fact that no one had really asked for the legislation except for an organization whose integrity, he believed, was rather questionable. He also hinted that the proposed legislation might be a tool for an upcoming election when he stated that "the government seemed to think this would be its last session."[43]

As for the Independent-Farmers' group, the organization which had originally provided the impetus for the bill was far from united in support of the measure. On the whole, most of the Independent-Farmers who spoke on the bill sounded, perhaps a little jaded, but really more unconcerned than anything else. A.E. Kristjannson admitted he resented Taylor's remarks regarding the UFM, but also admitted the bill required some changes which could be taken care of in committee. R.W. Emmond complained it was another case of lawyers (or Liberals) who thought they knew what farmers wanted, better than the farmers themselves. W.C. McKinnell maintained he harbored no objections to the preferential system, but he voted against the measure when it was put to the house.[44]

Members of the Labour group were equally infected with the same meaningless hesitation. G.H. Palmer thought that while the bill may be sound, his reservations regarding how it would work in situations involving a large number of spoiled ballots justified cautiously voting against the bill and refusing to even discuss the issue further in committee.

The debate left little question of the mood of the vote to follow. Debate was a largely open-ended affair with little consideration by any of the members of the consequences of their actions. The only surprise was the fact that the members had come so close to unwittingly unseating the government. In fact, the results of the votes were

originally announced as a 25/24 defeat of the government until an error in the count was announced. The house had really split its vote 25 to 25 and the speaker was forced to cast his vote to save the government and the bill (only later to see the measure killed in committee by opposition members).[45] In general, Liberals had supported the bill, Conservatives opposed, and the Independent-Farmers and Labour groups vacillated between the two. Only three Labour members and four Independent-Farmers supported the measure.

The second issue which split the house in the first session concerned a resolution by A.E. Smith (Labour) which called for the reconstruction of the Manitoba cabinet in a way reflecting the group character of the house. The views of each group in the legislature on this popular issue were revealed early in the legislative session having been voiced in the replies to the speech from the throne. The actual resolution was not put to the house until nearly the end of the session on the 12 April 1921. The central clause in the resolution read

> that in the opinion of this legislature the time has arrived when the Executive Council for the administration of the affairs of this province should be selected from and by the present representation in this legislature.[46]

For Smith, and, he argued, for all democratic people, the resolution fulfilled their goal of not just good government, but self-government. No other details were offered. Indeed, Smith thought it wise to just consider the principle on its own and leave the details for discussion immediately after the vote when the legislature itself would, from its own representation, designate the government. His justification for the resolution rested on his belief that there was not one group in the house which had enough support to legitimately assume sole control of the administration of public affairs in Manitoba. In the end, Smith was still not convinced party politics was completely dead in Manitoba.

> They were sitting in the 16th legislature, but the government was created and established by the 15th legislature. The shades of the past had produced it, ...

but he did not think the dead hand of the past should be thrust upon them at this time.[47]

By this late date, the Liberals' frustration over the idea of group government was clear. Attorney General Johnson spoke for the entire government when he begged the opposition to "Come right in the front door and tell us what you want".[48] The Liberals had advocated some kind of coalition from the very opening of the session. Three months later all the opposition could agree upon were proposals which were completely at odds with the terms of the British North American Act. For Johnson, it was clear what the one true recourse of the house must be. "The remedy is not a plebiscite of the members of the house," he claimed, "nor is it the proper procedure to refer this to the members. The proper procedure would be to refer it to the electors of the province."[49] T.C. Norris backed Johnson's remarks that the resolution was an attack on constitutional government motivated by opposition desires for control the treasury benches.[50] Reassurances to the contrary by a newly-revealed constitutional expert such as F.J. Dixon, and remarks by Haig that there was not a man in his party anxious to occupy a seat on the Norris treasury bench, did little to ease the frustrated Liberals.

The whole troubling issue was then put to a vote resulting in an even split of the house and then a defeat of the resolution after the speaker, J.B. Baird, cast his vote against the proposal. In terms of a party breakdown, the resolution received solid support from the Conservative parties and the Labour groups and the solid opposition of the Liberals. The Independent-Farmers held the balance of power on this vote splitting the group with nine supporters of the resolution and seven opposed.

The final challenge to the Norris government in the first session was, at last, the straight showdown the Liberals had been asking for. In a resolution very similar to A.E. Smith's earlier motion for group government, Joseph Bernier proposed that the Lieutenant Governor call upon someone in the house to form a new government who could hold a majority in the house. Bernier maintained he was accepting the Liberal challenge to the

Labour group when it was moving for group government to "come right in the front door" and directly challenge the government.[51] Bernier was issuing a direct vote of want of confidence in an attempt to clear the political atmosphere. He argued that every member should take a stand on the issue before the prorogation of the house to prove once and for all of the government had a right to remain in office.

The Liberals were relieved the question had finally been asked, agreeing with Bernier that what was needed was clearing of the air. Attorney General J.T. Johnson stated he first thought the resolution was similar to Smith's, and therefore out of order. However, he went on to state he would not have opposed it even if it had, arguing the resolution deserved the most careful consideration of the house.

By way of contrast, the Independent-Farmers and Labour groups regarded the resolution as another hopeless challenge to the government. Not one Independent-Farmer members even chose to address the issue in the house. Labour comments on the same seemed frustrated and uncoordinated. M.J. Stanbridge argued the resolution was similar to Smith's, which was defeated, and therefore showed the executive had a majority in the house. This was known by the government, and the farmers who supported them, and as a result the question was nothing more than a waste of time. Other members of the Labour group such as George Armstrong and John Queen claimed Labour representatives should not collaborate with any government that had members who represented the capitalist classes. In this respect, group government was no better than any other proposal.[52] These comments opened yet another rift in the Labour front when F.J. Dixon criticized Queen and Armstrong for opposing group government while still holding seats on a group city council in Winnipeg.[53]

In spite of the relief that the question had finally been asked in the Legislature, Bernier's resolution was not directly voted on in the house. A sudden amendment by Conservative W.H. Spinks proposed closing debate on the resolution so that the house could proceed with more important business at hand. Attempts by A.E. Smith and T.A.

Tablot to head off the amendment were in vain and the snap amendment was put to a vote and passed 31 to 9 after an evening of debate wasted on the original resolution. The Liberals and Conservatives voted solidly for the amendment and were opposed by only four Independent-Farmers, four from the Labour group, and the lone Independent, Joseph Bernier.

2. A Summary of 1st Session Activity

By the end of the first session, T.C. Norris felt enough satisfaction in the performance of the legislature to brag that for the first time in history a group government had been in operation in Manitoba. In his closing remarks to the house prior to the formal prorogation Norris went on to declare that

> Never in the history of the province ... had legislation been more carefully considered. Never had there been so many divisions, but these did not indicate bitterness, but a desire to give utmost attention to business and to record votes. Never in any legislature had there been such an absence of party feeling, and no one appreciated that more than himself. He had never seen a set of men get along any better.[54]

He might also have added that it was a session he hoped he would never again have to repeat. Manitoba's first minority government had managed to carry out its duties with some success. The two major initiatives spearheaded by the government (the throne speech and the estimates) were passed just within the time frame of the first session with little time left for anything else.

The difficulty the government had passing its legislation was in no small way a result of the opposition the Liberals faced. J.T. Haig and the Conservatives constantly pressured the Norris administration throughout the session on a number of issues. First and foremost of these was Haig's own amendment to the speech from the throne which amounted to the first test of the government's support in the legislature. Haig also

conducted a spirited attack on government expenditures in collaboration with the Labour group. However, these efforts yielded little in the way of hard results. The unlikely union managed to reduce a budget for current expenditure or $9,700,000 by less than $66,000. However, the initial cooperation established a rapport between the two groups which later showed itself with Conservative support for Labour's group government resolution.

The sporadic and unofficial collaboration of the Conservative party and the Labour group was a major violation of both party's sacraments which were stifled in the hopes of defeating the Liberals. By the way of contrast, the Independent-Farmers group voted against a number of planks in its own platform throughtout the session with no real apparent direction what-so-ever. Table 35 lists eight key votes that arose in the first session during 1921. Even a quick glance reveals there was no real attempt to direct the powerful farmer vote. Although they were the second largest group in the house they rarely used that authority. The Independent-Farmers vote was often badly divided, even on farm issues. For example, a resolution brought forward by J.T. Haig demanded enforcement of an agreement between Manitoba and the Canadian National Railway that had been breached by the Dominion government and resulted in higher freight rates for Manitoba farmers. Not only was the resolution defeated in the house, only five Independent-Farmers supported the motion, five opposed, and six were not even in the house for the vote. The same level of support by Independent-Farmers was given for a Farm Loans Bill which proposed to raise the rate at which loans could be borrowed from six to seven percent. The bill was later approved after a rancorous debate by a vote of 20 to 13.[55]

These voting results highlighted a recurring theme in the first session. Throughout the three month session, the Independent-Farmer members consistently rejected proposals to cooperate with other groups in the house, maintaining they would vote for legislation based solely on its merit. Furthermore, they were openly contemptuous of anyone who would dare consider putting the province through the expense of another election

Table 35

Voting Results on Key Issues in the First Session of the Sixteenth Legislature

Issue	Liberal			Farmer			Labour			Conservative		
	SUPPORT	OPPOSE	ABSTAIN	SUPPORT	OPPOSE	ABSTAIN	SUPPORT	OPPOSE	ABSTAIN	SUPPORT	OPPOSE	ABSTAIN
Petition for Prisoners (February 18)	18		2	1	14	1		7	3	7		
Throne Speech Amendment (March 14)	19		1	3	7	6			10	6		1
Railway Freight Rates (March 30)		17	3	5	5	6			10	6		1
Initiative and Referendum (March 16)	A resolution put to the house and carried.											
Preferential Voting (March 31)	18		2	4	12		3	6	1		6	1
Group Government (April 12)		19	1	9	6	1	8		2	7		
Manitoba Farm Loans (April 25)	13		7	5	5	6	2	4	4		3	4
Bernier Non-Confidence Motion (April 28)		17	3	4	9	3	4		6		4	3

Source: Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba 1st Session, 16th Legislature, 10 February 1921 to 7 May 1921, Winnipeg, Manitoba. Philip Purcell Printer, 1921. Vol. 54.

to resolve the political differences and get back to work. However, in the end, all the Farmers could agree upon was a careless and confusing path of legislative inactivity which seemed to waste legislative time for two years and inevitably provoked the election they claimed to have wanted to avoid.

