JAMES M. PITSULA

KEEPING CANADA BRITISH

THE KU KLUX KLAN IN 1920S SASKATCHEWAN

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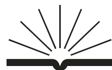
James M. Pitsula



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Keeping Canada British

Introduction

Despite its American origins, the Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan in the 1920s was a distinctly "British" organization. Its central goal was to keep Canada British, which, to the Klan, meant building and preserving a white Protestant nation of British racial stock. It spurned lawlessness and violence, abandoned the wearing of robes and hoods, and severed all ties with its counterpart in the United States. Ironically, its opponents, especially Saskatchewan premier James Gardiner, denounced the Klan as un-British. He maintained that tolerance and respect for minority rights were at the core of the British political tradition and that, by rejecting these values, the Klan lost all credibility as a British organization. The Canada that Gardiner believed in had room for what today we would call multiculturalism, as long as it was expressed within the context of British institutions and loyalty to the Crown. Both pro- and anti-Klan forces in the province wanted to keep Canada British, but they had different ideas about what that meant and how it might be achieved. "Britishness" in 1920s Saskatchewan was an open, fluid concept, the meaning of which was highly contested.

The Klan debate was part of a larger discussion about national identity that took place after the First World War. The war was a rite of passage, a cataclysmic event that helped transform Canada from colony to nation. However, this did not mean that Canada ceased being British. On the contrary, despite the changes to Canada's legal and constitutional status, the country remained British in the cultural sense and in the way it imagined itself. Canadian nationalism was a complex emotion. Many Canadians felt that they were both British and Canadian at the same time. They did not feel that they had to choose between one and the other. Thus, the Klan campaign to keep Canada British resonated with the wider society. It was part of the national discourse, albeit at an extreme end of it.

The battlefield victories of the Canadian Corps in the Great War inspired a surge of national pride and self-confidence. Canada had won a place

for itself on the world stage, a seat at the table of nations. Prime Minister Robert Borden attended the Paris Peace Conference as part of the British Empire delegation, and he signed the Treaty of Versailles. Canada was also accorded membership in the League of Nations, the international body that was supposed to enshrine collective security and prevent another war. Throughout the 1920s, as John Darwin writes, Prime Minister Mackenzie King waged "relentless bureaucratic war against any form of words that bound Canada to the chariot of British foreign policy."[1] He asserted Canada's right to negotiate and sign a separate treaty with the United States (the "halibut" treaty of 1923), and he supported the resolution of the Imperial Conference in 1926 that recognized the dominions as "autonomous communities within the British Empire," a principle ratified by the Statute of Westminster in 1931.[2] The phrase "British Commonwealth," which had been used from time to time since the 1880s, now came into common usage, at least as it related to Britain's association with the white dominions. For the non-white colonies, "Empire" was still the preferred term.

However, the dominions were not fully independent, and Mackenzie King's strategic ambition in the 1920s "fell far short of self-sufficient Canadian nationalism."[3] There was no desire for Canada to make a clean break with Britain or, indeed, a break of any kind.[4] Canadian national feeling in this period was a "distinctive blend of national status and Imperial identity."[5] Mackenzie King declared in 1927 on the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales that Canadians had never been happier in their relations with the British Empire or more loyal to the Crown. The visit of the prince, the prime minister said, brought to mind "an allegiance to the Crown, a devotion to British institutions and British ideals, enjoyed in common by the peoples of the empire in all parts of the world."[6] The prince, for his part, said that he did not consider himself to be primarily a Briton and only secondarily a Canadian. "On the contrary," as he wrote in a letter to his father the king, "I regard myself as belonging to Great Britain and Canada in exactly the same way." When the monarch admonished him that if he called himself a Canadian in Canada, he would have to be an Australian in Australia and a New Zealander in New Zealand, the prince replied, "And why not? Of course in India there would be no question."[7] In Calgary he expressed the view that it was up to the Empire, and particularly to the United Kingdom, to make sure that the population of the Prairies was "British and not alien!" (exclamation mark in original).[8] On this point at least, he was in agreement with the Ku Klux Klan.

The British Empire was on display at the Wembley Exhibition in north London during the summers of 1924 and 1925. More than 25 million visitors passed through the grounds. King George V set the tone in his opening address when he said that the exhibition "represent[ed] to the world a graphic illustration of that spirit of free and tolerant cooperation which has inspired people of different races, creeds, institutions and ways of thought to unite in a single commonwealth and to contribute their varying gifts to one great end." He spoke of the Empire as a "family" of nations, a brotherly association of diverse peoples. He then sent a telegram to himself that went around the world along the "All Red Route" and returned to him in London less than two minutes later, a fitting demonstration of the modern communications system that linked the various parts of the Empire.

Canada's pavilion at Wembley featured an exhibition of Group of Seven paintings, which won high praise from British art critics. Members of the group were self-conscious Canadian cultural nationalists. One of their maxims was: "The great purpose of landscape art is to make us at home in our own country."[9] A reviewer for the Toronto *Mail and Empire* wrote: "The work of these young artists deserves enthusiastic recognition and support. In their work the spirit of young Canada has found itself."[10] The group articulated the need for an authentically Canadian form of artistic expression, one that caught the character and spirit of the Canadian landscape, separate and distinct from the cultural traditions of Britain and Europe.[11] However, the response of the Canadian public to members of the Group of Seven in the 1920s was distinctly underwhelming. Their first exhibition in May 1920 attracted only two thousand visitors, and only three of their works were sold, apart from the painting purchased by the National Gallery.[12] At the second exhibition in 1921, there were no sales at all, again with the exception of those to the National Gallery. Neither private collectors nor the public at large were much interested. The fame of the members of the Group of Seven as Canadian cultural icons came later. By mid-century, reproductions of their work graced schoolroom walls, and during the Second World War copies were hung in barracks overseas to remind soldiers of the country they were fighting for. In 1967, stamps were issued featuring their portraits and paintings. But in the 1920s, the Group of Seven had not yet fully captured the public imagination.

The highlight of the Canadian pavilion at Wembley, or at least the exhibit that garnered the most attention, was a life-size sculpture of the Prince of Wales made out of butter. He stood beside his horse against the

backdrop of his Rocky Mountain ranch in Alberta. The tableau, which used up more than three thousand pounds of butter, served as a fitting advertisement for the Canadian dairy industry and the wonders of modern refrigeration. (A young English visitor was heard to say that one of the prince's ears would "keep us a week.")[13] Thus, Canadians chose to represent themselves to the world through the symbol of their butter-prince rather than a national hero who had been born and raised in Canada.[14]

The celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of Confederation on 1 July 1927 on Parliament Hill in Ottawa throws additional light on Canadian nationalism at the time. Liberal senator Thomas Chapais gave a patriotic address extolling Canada's virtues and glories, without once mentioning the British Empire. He dwelt instead on Canada's identity as a "wholly autonomous North American nation." "Our country is not beyond the seas," he proclaimed, "it is here, on this blessed, Christianized, civilized soil – a soil enriched by our pioneers, our missionaries, and our martyrs. Our country is Canada, the land of the maple, of the St. Lawrence, of lofty mountains and giant lakes."[15] L.P.D. Tilley of Nova Scotia, a descendant of one of the Fathers of Confederation, addressed the gathering in a somewhat different manner. He said that Canada was "a nation within a nation," by which he meant an entity within the larger family of British nations. His Canada was "the powerful right arm of the British Empire." Hugh Guthrie, the leader of the Opposition in Ottawa, took the same view. He reminded the audience that the Fathers of Confederation had been thoroughly loyal to "British ideals, British institutions, British forms of government, and the maintenance of British Imperial ties."[16]

By this reckoning, a Canadian was a type of Britisher, just as a Scotsman was a type of Britisher. It was not really a matter of "wearing two hats at the same time" since each "hat" was fully implicated in the other. As Andrea Benvenuti and Stuart Ward put it: "The hats were conceptually interwoven in such a way that it made it difficult to conceive of them as distinct, self-sufficient ornaments."[17] British Canadians were not British one moment and Canadian the next; rather, they were both at the same time. Their Canadianism was infused with Britishness.

Normally, we think of "colony" and "empire" as antagonistic terms. If a colony does not evolve to independent nation status, it is assumed that there is something wrong with it. It is not doing the job that history has assigned it to do. However, in the case of the white dominions, the paradigm breaks down because the dominant populations were British emigrants or

the descendants of British emigrants, who identified strongly with the mother country and considered themselves to be part of British civilization writ large. The British nation was not found only in the British Isles; it extended to the far reaches of the globe. The British, said French statesman Georges Clemenceau, were "un peuple planétaire."[18] When the members of the Ku Klux Klan said they wanted to keep Canada British, they meant they wanted to maintain this "greater" British nation of which they considered themselves to be an integral part. For them, "empire" and "nation" were not opposite categories: they fused into one. In this respect, the Saskatchewan Klan in the 1920s was neither exotic nor marginal. It was a somewhat more extreme version of what most people thought.

The term "Greater Britain" originated in 1868 when Englishman Charles Dilke published a book with that title. He had just completed a round-the-world tour in which he visited only countries in which English was the dominant language. His book celebrated "the grandeur of our race, already girdling the earth, which it is destined, perhaps, eventually to overspread."[19] John Seeley embellished the theme in *The Expansion of England* (1883), in which he argued that the British Empire was not a "congeries of nations held together by force" but, rather, "a global federation of the English diaspora" united by bonds of race and culture.[20] A cultural network, centred in London and held together by books, newspapers, mail, and (later) film and radio, created a web of words and images that bound the Empire/nation together.[21] British imperialism was ubiquitous in popular culture, represented in the mass media, post cards, music hall entertainment, sheet music, textbooks, school maps, and the packaging of consumer goods.[22]

For the mass of the population, imperialism was not so much an explicit subscription to a political ideology as a way of looking at the world and the British nation in it. The ordinary person may not have given much thought to the Empire in her or his daily life, but it was always there, if only subconsciously, a type of immersion in the imperial cultural soup. In the words of James Belich: "The concepts 'British Empire' and 'British Commonwealth' conceal a virtual nation, an ephemeral second United States, Britain-plus-Dominions, whose Dominion citizens considered themselves co-owners of London, the Empire, and Britishness in general."[23] The homesteader in Saskatchewan on the periphery of Empire was as much a part of this "Greater Britain" as was the Londoner at the metropolitan centre. Certainly, the dominions fought for the Empire as though

they owned it. In the Great War, the white dominions enlisted 1.3 million soldiers, of whom 144,000 were killed. They increased the size of the British army by 20 percent, an extraordinary asset to the Empire in a time of crisis.[24]

After the war, as we have seen, there was a surge of Canadian nationalism, but it was of an equivocal sort. It coexisted with the belief that Canada was still a British nation in some formulation of the term. For example, the Association of Canadian Clubs, which had been founded in Hamilton, Ontario, in 1892, flourished in the 1920s. From 1926 to 1928, the number of clubs increased from fifty-three to 115. Their self-proclaimed purpose, according to the new constitution adopted in 1926, was "to foster and encourage a national public opinion and spirit, to stimulate intelligent citizenship, to awaken an interest in public affairs, and to cultivate an attachment to the institutions and soil of Canada." But this was balanced by an equal determination, also spelled out in the constitution, "to establish a faith in the position of the Canadian nation in association under the Crown with other nations of the British Commonwealth." As Mary Vipond explains, the members of the Canadian Club believed in Canadian nationhood, "but they still saw Canada as a British nation." Their sense of Canadian nationalism "was not much different from that combination of nationalism and imperialism which had imbued the imperial federationists of the 1890s."[25]

Another prominent Canadian nationalist organization of the 1920s was the Native Sons of Canada. Founded in Victoria, British Columbia, in 1921, it had a peak membership in the 1920s of 120,000, though records are scanty and such numbers should be taken with a dose of salt. The organization published a magazine entitled *Beaver Canada First,* with a reputed circulation of 34,000.[26] To join the Native Sons, one had to have been born in Canada or to have resided in Canada from an early age and have Canadian-born parents. It was explicitly intended as an alternative to Old Country fraternal organizations, like the Sons of England or the Sons of Scotland, which provided social activities as well as material benefits for their members, such as preferential employment or business contacts. In addition, the Native Sons put forward a nationalist program that included adoption of a distinctive Canadian flag, elimination of the practice of granting British titles to Canadians, appointment of a Canadian (instead of a British aristocrat) to the post of governor general, recognition of "Canadian" as a distinctive nationality on the census form, abolition of legal

appeals to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and, more generally, the advancement of Canadian history, art, literature, and culture.[27]

The Native Sons believed that it would be impossible to properly assimilate non-English-speaking immigrants as long as Canadians lacked true patriotism and were uncertain and confused about their own identity. "How are we going to Canadianize the Galicians and Doukhobors who come to make their homes in Canada, if we can't Canadianize ourselves?" asked Walter McRaye at a joint meeting of the Native Sons and the Canadian Daughters League (the female counterpart of the Native Sons) in Moose Jaw in 1927. "The pride that should take first place in the heart of the people born in Canada is Canadian pride," he stated, "Canada should harbour no man or woman who will not or cannot become a Canadian; and all Canadians should cultivate a pride in their entire country and cease the sectional quarrelling and rivalries."[28]

There were limits to the inclusiveness of the Native Sons. Only the "best stocks" were desired in Canada, not "immigration tending to make Canadians a mixed or coloured race, or which tends to lower standards of living, education or morals, or which brings in the physically, mentally or morally unfit."[29] Despite the organization's generalized racism, Aboriginal peoples were recognized as Canada's true native sons. In 1928, Dr. J.H. Cotton, president-elect of the organization, was inducted as an honorary Cree chief at a ceremony at the Regina exhibition grounds. Chief "Red Dog," of the File Hills Agency, placing a blanket over Cotton's shoulders and a feather bonnet on his head, conferred on him the title "Big Beaver Chief." Cotton, in turn, invited the Aboriginal people to join the Native Sons, "for no one was more deserving of the title or more eligible for membership than they, who were native sons in the truest sense of the word."[30] The Klan, on the other hand, never mentioned Aboriginal peoples. It was as though they did not exist: they were thought to be a "vanishing" race of no interest or relevance.

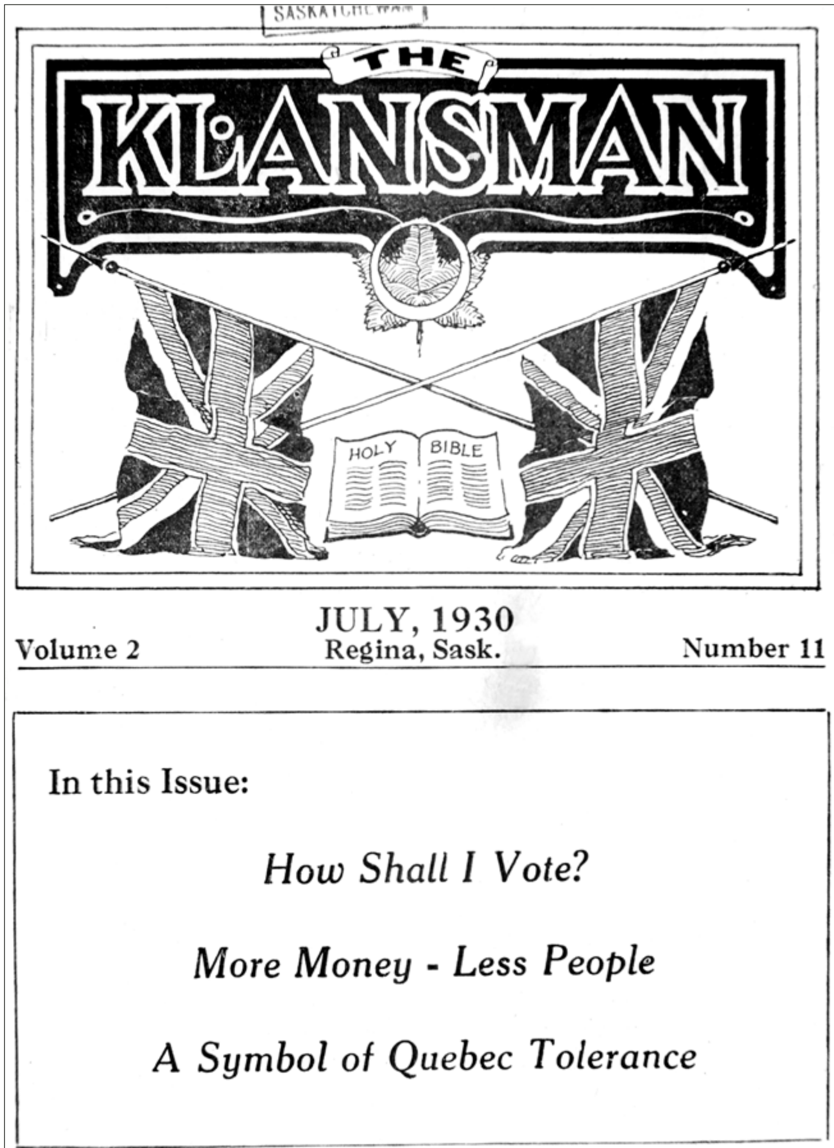
Despite its robust Canadian nationalism, the Native Sons did not want to sever Canada's relationship with Britain. "Canada," Dr. Cotton declared, "was a trust for the Native sons born in a unit of the British Empire."[31] At the banquet held in Regina on the occasion of the national convention of the Native Sons in 1928, Mayor James McAra extended words of welcome. The mayor was a Great War veteran, a Conservative, and a British loyalist. He said the Native Sons were patriotic Canadians, adding quickly that that did not make them "one whit less British."[32] Thus, even the

members of the Native Sons, the most Canadian of organizations in the 1920s, thought of themselves as belonging to the British community of nations.

In 1928, the Native Sons congratulated Percy Williams on his victory in the one-hundred-metre race at the Olympic Games in Amsterdam. The convention expressed delight that the Red Ensign, not the Union Jack, had been flown at the awards ceremony.[33] This comment provoked an angry letter from J. Cox, Regina secretary of the Ku Klux Klan. He said that the Union Jack was Canada's flag and must always remain so. The only possible excuse for flying the Red Ensign occurred on those rare occasions, such as the Olympic Games, when it was necessary to differentiate Canada from the other dominions. Otherwise, the Union Jack must be flown, and certainly not any "so-called Canadian flag," such as the Maple Leaf flag.[34] Cox said that the Union Jack embodied Canadian history, traditions, and ideals. It was the flag for which the United Empire Loyalists had risked their lives and sacrificed homes and property to live under the British Crown. To abandon the Union Jack was to dishonour their memory. Further, the Klan denounced the practice, apparently growing in popularity, of singing "O Canada" in place of "God Save the King" at public events and gatherings. To the Klan, "O Canada" was merely a patriotic song, not the national anthem, and, even as a patriotic song, it left much to be desired since it had been composed for a "religious festival" in Quebec. If a patriotic air were to be sung, "The Maple Leaf Forever" was vastly preferred, though not, of course, as a substitute for the national anthem.[35]

The cover of the *Klansman* (the Saskatchewan Klan's official publication) in December 1929 displayed a Klansman, garbed in white robe and hood, mounted on a horse. The horse reared up dramatically, while the rider held aloft a standard bearing the Union Jack fluttering in the breeze, which he pointed in the direction of a glowing cross.[36] The cover for July 1930 depicted two crossed Union Jacks over an open Bible surmounted by a maple leaf, an ensemble of symbols that perfectly represented the Klan's brand of British Canadian nationalism sanctified by Protestant Christianity.

Cox summed up the Klan's general orientation when he described the order as follows: "[It is a group of] red-blooded Canadians and loyal Britishers, who view with alarm conditions in our Dominion, and are endeavouring by constitutional methods to assist in every way possible to bring about a better and brighter outlook for Canada, but we feel that


THE KLANSMAN

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How Shall I Vote?

More Money - Less People

A Symbol of Quebec Tolerance

Cover of *The Klansman*, July 1930, juxtaposing the Maple Leaf and the Union Jack. This shows that, for the Klan, Canadian nationalism was a form of imperialist loyalty and British patriotism. *Saskatchewan Archives Board, RA12981*

we will never accomplish that purpose by withdrawing ourselves in every way possible from the Mother Country, to whom we owe so much."[37] Although there was no reason to think that Canada was on the verge of leaving the Empire, the Klan "viewed with alarm" certain troubling signs, such as the increased popularity of the Red Ensign and the singing of "O Canada." Klansmen were not mollified by the fact that the Canadian Red Ensign included the Union Jack in the upper left-hand corner. Nor were they comforted by the knowledge that normally "O Canada" did not replace "God Save the King" but, rather, was sung along with it. Typically, "O Canada" was sung at the beginning of a meeting or event and "God Save the King" at the end. However, the Klan viewed with deep suspicion all such developments. It did not want any weakening of the bond with Britain, and it was ready to challenge all tendencies in that direction, however innocuous they might seem.

The Klan as an After-Shock of the Great War

Over sixty thousand Canadians were killed in the First World War. Close to five thousand of these were from Saskatchewan, the great majority, of British ancestry.[38] After the war, their families and friends had to come to terms with the loss. Part of the grieving process is "acceptance." This requires facing up to memories of the deceased and accepting that they will never come back. It is enormously helpful for a grieving person to see the body and, in that way, to acknowledge the death. This is an important step "on the road to recovery from the trauma of bereavement."[39]

For Canadians after the First World War, it was impossible to view the bodies of their loved ones since the dead were buried overseas in cemeteries close to where they had fallen in battle. Moreover, many of the bodies were never identified. The Vimy Memorial has the names of eleven thousand Canadian dead in France, whose remains were never found or could not be identified. The names of those who died in Belgium are listed on the Menin Gate at Ypres. In Regina, Saskatchewan, a cenotaph (lit. "empty tomb") was unveiled in the centre of the city in Victoria Park on 11 November 1926. War widows and other family members of the deceased now had a place where they could mourn, a substitute for the grave they could not easily visit. In subsequent years, a representative of the Ku Klux Klan, along with members of other community organizations, laid a wreath at the annual observance ceremony.

As Adrian Gregory suggests, another element of grieving is overcoming survivor guilt, and this is best done by finding meaning and purpose in

what has happened. It is necessary to construct a story that makes sense of the death and finds some good in it. This was accomplished after the First World War through the erection of memorials, the commemoration of Remembrance Day, and the ritual wearing of the poppy. The language of memorialization "drew heavily on the pre-war rhetoric of God, Empire, King and Country, on notions of sacrifice and on presenting the war in terms of a crusade for human dignity and liberty."[40] It was easier for the victors in the war to construct such stories than it was for the losers. In Germany, the tendency was to insist that Germany had not really lost the war but, rather, had been "stabbed in the back" by socialists and Jews. The losers were embittered by war memories rather than consoled by them, and this led to the rise of right-wing movements that sought to "punish" the traitors who were blamed for the nation's defeat and humiliation. This prepared the ground for the rise of Hitler and the Nazis.

In a certain sense, members of the Saskatchewan Klan saw themselves as being on the losing side in the war. They thought the war had been fought to keep Canada British, but now, in the postwar period, foreign immigrants were arriving in Saskatchewan in such numbers that the country was ceasing to be British. What had been won in the trenches of France and Belgium was being lost on the plains of Saskatchewan. Only a relatively small number of non-British people from Saskatchewan had served in the Canadian Corps. Un-naturalized immigrants from enemy countries, such as Germany and Austria-Hungary, had not been allowed to enlist; others were placed in internment camps because they were deemed security risks or were unemployed and unable to support themselves. However, the majority did not go into internment camps but, on the contrary, did rather well out of the war. The price of wheat skyrocketed, and wages for unskilled labour reached record heights. Non-British farmers bought more land and expanded their farms. Of course, British farmers prospered, too, but they also sent their sons to war. On balance, wartime sacrifice fell much more heavily on the British than on the non-British.

The 1931 census showed that, for the first time since the province was formed, people of non-British origin formed the majority of the population. In the late 1920s, when the Klan took hold, people could sense that this was happening. They knew that the demographic composition of the province was changing and that the British were in danger of losing control of "their" province, at least to the extent that their dominance was related to numerical preponderance. It was as though the outcome of the First World War was being reversed. From the Klan perspective, the First World

War was not really over. The fight was still being waged, and the fate of the nation hung in the balance. The rise of the Ku Klux Klan was a continuation of the First World War by other means.

J. Cox, Regina Klan secretary, concluded his letter to the *Leader* in October 1928 with a poem about the Union Jack:

> We use it to show our devotion to our king, country and laws.
> It is the outward and visible emblem of advancement in Liberty's cause.
> You may say it's an old bit of bunting.
> You may call it an old coloured rag,
> But thousands have died for its freedom;
> And shed their blood for the flag.
> And if we break faith, they will not sleep in Flanders Fields.[41]

The last line is a reference to John McCrae's poem *In Flanders Fields*. The implication is that the war dead will not rest in peace if those who have survived fail to pick up the torch and uphold the ideals for which the war had been fought – that is, if they failed to keep Canada British.

An article in the *Klansman* in 1929 posited three types of Canadians: those who wanted Canada to leave the British Empire; the fence-sitters, who were content to stay in the Empire as along as Canada kept on gaining more powers of self-government; and the true-blue loyalists, who wanted no change in Canada's relationship with Britain. According to the author, it was those in the last category who had courageously stepped forward in 1914 to defend "the glorious old flag," and they would do so again if the occasion arose.[42] A poem published in the *Klansman* juxtaposed two distinct events, one historical and the other hypothetical. The first was "Der Tag" ("the day") Germany had invaded Belgium and started the First World War. The second was the day, not yet arrived, when an attempt would be made to haul down the Union Jack and replace it with a "so-called" Canadian flag. For the Klan, the two events were closely related and of equal significance. Both were critical incidents in the struggle to keep Canada British, arousing the ardent patriotism of true Britishers.

> The Germans drank their damned toast
> Der Tag, Der Tag;
> The war drums rolled staccato notes
> On guard, on guard;
> The Empire's Sons and Daughters

They rallied round the flag
On far-flung fields and gory
Responding to Der Tag.

There's those today in Canada
Would change our flag;
We need no drum's staccato notes
For we're on guard;
The Empire's Sons and Daughters
Still love the dear "old rag,"
And ready aye to guard her fame
They fly the Empire's flag.[43]

In another sense, too, the Klan was an after-shock of the First World War. As John Herd Thompson has shown, the war gave a boost to social reform movements, such as women's suffrage and prohibition. Both had existed before the war but had failed to achieve their respective objectives. During the war they rode to triumph on a wave of patriotic feeling and the spirit of sacrifice. Women's rights were profoundly unsettling for members of the Klan, who wanted to maintain the traditional gender order. Women in their eyes were expected to fulfill the role of wives and mothers. The chivalric duty of men was to guard and protect them from all who might do them harm, much as soldiers allegedly protected the womenfolk in wartime. The Klan idealized women and put them on a pedestal. They were to be kept safe and pure, especially against the threat of alleged non-white male predators. There was an obvious link with the purity of the white race since, if women were kept pure, the race would be kept pure also. The "new woman" of the 1920s, with her bobbed hair and short skirts, was anathema to the Klan. She would obviously not make a suitable mother and gave every indication of sexual promiscuity.

The war also saw the triumph of the prohibition of beverage alcohol in Canada. Spurred by the desire to make sacrifices commensurate with those of the soldiers in the trenches, reformers succeeded in closing down bars and liquor stores. After the war, prohibition began to unravel, and by 1925 the Saskatchewan government had reopened its liquor and beer stores. The moral reformers did not give up their hard-earned wartime gains without a fight. The 1920s was a long series of battles between dries and wets, which kept the province in a continual state of agitation and turmoil. Anti-prohibitionists demanded the sale of beer by the glass,

which the prohibitionists stubbornly resisted, until finally losing the battle in 1935.

The Klan placed itself on the side of moral reform. Indeed, its initial success in the province was based on a "clean-up" campaign in Moose Jaw directed against bootleggers, drunks, gamblers, prostitutes, and other evil-doers. The Klan saw itself as shoring up the moral order that had been undermined by the upheaval of the First World War. This helps explain the fact that a large number of Protestant ministers joined the Klan. They tended to be in the forefront of the moral reform movement, while Roman Catholics were less enthusiastic about it. For example, Quebec, with its large Catholic population, embraced prohibition reluctantly and only for a brief time. This confirmed the Klan's opinion that Catholics were not sound and reliable either as to morals or to patriotism. Foreigners and Catholics were stigmatized as the primary culprits (and victims) of the drink traffic. They were also suspect because of their alleged allegiance to the pope above the Crown. When the Klan said it wanted to keep Canada British, it was British Protestant Canada it had in mind.

Klan Historiography

Little original research has been done on the 1920s Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan since the 1960s and 1970s. William Calderwood's 1968 master's thesis is still the only extended treatment of the subject, but other works deal with the Klan in a substantial way. These include John Patrick Kyba's master's thesis on the 1929 provincial election and David E. Smith's history of the Liberal Party in Saskatchewan. Martin Robin discusses the 1920s Klan as part of his larger study of right-wing movements in Canada.[44] The gist of this literature is to portray the Klan as an eruption of hatred and prejudice. It was as though Saskatchewan went berserk for a while, until it settled down to being its normal, tolerant, multicultural self. Like an unknown virus, the Klan invaded the province, wreaked its havoc, and then suddenly and mysteriously disappeared. The Klan is depicted as exotic and marginal. This was far from being the case. As we have seen, it was part of the larger national identity debate that was under way in the 1920s. Moreover, its racism did not differ greatly from what most people in Saskatchewan (and Canada) believed at the time. The Klan was not something alien to Saskatchewan; it *was* Saskatchewan. The Klan belongs in the mainstream of Canadian history, not in the gallery of curiosities.

While little recent work has been done on the 1920s Klan in Canada, American historians have been active in pursuing new lines of research.

John Moffat Mecklin's *The Ku Klux Klan: A Study of the American Mind* (1924) dominated the field for decades. He argued that the success of the 1920s Klan was based in large part on long-standing American traditions of anti-Catholicism and hostility to non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants. Klan members, Mecklin suggested, felt threatened by the rapid social change brought about by industrialization and urbanization. They were essentially back-country, low-status, marginalized individuals living in small towns and rural areas, who feared modernity and the big city and thought that history was passing them by. They were natural haters, frustrated and unhappy, resentful of anything that was strange to them, and also a bit pathetic as they looked for a bit of colour in their otherwise drab lives. William E. Leuchtenburg's *The Perils of Prosperity, 1914-1932* (1958) followed this line of interpretation but also emphasized the violence of the organization. Wherever the Klan entered, he wrote, "in its wake came floggings, kidnappings, branding with acid, mutilation, church burnings, and even murders." David M. Chalmers's *Hooded Americanism: The First Century of the Ku Klux Klan, 1865-1965* (1965) continued in this vein, characterizing the Klan as "emotional rather than rational, defensive rather than constructive."[45]

There matters rested until the early 1960s, when new work began to appear that undermined the reigning consensus. Kenneth T. Jackson's *The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915-1930* (1967) calls attention to the fact that city dwellers made up approximately half the total Klan membership. He analyzes a sample of membership rosters and finds that most Klansmen he studied were non-union, blue-collar workers in large businesses and factories, a segment of the work force that he labels "lower middle class." The urban Klan was largely non-violent and chiefly concerned about the influx of immigrants to the United States from southern and eastern Europe and the movement of African Americans from the southern United States to northern cities. In 1974, building on Jackson's work, Robert A. Goldberg published a study of the 1920s Klan in Madison, Wisconsin, where the Klan was non-violent and interested in "rational" responses to local issues, such as the problem of law enforcement. His *Hooded Empire: The Ku Klux Klan in Colorado* (1981) focuses on the City of Denver and four other Colorado communities. Klan members were, for the most part, "ordinary, law-abiding citizens motivated by a sincere desire to improve local society." They were neither richer nor poorer than white Protestants generally and were not the "marginal men" about whom Mecklin and others had written. The nature of Klan activism varied from place to place,

which led Goldberg to the conclusion that the order could not be fully understood apart from its diverse local contexts.[46]

Like Goldberg, William D. Jenkins, author of *Steel Valley Klan: The Ku Klux Klan in Ohio's Mahoning Valley* (1990), sees the Klan in eastern Ohio as "largely nonviolent and drawn from the socioeconomic mainstream." Likewise, Christopher N. Cocoltchos's doctoral dissertation on the Klan in Orange County, California, portrays Klansmen as "decent, respectable citizens" who opposed "a booster-oriented view of local affairs, fostered by the anti-Klan elite, that stressed economic growth to the exclusion of the moral aspects of community development." Larry Gerlach identifies some incidents of 1920s Klan violence in Utah, mainly directed against immigrants, but the organization in that part of the country was for the most part law-abiding. It consisted mainly of non-Mormon Protestants who were resentful of the political and economic power wielded by the Mormon elite, especially in Salt Lake City. The Klan held demonstrations and sponsored candidates for municipal office but did not make much headway in the face of the dominant Mormon establishment.[47]

Shawn Lay's *War, Revolution, and the Ku Klux Klan: A Study of Intolerance in a Border City* (1985) looks at the Klan in El Paso, Texas, which had a population that was 60 percent Hispanic and Roman Catholic. The Klan largely ignored the Hispanic majority, rejected violence, and spent most of its time challenging the city government on such issues as public education, fair elections, and road improvement. Overall, Lay concludes that the Klan was a "medium of progressive civic action" and resembled earlier popular reform movements in El Paso's history. Lay followed up this study with an in-depth examination of the 1920s Klan in Buffalo, New York. It had a higher percentage of members in the high and middle non-manual categories and lower percentages in the semi-skilled/service and unskilled classifications than did the native white-male working population as a whole. The order's activism centred on civic issues, especially the perceived lack of adequate enforcement of the vice and prohibition laws. According to Lay, the Buffalo Klan desired "a more orderly and law-abiding community, one in which traditional values and standards would continue to prevail." In pursuit of this goal, it refrained from using physical violence against its opponents, although the Klan itself was sometimes the victim of violence and intimidation.[48]

Leonard J. Moore's *Citizen Klansmen: The Ku Klux Klan in Indiana, 1921-1928* (1991) is of particular interest since the organizers who started the Klan in Saskatchewan hailed from Indiana. Like Lay, Moore found that

the Klansmen he studied were a representative cross-section of the white Protestant population and that they included many non-evangelicals. There was almost no correlation between religious fundamentalism and Klan membership, notwithstanding the many assertions of historians to that effect. Moore argues that racial and religious tensions were not the main source of the Klan's success in Indiana. Far more important was widespread disillusionment with the political elites (reminiscent of the Tea Party today), who were perceived as self-serving, incompetent, and corrupt. Moore interprets the Indiana Klan as essentially a middle-class populist movement that reflected the discontent of white Protestants with the conduct of public affairs and, more generally, with the adverse impact of industrialization on traditional community life. They were concerned above all with the enforcement of prohibition, law and order, eradication of state and local political corruption, as well as a variety of other reform issues that were specific to the individual towns and cities in which they established a foothold. The Klan swept the state elections in 1924, throwing out the old, entrenched political establishment in a manner that anticipated what was to happen in Saskatchewan in 1929.[49]

The new Klan historiography in the United States throws light on what happened north of the border. First, American historians emphasize that the Klan cannot be properly understood without paying attention to the local context in which it operated. The Klan was not the same everywhere. It took on the colour of the community. While there was an overall commitment to white supremacy, Protestantism, and conservative social values, there was no fixed agenda. When Klan organizers moved into an area, they listened to what was bothering people and worked on that. If the town was afraid of labour unions, the Klan emphasized the threat posed by socialist-inspired strikers. If prohibition was the issue uppermost in people's minds, the Klan insisted that it alone had the determination to deal with the bootleggers. If immigrants were the problem, the Klan stood solidly for "100 percent Americanism."[50] And so it went. The Klan was infinitely responsive to local enmities. This helps to demystify the otherwise unlikely scenario in which Americans come to Canada and teach Canadians how to be British.

However, it must be said that this turn of events is still something of a puzzle. A partial explanation may be found in the specific chronology of the Klan in Saskatchewan. The organizers arrived at just the right time, when there was a profound absence of organized, effective opposition to the Liberal government of the day and, more generally, to the established

political and cultural order that had dominated the province since 1905. The Klan offered hope to those who despaired of ever removing the Liberals from office or of stemming the tide of foreign immigration that seemed to be engulfing the province. When the organizers from Indiana stole the money they had collected in membership fees and fled the province, the Saskatchewan Klan reconstituted itself as an organization even more thoroughly “British” than it had previously been. It cut all ties with the American Klan, adopted a new constitution, declared itself against violence, and abandoned the wearing of Klan regalia.

Still, we have to ask ourselves, “Why the Klan?” Why did not some other organization, such as the Orange Lodge, take the lead and give expression to the pro-British, anti-immigrant feeling that was rampant in the province? The answer may lie in the membership of the Klan, which was mainly lower middle class and skilled working class. Such people were disenchanted with the traditional, elite formulations of British nationalism found in the Orange Lodge and the Conservative Party. The Klan represented a boisterous, vibrant, populist type of British nationalism. Its orators were charismatic, entertaining, and funny. There was something vulgar about the Klan, and this helps account for its popularity. It was a bottom-up, grassroots version of British Canadian nationalism that empowered lower middle-class and upper working-class individuals, who suddenly rose to prominence as Imperial Wizards, Grand Dragons, King Kleagles, and other such exalted offices.

Some US historians contend that the 1920s Klan constituted a civic action group of middle-class reformers who were seeking to bring about social improvement and reform local government. This has been referred to as the “civic activist school” of Klan historiography.[51] While it is difficult to portray Saskatchewan Klansmen as progressive social reformers, the idea is not entirely without foundation. The Klan attracted support from Progressive Party voters in the province as well as Liberals, not just Conservatives. In addition, it lent support to moral “clean-up” campaigns, such as prohibition, which were regarded as “progressive” at the time. Most important, the Klan assisted in the overthrow of the Liberal political machine, whose operations were thought to be an affront to democracy and, as such, un-British. Thus, even in this respect, the Klan was faithful to its self-declared mission of keeping Canada British.

This book seeks to understand the Ku Klux Klan in 1920s Saskatchewan in all its strange complexity. It has been wisely said that the major task of

the historian is not to judge but to understand.[52] However, it does not follow that to understand all is to forgive all. The Klan was a hateful organization, even in its relatively moderate Saskatchewan incarnation. It eschewed violence, followed constitutional methods, and rejected robes and hoods. Its primary goal was to keep Canada British, a goal that was shared by the majority of Canadians of British origin at the time. It arose in the aftermath of the First World War at a time when Canadian national identity was in a state of flux. Canadians were trying to sort out what it meant to be Canadian, what it meant to be British, and what it meant to be both at the same time. The Klan was part of that debate, not disconnected from it. From the Klan point of view, the war had been fought to defend British civilization, and it saw its campaign against foreigners and Catholics as a follow-up of that crusade. The Klan was racist, but so, too, were most Canadians of that era. It was a slightly more extreme version of what then passed for "normal." This book "de-exoticizes" the 1920s Klan, showing how it differed from other versions of the Klan, such as that found in the American South, where African Americans were beaten, tortured, and lynched. Such violence did not occur in Saskatchewan, where it was considered un-British to take the law into your own hands.

1
The Ku Klux Klan Comes to Saskatchewan

THIS CHAPTER DESCRIBES how the Ku Klux Klan established itself in Saskatchewan. The organizers arrived from Indiana in late 1926. By 7 June 1927 they were able to stage a major rally in Moose Jaw that drew a crowd of eight thousand people. In tracing the Klan's phenomenal growth, we can see that, from the beginning, it emphasized the theme of keeping Canada British. The man who became Exalted Cyclops (president) of the Moose Jaw Klan had previously served as the leader of a British nationalist organization during the First World War, which had campaigned to make English the only language of instruction allowed in the schools of the province. The Klan did not bring anything completely new to Saskatchewan: it built on a foundation of British ultra-patriotism that already existed. In addition, the growth of the Klan in Moose Jaw was closely linked to the morality campaign against such evils as alcohol, opium, gambling, and prostitution. The Klan presented itself as an evangelical Protestant organization, which made it attractive to a number of church ministers. They took out memberships, appeared on Klan platforms, and gave the order a patina of respectability that it otherwise would not have had. Predictably, the morality crusade took on a decidedly racist character, victimizing in particular Chinese men, who were stigmatized as purveyors of vice and seducers of white women.

Origins of the Ku Klux Klan

The Ku Klux Klan was founded in 1866 in the immediate aftermath of the American Civil War. A group of ex-Confederate soldiers in Pulaski, Tennessee, formed a social club, which proved popular and spread throughout the South. The name of the club was based on the Greek word *kuklos,* meaning "circle." At a convention in Nashville in the summer of 1867, a constitution was drawn up and approved.[1] Over time, the organization, which had begun innocently enough, took on a more sinister character. The South was in the throes of Reconstruction, the postwar

attempt to impose a new political and social order on the old Confederacy. At a minimum, it involved the abolition of slavery. More ambitiously, the goal was the fundamental restructuring of Southern society to ensure the fully equality of blacks and whites, including the break-up of slave plantations and the redistribution of land to small black proprietors. In the end, this did not happen. The old white governing class reasserted itself and the traditional racial order was consolidated. Blacks were disenfranchised and segregation imposed in schools, rail transport, recreation facilities, and all other areas of public life. A system of sharecropping was put in place, which had the effect of keeping blacks permanently in debt and unable to advance themselves economically.[2] The role of the Ku Klux Klan was to help prop up white racial supremacy by means of violence and intimidation, including beatings, torture, sexual assault, and murder. In the 1870s federal troops were sent in to impose martial law and restore order. The Klan was suppressed, but not before Reconstruction had been defeated. Integration and equality were delayed for another hundred years, when the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s finally destroyed the segregationist system.

The Klan lay dormant until 1915, when David W. Griffith released his epic *Birth of a Nation,* the first American full-length motion picture. It was based on Thomas Dixon's novel *The Clansman,* which chronicled the Civil War and Reconstruction era in a way that was highly flattering to the Ku Klux Klan. The film was immensely popular and broke box office records wherever it was shown. President Woodrow Wilson arranged a private screening at the White House and commented afterwards that it was like "writing history with lightning."[3] The National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) tried to organize a boycott, but it was largely ignored.[4]

Birth of a Nation intertwines the histories of two families, the Stonemans (the North) and the Camerons (the South). Austin Stoneman is a Yankee politician fixated on forcing the South to accept the equality of blacks and whites. After the Civil War, he moves to Piedmont, South Carolina, where the Camerons live. Margaret, one of the Cameron daughters, is pursued by a black man. Rather than surrendering to his unwanted advances, she jumps off a cliff and kills herself. Her brother Ben joins the Ku Klux Klan, who exact revenge, murdering the black man and dumping his body on the steps of the lieutenant-governor's mansion with a note inscribed "KKK" pinned to his chest. Meanwhile, Ben has fallen in love with Elsie Stoneman, the Yankee politician's daughter. The feeling is

mutual, until Elsie discovers that Ben is a member of the Klan and her father forces her to break off the relationship. The plot thickens when Silas Lynch, a "mulatto," whom Austin Stoneman has designated as his agent in Piedmont, takes a fancy to Elsie. When he tells Stoneman that he intends to marry a white woman, Stoneman pats him on the back and congratulates him. Then Lynch says, "It is your daughter." And, instantly, Stoneman has a different attitude. He forbids the match, causing Lynch to place him under arrest. Lynch orders that preparations be made for his forced marriage to Elsie. She tries to escape, but he holds her captive. It is now time for the Klan to spring into action. A Klansman declares: "In olden times when the chieftain of our people summoned the clan on an errand of life and death, the fiery cross, extinguished in sacrificial blood, was sent by swift courier from village to village."[5] Hundreds of horsemen garbed in white robes and hoods gallop across the countryside to Elsie's rescue. The text on the screen (it is a silent film) reads: "The former enemies of North and South are united again in common defence of their Aryan birthright."[6] The wounds of the Civil War have been healed; it is the "birth of a nation."[7]

The film inspired William J. Simmons to revive the Ku Klux Klan. A thirty-five-year-old veteran of the Spanish-American War, Simmons was a former circuit-riding preacher and the Atlanta-area organizer for a fraternal organization known as the Woodmen of the World.[8] As a boy, he heard his father tell stories about the original Klan, to which he had belonged. The son saw visions in the clouds of horsemen charging across the sky, which he took to be an omen guiding him to restore the Klan to its former glory. Accordingly, he composed a manual, setting out rituals and code words based on an alliterative nomenclature featuring the letter "k."[9] A meeting place was a Klavern; a lecturer, Klokard; chaplain, Kludd; secretary, Kligrapp; treasurer, Klabee; organizer, Kleagle; parade, Klavalkade; large gathering, Klonvocation, and so on. The flowing robes and hoods, night rides, and burning crosses lent an aura of mystery and romance to the order, transporting Klansmen back to a dark, primitive world, full of danger and excitement.[10]

On Thanksgiving night 1915, Simmons and a small group of followers, who included three members of the original Klan, gathered at Stone Mountain outside Atlanta, Georgia. They knelt before a flag-draped altar beneath a fiery cross and swore allegiance to the Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.[11] The Bible was opened to Romans 12: "I appeal to

you therefore, brothers and sisters, by the mercies of God, to present your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, which is your spiritual worship."[12] The language of sacrifice pervaded Klan discourse, as it had also pervaded the discourse of the First World War. Klansmen thought of themselves as having embarked on a holy crusade, like the medieval knights of old.

Simmons took advantage of the premiere of *Birth of a Nation* to promote his resurrected organization. On the day the film was shown in Atlanta, Klansmen on horseback rode up and down the street in front of the theatre. Notices of Klan meetings were placed in newspapers next to advertisements for the film.[13] To Simmons's disappointment, the organization grew but slowly. At the end of 1919 there were only about two thousand members, most of them in Georgia and Alabama. It did not help when one of the organizers embezzled several thousand dollars in membership fees.[14]

Prospects improved dramatically in 1920 when Simmons hired Edward Young Clarke and Elizabeth Tyler, of the Southern Publicity Association, to take charge of recruiting. They were experienced fundraisers, having organized campaigns for the Anti-Saloon League, Salvation Army, Red Cross, and other organizations. Clarke and Tyler put Klan recruitment on a professional basis and marketed the order as though it were a commercial franchise. Klan organizers (Kleagles) worked on commission, receiving four dollars for each ten-dollar membership sold. The King Kleagle (senior organizer for the state) received one dollar; the Grand Goblin (regional head), 50 cents; and Klan headquarters in Atlanta, $4.50.[15] This meant that, when the Klan caught on in a town or city, Kleagles and other officials further up the hierarchy were in a position to make a good deal of money. In addition to the sale of memberships, there was a lucrative side trade in robes, hoods, pins, and other regalia.

It was common for men at this time to join fraternal orders not only for the social activities they provided but also for the business opportunities, which came from having a network of trusted friends. It was also psychologically satisfying to belong to a select, or "inside," group from which others were excluded. Multiple memberships were common – that is, if a man joined one order, he was likely to join another, or perhaps several others. Nancy MacLean, who studied the Klan in Athens, Georgia, found that at least 29 percent of Klansmen in that city belonged to at least one other fraternal order.[16] When a Kleagle entered new territory, he sought

out members of existing orders, such as Masons, Elks, Odd Fellows, Orangemen, and the like. This was an efficient way for the Klan to secure a toehold in the community.

By the fall of 1921, the Klan in the United States had 100,000 members. The Clarke/Tyler marketing strategy was paying off. As the order expanded, more incidents of violence were reported, especially in the South. Newspapers ran exposés, including a lurid series in the Pulitzer-owned *New York World*. The articles, which were widely syndicated, catalogued "four killings, one mutilation, one branding with acid, forty-one floggings, twenty-one tar and feather parties, five kidnappings, forty-three individuals warned to leave town or otherwise threatened, fourteen communities threatened by posters, sixteen parades of masked men with warning placards." The House Rules Committee of Congress held hearings in October 1921, but it failed to find solid evidence of Klan misconduct. Imperial Wizard (as he was styled) W.J. Simmons testified before the committee and denied that his organization had been involved in wrongdoing of any sort. He attributed the violence to mischievous imposters, who were trying to discredit the Klan. "Are we the only people that use a mask?" he asked querulously, "If so, what about Mardi Gras celebrations in this country, and what about Halloween celebrations? ... Our mask and robe, I say before God, are as innocent as the breath of an angel."[17]

Far from damaging the Klan, the Congressional investigation proved a boon because it gave the order extensive free publicity. It grew, wrote one historian, "like a green bay tree."[18] In a four-month period more than two hundred new lodges were set up, and membership climbed to 1 million.[19] It was even rumoured that President Warren Harding had joined the order in a secret ceremony in the White House. From its original base in the South, the Klan spread to Texas, Oklahoma, the Midwest, the Rocky Mountains, up and down the Pacific coast, into Pennsylvania, New York, and New England.[20] Unfortunately for historians, the membership records at Atlanta headquarters were destroyed in 1925. All that remain are partial rosters, scattered here and there in various communities across the United States. The best estimate is that from 3 to 6 million people joined the Klan in the 1920s.[21]

As the order expanded, turf wars and power struggles broke out, no doubt because large sums of money were at stake. Simmons was deposed as Imperial Wizard in 1922, the victim of a coup orchestrated by Dallas dentist Hiram Wesley Evans. Simmons was persuaded to accept the title "Emperor," an empty honorific, while Evans wielded real power as Imperial

Wizard. Under his direction, the Klan continued to grow, reaching its peak in the mid-1920s. Thereafter, it fell into rapid decline, mainly because of scandals involving high-ranking officials.[22]

The Klan first appeared in Canada in 1921, when branches were formed in Montreal and West Vancouver. In later years, cross burnings were sighted in various locations, for example, Fredericton, New Brunswick, where James S. Lord, Conservative MLA for St. Stephen, was designated Imperial Klaliff of the Ku Klux Klan of Kanada. A cross was burned on the lawn of Mount Saint Vincent convent in Nova Scotia and at St. John the Baptist Roman Catholic Church at Melville Cove near Halifax. In 1923, there was a burst of activity in Ontario, where itinerant lecturer W.L. Higgit signed up eight thousand members. A stick of dynamite exploded at St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church in Barrie on 10 June 1926, shattering the stained glass windows and blasting a four-foot hole through the brick wall.[23] The Klan established outposts in British Columbia as well as in Alberta, but nowhere did the order achieve the influence that it attained in Saskatchewan, where it helped bring down a government. As we shall see, demography, patterns of immigration, and the political culture of Saskatchewan combined to make it a field ripe for the harvest.

The Klan in Indiana

The men who organized the Klan in Saskatchewan came from Indiana, a hotbed of Klan activity in the United States. The Hoosier state had a larger Klan membership in the 1920s than did Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama combined.[24] Between one-quarter and one-third of all native-born white men in the state belonged to the order.[25] With this base of support, it was able to take control of the Indiana Republican Party in 1924, handpick the governor, and secure the election of a majority of Klan supporters in both houses of the legislature as well as almost all of the thirteen congressmen Indiana sent to Washington. It also dominated local politics across the state.

Although the population was only 3 percent black in 1920, Indiana had a long history of racist legislation. An 1831 statute required blacks entering the state to post a bond against the costs that might be incurred if they fell destitute and became a public charge. In 1852 there was a total prohibition on their coming into the state. Although not always enforced, it remained on the books. Between 1865 and 1903, twenty blacks were lynched. The perpetrators of the crimes were never convicted or punished. The Horse Thief Detective Association (HTDA) was founded in 1865 as

an informal moral enforcement agency. It took upon itself the task of putting bootleggers out of business and breaking up teenage "petting parties." Members of the HTDA later joined the Ku Klux Klan, which was its natural successor. The Klan distributed cards that read: "Remember, every criminal, every gambler, every thug, every libertine, every girl ruiner, every home wrecker, every wife beater, every dope peddler, every shyster lawyer, every K of C [Knights of Columbus], every white slaver, every brothel madam, every Rome-controlled newspaper – is fighting the KKK." In one episode, a miscreant husband was taken out of his house and beaten because he wasn't supporting his family properly. After that, he "got a job right quick and started working."[26]

The Indiana Klan was virulently anti-Roman Catholic. It circulated a bogus Knights of Columbus (a Roman Catholic men's organization) oath, according to which its members swore to wage relentless war against "all heretics, Protestants, and Masons," and to "burn, waste, boil, flay, strangle and bury alive these infamous heretics; rip open the stomachs and wombs of their women and crash their infants' heads against the walls in order to annihilate their execrable race." Catholics were suspected of storing weapons in church basements, which were to be used to overthrow the government and replace it with the pope. It was said that whenever a Catholic boy was born, another rifle was added to the stockpile. According to rumour, one corner of the 1917 American dollar bill was imprinted with a hidden picture of the "dago on the Tiber," and Klansmen made a habit of ripping off that corner of the bill. In North Manchester, Indiana, the story spread that the pope was arriving on the next train. A large crowd gathered at the station, ready to take him into custody and haul him off to jail. As it happened, the only passenger on the train was a carpet salesman en route to Chicago. It was only with great difficulty that he convinced them that he was not the pope and so was allowed to continue on the next leg of his journey.[27]

David Curtis (D.C.) Stephenson, the leader of the Indiana Klan, arrived at Klan rallies by airplane, descending like a god from the clouds. He wrapped himself in a purple cloak and delivered wild, stormy speeches. He also organized monster picnics, complete with "BRASS BANDS ... A BIG BARBECUE ... ONE DAY DAZZLING OF DIVERSIFIED DELIGHT," complete with jousting knights, tightrope dare-devils, and stilt walkers. Stephenson schemed with Hiram Evans to overthrow Imperial Wizard W.J. Simmons, and, as a reward for his part in the plot, he was made Grand Dragon of the Northern Realm, a large territory comprising twenty-three

states. Later, Stephenson fell out with Evans and was stripped of his Grand Dragonship, but this did not dent his standing in Indiana, which continued to be one of the most lucrative Klan territories.[28]

Stephenson lived in lavish style in Indianapolis and kept a yacht on Lake Michigan. His downtown office was equipped with eight telephones, one of which, supposedly, was a direct line to the White House. Ostentatiously, he would interrupt meetings "to take a call from the President." In 1924, Stephenson entered politics through a surrogate, Ed Jackson, who ran for governor. The campaign was a marvel of organization, involving the mass mobilization of Klansmen throughout the state. Over 600,000 leaflets were distributed, and every household was canvassed. On the day of the election, voters found a clothespin on their doorsteps, in which was inserted a list of the Klan candidates seeking office. Jackson swept into the governor's mansion with a huge majority, while Stephenson boasted, with only mild exaggeration: "I am the law in Indiana."[29]

Stephenson invited his girlfriend, twenty-eight-year-old Madge Oberholtzer, who worked as a government clerk, to his mansion for a few drinks. Afterwards, they boarded a train to Chicago, and in the sleeping compartment he raped her, "chewing and biting her tongue, breasts, back, legs, and ankles."[30] They disembarked and booked into a hotel room. After he fell asleep, she slipped out to a drugstore and purchased a bottle of mercury bichloride tablets. She swallowed the pills, apparently in an effort to kill herself. A few weeks later, she died, and Stephenson was charged with second-degree murder. His lawyer maintained that it was death by suicide and that, therefore, his client was innocent. The prosecution argued that Miss Oberholtzer had died of the infection caused by the bite wounds that Stephenson had inflicted on her. The verdict was guilty, and he was sentenced to life imprisonment. Indiana Klan membership fell from 300,000 to 15,000 within the year.[31]

Included in the downfall was the Klan in South Bend, the home of the organizers who came to Saskatchewan. The city was a bustling manufacturing centre located 140 kilometres east of Chicago just at the point where the St. Joseph River makes its "south bend" and turns northward to the Great Lakes.[32] It was home to the Studebaker automobile manufacturing plant, Bendix brakes, Singer sewing machine, the Oliver chilled steel plough, and numerous other enterprises.[33] As an industrial city, it had a completely different economic base from that of Saskatchewan, which relied primarily on agriculture. But the two places had one feature in common: both had large numbers of immigrants from central and eastern

Europe. In South Bend, they worked in factories; in Saskatchewan, they tilled the land.[34]

South Bend was also home to the University of Notre Dame, one of the most prominent Roman Catholic universities in the United States. Rumour had it that the Klan planned to blow up the school with dynamite, the plot's being stymied only at the very last minute.[35] According to the *New York Times*, the only militant organization at Notre Dame was the football team, coached by Knute Rockne, which racked up the still unsurpassed collegiate record of 105 wins, twelve ties, and five losses.[36] When the Klan came to Indiana, Notre Dame students were instructed to stay clear of Klan events, an edict they did not always obey. South Bend was the site of a tri-state Klan rally (Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan) in May 1924. Automobiles converged on the city, and the train station overflowed with visitors. Notre Dame students roamed the streets, roughing up Klansmen and stealing their robes and hoods. A crowd gathered at Klan headquarters downtown, where an illuminated electric cross blazed forth from a third-floor window. The students hurled potatoes at the red light bulbs, knocking them out one by one. Finally, there was only one left still burning at the top of the cross. The quarterback of the Notre Dame football team took aim, and the bulb popped in a shower of sparks.[37]

The Exalted Cyclops (president) of the South Bend Klan was Hugh Finlay Emmons, familiarly known as "Pat" Emmons. Born in either 1883 or 1884 (the exact date is not known), he was married with two daughters and a son. He worked on the assembly line, first at the Singer sewing machine factory and later at the Studebaker plant.[38] Were it not for the Klan, his life would have passed in obscurity, but as Exalted Cyclops he enjoyed a certain degree of celebrity. His klavern (local) boasted a membership of five thousand.[39] At first, he was not paid a salary, but, as the Klan grew, he was allowed forty-five dollars a week, which was enough for him to quit his factory job and devote himself full time to the order.[40] He allied himself with Protestant clergymen, whom he favoured with free Klan memberships. The 1926 South Bend city directory lists Emmons's occupation as "evangelist," though he appears not to have had any formal training in that line of work.[41] Nonetheless, his talents as a preacher stood him in good stead with Protestant moral reformers and anti-vice crusaders. He was also active in politics and worked to elect Klansmen at every level of administration from the US Senate down to the board of directors of the Indiana High School Athletic Association. The Klan's master plan,

Hugh Finlay Emmons (alias "Pat Emory"), late 1920s. He was Exalted Cyclops (president) of the Ku Klux Klan in South Bend, Indiana, and became Klan Kleagle (organizer) in Moose Jaw in late 1926. *Saskatchewan Archives Board, RA7848*

according to Indiana Grand Dragon W.L. Smith, was "to gain first, control of the counties, then the state and finally the nation."[42]

Emmons soon ran into financial difficulties. There was a lack of transparency in the way the South Bend Klan handled its money, and the rank and file demanded to know what was going on. Emmons fobbed them off by explaining that the local had purchased property worth eight thousand dollars. In fact, the value was closer to two thousand dollars. Stephenson's murder conviction further discredited the organization. An "imperial representative" from Atlanta arrived on the scene in an attempt to salvage the situation. "You need a little more Southern spirit in this Klan," he suggested: "You ought to take somebody around this Roman Catholic city of South Bend out, whip them, tar and feather them, and then you would see the members joining fast. It takes a demonstration to shake up the Protestant people."[43] To his credit, Emmons did not take the advice. By late 1926, his Klan career seemed to be over. The Studebaker factory did not want to take him back; he was unemployed and without resources to support his family.

The Klan Comes to Saskatchewan

At about this time, Lewis Scott of South Bend, who had been appointed King Kleagle (chief organizer) for Saskatchewan, made Emmons an offer.

Would he like to help organize the Klan in Canada? Initially, Emmons declined: "I have had all the Klan I want for the rest of my life in this country, and I do not want to wish anything like this on any other country." "Look here, Pat," Scott replied, "this is entirely different. Fowler [C. Lewis Fowler, head of the Klan in Toronto], who has been banished from this organization in the States, is going to open up a good clean Christian beneficent organization. They will not have the whipping crew or tar and feathering stuff like we had in the States."[44] If this exchange sounds a bit self-serving, it is because it was the rendition of the conversation given by Emmons at his subsequent trial in Regina, when he was charged with the embezzlement of Klan funds. He wanted to portray his motives for coming to Saskatchewan in the best possible light.

After consulting his "good wife," Emmons accepted Scott's offer. The two of them travelled to Saskatchewan by automobile, along with Harold, Lewis Scott's son. (At least Lewis said that Harold was his son.) On the way to Regina, Lewis Scott turned to Emmons and said: "Pat, you are well known all over the country. The Chicago papers go into Canada and I want you to do me one favour. I do not think it will be anything wrong. Your name is H.F. Emmons. It is an evangelistic name. I want you to change it to H.F. Emory." Emmons balked at the proposal: "I do not believe that will be the right thing to do." Scott insisted: "Do you not think that if you go up there to Canada under the name of Emmons that will connect you with the United States Klan and they will think they are bringing in a punch to start a religious war and we want to get away from that." Reluctantly (or so he said), Emmons consented to the deception. He signed a contract with Scott, which authorized him to act as "a representative of this society [Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Kanada] to secure charter members, collect required Klecktoken [fees] or Kontributions, administer the Oath of Allegiance, organize Klans, instruct Klansmen and to assist in all ways possible the upbuilding of this Grand and Worthy Organization."[45]

Lewis Scott and Harold took up residence in Regina, while Emmons settled in Moose Jaw, about sixty-five kilometres to the west. The city had a population of about 20,000 (compared with 35,000 for Regina) and was a divisional point on the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR). It also had a direct rail link to Minneapolis and Chicago via the Soo Line.[46] The population was 85 percent of British origin, higher than for the province as a whole, which was a little more than 50 percent British.[47] The "foreigners" were concentrated south of the railway tracks in the area known as

River Street, Moose Jaw, notorious in the 1920s for its "dens of vice." The Klan launched a moral crusade there against "painted ladies [plying] their obnoxious trade and other visible offences against God." *Saskatchewan Archives Board, RA11601-11*

"Garlic Hill." Moose Jaw had a mixed persona, part respectable bourgeois and part hard-drinking roustabout. Men got off the trains from Chicago, Toronto, or Vancouver and wandered down River Street, where they found a full array of speak-easies, brothels, gambling joints, and opium dens. "One block north of the CPR and turn left, and you'd think you were in New Orleans," noted one observer. Tap Kwan, whose parents owned a restaurant, recalled: "People came into town to gamble ... My dad told me they served liquor in a bowl, but not openly. People would come in and have a bowl of soup. They'd know what they want. They wanted a bowl of whiskey."[48] Conveniently, the Moose Jaw police turned a blind eye to illicit activity and red-light district amusements.[49]

Pat Emmons (now Pat Emory, but we will call him by his proper name) took up residence in two rooms at the Empress Hotel. The outer room served as his general office, while the inner chamber was his private office and bedroom. He was described as a large man, "square of figure and

Empress Hotel in Moose Jaw, the first headquarters of Klan organizer Hugh F. Emmons. He signed up 1,420 paying Klan members in that city, as well as giving out eight hundred free memberships. *Saskatchewan Archives Board, RA11601-8*

Charles H. Puckering, late 1920s. Chief assistant to Klan organizer Hugh "Pat" Emmons, in Moose Jaw, he was later appointed Klan lecturer, which meant that he received a percentage of membership fees collected at meetings at which he spoke. *Saskatchewan Archives Board, R17536*

face," somewhat rumpled, as though he had spent the day fully clothed lolling about in an unmade bed.[50] A slight southern drawl marked him out as a stranger. Soon after arriving, he purchased a pair of spectacles from optometrist Frederick S.J. Ivay. In due course, Ivay was appointed Exalted Cyclops of the Moose Jaw Klan (a good title for an optometrist). During the First World War, Ivay had been president of the National British Citizenship League. This group had been formed in Moose Jaw in March 1917 on a platform of English-only in the public schools. Its slogan was "One Flag, One School, One Tongue," and the goal was to keep Canada British and not to allow any concessions to non-British immigrants,[51] who were expected to fit completely into the British mould. The Klan was the natural successor to the National British Citizenship League. The two organizations had similar agendas, and, to some extent, overlapping memberships. In addition to Ivay, there was Sam A. Hamilton, a Moose Jaw alderman, who had chaired the first meeting of the National British Citizenship League and later became a Klansman. As mentioned before, the Klan was in large part an after-shock of the First World War. It revived the same issues that had been prominent at that time.

Emmons assembled a group of investors who raised ten thousand dollars to establish a "Klan eatery," known as the Dennis Café, in Moose Jaw. It was frequented by Klansmen, who thereby avoided patronizing the Chinese cafés in the city. Emmons had an investment of one hundred dollars in the eatery, which he later gave as a gift to his secretary, Charles Puckering.[52] He liked to make grand gestures of this kind. He spoke expansively of building a Klan retirement home in Moose Jaw. It was rumoured that a lot had been purchased – well, not exactly purchased, but some property had been looked at.[53] "When was construction scheduled to begin?" Emmons was asked. "Oh, sometime before the snow flies," he airily replied.[54]

Emmons had a knack for leading people to believe things that were not true, without actually telling an outright lie. He said he had been born "south of Toronto" but did not say how far south.[55] He hinted that Thomas Edison and Henry Ford were planning to visit Moose Jaw and that they intended to make a large donation to the Klan.[56] He claimed there were 8.5 million Klan members in the United States and that they controlled the government in forty-two states. He said that "some of the greatest men in the Dominion" belonged to the Klan in Ontario.[57] Later, at his trial, when he was asked to justify such false and misleading statements, he nonchalantly replied: "That is the same as electioneering; that is propaganda work."[58]

As the Klan gathered momentum, Emmons increased the size of his staff. At the beginning, Charles H. Puckering was the only employee. He sat in the outer room of the hotel suite and regulated the flow of traffic in and out of the inner sanctum.[59] (Puckering's stint with the Klan did no harm to his long-term career prospects. He later managed a milling company and was elected to Moose Jaw city council.)[60] The Klan eventually moved its operations to the Hammond Building,[61] where Emmons had postcards printed that read: "Your fondest aspiration after this old world is Heaven, but before you go we need you in Hammond Building three eleven."[62] Puckering was eventually promoted to lecturer, which gave him a percentage of the membership fees collected at events at which he spoke. Two new staff members were hired to look after the secretarial duties. They called Emmons "Pop" and were utterly devoted to him.[63] The staff worked long hours, often making a supper in the the office of sandwiches and milk.[64]

In addition to organizing the Klan, Emmons worked as a part-time evangelist. He gave an Easter sermon entitled "What Think Ye of Christ?"

which was so powerful that James Bradley, a Moose Jaw resident, was moved to describe it as "the finest evangelical service ever preached in Canada."[65] Bradley joined the Klan a few days later. Reverend T.J. Hind, pastor of First Baptist Church, became a stalwart Klansman, as did at least fifteen other Protestant ministers in Moose Jaw and the surrounding area.[66]

They were drawn to the order in part by Emmons's "clean-up" campaign. For years the police had ignored the bars and brothels on River Street. Walter Johnson, the police chief, owned a large house in the city and a thousand-acre farm. It was hard to know how he managed this on a policeman's salary. He also spent a good deal of time at the racetrack.[67] In 1923, the entire police force, except for three duty sergeants, was implicated in a burglary ring, and seven officers went to jail. Johnson, in his defence, said that he had no idea what was going on in his department, and, with that excuse, he emerged from the scandal unscathed.[68]

Frank Stetsky appeared in a Moose Jaw court in June 1927 and stated that he had witnessed the illegal sale of liquor in a Chinese café. "I saw the place was running wild," he testified. The police asked him to cooperate in a sting operation, which he agreed to do. He was given a marked dollar bill and used it to purchase a thirty-five-cent bottle of beer. "Quong Chong," the waiter, deposited the bill in the till and made change. The police then entered the café, searched the till, found the bill, and arrested "Quong Chong." In the course of the trial, Stetsky was asked by the defence lawyer whether he had come to Moose Jaw "to volunteer [his] services to clean up th[e] town[.]" Stetsky replied that he had. "You are connected with the Ku Klux Klan?" the lawyer inquired. Stetsky replied that he had never heard of the Klan, a statement that hardly seems credible.[69]

As the Klan-inspired anti-vice crusade took told, it acquired a decidedly racist, anti-Chinese tinge.[70] As the new Moose Jaw police chief (Johnson had been fired) declared: "The present condition of affairs among Chinese in Moose Jaw has been allowed to exist for too long. I am out to clean up the whole section in the shortest time possible."[71] The police chief personally led a raid on the premises at 112 River Street West, where six thousand dollars in cash was seized, along with two tables, a number of chairs, thousands of blanks covered with Chinese symbols (thought to be lottery cards), numerous boxes of tin and wood, a counter, and a loaded revolver. Fourteen Chinese were taken into custody, and "Quong Jan," the owner of the place, was arraigned on three charges: keeping a common gaming house, having printed and distributed tickets for gaming, and being an alien in unlawful possession of a firearm.[72] In another raid, this time at

157 River Street West, "Wong Ching" and "Wong King" were arrested on a charge of keeping a disorderly house, or common gaming house. The police found a big cloth-covered table where a game, involving an impressive array of cards and dice, had been in progress. Three Chinese ("Yee Kee," "Harry Tong," and "Wong Sun") and three non-Chinese (Fred Ramsoff, Hugh Waneck, and Harry Dobbins) pleaded guilty to having been found in a gaming house and were fined ten dollars each and costs. Waneck, who assisted the court by volunteering his services as a Ukrainian interpreter, was allowed to go free.[73] At a raid on 180 River Street West in December 1927, "Leong Yoi" was apprehended with opium in his possession. He was sentenced to six months hard labour in the Regina jail and fined two hundred dollars plus costs. After he had served his sentence, he was deported to China.[74]

In January 1928, the police raided the O.K. Chop Suey on River Street West and took into custody the proprietor, "Peter Ping," charging him with having lured a white girl under the age of eighteen into his place of business and of having attempted to procure other white girls for an illicit purpose. He was also charged with having opium in his possession and operating a common bawdy house.[75] At the Saskatchewan Rooms on River Street West, a young girl was caught by police as she left the building by means of the fire escape. She claimed that she had been shown to a room by "Quong Won." In the room was a "Chinaman," and another twelve to fifteen "Chinamen" stood just outside the door. Soon after the first "Chinaman" had had sex with her, the police arrived and she fled out the rear door. On the day of the trial, a large crowd gathered at the courtroom. When the doors were opened, they rushed to fill the seats. The judge, at the request of the prosecutor, ordered these people out of the chamber, but this did not stop inquisitive persons from peeking through the glass-panelled door, trying to get a glimpse of the girl. Twice, the police had to clear the area, but each time the crowd came back.[76]

There was a spectacular raid at 132 River Street West on 26 May 1928, which led to the arrest of twenty-nine Chinese. When the police entered the room, an alarm sounded, causing a great "scurrying about of the Orientals assembled."[77] According to evidence given at the trial, the men were grouped around five or six tables and engaged in playing games of various kinds. The officers seized one set of mah jong, two sets of dominoes, two sets of fan tan, and a small quantity of silver money. As soon as the police came in, the Chinese men grabbed paper bills from the tables and shoved them into their pockets. Later, when they were searched, it

was found that the money added up to $1,900.[78] Twenty men were convicted on a charge of being found in a gaming house and had to pay a fine of three dollars each and costs. The other nine were let go because the judge thought that they were able to provide a reasonable explanation for being on the premises at the time of the raid.[79]

While searching the place, one of the constables found a small quantity of opium in a cigarette box under a bed in "Yee Won's" room. More opium was found in a pocket of his overcoat. "Yee Won" admitted that he owned the overcoat and all the articles found in the pockets except for the opium. He denied knowledge of the cigarette box. Medical evidence was presented to the court, which purportedly showed that, while the accused may have been a user of opium, he was not an addict. The judge ruled that, although the evidence pointed to the guilt of the accused, he "could not disbelieve the explanation given."[80] He said that it was possible that in the confusion of the raid, when the twenty-nine men were being taken into custody, one of them had tried to get rid of the opium by hiding it in the room of the accused. "Yee Won" was allowed to go free.