It could be argued that the Independent-Farmers group squandered an excellent opportunity in the first session to force the government to continue to produce solid progressive legislation, by their seemingly deliberate bungling of the farm vote in the house. Many of the votes listed in Table 35 could have easily turned around with the backing of a united Independent-Farmer vote. But, this could have been asking too much of a new reform movement, if that indeed was what the Independent-Farmers were. While the voting statistics seem to suggest otherwise, there is another option to consider. Political scientists would argue that a party's rise to power and then the use of the power while elected are skills attributed to two very different types of politicians. Perhaps the voting indicates not an overlooked opportunity, but rather the continuing efforts of a group to battle what it believed to be an unbeatable foe. There are many examples of this type of fatalistic attitude exhibited throughout the session. In many respects the Farmers underestimated the damage they had already done to party politics in Manitoba and they voted the way they did because they still believed that the old parties were too big and powerful to be defeated.

By the end of the first session rumors of disintegration surrounded the Independent-Farmers group. The lack of cohesion should not have been a great shock. What was surprising was that the party predicated on the principles of supporting good legislation and abhorring party politics seemed to be suffering the most from affiliation of its own members with other political groups. There were rumors in the papers of pro-government, pro-Labour, pro-Conservative, anti-government and a wing yet undefined within the Independent-Farmers group.[56] When the widely anticipated departure of A.E. Kristjannson and George Little from the Independent-Farmers group finally occurred prior

to the prorogation, it was widely believed the powerful farmers presence in the legislature would disappear by the opening of the second session.

3. The 2nd Session of the 16th Legislature

The second session of the sixteenth sitting of the Manitoba legislature opened on the 13 January 1922. From the very outset it was clear that any promises of productive government that went unfulfilled during the first session would once again be overlooked in the second. The speech from the throne by speaker J.B. Baird offered mostly carry-overs from the last session with few new initiatives and the lot intently focused upon retrenchment and economy. The Provincial Soil Survey begun in 1921 was to continue and an interim report of its findings was to be issued shortly. The government would also continue efforts to see the reduction of freight rates and the transfer of control of Manitoba's natural resources to the province. A Child Welfare Bill, introduced in the last session and held over for further study, would stand out as the only significant piece of legislation passed during the entire session. However, even legislation designed to coordinate existing welfare organizations to improve the everyday life of children had to be done without imposing additional financial burdens on the province. The focus on strict economy was also the driving force behind the proposed formation of a select committee to investigate the operation of government services in the hopes of avoiding expenditure in every government department while still providing the best services possible. And of course, the new budget for 1922-'23 "prepared with the fullest regard to economy and efficiency" awaited the approval of the house.[57] In the house the election of 1920 had left fragments of parties unable to unite under their own banners and definitely incapable of any form of group coalition. It was a powerful opposition guided by the principle of every man for himself and it was for primarily this reason that "the Norris government remained in office during 1921 though not in power."[58]

Legislative leftovers from the first session provided less than an ideal guide upon which to base the work of 1922, and the list of achievements for the session reflected the folly of this move. Only 75 of 157 bills introduced became laws and of the 75, very few were of outstanding importance. As in the first session, most of the bills had their origins in the rural municipalities. One bill permitted municipalities to borrow money for seed grain and fodder. Others gave the city of Winnipeg power to borrow $800,000 for housing or allowed St. Boniface to erect buildings free from taxes for five years.[59] By way of contrast, the few resolutions which were passed during the second session in 1922 concerned questions which were of the greatest importance to Manitobans. These included the reduction of railway freight rates, the restoration of the Canadian Wheat Board, the completion of the Hudson Bay Railway and the transfer of control of Manitoba's natural resources to the province.[60]

The limited achievements of 1922 were in many ways simply a continuation of the legislative procrastinations of the first session. Indeed, the only difference between the two sessions was that the defeat of the government, expected on so many occasions in the first session, finally occurred in the 2nd session on the 15 March 1922. Oddly enough, even this defeat had its origins in the first session. The resolution which forced the government to tender its resignation was moved by the Independent-Farmer member P.A. Talbot, who censured the government for failing to abolish the Public Utilities Commission in accordance with a resolution passed in the first session. The motion carried by a majority of four and the Norris government was forced to resign without having even voted supply for the current session and thus forcing the Lieutenant-Governor Sir James Aikins to call on the government to complete the pressing business of the session.[61] In the end, representatives from each of the parties met and arranged a new and sweepingly reduced agenda of non-contentious legislation to try and push through the house. Eleven resolutions and 34 bills were immediately cut from the order paper and with them went the most significant and stimulating legislation introduced in the

session. Some of this lost legislation included revenue raising measures desperately needed by the Manitoba government. An income tax bill designed to make taxation more equitable, based on ability to pay, was expected to raise $700,000. A new gasoline bill would have raised and additional $150,000.[62] Other legislation which even hinted at controversy or looked like it may consume too much time in the house was dropped. Many measures such as compensation for flooded drainage districts, transferring revenue from the Unoccupied Land Tax to municipalities rather than the provincial government treasury and the abolition of the business tax were all dropped after the defeat of the government.

Talbot's effort to put the government out of business was not the only one made in the second session. Just as in 1921, one potential vote of censure on the government often followed hard on the heels of another. An early amendment made in connection with the throne speech by Independent member Joseph Bernier would have had the same effect. Bernier's amendment to the reply expressed regret that there was no mention made of unemployment in the throne speech and, like Haig's amendment to the throne speech in the first session, would have resulted in the defeat of the government if approved by the house.[63]

The unemployment question was originally raised by the Labour group in the first business session of the second session. Led by the Labour member John Queen and strategically timed to head off replies to the throne speech for the greatest impact, Queen led a two hour debate with the goal of drawing out the government's policy on the issue. Every Labour member spoke on the question. Queen maintained that the thousands dependent on relief in the province proved it was the most important issue the house could consider. F.J. Dixon pressed the issue further by condemning the unsanitary conditions at Winnipeg's Immigration Hall used to house the unemployed. W.D. Bayley urged the questions resolution for the sake of the working-class children whose standard of living was never very high. Others simply claimed that the government's attempts to side track

the issue were unacceptable and that some system was needed to remedy the conditions of the unemployed.[64]

In the short term, the Labour group's efforts concerning unemployment were largely unsuccessful. Norris refused any action beyond the tabling of a report in due course. A few days later he would go on to argue that the government had been cooperating with towns and cities to ease unemployment and that Labour and all other groups in the legislature had unreasonable expectations for the government which no administration could ever hope to fulfill.[65] These sentiments seemed to prevail when the vote on Bernier's amendment censuring the government received no more support beyond those who introduced the challenge in the house. By a vote of 37 to 10, all other groups in the legislature lined up solidly against the labour members and by the same vote adopted the throne speech and seemed to grant Norris a legitimate mandate to carry on his administration.[66]

Unfortunately, for the Liberals, the defeat of Bernier's amendment censuring the government was not the final defeat for unemployment as an issue during this session. Just prior to the vote on Bernier's amendment, the house had passed a resolution put forward by John Queen calling for the appointment of a committee to inquire into and consider the cause of this "condition of distress" and then recommend what steps should be taken to resolve the problem.[67] However, beyond the formation of the committee, little real progress was made on the unemployment issue. The committee's recommendations to the house encountered opposition from all quarters. The speaker himself first ruled that some of the recommendations by the special committee were out of order because they involved expenditure. This move provoked the head of the committee (John Queen) to announce that he would not summon the committee together again. The situation remained deadlocked until, in an unusual verbal vote, the legislature decided to expunge the speaker's ruling from the journals of the house.[68] However, now free to consider the report in the legislature, the members in general were just as reluctant as the

speaker to go beyond mere consideration of the proposed expenditures. All the proceedings before the unemployment committee, including the proposed program of public works, were turned down by the house on two separate occasions. But, nearly two months into the session the house was still entertaining five and a half hour debates on the issue and was proposing to examine the recommendations a third time were it not for the defeat of the government.[69]

Reluctance to agree on the terms of the report was backed by any number of reasons. Many of the members were still skeptical that there was an unemployment crisis. Liberal J.H. McConnell admitted unemployment should receive careful attention, but also argued that there were some important questions to be asked such as, "Did these men, who were parading as unemployed, desire to work?"[70] Premier Norris continued this criticism stating that "when men will work when work is offered them unemployment will be an easier problem to solve."[71] However, these concerns were of little consequence in comparison to the members' demands for economy which ultimately proved the chief stumbling block for progress on unemployment or any other issue.

Throughout the second session the Labour group was the lone voice against the legislature's hidden agenda of economy in government. Blaming this trend for the provinces unemployment woes, they argued that it was good public policy to increase public expenditure in public works when private industry was limited by a poor industrial climate. They went on to argue that the economy had deprived the province of necessary work which should have continued because it was vital to the well being of the province. In their eyes, it was the rich practicing economy which were responsible for throwing people out of work and now the government was mimicking that very destructive policy.[72] Labour members mocked Minister of Public Works, C.D. McPherson, renaming him "the minister of no public works" and Dixon argued that the minister and his government had become "paralyzed by a passion for economy".[73] He went on to argue

that even if the unemployment crisis was not as serious as stated by Labour members, the government's approach was still incorrect.

> What the unemployed wish is work - not doles. Some will say there are men who will not work. Yes. There are rich men who will not work and poor men who will not work but they are few in number and it is only the poor men who are sent to jail. So we see their crime lies not in being idle but in being poor. In my opinion, it would be far better not to send the poor men who will not work to jail but to simply stop their relief until they are willing to work.[74]

But those whose forces preached economy in the legislature during this session remained undaunted by the appeals of the Labour group. For example, while there was that element of skepticism in the ranks whether an unemployment crisis truly existed, this skepticism was not an often heard defense to Labour's demands. Norris believed that the Labour tactic of blocking the throne speech debate was an attempt to cause a spectacle, but he still considered the unemployment issue worthy of careful consideration. In spite of the Labour groups criticism, the Liberals had stepped in to assist municipalities by assuming one third of the cost of taking care of the unemployed. Moreover, he maintained, work provided by the government on the hospital at Selkirk, the parliamentary grounds, the medical college, Brandon Hospital and considerable drainage and road work showed the government had not forgotten its duty to provide employment.[75]

The Conservative Group, and J.T. Haig in particular, had a peculiar policy concerning the unemployment situation and the accompanying theme of economy in government. Somewhat to the right of the Liberals, Haig maintained businessmen as well as labourers were suffering during the tough economic years. He also proposed that the key to the resolution of the unemployment problem lay in the idea that contentment in rural sections of the country must be made equal to that in the cities, for "it was contentment and not money that was the goal in life."[76]

The Independent-Farmers group were the biggest proponents of economy throughout the second session of the Legislature. Major H.R. Richardson's observation

that rural credits would receive close scrutiny during the session and that farmers needed moral as well as financial assistance was the closest any Independent-Farmer ventured to criticizing the economy of the government.[77] However, some Independent-Farmers were still complaining about the extravagance of the government. P.A. Talbot warned the government that the day was coming when it would no longer be able to secure new sources of revenue for all the new services it was creating. He went on to criticize groups such as Labour for "preaching dissatisfaction" and encouraging people to ask for foolish things (such as unemployment insurance) and charged the government with giving in to public demands too hastily and simply pushing ahead with a policy of frantic extravagance.[78]

The presence of two powerful, and yet vehemently opposed points of view (Labour and Independent-Farmer) with so many others scattered between the two extremes, ensured there would be no progress on the unemployment issue during the second session. The other major issue in the first half of the session which seemed to get bogged down by the same inability to build a solid consensus involved the Moderation League's petition asking for a referendum on the liquor law.

The Moderation League's petition was presented by Joseph Bernier on 18 January 1922. Signed by 53,896 electors, (about 25 percent of the eligible voters in 1920) it was accompanied by a draft bill calling on the government to submit a referendum to the people on the establishment of government liquor stores for the sale of liquor for beverage purposes. The government felt obliged to proceed with the petition because of a pledge to act in accordance with the spirit of the Direct Legislation Act it had placed in the statute books in 1915 but had not enforced owing to a decision of the Privy Council.

From the onset it was clear that debate was badly divided on the issue. Bernier tried to press the claims of the Moderation League by arguing the legislation was in the best interests of temperance. Not only would the new law eliminate bootlegging, home brewing and the drug habit, but it would also permit government access to a lucrative field

of revenue which up to this point was solely of benefit to only the criminal element.[79] Other members such as Labour's Albert Tanner, reluctant to draw comparisons between bootleggers and government tax collectors, argued instead that the legislature had adopted the principle of initiative and referendum and therefore he had no objection to the matter being referred to the people.[80] However, many Liberals and Independent-Farmers did have objections to the petition. Liberal John McConnell claimed the plebiscite was two years premature as he had only personally noticed a decrease of 75 percent in visible drunkenness.[81] Other Farmers such as A.E. Kristjannson maintained the proposition would set back temperance work 25 years and H.T. Richardson refused to support any new legislation until some effort was made to stamp out the illicit sale, manufacture and consumption of liquor presently occurring in the province.

Debate over the issue gave no indication of which way a vote would go until a Bernier amendment calling for the appointment of a committee of the house to prepare the actual legislation led to the defeat of the petition on a technicality. All groups in the legislature, including the government, were divided in the final vote on the petition. The government party as a whole was split with six members "for" and 13 "against", but the actual cabinet was split 4 to 3. The Conservatives split 3 to 3, Independents and Farmers 8 to 8 and Labour 7 to 3, resulting in a close vote of 27 to 25. Unfortunately, just as in the case of the debate over unemployment, the final vote did not prove to be the final word on the petition. Within two weeks, Government and Labour members were in agreement that completely turning down the Moderation League petition was a mistake. Two days later they were provided with an opportunity to redeem themselves when a new petition of the Moderation League calling for a referendum was tabled in the House with 13,000 signatures and a bill in accordance with the Initiative and Referendum Act.[82]

At the time, it appeared the legislature was getting down to business much more easily than it had in the first session. One month into the session, the legislature had already managed to deal with a number of contentious issues. The T.C. Norris resolution

calling on the railway commission to order an immediate and substantial reduction in freight rates and remove the discrimination against the West was passed without division. Indeed, voting in the house was only close on two occasions. The first close call involved the defeat of the liquor referendum petition by a division of 27 to 25, and the only other surprisingly close vote involved the appointment of a committee to inquire into the civil service as forecast in the speech from the throne. The resolution on holding an inquiry into the civil service was suggested in the throne speech and proposed by C.D. McPherson. It was eventually lost by the casting vote of the speaker (24 to 23). In defending the decision of the house, the premier stated that the government had provided an opportunity to investigate how departments were conducted, which was rejected. Norris interpreted the defeat as a vote of confidence rather than a vote of non-confidence.[83] While the speaker's vote seemed to be of little concern, the fact that the inquiry was mentioned in the throne speech caused J.T. Haig to interpret the result as a vote of want of confidence in the government and call for the Liberal resignation.[84] Beyond Haig's unsuccessful extrapolation, the real challenges to the government were met with solid majorities for the Liberals. Bernier's original amendment to the throne speech regarding unemployment was defeated by a vote of 37 to 10 and a second potential vote of censure on the government involving a Norris resolution on provincial lands was defeated by a convincing 34 to 9.

The provincial lands issue had originally promised to be one of the livelier debates of the session. In an attempt to address the criticism that the government was permitting speculators to hold provincial lands out of use, Norris moved a resolution providing for foreclosure on provincial lands on which large purchasers failed to pay arrears of principle and interest within six months. Refusing to accept arguments that Norris had dealt leniently in the past with those in arrears because of the difficulties of war and subsequent depression, Dixon vowed to indict the government for past violations of the Provincial Lands Act and proposed his amendment which would have been a vote of censure on the

government if carried.[85] While Dixon was adamant in his conviction, the issue failed to spark the interest of the rest of the house and within two weeks the controversy was resolved overwhelmingly in the favor of the government.

It was not until the introduction of the budget that the business of the house once again began to stall. However, the difficulty in getting down to business on the estimates was in no way a result of the controversy surrounding any proposed expenditures or cuts. In fact, the Liberal budget for 1922 was rather well received in the house. In a budget geared towards the agricultural community, Norris did a good job of balancing demands for rigid economy while maintaining existing services and resisting the temptation to bleed the taxpayers for badly needed revenue.[86] Provincial Treasurer Edward Brown maintained that one of the first priorities of the government was reduction of the debt. He went on to argue that although the revenue earned was less than the expenditure incurred during the present fiscal year, in many respects, the statement was the soundest that the Liberal administration had ever put forward. Brown believed the government's policy that all accounts should be paid with the greatest dispatch, as well as the fact that Manitoba held $15 million in its own treasury (representing $24 million of the total gross debt) made Manitoba unique among all other provinces.

During the first session, the house had approved expenditures totaling $10,275,180 and estimated revenue at $9,770,172 foreshadowing a deficit of $505,000. When six government departments exceeded their estimates, the actual expenditure ballooned to $10,401,895. Actual revenue also exceeded the estimates by $30,688 totaling $9,800,860. In the end, expenditures incurred exceeded revenues earned by $601,034. Subtracting a credit balance from the previous year of $35,560 left a net adverse balance of $565,468 after seven years of Liberal administration.[87] However, even this small deficit could be explained away if certain deferred revenues and capital invested revenues were taken into consideration.