In the midst of the anti-vice/anti-Chinese raids, Arthur L. Davies, a private citizen in Moose Jaw, wrote a letter to Premier James Gardiner. He said that, while he was not a member of the Ku Klux Klan, he could see the need for the organization. When the "recognized authorities" did not perform their law enforcement duties, it was necessary for private citizens to step forward and help put things right. Davies alleged that the "law-breaking Chinaman" was a menace not only with respect to breaches of the Liquor Act but also, and more seriously, with respect to the operation of bawdy houses. "This is an *intolerable* situation," Davies wrote, "and renders necessary a review of the whole China problem" (italics in original). He referred to a statement that had been made by the Moose Jaw chief of police to the effect that, if the citizens of the city only knew of the conditions in the Chinese dens, they would be shocked and appalled.[81] Premier Gardiner replied that there were a good number of Chinese whose reputations would compare favourably with those of the Klan organizers. It required "a long stretch of the imagination" to believe that the primary goal of the Klan was to clean up the city. "People are not going to be made more moral by having a doctrine of hatred and intolerance preached among them," he wrote.[82]

While the Chinese were the primary target, other premises were raided, too. An undercover agent was dispatched to the home of E.E. Strong at 113 River Street West. He entered the building and walked up the stairs.

At the top of the landing, he rang the doorbell. A voice behind the door asked him what he wanted. "A bottle of beer," he replied. The door opened, and the agent went in. He gave Strong a dollar bill, the serial number of which the police had previously noted. The agent sat down and sipped the beer, when suddenly the door bell rang. Strong peeked through the window and whispered, "Police." For some minutes, the apartment buzzed with activity as the occupants rushed around and poured quantities of liquor down the sink. Strong finally let in the police. He was identified as the man who had sold the undercover agent the beer. The entire premises were searched and the police scooped up bottles of beer, ale, whisky, and gin, along "with their various accoutrements, including lemon juice, funnels, lemon squeezer, glasses, two tubs, two cases of empty beer bottles, and an electric alarm with two dry cells."[83] Strong was convicted of unlawfully selling liquor and fined $250.

On 7 June 1927, in the midst of the anti-vice campaign, the Klan held a major rally. An estimated eight thousand people gathered on the outskirts of Moose Jaw, among them guests from Alberta, Manitoba, and parts of the United States. A contingent of 435 Klansmen, accompanied by a brass band, arrived by train from Regina, and more than a thousand automobiles squeezed into the improvised parking lot. The result was a massive traffic jam when the event was over. The evening opened with a prayer, after which Pat Emmons took the stage. He said that he had been a member of the Klan for eight and a half years and was proud to belong to an organization that "took the Lord Jesus Christ as its symbol" and "based its working on the Holy Bible." He assured the audience that Moose Jaw was a very fine city, but it pained him to say that he had observed with his own eyes such things as decent people did not wish to speak of. He had seen "painted ladies [plying] their obnoxious trade and other visible offences against God." Many times he and his friend, Reverend T.J. Hind, had knelt together in prayer, asking God's help to cure these ills and make "a better world and better men and women." He knew the task would not be an easy one. Bootleggers, dope peddlers, and brothel-keepers had no intention of giving up their ill-gotten gains without a fight. Emmons said that his very life was in danger – but he was not afraid. He was willing to die for the cause. He had left instructions with his wife that, if he were killed in the war against vice, his skin was to be stripped from his body and used to make a drum. The drum was then to be emblazoned with the symbol of the Ku Klux Klan and marched at the head of Klan parades so that even in death he would be "leading others in the true way of God."[84]

Reverend Hind was the next speaker. It grieved him to think that the life of Pat Emmons was in danger. If someone had to die, he said, let it be him, not Emmons. His paltry efforts for the kingdom of God were as nothing compared to those of the Klansman from Indiana. David Nygren, an evangelist from the United States, also addressed the crowd. He said that the Klan had 12 million members and that only "pimps, loose-living people, and other degraded individuals" were opposed to it. It was true that the Klan was a secret society, but so, too, were other fraternal orders, such as the Masons, Odd Fellows, and the Orange Lodge. Secrecy was a normal part of social life, "a natural outcome of the relations between man and man." The Klan was not a violent organization, despite what its detractors claimed. Its purpose was to maintain law and order, not to undermine it. However, if the constituted authorities failed to enforce the law, it would be necessary to vote them out and replace them with political leaders who would do their duty.[85]

Darkness descended over the vast crowd. Men in white robes carried torches and flitted across the stage. A huge wooden cross was set alight. Blazing against the night sky, it was visible for kilometres around. Members of the crowd stood transfixed at the spectacle. After some moments had passed in silence, they slowly made their way home, some on foot back to Moose Jaw, others by automobile to more distant locations.

Pat Emmons was somewhat like "Professor" Harold Hill in *The Music Man*, the fast-talking huckster who frightens the residents of a town in Iowa into thinking that there is "trouble, trouble, trouble" in River City (in Moose Jaw's case it was River Street). The Iowa townspeople are initially sceptical, but they are eventually won over by Hill's flattery and scare tactics. He promises to start up a brass band to provide wholesome recreation for the youth of the town. Of course, it will be necessary for the parents to purchase musical instruments and band uniforms. Professor Hill knows nothing about music, but before the fraud can be exposed, he plans to skip town with the money he has collected. Pat Emmons's bonhomie was of a more sinister sort. He stirred up racial prejudice and a moral panic about "trouble, trouble, trouble" on River Street. Like Professor Hill, he collected large sums of money from gullible folks, and like the good professor, he planned to be long gone "some time before the snow flies."

2
Jimmy Gardiner Attacks the Klan

THIS CHAPTER LOOKS AT THE conflict between the Saskatchewan Klan and Premier James Gardiner, who emerged as the Klan's arch-nemesis. He staked his entire political career on the battle. However, the Klan that Gardiner fought was not the Klan as it actually existed. He portrayed the Klan as an American institution and violent in tendency. The reality was quite different. When the Klan organizers from Indiana fled the province in the fall of 1927, absconding with the money they had collected in membership fees, the Saskatchewan Klan reconstituted itself as a distinctively British type of Klan, breaking all ties with the American organization, condemning violence, and rejecting the wearing of robes and hoods. It insisted that its goal was to keep Canada British. Gardiner did not acknowledge that any meaningful difference existed between the American Klan and the Saskatchewan Klan. This line of attack caused a backlash. Klan members resented the fact that Gardiner was misrepresenting them, and they responded by working harder than ever to recruit new members and to build up the strength of their organization. Thus, Gardiner's effort backfired. Instead of discrediting or demolishing the Klan, he gave it a boost, which, ultimately, led to his defeat in the provincial election in 1929.

The Saskatchewan Klan Re-Invents Itself

Although the Moose Jaw rally of 7 June 1927 had been a major triumph, discontent simmered among the Klan rank and file. Questions were being asked about the financial management of the Klan local. Pat Emmons kept full control in his own hands. He deposited the monies collected for membership fees into three bank accounts, all of which were in his name or that of his Moose Jaw alias.[1] The membership did not have any idea how much money was being taken in or how it was being spent. This was typical of the way the Klan operated in other jurisdictions. The local organization did not have control of its finances until it received a charter from national headquarters, and, of course, this was delayed as long as possible so that

the Kleagles (organizers) could fill their pockets. Obviously, this was not what Emmons told the Moose Jaw Klan when it asked him for a charter. He explained that it could not be granted until the local had been established on a solid foundation so that it could function successfully without his supervision. This would take some time, he said. In June 1927, Klansmen in Moose Jaw urged that the charter be granted right away. They felt ready to take over, and, if that were not possible, they requested that a special bank account be set up for the quarterly dues of three dollars per person so that, when the charter was received, the money would be available for the klavern (local) to spend as it saw fit. Emmons denied the request. When Exalted Cyclops F.S.J. Ivay suggested that an advisory committee be set up to assist Emmons in the management of the finances, he arrogantly responded: "I am the committee."[2]

The membership fee was ten dollars, plus three dollars for the first three months' dues, for a total initial payment of thirteen dollars.[3] Under the terms of his contract, Emmons was allowed to keep eight dollars for himself and was obliged to send the balance of five dollars to Lewis Scott, who was King Kleagle in Regina. The eight dollars that Emmons took for his share was not clear profit: he had to use part of it to cover his expenses, which included office and hotel rental, salaries, and advertising. His secretary, Charles Puckering, was paid thirty-five dollars a week. Later, when Puckering became a Klan lecturer (Klokard), J. Harvey Riddell (thirty-five dollars a week) and J. Van Dyk (thirty dollars a week) were hired to perform secretarial duties.[4] Since Van Dyk had no aptitude for clerical work, he was assigned to another job, namely, "to open and shut the door," possibly a euphemism for the duties of a security guard. Van Dyk was an ex-Moose Jaw policeman, and, as we have seen, Emmons had concerns about his personal safety.

Emmons did not make a lot of money, at least not initially. By the end of April 1927, he was so discouraged that he went back to South Bend, Indiana, vowing not to return to Saskatchewan until his contract was renegotiated. He wanted to be allowed to keep the entire amount of the membership fees he was collecting. Scott capitulated to the demand. Under the new contract, Emmons was allowed to retain the full thirteen dollars until such time as the revenue flow from the sale of memberships was substantially increased. In addition, he was to have two dollars for each new member signed up outside Moose Jaw at events at which he was the guest speaker. This gave him an incentive to get out of the city and tour the province, spreading the Klan gospel far and wide.[5]

From January to September 1927, when he left Saskatchewan, Emmons took in a total of $21,080. Of this, $1,568 was earned in the period before he renegotiated the contract, when he sold 196 memberships at eight dollars per head (the other five dollars going to Scott in Regina). Subsequently, he sold 1,024 memberships at thirteen dollars apiece for a total of $13,312. In addition, he was able to sell 200 women's memberships at six dollars each (women paid a reduced fee), which brought in another $1,200. Finally, there was revenue of two dollars a head for 2,500 memberships sold outside of Moose Jaw, giving Emmons another $5,000.[6] In Moose Jaw proper, he sold 1,420 memberships and gave out another 800 on a complimentary basis.[7] Altogether, therefore, there were 2,220 Klan members in Moose Jaw (both paying and non-paying) out of a total population of about 20,000. It is clear that the Klan had made major inroads in the community. Emmons recruited in total 4,700 Klan members, including those in Moose Jaw and beyond. Publicly, he stated in July 1927 that there were 46,500 Klan members in Saskatchewan. If this was true, then the other recruiters must have signed up 41,800, which was rather unlikely.[8] The Klan was known to exaggerate membership figures to create a bandwagon effect in order to sell more memberships.

Although Emmons had total earnings of $21,800 during his stay in Saskatchewan, which was the equivalent of about $300,000 in today's dollars, much of it went to cover expenses. He was probably telling the truth when he testified at his trial that he left Saskatchewan with a net gain of $1,650. He might have made more, were it not for the fact that Moose Jaw Klansmen were getting restless and insisted on having their charter. He tried to mollify them by promising that the charter would be granted on 15 September 1927. At that time, membership fees would rise from ten dollars to twenty-five dollars, an obvious ploy to get people to take out memberships right away. On 17 September 1927, two days after the charter was supposed to have been granted, Emmons and Scott took the money and left the province.[9]

Later, Emmons came up with a variety of explanations for his hurried departure, none of them very convincing. His health had been poor, he said. The Saskatchewan climate did not agree with him; he needed a change of air. It was impossible to make enough money to live on. "There wasn't [*sic*] enough people to join," he complained: "The population was too scattered."[10] In the meantime, Premier Gardiner had dispatched a detective to Toronto and Indiana to make inquiries. The detective returned to Regina just a few days before the Kleagles made their speedy exit. Perhaps

they knew that they were under police suspicion.[11] Emmons retired to Florida, where he spent the winter giving hot gospel sermons. In the spring he returned to South Bend, where he was promptly arrested and taken for trial to Regina. The Scotts were never heard from again, although it was rumoured that they were selling Klan memberships in Australia.[12]

The flight of the Kleagles was a turning point in the history of the Saskatchewan Klan. It might have collapsed altogether at this point, but, instead, it reinvented itself and came back stronger than ever. "The Ku Klux Klan is not dead yet," announced Charles Ellis, secretary in Regina.[13] Ad hoc committees were set up to plan strategy, a goal was set of doubling membership in six months, and a rally was held on 4 October 1927 at Regina city hall. Ushers in white robes and pointy hoods escorted members of the audience to their seats. As they waited for the meeting to start, the crowd sang "God Save the King" and "Onward Christian Soldiers." Reverend William Surman, minister of Cameron Memorial Baptist Church, who was Exalted Cyclops of the Regina Klan, gave the invocation and introduced the main speaker. He was John J. Maloney, who was launching his career as a Klan lecturer specializing in anti-Catholicism. He warned that liberty would be lost "if that dark system [Roman Catholicism] which ha[d] wrecked every country it got hold of conquer[ed] this beloved Canada of ours."[14]

The Knights of Columbus in Regina objected to the fact that the Klan had been allowed to hold their meeting in city hall: "As citizens of this city and taxpayers, we feel that the [city] council in future should refuse to rent the City Hall to individuals or organizations whose sole purpose in coming here appears to be to give false and insulting tirades against the Catholic Church."[15] City commissioner L.A. Thornton lamely replied that it was impossible to know in advance of a meeting what was going to be said during the course of it. Alderman M.J. Coldwell (future leader of the national Co-operative Commonwealth Federation [CCF]) maintained that the hall should be available to any group provided that it respected the "decencies of language and parliamentary procedure."[16] It is evident that the Klan was not generally regarded as an outcast group or disreputable organization; rather, it was perceived as just another civic body, entitled, like any other, to use city hall for its meetings. There was no thought, except among Catholics, that the Klan should be ostracized from polite society.

The Klan held a provincial convention in Moose Jaw at the end of October 1927, which set a new direction for the organization in the wake

of the Emmons-Scott debacle. Henceforth, the Saskatchewan Klan was to be independent of all other Klan organizations. It was an entity unto itself, with no ties to the United States or other parts of Canada. The recruiters were to be paid a salary plus expenses – there was to be no more freelancing by self-interested entrepreneurs. Robes and hoods were abolished because the Saskatchewan Klan said that its members had no wish to wear a disguise or operate under the cover of anonymity. They were proud of what they were doing and intended to operate in the open. Robes would still be worn but only by officials presiding at formal ceremonies in the seclusion of their lodges, as was the case with other fraternal orders. Finally, the Saskatchewan Klan pledged to obey the law and to follow constitutional procedures. It rejected violence and vigilantism.[17] It was to be a decent, law-abiding Klan – a very British type of Klan – as befit an organization whose primary purpose was to keep Canada British. The newly appointed Imperial Wizard, J.W. Rosborough, observed that the Saskatchewan Klan bore no more resemblance to its American counterpart than did "the flood of Bible days with the high water of the Mississippi in 1927."[18]

Rosborough, an accountant by profession, was a mild-mannered man who hobbled around on crutches when his sciatica flared up. Born in Ontario, he had lived in Buffalo, New York, for several years before moving to Saskatchewan in 1915 or 1916. He worked for the provincial government for a time, but, as a Conservative and an Orangeman, he did not fit easily into the Liberal-dominated administration.[19] He left the civil service and set up the private accountancy firm of Rosborough and Dawson.[20] He was not a gifted orator, and he did not have a charismatic personality, but he knew his way around a ledger book, a decided advantage for an organization that had just been stripped of its treasury. Rosborough had not been the first choice for Imperial Wizard. That distinction belonged to W.D. (Davey) Cowan, a dentist who had been mayor of Regina in 1915 and member of Parliament from 1917 to 1921. He turned down the job because he felt that he was too closely identified with the Conservative Party and that, if he were the leader, the Klan would be dismissed as an appendage of that organization. However, he did agree to serve as treasurer, a fact that was not lost on James Gardiner, Saskatchewan premier and leader of the Liberal Party.

The Making of Jimmy Gardiner

James G. Gardiner, or Jimmy Gardiner, as he was familiarly known, was the man who took on the Ku Klux Klan. He has been cast as the hero in

J.W. Rosborough, early 1930s. A Regina accountant with the firm Rosborough & Dawson, he became Imperial Wizard (leader) of the Saskatchewan Ku Klux Klan in 1927. *Saskatchewan, Archives Board, RA3610*

the Saskatchewan morality play of the 1920s. To understand his attack on the Klan and the terms in which he framed it, it is necessary to explore his political and intellectual formation. He was a dyed-in-the-wool Liberal, and the Klan was anathema to him.

Gardiner was born on 30 November (St. Andrew's day) 1883 in Hibbert township near the border between Perth and Huron counties in southwestern Ontario. His great-grandfather, William Gardiner, had emigrated from Stirlingshire, Scotland in the early 1800s. William's son, Robert, was a successful businessman, who built a cheese factory, founded an insurance company, and was elected reeve of the township. His son, James C. Gardiner, Jimmy's father, struggled to support his family. He moved to Lincoln, Nebraska, in search of work when Jimmy was five. Things did not turn out well, and the family experienced hard times. Mrs. Gardiner had to cut up bags made of tick (a heavy, canvas-like material) to sew clothes for the boys to wear to school. After five years in Lincoln, she and the children moved to Michigan, where the Gardiners had relatives who worked in a lumber camp. Jimmy's father stayed in Lincoln, vainly searching for work. Meanwhile, Jimmy sold newspapers, earning ten cents a day, which was spent on day-old buns to feed the family. In 1895, Mrs. Gardiner

returned to Perth County with the children. She had exactly $2.30 to her name.[21]

The father later rejoined his family, bought some land, and started a small dairy herd. Jimmy worked at a nearby farm feeding hogs, hoeing turnips, milking cows, and cleaning out the stables. He also attended classes at the local country school, where he acquired a rudimentary education. At age seventeen, he left home, never to return. He made his way to Clearwater, Manitoba, where his uncle had a farm. Jimmy worked as a hired hand and continued his schooling during the winter months.[22]

Gardiner was the author of two quasi-autobiographies. The first was a novel he wrote during his final year at the University of Manitoba in 1910. He sent the manuscript to a publisher, but it was rejected. Much later, in 1975, it appeared in print under the title *The Politician: Or, The Treason of Democracy*, with a foreword by Gardiner biographer Norman Ward.[23] Gardiner was twenty-seven years old when he wrote the novel, and it serves as a kind of summing up of his life to that point. Although it is a work of fiction, the autobiographical elements are quite striking. The difficulty is we cannot know for sure what is based on fact and what is entirely made up. The other almost-autobiography is entitled *None of It Came Easy*, which was ghost-written by Nathaniel Benson and published in 1955. Benson based the text on copious notes written by Gardiner himself. Indeed, Norman Ward suggests that the notes should be regarded as "the first draft" of the book.[24] The novel and the "biography" nicely complement each other. What one delves into, the other glosses over, and vice-versa. The novel offers a glimpse into the author's emotional life; the biography expresses what one would expect from a serious politician putting on record the facts of his public life.

The chief protagonist of the novel is Ronie McKinnon, whose father, Tom, is a drunk. Tom is away from home much of the time and not a good provider. It falls to Ronie to work as a farm labourer to support his mother and siblings. One night, Tom comes home at a late hour and very drunk. He snarls at his wife, "Cringe, beast. You would disgrace my home and children in my absence." Ronie punches Tom in the face, knocking him to the floor. "He is mad with drink, Ronie," the mother pleads, "Remember he is your father."[25] Early the next morning, Ronie packs his bags and leaves home. He heads for "Claireau," Manitoba, where a family friend has a farm.

The real-life Jimmy Gardiner spent three years at his Uncle Will's farm at Clearwater, Manitoba, where he fell in love with Will's daughter

A youthful Jimmy Gardiner, author of an autobiographical novel written in 1910 when he was a student at the University of Manitoba. He became premier of Saskatchewan in 1926 but lost the office three years later, partly because of his opposition to the Ku Klux Klan. *Saskatchewan Archives Board, RA6026*

(Gardiner's first cousin), Rosetta, whom he later married. In the novel, Ronie marries "Rosaline," who is not Ronie's cousin but, rather, the daughter of Mr. McGillivray, the man who owns the farm. Real-life Jimmy quit the farm and entered normal school in Regina, where he obtained a second-class teaching certificate. He obtained a job at Hirsch, a settlement with a mainly Jewish population. The biography describes the scene that presented itself to Gardiner when he arrived at Hirsch: "A water tank, a section-house, and across the tracks the deserted old hotel from whose every ground window protruded the head of a cow patiently chewing her cud."[26] The novel depicts the identical scene: "A water tank, an old tumbling-down building which had once been a store – a cow now stood in the doorway chewing her cud – and a section house; but nothing more was in sight except the shacks of the settlers scattered over the prairie."[27]

Jimmy was in charge of forty-four pupils in grades one to eight: "two Canadians, two Norwegians, the remaining Jewish, of Russian and Rumanian origin." He said that the experience taught him that it was possible for diverse races and peoples to live together "in perfect harmony if no racial dissonances [were] sounded."[28] The tone of the novel is less anodyne. Arriving in the town, Ronie detects "a peculiar odor which he thought to be caused by the mingling of the breath of garlic-eaters with the purer atmosphere of the prairie." The rabbi has a "black beard, black hair, almost as black skin and the well-known Jewish nose." While the children show promise of becoming good Canadian citizens, the adults "have inherited the well-known love of gain peculiar to the Jewish race."[29]

At Hirsch, Jimmy had his first taste of Saskatchewan politics. He campaigned for the Liberal Party in the 1905 provincial election and worked as a poll clerk on election day. The ballot was a blank piece of white cardboard folded in the middle. Voters were handed a red pencil and a blue pencil. To vote Liberal, they put a red mark on the ballot; to vote Conservative, a blue mark.[30] A Liberal agent, who came down from Winnipeg, kept his eye on the voters as they came out of the polling booth. He could tell how they voted by the way they held the two pencils. In the novel, Ronie is shocked and disgusted by the underhanded Liberal tactics in the campaign: "It was a hard blow to think the Liberals, for whom his ancestors had voted for generations, were to be classed with the Conservatives, whom his grandfather had taught him to believe to be the embodiment of all that was wrong in politics."[31] Ironically, Gardiner later became master of one of the most efficient vote-gathering machines in Canadian history, accused of the very things his fictional protagonist earnestly condemns.

After leaving Hirsch, Gardiner taught at a number of country schools, coming into contact with people of diverse ethnic backgrounds and walks of life. During the winter, he took classes at the University of Manitoba, where he graduated in 1911 with an honours BA in history and economics. That same year he was appointed school principal at Lemberg, about 130 kilometres east of Regina. The town had six elevators, a flour mill, and a baseball team for which Gardiner played. The population consisted of Germans, Ukrainians, Poles, and British, a virtual microcosm of what we now know as multicultural Saskatchewan.[32]

Lemberg was situated in the provincial constituency of North Qu'Appelle, which had been held by W.R. Motherwell, minister of agriculture in the provincial Liberal government. He was defeated in the 1908 election by

the Conservative John "Archie" McDonald, who repeated the win in 1912, albeit by the slim margin of fifty-six votes. Gardiner was not the candidate, but he plunged into the campaign, impressing everybody with his energy and oratory. His voice, without seeming to be loud, penetrated to every corner of the hall. The 1912 result was overturned when McDonald was charged with bribery and corruption and was forced to resign. In the by-election that followed, Gardiner took the seat for the Liberals by 282 votes. Thereafter, he carried it every time by ever-increasing majorities, until he resigned from provincial politics in 1935 to enter the federal Parliament and become minister of agriculture in Ottawa.[33]

When the war broke out on 4 August 1914, Gardiner was thirty-one years old, physically fit, and eligible for service, but he did not enlist. Biographers Norman Ward and David E. Smith suggest that this was because of an old Scottish tradition, by which the eldest son stayed at home during wartime to ensure the continuity of the family line. Jimmy was not the eldest son, but he was the only one who was married. All four of his brothers saw battlefield action. Robert was seriously wounded and spent the rest of his days in hospital. William, too, was injured, and, after a lengthy convalescence, took up farming, but he was never truly himself again. Edwin died at Passchendaele; his body was never recovered. Earl was killed at Lens and was buried near Vimy Ridge.[34] One can only guess at the impact these tragic events had on the sole brother who survived the war unscathed. It is perhaps revealing that he opposed conscription in 1917, even though most English-speaking Liberals in Saskatchewan were for it. In later years, he named one of his sons after the brother who died at Passchendaele. Sadly, young Edwin was killed in the Dieppe Raid on 19 August 1942, a loss so grievous that it led Gardiner's wife to commit suicide.

After the war, Liberals in Saskatchewan were placed on the defensive. The Progressive Party, representing the farmer's protest movement, took fifteen of sixteen Saskatchewan seats in the 1921 federal election. Premier William Martin hoped to keep the Progressives out of provincial politics by offering not to oppose them at the federal level. Gardiner would have none of this. To him, a Liberal was a Liberal was a Liberal, and he could not conceive of supporting another party under any circumstances whatsoever. In the words of his biographers, he was a "relentless Liberal." As Gardiner predicted, the Progressives did not have staying power. They slipped badly in the 1925 federal election, when Liberal hegemony in Saskatchewan was restored. However, Gardiner's intense partisanship may have hurt him in the long run, especially in the 1929 provincial election,

when what remained of the Progressive Party cheerfully cooperated with the Conservatives to get him out of office.

In 1921, Premier Martin stepped down, succeeded by Charles Dunning, who had been minister of finance. He appointed Gardiner to the cabinet as minister of highways and, equally important, put him in charge of the Liberal Party machine. Under Gardiner, the organization functioned smoothly, perhaps a little too smoothly. Dunning complained privately that it was "no longer the party's agent, but its master."[35] However, no one could quarrel with the results. In the 1925 provincial election the Liberals took fifty-two seats, compared to six for the Progressives, three for the Conservatives, and two for Independents. Not long after the election, Dunning resigned as premier and entered the federal cabinet. He hoped that Charles Hamilton, the minister of agriculture, would succeed him, but the party rank and file preferred Gardiner. He was endorsed on 25 February 1926 by the Liberal caucus and by 1,200 delegates in the convention at Regina. [36] The "relentless Liberal" had climbed to the top of the greasy pole.

Gardiner's Vision of Canada

Gardiner outlined his thoughts on Canada's national identity in the novel he wrote while still a twenty-seven-year-old student at the University of Manitoba in 1910:

> The peoples of every land are coming to our shores with customs peculiarly their own ... The Germans, coming from a land lately blessed by political unity and industrial development, are introducing here the thrift peculiar to their race. The Russians, coming from a land lately broken by revolutionary strife, are drinking in the breath of liberty on the far-reaching Western plains of this great prairie land. The Jews, who have been driven from land to land throughout the ages past, here find a welcome as free and inviting as that tendered the sons of our own ancestral home. Our cousins to the south are coming back under the flag of their ancestors, realizing that here they can enjoy a liberty at least equal to that found in their own great republic. All are joining hand in hand with their new found brother citizens, born and bred on Canadian soil, in the one great task of building up the "Child of Nations" into a united, cosmopolitan people breathing that liberty only found in its fullness under British institutions.[37]

By this account, Canada was both cosmopolitan and British.

Gardiner fleshed out this vision in a speech he gave to the Laurier Club in Vancouver in September 1927. He said that Canada was a partnership of English- and French-speaking peoples. After the Battle on the Plains of Abraham in 1759, the French had been allowed to keep their language, culture, religion, and civil law. Under these terms, they were reconciled to British rule. In 1776, when American troops invaded Quebec and invited the inhabitants to join the revolution, they stood aloof. They had no desire to give up their allegiance to the British Crown. During the War of 1812, the Americans again entered Quebec, and once more their overtures were rejected. The lesson to be learned from this version of Canadian history was that the spirit of tolerance and respect for minority rights had kept Canada British in the past and would continue to do so in the future. Or to put the matter another way, the best strategy for managing minorities and keeping them happy was to give them tactical concessions, thereby making sure that they would not waver in their loyalty to the British Crown. In Gardiner's view, the English-French partnership could serve as a template for Saskatchewan as it tried to absorb its diverse immigrant population. "Those who have come to us from foreign lands know that under British institutions in Canada they enjoy freedom and justice and they can establish their homes in safety and become true patriots," he said.[38]

In another speech in 1927, Gardiner predicted that the Canadian nation of the future would be a racial fusion of the various ethnic groups that made up the population. Each group would contribute something useful: the Germans, their industry and thrift; the French, "chivalry in times of peace" and "dashing bravery in times of war"; Scandinavians, the spirit of adventure; and the British, the characteristics that were expressed in democratic forms of government.[39] He said that the British nation itself was a composite of racial types. The thrift and industry of the English race could be attributed to the invading Teutonic tribes; the penchant for far-flung exploration to the Norsemen; the spirit that made Britain mistress of the seas to the Danes; and, as ever, "chivalry in times of peace and bravery in times of war" to the Normans. Viewed in this light, foreign immigration to Canada could be regarded as a means of reinvigorating the British race. However, the list of desirable racial types that Gardiner mentioned did not include non-whites. As the premier reminded a meeting

of the Craik local of the United Farmers of Canada in August 1927, Canada's climate was ideal for "white people," the inference being that it was not suitable for non-whites.[40]

Addressing a group of visiting British journalists in September 1927, Gardiner emphasized that Canada was essentially British in character. The newspapermen were on tour, writing articles for readers back home who might be considering emigration to the western plains. Gardiner assured the audience: "[Canadians of the future] will speak your language, will practice your customs, will read your literature, will worship your God." Some might speak another language in addition to English, or read the literature of whatever country from which they came, but Canada would always be a country in which British people would feel at home. While Canadians valued the "sterling qualities" of the non-British peoples among them: "We do not go to the station to embrace them. We do not invite them to our homes for afternoon tea on their arrival. But they appreciate the fact that we have offered them the opportunities of our country, they appreciate the democratic institutions of government we have inherited from the Motherland." The mayor of Regina, who also attended the banquet, said that the people of Saskatchewan "rejoiced" in being part of the British Empire. They were proud to belong to "the great British family." Great Britain's flag was their flag, too.[41]

As Canada approached its Diamond Jubilee in 1927, Gardiner declared: "Canadians can best serve the British Empire by trying to build up here a people Canadian in name, possessing all the best British characteristics and also the best characteristics of the people gathered here from all parts of the world."[42] According to historian John Herd Thompson, this was a common refrain of the interwar years, when "a new imagined multicultural British Empire, composed of diverse people with multiple loyalties and identities could be held up both as symbol and as legitimization of Canadian diversity." He adds, however, that the "most important tiles" in the mosaic were to be British.[43] All cultures were equal, but the British were a little more equal.

A parallel can be found in American history. In the early days of the republic, the population was overwhelmingly Anglo-Saxon Protestant, apart from the slaves who were not accorded the status of citizens. The arrival of large numbers of Germans, Irish, and (later) central, southern, and eastern Europeans into the United States altered the situation dramatically. An attempt was made to represent the nation as both Anglo-Protestant *and* multicultural, a phenomenon Ralph Waldo Emerson

characterized as "double-consciousness." He described the United States as "the asylum of all nations," while also remarking that "the inhabitants of the United States, especially of the Northern portion, are descended from the people of England and have inherited the traits of their national character ... It has been thought by some observers acquainted with the character of both nations that the American character is only the English character exaggerated."[44] As historian John Higham puts it: "Anglo-Saxon and cosmopolitanism merged in a happy belief that the Anglo-Saxon has a marvellous capacity for assimilating kindred races, absorbing their valuable qualities, yet remaining essentially unchanged."[45] This dualist state of mind was inherently unstable because it contained a contradiction, but it helped the United States to manage the transition from Anglo-Protestantism to a more inclusive definition of national identity.

Canada, too, eventually diluted its British identity, which it now retains only in residual form. The transformation occurred gradually, accelerating in the 1960s when the new flag was adopted.[46] Britain's decision to enter the European Common Market in 1973 was also a turning point. By seeming to turn its back on the Commonwealth, the mother country forced the dominions to shift for themselves. Canada adopted a policy of official multiculturalism in 1971, which was enshrined in the Multicultural Act, 1988. According to Will Kymlicka, this means that we can "never again view Canada as a 'British' country."[47] All Canadians are equal regardless of whether they come from "old stock" or not. This, of course, was exactly what the Ku Klux Klan wanted to forestall. The Klan did not think that Canada could be both British and multicultural at the same time, and history has more or less proved them right. As Charles Taylor observes, the term "British" in Canada cannot be divorced from its ethnic connotations. It cannot serve as the mould for the assimilation of immigrants of diverse backgrounds.[48]

Multiculturalism as we understand the term did not exist in the 1920s. As far as Gardiner was concerned, Canada was still a British country, but he was willing to extend a certain measure of tolerance and understanding to non-British immigrants who were making their homes in Canada and helping to build the nation. Like the Klan, he wanted to keep Canada British, which to him implied respect for diversity within a British context. To the Klan, it meant rejection of non-British immigrants and the maintenance of racial purity. This was not a debate between multicultural Canada on the one hand and British colonialism on the other: it was a conflict between two different versions of Britishness.

Gardiner Declares War on the Klan

The Ku Klux Klan presented a threat to the Liberal Party in Saskatchewan because it mobilized the type of person who was likely to vote against it. Although it was officially non-partisan, its leanings were emphatically Conservative. Gardiner, therefore, had two options. He could either ignore the Klan, in the hope that it would go away of its own accord, or he could take the offensive, seeking to discredit and destroy it. The latter strategy was risky because it would raise the Klan's profile. If the organization was worthy of the premier's attention, it had to be taken seriously. Gardiner's approach to the Klan was influenced by the opinion of Prime Minister Mackenzie King, to whom Gardiner wrote: "It would appear, from their general activities in this Province, that the main object of the organization [the Klan] is to spread propaganda which will be of benefit to the opponents of the Government, both Provincial and Federal, at the time of the next general election."[49] King advised that the Klan should not be left to grow and spread unchecked. It needed to be confronted.

Gardiner opened his attack on 30 January 1928 during the debate on the speech from the throne in the legislature. He said that the Klan had "left a trail of bloodshed in its wake everywhere it ha[d] gone in the USA and a trail of lawlessness as well." Further: "[The Klan is] an organization that came into this province to do what? To fight Negroes, Jews and Catholics ... I say to them if they want to fight Negroes they had better go south, not north. Most of the members of the Hebrew race in this province are very reputable citizens, as good a class as you will find anywhere." "If they [members of the Klan] were really desirous of converting the Jewish population in North America," he continued, "why did they not go to Montreal or Detroit or New York? If they were serious about converting the people of the Roman Catholic faith why did they start in Saskatchewan? Why did they not go to the one province they passed up – Quebec?" The Klan's main object was "to try to play upon the prejudices of the people in other parts of the Dominion and the North American continent in order that someone would have an easy living."[50]

Instead of simply saying that it was wrong to persecute blacks, Jews, and Catholics, Gardiner suggested that, if the Klan wanted to do that sort of thing, it should go elsewhere. Moreover, he made no direct comment on the Klan's racial ideology, which was well known and a matter of public record. The *Moose Jaw Times* of 28 October 1927 had reported a speech by Klan lecturer J.H. Hawkins in which he told the audience: "God never

intended to dilute the white race with inferior coloured blood. The races were meant to be separated. I believe that Almighty God created the white race as superior to any other race." Hawkins also attacked "Asiatics" for "preying upon white women in Canada, which was an insult to God."[51] Gardiner could easily have refuted these statements, but he chose not to. What we now call "racism" was pervasive in Canada at that time, and most people were in agreement with what the Klan had to say about inter-racial marriage. Saskatchewan in 1912 had passed a law prohibiting Chinese employers from hiring white female employees. The aim was to guard against sexual relations between Chinese men and white women. The Klan played upon existing racial prejudices. It did not create them.