In 1922 the revenue for the new fiscal year was estimate at $8,733,131 and expenditures at $8,461,402 leaving a surplus estimated at $271,728. Debt reduction would be achieved in part by retiring in full 300,000 pounds sterling debentures maturing in 1923 as well as $10 million of a $13 million investment fund falling due in New York in 1925. A new two cent per gallon gasoline tax and a provincial income tax were also on the order paper and the only capital charges provided in the budget were $15 million for farm loans, $750,000 for telephones, $750,000 for roads and one million for housing.

The debt which had given rise to all of these measures totaled $62 million by 1922. Of this gross debt, $47 million (75 percent) was accountable through the telephone system, a number of first class public buildings and an improved provincial roads system. An addition of $10 million was largely the result of aids to the working class and agriculture through loans to municipalities for housing and farm loans. the distribution of hydro throughout the province had also added $2 million to the debt with the remaining $3 million representing a variety of projects such as provincial drainage, provincial elevators, soldiers' taxation relief and the Settlers' Animal Purchase Act.[88] Brown would only claim responsibility for $35 million of the $62 million debt arguing $27 million was inherited from the previous government in 1915. In any case, of the $35 million, $15 million was in the Manitoba treasury (only one million of which was left by the Liberal's predecessor) leaving the increased debt in all various undertakings at $21 million or $3 million each year.

Labour leader F.J. Dixon opened debate on the budget, claiming reductions in salaries and civil service personnel was not true economy.[89] Nevertheless, on the whole the estimates proceeded through the house without major revision. The only exception involved the refusal of funding for the administration of the Industrial Conditions Act which, in one of the most dramatic decisions of the session, temporarily put the Joint Council of Industry out of business.[99]

While debate over the budget dragged on, a number of other opposition initiatives went down to defeat in the house. John Queen's scheme calling for representation by population as well as his resolution for aid to Russia were both rejected by the house. An A.E. Smith resolution for the extension of proportional representation was also defeated. Many initiatives never even received a vote. Bills respecting trade disputes, the civil service, public schools, the Winnipeg charter, the Garnishment Act and the Unoccupied Land Tax Act were all killed prior to even reaching a vote.[91]

These defeats, combined with the inactivity on the budget, began to lead to complaints by some members of the house that legislators were "wasting time with too much speechifying [sic.]."[92] Some like Farmer member W.C. McKinnell blamed the Labour group, and especially A.E. Smith, for the delays arguing that the legislature should devote seven days a week to the session, "six days for business and the seventh day to scriptural quotations."[93] Labour members shot back that the government was to blame for the delays. M.J. Stanbridge maintained that the government had taken for granted the fact that enough members with confidence would always be found for support and that now the government had nothing but contempt for the opposition.[94] These criticisms highlighted overall concerns that the house had convened one month early, but that there seemed to be little chance now of concluding work one month early as planned to allow farmers to return to seeding in the spring.

Moreover, as far as genuine business was concerned, the sessional record was rather bleak. Only 55 bills, both government and private, were on the order paper, as opposed to over 200 one year earlier, and most of the difficult debates were yet to come.[95] By this time the issues of unemployment and the Moderation League referendum were already being resurrected and members found themselves rehashing debates from only a few weeks earlier. A resolution by G.H. Palmer calling for assistance to farmers who were unable to pay interest on mortgages promised a lengthy debate. In

addition, child welfare legislation, the income tax and the transferable ballet debates had only been broached in the house.

The Talbot resolution on the Public Utilities Commission was the only one of these issues which continued to pose a threat to the government. An early informal canvass of the members in the house by legislative reporters indicated the resolution would not come close to defeating the government.[96] However, within a week, amidst rumors of the break up of the Independent-Farmer party and more complaints over legislative inactivity, these same reporters were now considering the report on the resolution a major test for the government.[97]

One week before the vote on the Talbot resolution, the defeat of the government seemed unavoidable. A bitter attack on Conservative leader J.T. Haig by Attorney General T.H. Johnson for remarks he had made at a Labour group meeting was the final straw that broke down any remaining resistance to a Conservative-Labour coalition to defeat the government.[98] In the days leading up to the vote, the UFM was already discussing new potential leaders for its party and very specific suggestions were put forward regarding the composition of an interim government to carry on business until the date for a new election.

The defeat of the Liberal government by forces united over the Talbot resolution of March 14, 1922 was a particularly interesting defeat because it came as a complete surprise to an opposition which had still not come to terms with the legislative sway they had in the house. Just as in the first session, the opposition seemed stunned and frustrated at the inability of the Liberal minority to govern without some form of consensus in the house. Immediately after the defeat, in a brief session lasting only a few minutes, the opposition leaders protested against the immediate dissolution of the house. They argued the government was duty bound to continue until at least interim supply was voted and some important legislation (such as housing loans put forward by the opposition) were put through the house.[99] Even legislative editorials pointed out that the opposition was

finally realizing the vote had defeated the Liberals for good and that it was not just another case of expressing dissatisfaction with the administration.[100] In the end, both Dixon for the Labour group and Robson for the Farmers gave the Liberals the assurance of support to complete the pressing business of the session. True to form, the Conservatives and leader J.T. Haig were the only ones to refuse to give up their partisan leanings and demanded the Norris government clear out in order to make way for a new Conservative administration.[101]

The Conservative demands for some sort of compensation following the defeat of the Liberal government were not completely groundless. Prior to the defeat, debate over the Talbot resolution had resulted, more or less, in a deadlock between the Liberals on one side and Farmers and Labour groups on the other. In the end only three of these opposition members supported the government. The Conservatives, who had remained silent throughout the entire debate, came out solidly against the government and turned the tide against the Liberals. In other key votes in the house during the second session, the Conservative group could never really be an important factor. Labour had become the government's primary opposition during the session. Labour members initiated and voted in favor of the Bernier resolution censuring the government for omitting unemployment from the throne speech and the Dixon vote of censure over the provincial lands issue. Support for each of these measures came from Labour members and two or three Independent-Farmers. The majority of the Farmer's group, with few exceptions, had chosen to side with the government on most occasions. As a result, opposition forces had never been able to unite on one single issue against the government. Votes on the Moderation League petition or the Civil Service Commission did result in close divisions, but did not involve the question of confidence in the government. Moreover, the opposition vote was fractured along party lines (particularly in the case of the Moderation League Referendum) making any formal show of opposition to the government impossible.

The defeat of the government and Norris's subsequent resignation left the entire matter in the hands of the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir James Aikins. What followed was one of the rare instances in which a Lieutenant Governor would employ a degree of personnal initiative or discretion in a decision which would test the limits of his authority and remind everyone that the office was more than a sinecure for party faithful or community leaders.[102] Questions regarding the importance of the office were first raised in 1914 when the Lieutenant Governor Sir Douglas Cameron was petitioned by the opposition in the Manitoba Legislature to create a royal commission in order to investigate allegations of corruption surrounding the construction of the new legislative buildings.[103] This exceptional action resulted in the confirmation of the opposition charges followed by the subsequent resignation of the Roblin government in 1914. This time the Lieutenant Governor was forced to decide whether to accept the resignation of the Norris government only one year after it had been elected or call upon the administration to remain in office until necessary supply was voted and legislation considered essential in the interests of the province was enacted. Ironically, Aikins himself was once the head of the provincial Conservative party and in 1915 he had tried without success to privately convince Cameron that his position was nothing more than a rubber stamp.[104] However, Aikins, like Cameron, was also a close observer of the political scene who anticipated the confusion of the group government situation in the legislature. In the end, he opted for the latter and almost immediately, representatives of each group in the house met in order to compose a legislative program which they hoped would be acceptable to the majority of the legislature. For Aikins, the formation of a new provincial government was completely out of the question. Not only did the Lieutenant-Governor think the representation questionable and the chances of deadlock overwhelming, but he also questioned whether a new government would even go to the polls once supply was voted. In his letter responding to the Norris defeat and subsequent resignation, read by Norris himself in the legislature, Sir James argued,

> Is it not evident that, if the leader of any of these groups were called upon to assume government management, he would seek support from the electorate by appeal to them? I am satisfied from the contentions, the disputes, and the conflicting views of the several groups or parties in the assembly, that it is not only improbable but practically impossible for them to work together in harmony, or which would efficiently and beneficially carry on His majesty's government in Manitoba.
>
> Conditions have materially altered in this province and the view of the people been modified by uncontrollable circumstances since the last general election, and I have the gravest doubt about the legislature as at present composed correctly representing the wishes, the opinions or views of the people. Indeed, I believe it does not as a whole.[105]

With a drastically reduced legislative agenda the business of the house resumed less than two weeks after the defeat with all the success that Aikins stirring testimonial could have hoped to inspire. Norris would carry on as Premier with the cooperation of the other parties in the house subject to supply being granted by the legislature. This done, the resignation would then be accepted and an appeal to electors pursued in due course. By the time the session had reconvened, eleven resolutions and 34 bills were cut from the order paper. Some of the initiatives such as child welfare legislation or the rural credit system were endorsed with the relative ease which had been promised. Other legislation such as the income tax bill, a resolution calling for the funding of housing in suburban municipalities, the transferable vote bill or proposed sessional indemnity reductions were either withdrawn or killed. Supply was dealt with as usual, however, even this rather stilted procedure was held up by certain members of the legislature. Early on it looked as if the Independent members hoped to kidnap the extended session, latching on the their own private forum, extorting their own legislative demands, while holding the meager remains of the government business hostage. One day into the reconvened session Joseph Bernier, sensing opportunity, protested the drop of one of his bills to amend the St. Boniface charter by declaring he would hold up the estimates as long as possible until it was reconsidered.[106] George Armstrong joined Bernier in this adventure with his own private ransom of a hotly debated bill providing for Sunday trains to beach resorts. John

Queen later attempted a similar kind or disruption by moving for an immediate dissolution of the house for the government's attitude in connection with housing loans.[107] In any case, most of these legislative maneuvers were successfully quashed by more senior members of the house, familiar with legislative tactics and how the rules of the house could be used to avoid them.[108]

One of the final, and as it happened, most telling gestures of the reconvened session, put two years of confused legislative activity into perspective. On the 30th of March 1922, the house voted to reconsider the appropriation of the Public Utilities Commission (which had been reduced as a matter of tidying up loose ends) in accordance with the Talbot resolution that had called for the abolition of the commission and had resulted in the defeat of the government.[109] While this particular measure was eventually defeated in a very close 25 to 22 vote, other similar incongruities persisted. Funds for the Joint Council of Industry, reduced just a few weeks earlier, were renewed before the end of 1922. Waffling on unemployment and the Moderation League referendum in the second session rivaled the inactivity in the first surrounding group government and preferential voting, both of which would reemerged in the second session for very brief and equally unproductive cameos. This sometimes confused, sometimes contradictory, but always frustrating legislative experiment was the legacy of early populist politics in Manitoba.

Endnotes to Chapter Three

[1]Definitions of this 1920-1922 period as one of group government are found in W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957) p. 377. and by T.C. Norris in the Manitoba Political Scrapbooks (Debates for the Manitoba Legislature) 1st session, 16th legislature, 10 Feb. 1921 to 7 May 1921, Manitoba Legislative Library: News Clippings, Session 1921, p. 130. (Hereafter referred to as Debates)

[2]Debates pp. 128-143c.

[3]Debates pp. 93-94.

[4]Journal of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba 1st session, 16th legislature, 10 Feb. 1921 to 7 May 1921, Winnipeg, Manitoba. Philip Purcell Printer, 1921. vol.54. p.21. (Hereafter referred to as Journal)

[5]Debates p. 148.

[6]Debates p. 87.

[7]Debates p. 87.

[8]Debates p. 87.

[9]Debates p. 75.

[10]Debates p. 75.

[11]Debates p. 99.

[12]Debates p. 85.

[13]Debates p. 93.

[14]Debates p. 93-94.

[15]Debates pp. 102-103.

[16]Debates p. 85.

[17]Debates p. 77.

[18]Debates p.77.

Endnotes to Chapter Three (continued)

[19]Debates p. 142.

[20]Debates p. 91.

[21]Debates p. 95.

[22]Debates p. 76.

[23]Debates p. 77.

[24]Debates p. 76.

[25]Devates p. 76.

[26]Morton p. 397.

[27]Debates p. 77.

[28]Debates p. 78.

[29]Debates p. 81.

[30]Debates p. 80.

[31]Debates p. 80.

[32]Debates p. 79.

[33]Journal p. 106.

[34]Debates p. 91.

[35]Debates p. 91.

[36]Debates p. 110.

[37]Debates p. 109.

[38]Debates p. 95.

[39]Debates p. 98.

[40]Journal p. 109.

Endnotes to Chapter Three (continued)

[41]Debates p. 117.

[42]Journal p. 196.

[43]Debates p. 128.

[44]Debates p. 128.

[45]Journal p. 250.

[46]Debates p. 196.

[47]Debates p. 145.

[48]Debates p. 145.

[49]Debates p. 145.

[50]Debates p. 145.

[51]Debates p. 165.

[52]Debates p. 167.

[53]Debates p. 165.

[54]Debates p. 178.

[55]Journal p. 256.

[56]Debates p. 186.

[57]Manitoba Political Scrapbook (Debates of the Manitoba Legislature) 2nd Session, 16th Legislature, 12 January 1922 to 6 April 1922, Manitoba Legislative Library: news clippings, session 1922, p. 6. (Hereafter referred to as Debates 1922)

[58]Canadian Annual Review (CAR) 1921 p. 739.

[59]Debates 1922 p. 148.

[60]Journal 1922 pp. 309-311.

Endnotes to Chapter Three (continued)

[61]Debates 1922 p. 109.

[62]Debates 1922 p. 148.

[63]Debates 1922 p. 10.

[64]Debates 1922 p. 8.

[65]Debates 1922 p. 13.

[66]Debates 1922 p. 10.

[67]Journal of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba 2nd Session, 16th Legislature, 12 January 1922 to 6 April 1922, Winnipeg, Manitoba. Philip Purcell Printer, 1922 Volume 55 p. 21.

[68]Debates 1922 p. 56.

[69]Debates 1922 p. 70.

[70]Debates 1922 p. 10.

[71]Debates 1922 p. 14.

[72]Debates 1922 p. 18.

[73]Debates 1922 p. 13.

[74]Debates 1922 p. 13.

[75]Debates 1922 p. 14.

[76]Debates 1922 p. 16.

[77]Debates 1922 p. 18.

[78]Debates 1922 p. 19.

[79]Debates 1922 p. 20.

[80]Debates 1922 p. 19.

[81]Debates 1922 p. 10.

[82]Debates 1922 p. 58.

[83]Debates 1922 p. 59.

[84]Debates 1922 p. 58.

Endnotes to Chapter Three (continued)

[85]Debates 1922 p. 43.

[86]Debates 1922 p. 51.

[87]Debates 1922 p. 51.

[88]Debates 1922 p. 51.

[89]Debates 1922 p. 50.

[90]Debates 1922 p. 64.

[91]Debates 1922 p. 81.

[92]Debates 1922 p. 73.

[93]Debates 1922 p. 73.

[94]Debates 1922 p. 67.

[95]Debates 1922 p. 29.

[96]Debates 1922 p. 76.

[97]Debates 1922 p. 85.

[98]Debates 1922 p. 86.

[99]Debates 1922 p. 103.

[100]Debates 1922 p. 105.

[101]Debates 1922 p. 106.

[102]M.S. Donnelly, The Government of Manitoba (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963) p. 116.

[103]John T. Saywell, The Office of the Lieutenant-Governor: A Study in Canadian Government and Politics (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957) p. 49.

[104]Saywell p. 52.

[105]Debates 1922 p. 109.

[106]Debates 1922 p. 115.

[107]Debates. 1922 p. 130.

[108]Debates 1922 p. 119.

Endnotes to Chapter Three (continued)

[109]Debates 1922 p. 127.

Chapter Four

1. Summary

The group biography indicates that a unique, new party was elected to the Manitoba legislature in 1922, one which initially fit the mold of agrarian based farmers' parties which were beginning to appear at this time throughout Western Canada. The distinct rural flavor of the UFM in 1922, bolstered by the election of a large number of candidates with an agricultural background, did represent a significant break with the personnel characteristics of the traditional parties of the past. However, the greater emphasis on farm representation within the UFM was the only evidence of any distinction from the old traditional parties.

In fact, further investigation into the biographical evidence revealed striking similarities to these old traditional parties. While assessed in a variety of overlapping ways, but in general under the six broad subject headings of occupation, education, experience, birthplace, religion and age, it became very clear that the UFM that came to power in 1922 was somewhat different from the radical beginnings of the UFM party of 1920 and quite similar to the long standing traditional governing parties of 1920. Ultimately, the evidence revealed a divided party. On the one hand, the UFM was tempted to follow its traditional instincts for more activist leadership on the behalf of farmers who sought regulation of the monopolies and transportation rates, the lowering of interest charges and the reduction of tariff protection. On the other hand, the party was restricted as a result of its broader appeal and forced to give real consideration to a host

of demands for a more business-like government and the eradication of provincial deficits from groups such as the Winnipeg business community which, prior to 1922, had no relationship with the UFM.

Elements of this contradiction uncovered in the group biography carried over into the examination of party platforms, strategies and the general approach to electioneering in the campaigns of 1920 and 1922. The study of the campaigns and the strategies demonstrated that there were some obvious comparisons between the politics of the UFM and the Liberal party from 1920 to 1922. However, in the end these similarities could not really compromise a UFM claim as a legitimate farmers' movement. The Liberal platform from 1915 to 1920 was still a progressive, activist document in its own right, and contained very little with which any populist would be ashamed to be associated. Moreover, the study of electioneering revealed that the UFM held to its distinct populist roots by virtue of its enormous local organization. The real problems arose when this progressive platform was contrasted with the growing preoccupation in the UFM by 1922 with the concerns and fears over the economic recession and the inability of the legislature to cope with these problems.

As a result, what had emerged by 1922 was a UFM "party" with a solid agrarian candidate base (Chapter One), but with the broader, long standing structural similarities to the old traditional parties. The UFM sported a strong, proven, progressive platform by 1922 (Chapter Two). Unfortunately it was a platform borrowed extensively from the Liberal party and at odds with other forces in the UFM concerned with economic retrenchment and businesslike administration. This was not the structure of a party poised to take populist politics to new heights in Manitoba. Indeed, it became very clear even earlier during the legislative sessions from 1920 to 1922, that the era of progressive legislation in Manitoba and the role of the farmers party in its development had come to an end.