Here we may usefully refer to American journalist H.L. Mencken, who wrote acerbically of the 1920s Klan:

> Not a single solitary sound reason has yet been advanced for putting the Ku Klux Klan out of business. If the Klan is against the Jews, so are half the good hotels of the Republic and three-quarters of the good clubs. If the Klan is against the foreign-born or the hyphenated citizen, so is the National Institute of Arts and Letters. If the Klan is against the Negro, so are all of the states south of the Mason-Dixon line. If the Klan is for damnation and persecution, so is the Methodist Church ... If the Klan lynches the Moor for raping someone's daughter, so would you or I.[52]

Instead of dealing with the main issue of racism, Gardiner went on an anti-American tirade, saying that the Klan had left a trail of bloodshed in the United States and, by inference, would do the same in Canada. "We in Canada," Gardiner said, "have never found it necessary to get proper enforcement of law and order by parading about the country wearing hoods over their [*sic*] heads so that people do not know who they are. Any man who has not backbone and courage to stand out in the open has no place in British institutions of government."[53] Gardiner condemned the Klan because it was un-British. Its lawless methods were incompatible with British notions of justice and fair play. Thus, Gardiner and the Klan were trying to outdo each other as to how British they were.

The premier made much of the Emmons-Scott escapade. He said it proved that the Klan organizers were out to "take people's money" and "get an easy living." He felt an obligation to protect the Saskatchewan people from such rogues and cheats, as though that was the worst thing

that could be said about them. He was the self-appointed guardian of the people's pocketbooks. Gardiner ignored the fact that the Klan had reorganized its financial structure so that the recruiters were now on salary and no longer received commissions, as Emmons and Scott had done. Indeed, he completely ignored the provincial convention of October 1927, which had made the Saskatchewan Klan independent of other jurisdictions, abolished the wearing of robes and hoods, and declared a policy of non-violence and lawful conduct. For Gardiner, it was as if none of this had happened. His Klan was still the Klan of Scott and Emmons.

He was emphatic in his rejection of the order: "I say to the Opposition in this house and anyone else, that I, as leader of this government, do not want the support of that kind of an organization [the Klan]. If we cannot get government in this province without cooperation of that kind let us not have cooperation, or let us have no government at all in its present form."[54] The line had been drawn, and there would be no compromise or temporizing. Saskatchewan would have to choose between Gardiner and the Klan.

Roman Catholic bishop J.H. Prud'homme, Diocese of Prince Albert and Saskatoon, sent Gardiner his congratulations. "Really and truly, it is a masterly address," he wrote: "It is the speech of a *statesman* ... Your courageous attitude is deserving of every praise and will act as a death blow to the unqualified, non-British and malicious campaign of the Ku Klux Klan" (italics in original).[55] *Le Patriote,* the French Catholic newspaper in Saskatchewan, lauded the premier for "so courageously denouncing, on the floor of the House, the activities of this sect who work in the dark exploiting the prejudice born of ignorance and fanaticism."[56] Others joined in the chorus of praise for the premier. J.H. Harty, of Instow, wrote of the Klan: "They are a gang of notorious outlaws. It is too bad they were allowed to organize in Canada. There should be a law passed that would declare them as outlaws. That is what they are ... And thank you for your brave stand."[57] J.H. McFadden, of Estevan, added: "While you may be criticized here and there by a few who create a loud noise, there are very many, more or less silent people, throughout this province, who admire your stand and who will express their admiration in the years to come."[58] Gardiner let it be known that he had received only two letters from persons who disapproved of the speech, and they were not signed.[59]

However, John Stevenson, the Canadian correspondent for the London *Times,* detected widespread unease about the speech.[60] It was widely believed that foreign immigration was a problem and that the Klan was right

to raise the issue. An article appeared in the *Yorkton Enterprise* signed by "An Onlooker," who said that he was not a member of the Klan and had no intention of becoming one. Nonetheless, he thought that Gardiner had made a political mistake. He suggested that even among Liberal supporters, the speech had created "what can be but moderately termed consternation." According to the author of the article, the premier did not seem to realize that many of his own followers were members of the order. Moreover, it was simply not credible to think that the methods that the Klan had used in the United States would be acceptable in Canada. "Does any man in his sane wits," the writer asked, "believe that in a British country any organization would adopt methods of propaganda and action that would leave behind them 'trails of blood'? Why, it is against all belief. The British peoples, wherever they may be, are 'not built that way.'" The premier's accusations were absurd, and they had caused "intense indignation, even amongst a large portion of his political followers." The Klan in Saskatchewan had done nothing to justify the charges the premier had levelled against it. Many had questioned the necessity for its existence; others disliked its policies. But none could reasonably claim that "it had yet done anything to breach constitutional methods or principles."[61]

The Klan Responds to Gardiner's Attacks

The immediate impact of the speech was to prompt the Klan to hold a major rally at Regina city hall. It was a public expression of defiance against the premier's allegations. The event was not scheduled to begin until eight o'clock, but by seven the main floor was filled. Half an hour later, the stairs leading from the ground floor to the auditorium were packed. People tried to get in by the fire escapes or they crawled through the windows lining the corridors and along the balconies.[62] Moose Jaw Klansmen arrived en masse, and visitors came from as far away as Maple Creek in the southwest corner of the province. Hundreds had to be turned away at the door because not even standing room was left.[63]

The platform was elaborately draped in Union Jacks. A cross in electric lights stood to one side, casting a reddish glow.[64] At eight o'clock, Reverend Will Surman, Exalted Cyclops of the Regina Klan, opened the meeting: "I am a Minister of the Gospel, and, as a Minister of the Gospel, I see nothing contradictory in the principles which I teach and the principles of the Klan, to which I belong."[65] A more direct repudiation of the premier could not have been imagined. "I feel that this great organization is something more than an organization," Surman continued: "It is a spirit and

a light and because of that, it is beyond our powers to justly describe it. Now, I find something in it that met my need. I at first approached it with the same skepticism as some of you people here tonight no doubt face and, as I say, I found something in it which met my need."[66] Surman, who was a First World War veteran, said that he knew something of snipers' bullets and that he was ready for anything that the Klan's enemies might throw at him. He had been a soldier once and he was a soldier still, fighting for the ideals of the Great War – the defence of the British nation and British civilization. The war had left a psychological wound. He could not bear the thought that it had been fought in vain. The Klan gave him solace and assured him that the wartime sacrifice had served a purpose. The torch had been passed to the Klan, and the Klan held it high. This was what he meant when he said that the Klan was "spirit and light" and "met his need."

Next to speak was Reverend S.P. Rondeau, a United Church minister from Woodrow, a town of 218 people, of whom 153 belonged to the Klan, including thirty-one women.[67] Rondeau was a former Roman Catholic who had lived in Quebec for twenty-five years. "I love the French-Canadians," he said. "I am not here to draw any tirades against my fellow compatriots of Quebec, or those in Saskatchewan."[68] He gave a long disquisition on the history of separate schools, explaining in detail how the various laws and regulations had been put in place and modified over the years. The audience grew restless. "Talk about the Catholic Church," someone hollered.[69] Obligingly, Rondeau spoke of the church's "aggression" against the public school and the Catholic conspiracy "to eliminate everything that is not subjected to the Pope of Rome."[70] The audience roared its approval.

The final speaker of the evening was James Henry Hawkins, who was gaining a reputation as the leading Klan orator of the post-Emmons-Scott era. Dr. Hawkins (he was an optometrist) stood six foot three-and-a-half inches and weighed over 250 pounds. [71] He looked every bit the southern gentleman in his frock coat and striped trousers. Born in West Virginia in 1876, he taught school for a while, trained as a lawyer, and was called to the bar in Birmingham, Alabama. Later he studied optometry and was elected president of the Virginia Society of Optometrists. But this, too, did not last, and he took a position as director of the "Mecca of America Organization," which cared for orphans and dependent children in Alabama.[72] He settled in Toronto in March 1925, where he was lecturer for the Ku Klux Klan of Kanada. His wife, who had been born in Milton, Ontario, remained in the United States and looked after their seven children.

James H. Hawkins, late 1920s. Born in West Virginia, he was the main Klan organizer and orator in Saskatchewan from October 1927 to July 1928. He was expelled from Canada for a technical violation of the immigration law. *Saskatchewan Archives Board, RA7849*

Hawkins entered into a partnership with C. Lewis Fowler, the same Fowler who had appointed Lewis Scott as King Kleagle in Saskatchewan.[73] They rented an office in Toronto and began to sell memberships. By mid-May 1925, they had signed up 1,102 Klansmen.[74] As often happened with the Klan, there was a quarrel about money. Hawkins broke with Fowler and set up his own organization, which he called the Ku Klux Klan of the British Empire. He formed a relationship with Jessie Harris, formerly of Yorkton, Saskatchewan. She was an ex-employee of a golf club in Winnipeg, where, it was said, she had had "a remarkably gay time." Together they toured southern Ontario, giving lectures and selling memberships, staying

at the same hotels and partying at the Commodore apartments in Toronto, where "at least one bottle of whiskey was consumed."[75]

Hawkins's organization petered out, and he returned to the United States. He was available when a vacancy opened up in Saskatchewan after Emmons and Scott made their hasty departure. We find him at the provincial Klan convention in Moose Jaw in October 1927, when he addressed over a thousand people in the Stadium Rink. The ever-loyal Reverend T.J. Hind introduced him: "We have had Mr. Emory [Emmons] with us and he went from us, but there has come another – a nobler gentleman – and so far as we know he is a true man."[76] Hawkins looked and sounded like an American, which his opponents held against him. To compensate, he made frequent references to his Canadian-born wife, and he carried, neatly folded in his coat pocket, a full-sized Union Jack, which he unfurled at opportune moments.[77]

Since Hawkins was the Klan's rising star, it made sense that he should take the lead role in the response to Gardiner's attack. His speech at the Regina rally was to have been broadcast over the radio, but this proved impossible to arrange. The radio station in Regina was controlled by the same interests that owned the *Leader* newspaper. They were staunchly Liberal and did not want to give the Klan publicity. There was also a small radio transmitter on the top floor of the Glasgow House department store, but it did not have the necessary equipment to make the connection to city hall where the rally was being held. One other option remained. The signal might have been transmitted by telephone and broadcast over the Moose Jaw radio station. But this, too, was stymied, because the provincial government, through the department of telephones, owned the long-distance telephone lines.

The *Regina Standard* was outraged: "It may be that a bitter fight is on before the monopoly is broken. It may require a sum of money to break it. It does not matter. Smash that monopoly. Break it to pieces or it will continue to do as it has done."[78] As a public service, the *Standard* published the full text of Hawkins's speech. It is the only verbatim Klan speech we have. All the other accounts are summarized versions written up by reporters who attended the meetings.

Hawkins began by reading a poem:

> A question or two I would like to ask
> Of the silent men in gown and mask,

Pray tell me, kind sirs, if you possibly can
Who are these men of the Ku Klux Klan?

Are they law abiding, peaceful men,
Or do they ever now and then
Take the laws of this fair land
Into their own strong hands?

Can all good women kind and true
In time of peril depend on you,
Will you bring to justice swift and sure
He who outrages the child, or rich or poor?

I shall watch you close for an answer clear
To each of the questions propounded here,
If your answer rings true, every red blooded man
Will give three cheers for the Ku Klux Klan.

Hawkins remarked that "there is nothing so inscrutable in all the mysterious ways of Providence as the miserable smallness of those to whom the destinies of nations are entrusted." The reference, of course, was to Jimmy Gardiner. He took particular offence to Gardiner's comments about Klan lecturer J.J. Maloney. The premier had made mention of the fact that Maloney was going around the province registering at hotels under the name of "Mr. Brown." This was true, Hawkins said, but there was an explanation for it. At a hotel in Ontario, Maloney had picked up a pitcher of warm water that had been left at his door for shaving. When he dipped his hand in the basin, his fingers were burned because the water contained acid. Maloney still bore the scars. Thankfully, he did not splash the water onto his face or he would have been blinded. The police had advised Maloney to register under the name of Brown until he could verify that the hotel he was staying at was safe. In this story, the Klan was portrayed as the victim, not the victimizer. It regarded itself as the target of malign forces, not the other way around.

Hawkins went on to quote Gardiner's statement that the Klan "had left a trail of blood throughout the United States." He said that Gardiner had no more right to blame the Klan in Canada for what had happened in the United States than he, Hawkins, had the right to accuse the Roman

Catholic Church in Saskatchewan of having committed the crimes of the Spanish Inquisition. He wondered that the premier had not mentioned the number of times that the Knights of Columbus had broken up Klan meetings in the United States, or how Tom Roberts of Corpus Christi, Texas, had been shot in the streets by a Catholic because he dared to stand up for the Klan. Gardiner had alluded to Klan robes. "Well, it might interest you if I told you where those robes came from," Hawkins said:

> It [the Klan] borrowed them bodily from the Roman Catholic Church, that's where we got 'em. And I will go further than that – and it's the best thing we ever got out of the Roman Catholic Church. In the days when the Roman Catholic Church was in control of Louisiana, they brought there the inquisition. A committee of twelve men were inquisitors and those men were robed identical with the robe of the Klan except it was black, and when the Klan looked about for a robe they took the robe of the Roman Catholic inquisition, except we took it in pure white to show that the Klan stands for everything that is opposed to the dark and bloody age of the Roman Catholic inquisition.

But even supposing that the Klan's robe was a "night shirt," as J.M. Uhrich, a Liberal cabinet minister, had said, did a Klan member not have the same right to wear a night shirt as a Catholic priest had to wear a petticoat? "I always did have an idea in my mind that a man looked more like a man in a night shirt." And exactly how many Klan robes were there to be found in the Province of Saskatchewan? Twelve, Hawkins answered, and they were all in the possession of the Klan in Regina and were worn by the officers as regalia, "exactly as they wear the orange sash of the Orange or the red fez of the Shrine, or the regalia of any other organization, and they are not worn as any disguise or to hide the faces of any man."

The premier had declared that he was willing to fight an election on his opposition to the Klan. This put Hawkins in mind of a certain politician he once knew. One night the politician had given a wonderful talk, and when he was finished, an old farmer said, "Mister, did I understand you to say that you had fit for your country?" "Yes, sir, I have fought for my country." "And mister, didn't you say you had slept on the wet ground without kiver?" And the politician replied, "Yes sir, I have slept on the wet ground without cover in the service of my country." "And mister, did you say that you had walked on the frozen ground barefooted?" The politician answered, "I have, sir, I have left a trail of blood from the wounds in my

bare feet as I walked over the frozen ground." "Well, mister, if that be true, us fellows out here is going to vote for the other fellow, for gol darn you, ain't you done enough for your country already?"

Hawkins then turned to the school question, complaining of the situation in Bruno, where the public school was operating as though it were a Catholic school. The teaching staff consisted of Ursuline Sisters: Mother Xaveria, principal, teaching grades 7, 8, and 9; Mother Agatha, grades 5 and 6; Miss Susan Schwinghamer, grades 3 and 4; Sister Catherine, grades 1 and 2. According to Hawkins, none of these teachers had a proper teaching certificate but only a temporary permit. It had been said that the Klan had come into existence to bring discord into the province. This was not true, Hawkins said. It had been organized "to demand and protect the rights of Protestantism." It had also been said that the Klan wanted to fight Jews. This, too, Hawkins denied:

> As some of you may have heard me say before – the Klan doesn't help the Jew. We are perfectly frank and willing to admit that and when you know the Jew as well as I do, you will be aware that we don't need to help him because he gets about all he wants himself. Did it ever occur to you that the Jews have organizations in Canada today to which you cannot belong? Did it ever occur to you that the Jew is granted greater privileges in Canada than in any other country in the world? But you can't become a member of his synagogue; you can't join his B'nai B'rith Order; you can't join his Sons of Israel. Then, if the Jews have for fifty years past had their organizations in Canada from which they bar you without cause, do you mean to tell me that the Klan hasn't the right to form an organization and let the Jew remain outside of it?

The Jew did not join the Klan because it was a Christian organization: "If there is a Jew in this city tonight, or in this Province, who will stand on this platform in your presence and place his left hand on the Holy Bible and raise his right hand to Heaven and accept Jesus Christ as his Saviour, I will make him a Klansman in twenty minutes and let you see me do it."

The opponents of the Klan maintained that it was unchristian because it upheld the principle of racial purity. To this Hawkins responded: "I have no quarrel with God because he created the white man, the red man, the brown, and the yellow. I don't know what his purpose was in creating these colors, but God placed them here and he intends them to remain a distinct and separate race until this world is cold in death ... But I want to tell you one thing: the Klan refuses to be the grandfather of a mongrel

race in Canada." If it did not do a single thing in Saskatchewan other than clean out the hell-holes in River Street in Moose Jaw and protect the girls there, it would have justified its existence. "When the time comes to Canada when there can be induced into Chinese dives girls less than fourteen years of age – and the girl taken out of that Chinese dive in Moose Jaw under the influence of drugs might have been your daughter, your sister – when the time comes that these people are preying on the white women of Canada, isn't it time to form an organization such as the Klan to protect the sanctity of your homes and protect your womanhood? And we are going to protect them." Hawkins had heard a taxi driver in Moose Jaw say that every Klansman ought to be hung because "they've run us out of our business; why there's no place to take men now to find whiskey, or to find girls." To which Hawkins responded: "Can there be a greater compliment to an organization than that? ... an organization that has made the city so clean and the women and girls so safe and protected? I want to tell you that the Klan is going to make it so that your wife or daughter can walk down the streets without being molested by word or look."

Hawkins asserted that the Klan had no quarrel with the man of colour: "But we do believe that the time has come absolutely to close the gates of Canada against a further invasion of Asiatics. Why permit a race of people that never can become assimilated and never can become part of Canada to flood your country?" The Klan stood "as the one great bulwark against the invasion of colored bloods to pollute the white race of Canada." When the wrong type of people were let into the country, things happened such as had occurred at Ponteix, Saskatchewan, the previous summer: "The Union Jack was pulled down and the tri-color of France raised on the pole until some man went and pulled it down and threw it in the garbage pail and said, 'Remember the flag of Canada is still the Union Jack.' Do you think that any country is safe when the people in it refuse to honor your flag? He is the most contemptible being on earth – the man living under the flag of a country and refusing to honor it."

According to Hawkins, prior to 1920 Canada had been in every sense a British dominion because the majority of the people were of British descent. But Canada no longer had the moral right to say that, because only 47 percent of the population was now British. In 1926, of those entering Canada, 37,030 were of English descent and 40,245 were Continental Europeans. During that same year, Canada lost the very best of its citizenship, the very choice of its manhood, when 94,631 residents went to the

United States. "Then do you wonder why the Klan has been called into being?" Hawkins said:

> To awaken the conscience of Canada, that is what the Klan is trying to do, to awaken the conscience of this Dominion; make you realize and face those dangers as men ... I want to tell you tonight, men and women of Saskatchewan, that the time has come when you must, as you never did before, guard your Dominion. You must awaken to the situation you are facing and, as men, stand as a solid wall against invasion of your Dominion by those who cannot be assimilated, those with their own ideals, their own schools and their own Churches and who refuse to learn your own language. The Klan says tonight, squarely and frankly, without any qualifications that the English language in Canada is good enough for any man living under the flag; and if you are not willing to speak the language of the flag that protects you, then go back to the country where the language is not spoken.

The premier had claimed that the Klan had been organized to fight Roman Catholics. Not so, replied Hawkins:

> The Klan has no fight and never will have any fight upon any man's religion as long as that belief is confined to religion, but a belief that is not founded on the principles of morality and justice is a mockery to man and God and when a great Church goes outside the bounds of religion and attempts to use its influence as a political machine and to say you shall or you shall not do this, then the Klan not only has a right given from Almighty God to fight, but it has the right to call for every man to stand as a solid wall against that invasion of the rights of the Protestant people of Canada.

He entered into a long discussion about the Roman Catholic Church in Mexico, how it had taken over the country and allegedly held the people practically as "slaves." The Church was trying to do the same thing in Canada, and that was why the Klan said

> frankly and squarely, without any apologies to any man on earth, when you, Mr. Roman Catholic ... are willing to recognize [the] separation of Church and State; when you are willing to place that flag, the Union Jack, above the yellow flag of the Roman Catholic Church; when you are willing to swear your unqualified allegiance to the British Crown; when you are willing to drink your first toast to the British King and not to the Pope at Rome; until such

> time as you are willing to do that and willing to conduct yourself in Canada exactly as the Protestant Church is conducting itself, then, Mr. Roman Catholic, step back and take a back seat in the political life in Canada.

As long as the Church confined itself strictly to religion and did not interfere in affairs of state, the Klan did not care what Catholics did.

> You can worship your saints living or dead, or the dry bones of your saints – and you admit you have four heads of John the Baptist, eight arms of St. Luke (although I have always thought St. Luke was a man and not a centipede); you have five legs of Baalam's ass and even a tear that dropped from the eye of Jesus preserved in a bottle, and you have given away enough wood from the Sacred Cross upon which Christ died to build a fence around the entire province of Saskatchewan, and then I would like to have what is left to start a lumber yard, but if that is their religion and as long as they confine themselves to that religion, there will be no quarrel between the Klan and the Roman Catholic Church, none whatever.

The Klan, according to Hawkins, was the sign of the greatest Protestant revival ever to occur in the history of Canada. There was not a man who joined the Klan who would who not be "a better citizen, a better husband, a better father, a better brother or son." Hawkins pointed to an empty chair at the front of the hall. It had been reserved for Premier Gardiner, who had been invited to the meeting but had failed to attend. Hawkins was sorry that the premier was not there to hear the Klan oath, which he quoted in part: "I solemnly assert and affirm that to the British Crown and any possession thereof of which I may become a resident, I sacredly swear an unqualified allegiance, above any other and every kind of government in the whole world. I here and now pledge my life, my vote and my sacred honor to uphold its flag, its constitution and constitutional laws and will protect, defend and enforce same unto death." This put the lie to Gardiner's assertion that the Klan was somehow "un-British." Nothing could be further from the truth. The Klan, Hawkins insisted, was the most British of all organizations.

He turned his attention to the women in the audience. The Klan could not exist without them:

> You cannot find in all the world a man since the Garden of Eden who has not been fed and comforted in the lap of a woman; and this organization

> owes a duty to the women of Canada. Every woman in Canada tonight is a Queen. Some of you may be Queen of Spades, you may have to work for a living; some of you are Queen of Clubs, due to indolent husbands or insolent children; some of you are Queen of Diamonds, you have reached a position of wealth; but, above all, every woman of Canada is a Queen of Hearts.

If the Klan had the power, it would adorn every woman with unfading flowers: "We would go into the gardens and gather there the flowers of rarest perfume and beauty; we would take the choicest jewels from the Crowns of Kings and Queens, and from those flowers and jewels, we would fashion a Crown brighter and more dazzling than England's Crown and, with the hand of love, press it down upon the brows of our wives, our daughters, our sweethearts – Canada's womanhood." "We want your help tonight," Hawkins pleaded. "There's an organization of the women here; we want you in that. We need your help and assistance and, in return, we are going to throw around your homes a solid wall of love, loyalty, and devotion."

Coming to his peroration, Hawkins told a story that took place on a beach in India, where there was a pebble whose touch would turn iron into gold. A native wearing an iron bracelet spent the entire day picking up pebbles, one after the other, searching for the one with magical power. Late in the evening, he returned home discouraged because he had not found it. Suddenly, he looked down at his bracelet and saw that it had turned into gold. He had held the pebble in his hand and carelessly tossed it away. "Men and women of Canada," Hawkins declared, "tonight you hold in your hands a priceless possession; you hold in your hands a great Dominion, not given to you to destroy but to hold in trust. The Klan is calling you. Don't go away and say, 'I am a Klansman,' because you are a believer in the principles of the Klan and do not belong to the organization. You cannot be a Klansman and be outside this organization. Don't believe yourself a Klansman unless your name is on the Klan role [*sic*] and you are taking an active part in its activities."[79]

Whatever else might be said of Hawkins, he knew his audience. Many British Protestants felt that something vital to their existence was slipping away, almost without their being fully aware of it. They felt they were losing the country they loved. Foreigners were taking over. Soon Canada would be unrecognizable, and the British Protestant nation of their imaginings would have disappeared. Something had to be done before it was too late. Interestingly, the man in Hawkins's fable ended up losing

the magic pebble. Perhaps the Klan, too, sensed at some level that its cause was doomed. The forces of history and demography were against it. And yet a lost cause can be strangely seductive. Those who embrace it know they are going down to defeat, but they are determined to go down with flags flying.

The Klan exhibited paranoia of the type that Richard Hofstadter described in his famous essay, "The Paranoid Style in American Politics." By "paranoid," he did not mean clinically ill but, rather, a paranoid style of politics engaged in by "more or less normal people." "There is a vital difference," Hofstadter writes,

> between the paranoid spokesman in politics and the clinical paranoic: although they both tend to be overheated, over-suspicious, over-aggressive, grandiose, and apocalyptic in expression, the clinical paranoid sees the hostile and conspiratorial world in which he feels himself to be living as directed specifically *against him*, whereas the spokesman of the paranoid style finds it directed against a nation, a culture, a way of life whose fate affects not himself alone but millions of others.[80]

The Saskatchewan Klan felt that dark and powerful forces threatened British Protestant Canada, bringing it to the brink of extinction, if it were not already doomed. The dominant motif was fear, which was transformed into anger and resentment. Objectively, the Klan was a bullying organization, but it thought of itself as a victim. Its members felt that they were backed into a corner, persecuted, desperately trying to hold onto what once had belonged to them, the country they had been willing to fight for in the recent war and that they were willing to fight for still. Thus, Emmons spoke of having the skin stripped from his body and made into a drum to be used in Klan parades. It was a wild, crazy trope, but to Klansmen it had a certain psychological validity. They, too, felt that the enemies of British Canada were out to get their hides. Until the Klan came along, their anxiety and paranoia had lacked focus and a ready means of expression. The Klan gave them an opportunity to vent their frustration, anger, and paranoia. As Reverend William Surman had said, it met a need. The Klan proclaimed in effect: You do not have to put up with this. This country belongs to you. It is a precious pebble. Do not allow it to slip from your hands. Hold it close to your heart. The Klan is calling you.

Gardiner's attack fed the Klan members' innate paranoia. They were used to thinking of themselves as victims; and now they had some justification for doing so. The premier's criticisms were off the mark. He had said that the Klan was an American organization, but the Saskatchewan Klan, after October 1927, was entirely autonomous and not in any way tied to the American Klan. Gardiner insinuated that the Klan was violent and bloody. However, the Saskatchewan Klan deliberately rejected violence and swore to obey the law. In all his speeches, Gardiner was not able to cite a specific example of Klan violence in Saskatchewan. The charge was without substance. He said that Klansmen wore robes and hoods to conceal their identity, which showed that they were not upstanding British citizens. This also was false. After the 1927 convention, the Saskatchewan Klan gave up its robes and hoods. Thus, the Klan, already paranoid, was driven to further excesses of paranoia. Klansmen felt misrepresented and trodden upon, and they were more determined than ever to build their organization and prove the premier wrong.

3
The Battle Rages

In the six months that followed his anti-Klan speech in the legislature at the end of January 1928, Premier Gardiner intensified his attack on the order. His strategy was to tie the Klan to the Conservative Party, thereby discrediting the latter, and then go to the polls on an anti-Klan, anti-Conservative platform. To his end he embarked on a speaking tour of the province, which culminated in a public debate against Klansman J.H. Hawkins in Lemberg, Gardiner's home town, at the end of June 1928. It is hard to say who won the debate (both sides claimed victory), but it was clearly evident that the Klan had not withered and died under Gardiner's assault: if anything, it was gaining in strength. Hawkins was eliminated from the picture not because Gardiner routed him in argument but, rather, because he was deported from Canada for a technical breach of the Immigration Act. There was no question of an election in 1928 because public opinion was not running in the Liberals' favour. The Klan enjoyed much greater appeal than Gardiner had expected. Many agreed with its contention that there were too many foreigners in Saskatchewan and that the province was losing its British character. To many voters, former Liberal supporters included, it was obvious that immigration was out of control and in need of a timely remedy.

Early in 1928, the provincial attorney general's department arranged for the return of Pat Emmons from Indiana to stand trial for the theft of Klan funds. It was hoped that the exposure of Klan wrongdoing would embarrass the organization and turn public opinion against it. At about eight o'clock in the evening on 13 February 1928, a police officer showed up at Emmons's home in South Bend, Indiana. "I want you to go over to the police station," he said. "There is some little misunderstanding about something in Canada."[1] Emmons spent the night in jail. He denied that he had done anything wrong: "I was merely working as a speaker and organizer for Lewis Scott and everything that pertained to my work I've got in writing." He said he would not fight the extradition proceedings

because he was innocent, and he did not mind going back to Saskatchewan to prove it: "All I have to do is show the documents I have and there'll be nothing to it." A reporter called attention to the fact that the arrest had taken place on 13 February, and the amount of money he was alleged to have stolen was $1,313. "I wish you hadn't mentioned that," Emmons replied sheepishly. "I'm not superstitious, but that kind of scares me a little."[2]

Emmons had to finish up some business in South Bend before returning to Regina. He had become disillusioned with the Klan and was testifying against the order in a lawsuit that had been launched by the Indiana attorney general to deprive the Klan of its state charter. To do that, the attorney general had to show that the Klan was not operating as a charity as provided for under the terms of the charter but, rather, as a political organization.[3] Emmons had been giving evidence to that effect, when the summons came from Regina.[4] One of the reasons he did not resist extradition was that he wanted to clear his name so that his testimony would still have credibility in the Indiana court. It was a tangled web he wove.

Emmons returned to Canada early in May 1928 in the custody of Inspector Duncan McDougall of the Regina police force.[5] The charge was "theft by conversion" on information sworn by John Van Dyk, the ex-Moose Jaw policeman, who had worked for Emmons. After Emmons had left Saskatchewan, Van Dyk was employed for a time by Dr. F.S.J. Ivay, the Exalted Cyclops of the Klan in Moose Jaw. The job was of short duration, and Van Dyk was soon desperate for work. He wrote to Emmons in South Bend on 27 March 1928:

> Dear Pop, I just want to drop you a line to tell you I am out of work and absolutely broke. I heard that Brother Hind [Reverend T.J. Hind of Moose Jaw] had received several letters from you. I went to him to get your address. I wanted to talk to you about the warrant [on the theft charge]. It was not my fault that it was sworn out. A whole bunch of them got together and made me do it. You do not need to be afraid. I am under no consideration going to prosecute you. I was out to the Attorney General and they told me I had to prosecute. I spent about three hours there and the result was they could not prosecute on account of not enough evidence. After that they wanted me to sign a bond to guarantee them I would stand the expense in case I wished to prosecute and I refused. I am sorry your family had to suffer in it. Would you ask Governor Jackson [the pro-Klan Indiana governor] if there is any chance to get something quick. I will have to starve to death. Speak to him

> to send the necessary papers to get over the border. Oh, Pop! If you can do anything, do it quick.[6]

It appears from the letter that Van Dyk had been pressured into laying charges against Emmons, but it is not clear where the pressure came from. It also seems that the case against him was exceedingly weak. ("I spent about three hours there and the result was they could not prosecute on account of not enough evidence.") Emmons had signed a contract with Scott, which gave him (Emmons) full control of the membership fees he collected in Saskatchewan on behalf of the Klan. Obviously, he could not steal money that already belonged to him. In addition to the contract, Emmons produced two documents, both of which he showed to the police. The first, dated 17 September 1927, read as follows: "This is to certify that I, Lewis A. Scott, have gone over all records and have O.K.[ed] them and I do this day release Mr. H.F. Emoury as Kleagle and lecturer in the province of Saskatchewan. To Whom It May Concern: I wish to state that Mr. Emoury has worked for me for the last ten months as lecturer and Kleagle in the province of Saskatchewan, Canada. I wish to say that I have always found Mr. H.F. Emoury honest, honorable and efficient and will be glad to recommend at any time." The second document, equally exculpatory, was issued by Klan headquarters in Toronto: "This is to certify that I, C. Lewis Fowler do this day release from further duty as King Kleagle, Kleagle and Lecturer, Lewis A. Scott, Harold L. Scott and H.F. Emoury in the province of Saskatchewan. All monies collected in Saskatchewan until such time as a man from National Headquarters at Toronto, Ontario does arrive in Saskatchewan is to be paid to Lewis A. Scott."[7]

Although there was no real case against Emmons, it went ahead anyway. This suggests a possible political motive for the prosecution. It was in the interest of the Liberal Party to have the trial because it was a way for it to discredit the Klan and, indirectly, the Conservatives. The presiding magistrate, J.H. Heffernan, allowed Emmons to wander from the specific charges before the court and enter into long digressions about the operations of the Klan in Saskatchewan and its alleged links with the Conservative Party. The latitude that was allowed to Emmons has been of benefit to historians since much of our knowledge of the Klan comes from his testimony, but in terms of legal procedure it was highly questionable. Emmons testified on oath that he had left Saskatchewan because the Conservatives had taken over the Klan and turned it into an appendage of their political organization. "My heart was broken," he said. "We built this organization

James F. Bryant, early 1930s. A prominent Conservative lawyer, he defended many Klansmen who were brought before the courts in Saskatchewan on what Bryant considered to be spurious, trumped-up charges. *Saskatchewan Archives Board, RB3067*

up as a Christian fraternal organization and then Dr. J.T.M. Anderson of Saskatoon; Dr. Smith of Moose Jaw; Dr. Cowan of Regina snatched it out of my hands."[8] Anderson did not make an appearance at the trial, but he authorized James F. Bryant, a prominent lawyer and vice-president of the Saskatchewan Conservative Party, to speak on his behalf. As soon as Emmons made his inflammatory allegation, Bryant stood up and challenged it. He said that Anderson was not and had never been a member of the Klan and had never attended a Klan meeting. The magistrate ruled Bryant out of order, adding that he found Emmons's testimony about the Klan very interesting and wanted to hear more of it.

Emmons depicted the Saskatchewan Klan as a "good fine Christian organization" until the Conservatives got a hold of it and used it to vilify Roman Catholics:

> They are going to bring in priests and nuns, Helen Jackson and women who had their fingers burned off. Helen Jackson, who claims to be a nun and never was a nun ... Snelgrove [a Klan organizer] came to me and told me they were going to build up an organization and march down the streets of Regina, and there would be bloodshed and they would cause the Klan to be built up the same as in the United States. When these things commenced to pile up on me I saw slaughter. I have seen little children killed on the streets

> at these demonstrations. I have seen men murdered and I said I am leaving now and forever Canada, and I did not steal $1,313. I never expected to come back. I said it was a shame to let them go on and allow them to build up an organization which means religious war.[9]

Emmons's nightmare scenario supported and confirmed what Premier Gardiner had alleged about the Klan in his speech to the legislature at the end of January 1928, namely, that the Klan was American in character and violent in tendency. If the order had its way, Emmons said, a religious war would break out and blood would flow in the streets. This was entirely fanciful. It had nothing to do with how the Saskatchewan Klan defined itself or conducted its affairs. It was essentially a lobby group, not a terrorist organization. However, that was not the way Gardiner wanted to portray the Klan. Emmons's testimony was suspiciously congruent with Gardiner's political agenda.

A letter from Bryant to the *Leader* detailed his objections to the manner in which the trial was conducted. He said that he had been instructed by Van Dyk, J.W. Rosborough, and C.H. Ellis, all of whom were Klansmen, to represent them in court and that he had been under similar direction from J.T.M. Anderson, who, though not a Klansman, had been defamed in Emmons's testimony. Bryant cited section 715, subsection 2 of the Criminal Code, whereby "every complainant or informant in any such case shall be at liberty to conduct the complaint or information and to have the witnesses examined and cross-examined by counsel or attorney on his behalf."[10] Bryant contended that Magistrate Heffernan had erred in denying him the right to address the court. He was also critical of what he regarded as the political atmosphere of the trial. "Gee" Johnson, a former Hansard reporter, who was now in the employ of the Liberal Party, sat in the courtroom all day taking notes, while "Big Jim" Cameron, a well known Liberal organizer, kept a vigilant eye from the public gallery. Bryant believed that the entire spectacle had been arranged for the benefit of the Liberal Party.[11]

Heffernan delivered a verdict of not guilty. He said that Emmons had the full authority of the "big mogul" of the Klan in Toronto to collect membership fees from "suckers," as he called them. He added, superfluously, that it was "almost unbelievable" that a "gang of adventurers" had come into this "great British Dominion of Canada" to pick the pockets of innocent men: "I believe we have a very poor manhood when

we allow this gang from the United States to come here and collect money and have the audacity to tell the people of this province what the principles of British manhood are. They have had the audacity to tell us what the Union Jack stands for. Imagine a few Canadians going over to the United States and starting in on a campaign to tell the people what their flag stands for and what the constitution of the United States means. They would be tarred and feathered and railed out of town."[12] After the 1929 election, the new Conservative government dismissed Heffernan from his position as magistrate. They saw him as someone who had politicized the bench and used it to promote the fortunes of the Liberal Party.