In the legislature the Farmer's party was as diverse and disjointed as the studies on the candidates or campaign policies would suggest. The true numerical opposition in the house regularly voted against a number of planks in their own party platform. Often badly divided, and with no real attempt made to direct the powerful farmers vote in the house, what little progressive legislation there was on freight rates or farm loans suffered some unnecessary defeats. The real opposition in the legislature during these two years was provided by the Conservative party and to a certain extent the Labour group. If the farmers seemed somewhat unconcerned with activity in the legislature from 1920 to 1922, these two parties made up for their indifference with a relentless attack on the Norris government's expenditures as well as an overwhelming and in many cases bizarre level of scrutiny over all government legislation.

Driven by the continued focus on retrenchment and economy by all the parties in an extremely divided house, even very popular issues such as group government or preferential voting in the first session, or unemployment and the Moderation League referendum in the second session were all bogged down by the same inability to build a solid consensus. The result was two extremely divided sessions with disagreements on every issue complemented by discord between, and occasionally within, parties. Whether talking about the debates on the throne speech, the estimates, a motion of non-confidence or some form of group government and whether considering Liberals, Conservatives, Farmers, Independents or Labour members, the inability to bring any issue to a final conclusion was the chief characteristic of the years from 1920 to 1922 in the Manitoba Legislature.

What was interesting about the Manitoba provincial elections of 1920 and 1922 was the fact that these seemingly insurmountable liabilities had no lasting negative effects on the political fortunes of the UFM. Furthermore, within this framework it is clear that the defeat of the progressive, Liberal Norris government in 1922 was no more the result of the efforts of the Manitoba farmers than the Conservative, Labour or Independent

candidates. There really was little policy grounded opposition to the Liberals for these two provincial elections. The Conservatives were wiped out in Manitoba by the scandal in 1915. Labour had been a badly fractured if not discredited force in Manitoba ever since the Winnipeg general strike of 1919. The agrarian movement, as we have just seen, suffered from a vast number of contradictions involving personnel, policy and legislative record. The Norris government failed because of its self-satisfaction. Ultimately they beat themselves, relying whole-heartedly on a campaign based on past achievements and leaving what opposition there was with a golden opportunity in the campaign to capitalize on the criticism of the Liberal record while their own platforms and legislative performances were free from the same intense examination.

Unfortunately, while these contradictions were of no immediate political concern to the UFM, they were a fatal blow to non-partisan politics, rural radicalism and the reform movement in Manitoba. The watering down of the farmer vote which had occurred as a result of the broadening of the UFM only served to dilute the political aims of the movement. In Ontario, E.C. Drury was confronted by similar arguments when critics of his broadening out policy within the UFO predicted the creation of yet another party of agrarian interests.[1] However, in Manitoba no single interest-group would be able to unify the splintered legislature and as a result any legislation which did not pander to the lowest common denominator in terms of economy was the primary casualty of this period. Even farm legislation suffered if it did not adhere to these strict economic guidelines. For example, the Farmers group in the Manitoba legislature of 1920 only saw merit in a group government scheme which did not place unnecessary burdens on the electorate or detract from the important business of the house. Much in the same way, coalition government was pursued by Bracken during the 1930's to unite all parties' efforts against the challenges presented by the Depression.[2]

2. Conclusion

This interpretation of the fate of the Manitoba reform movement of the 1920's is different from past examinations published over the last seventy years which have studied the early progressive movements on the prairies, but failed to analyze in any detailed way the social composition of these movements. In fact, the development of research concerning the populist movement on the prairies has been completely the opposite from what would have normally been expected. General surveys and comprehensive treatments of prairie populism always seem to have preceeded preliminary studies dealing with particular segments of the movement. However, in the end, all of these studies seem to agree on the moderate agrarian liberalism which they argue was at the core of the Manitoba populist movement.

Louis Aubrey Wood's 1925 study of A History of the Farmers' Movements in Canada, never pursued the social makeup of the Western Canadian Progressives further than to assert that Protestant, Anglo-Saxon, southwestern, Ontario immigrants were chiefly responsible for the development of the farmers' movement in the West.[3] At least he went that far, since his successors seldom did so. Wood surveyed the political history of the Grange in Canada from 1872, the Patrons of Industry in the 1890's and the development of the Western cooperative movement right into the 1920's. His focus was on the importance of these early associations such as the Grange and Patrons and their failure, which he attributed to a lack of cohesion within the farmers' movement itself. However, by 1920, and after witnessing first-hand the rise of the farmers movement, Wood felt that the future was bright for the budding, progressive crusade in Western Canada. He argued Manitoba farmers had taken their cue to enter federal politics in 1919 from the examples provided in other Western provinces while the events in Ontario provided the incentive to pursue provincial office. However, Wood also argued the provincial efforts against Norris were not a main concern with Manitoba farmers until the

alienation of all western farmers by the federal Liberal party in the federal election of 1921 made the current Liberal government in Manitoba unacceptable.[4]

Unfortunately, while Wood was able to correctly identify the political incentives encouraging the farmers' actions in the early 1920's, their downfall remained a mystery to him. He could not have foreseen the impending organizational conflicts and disputes over the direction of the movement, the decline in membership of the farm organizations, the severe post-war agricultural depression from 1920 to 1925, or the changes in the business of farming itself to a larger scale, less labour intensive, but more debt driven industry. All of these contributed to the weakening of the farm movement in the 1920's. More importantly, while Wood made the connection between Ontario influence and the birth of the western farmers movement, he did not anticipate how the lack of cohesion among the early farm organizations such as the Grange or patrons would also carry over to the western movement.

In The Progressive Party in Canada, W.L. Morton followed the evolution of Progressivism from 1900 to 1930, focusing primarily on the federal Progressives, but he did not neglect the complementary provincial wings of the party. Morton argued that the United Farmers in Manitoba were distinct from Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Ontario because the UFM was not troubled to the same extent over fundamental party policy. The debate over broadening out or occupational representation was a continuing feature of the United Farmers party in Ontario which inevitably grew to become a major factor in their 1923 defeat. However, in Saskatchewan, the total absence of this debate eventually led the provincial farmers to a reunion with the Liberal party, while in Alberta the UFA was completely divorced from the federal Liberals as a result of their total commitment to occupational representation.[5] In Manitoba, Morton saw the progressives as farm reformers caught up in the Liberal ranks who managed only a brief split with their federal wing before reuniting with the Liberals in a coalition of agrarian radicals and traditional Liberals. He went on to argue the Norris defeat came at the hands of a pure agrarian

movement hindered only by a spontaneity and lack of central direction that was obvious after the two year group government experiment or the selection of a total political outsider as leader in 1922.[6] The Norris defeat was not so much the result of hostility to the provincial Liberals as it was to the federal wing of the Liberal party and a general impatience over expenditure and the need for economical government.

In The Government of Manitoba, Murray Donnelly's largely narrative account was nevertheless critical of the Manitoba progressive movement. He saw the brief five-year period of Liberal government from 1915 to 1920 as "the only period when reform and progressive sentiments have dominated in Manitoba."[7] He went on to argue that the UFM was a reluctant heir to power in 1922, elected largely because of the breaking up of party ties in the West, the fact that the Norris administration was too progressive for the Progressives, rural distrust of labour and other urban groups and a wave of anti-party sentiment on the prairies.[8] In one of the better analyses of the Manitoba farmers' movement Donnelly argued that the Manitoba progressives represented a right-wing conservatism more familiar to Manitobans than the radicalism of trade unions or the reforms of the Norris government. Unable to advance their vision for a better civilization with the actual reforms necessary to achieve this goal, this brief period of farm government in Manitoba became best known for only its economy of administration and a dislike of party politics which eventually led to the years of coalitions and non-partisan administrations in Manitoba.[9]

In The Politics of John W. Dafoe and the Free Press, Ramsay Cook, like Wood and Morton before him continued to argue that the Progressives were simply new or reluctant Liberals who were never destined to create, but rather, tried to renew an old Liberal party.[10] Cook's Dafoe felt the Progressives were the key to forcing a new alignment in Canadian politics which would purge the undesirable elements in both parties (radicals in the progressive ranks and the drones of central Canadian industry in the Liberal party) and lead to the creation of a new Liberal party. The key to everything was

the tariff. Dafoe argued the Liberals had witnessed the defeat of reciprocity in 1879 and had simply carried on that policy once elected to office.[11] This had alienated all who had supported a lower tariff in the Liberal ranks including the Progressives in Manitoba. A return to the original stand for a lower tariff would do much to resolve a major rift in the party. The other branch of the party in Alberta, as far as Dafoe was concerned, should have been ignored and even repressed until this new alignment between the Progressives and Liberals was completed.

Lionel Orlikow had much the same view of the Manitoba Progressives as Wood, Morton, and Cook. However, Orlikow placed more emphasis on the importance of the entire Manitoba reform movement rather than strictly the agrarian wing of the movement. These groups were constantly pressuring the provincial government for favorable legislation. Orlikow argued that the Manitoba Liberal party changed its platform in order to appeal to, and eventually absorb, reform groups in Manitoba prior to the 1915 election. Groups fighting for temperance, suffrage, or direct legislation were all co-opted.[12] However, in the end Orlikow argued the Liberals were still not completely trusted and once the goals of the reformers were satisfied, they turned to new, class conscious groups such as the UFM in 1920 and 1922, which were just beginning to organize politically.

Nelson Wiseman explained the appeal of these new, class-conscious groups as the product of a political culture determined by four distinct waves of pioneering settlers on the prairies. Ontario, British, American, and European waves of immigration were responsible for the wide diversity of political traditions in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta at the turn of the 20th century. Wiseman argued that agrarian politics in Manitoba was not as radical as the other prairie provinces because Ontario immigrants in the province brought with them a 19th century Tory-touched Canadian Liberalism.[13] Ontario immigrants had their greatest numerical impact in the province of Manitoba and as a result Manitoba was the province most true to the values of rural Ontario and its grit agrarianism.

Like Wiseman, Tom Peterson also made few distinctions between the defeated Norris government and its agrarian replacement. He saw the Manitoba progressives as only a moderate reform group consisting of disgruntled farmers or anyone else urging economy or attacking alleged extravagance, regardless of previous political allegiances.[14] In a paper concerned with "Ethnic and Class Politics in Manitoba", Peterson argued that after 1922,

> Party government was apparently ended. Yet the reality was little changed: the new ruling group was substantially the same as the old one - farmers of British origin from the southwest of the province supported by businessmen of British origin in south Winnipeg. This durable alliance now governed under a new name.[15]

David Laycock's Populism and Democratic Thought in the Canadian prairies, 1910 to 1945, provided one of the most detailed studies to date on populist political competition on the Canadian prairies. He also defines Manitoba Progressives as crypto-Liberals, using W.L. Morton's label to describe this broad progressive grouping which broke the least with the contemporary Liberal ideology and policy.[16] Crypto-Liberalism was driven by a powerful cooperative movement, by fundamental grievances involving the disadvantaged partisan of the West in relation to the national wheat economy and by an element of frontierism which left the West open to other political influences and weakened the established two party system. Laycock argues this disguised Liberalism was one of the more influential forms of prairie protest.

This study's interpretation of the UFM as a divided, virtually paralyzed party from 1920 to 1922, that was responsible not only for the Norris defeat, but also liable for the end of the progressive government he pioneered in Manitoba, is different from these previous interpretations of this unsettled period in Manitoba politics. The above works have characterized the Manitoba populists during this period as a pure agrarian movement (Morton), at the brink of a budding progressive crusade (Wood), and a movement which was not more radical because of ties to a conservative rural Ontario (Wiseman) or a

domineering federal Liberal party (Cook). However, the moderate agrarian liberalism of the Manitoba progressive movement from 1920 to 1922 that these works all agree upon was the result of more than the simple alienation of the West by a federal Liberal party, or a lack of cohesion and central direction in the farmers' movement. Cook argued the Manitoba progressives were moderate reformers because they were really Liberals in disguise, alienated over the federal governments handling of the tariff issue and waiting for some small concession to draw them back into the Liberal fold. Orlikow saw the modest reforms of the Manitoba progressives as the inevitable outcome for a movement dependent upon fickle reform groups that threw their support behind whomever could promise the immediate realization of their goals. Wiseman saw a fragmented political culture resulting from waves of immigration, each the product of a different political tradition contributing to the mediocre mind-set of the progressives. Even the most current analysis put forward by David Laycock takes its cues from Morton and Cook arguing the Manitoba progressives were tied to contemporary Liberal ideology and policy that could not be broken by the cooperative movement, western alienation or an element of frontierism.

Lost in this shuffle was Donnelly's characterization of the Manitoba progressive movement as not a liberal movement at all, but rather a representation of a right-wing conservatism. This explanation was more in keeping with the traditional political history of Manitoba as a conservative extension of Ontario with only a superficial desire for political reform. Donnelly reached the only conclusion this study could support.

The Norris government had been in power for five years in 1920, operating under an enormous majority with essentially no opposition. However, long before 1920, Norris was well aware of the rhetoric of the populist movement and he could see the political destruction in its wake as it made its way across Western Canada. Perhaps he believed he could head off the encroachment of the farmers' movement in Manitoba and co-opt their support with his own campaign of agrarian reforms just as Martin had done in

Saskatchewan. Unfortunately for Norris, by virtue of his majority position in the legislature, his party was cut off from the electorate and unaware of the conservative ground-swell mounting against him. The UFM was a strong grassroots movement and in the end it was the Manitoba farmers' movement which became the vehicle for the return of conservative politics to power in Manitoba.

Norris was defeated because of an unfortunate association to traditional party politics and a progressive platform which was too progressive for the Progressives. He came face to face with the inherent conservatism of Manitoba politics and was defeated by one of the very groups he had worked so hard to appease. If that is not enough, there was one other dimension to the Norris defeat in 1922 which may help to better explain not only the Norris defeat, but also the defeat of the political reforms in agriculture and in other areas that he had inspired.

The group biography in this study revealed a UFM party in 1922 of essentially the same composition as the Liberals of 1922, except for the much larger portion of farmer representation in the UFM, or what they would have called government of farmers by farmers. The survey of electioneering and party policy revealed unmistakable similarities in the Liberal and UFM platforms which were down-played and ultimately overshadowed by a mammoth UFM grassroots political machine and an over-arching hatred of the party system. However, the third chapter showed a diverse and divided Progressive party, unable to build a consensus in the legislature and take advantage of its platform or majority, while at the same time curiously content to watch as the Norris government and all of its progressive reforms disintegrated.

Perhaps a partial explanation for the lack of protest regarding the farmers' poor legislative performance lies in the David C. Jones study of the country life ideology. Jones argued the ideology of rural life depicted the rural environment as the source of all positive value such as health, happiness, intellectual freedom and moral rectitude. On the other hand, the city was the counter-culture, unproductive and parasitic, dissipating

energy and weakening the moral fibre of its residents.[17] This idealization of the agricultural life motivated many western reform movements, farm agencies and inspired the literature of a generation during the turn of the century. It is not unreasonable to assume it also inspired the UFM seizure of power in 1922. Perhaps the fact that the UFM was unproductive and inferior to the advances made during the Norris years was of little consequence when all that mattered was a farmer government, run by farmers with a strong agrarian platform and with a legislature filled with rural representation voicing the opinions of their constituents for better or for worse. In this sense the Norris defeat had less to do with the liberalism or conservatism of the Manitoba progressive movement, than it did with simply a smug agrarian opportunism which was the key feature of a relentless drive for power in the farmers' movement.

In any case, whether defeated because of the ties to partyism, too progressive a platform or by virtue of the fact that it was simply not a farmer government in the truest sense of the word, there was never any question of the defeat of the Norris government in 1922 in a contest which appeared to pit the last vestige of traditional party politics against a seemingly unstoppable populist political force. This thesis argues that the elections of 1920 and 1922 actually represented the collision of a Liberal activism with a UFM conservatism which was determined to claim the mantle of power in Manitoba as its own, even at the expense of what they proclaimed as their own progressive reforms.

The peculiar liberalism of the 1915 to 1920 period in Manitoba, represented the provinces only flirtation with authentic reform politics. But, this brief flowering of agrarianism was too extreme for Manitoba farmers who fell back on the broad tradition of non-partisanship too discredit the Liberals and gain control of the government for themselves. The Norris government was definitely the anomaly during this period. The UFM represented the return to a traditional, non-partisan, conservative approach to government, far removed from the extravagance of the Norris or the corruption of the Roblin years.

Endnotes to Conclusion

[1]Charles M. Johnston, E.C. Drury: Agrarian Idealist (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986) p.67.

[2]John Kendle, John Bracken: A Political Biography (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979) p.117.

[3]Foster J.K. Griezic, Introduction, A History of the Farmers' Movement in Canada, by Louis Aubray Wood (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975) p. ix.

[4]Louis Aubrey Wood, A History of the Farmers' Movement in Canada: The Origins and Development of Agrarian Protest 1872-1924 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975) p.342.

[5]W.L. Morton, The Progressive Party in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950) p.210.

[6]Morton, p.229.

[7]M.S. Donnelly, The Government of Manitoba (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1963) p. 55.

[8]Donnelly p. 58.

[9]Donnelly p. 63.

[10]Ramsay Cook, The Politics of John W. Dafoe and the Free Press (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963) pp.108-109.

[11]Cook p.112.

[12]Lionel Orlikow, "The Reform Movement in Manitoba, 1910-1915," Historical Essays on the Prairie Provinces, Ed. Donald Swainson (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1970) p.227.

[13]Nelson Wiseman, "The Pattern of Prairie Politics," Party Politics in Canada, Ed. Hugh G. Thorburn (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., 1985) p.243.

[14]Tom Peterson, "Ethnic and Class Politics in Manitoba," Canadian Provincial Politics: The Party System of the Ten Provinces, Ed. Martin Robin (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., 1972) p. 83.

[15]Peterson p. 84.

Endnotes to Conclusion (continued)

[16]David Laycock, Populism and Democratic Thought in the Canadian Prairies, 1910 to 1945 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990) p.23.

[17]David C. Jones, "There is Some Power About the Land - The Western Agrarian Press and Country Life Ideology" Journal of Canadian Studies Vol. 17, No. 3 (Fall 1982) pp. 1 - 2.