Within a few hours of his release, Emmons was arrested again, this time on a warrant sworn by Margaret Wilkinson of 847 Ominica Street East, Moose Jaw. She claimed that Emmons had obtained $6.50 from her (the women's membership fee) by means of fraud and false pretences. The trial began in Moose Jaw on 9 May 1928, Magistrate L.S. Sifton presiding.[13] Wilkinson testified that her husband, who was a member of the Klan, had given her an application form to fill out and that, subsequently, she had attended a Klan meeting at the Odd Fellows Hall.[14] She further stated that she had been willing to purchase a membership because her husband was a Klansman. When Magistrate Sifton asked her directly whether she had joined the Klan because of what Emmons had said at the meeting, she replied no, an admission that effectively destroyed her case. When asked what was said at the meeting, she said she could not remember exactly, except that the principles of the Klan were explained and that there was discussion about how to build up the organization. She recalled, too, that Moose Jaw was supposed to have received its charter from national headquarters "before the snow flies."[15]

When Emmons left the province, Wilkinson did not immediately break with the Klan. She went to hear J.H. Hawkins, the new Klan lecturer who had taken Emmons's place. At one of the meetings, she asked him point blank if he was a Canadian citizen. He said he was an American. She then inquired as to how he could swear allegiance to the King and to the Union Jack if he was a citizen of the United States. He answered that he "was doing that by doing nothing wrong in this country." The answer did not satisfy Wilkinson. As she told the court: "I knew he was not swearing allegiance to our King and our Flag by not doing anything wrong. He was respecting our flag, perhaps, but not swearing allegiance to it ... That was the last night I went to the Ku Klux Klan. I do not have to go to the Ku

Klux Klan to be told by an American what our laws and flag stand for."[16] This remark prompted an outburst of applause in the courtroom.

As in the first trial, Emmons was found not guilty. The magistrate maintained that, while it was clear that a large number of people had been cheated, there was no evidence that Emmons had sold the Klan membership to Wilkinson under false pretences. She had admitted having decided to join the Klan before attending the meeting at which Emmons spoke. He had merely reinforced a decision she had already taken. "The surprising feature of the disclosures at this trial," Sifton declared, "is that men who were members of the organization made dupes not only of themselves but also allowed their wives and even their mothers to fall into the same deceptive net. I deeply regret that such a situation can develop in any part of this Dominion of Canada or any part of the British Empire."[17]

Emmons was free to return to Indiana, but he contrived to stay in the spotlight a little while longer. He swore out an affidavit, which was published in the Regina *Leader*, alleging that, in about the middle of May of the previous year, J.T.M. Anderson had sought the Klan's support for Dr. R.H. Smith, who was the Conservative Party candidate in a Moose Jaw by-election. Emmons further asserted that he had attended numerous private meetings with Anderson at the Champs hotel in Regina and at the Western and Flanagan hotels in Saskatoon, in the course of which Anderson had urged Emmons to set up a branch of the Klan in Saskatoon and had provided him with a list of names of persons who might be interested in joining. Some were disgruntled Liberals who had been denied certain favours by the provincial government and were now seeking revenge.[18]

Anderson issued a public statement denying Emmons's charges. He thought that the so-called revelations were part of a Liberal plot. "Will Premier Gardiner publicly declare that no member of his government conferred at any time with Emmons?" Anderson asked.

> Will the premier declare that he has no knowledge of any agent being sent by the Liberal party to interview Emmons before or after his arrest in the United States? Will he state that no agent of his or of the Liberal party interviewed Emmons after his arrival in Saskatchewan? Will he state that Emmons was not in the parliament buildings during his recent stay here on this occasion? Will he state that no minister of his government or no agent of such minister visited and conferred with Emmons and the Scotts in their hotel in the city of Regina?[19]

Gardiner replied that neither he nor any member of his cabinet had ever met with Emmons and that he would not know Emmons if he met him on the street.[20] He did not say anything about whether an "agent" of the Liberal Party had or had not met with Emmons. There is some evidence to indicate that Emmons's trial was part of the Liberal strategy to tie the Conservatives to the Klan. In a letter to Bruce MacKay, a schoolteacher in Balcarres (and probably a Liberal supporter) on 4 February 1928, Gardiner wrote:

> I can tell you this; that in every [Klan] organization in Saskatchewan, while there are a few Liberals who have been wooed into it, those mainly responsible are leading Conservatives in the community. When the proper time comes we can make it a point to make known the information we have and I feel quite sure not only you but a great many others will be fully convinced that there is a very close relationship between this organization and the active opponents of this government.[21]

It seems likely that the Emmons trial was part of the effort to establish proof of the "very close relationship" mentioned in the letter.

J.T.M. Anderson denied that he was a member of the Klan. However, this was not the charge that Emmons had made against him. Anderson did not say whether he had met with Emmons or supplied him with the names of potential Klan members. The evasion worried J.F. Bryant, who wrote anxiously to federal Conservative leader R.B. Bennett: "I do not like the look of these affidavits. I had no idea that Dr. Anderson had so little discretion. If the statements contained in the affidavits are true he has certainly placed the Party both in Saskatchewan and throughout Canada in a very difficult position. You can rest assured that the leading Conservatives are not mixed up with the Klan in Saskatchewan, outside of Dr. W.D. Cowan [the provincial Klan treasurer]."[22] Anderson had probably met with Emmons, as the latter alleged, but it is unlikely he joined the Klan. It would not have made sense for him to do so. Klan supporters were going to vote for him anyway. There was nothing to be gained from becoming a member, but there was much to lose. The Klan had an unsavoury reputation in some quarters, and, if it were widely known that Anderson had joined the order, some voters would definitely have turned against him. The nod-and-wink strategy was his best option.

Some Conservatives found the ambivalence unpalatable. C.E. Gregory, a Regina lawyer, wrote: "It was a sorry day for the party. Are the allurements

of office greater than adherence to principle? Is the seduction of the spoils of victory more powerful than the observance of good faith? Is the probability of religious warfare more alluring than the peace of religious tolerance? ... These are things that should and must be considered by the Conservative electors of Saskatchewan."[23] It was a noble sentiment, but, unfortunately, it did not come from the lips of the party leader.

Emmons gave one final bravura performance on 30 May 1928 just before he left the province for the last time. In advance of the meeting, he had promised to reveal the Klan's secrets, which, of course, would be a violation of the oath he swore when he joined the organization. The crowd that gathered at city hall was almost giddy with anticipation. A lone voice began to sing "We'll All Go the Same Way Home," and soon everybody had joined in. Then they sang "The Maple Leaf Forever," "Onward Christian Soldiers," and "Rule Britannia."

Emmons, smiling amiably, entered the room and scanned the audience. A chorus of boos went up, along with a few scattered cheers. "Just a minute, folks," he said. "You know in the first place I want you to just bear with me a minute." "We did!" a woman hollered. "You did. Thank you," said Emmons, an acknowledgment that drew another round of jeers. "I realize we have got some Klansmen and Klanswomen here tonight." Loud applause was followed by more shouting. "SANBOG for you too," Emmons said. (SANBOG was Klan code for "Strangers Are Near; Be On Guard.") "Let the man have his say," a voice cried at the back. "I want to tell you I'm a Klansman, but believe in free speech. Give him a show. Let him say what he has to say." Emmons shouted at the top of his voice: "I have paid for this hall and it's going to be my meeting, and I'm going to tell you folks –" Pandemonium ensued. "I might be a thorn amongst a bunch of roses," he gamely continued, "but I'm not going to stand on this platform singing another national anthem, while you sing 'God Save the King.'" The screams and catcalls were now deafening. The reference was to J.H. Hawkins, who had mouthed the words to an American song at a Klan rally while everybody else sang "God Save the King." Emmons was taking jabs at the audience members, provoking them to fury. A buttered bun was hurled at him, which he managed to duck. A roll of toilet paper fluttered through the air. The crowed belted out "God Save the King" with great enthusiasm, though not in unison or in the same key.[24]

The man who had asked that Emmons be given a chance to speak got to his feet again, but he was shouted down with cries of "Let him take back what he said first." "You are going against your Imperial Wizard's

order," Emmons admonished. "Your Imperial Wizard instructed you on Monday to be quiet. What I tried to tell you was that I know one American, Dr. Hawkins. He sang 'America' while you good Canadians sang 'God Save the King.'" "You're wet," someone shouted. "It's a wonder you didn't treat Mr. Maloney [another Klan lecturer] this way," was Emmons's reply. This was followed by more bellowing, and three cheers for Maloney. "If you Klansmen and Klanswomen, under the training you have had, so desire to break up this meeting tonight, but I'll tell you what I will do. I will guarantee you this much. That tomorrow morning at 11 o'clock I will do this for the other people who are not here – I will see that a booklet goes to press that will expose the Klan. I'll do it." Women were now screaming at the top of their lungs.

Emmons pulled out a large white handkerchief and wiped his brow. Looking flustered and bewildered, he retreated to the back of the platform. The catcalls continued. Klansman J.T. Warner came to the front. "I don't know whether it is Klansmen or Klanswomen making this noise," he said, "but if you are I'm ashamed of you." Another Klansman, E.W. Painter, asked all those who wanted to give Emmons a hearing to stand up. Fully three-quarters of the audience got to their feet. "There you are, Mr. Emmons," Painter said, but no sooner did Emmons step forward than the hullabaloo erupted again. Emmons shook his head, "It's no use me trying to go on with my speech." He pulled from his briefcase a sheaf of papers, which he said were affidavits sworn by himself and his former secretary, Charles Puckering, claiming that J.T.M. Anderson had taken control of the Klan. The uproar was now a wall of sound. "I am going to hand these affidavits to the Press to be printed in full. I have been called a lot of names – a thief by the Chief of Police at Melville, then I was called a liar by Dr. J.T.M. Anderson. I am here to prove myself innocent. I took money under false pretences, said Dr. Klowan, I mean Cowan. And I have got a letter from my wife. She calls me sweetheart."[25] Emmons teased the crowd mercilessly, working them into a frenzied state.

He spoke about the corruption of the Klan in the United States, how it had sold out to political parties and how the head of the Klan in Indiana was serving time in the penitentiary. "Talk about Canada!" someone shouted. "Shut up!" yelled another. "We raise roses in America and you raise them here," Emmons continued imperturbably, "but an onion under the name of a rose does not have a different flavour. Get that?" A man blurted: "He has been a Klansman under oath. He did not keep the oath. I wouldn't believe the affidavits." "I am done right now," Emmons said.

"I am not going on. I am already wet through with perspiration, and I'll not stand here and try to talk to you any longer ... My next place of meeting will be large enough so that all the Klansmen there are in Saskatchewan will not be able to crowd into the place ahead of everybody else and interrupt the meeting."[26]

E.W. Painter urged him to continue: "You've got another hour to speak yet" (the meeting had been going on for only fifty minutes), but Emmons refused: "I won't do it. I've tried five times. I cannot do any more. I have spoken in a good many places, but this is the first time they have got completely the best of me."[27] His face was red as a beet, and his shirt collar limp with perspiration. According to the newspaper report that appeared the next day, he looked like he had just come out of a Turkish bath. Painter wondered whether Emmons was using the crowd noise as an excuse to shut down the meeting. Perhaps he had never intended to expose the secrets of the Klan, and the whole thing was a scam. In any case, the follow-up meeting he had promised never took place. He boarded the train to Indiana and was not heard from again.

The Lemberg Debate

Premier Gardiner followed up his anti-Klan speech with a speaking tour of the province in the spring and early summer of 1928. The speeches were likely intended to prepare the ground for a provincial election, which would be run on the platform of his opposition to the Klan. The address he gave at Melville on 31 May was typical. He warned that if the Klan were not stopped in its tracks, it would wreak havoc in the province as it had done in the United States. "Now is the time to strike at them," he said, "and I am proud to do it." He emphasized the links between the Klan and the Conservative Party, noting that both J.W. Rosborough, the Imperial Wizard, and Klan lecturer J.H. Hawkins had attended the recent Conservative Party conference in Saskatoon. Hawkins was going around the province making derogatory comments about foreigners, but, if anyone deserved to be deported, Gardiner said, it was Hawkins himself. He was a nuisance and a menace and did nothing but stir up strife and bad feeling. An American citizen had no business telling Canadians how to be patriotic. The best thing Hawkins could do would to be to go back to where he had come from. He had been kicked out of the Klan in the United States, and he should be kicked out of Canada, too.[28]

In Hanley, Gardiner addressed an overflow crowd at the "opera house." He denied that his government bestowed special favours on Roman

Catholics. Only six of sixty-three MLA's were Catholic, and only one of seven cabinet ministers. Of the sixteen men of deputy minister rank or the equivalent, two were Catholic, as were five of forty-seven school inspectors and nineteen of 156 employees of the Department of Education, none of whom occupied an executive position. In the entire civil service, there were 1,615 employees, only 208 of whom were Catholic.[29] Catholics made up approximately 20 percent of the population of the province but constituted only 13 percent of the civil service.[30] By these statistics, Gardiner hoped to demonstrate that he was not dominated by the Roman Catholic hierarchy, as his opponents had suggested.

Gardiner thought that the speech had gone down well, but shortly afterwards the Hanley Klan had a flood of membership applications and six new members were inducted.[31] There were other signs that the speaking tour was not achieving the hoped-for results. T.R. Kasenberg, a teacher at Govan and a Liberal supporter, wrote the premier that the Klan was organizing lodges everywhere and that it was surprising how many people were signing up.[32] George Prout said that he had spent a month in Tisdale assessing the lay of the land. He reported that the Klan was making deep inroads into Liberal ranks and that it would be very unwise to call an election.[33] Hilbert K. Kreutzwieser, of Hougton, who described himself as a life-time Liberal voter, wrote that it ill behoved the Liberal leader to go "chasing around the country always harping about the KKK." He continued: "If the Klan is operating in this country legally and obeying the laws why harp on them? If they are in here and operating against the laws and constitution of this province and country why haven't you as leader of this government banished them? Do you mean to think there are no good Liberals in the Klan? If this keeps up, I can't see my way to support you."[34] The letter shows that it was not just those of British descent who were drawn to the Klan but also Canadians of non-British origin. Perhaps, for Kreutzwieser, the Klan's anti-Catholicism was sufficient reason to support it. E.B. Hutcherson, of Kerrobert, found the Klan to be in the ascendant in his area, too. He said that it was about all he could do "to keep Liberals from wavering and [that] we may as well admit there are quite a number."[35]

R.F. Harrison, of Fort Qu'Appelle, a self-declared Liberal of thirty years' standing, admitted that he had read the Klan's literature and found no fault with it. The immigration issue had to be dealt with, he said, and the Klan was right to focus on it. As far as Harrison was concerned, the Klan was an "honourable and patriotic organization."[36] "A. Freeman," writing

in the *Saskatoon Star,* declared that whatever Premier Gardiner might say or do, "the Klan is here to stay until it has accomplished its object. That is, to keep Canada British, with one school, one language, A United Canada, not for ourselves, but for others."[37] The *Esterhazy Observer* regarded the premier's attacks on the Klan as intemperate and irresponsible. It was reminiscent of the abuse he had heaped on the Progressive Party in the 1921 election, when he had described the farmers' movement as "communistic if not 'Red,' and quite unconstitutional if not treasonable." "Everything that does not run on all fours with Mr. Gardiner's view is very gravely wrong," the paper sarcastically commented, "so that his extreme views on the Ku Klux Klan are quite understandable and must be taken with a quantity of salt."[38]

The premier persisted in the belief that his anti-Klan speaking tour was a success. He said that not a single Liberal in any of the halls he had addressed had raised an objection to the speeches, whether in regard to the Ku Klux Klan or anything else. Moreover, "dozens" of Conservatives had come up to him to say that they were going to vote Liberal in the next election, although they had never done so before, because they appreciated his bold stand for tolerance and fair play.[39] He estimated that 10 to 15 percent of his audiences were Klansmen, but they never heckled him, and that practically the whole audience applauded everything he said in opposition to the order. He told one correspondent that the Klan was definitely on the wane and that the number of Klansmen in the province at the end of June 1928 was one-half of what it had been the previous month. He predicted that it would be "pretty difficult" for the order to attract new members.[40] However, he did not call an election, which was perhaps the best indication of how he appraised the situation.

The public meeting in Rosetown on 15 June 1928 began ordinarily enough. "Honest John" Wilson, the local Liberal MLA, reported on how many roads were being built in the district and how many were under repair. Mae Marshall, of Moose Jaw, favoured the guests with a contralto solo and was called back for an encore. Premier Gardiner gave the usual anti-Klan speech. J.H. Hawkins, who was in the audience, interrupted and heckled, a tactic he had employed at previous meetings. On previous occasions, the premier had brushed him off, but tonight he did not. When Hawkins challenged him to a public debate, Gardiner pulled out his black appointment book and thumbed through the pages. He said he had a free evening on 29 June and would debate Hawkins then. The Klansman

jumped at the chance, grandly announcing that he would pay all the costs associated with the event. "No!" the premier shot back, "I will not accept any of your money for any of my meetings – I'll foot the bill." Then he declared, defensively, that he did not see any reason why "a full bred Briton, born on Canadian soil" should fear to meet on a public platform "any American Tory in this my own country."[41]

Hawkins telephoned Balcarres in the premier's constituency, where it had been agreed that the debate should take place. He rented a hall, and, having completed the booking, paraded through the rotunda of the Rosetown hotel, boasting of what he had done. When Premier Gardiner heard of this, he demanded that the manager of the hall put the rental in his name rather than in that of Hawkins. The manager replied that he could not make the change without Hawkins's consent. Gardiner thereupon called off the debate. Charles Ellis, the provincial secretary of the Klan, tried to salvage the situation. The debate was a coup for the Klan because it put Hawkins on the same platform as the premier, as though Hawkins were the leader of the opposition. They did not want to have it derailed. Ellis proposed Regina as the site, but once again Gardiner asserted himself. He said that he would be speaking in Lemberg at the skating rink on Friday, 29 June, and if Hawkins wanted to show up he was free to do so, but it did not really matter one way or the other.[42] Gardiner tried to make it appear as though the meeting was his event and Hawkins just a random visitor, not part of the main bill.

The crowd was estimated at 1,500, of whom Gardiner thought about two hundred were Klansmen, two hundred Conservatives, and the rest Liberals.[43] J.H. Hawkins, the "challenger," spoke first for about an hour and a half and almost without interruption. He admonished the Klansmen who were present to remember their oath and to preserve good order and proper decorum. He then read an endorsement of his character by a Grand Master of the Orange Lodge. He also denied having taken an active part at the Conservative Party convention the previous March, saying that he had only attended it for an hour or two and had not participated in any of the debates.[44] "I have too great a respect for Canadians, be they the members of any political party," he said, "to believe they would not have resented any attempt on my part to take any part in any way, shape or form in that convention. I would go into a Liberal convention and sit down in the back of the hall to see how politics were handled." Hawkins also dealt with Gardiner's allegation that "he had been

expelled from every Klan with which he had been connected." It was true, Hawkins confessed, that he had been evicted from the Klan in the United States, but that was something of which he was proud. He had been expelled because he had refused to allow the Klan in Canada to hand over a portion of its membership fees to the headquarters in Atlanta. It just went to show what a strong upholder of Canadian interests he was. He denied for the umpteenth time that the Saskatchewan Klan was in any way related to the Klan in the United States. It was an entirely independent body, in no way subservient to outside authority. In Saskatchewan, every objectionable feature of the Klan had been removed and only the good elements remained, "in compliance with every law in Canada demanding equal rights for all men."[45]

Having refuted, or attempted to refute, the accusations made against him, Hawkins set out the Klan's main goals, which he summarized as "the inculcation of patriotism, racial purity, freedom from mob violence, and one public school." While it was true that only white, gentile Protestants were allowed to join the Klan, this was no different from the exclusionary practices of the Knights of Columbus, which admitted Catholics only, or the B'nai Brith, which was restricted to Jews. The Klan believed that "Almighty God in his Divine Wisdom" had created first the white man and then the black, red, and yellow races, and that God meant for them to be kept separate and distinct. God, he said, was not in favour of the mixing of races. Even so, non-whites were entitled to "every right conferred upon them by the laws of Canada." The Klan had no wish to deprive them of their civil liberties. It was a Christian organization. It "had no place for a man unless he accepted the Christ that died on Calvary's Cross as Saviour of the world. The Cross known throughout the world as a purifying agency had become the fiery cross of the Klan."[46]

Hawkins then produced statistics purporting to show that Roman Catholic schools were inferior to public schools. He said (falsely) that the illiteracy rate among children over ten years of age in French Roman Catholic Quebec was 47.2 percent, compared with 1.9 percent in Protestant Ontario. The Klan desired for every child, whether Roman Catholic, Protestant, or Jew, a decent education, and that was why it favoured public schools that were free of sectarian or religious influence. The problem with the Roman Catholic Church was that "it set out to make [its] religion the religion of the whole world, and that was insufferable religious intolerance." It "placed itself supreme to the governing power of Canada,"

revering the pope above the Crown, the yellow flag of Rome above the Union Jack.[47]

Hawkins described the Klan as non-partisan, but he said that if it were aligned with any political party it would be the Liberals, since eight of ten members of the Klan's governing council were members of that party, as were 65 percent of the Klan rank and file. He said that one thing was certain: any government that looked to the Roman Catholic Church to maintain itself in power was not to be trusted. It was, in fact, a menace to the country. Hawkins declared that the Klan was every bit as patriotic as the Liberal who had stood up in the King's Hotel in Regina and cried out: "To hell with British immigrants. What we want is dollars." It was just as patriotic as the Liberal who had declared that Canada needed "men with sheepskin coats and not British immigrants."[48]

Taken as a whole, there was not much new in Hawkins's speech. It was a rehash of what he had been saying for months in countless venues throughout the province. In reply, Gardiner said that he had attacked the Klan but only in self-defence. The Klan had started the fight by going after the Liberal Party, the Saskatchewan government, and "thousands of citizens of the province." This was perhaps a response to the backlash in the Liberal Party to Gardiner's aggressive anti-Klan strategy, which had only served to motivate and embolden the Klan and of which the debate was the latest phase. Gardiner was saying, in effect: "I had no choice. They attacked first." He then went on to develop his standard anti-Klan arguments. The Klan, he said, seemed to think "that an organization of [its] type is required to supplement the law courts of this province, to admit which would be to recognize lynch law, which prevails in that part of the United States from which the lecturer or the organization comes." He had not backed off from his charge that the Saskatchewan Klan was American in spirit and prone to violence, even though he had no specific evidence to support the claim.

Next, he reiterated the "the-Klan-is-out-to-steal-your-money" argument. He quoted from a number of letters from Lewis Fowler, the head of the Klan in Toronto, to Hawkins, in which Fowler laid out his plans for the development of the Klan in Canada.[49] They dealt mainly with financial matters, for example, how the membership fees were to be divided up among the organizers. In one letter, Fowler proposed that he and Hawkins should keep for themselves all the revenue from the sale of Klan regalia, adding: "It will be some time before we can hope for a very great income."

"Note," Gardiner interjected, "how they dwell upon 'the income.' There is nothing about their objectives. It is the money they want." The Klan was "an attempt to legalize begging, to improve the financial standing of a few individuals at the expense of many who are relieved of $13 apiece." Someone in the audience heckled the premier at this point, to which Gardiner responded, "I know this is hard stuff to take."

The premier turned to the subject of politics. He said the Klan was trying to stir up prejudice and pit one group against another to overthrow the government and that this was being done with the connivance of the Conservative Party. Liberals were ready to fight for what they believed in, namely, "the maintenance of the confidence which our people have in the courts, for protection of its citizens from the attacks of mercenaries from another country, or from within its own borders, whether these citizens were born or naturalized into citizenship, for the defence of our system of government and for the maintenance of its principles, one of which is that honesty in administration must be secured." Gardiner mocked Hawkins's claim that the Klan's executive council consisted mainly of Liberals: "Well I know more about the Liberals in this province than he does. Let him name the ten members and I will tell him whether or not they are Liberals." "In the past in this province we have prided ourselves on living together harmoniously," Gardiner said, "and in the future we can live in exactly the same way because we shall be devoid of any influence of the Klan."[50]

Once again, as in the speech in the legislature, Gardiner made no comment on Hawkins's assertion that the white race was superior to all others and had to be kept separate, distinct, and pure. If anything in Klan doctrine invited refutation, it was this, and yet Gardiner was conspicuously silent on the subject. Instead, he went on about how the Saskatchewan Klan was Americanized and violent, which it was not, and how it was cheating people of their hard-earned cash. Admittedly, Gardiner was in a tough spot. A declaration of racial equality and an endorsement of inter-racial marriage would not have gone over well in Saskatchewan in the 1920s. In fact, it would have been political suicide. Gardiner had to keep silent, regardless of his private feelings on the matter. This is evident from a letter he received from a supporter in Yorkton on the day after the debate. The correspondent wrote: "What impressed me most was that your attack on the Klan did not involve the defence of the Catholic Church, the Jew or the Negro. That is not expected of you as the church and races mentioned are no doubt able to defend themselves."[51]

The Legal Battle against the Klan

Among those attending the Lemberg debate was Klan organizer R.C. Snelgrove of Regina. He had served in the 28th Infantry Battalion in the First World War and had been a member of the executive of the Great War Veterans' Association. A CNR brakeman, he was secretary of his trade union local and a former member of the Regina Young Liberals Association.[52] Just before the debate was about to begin, Snelgrove was approached by an RCMP officer, who asked him whether he was carrying a revolver. He replied that he had a weapon in the trunk of his car, which was parked some distance away. He led the officer to the car, opened the trunk, and pulled out a club bag, which contained a 38 Iver Johnson, no. 18544, with four live shells and one discharged shell in the cylinder. Snelgrove was able to produce a gun permit, but the revolver was confiscated, nonetheless, pending further investigation.[53]

About a month later, Snelgrove appeared in court on a charge of having in his possession a concealed weapon. It turned out that the gun permit was invalid. It had been issued by John Van Dyk, the acting chief of police in Melville. Van Dyk, it will be recalled, had been Pat Emmons's assistant in Moose Jaw. When he lost his Klan job and needed work, he cooperated with the attorney general's department to have Emmons arrested and brought back to Regina for trial. Now he was Melville chief of police; however, since he was *acting* chief of police and had not yet taken the oath of office at the time he issued the permit, the latter was disallowed. Snelgrove was found guilty and sentenced to two months in jail and a seventy-five-dollar fine. On appeal, he testified that he had purchased the gun for self-protection, after having been chased by a gang of drunken Roman Catholics, who brandished firearms and threatened to run him out of town. The sentence was reduced to one month's imprisonment and a fifty-dollar fine.[54]

When Snelgrove was released from jail, there was a parade in Regina in his honour.[55] "To the man on the street," the *Regina Star* observed, "it appears as though political influence has played a considerable part in this case, and that Premier Gardiner has allowed his fear of opposition to outweigh his common sense ... There is ground for great disquiet of mind in the thought that not even our courts of law are free from the baleful influence of a party Machine, and that they are being downgraded, their dignity lowered, and public confidence weakened in their integrity because of the needs of partisanship."[56] Snelgrove's persecution was compared to the slap on the wrist foreigners typically received when they "forgot" to

obtain a gun permit.[57] The case was brought up in the course of the 1929 election campaign. Conservative leader J.T.M. Anderson remarked that it just went to show that Liberal justice was a "fizzle and a farce."[58]

Klansman Thomas Pakenham was charged on 25 June 1928 with illegal possession of a firearm. He had been chief of police in Melville before Van Dyk. J.H. Matthews, the justice of the peace who tried the case, discoursed at length on how Canada was a law-abiding country in which there was no tolerance for illegal guns.[59] He sentenced Pakenham to two months in jail and a fifty-dollar fine.[60] The appeal was heard by District Court Judge J.W. Hannon, who took note of the fact that Pakenham had not been carrying the weapon at the time of his arrest. The gun was not loaded and there had been no ammunition in the vicinity. Furthermore, Pakenham had been under the impression that his permit was valid, even though it turned out not to be. Judge Hannon cancelled the jail sentence and retained only the fifty-dollar fine, but he added that the lighter sentence was not to be interpreted to mean that he had sympathy for the Klan or its methods.[61]

Imperial Wizard J.W. Rosborough was another target of the Liberal justice system. He was committed for trial in November 1928 on the charge of embezzling two hundred dollars from the rural municipality of Mountain View, whose books he had audited from 1921 to 1923.[62] The case came up at the time that Rosborough was standing for re-election as Imperial Wizard. According to testimony that he gave under oath, the deputy attorney general had promised to drop the charge if Rosborough agreed to disband the Klan.[63] This he refused to do, even though he faced a maximum penalty of fourteen years in jail if he were found guilty of embezzlement. Rosborough volunteered to step down as Imperial Wizard, but the Klan rank and file would not hear of it. Instead, he was re-elected for a two-year term instead of the usual one year.[64] J.F. Bryant took the case and won it. The *Klansman* described the proceeding as a show trial, a demonstration of the "pull and power" of the Liberal machine and how it used the courts to persecute its enemies.[65]

Finally, there was the Hawkins case. A few weeks after the Lemberg debate, he was ordered to be deported back to the United States. His lawyer, J.F. Bryant, who apparently handled all the Klan cases, denounced the deportation as "a cheap political trick." On his last trip to the United States, Hawkins had overstayed his visit by one day. According to regulations, he was allowed to be out of the country for a year without jeopardizing his immigrant status, but he had been away for 366 days. Nothing

had been done about the matter for over a year, but now, out of the blue, the immigration department initiated proceedings against him. It was widely believed that someone in the Liberal government in Regina had prompted the authorities in Ottawa to look into Hawkins's file. The infraction was discovered, and he was forced to leave the country by 20 July 1928.[66]

"I am sorry," Hawkins told seven hundred supporters in Regina, "I did not realize that in order to stay in your country I should emulate the example of the Ukrainian I heard of in this province who was a captain in the German army and fought against England in the last war and who wears the uniform of the enemy as he follows his occupation of ditch-digging in this province. I was not aware this was the proper way to win the good graces of the Saskatchewan government." He reiterated his belief in white supremacy and racial purity. Unless this principle were maintained, he said, it would be only a matter of time before "the white race [would] be extinct and superseded by the brown and the black."[67]

The following evening he appeared before a thousand people at the Stadium Rink in Moose Jaw, the venue in which he had made his Saskatchewan debut in October 1927. Reverend T.J. Hind was on hand to lend moral support, as he had done on the previous occasion. The stage was decorated with the American flag, which in Hawkins's honour was placed in the centre with the Union Jack and the Red Ensign on either side. Hawkins declared with emotion that the Stars and Stripes symbolized the land of his birth, while the other two flags represented the nation he had come to love (and where his dear wife had been born). He had no regrets, he said. His purpose had been to instil love of country into the hearts of Canadians, and he felt he had accomplished this task.[68] Early the next morning he boarded the train to Virginia. There were only about a dozen well-wishers at the station to see him off.[69]

Thus, by July 1928, the Klan's principal orator, the man who had jousted on an equal footing with the premier in the Lemberg debate, had departed the scene. The Saskatchewan Klan was never able to find a replacement possessed of the same charisma and drawing power. There was still J.J. Maloney, but he was not quite in the same league. However, in one sense, it was a blessing for the Klan to have Hawkins out of the picture. As effective as he had been as a speaker and an organizer, he had one major flaw. He was unmistakeably American in origin, accent, and appearance, and this clashed with the Klan's presentation of itself as an organization dedicated to keeping Canada British. As we have seen, Emmons accused

Hawkins of not knowing the words to "God Save the King," and Margaret Wilkinson, of Moose Jaw, did not believe him when he said that he showed his allegiance to the Union Jack "by doing nothing wrong in this country." As gifted as Hawkins was, he was still something of an albatross for a Klan that sought to define itself as quintessentially British.

All in all, the Klan could be quite satisfied with what it had accomplished by mid-1928. Premier Gardiner had launched an all-out attack in the legislature at the end of January and followed it up with a speaking tour of the province. This was to have laid the groundwork for an election in which the Klan would be linked to the Conservative Party, supposedly to the discredit and downfall of both. But it did not turn out that way. Gardiner's anti-Klan campaign met with strong resistance. His portrayal of the Klan as fundamentally un-British was not persuasive with wide sections of the general public. The Klan continued to grow, and many Liberals signed up. The courts were used to harass the likes of Snelgrove, Pakenham, Rosborough, and Hawkins, but the prosecutions seemed petty and contrived and, if anything, won sympathy for the Klan. The Invisible Empire, far from being vanquished, presented an ever more menacing threat to the survival of the Gardiner government.

4
The Klan Rampant

This chapter examines the consolidation of the Klan in Saskatchewan following the expulsion of J.H. Hawkins from Canada in July 1928. The order spread throughout the province, signing up members and also causing a good deal of conflict and ill-feeling in the various communities in which it took hold. It is estimated that membership reached 25,000, which made the order a potent force in the politics of the province. This was evidenced in the Arm River by-election in the fall of 1928, when the Liberals only narrowly held onto a seat they had always dominated. As the Klan entrenched itself, it was defined as a movement chiefly of the lower middle class and upper working class, not as an organization of the professional classes or the political elite. As such, it represented a populist version of British Protestant nationalism, one that did not fit easily within the mould of more traditional institutions, such as the Orange Lodge. This helps explain the otherwise anomalous situation of an organization of American origin taking the lead in the movement to keep Canada British.

Many towns in Saskatchewan have a Klan story, but only some can be told. A good deal depends on the coverage provided by the local newspaper. Some drew a veil of silence over the whole matter; others entered boldly into the subject, even at the expense of alienating some of their readers. Feelings ran high both for and against the Klan. It was the brave editor who waded into the topic.

The Klan was organized at Outlook, Saskatchewan, in January 1928. In the town hall, the recruiter held forth for two and a half hours on "Scotch Clans, Scotch Covenanters, and the formation of the KKK after the Civil War in the United States." He poured wrath on the Roman Catholic Church, making any number of erroneous charges, such as that the federal civil service in Ottawa was 100 percent Catholic and that a British subject could be deported from Canada for any cause but a foreigner could not be deported unless he contravened the Narcotics Act. To join the Klan, it was necessary to sign a form and pay ten dollars up front and one dollar

a month for six months. After that, the monthly dues were fifty cents. It was noted that many prominent local Conservatives attended the meeting and signed up.[1]

At Biggar, the United Church minister Reverend H.D. Ranns took a strong stand against the Klan and was challenged to a public debate by Klan lecturer J.J. Maloney. When Ranns refused the invitation, Maloney stomped up and down the stage calling Ranns a "yellow dog" and other such epithets. Ranns wrote to Premier Gardiner, asking for protection against Maloney's "raving." He said that Maloney was a "menace to the public safety."[2] The Klan was "bedeviling" the town, making wild statements about the pope that had Catholics "boiling over and threatening reprisals." Ranns feared that it would all end badly, perhaps in riot and bloodshed. At the very least, he wanted Gardiner to send someone from Regina to keep a record of what was being said at Maloney's meetings. It turned out that Gardiner was already doing this. He informed a Liberal Party supporter in February 1928: "We have had men sitting in most of the important Klan meetings throughout this province."[3]

Maloney continued to draw huge audiences, even though he charged a fifty-cent entrance fee (about five dollars in today's currency). A capacity crowd gathered at the Majestic Theatre in Biggar in March 1929 to hear his speech, which was entitled "Is It True? That the Roman Catholic Church Runs the Liberal Party?"[4] In September 1929, he married Lenora Miller, the daughter of W.W. Miller, who owned the general store in Biggar.[5] Miller was the local Conservative candidate in the 1929 provincial election and was elected to the legislature. The marriage did not last, and Maloney resumed his career as itinerant anti-Catholic orator.

The Klan made its debut in Estevan on 16 April 1928. A large crowd filled the town hall, many of those in attendance having driven in from the surrounding farms and villages. Reverend A.U. Russel of Estevan Baptist Church chaired the gathering. Catholics and Jews were in the audience, but when they tried to challenge the speaker, they were shouted down. No blacks were present, although a few lived in the area. The *Estevan Mercury*, using language that was unexceptional at the time, reported: "There is only one coon domiciled in this neck of the plains and he is at present a ward in the hospital, so was not able to stand up for his unhappy race."[6] Following adjournment of the public meeting, a secret session was held for those who were interested in setting up a local Klan. When the newspaper asked for a list of the members of the executive council, the request was denied.

The meeting at Macrorie in April 1929 was chaired by United Church minister Reverend L.B. Henn, who was as much in favour of the Klan as Reverend Hanns, his fellow churchman in Biggar, was against it. Henn outlined the basic principles of the Klan, which he characterized as the "ideals of Canadian citizenship." This was followed by a music recital and a reading. Card tables were set up and those present entertained themselves in games of whist until the "ladies" served luncheon.[7] It is evident that the Klan, to some extent at least, functioned as a social club.

At Indian Head in March 1929, "upwards of one hundred citizens" sat down to a banquet put on by Klan Lodge No. 39. Both Klan members and non-members were in attendance. The guest speaker was J.W. Rosborough of Regina, Imperial Wizard for the province. He regretted that Protestant ministers generally did not have enough "sand" to stand up to the Church of Rome. He thought that the French language was being forced upon people who did not wish to have anything to do with it and that separate (Catholic) schools were an imposition on the province. Reverend Dr. Keeton, a United Church minister from Qu'Appelle, addressed the banquet, expressing his admiration for the Klan, which he regarded as fully in accord with Christian principles. Song sheets were passed around, and the audience joined in a session of community singing. The floor was cleared for dancing, which continued into the early hours of the morning.[8]

The *Indian Head News* issued a stern denunciation: "There is no place in Saskatchewan for the Ku Klux Klan. Their literature looks progressive, but their midnight parades smack of barbarism. Their ideals may be upright, but they belie themselves with their actions. They are dangerously conceiving to remedy our laws, but taking the wrong procedure."[9] The editorial did not specify what actions and procedures it had in mind. Rosborough had specifically denied that there had been any wrongdoing in Saskatchewan of the sort the Klan was guilty of in the United States.[10] Interestingly, the paper endorsed the Klan's "upright ideals," including, presumably, its blatant racial ideology.

A letter to the editor of the *Western Producer* in November 1927 made reference to Klan vigilante activity in Calgary. A Greek restaurant owner in that city had made improper advances towards one of his female employees. The girl struggled free and ran screaming out of the café and into the street. The police were informed but took no action. The Klan took matters into its own hands, kidnapping the restaurant-owner and driving him out into the country. He was given "a severe talking to" and

told plainly that if he did not leave his female employees alone "he would wish himself back in Greece." Thereafter, it was said, the girls in his employ were perfectly safe.

The same letter-writer related an incident that had occurred in an unnamed Ontario town, where a man was in the habit of getting drunk and beating his wife and children. The Klan took him to "a lonely place" and told him that, if were seen to enter a bar or liquor store, "very dire consequences would fall on his head." His behaviour changed immediately, and he was no longer a danger to his family.[11] A third incident occurred in Lacombe, Alberta. Fred Doberstein, the local blacksmith, was abducted by six masked men, stripped naked, taken by car to a location in the bush outside the city, and tarred and feathered. His attackers, who identified themselves as Klansmen, accused him of having had improper sexual relations with a number of women. They made him promise to leave town and never return. He ignored the warning and went to the police. The Klansmen were arrested and convicted on assault charges.[12]

Premier Gardiner's office kept a clippings file of articles related to the Klan published in Saskatchewan newspapers, but there were no reports of incidents of the type mentioned above. If there had been such cases, one assumes that that the premier would have made reference to them in his anti-Klan speeches since they would have lent support to the charges he was making against the order. His silence on this topic suggests that the Saskatchewan Klan was able to enforce the non-violent, law-abiding policy that it had adopted in its constitution, or that, at least, it was able to refrain from blatant, egregious breaches of that policy.

The Klan made its first appearance in Yorkton in May 1927. The organizing technique in that city varied somewhat from what was done in other places. Instead of a public meeting, there was a closed gathering attended by those who received a special invitation. About fifty people showed up, and they set about organizing a Klan local.[13] In March 1928, Yorkton city council received a letter signed simply "The Klan." It stated that the Klan was one of the largest organizations in the city and was "here to stay." Yorkton, the letter continued, had a reputation as "the Flower Town of Saskatchewan." The trees were lovely, the flowers beautiful, and the lawns well kept. Citizens could be seen in their gardens at all hours of the day watering plants and hoeing weeds. This was all well and good, the Klan observed, but the "real flowers of the City are our boys and girls," and yet nothing was being done to protect them. "Noxious weeds" had invaded the city in the form of "A CHINESE DEN, A SO-CALLED CLUB, A POOL

ROOM ... WHAT STEPS ARE BEING TAKEN TO CLEAN UP? ... GENTLEMEN, it is near time to WEED THE GARDEN, and DON'T have mercy on the WEEDS" (capitals in original). As in Moose Jaw, the Chinese were depicted as the source of vice and the principal target of the "clean-up" campaign.[14]

Klan lecturer Charles Puckering arrived in Wilkie in April 1928, accompanied by V. Arnold, an organizer from Regina. Because the train was delayed, they did not reach the hall until ten o'clock, an hour and a half after the scheduled start time. Nonetheless, the audience of ninety people waited patiently for them to arrive. The speeches covered the usual ground, with emphasis on the iniquities of the Roman Catholic Church and the menace of non-British immigration. At the conclusion of the meeting, those present were asked to write their names on a slip of cardboard. If they were interested in joining the Klan, they were told to crumple the card. The cards were dropped into the box, and later those whose names were on the crumpled cards were visited by a Klan organizer.[15] The *Wilkie Press* reported that "many hundreds" joined up, including a large number of "reputable citizens."[16]

J.J. Zubick, editor of the *Kerrobert Citizen* ("A Newspaper for Progressive People ... Independent Always – Neutral Never"), took great interest in the Klan.[17] His editorial, "The Klan Is Here," on 21 March 1928 announced that the Klan was about to hold its first meeting in the town, and people would have a chance to judge for themselves "as to the merits or demerits of the propaganda being spread by this order." His view was that there was "no justification whatsoever for seeking to right any civil wrongs, fancied or real, by any methods involving the stirring up of religious prejudices." Such tactics were not in keeping with "British fair play," a concept to which Zubick was fondly attached. He said he wanted to keep an open mind about the Klan. He would go to the meeting and decide for himself what he thought of the organization.[18]

The meeting was chaired by D.H.C. Wright, a Klan organizer, who said that, if a Klan local were set up in Kerrobert, it would be the ninety-first local to have been established in the province. Total membership stood at 17,000 (15,000 men and 2,000 women). Wright introduced Reverend T. Bunting, who described the Klan as a Christian organization that "stood four-square on the word of God." He said that there was not a city in Saskatchewan that did not number Klansmen among its finest citizens. The strongest opposition came from Roman Catholic priests and "modernist preachers." By contrast, men of the type of John Wesley, John Knox,

and Martin Luther supported the Klan.[19] Bunting went on to discuss the interference of the Roman Catholic Church in affairs of state. He turned to the topic of racial inter-marriage, which he decried, since "science and experience had proven that the mixing of these bloods was degradory [*sic*]." He spoke of a settlement in northern Saskatchewan in which the British flag had been pulled down and said that more of this kind of thing would happen if foreign immigration were allowed to continue. At the end of his speech, Bunting asked those who agreed with him to stand up. About seventy-five of the 130 or so in the hall did so. The rest were asked to withdraw, while those who remained signed cards affirming their interest in setting up a Klan local.[20]

Zubick was impressed by what he had heard. He wrote: "[There was an] entire absence of any very radical utterances such as we had been led to expect from previous information or misinformation regarding this organization, and we quite frankly state it is our belief that the Klan has been grossly misrepresented." He found nothing objectionable in the principles Reverend Bunting had enunciated, with one minor reservation. Zubick did not approve of the Klan's secrecy, which he thought would lead to abuse of power. Even so, he was not prepared to condemn the Klan. He was still withholding judgment.[21]

Two weeks later, Zubick reported that he had received some nasty letters, only some of which had been signed. Readers were upset that he had not rejected the Klan outright, and they were threatening to boycott the newspaper. Zubick felt he had nothing to apologize for. He believed that any organization, the Klan included, had the right to exist and stand up for what it believed, "so long as it was loyal to King and country." He resented "the underhand, cowardly activity" that was going on behind his back and "the poisonous drivel in our mail from those bigots in the community who seemingly would restrain us from our free exercise of the privileges of our profession." The bigots he had in mind were those who refused to give the Klan a fair hearing.[22]

The Klan held a second meeting in Kerrobert on 19 April 1928, attended by over three hundred people. It was hardly a "kid glove" affair. Charles Puckering gave a two-hour-long speech that was "full of punch." He said that the inculcation of patriotism was one of the chief objects of the Klan and one of the main reasons it had come into existence. The order was "a great encircling band of patriots [whose purpose was] to make Canada for Canadians and Canadians for Canada – and to declare to Canada's enemies, 'They shall not pass.'" The Klan did not see any contradiction

between keeping Canada British and keeping Canada Canadian. For it, these propositions were one and the same. To those who did not take pride in their citizenship, Puckering advised: "Make all the money you can, buy a railway ticket and get out to some country to which you can give your love and respect." He said that the Prince of Wales, during his visit to Canada the previous year, had made a gift of a "Protestant Bible" to the First World War Memorial Hall in the Peace Tower in Ottawa and that this had been deeply resented by the Roman Catholic Church, which had insisted upon and secured its removal. He further alleged that the Canadian government had allowed the papal legate to give the official prayer "in a foreign tongue" at the opening of Parliament. Rome, he said, must be told in no uncertain terms to keep out of Canadian politics. Puckering came to the defence of the *Kerrobert Citizen*, which he said had tried to give a fair account of Klan meetings and was now the victim of a Roman Catholic boycott. "We are not a bunch of hoodlums," Puckering plaintively insisted.[23]

A few days later, the *Citizen* published a telegram from H.J. Barber, member of Parliament (Conservative), who denied that the papal legate had delivered a prayer at the opening of Parliament. The papal representative had been present at the ceremony but that was all. Zubick asked the Klan for an explanation and to make good the boast that it could substantiate all its charges. Klan lecturer J.H. Hawkins admitted that Puckering had given incorrect information. What he probably meant to say, Hawkins suggested, was that the legate had pronounced the benediction at a banquet following the opening of Parliament.[24] John Vallance, a Liberal member of Parliament, clarified the situation with respect to the Memorial Hall Bible. It had indeed been temporarily removed, but this was only because the hall was still under construction. As soon as the work was complete, the Protestant Bible would be restored to its proper place. In the meantime, it was in the safe custody of Colonel Osborne, secretary of the War Graves Commission, to whom it had been entrusted when the hall was dedicated.[25]

J.J. Maloney was supposed to have lectured in Kerrobert on "Roman Catholicism in Canada," but he failed to show up, disappointing the large crowd that had gathered to hear him. The next morning it was learned that Maloney and his companion, Chester Coates, had lost their way and got stuck in a mud hole twenty kilometres east of town.[26] He eventually made his appearance on 7 May 1928, when he spoke for four hours on each of two successive nights. He also gave a talk in the afternoon that

was for women only, attended by about three hundred.[27] Reverend R. Walker, the local United Church minister, was moved to comment on the talks in his Sunday sermon. He said Maloney was simply reiterating some well known truths. He, Walker, had been expressing similar ideas for years, but no one had paid attention. "Of course, it was still true," the minister reflected with a tinge of resentment, "that a prophet had no honor in his own land; every congregation thought it had the punkest minister so it was good at times to have an outsider come in and by dressing up old truths in a new way to rouse the people from their sleep."[28] Reverend Walker apparently found nothing exceptional in the Klan's beliefs, another indication of how mainstream the Klan was considered to be in some circles of respectable Saskatchewan society.

Klan activity in Kerrobert sparked a number of letters to the editor. Mrs. J.E. Millar commented on a remark that J.H. Hawkins had made concerning Macdonald College in Quebec. Hawkins had stated that graduates of that college were being allowed to teach in the schools of Saskatchewan, even though they did not have a proper teaching certificate. Millar objected: "I am one of those school teachers from the Province of Quebec and a graduate of MacDonald [*sic*] College. Being of Scotch descent I do not care to have this statement unchallenged." She said that the certificate granted by the college was on par with that given by any normal school in Canada, and the department of education was not granting any unmerited favours in recognizing it. She also took Hawkins to task for stating that 47 percent of persons over ten years of age in Quebec could not read and write. The true figure was 6.20 percent, which compared with 2.96 percent for Ontario and 5.92 percent for Saskatchewan. As Miller acidly remarked: "Those of us who follow Dr. Hawkins and other Klan lecturers find that this is about as close to the truth as any of them get with many of their statements."[29]

H. Gordon Hooton submitted a letter, in which he critiqued Maloney's characterization of the Roman Catholic Church and its beliefs. Although Hooton was an Anglican, he felt compelled to set the record straight. He noted that it seemed to be the policy of the Roman Catholic Church to treat Maloney and other Klan lecturers with "silent contempt." Hooton referred to Maloney's allegation that, out of $4,400 given annually by the government of Saskatchewan to orphanages, only $700 went to Protestant institutions. He pointed out that there were only four orphanages in the province, and three of them were Roman Catholic. On a per capita basis, Roman Catholics and Protestants were treated in exactly the same way.

The Klan, Hooton said, was a "rotten movement." It did nothing but disturb the community, sever old friendships, and drive trade away to neighbouring towns. "Drop it, citizens of Kerrobert," he urged, "and work to make your community a better place to live in and a good example to others."[30]

On Empire Day (24 May 1928) a cross was burned just outside the Kerrobert town limits.[31] That same night, crosses were burned in communities all across Saskatchewan. One of the largest gatherings was near Melfort, where the crowd was estimated at between seven and eight thousand people. Over twelve hundred automobiles were parked around the platform. A band from Prince Albert provided musical entertainment and led the singing. The crowd was described as orderly, almost reverent, as though they were at a church service. The program opened with the singing of "God Save the King," followed by a prayer from Reverend E.A. McLaren of Kinistino and a few remarks from Reverend E.V. Bird of Fort à-la-Corne, who chaired the proceedings. "The Maple Leaf Forever" was sung, followed by "The Old Rugged Cross."[32] Klan organizer R.C. Snelgrove gave an address, which garnered much applause. He said that Klan demonstrations were being held that day at 161 different locations in Saskatchewan, including Regina, where, he said, a crowd of between thirty and forty thousand people was expected to attend the cross burning. (According to press reports, the number was only fifteen hundred. The cross was twenty-four metres high, and a steam tractor was required to elevate it.)[33]

J.H. Hawkins also addressed the Melfort gathering, "embellish[ing] his remarks with numerous anecdotes and witty sayings that caught the crowd's fancy, especially when they illuminated the sallies against Premier Gardiner, who came under the satire of the speaker for his attack on the Klan." The reporter from the *Melfort Journal* estimated that at least 80 percent of the audience were in sympathy with the Klan, and even those who did not favour it "did not have a great deal to take objection to."[34] A large cross, twelve or fifteen metres high, had been erected, with two smaller crosses on either side. They were wrapped with old automobile tires, saturated in oil, and set alight, making a spectacular display.[35] The crowd stood with heads bared and sang "When I Survey the Wondrous Cross."[36] The crosses burned brightly for three hours. According to the *Journal*, the sight would long be remembered by those who viewed it.

The event prompted a letter from Paulette Bergot-Legars, who lived in nearby Saint Brieux. She said that she had been accustomed in years past

to attend the Empire Day celebrations, but this year she had chosen not to. This was because "ugly little posters" had appeared on telephone poles "announcing demonstrations which we consider an insult to religions." In her view, the Ku Klux Klan was narrow-minded, intolerant, and un-British. She had lived in the district for twenty-three years and during that time she had got on well with her Melfort neighbours. During the war they did Red Cross work together, knitting socks and rolling bandages. Though of different nationalities, they had cooperated in united, patriotic effort. Now they were estranged. How had this happened? "Could the president of the celebrations please explain what the Ku Klux Klan has to do with the Canadian Legion?" she asked. "Why have them on their day?" Canadian soldiers, Catholic and non-Catholic, had fought shoulder to shoulder; they were brothers in arms. Those who had died had sacrificed their lives in vain if Canada were now to be torn apart by religious strife. "Let us therefore respect one another's modes of worship," the letter concluded, "one another's creeds and make it a duty to discourage any organization that may cause dissensions among us. The cross is the ensign of all Christianity. Why burn it?"[37]

Zubick, who in addition to being editor of the Kerrobert newspaper was also president of the local branch of the Canadian Legion, explained that the Legion had planned and organized the sports day long before the Klan put up the posters for its demonstration. The sports day was held at Prince Edward Park in the south part of town, and the cross burning took place north of town outside of city limits during the evening. The editor assured the letter-writer that the two organizations were separate and distinct and that she could have attended the sports day as usual, without having her feelings hurt by what happened later that night.[38]

A provincial Klan convention was held in Saskatoon on 9 and 10 January 1929. Delegates from about 150 locals in Saskatchewan and five affiliated Klans in Manitoba were at the meeting. The provincial Klan produced a financial statement, the only such statement we have. Prepared by Dawson and Rosborough, chartered accountants, it covered the period from 26 October 1927 to 31 December 1928. Total receipts were $48,740.44, of which $33,347.42 came in the form of "Klocktoken," that is, membership fees and monthly dues. The remainder was derived mainly from admission charged at meetings and the sale of supplies. Expenditures were slightly less, leaving a balance on hand of $369.07. Most of the expenditures went to cover the salaries and expenses of Klan organizers and lecturers. J.H. Hawkins, for example, received $4,670.64 (by comparison,

senior professors at the University of Saskatchewan were paid between four and five thousand dollars per year in 1920)[39]; Charles H. Puckering, $3,722.80; D.H.C. Wright, $3,390.36; R.C. Snelgrove, $3,786.36, with lesser amounts allocated to about twenty others (W.H. Acres, Vic Arnold, J.A. Balfour, A.J. Balfour, W.P. Armstrong, W.D. Walker, Reverend T.J. Hind, Reverend S.P. Rondeau, Reverend W. Surman, F.S.J. Ivay, R. Richardson, Reverend T. Bunting, Reverend R.G. Simpson, C.H. Westwood, G.E. Gore, T.H. Pakenham, Dave Parker, E.L. Elliott, D.C. Grant). J.J. Maloney's name did not appear on the list. Although he lectured at meetings under Klan auspices, he was not officially one of its organizers. He charged admission for his meetings and kept separate financial accounts. However, there was an entry of $912.26 for an advance to Maloney to help cover his legal expenses in a libel case. Imperial Wizard J.W. Rosborough did not get a salary but received $1,284.50 for expenses. The provincial secretary (Imperial Kligrapp) had a salary of $2,170, and Imperial Office assistants were paid smaller amounts (J. Cox, $105; Miss Haxton, $272.50; C. Donelly, $535). There were also expenditures of $535 for office rental, $1,742.41 for printing and advertising, $323.50 for postage, and $267.08 for telephones and telegraph.[40] From the financial point of view, the Klan was a fairly modest operation, with an annual budget of no more than half a million in today's dollars. Expenditures were carefully monitored and rigorously audited. The wild and woolly shenanigans of the Indiana adventurers, Pat Emmons and Lewis Scott, had given way to conservative, cautious financial management.

The Arm River By-Election

The extent of Klan influence was evident in the Arm River by-election held on 25 October 1928. The seat, which was located in south central Saskatchewan just north of Regina, fell vacant when the sitting Liberal member accepted a federal government job in Ottawa. Under normal circumstances, the Liberal succession would have been smooth and uneventful, but the arrival of the Klan upset the old political calculations. Both the Liberals and the Conservatives threw everything they had into the fight. Premier Gardiner and his cabinet ministers campaigned in the riding, as did Conservative heavyweights led by J.T.M. Anderson.[41] Civil servants abandoned their desks in Regina, registered at local hotels, and entered the fray in the Liberal cause.[42] It was a classic, knock-down-drag-'em-out political battle. On election-day, empty bottles of Cato's Scotch littered the countryside.[43]

The Liberal candidate, Thomas Waugh, emerged the winner with 2,764 votes, compared to 2,705 for the Conservative, Stewart Adrain (an Orangeman).[44] Although the Liberals came out on top, the margin of victory was much reduced. The riding had been Liberal since its creation in 1908, and in the previous general election in June 1925 the Liberal candidate had taken 1,799 votes to the Conservative candidate's 1,491. Voter turnout in the by-election was almost 90 percent, a clear sign that the electorate was aroused, which is usually not a good omen for incumbents.[45] The Liberals could not help but be doubtful about their prospects for the coming general election.

During the campaign, Jimmy Gardiner and John Diefenbaker, two giants of Saskatchewan politics, squared off in public debate at Loreburn. Diefenbaker had run against Prime Minister King in the 1926 federal election in Prince Albert, and, although he lost, he had raised his profile and was building a reputation as a rising star in the Conservative Party. The meeting began at eight o'clock and lasted until midnight. Hardly a person stirred from his or her seat, even though many had a long drive home after the meeting finished. Gardiner said that he felt that it was his duty as premier to warn the people against the Ku Klux Klan. They were scoundrels and con-men out to make a quick buck. He said that, while he welcomed the support of individuals who belonged to the Klan, he did not desire to have the support of the organization as such.[46] This was a virtual admission that many Liberals had joined the Klan and that Gardiner was trying to lure them back to his own party.

Diefenbaker opened his remarks by flatly denying that he was a member of the Ku Klux Klan. Rumours were circulating to that effect – rumours that continued to haunt him when he ran as a Conservative candidate in Prince Albert in the provincial election the following year. He consistently denied that he was a Klansman, even in his memoirs, which were published in 1972.[47] Unlike the Klan, Diefenbaker did not favour the abolition of separate schools. However, his support for such schools could hardly be described as robust. He told the Loreburn meeting: "I have no argument on that. That question was disposed of by the British North America Act. They [separate schools] are a part and parcel of the law, and it is not for me to say anything in regard to separate schools." The real issue, Diefenbaker maintained, was to keep public schools free of sectarian influence, and in this respect he believed that the Gardiner administration was failing abysmally. In Wakaw, for example, Catholic nuns in religious garb were teaching in the public school, and a crucifix adorned the wall.

This was an outrage, Diefenbaker said. Gardiner replied that Wakaw was an exceptional case. There were almost five thousand school districts in the province, and almost all of them were free of religious controversy. Talks were under way in Wakaw to settle the dispute, and he did not want to say anything that might upset the negotiations. It was a problem for the local people to sort out.[48]

Gardiner was convinced that the Klan was behind the strong Conservative showing in the Arm River by-election. He said that men dressed up as priests hung around the polling stations to make people think that the Roman Catholic Church was trying to rig the results. The appeal of the Klan extended well beyond the British population of the riding. Liberals conceded that "Scandinavian people were stampeded by the KKK" and that "the German vote, which in that Riding is strongly Lutheran, voted Tory for the first time."[49] The electorate was splitting along religious lines. The moderate Protestants the Liberal Party had always depended on were drifting to the Conservative camp. If these defections continued, the Gardiner government was surely doomed. Andrew Haydon, a federal Liberal Party adviser who had the ear of the prime minister, thought that Gardiner had mishandled the Klan issue. He had been "too rigid and too fierce and ... made a real mistake when he went out into the field against the Ku Klux Klan." On matters of religion, it was better not to battle out in the open but to do so quietly in personal talks and neighbourly conversations. By going after the Klan so aggressively, Gardiner had aroused Protestant sentiment in the province. The backlash was "exceedingly strong ... and how far the thing may [have] go[ne was] hard to say."[50] Diefenbaker, too, thought that the Klan might have been a flash in the pan if Gardiner had left it alone. Instead, he brought it out of obscurity and thrust its leaders into the spotlight.[51] The Klan became a magnet of opposition to the government, gathering to itself all those who were alienated from the political status quo, especially those who were concerned about Roman Catholic influence in the public schools.

The *Klansman* provided what it called a "non-partisan" post-mortem of the Arm River by-election. It said that the Gardiner government was unpopular for many reasons, not least of which was the premier's attack on the Klan. The paper further claimed that the order had taken no "active part" in the by-election campaign. If it had made any contribution to the Conservatives' "magnificent moral victory," it had done so in a quiet and unobtrusive manner. Klansmen had voted against the Liberal candidate, not spitefully or out of any desire for revenge, but "because of their love

of country and their desire to assist in placing in power a Government unfettered by ties which ma[de] it impossible for them to do those things which they kn[ew were] conducive to the welfare of the province as a whole" – in other words, unfettered by ties to the Roman Catholic Church. According to the paper, many Liberals, too, had reached the same conclusion: "When a great party, such as the Liberal party has been, stoops to the depths of catering to the foreign born and the Church of Rome, it is no difficult task to foretell the manner in which their administration will tend." The *Klansman* hoped that the lesson of Arm River would not be lost on the voters of Saskatchewan. If the entire might of the "most efficient political machine in the Dominion of Canada" could be thrown into a safe Liberal seat and produce only a small majority, the writing was on the wall: "It is not the insurrections of ignorance that are dangerous to the Gardiner Government but the revolts of intelligence."[52]

Who Joined the Klan and Why?

Since the Klan was a secret society, it is difficult to know who was a member and who was not. That being said, some wore their affiliation on their sleeves, or in their lapel. The *Klansman* advertised an official button, "very beautiful, made with a blue background and letters in gold," which was given to those who sold at least five subscriptions of the newspaper. The paper noted: "Many [buttons] are now being worn by winners in previous subscription campaigns."[53] The Klansman who sold the most subscriptions in a month was awarded the "Fiery Cross Tie Pin" of "platinum silver set with red stones." When worn at night, it had the appearance of an illuminated cross.[54] Women could wear it as a scarf pin. Others preferred not to advertise the fact that they were Klan members, and it was against the rules of the order to reveal the identity of a fellow Klansman.

The J.G. Gardiner Papers in the Saskatchewan Archives contain partial membership lists, but it is not known where they came from or whether they are accurate. The membership list for Regina included those engaged in the following occupations: building trades (6 labourers, 4 carpenters, 2 builders, and 1 each of bricklayer, plumber, and painter); railway workers (2 labourers, 1 each of engineer, road master, brakeman, switchman, car repairman, porter, checker, and trainman); agriculture (3 Saskatchewan Wheat Pool employees, 1 retired farmer, 1 elevator agent, 1 Egg and Poultry Pool employee, 1 Northside Hay and Feed Company employee); commercial enterprises (1 life insurance agent, 1 Farm Sales agency employee, 1 Delaval Separators agent, 1 proprietor of a fish and chips outlet; 1 grocer,

3 automobile, real estate and concrete products salesmen); service industries (1 automobile mechanic foreman, 4 truck drivers, 2 automobile mechanics, 1 tire repairman, 1 service station attendant, 1 jeweller, 1 hotel proprietor, 1 barber, 1 janitor; manufacturing (6 Western Manufacturing Company employees, 4 Imperial Oil employees; and general (1 baker, 1 student, 1 housewife).[55] This list comprised only those who *initially* joined the Klan in Regina, not those who joined later. Broadly speaking, they were from the lower middle class (grocer, salespeople, hotel proprietor, etc.) or skilled working class (carpenters, railway running trades, auto mechanics). By and large, they were not professionals (doctors, lawyers, etc.) or members of the business elite. The "pillars of society" and members of the Regina "establishment" for the most part did not join the Klan. The appeal of the order was lower down the social register.

On the other hand, Klansmen were "respectable" members of society, not the marginalized, unemployed, or down-and-out. They held down jobs and operated small businesses. They were carpenters, trainmen, real estate agents, truck drivers, gas station attendants, and so on. Their class background was not unlike that of the Indiana organizer, Pat Emmons, who had worked on the Studebaker assembly-line before joining the Klan. Klansmen tended not to be highly educated. We do not find many teachers, lawyers, or university graduates in their midst, although there were a few optometrists and dentists, and a fair number of Protestant clergymen.

William Calderwood constructed a profile or those who held office in the Klan, either at provincial headquarters or at the local level. Again, it must be emphasized that the records are sketchy and incomplete. With that caveat, Calderwood concluded that the leaders were "mostly respectable middle-class citizens: a few professionals, on the one hand, and skilled tradesmen on the other, but the bulk from the occupations of the lower middle class." In other words, they resembled the rank and file, though perhaps slightly higher in social position. The Imperial Wizard (J.W. Rosborough) was an accountant; the provincial secretary (Charles H. Ellis), a telegraph operator and later a clerk in the provincial government; and the treasurer (W.D. Cowan) a dentist. The Exalted Cyclops in Regina (W. Surman) was a Baptist minister and the secretary (Arthur J. Balfour) a salesman for a radio station. In Moose Jaw the Exalted Cyclops (Frederick S.J. Ivay) was an optometrist and the secretary (John R. Cowan) a clerk. The Exalted Cyclops in Saskatoon (B.H. Johnston) worked as a carpenter; the treasurer (William J. Thompson) was a CNR brakeman. Of the remaining 168 Klan officials named in the Gardiner Papers,

Calderwood was able to collect biographical information for about 23. Eleven were municipal officials (5 village overseers, 2 secretary treasurers, 3 mayors, and 1 town clerk), and there were 5 clergymen, 3 doctors, 1 farmer, 1 elevator agent, 1 garage man, and 1 teacher. In the province as a whole, among the Klan rank and file Calderwood identified 20 clergymen and 75 municipal officials, divided as follows: 8 mayors, 11 village overseers, 7 reeves, 12 secretary-treasurers, and 37 councillors.[56]

Calderwood suggested that American immigrants in Saskatchewan were more susceptible to the Klan than was the population as a whole. Of the 87,617 American immigrants residing in Saskatchewan in 1921, 56,857 were British or Scandinavian in origin, 2,720 Dutch, and 16,244 German. They were predominantly Protestant, and the Klan was essentially a Protestant organization. Klaverns sprang up in the towns and villages along the railway lines used by American immigrants, such as the CPR line running across southern Saskatchewan from Weyburn to Shaunavon, where there were sixteen Klan locals, one of the highest concentrations in Saskatchewan.[57] Religion may have been the key factor for the American immigrants who joined the Klan since it is hard to believe that they were passionately attached to the Union Jack and the monarchy. Perhaps, as former Americans, they were familiar with the Klan. They knew the style and were accustomed to the rhetoric. Having made the decision to come to Canada, they were willing to accept a Klan that now had a British twist.

In July 1927, Pat Emmons claimed a Saskatchewan Klan membership of 45,000. Rosborough said there were 104 Klan lodges in May 1928 and that more were being added every week.[58] Charles Ellis, the provincial secretary, reported 152 lodges in January 1930, and there are no published figures that place the number higher than that. Calderwood thinks that Klan membership in the province peaked at 25,000. It is an estimate but not an implausible one.[59] If accurate, it shows that the Klan made deep inroads into the province. By comparison, the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association, the leading farm organization in the early days of the province, had 35,000 members, and the United Farmers of Canada (Saskatchewan Section), the preeminent farm organization of the late 1920s, had 30,000.[60]

As we have seen, the time was ripe after the First World War for a surge of British Protestant nationalism. It was a backlash against the rising Canadian nationalism of the period, as expressed in Canada's march to constitutional autonomy, the discussion about adopting a distinctive Maple Leaf flag, and the growing popularity of "O Canada" as a national song.

In Saskatchewan, there was deep concern about foreign immigration and the alleged influence of the Roman Catholic Church upon the Gardiner government. It is not surprising, therefore, that a British nationalist movement should have arisen, but it is less clear why it was the Klan and not some other organization. It remains anomalous that an organization with American roots should have been at the forefront of keeping Canada British. Why, for example, was the lead not taken by the Orange Lodge, which in many respects resembled the Klan? It, too, was a secret society devoted to the preservation of British Protestant Canada.

The Orange order originated in 1796 in Northern Ireland, taking its name from the Dutch-born Protestant William of Orange, who, in 1688, acceded to the throne after the overthrow of the Roman Catholic King James II. The victory was sealed at the Battle of the Boyne on 12 July 1690 (the most important date in the Orange calendar), when "King Billy" defeated the Catholic army, an event commemorated annually by a parade on "the Glorious Twelfth." The battle cemented Britain's identity as a Protestant nation, a tradition that the Orange Lodge sought to extend to the British Empire as a whole. By 1900, there were 5,000 lodges worldwide, including 1,700 in Canada and Newfoundland, 1,600 in Ireland, and 800 in the United States. Canadian and Newfoundland membership reached its highest point in 1920, when it accounted for almost 60 percent of international membership.[61]

In Canada, Toronto was the epicentre of Orangeism, hence the nickname "the Belfast of Canada." No less than thirty of its mayors were members of the Orange Lodge, and before the 1960s a non-Orange mayor was a rarity. One-third of the members of the Ontario legislature in 1920 were Orangemen, and no fewer than four Ontario premiers (Howard Ferguson, George Henry, Thomas Kennedy, and Leslie Frost) as well as four Canadian prime ministers (Sir John A. Macdonald, John Abbott, Mackenzie Bowell, and John Diefenbaker).[62] Through patronage networks, the order secured jobs for its members at Toronto city hall, the post office, and the police and fire brigades. It was also able to influence hiring in the private sector. The order functioned as a political machine delivering votes and putting in office those who belonged to the Orange Lodge or who approved of it.[63]

The Orange order opposed home rule in Ireland, which it regarded as a serious threat to the Empire, and for the same reason viewed French Catholics in Quebec as dubiously loyal at best. Such attitudes resonated

with the Klan. "All our troubles, all the sedition, plotting and plans against the national school system are hatched in Quebec," seethed United Church minister and Klansman Reverend P. Rondeau: "During the war there were 60,000 eligible men from Quebec. Of these 14,000 joined the colors, 7,000 going to the front; the rest of them 'went into the woods.'"[64] The Orange order monitored vigilantly the "geopolitical manoeuvrings" of the Roman Catholic Church. It regarded the Ne Temere decree issued by Pope Pius X in April 1908 with special disdain because it stated that mixed Catholic-Protestant marriages were invalid under Catholic canon law unless celebrated by a Catholic priest. This was perceived as a grave insult to the Protestant religion.[65] An Orangeman who married a Catholic was automatically expelled from the order, and Catholics and Jews were disqualified from membership.

The majority of Orangemen in Canada were of Irish Protestant stock, but others joined, too, provided they shared the Orange vision of Canada as a British Protestant nation. Thus, Diefenbaker, whose father was of German descent, joined the order. In Ontario even Mohawks subscribed, chiefly because of their loyalty to the Crown. As British immigrants came west, Orange lodges sprang up on the Prairies. In Saskatchewan from 1905 to 1920, more than 230 lodges were established with a total membership of 12,000. Only Ontario among Canadian provinces had a larger number. The order continued to grow through the 1920s, but then began to decline. Its trajectory of growth and decline paralleled to a degree that of the Klan, except that the Klan's life span was more compressed. There were 302 Orange lodges in western Canada in 1910, 516 in 1920, 504 in 1930, and 345 in 1940.[66] The Klan, by contrast, rose to spectacular heights in Saskatchewan in the late 1920s only to collapse completely in the early 1930s.