APPENDIX 1

Candiates Elected in the General Election of 1920

Liberal	Farmer	Labour	Cons.	Indep.	Socialist
Armstrong	Clubb	Armstrong	Haig	Bernier	
August	Duprey	Bayley	Kennedy	Boivin	
Baird	Emmond	Dixon	Ridley	Hryhorczuk	
Brown	Fjelsted	Ivens	Spinks	Talbot	
Cameron	Fletcher	Kristjannson	Taylor		
Clingan	Hamelin	Moore	Tupper		
Findlater	Little	Palmer	Waugh		
Grierson	Mabb	Smith			
Johnson	McKinnell	Stanbridge			
Kirvan	Richardson	Tanner			
Malcolm	Robson	Queen		**Totals**	
McConnell	Yakimischak				
McDonald				Liberal	21
McPherson				Farmer	12
Morrison				Labour	11
Norris				Conservative	7
Rodgers				Independent	4
Stovel					
Thornton					
Williams					
Wilson					

Source: Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1920

APPENDIX 2

Candidates Elected in the General Election of 1922

Liberal	Conservative	UFM	Labour	Independent
Breakey	Evans	Bachynsky	Bayley	Bernier
Esplen	Haig	Barclay	Dixon	Dowes
Jacobs	Kennedy	Berry	Farmer	Edmison
Kirvan	Newton	Black	Ivens	Hamelin
Norris	Spinks	Boivin	Queen	Ross
Rodgers	Taylor	Bracken	Tanner	Yakimischak
Rojeski	Willis	Brown, W.		
Sigfusson		Cameron		
		Campbell		
		Cannon		
		Clubb		
		Compton		
		Craig		
		Emmond		
		Foster		
		Griffiths		
		Hryhorczuk		
		Little		
		McGregor		
		McKinnell		
		McLeod, D. L.		
		McLeod, D.S.		
		Mooney		
		Muirhead		
		Prefontaine		
		Short		
		Talbot		
		Westenholme		

Totals	
Liberal	8
Conservative	7
UFM	28
Labour	6
Independent	6

Source: Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1924

APPENDIX 3

Candidate Majorities in Manitoba's Electoral Divisions for 1920 and 1922

	1920			1922		
Electoral Division	Member Elected	Party	Majority	Member Elected	Party	Majority
Arthur	J. Williams	Lib.	10	D.L. McLeod	UFM	360
Assiniboia	W.D. Bayley	Lab.	113	W.D. Bayley	Lab.	845
Beautiful Plains	G. Little	Farm.	accl.	G. Little	UFM	595
Birtle	G.J.H. Malcolm	Lib.	134	W.J. Short	UFM	597
Brandon City	A.E. Smith	Lab.	604	J.W. Edmison	Lib-Cons (fusion)	1221
Carrilon	M. Duprey	Farm.	48	A. Prefontaine	UFM	306
Cypress	W.H. Sphinks	Cons.	180	W.H. Sphinks	Indep.	47
Dauphin	G.H. Palmer	Lab.	422	A. Esplin	Lib.	83
Deloraine	R.S. Thornton	Lib.	315	D.S. McLeod	UFM	183
Dufferin	A.E. August	Lib.	77	W. Brown	UFM	151
Ethelbert	N.A. Hrynorczuk	Farm.	587	N.A. Hrynorczuk	UFM	accl.
Emerson	D. Yakimischak	Farm.	64	D. Yakimischak	Indep.	431
Fairford	A.W. Kirvan	Lib.	5	A.W. Kirvan	Lib.	412
Fisher	H.L. Mabb	Farm.	81	M.V. Bachynsky	UFM	227
Gilbert Plains	W.B. Findlater	Lib.	20	A.G. Berry	UFM	545
Gimli	G. Fjelsted	Farm.	117	M. Rojeski	Indep.	260
Gladstone	J.W. Armstrong	Lib.	180	A. McGregor	UFM	878
Glenwood	W. Robson	Farm.	4	J.W. Breakley	Lib.	518
Hamiota	J.H. McConnell	Lib.	347	T. Wolstenholme	UFM	403
Iberville	A.R. Boivin	Indep - Cons	accl.	A.R. Boivin	UFM	612
Kildonan and St.Andrews	C.A. Tanner	Lab.	308	C.A. Tanner	Lab.	476
Killarney	S. Fletcher	Farm.	396	A.E. Foster	UFM	202
Lakeside	C.D. McPherson	Lib.	23	D.L. Campbell	UFM	490
Lansdowne	T.C. Norris	Lib.	838	T.C. Norris	Lib.	461
La Verandrye	P.A. Talbot	Indep.	314	P.A. Talbot	UFM	440
Manitou	J.S. Ridley	Cons.	259	G. Compton	UFM	31
Minnedosa	G.A. Grierson	Lib.	267	N. Cameron	UFM	806
Morden and Rhineland	J. Kennedy	Cons.	62	J. Kennedy	Cons.	337
Morris	W.R. Clubb	Farm.	679	W.R. Clubb	UFM	471
Mountain	J.A. Baird	Lib.	126	C. Cannon	UFM	612
Norfolk	R.J. Waugh	Cons.	217	J. Muirhead	UFM	137
Portage La Prairie	F.G. Taylor	Cons.	287	F.G. Taylor	Cons.	129
Roblin	H.R. Richardson	Farm.	4	F.Y. Newton	Cons.	9
Rockwood	W.C. McKinnell	Farm.	1	W.C. McKinnell	UFM	668
Ruperts Land				F.M. Black	UFM	accl.
Russell	W.W.W. Wilson	Lib.	632	I.B. Griffiths	UFM	394
St. Boniface	J. Bernier	Indep - Cons	492	J. Bernier	Indep.	848
St. Clements	M.J. Stanbridge	Lab.	127	D.A. Ross	Indep.	713
St. George	A.E. Kristjannson	Lab.	117	S. Sigfusson	Lib.	652
Ste. Rose	J. Hamelin	Farm.	133	J. Hamelin	Indep.	90
Springfield	A.E. Moore	Lab.	59	C. Barclay	UFM	160
Swan River	R.W. Emmond	Farm.	619	R.W. Emmond	UFM	772
The Pas	Ed Brown	Lib.	434	J. Bracken	UFM	354
Turtle Mountain	G.W. McDonald	Lib.	16	R.G. Willis	Cons.	104
Virden	G. Clingan	Lib.	291	R.H. Mooney	UFM	777
Winnipeg	F.J. Dixon	Lab.		F.J. Dixon	Lab.	3941
	T.H. Johnson	Lib.		J.K. Downes	Indep.	1102
	W. Ivens	Lab.		J. Queen	Lab-Soc	659
	J.T. Haig	Cons.		E. Rodgers	Lib.	451
	J. Queen	Lab.		R. Jacobs	Lab-Soc	409
	J. Stovel	Lib.		W.S. Evans	Indep.	113
	D. Cameron	Lib.		J.T. Haig	Cons.	58
	G. Armstrong	Lab.		W. Ivens	Soc.	43
	Edith Rodgers	Lib.		S.J. Farmer	Lab-Soc	16
	W.C. Tupper	Cons.		R.W. Craig	UFM	227

Source: Canadian Annual Review, 1920 pp.752. and 1922 pp. 775-776.

APPENDIX 4

Party Breakdown in the Manitoba Legislature Following the Election of 1920 and Then by the Opening of the First Session of the Sixteenth Legislature

After the Election of 1920

Liberal	Farmer	Labour	Conservative	Independent	Socialist
Armstrong	Clubb	Armstrong	Haig	Bernier	
August	Duprey	Bayley	Kennedy	Boivin	
Baird	Emmond	Dixon	Ridley	Hryhorczuk	
Brown	Fjelsted	Ivens	Spinks	Talbot	
Cameron	Fletcher	Kristjannson	Taylor		
Clingan	Hamelin	Moore	Tupper		
Findlater	Little	Palmer	Waugh		
Grierson	Mabb	Smith			
Johnson	McKinnell	Stanbridge			
Kirvan	Richardson	Tanner			
Malcolm	Robson	Queen		**Totals**	
McConnell	Yakimischak				
McDonald				Liberal	21
McPherson				Farmer	12
Morrison				Labour	11
Norris				Conservative	7
Rodgers				Independent	4
Stovel					
Thornton					
Williams					
Wilson					

Political Groupings by the 17 February 1921

Liberal	Farmer	Labour	Conservative	Independent	Socialist
Armstrong	Clubb	Bayley	Haig	Bernier	
August	Duprey	Ivens	Kennedy		
Brown	Emmond	Kristjannson	Ridley		
Cameron	Fjelsted	Moore	Spinks		
Clingan	Fletcher	Palmer	Taylor		
Findlater	Hamelin	Smith	Tupper		
Grierson	Little	Stanbridge	Waugh		
Johnson	Mabb	Tanner			
Kirvan	McKinnell				
Malcolm	Richardson	plus			
McConnell	Robson				
McDonald	Yakimischak	Dixon			
McPherson		Armstrong			
Morrison	plus	Queen			
Norris				**Totals**	
Rodgers	Boivin				
Stovel	Hryhorczuk			Liberal	21
Thornton	Kristjannson			Farmer	16
Williams	Talbot			Labour	11
Wilson				Conservative	7
Baird (Speaker)				Independent	1

Source: The Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1920, 1921 and 1922.

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