Klan meetings were held in Orange halls, and Klansmen were invited to speak before Orange audiences. The *Sentinel*, the Orange newspaper based in Toronto, consistently portrayed the Klan in a positive light.[67] The *Klansman* reciprocated with praise for the Orange order.[68] According to William Calderwood, the town of Kincaid, Saskatchewan, had forty-three Klan members, of whom fifteen were Orangemen. Hazenmore had fourteen Klansmen, two of whom were members of the Orange Lodge.[69] It is likely that the pattern was replicated throughout Saskatchewan. In March 1927 The French Catholic association in Saskatchewan put forward a proposal for French-language teacher training in the normal school.[70] Lewis Scott, the Klan organizer in Regina, fired off a telegram to the premier

that stated: "We will oppose in every way possible the enforcing of bilingualism in this province. We believe in UNITY of the Canadian People and that in this great NATION we should have ONE LANGUAGE, and do not wish to see this part of Canada divided by language as is found in other parts of the world" (capitals in original).[71] Identically worded telegrams arrived at the premier's office from Orange lodges across the province.[72] It appears that the Klan and the Orange order coordinated their efforts to block French-language teacher training. In Kelfield, the Orange Lodge held a sports day on 12 July 1929. In the evening there was a cross burning and Klan rally, another sign of the cooperation between the two organizations.[73]

According to Allan Bartley, the Klan did not thrive in Ontario because it was redundant. "The [Orange] Lodge [in Ontario] could afford to tolerate the Klan up to a point," he writes, but the LOL [Loyal Orange Lodge] clearly had the sales territory sewed up tight."[74] "Indeed," he adds, "what was there in the Klan's political agenda that was not already within the reach of the Tory-Orange axis? In truth, very little."[75] In Ontario, the Conservative Party, backed by the Orange Lodge, controlled the provincial government. In Saskatchewan, the situation was quite the reverse. The Liberal Party, no friend of the Orange order, had been in power since 1905. To get rid of the Gardiner government, Orangemen had to make common cause with the Klan. The organizations were complementary and overlapping, not competitive or mutually exclusive. This helps explain why the Klan succeeded in Saskatchewan while it floundered in Ontario. Ontario Orangemen had no need of the Klan, while those in Saskatchewan had an interest in having the Klan succeed.

As we have seen, the Saskatchewan Klan membership was drawn preponderantly from the lower middle class and the upper working class, that in-between group whose members were neither of the elite nor at the bottom rung of society. The Klan offered a populist type of British Protestant nationalism, such as the Orange Lodge did not provide. The Klan went out to the people. It held public meetings and sent out charismatic lecturers, almost in the style of evangelical preachers. It created drama and excitement with a hint of romance and danger. Crosses burned on dark hillsides, fiery spectacles visible for kilometres around. There was something darkly primitive about the Klan, and yet it also had a comic side. Klan lecturers told funny stories and used humour as a weapon. A Klan rally was *entertaining,* vulgar but not boring.

Vulgarity (in both senses of the word) was the key. The Klan appealed to a class of people who did not want to hear a dry, formal lecture. It offered opportunities for individuals of modest rank to attain a measure of social prominence. By day, the Klansman was a telegraph operator or a carpenter; by night, he was an Exalted Cyclops or Grand Dragon. The Klan was the non-elite version of British nationalism, well suited to the frontier conditions of Saskatchewan in the 1920s. It was still a relatively new society without a rigid social hierarchy. American immigrants in particular appreciated the raucous, populist style of the Klan since that was what they were used to south of the border. The Klan was British in content and method, but American in style, the perfect combination to attract the class of people who flocked to its rallies.

Above all, the Klan was *present.* It filled a vacuum, offering leadership and inspiration in a way the Orange Lodge failed to do. Saskatchewan politics in the late 1920s was in the doldrums. The Conservative Party had three seats after the 1925 election. Nobody thought it had a chance of overthrowing the Liberal government in the next election. Then the Klan came along. Emmons, Scott, Hawkins, and the others barnstormed the province. They offered hope to the hopeless; they empowered the disenfranchised, people who felt crushed by the Liberal political machine and the hegemonic Liberal mindset. These were people who earned a modest living, paid their taxes, and looked after their families, people whose names never got into the newspaper. They were British nationalists who were afraid that they were losing their country and who felt they could do nothing about it. Nobody paid any attention to them – except the Klan.

5
Race and Immigration

British imperial policy was based, in theory at least, on "a rather undefined dedication to 'fair play' and an official determination that all subjects of the crown, regardless of race, color, religion, or ethnic background, should be equal before the law."[1] In reality, imperialism was shot through with racial thinking, which was "the common coin of the English-speaking world" of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth century.[2] The supposed superiority of the white Anglo-Saxon race was used to both explain and justify the subjection of lesser peoples and the imposition of British rule. It was thought that all humankind would benefit from a world in which British imperial citizens dominated the inferior races and instructed them in the habits of civilization. The imperial mission was the "white man's burden."[3] When the Ku Klux Klan spoke in one breath of white supremacy and "keeping Canada British," it was not saying anything particularly new or original. Racism was part and parcel of the British imperial project.

British imperialists put Anglo-Saxons at the top of the racial pecking order, followed by their various European rivals, and then, in descending order, "Asians, Africans, and the Aboriginal peoples of Australasia and America, who were conveniently declining towards the point of racial extinction."[4] Joseph Chamberlain, British colonial secretary, was quoted in the *Times* in 1895 as saying: "I believe that the British race is the greatest of governing races the world has seen. I say this not merely as an empty boast, but as proved and shown by the success which we have had in administering vast dominions."[5] "What *is* Empire?" asked Lord Rosebery, British prime minister in 1894, "but the predominance of race?"[6] "It is the British race which built the Empire," proclaimed Sir Alfred Milner, the imperial proconsul who orchestrated the Boer War, "and it is the undivided British race which alone can uphold it ... Deeper, stronger, more primordial than material ties is the bond of common blood."[7]

Winston Churchill was a firm believer in "coloring the map imperial pink at the cost of washing distant nations blood-red." After being elected to Parliament in 1900, he urged more imperial conquests based on his belief that "the Aryan stock is bound to triumph."[8] As late as 1954, in conversation with a prominent white settler from Kenya, Churchill said he was old-fashioned and "did not really think that black people were as capable and efficient as white people." All the same: "if I meet a black man and he's a civilized educated fellow I have no feelings about him at all."[9]

Racial thinking was not confined to Great Britain proper but also extended to the "Greater Britain" that included the so-called "white" dominions. The latter thought of themselves as part of the British nation, too, co-owners of the Empire rather than subordinate appendages. In Canada, by the mid-1890s, imperialists worried that the Anglo-Saxon race was being polluted by immigrants of non-Anglo-Saxon stock. George Parkin of New Brunswick, who was head of the Rhodes Scholarship Trust, remarked that one city-bred Englishman was worth more to the country than all the Doukhobors put together, and W.L. Grant, principal of Upper Canada College in Toronto, proposed a plan for state-sponsored British immigration, which he called the "imperialism of peace."[10] Stephen Leacock mocked the melting pot: "Poles, Hungarians, Bukowinians and many others ... will come in to share the heritage which our fathers have won. Out of all these we are to make a kind of mixed race in which is to be the political wisdom of the British, the chivalry of the French, the gall of the Galician, the hungriness of the Hungarian, and the dirtiness of the Doukhobor."[11] Blacks, he thought, were unsuited to Canada's climate, and Asians were a peril to the nation.[12] Andrew Macphail, professor of medicine at McGill University, believed that whenever races were mixed, the lower races always prevailed. "The melting pot," he wrote, "means that instead of the pure race from which we have come, we shall have a mongrel race, and this mongrel race is making itself known in Canada as a result of the immigration we have had."[13]

James S. Woodsworth, the first leader of the national Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, wrestled with the problem of non-white immigration. In *Strangers within Our Gates or Coming Canadians* (1909) he asserted that it was generally agreed that the "European race" and "Orientals" were not likely to "mix." Was it a good idea, he wondered, to have "a white caste and a yellow, or black caste, existing side by side, or above and below, in the same country?" He thought not: "We confess that the idea of a homogeneous people seems to accord with our democratic institutions

and conducive to the general welfare." However, "small communities of black or red or yellow peoples" might be tolerated. "It is well to remember," he admonished, "that we are not the only people on earth." The idealist might dream of "a final state of development, when white and black and red and yellow shall have ceased to exist, or have become merged into some neutral gray," but Woodsworth said he did not share that particular vision for humanity. "We may love all men and yet prefer to maintain our own family life," he concluded.[14]

Political scientist James Bryce delivered the Romanes Lecture at Oxford University in 1902, taking for his title "The Relations of the Advanced and the Backward Races of Mankind." The lecture was in large part an extended argument against inter-racial marriage: "Where two races were physiologically near to one another, the result of intermixture is good. Where they are remote, it is less satisfactory, by which I mean not only that it is below the level of the higher stock, but that it is not generally and evidently better than the lower stock." Therefore, racial segregation was necessary for the greater good of humankind. There was nothing more vital than that "some races should be maintained at the highest level of efficiency because the work they [could] do for thought and art and letters, for scientific discovery, and for raising the standard of conduct, [would] determine the general progress of humanity." This did not mean that the backward races should be denied civil rights and a certain standing before the law. They deserved to have "as full a protection in person and property, as complete an access to all professions and occupations, as wide a power of entering into contracts, as the more advanced race enjoy[ed]." However, the lesser races were unfit for self-government, whether from ignorance or the tendency to corruption and bribery and "a propensity to sudden and unreasoning impulses." To give the colonized races the vote would be like putting a small boy in the driver's seat of a locomotive engine. Bryce gave his lecture before a distinguished academic audience at Oxford, but what he was saying was not all that different from what the Ku Klux Klan preached in small-town Saskatchewan. The accents were different, the content much the same.[15]

Racial thinking was influenced by the publication of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859.[16] If, as Darwin theorized, the species of the natural world had evolved through a process of "survival of the fittest" and natural selection, it was but a small step to apply the same principle to the human race.[17] Scientific researchers set about comparing racial groups as to head shape, cranial capacity, hair colour, hair texture, eye shape, nasal index,

and other physiological indices.[18] It was estimated that, by 1899, 1.5 million adults and 10 million children in Europe and the United States had been measured and racially classified.[19] However, scientists failed to come up with a reliable classification system. Whatever criteria were used, there was always overlap and ambiguity. No one measurement, whether based on head shape, blood type, or anything else, infallibly marked off one race from the others. Undeterred, scientists pursued this line of research until the Second World War and the Holocaust, when the whole notion of racial science was put aside.

The interwar period saw the rise of eugenics. The term was coined in 1883 by Sir Francis Galton, a cousin of Charles Darwin.[20] The basic aim was to improve the quality of the human stock through selective breeding. "Negative eugenics" involved policies to restrict the breeding of the "unfit," while "positive eugenics" promoted the fertility of "superior" stock.[21] Galton borrowed freely from the terminology of animal breeding, which Darwin had discussed in the first chapter of *Origin of Species.*[22] (Such language was common in racial discourse in agricultural Saskatchewan.) The founding meeting of the British Eugenics Society took place in London in November 1907, followed by an international congress, also in London, in 1912. Seven hundred delegates attended from around the world, including a contingent from Canada. The movement inspired Marie Stopes to found the Society for Constructive Birth Control and Racial Progress. She explained that to let nature take its course was "not the way to rear an imperial race."[23]

Tommy Douglas, future premier of Saskatchewan, wrote his master's thesis at McMaster University in 1933 on "The Problems of the Subnormal Family." He traced the descendants of twelve "mental defectives," ninety-five children and one hundred and five grandchildren in all, showing how "immorality, promiscuity, and improvidence" were passed down from generation to generation. Douglas recommended that the mentally unfit be placed on state farms, where men and women would be kept strictly apart so that they could not reproduce. If this failed, he suggested that they be sterilized. After the Second World War, he changed his mind and renounced compulsory sterilization. University of Manitoba professor of zoology V.M. Jackson set his students to working out the solution to such puzzles as: "What physical defects warrant sterilization?" and "If defectives constitute 10 percent of the population and intellectuals 10 percent and the differential birth rate be 4:1, what will be the proportions of each in the third generation?"[24]

C.K. Clarke, superintendent of the Toronto General Hospital and professor of psychiatry at the University of Toronto, advocated reform of Canada's immigration policy. He believed that the "craze for numbers" and businessmen's avarice had burdened the country with "thousands of criminals and mental degenerates." W.G. Smith, in *A Study in Canadian Immigration* (1920), noted that the United States rejected one of every 1,590 immigrants as mentally defective, whereas the ratio for Canada was only one in 10,127. Too many inferior specimens were getting into the country. He cited the heroic exertions of a social worker in Yorkton, Saskatchewan, who had undertaken the nearly impossible task of working with such unpromising human material. Exhausted and despondent, the social worker had fallen ill. On his deathbed, he deliriously repeated over and over: "The foreign problem can be solved." In 1924, Peter Sandiford, professor of education at the University of Toronto, administered an intelligence test to a group of BC high school students. The British and German students scored near the top, while those of Slavic and Latin stock did rather less well. To his chagrin, however, Japanese students came out first and the Chinese second, both ahead of those of British origin. He said the results were "profoundly disturbing." His conclusion was that only clever Asians had immigrated to Canada, while the less gifted ones stayed home.[25]

Madison Grant's *Passing of the Great Race,* published in 1916, was a best-seller in the United States and went through several editions. "Whether we like it or not," he wrote, "the result of the mixture of two races, in the long run, gives us a race reverting to the more ancient, generalized and lower type. The cross between a white man and an Indian is an Indian; the cross between a white man and a negro is a negro; the cross between a white man and Hindu is a Hindu; and the cross between any of the three European races and a Jew is a Jew."[26] Grant was appointed to the Eugenics Subcommittee of the United States Committee on Selective Immigration, and he helped draft the quota restrictions that became part of the Johnson-Reid Act, 1924. The legislation limited the annual intake of immigrants of each ethnic group to 2 percent of the number the group had comprised in the 1890 census. In 1890 Anglo-Saxons were dominant, and the purpose of the legislation was to restore their paramountcy. As eugenicist Harry Laughlin graphically expressed it: "In the rat world the record is not one of conquest by direct war and formal battle, but one of the quiet immigration – a few at a time – of members of the invading species, which established itself, reproduced at a high rate ... [and] succeeded to the ownership of the invaded territory."[27]

Matthew Frye Jacobson maintains that the passage of the Immigration Act, 1924, represented the triumph of eugenicist thought in the United States. Although a minority opposed the legislation, their voices were drowned out by the loud chorus who favoured it. Jacobson believes that it is a mistake to dismiss the eugenicists as right-wing extremists and to imagine that they were disconnected from the great mass of the population. He argues that, on the contrary, eugenics moved to the centre of American political culture. Even those who would not have described themselves as eugenicists were caught up in its basic assumptions. Thus, in 1921, Calvin Coolidge unself-consciously remarked in an article in *Good Housekeeping*: "Biological laws tell us that certain divergent people will not mix or blend. The Nordics propagate themselves successfully. With other races, the outcome shows deterioration on both sides."[28] Such comments were routine and unexceptional. Few people took the trouble to challenge them.

Initially, eugenicists in Britain and the United States praised the Nazi sterilization laws in Germany, but as the full extent of the Nazi euthanasia program became known, opposition started to grow.[29] In 1936, Julian Huxley and A.C. Haddon co-wrote the bestseller *We Europeans: A Survey of "Racial" Problems.* They argued that environment was more important than heredity in shaping human development and urged that the word "race" be dropped in favour of "ethnicity" because the latter put the emphasis on culture rather than on biology.[30] For them, the very concept of race was problematic. There was no such thing as a "pure" race in Europe, they said, because of all the intermingling that had occurred. Thus, by the late 1930s, the scientific community in the West was beginning to turn its back on eugenics, an about-face that was confirmed by the events of the Second World War.[31] But in the 1920s, when the Ku Klux Klan was at its height in Saskatchewan, eugenics was still the subject of serious science and deemed perfectly respectable.

As Constance Backhouse, Mariana Valverde, James W. St.G. Walker, and others have pointed out, racism permeated Canadian society in the first half of the twentieth century.[32] It seemed natural for those of white European ancestry to think that they were the superior race since people like them had extended their dominion over much of the globe, and Darwinian biology had lent a patina of pseudo-scientific authority to their claims.[33] Of course, British imperialism also had its altruistic, humanitarian side. Imperialists thought they were bringing peace, prosperity, and

the rule of law to the world, and, to a certain extent, they were. Imperialism was regarded as a moral duty, not just the selfish pursuit of wealth and power. Nevertheless, British imperialism was infected with the contagion of racism. It was the element the Ku Klux Klan seized upon and placed at the centre of its ideology. It merely highlighted and exaggerated something that was already present in mainstream thought.

Asians and Blacks in Canada

The two most visible racial minorities that preoccupied the Klan in the 1920s were Asians and blacks. In both cases, the racism they expressed had deep roots in Canadian society. According to the 1881 census, there were 4,350 Chinese in British Columbia out of a total population of about 50,000. Prime Minister John A. Macdonald made it clear that they were not wanted: "I share very much the feeling of the people of the United States and the Australian colonies against a Mongolian or Chinese population in our country as permanent settlers. I believe it is an alien race in every sense, that would not and could not be expected to assimilate with our Aryan population."[34] He added that the only reason that their presence was tolerated was that they were needed to build the transcontinental railway. Public opinion in British Columbia was extremely hostile towards them. The provincial legislature in 1884 passed a law requiring every Chinese person over fourteen years of age to pay ten dollars upon passage of the legislation and an equal amount annually thereafter. The preamble to the legislation read: "The Chinese ... are governed by pestilential habits; are useless in instances of emergency; habitually desecrate graveyards by the removal of bodies therefrom ... are inclined to habits subversive of the comfort and well being of the community."[35] Although the courts struck down the law, the underlying sentiment that motivated it remained.

The federal government passed the Dominion Restriction Act in 1885 (the year the CPR was completed), imposing a fifty-dollar entry tax on Chinese who wanted to settle in Canada. The amount was increased to one hundred dollars in 1900 and to five hundred dollars in 1903 so that it was always high enough to function effectively as an exclusionary device. At about the same time, the Laurier government negotiated a "gentleman's agreement" with Japan, whereby the Japanese government curtailed emigration from Japan to Canada, which spared both countries the embarrassment of Canada's imposing a head tax on the Japanese (Britain's

ally) as it had done with the Chinese. To keep out immigrants from India, a federal order-in-council of 8 January 1908 stated: "Immigrants may be prohibited from landing or coming to Canada unless they come from the country of their birth or citizenship by a continuous journey and on through tickets purchased before leaving the country of their birth and citizenship." Conveniently, there was no direct steamship service from India to Canada.[36]

Although the great majority of Chinese in Canada lived in British Columbia, some moved to the Prairies, where they set up little "Chinatowns" and ran laundries, restaurants, and grocery stores. As in British Columbia, they experienced discrimination. The Moose Jaw newspaper referred to them as a "stagnant race," "sterile and barren," mired in "moral and intellectual decadence." In 1912, the Saskatchewan government passed an Act to Prevent the Employment of Female Labour in Certain Capacities, which stated: "No person shall employ in any capacity any white woman or girl or permit any white person or girl to reside or lodge in or to work in or, save as a bona fide customer in a public apartment thereof only, to frequent any restaurant, laundry, or other place of business or amusement owned, kept or managed by any Japanese, Chinaman or other Oriental person." The intent of the law was to keep Asian men away from white women and, thereby, preserve the purity of the white race.[37]

The 1912 legislation had strong support from Protestant moral reformers, who saw it as part of their campaign to uplift Canadian society. Reverend T. Albert Moore, general secretary of the Social and Moral Reform Department of the Methodist Church in Canada, sent a letter to the Regina *Leader* in which he quoted approvingly a "prominent" resident of Saskatoon, who had described the Chinese as "harpies" and as "Oriental almond-eyed anthropoids" who lured white women "into the underworld to suffer a fate worse than death." The Ladies' Auxiliary of the Metropolitan Methodist Church in Regina in 1912 debated whether Asiatics should be altogether excluded from Canada. They were willing to concede that Chinese might be of great benefit to the world but only if they stayed in their own country and worked "to realize the ideals of their own race in conjunction with the teachings of Christianity."[38]

The Chinese in Saskatchewan were offended by the 1912 law and sought to have it removed from the books. The statute was revised in 1919 but not in a way that ameliorated the situation. The amended law deleted all specific reference to Asiatics and left it to the municipal authorities to decide whether to grant operating licences to restaurants or laundries at

which white women were employed. The attorney general assured the members of the legislature that the change was one of "form" only. Municipal councils still had the power to prohibit Chinese owners from hiring white women, while allowing the provincial government to avoid having to explicitly single out a particular racial group for adverse treatment. In 1926, just at the time the Ku Klux Klan was moving into the province, the law was extended to include lodging houses, boarding houses, public hotels, and cafés, along with restaurants and laundries, which were already covered. Although explicit reference to "white women" was taken out, it was stipulated that the hiring of any "woman" or "girl" was subject to municipal approval, which meant that racial criteria could still be brought in through the back door.[39]

Although blacks were not as numerous in Saskatchewan as were the Chinese, they, too, faced discrimination. They first came to Canada in the early 1600s, with more arriving after the American Revolution in 1783, when freed black Loyalists took up land grants awarded by the Crown. In addition, some white United Empire Loyalists brought black slaves with them. During the War of 1812, blacks sought refuge in British territory, many of them settling in Nova Scotia. Slavery was abolished throughout the British Empire in 1839, at which time Canada became a haven for runaway American slaves. It is estimated that some 40,000 escaped via the "underground railway" and moved to Canada West, now Ontario.[40] A group of Oklahoma blacks settled in Saskatchewan in 1909, taking up farms in the Eldon District, near Maidstone, about 240 railway kilometres northwest of Saskatoon.[41] A petition from the IODE (Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire) read: "We do not wish that the fair name of Western Canada should be sullied with the shadow of the lynch law, but we have no guarantee that our women will be safer in their scattered homesteads than white women in other countries with a Negro population."[42] For the most part, the Saskatchewan Klan paid slight attention to the African-Canadian population. Unlike the Chinese, who were concentrated in urban centres in highly visible occupations, the few blacks who lived in Saskatchewan were barely noticeable.

The revised Canadian Immigration Act, 1910, included a provision that could be used to keep blacks out of the country. Section 38, clause (c) prohibited "immigrants belonging to any race deemed unsuited to the climatic requirements of Canada, or of any specified class, occupation or character."[43] In 1911, an order-in-council was drafted that would have explicitly barred the landing in Canada of "any immigrant belonging to the

Negro race," but it was never officially implemented.[44] It was deemed not necessary to use explicit language since the same end could be achieved through indirect means.

On 28 February 1930, in Oakville, Ontario, the Ku Klux Klan seized Ira Johnson, a black man who had been dating a white woman. The couple planned to get married, which they were legally entitled to do since Canada, unlike many American states, did not prohibit inter-racial marriage.[45] The Klan warned Johnson that if he was "ever seen walking down the street with a white girl again," they would come after him. Four of the men involved in the incident were arrested and charged under a provision of the Criminal Code that made it an offence to have one's face "masked, blackened, or to be otherwise disguised by night without lawful excuse." (The Klansmen had been wearing robes and hoods at the time they kidnapped Johnson.) The intent of the law was to apprehend burglars, but in this instance it was used for a different purpose. It would have made more sense to lay charges of abduction, trespass, or intimidation, which were major offences that carried heavy penalties. The decision to proceed with the lesser charge showed that the authorities did not want to come down hard on the Klan. In any case, the accused were found not guilty and went unpunished, even for the lesser offence.[46]

Public opinion was overwhelmingly on the side of the Klan. "Personally," the mayor of Oakville declared, "I think the Ku Klux Klan acted quite properly in the matter. It will be quite an object lesson." The *London Free Press* editorialized that the conduct of the "visitors," which was the term it used for the Klansmen who had abducted and threatened Johnson, had been "all that could be desired." The *Toronto Daily Star* described the incident as "a show of white justice," as did the *Toronto Globe* and *Saturday Night*. Only the *Guelph Mercury* denounced the Klan's actions.[47]

Johnson was not able to appeal to a human rights code since Ontario did not have one at the time. Nor, for that matter, did any other province. The first anti-hate legislation in Canada was passed in 1934 in Manitoba in response to a fascist newsletter campaign that was waged against Jews. Ontario legislation in 1944 banned signs posted in Toronto and elsewhere that read: "No Dogs, No Jews, No Niggers." Saskatchewan was the first province to have a comprehensive human rights code, which was put in place by the CCF government in 1947. It prohibited discrimination based on race or religion in employment practices, business, and access to public facilities, housing, and education. Ironically, the province in

which the Ku Klux Klan was strongest in the 1920s led the way in progressive human rights legislation after the Second World War.[48]

"Preferred" and "Non-Preferred" Immigrants

While Asian and black immigrants were effectively kept out of Canada in the 1920s, central, eastern, and southern European immigrants were allowed into the country, though not without controversy. "Race" is a slippery term, "a moving and fuzzy target."[49] Definitions vary over time and from place to place. A person of mixed black and white parentage was considered "white" in Brazil, "coloured" in South Africa, and "black" in the United States.[50] The nineteenth-century British press depicted the Irish as ape-like, one step removed from the animal kingdom. From the 1840s to the 1920s, Continental Europeans and Jews in the United States were not always classified as "white." It was only later, when Southern blacks migrated in large numbers to the North, that racial boundaries were redrawn. As eastern Europeans blended into Anglo-Saxon society, they ceased to be regarded as non-white or "probationary" white and were accorded the status of "Caucasian," a relatively new term in the racial vocabulary.[51]

J.S. Woodsworth noted that, in Winnipeg in the early 1900s, central and eastern Europeans were often not regarded as "white." Edwin Bradwin made the same observation concerning the attitudes that prevailed in logging camps and mining towns in the 1920s. Anglo-Saxons were "whites," and the rest were "foreigners."[52] In Saskatoon in 1912 a magistrate faced the dilemma of having to decide whether two women, one of Russian descent and the other a German, were legally "white." The issue came up because of the law that prevented Chinese employers from hiring white women. If the women who had been employed as waitresses by a Chinese restaurant owner were not white, then he had not broken the law. The judge adjourned the trial while he considered the matter. Finally, he came down with a judgment. While he did not think it was necessary "to go into the classification of the white race," it was his opinion that "by way of illustration, that Germans and Russians were members of [the] Caucasian race."[53] The definition of "white" was neither clear-cut nor straightforward. The magistrate had to give it a good deal of thought.

The complexity of the issue was hinted at in the testimony given by Anglican bishop George Exton Lloyd before the Saskatchewan Royal Commission on Immigration and Settlement in 1930:

> *Lloyd:* "There is talk about unemployment that there would not have been – nothing like that – except for ordinary seasonal changes, if the railways had not dumped in what they have. They [Continental Europeans] came in and took any sort of job, they have to live, and they undercut them. The digging of the basement in the Eaton building in Saskatoon was done that way. Every *white* [italics added] man was put off and they put on Central Europeans and paid him 15 cents or 16 cents ... It is because of that, and one of the reasons of the Ku Klux Klan we have today, and the opposition there is to them."
>
> *Commissioner Reusch:* "You refer to one class of people as the white man who will not work with the other. What do you call the other?"
>
> *Lloyd:* "The sort of people they are loading on to the railway construction gangs, and that is one of the reasons the railways have been persistent in that mixture of people, the Southern and Central Europeans."
>
> *Commissioner Reusch:* "Do you realize that it is making it hard to assimilate and make future Canadians of these people if they are referred to as 'non-white' and 'Sheepskins' or 'buckskins'?"
>
> *Lloyd:* "I am quite sure they should not be here at all."[54]

It is evident from the foregoing passage that Bishop Lloyd did not classify central Europeans as "white"; nor did he tolerate their presence in the country.

Before the First World War, Clifford Sifton, minister of the interior in the Laurier government, remarked: "I think a stalwart peasant in a sheep-skin coat, born on the soil, whose forebears have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and half-a-dozen children, is good quality."[55] Sifton welcomed east Europeans to Canada because he thought they were good farmers and hard workers. During the war, attitudes hardened. Immigration came to a halt, and British patriots cast "foreigners" in a negative light. Enemy aliens – that is, persons who were not naturalized and had come from countries Canada was now fighting against (Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey) – were required to register with the local authorities and carry identity cards. Those who failed to comply with the regulations or were deemed disloyal, or were destitute and dependent on public assistance, were sent to internment camps. Close to eight thousand men, women, and children were interned, about five thousand of whom were Ukrainian and the rest mostly German.[56] Persons of enemy origin who had been naturalized since 1902 had their votes taken away,

foreign-language newspapers were suppressed, and meetings held in foreign languages were banned. After the war, immigration from Austria-Hungary, Germany, Bulgaria, and Turkey was brought to a complete halt. Doukhobors, Hutterites, and Mennonites were also prevented from entering the country.[57]

In the 1920s restrictions were loosened somewhat. European immigrants were classified as either "preferred" or "non-preferred." Although the terms were never formally codified in legislation or regulations, they cropped up frequently in the correspondence and reports of the immigration department. The "preferred" countries were Britain, the United States, and northwestern Europe, including Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Iceland, France, Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland. The "non-preferred" were Germany, Austria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, the Baltic states, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and the rest of central, eastern, and southern Europe. Germany was reclassified and transferred to the "preferred" category in 1923, its racial affinity with the Anglo-Saxon being considered of more consequence than its status as a former enemy.

The "non-preferred" were admitted into Canada only if they had the means to set up farms or intended to work as agricultural labourers or domestic servants.[58] The "preferred" were subject to no such restrictions. Britain and Canada signed the Empire Settlement Act in 1922, which provided financial assistance to three classes of British immigrant: domestic servants, agricultural labourers nominated by a Canadian farmer, and children aged eight to fourteen, who were sponsored by a recognized voluntary society or charitable organization. The children were subsidized by a direct grant of forty dollars. Financial assistance for the others came in the form of "passage loans," half of which was paid for by the Canadian government and half by the British government.[59]

There were other special incentives for British immigrants. Beginning in 1925, the Canadian government paid a bonus of fifteen dollars per person for Britishers who agreed to come to Canada. In addition, the "3,000 families scheme" made land available to British settlers as well as loans for stock and equipment. Under the Boys' Training Scheme announced in January 1927, the Canadian government contributed eighty dollars per boy to pay passage from Britain and to assist in training. The provincial governments, for their part, set up training farms and placed the boys on farms after they graduated from the training program. The boys who managed to save $500 from their wages as farm labourers were eligible for loans of up to $2,500 to begin farming on their own. As a result

of these programs, Canada was able to attract 107,084 assisted British immigrants in the period from 1922 to 1935.[60]

But it was not enough. Canada needed more farmers, agricultural labourers, and domestic servants than Britain was able to provide. After the postwar depression lifted, business interests lobbied urgently for more immigrants, and they were not too fussy about their place of origin. The important thing was that they should be willing to work hard and not demand high wages. "The business view," a financier informed Prime Minister Mackenzie King, "is that nothing but wide open immigration for Europeans, barring subnormals, is necessary if we are to have development and prosperity. It is not merely land settlers but throughout all North America labour in every form needs to be further supplied with outside workers."[61] Clifford Sifton, addressing the Canadian Club in Toronto in 1922, affirmed that western Canada was in need of "another 500,000 stalwart peasants" from central Europe, "particularly Hungary and Galicia," to settle the empty lands.[62] Some 12 million virgin hectares were still available along the northern fringe of the Prairies, and another 14 million hectares of abandoned homesteads were waiting to be taken up. Both major railways (the Canadian Pacific and the Canadian National) owned agricultural land of which they wanted to dispose. For the railways, more settlers resulted in more traffic and more revenue. As CPR president E.W. Beatty put it: "We have huge railway systems which can only be maintained by traffic and increased traffic can only be secured by agricultural expansion in the West, the proper utilization of our resources in mines and timber and consequent industrial expansion in the East."[63] Businesspeople warned that, unless more immigrants were brought into the country, labour unions would be able to "work their sweet will," driving up wages and slowing down economic growth.[64] Not only that, Canada was losing 60,000 workers to the United States every year.[65] The immigration quotas the US government instituted in 1924 exempted Canadians, who took advantage of the opportunity to move south. A way had to be found to replace them.

Beatty informed Prime Minister Mackenzie King in August 1925 that, if the federal government did not move quickly to increase the flow of immigration, the railway companies would be forced to shut down their colonization departments, which would be a major setback to western settlement. The railways asked the government to allow them to use their own agents to recruit "non-preferred" immigrants. In other words, they desired a partial privatization of the immigration service. The proposal

was put forward in the run-up to the 1925 election campaign, exerting extreme pressure on the Liberal government. On 5 September 1925, less than two months before election-day, the government signed the railways agreement, which allowed officials of the CPR and CNR to issue "occupational certificates" to prospective "non-preferred" immigrants who said they intended to work as farmers, agricultural workers, or domestic servants in Canada. In practice, however, many of these immigrants did not end up working in one of the designated occupations. They often took jobs in construction, the resource industries, or some other occupation in direct competition with Canadian workers, who saw their wages and standard of living driven down as a result.[66] The Dominion government had outsourced a major component of Canadian immigration policy. It was, writes one historian, a "remarkable federal abdication of responsibility."[67]

The railways agreement was set to expire in three years, at which time it was up for possible renewal. F.C. Blair, deputy minister of immigration, urged in June 1927 that it be allowed to lapse since the terms were widely flouted, and, in his opinion, the arrangement did more harm than good. He said there would be an outcry from the railway companies, but, equally, if the government did nothing, there would be opposition from those who disliked the agreement. Either way, the government risked a barrage of criticism.[68] The government ignored Blair's advice and renewed the agreement for two more years. It was finally cancelled in 1930 by the Conservative government led by R.B. Bennett, by which time the economic depression rendered it irrelevant. During the five years the agreement was in effect, the railways brought into Canada 10,302 families from "non-preferred" countries. In the same interval, only 4,537 families entered from "preferred" countries.[69] Thus, the railway agreement turned immigration policy on its head. It made the non-preferred the preferred and vice-versa.

The Immigration Debate in Saskatchewan

Immigration was a highly sensitive issue in Saskatchewan because of the rising tide of the non-British population. The proportion of central, eastern, and southern Europeans in the province increased from 14.8 percent in 1911 to 20 percent in 1931. Germans held steady at 14 percent,[70] while those of British origin declined from 54.7 percent in 1911 to 52.8 percent in 1921 to 47.5 percent in 1931.[71] The trend disconcerted British Protestants, who had long dominated the province numerically and in every other way. Now they felt that their power and influence were slipping away.

After the war, farmers' organizations expressed reservations about the need for more immigration, even as the railways zealously promoted it. The Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association and the Farmers Union both passed resolutions opposing large-scale colonization schemes until the economy improved. Even in the mid-1920s, when wheat prices recovered, their resistance to higher levels of immigration was not altogether dispelled. The costs of production continued to increase, and, as a result, even as the prices of farm products rose, farmers experienced a gradual decline in purchasing power.[72] The United Farmers of Canada (Saskatchewan Section) at their annual convention in Saskatoon in 1928 called for a moratorium on the renewal of the railways agreement until a royal commission had conducted a thorough review of immigration.[73] G.H. Williams, president of the organization, urged in 1930 that no new settlers be allowed into the country until farm income had caught up with the cost of production. He opposed assisted British immigration and supported quotas on the non-British because, he said, "immigration is an economic question, not political, religious or even the business of transportation companies."[74]

A resolution from the Craigmoyle (Alberta) branch of the United Farm Workers of America in 1928 regretted that practically all the new settlers that were being brought into the district had come from central and southern Europe. The petitioners asked for at least an equal number of Anglo-Saxon immigrants because: "We are unable to assimilate so many of foreign extraction and they will soon dominate our district which is not the desire of those of us who wish to make permanent homes here and which is surely not the desire of our Government."[75] In like manner, the Anglican minister at Balgonie, Saskatchewan, near Regina, complained in 1928 that his parish was suffering from the adverse effects of a "leakage of English residents." The Roman Catholic colony ten kilometres to the east was steadily expanding so that, whenever a farm came up for sale, the "foreigners" snapped it up. "This is gradually depleting our congregation," the minister lamented. "The centre boasted once of 23 families of English birth. We are cut down to 75 percent of that number now."[76]

Trade unions, too, voiced anti-immigrant sentiment. Until the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, British miners had dominated the Souris coalfields in southeast Saskatchewan. When they enlisted in the army, their jobs were taken by Ukrainians, who were preferred by the mine owners because they accepted low wages and poor working conditions. The pattern continued after the war, when Poles, Russians, and Ukrainians

displaced the British workers.[77] In the construction industry, low-paid foreigners crowded out Anglo-Saxons, and sometimes fellow foreigners, who had arrived in Canada in earlier waves of immigration and were accustomed to earning better wages and having a higher standard of life. In Yorkton, Saskatchewan, in May 1928, Mr. Denisenko, a building contractor, refused to hire the Ukrainian labourers who previously had worked for him and employed freshly arrived immigrants in their stead. The latter had been recruited under the railways agreement, but, rather than going out to farm, as they were supposed to have done, they moved into the city. They were willing to work for ten to fifteen cents an hour, at a time when the going rate was thirty-five to fifty cents. The mayor of Yorkton, A.C. Stewart (later a cabinet minister in J.T.M. Anderson's government), wrote an angry letter to the federal minister of immigration, but nothing was done about the situation.[78]

About twenty-five unemployed men staged a protest at the Legislative Building in Regina in June 1928. They maintained that the terms of the railways agreement were not being properly enforced and that immigrants were taking construction jobs in Regina for as little as twenty-five cents an hour. One of the men said that he had come to Canada from England the previous July with his wife and two children. One of the children had died, and now his wife was desperately ill and in need of an operation. He had only twenty-five cents to his name and had been evicted from his boarding house.[79] A parade of 120 unemployed men waving a red banner marched through the streets of Regina on 6 June 1928. The demonstration was broken up by the police because the protesters did not have a permit. "They [the eastern European immigrants] just take a pick or shovel and dig in," complained one of the protesters.[80] Gerald Dealtry, of the Saskatoon Trades and Labour Council, said that immigrants should not be brought into Canada unless there were jobs for them – jobs that would "not necessitate putting out of work some person who [was] already a resident of the Dominion of Canada."[81]

Discontent was expressed by the Women's British Immigration League of Saskatchewan, formed in 1926 to assist British female domestic servants to come to Canada. The board of directors included the wife of the secretary of the Saskatoon Board of Trade and the wife of the dean of agriculture at the University of Saskatchewan.[82] Though based in Saskatoon, the league had sixty branches in towns and cities across the province and received a grant of one hundred dollars per month from the CPR, which it used to employ a full-time secretary.[83] It believed that the federal

government was raising unnecessary barriers against British female immigration, while letting in foreign women under the slack standards of the railways agreement. British women were allegedly subjected to overly strict medical examinations that did not apply to foreigners.[84] F.C. Blair, deputy minister of immigration, replied that the stringent medical screening of British immigrants had been adopted for good reason. In 1911, 2,210 immigrants were rejected on landing in Canada and had to be returned to their country of origin. In 1926, by contrast, the number was only 173 out of 40,963 arrivals. He said it was better to weed out the defectives while they were still on the other side of the Atlantic rather than waiting until they arrived in Canada and then sending them back. Nor did Blair agree that Continental European women were spared rigorous medical inspection. They were "fumigated," he said, which was something British women would not tolerate.[85]

The Great War Veterans' Association passed a resolution at the end of the war calling for a ban on immigration from Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Soviet Russia for a period of five years, after which time the question might be reopened.[86] As might be expected, the railways agreement was not to the association's liking, and, in 1927, the Saskatchewan branch of the Royal Canadian Legion (as the GWVA was renamed in 1925) conducted an investigation into the matter. At a meeting in Regina, George Langley, a former Liberal provincial cabinet minister, said that he favoured a quota on non-British immigrants, similar to that which existed in the United States. Alderman M.J. Coldwell stated that the unemployment situation was very serious in Regina and was being made worse by untrammelled immigration. He maintained the railway companies were making exorbitant profits out of "bringing people from all over Europe."[87] V.E. Walker did not mince words. Canada was a British country, he said, and Germans should be kept out.[88]

The Royal Canadian Legion conducted a provincewide survey of its members, as a result of which it asked the federal government to revoke the railways agreement and then renegotiate it imposing stricter conditions. It proposed that at least one of every four immigrants brought in by the railway companies be engaged as a farm operator, or, alternatively, two of every five as farm labourers. It called for more vigorous promotion of British immigration and more attention to reception and placement work so that those who did come to Canada would make a success of the venture.[89] Most Legion members indicated on the survey that they thought that Canada had too many non-English-speaking people who were "racially

of undesirable type." They felt that Canada had a "historical obligation" to Britain, which had guided the country from its earliest days, fended off American annexation, and laid the foundation of democratic government. "From the epic of Wolfe and Montcalm to the imperishable record of the Mounted Police," the Legion affirmed, "British traditions and ideals have permeated and informed the national development."[90] Canada in return must do its utmost to make British immigrants feel at home and to preserve the British character of the country.

The churches were involved in the immigration debate, especially the Anglican Church under the leadership of Bishop George Exton Lloyd of the Diocese of Saskatchewan. As far as we know, he did not belong to the Klan, but he might as well have done since he shared most of its views. Indeed, his proposals on immigration were largely adopted by the Klan, except that the Klan dropped Lloyd's most extreme recommendation, which was to send blacks and Asians living in Canada back to their countries of origin (even if they had been born in Canada!).

Lloyd offered a twelve-point plan for the reform of Canada's immigration system. The overriding goal was to "maintain ungrudgingly (not apologetically) the British connection of Canada within the Empire" and to "seek to recover the British heritage which we ha[d] lost in the Western Provinces, and ha[d] so nearly lost in all Canada." The first priority was to staunch the intake of foreign immigrants by cancelling the railways agreement. This would help halt the outflow of "our good white blood" to the United States. Canadian boys were leaving because they could not compete with the low wages being paid to the "undercutting, work snatching flood of Jews, Italians, Poles, Greeks, Ukrainians, etc." It was better for Canada to pay her boys forty dollars a month than to set them adrift because a Galician or a Pole was willing to work for fifteen or twenty dollars. Cheap labour came at a high price. It tainted the blood of the country, and, besides, it did not stay cheap for very long. Galicians and Poles soon demanded to be paid more, and in the end, nothing was gained.[91]

Lloyd wanted to increase British immigration to Canada from 60,000, which was approximately the current figure, to 75,000 per year. He thought this could be achieved by active recruitment and by the easing of certain entrance requirements, which he thought were too strict, especially the medical requirements. He said it was easier to get a thousand-dollar life insurance policy in Britain than a landing card for Canada. "WHO IS DOING THIS and WHY?" he asked. "HOW LONG ARE YOU CANADIAN BRITISHERS GOING TO STAND THIS SORT OF INCESSANT PIN

PRICKING against Old Country British, in favour of Continentals and Americans?" (capitals in original).[92]

Lloyd also felt that it was necessary to preserve the predominance of rural Canada over the cities. Urbanization was a threat to the stability of the nation, which depended on the "yeomanry on the land."[93] This was a belief he shared with traditionalists in the Old Country, who idealized the English countryside as the essence of the British spirit. To them, it represented conservative values of stability, hierarchy, order, harmony, and peace.[94] Lloyd thought that the optimal ratio was twenty rural to seven urban dwellers, an ideal from which Canada had long since fallen away. According to the 1921 census, the population was 50.5 percent rural and 49.5 percent urban. To help correct the situation, he recommended that city slums be cleared of Jews, Greeks, "Chinamen," Ukrainians, and Russians, who should be ordered to settle on the land "AND STAY THERE" (capitals in original) or else return to their home countries. It was a mistake to take young people off the farm and send them to high schools in the towns and cities, where they learned "to love the glare of city lights and look down upon their fathers and mothers on the land as socially inferior." High schools typically operated for ten months each year from the beginning of September to the end of June. Lloyd suggested that the academic term in rural areas should be of only five months duration from November to March. That way, young people would be available to assist with seeding and harvesting. Of course, it would take them twice as long to graduate but that would be a good thing because by the time they left school, they would be old enough to take up farming on their own.[95]

Lloyd favoured an immigration quota system similar to that adopted in the United States. Under his plan, the population of Canada would grow at the rate of 250,000 per year, of which 150,000 would be made up of natural increase (surplus of births over deaths) and the balance of 100,000 by immigration. A total of 75,000 would come from Britain, which would be supplemented by 5,000 French, 10,000 Scandinavians, and "10,000 odd of various foreigners." The quota would not be applied to the British, French, or Scandinavians but only to the "other foreigners" and would be set at 2 percent of that nationality's population according to the 1901 census, when the British were still dominant. If this scheme were put in place, by 1951 the ethnic balance of Canada's population would be restored to what it had been at the turn of the century. Existing policies made it difficult for blacks and Asians to get into Canada, but Lloyd wanted to go further and get rid of those who were already residents.

To that end, he favoured free passage for Asians and blacks back to their countries of origin. If a head tax had been paid when they entered, as in the case of the Chinese, it was to be refunded, and any property that they had acquired while in Canada was to be purchased by the government at a fair price. Blacks and Asians who refused to go would be subject to a special tax, the proceeds of which would be used to cover the cost of repatriating those who were persuaded or coerced into leaving.

Lloyd believed that a "Canadian" was necessarily "British." In his mind, "Canadian" and "British" were not overlapping categories; rather, the former was a subset of the latter. As he put it, "You could not have a good Canadian who was not at the same time a loyal son or daughter of the Empire and, therefore, a 'Britisher.'"[96] For him, to speak of "Canadianizing" the foreigner made no sense unless it was understood that the foreigner was being transformed into a Britisher. Lloyd knew that the task he had set for himself was a daunting one, but he was determined to persevere in it. "We are going to be as hard put to it to save this nation of Canada and keep it a British nation," he said in 1928, "as our boys were in the trenches to save this Empire from the baton of Kaiser William."[97] As was the case with the Klan, Lloyd was haunted by the war. Ten years after the armistice, he was still metaphorically in the trenches.

At the General Synod of the Anglican Church held in Kingston, Ontario, in the fall of 1927, Lloyd proposed a motion calling for the limitation of foreign-born (i.e., non-British) immigrants admitted into Canada in any year to not more than 50 percent of the number of British immigrants who had been admitted in the previous year.[98] The motion passed and was forwarded to the federal government. A parliamentary committee held hearings in March and April 1928, at which Reverend Canon Walter Burd gave testimony, standing in for Bishop Lloyd, who was ill at the time.[99] Although the final report called for stricter controls on immigration from non-preferred countries, it fell short of imposing the quotas for which the Anglican Church had asked. The railways agreement was renewed for a period of two years, on the condition that the number of immigrants would be reduced by 30 percent compared with the previous year.[100] This was not good enough for Lloyd, who wanted the agreement abolished altogether – something that did not happen until the Conservatives took power in Ottawa in 1930.

The Anglican Church also protested the employment of twenty-five Roman Catholic priests as immigration agents for the Dominion government, and Reverend Burd made an issue of the alleged plot to turn

Saskatchewan into a bilingual province. Up until then, all federal government forms had been printed in English only. Now they were available in both English and French, and persons were being told that they could use French in correspondence with government departments.[101] The excise stamp, which had been in English and had the King's head on it, was now in English and French and the King's head had been removed.[102] Robert Forke, the minister of immigration and colonization, dismissed the criticisms as "a tissue of misrepresentation" and a "combination of politics and intolerance."[103] He stated that his department had appointed only twelve Roman Catholic priests, who were employed not as immigration officials but, rather, as repatriation and colonization agents, seeking to encourage French Canadians living in the United States to return to Canada. In addition to the twelve priests who were on salary, there were five or six others who worked for the immigration department but were paid nothing other than their travel expenses.[104] On the bilingualism issue, J.W. Reid, King's Printer for Saskatchewan, said that he could call to mind only one instance of an official document of the government's having been printed in French: "I think we got one issue of the School Act in French, and, as far as I know, no other act has been. There might be an occasional pamphlet of the Health department or of other departments done in French, but these are not official documents of the government. In any case, they are just as liable to be printed in other languages as in French."[105]

When Reverend Canon Burd appeared before the Saskatchewan Royal Commission on Immigration, Commissioner Percy Neff neatly put the entire issue of British versus foreign immigration in perspective: "We have got down to first principles. We have found two schools of thought. One is that we should establish Saskatchewan as a province of British blood; and the other is that it is too late, and we should establish a Province of Canada with British conditions and ideals. I gather from your statement that you feel it is still possible to make a Province of British blood."[106] Burd replied in the affirmative. For him and Bishop Lloyd, racial purity was required to keep Saskatchewan British. Their opponents were willing to settle for a province that was British in terms of its "conditions and ideals." Neither side made the argument that Canada should not be British at all. That was not an acceptable option in 1920s Saskatchewan.

Unlike the Anglican Church, the Presbyterian Church took a relatively moderate position on immigration. In an address to the Saskatchewan Synod in November 1927, the newly elected moderator, Reverend W.G. Brown, said that he was in sympathy with British immigration, but not

British immigration exclusively: "What we want in Canada is not simply quantity but quality, whether Anglo-Saxon or anything else. It is the kind of people we want, and I think it would be a great disaster if we were to agree to shut out everybody but Anglo-Saxons. We can't afford to do that. We need people, but we need the right kind of people."[107] The Baptists took a harder line. A delegate to the provincial convention in Saskatoon in June 1927 warned of the "Catholic menace," which he said was the paramount issue facing the province. He feared that "in a few years' time the franchise in Western Canada would be controlled by a majority of Roman Catholic voters." The convention elected Reverend W. Surman of Regina as secretary and Reverend T.J. Hind as a member of the executive board for two-year terms.[108] Both men were active members of the Ku Klux Klan.

The Ku Klux Klan and Immigration

The Klan policy on immigration was virtually identical to that of Bishop Lloyd. Charles H. Ellis, provincial Klan secretary, outlined the proposals before the Saskatchewan Royal Commission on Immigration in March 1930. He took credit for the commission's having been appointed in the first place, claiming it was the direct result of the pressure that had been applied to the government by the 152 Klan lodges in the province and by the incessant publicity the Klan had given the matter. First, he said, immigration from non-preferred countries (central, eastern, and southern Europe) had to be halted completely for five years and then resumed only under strict quota provisions based on the 1901 census. The quota would not apply to the British, French, or Scandinavians, the latter being defined as "Norwegians, Danes, and Icelanders."[109] This was almost word for word what Bishop Lloyd had recommended. (Lloyd's articles had been condensed and reprinted in the November 1928 issue of the *Klansman.*)[110] Second, the Klan urged that British and Scandinavian settlers be assisted in setting up farms, not simply left to their own devices to make out as best they could without advice or support. Third, the handling of immigration services had to be removed entirely from religious bodies, such as church-affiliated colonization societies, and be housed solely within the Department of Immigration. And, finally, bloc settlements were to be banned because they created inward-looking ethnic enclaves isolated and detached from the rest of the population.

Elaborating on these points, Ellis asserted that the open-door immigration policy that the United States had pursued until 1924 had resulted in

"gang rule, prison riots and a general lack of respect for the laws of the land among the people more particularly in and near settlements of foreign-born immigrants." Thankfully, the American government had recognized the error of its ways and imposed a quota, but Canada was still fixed in the old pattern. According to Ellis, the foreign-born in Canada committed 400 percent more serious crimes than did the native-born. Seventy-five of every 100,000 foreigners were in penitentiary, compared with nineteen of every 100,000 Canadians. He proposed that, after the five-year moratorium on non-preferred immigration had been lifted, the numbers of each nationality to be admitted into the country per year be as follows:

Austrian	298
Belgian	59
Bulgarian and Rumanian	7
Dutch	676
Finnish	50
German	6,210
Greek	5
Hebrew	322
Hungarian	30
Italian	216
Poles	125
Russian	396
Swiss	77
Turk	33
Ukrainian	113
Negro	348
Chinese	346
Japanese	94
Various	29
Unspecified	630
Total	10,064

The only objection Ellis had to Bishop Lloyd's formula was that it allowed for the entry of too many Chinese (346). He wanted the number cut even lower because, as he put it, "there are far too many here now."[111]

With the onset of the economic depression, pressure was mounting to stop *all* immigration to Canada, not just that from non-preferred countries.

The Klan disagreed with this proposal because it wanted British immigration to continue. Ellis pointed out that many of the Britishers who were trying to get into Canada were ex-soldiers or women who had worked in munitions factories in Britain during the war. Surely, Canada owed them something. "Where would Canada be today if it had not been for the loyalty of these women?" he asked. Moreover, if immigration were halted altogether, the foreigners would gain ground because they had a higher birth rate. According to the Klan, the estimated birth rate of the British born in Canada was twenty per one thousand of population, compared to forty per one thousand for eastern Europeans. If there was no new immigration, the British were doomed to become an ever-shrinking percentage of the population, and the foreigners would have the upper hand. This was to be avoided at all costs. Already in 1926, Saskatchewan had a total population of 820,738, of which 416,721 were of British ancestry and 404,017 of foreign origin, and the gap was closing. Prompt action was urgently required to prevent national suicide.[112]

The Klan's opposition to religious involvement in immigration work stemmed largely from its deep suspicion of the Roman Catholic Church. It monitored the activities of Catholic officials in the Department of Immigration, including W.J. Egan, the deputy minister; Andrew O'Kelly, commissioner of immigration in Europe; T.J. Murphy, immigration agent in Southampton, England; and E.J. Sullivan, assistant superintendent for immigration at the London head office. Twenty-eight Roman Catholic priests were allegedly engaged as immigration agents, some of whom were on the government payroll, while others served on a voluntary basis. For example, Father MacDonnell had organized the settlement of Scottish Catholics in southern Alberta. He had been granted the lease of the industrial school at Red Deer, with over 400 hectares of land for use as a training farm. This had been arranged by Minister of Immigration Charles Stewart, "who by the way received a medal from the Pope."[113]

Finally, the Klan called for an end to bloc settlements. It claimed there were people who had lived in Canada for fifteen, twenty, and thirty years and still did not speak a word of English. In some cases, even their children, who had been born in Canada, spoke no English. But while the Klan did not want foreign immigrants to live apart from the rest of society, it did not favour the melting pot: "You can't take out of the pot anything better than you put in. In fact any good cook will tell you she is liable to make a mess of the whole stew unless she is careful what she puts in. That is exactly the situation in Canada today, more especially in Saskatchewan.

Unless we are careful what we let in, we like the cook, are liable to make a mess of the whole thing." "There is a profound difference," Ellis insisted, "between the northern and southern bloods – a difference so great that it is impossible even for science to say that mixture would result advantageously."[114] The foreigner could not win. If he kept apart from the British population, he was accused of failing to assimilate. If he mixed in, he was blamed for creating a mongrel race.

By the mid- to late 1920s, a wide range of Saskatchewan organizations – farmers' groups, labour unions, Great War veterans, women's leagues, rural and urban municipal governments, churches – expressed alarm at foreign immigration. They feared that the province was losing its British character. The Ku Klux Klan did not create this anxiety; it merely took advantage of it and fanned the flames of prejudice. Canada wanted all the British settlers it could obtain. The problem was that they were not arriving in sufficient numbers to satisfy the needs of the economy. Consequently, the federal government admitted the so-called "non-preferred" through the back door of the railways agreement. The Klan opposed this policy, and in doing so it was hardly exceptional or unique. "In the present aspect of the question," a prominent Canadian wrote in 1926, "there seems to be a pretty general consensus of opinion, that only the readily assimilable races should be admitted. This would practically limit admission to the Anglo-Saxon, Teutonic, Scandinavian, and more northern Celtic races."[115] The author of the statement was not a Klansman but, rather, James H. Coyne, president of the Royal Society of Canada.

The debate was not about whether immigration should be based on racial criteria. That had already been decided. Blacks and Asians were systematically kept out of the country. The debate was about where to draw the line. The Klan drew it somewhat more restrictively than did the federal government, but there was no difference in terms of basic principle. Some people, such as Anglican bishop George Exton Lloyd, did not think that central and eastern Europeans were really "white" and, therefore, ought to be excluded along with the other "non-whites." In the context of the times, this was not considered to be an outlandish proposal. The University of Saskatchewan awarded Bishop Lloyd an honorary degree in 1929. He was by no means a social pariah but, rather, a distinguished citizen and bona fide member of the "establishment." Similarly, the Klan's stand on race and immigration, deplorable as it might seem from our vantage point, was in the realm of what passed for decent, mainstream opinion in the 1920s.

6
Anti-Catholicism

This chapter explores the anti-Catholicism of the Ku Klux Klan and its particular manifestation in the schools controversy that developed in Saskatchewan in the 1920s. As with the issue of race and immigration, anti-Catholicism was hardly original to the Klan. It had deep roots in Canada as well as in the United States. J.J. Maloney emerged in Saskatchewan as the new exponent of a well worn theme. His exertions did much to promote the growth of the Klan in the province. He took full advantage of an anomaly in the Saskatchewan education system, by which Protestant children in certain districts were obliged to attend public schools that were to all intents and purposes Roman Catholic institutions. Even though the problem did not arise all that often, it was an obvious injustice that the Gardiner government failed to rectify. As a consequence, the Ku Klux Klan (as well as many others) concluded that the government was unduly under the influence of the Roman Catholic Church, which was perceived as undermining the British character of the province.

When American sociologist John Mecklin asked people why they joined the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s, the most common response was that they were attracted by the Klan's anti-Catholicism. In this respect, they followed a well established American tradition, which historian Arthur Schlesinger Sr. has described as "the deepest bias" of the American people.[1] Systemic anti-Catholicism can be traced back to the 1700s, when the American colonies fought a series of skirmishes and wars against the French Catholic colony to the north. When Britain conquered Quebec in 1763, the problem did not go away because the British did not force the French population to become English-speaking and Protestant. The inhabitants were allowed to keep their language, religion, and culture. The Quebec Act, 1774, was deeply resented in the American colonies, not least because it gave Quebec the Ohio country, which blocked American expansion to the west. This "outrage" helped ignite the American Revolution two years later. The revolution was essentially an Anglo-Protestant affair. Nearly 80 percent of

the white population in the thirteen colonies were of British ancestry, and 98 percent were Protestant.[2] Only four Roman Catholics signed the Declaration of Independence, and they were relatively minor figures.[3]

In the late 1700s and early 1800s, Anglo-Protestants dominated the republic. Non-Anglo-Saxon minorities were readily assimilated and soon lost their distinct identity. The German language was not allowed official status in either schools or courts, and attempts to have federal laws translated into German were turned aside. The French Huguenot "Rivoire" became (Paul) Revere, and "Feuillevert" (John Greenleaf) Whittier. All this began to change in the mid-nineteenth century, when German and Irish immigrants began to flood the country. The Irish moved in large numbers to the industrial cities of the north (Boston was 40 percent Irish in 1853), and the Germans took up vast tracts of farmland in the Midwest.[4] A large proportion of the newcomers were Roman Catholic, which fed the anti-Catholicism that was already part of the fabric of Anglo-Protestant American culture. Samuel Morse, inventor of the telegraph, fretted over the "legions of Jesuit spies," who (he thought) were plotting to take over the United States. "The serpent has already commenced his coil about our limbs," he wrote in 1835, "and the lethargy of his poison is creeping over us ... We must awake, or we are lost."[5] Lyman Beecher, father of Harriet Beecher Stowe, wrote *Plea for the West*, the story of the epic battle between Catholics and Protestants for control of the frontier. He warned that the tide of Catholic immigration threatened to sweep away Yankee America, "multiplying tumult and violence, filling jails, crowding poorhouses, quadrupling taxation, and sending increasing thousands of voters to 'lay their inexperienced hand upon the helm of our power.'"[6] The Know-Nothing Movement (so called because its members were pledged to secrecy) capitalized on anti-Catholic feeling and won impressive victories in the 1854 congressional elections. Its platform was to prohibit Catholics from running for office, restrict voting rights to those who could read and write English, impose a twenty-one-year probationary period for immigrants before they could take out citizenship, and ban Catholics from teaching in the public schools.[7]

Roman Catholics in the 1870s lobbied for publicly funded parochial schools, but the idea was rejected. In the United States, there were no tax-supported Catholics schools of the type allowed in Canada. If Catholics in the United States wanted to have their own schools, they had to pay for them privately, while also paying taxes to support the public school system. The public school was a powerful symbol. It was where immigrant children

of diverse backgrounds were transformed into American citizens. In 1889, the National League for the Protection of American Institutions was established in New York to defend the public school. Any challenge to that revered institution was seen as a threat to the United States itself.[8]

In the late nineteenth century, a number of anti-Catholic societies sprang up in various parts of the country, among them the American League; the Minute Men; the Red, White and Blue; the United Order of Native Americans; the American Patriotic League (APA); the Get There American Benefit Association; and the Loyal Men of American Liberty. The most influential of these groups was the American Protective Association, which was founded in Clinton, Iowa, in 1887. Its members took an oath never to vote for a Roman Catholic, never to employ a Catholic if a Protestant was available, and never to join in a labour strike alongside Catholic workers. By the 1890s, APA locals were flourishing across the United States. They gradually absorbed other anti-Catholic societies, spearheading the "the gaudiest wave of religious nativism in fifty years."[9] Members sported black and yellow regalia and engaged in elaborate rituals, while also campaigning on behalf of the public school, restrictions on immigration, and more rigorous naturalization procedures.[10] From its base in the Midwest, the APA spread into the Great Lakes area, across New York and Pennsylvania, and as far east as Massachusetts. To the west, it reached into Colorado as well as San Francisco and Seattle. It also extended northward into Ontario, where it elected nine members to the provincial legislature in 1894, six of whom were Conservatives, one a Liberal, and two who ran as candidates of the Protestant Protective Association.[11]

William J. Traynor, who was born in Canada, was president of the APA as well as vice-president of the Grand Orange Lodge. His newspaper, the *Patriotic American*, published a bogus papal encyclical, which absolved Catholics of their loyalty to the United States and ordered them to "exterminate all heretics" on a set date in September of that year. Anti-Catholic hysteria gripped parts of the rural Midwest, dissipating only when the anticipated massacre failed to take place. The APA continued to dispense anti-Catholic propaganda, organized boycotts of Catholic businesses, and urged discrimination against Catholic workers. Eventually, the organization was torn apart by internal strife, and by 1896 it was a spent force. The Ku Klux Klan was its natural heir and legatee.[12]

In the 1890s immigration into the United States took on a different character. To the Irish and Germans of the earlier period were added central, southern, and eastern Europeans, many of them Catholic. This

provoked another outburst of nativism, leading, as we have seen, to the implementation of immigration quotas in 1924. Continental immigration was also partly responsible for the Volstead Act, which went into effect on 17 January 1920, banning the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within the United States and its territories. The great majority of the nation's 300,000 saloons were owned by first-generation Americans.[13] While the main target of the reformers' wrath was alcohol, the subsidiary enemy was the non-English-speaking Catholic population, whose alien culture was an affront to Anglo-Protestant sensibilities. The force of anti-Catholic feeling was evident in the 1928 presidential election. The whispering campaign against the Democrat Al Smith included the rumour that the pope was going to send him his toenail clippings as sacred relics. When Smith was defeated, the Ku Klux Klan took partial credit.[14]

Anti-Catholicism in Canada

Just as Catholicism was perceived in some quarters as anti-American, so, too, it was widely regarded as un-British. The reasons for this prejudice were historical. When the Act of Union brought England, Scotland, and Wales together in 1701 to form Great Britain, the merger was a top-down affair. It was arranged by the political elites, and there was little enthusiasm for it at the grassroots level. The English, Scottish, and Welsh peoples remained stubbornly English, Scottish, and Welsh. As Linda Colley and others have argued, anti-Catholicism played a key role in the gradual forging of the British identity and nation. It was the glue that held the nation together and gave it a sense of purpose. The two countries that most threatened Britain after the Protestant Reformation were Catholic Spain and Catholic France. The defeat of the Spanish Armada was heralded as divine intervention, when the wind turned and the Spanish fleet was wrecked, saving the island from invasion. Countless texts and prints commemorated the event, and the anniversary date of the accession to the throne of Queen Elizabeth I was celebrated as a day of national rejoicing.[15]

In the eighteenth century, Catholic France emerged as Britain's main rival. It was the Catholic "other" in opposition to which Britain defined itself. In the 1700s and early 1800s, the two countries were almost constantly at war: the War of Spanish Succession (1702-13), War of Austrian Succession (1740-48), Seven Years War (1756-63), War of American Independence (1775-83), and French Revolutionary Wars (1793-1815). Any number of

anti-Catholic tracts, pamphlets, ballads, and broadsheets were eagerly read, and cheap editions of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* and John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* circulated widely. The pope's effigy was ritually burned on Guy Fawkes Day. Expeditionary forces landed in Scotland in 1708, 1715, and 1745 with the aim of restoring the Catholic Stuarts to the throne. If the invasions had succeeded, the Protestant monarch would have been deposed, undoing the events of 1688, when King James II had been replaced by the Protestant William of Orange.[16] The "Glorious Revolution" represented the victory of Parliament over despotic rule, and it was thought to have secured the liberty of the British people. Catholic nations, it was believed, were "sunk in despotism, dogma and poverty, the prey of power-hungry monarchs and superstitious priests." Protestant nations, by contrast, were "free, independent, tolerant and prosperous, friendly to and thriving on commerce and constitutional liberties."[17] According to Linda Colley, "Protestantism determined how most Britons viewed their politics. And an uncompromising Protestantism was the foundation on which their state was explicitly and unapologetically based."[18]

To the extent that Canada was a British nation, it, too, partook of British anti-Catholicism. At the time of the American Revolution, when the thirteen colonies were overwhelmingly Anglo-Protestant, Quebec, the nucleus of the future Canada, was 97 percent Roman Catholic.[19] Catholics in Britain at the time did not have the right to vote, hold state office, or sit in Parliament, a situation that was not to change until the Catholic Emancipation Act, 1829.[20] In Quebec after the Conquest such a policy would not have been feasible since Catholics were too numerous and Protestants too few. As a result, Catholics were allowed to practise their religion and elect representatives to the Legislative Assembly, which was created in 1791. The lenient strategy worked to a point. Although Quebec remained loyal to the Crown, the thirteen colonies rebelled, partly because they resented the favourable treatment given to the colony to the north.

All through the nineteenth century, Canadian Protestants and Catholics engaged in fractious theological disputation. Protestants held that Catholics did not attach sufficient weight to the Word of God as revealed in the Bible. Protestantism, it was asserted, was built on "the bedrock of Scripture while Catholicism rested on the shifting sands of human interpretation." Protestants disagreed with the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, the belief that the real body and blood of Jesus Christ are present in the Eucharist. To Protestants, this was a form of idolatry. The

Roman Catholic practice of venerating saints and relics, and the adoration of the Virgin Mary, were similarly condemned. The practice of confessing one's sins to a priest was held to be a gross invasion of privacy and a disruption of home life. It made the priest an unwelcome third party in a marriage, obliging women to divulge what should have been kept between husband and wife. According to one anti-Catholic enthusiast, the confessional weaved "'a spider's web' in which 'your fair wife, your precious daughter' would be destroyed, leaving 'nine times out of ten, nothing but a moral skeleton ... after the Pope's black spider has been allowed to suck the very blood of her heart and soul.'" The doctrine of papal infallibility in matters of faith and morals was another sore point. It "put it into the power of a man, as erring as we are, to take the place of God on earth."[21]

Apart from matters of theology and doctrine, Rome was blamed for societal dysfunction and failure. Protestant nations were vigorous, intelligent, and prosperous; Catholic nations were lazy, superstitious, and poor. "Go to Ireland," proclaimed a Canadian Orangeman, "and contrast the state of Protestant Ulster as compared with Popish Connaught." Closer to home, industrious Ontario was favourably contrasted with sleepy Quebec. Most Quebec towns, it was said, boasted a magnificent church, a fine house for the priest, and a spacious convent, while the ordinary people crowded into "a collection of hovels." The children of Rome were ignorant, afraid, and miserable. Protestants were well informed and educated, sturdy individuals brimming with enterprise. So ran the anti-Catholic stereotype.[22]

Throughout Canadian history, the Roman Catholic Church has been persistently identified with anti-national forces. The Irish Fenian raids of the 1860s were interpreted as both anti-British and anti-Protestant. The Métis uprising at Red River in 1870 had a religious subtext, which came to the fore when Louis Riel ordered the execution of the Orangeman Thomas Scott, setting Ontario afire with patriotic indignation. In Saskatchewan in 1885, the insurgents held aloft the flag of "la nation Métisse," a white tablecloth imprinted with the image of the Virgin Mary.[23] In Quebec in the late nineteenth century, the ultramontane Bishop Ignace Bourget reintroduced the Jesuit order and constructed in Montreal a magnificent cathedral modelled on St. Peter's in Rome. The government of Quebec dismantled the Department of Education in 1870 and gave control over schools to denominational bodies, an ultramontane victory that led the Protestant minority to organize a self-defence league.[24] Charles Lindsey, a grandson of William Lyon Mackenzie, wrote *Rome in Canada*

(1877), which depicted Quebec as a sinister place full of dark Catholic plots to take control of the Dominion and deprive Canadians of their rightful liberties. In fact, the Vatican was not overly enthusiastic about Bishop Bourget and the ultramontanists.[25] Rome saw the Quebec church as somewhat backward and intemperate, confrontational and lacking tact. But this was not how ultra-Protestants perceived the situation. In their view, Rome was on the march and represented a clear and present danger to the British Protestant nation.

Irish Catholics in Toronto were generally quiescent to British authority. In this respect, they differed from their counterparts in New York or Boston, who had a decidedly anti-British outlook. In Toronto, Catholics schools used the same history books, geography texts, and readers as the public schools. Pupils were steeped in the lore of the British Empire. The reader had a portrait of the king on the frontispiece, along with the motto, "One Flag, One Fleet, One Throne." Catholic children, like those in the public schools, recited the poems of Rudyard Kipling and gazed at wall maps showing the British Empire overspreading the earth. However, alongside the Union Jack were crucifixes and images of the Sacred Heart. The Irish of Toronto accepted their British identity as long as they were allowed to practise their Catholicism as well.[26]

In the late 1890s and early 1900s, the ethnic composition of Toronto began to change as Italian, Polish, Lithuanian, Hungarian, and Ukrainian Catholics arrived in large numbers. The English-speaking Catholics who were already established in Canada wanted the newcomers to hold onto their Catholic faith, but they also insisted that they learn English and become "Canadians," which included giving loyalty to Crown and Empire. The Catholic Church Extension Society (CCES), established in Toronto in 1908, directed its main attention to western Canada, where Catholic immigrants were considered to be under threat from Protestant missionaries. A battle for souls ensued. However, Catholic forces were divided between the English and the French. The French Catholic hierarchy regarded the CCES as too accommodating to Anglo-Protestant culture and too enthusiastic about all things British. For the French, language and faith were intertwined. It was believed that the loss of one would lead inevitably to abandonment of the other. Monsignor Adelard Langevin, Bishop of St. Boniface, denounced the CCES as "an anglicizing institution, enveloped in the rhetoric of British imperialism and anglophilia." The CCES, for its part, scorned the bishop as an "ardent Frenchman," who "would make Northwestern Canada French if he could."[27]

Langevin appointed French-Canadian priests to mixed immigrant parishes throughout the west. He lobbied hard for the selection of a French-Canadian bishop for the newly created diocese of Regina in 1910 and was gratified when Olivier-Elzéar Mathieu, the former rector of Laval University, was appointed. However, the pattern of settlement did not run in Langevin's favour. It was obvious to apostolic delegate Donatus Sbarretti that English was going to be the dominant language on the Prairies. The Roman Catholic Church would have to accept that fact and make the necessary adjustments. Much as Langevin tried to encourage the surplus population of Quebec to settle in the west, the outflow was primarily to the factory towns of New England or even the clay belt of northern Quebec.[28] It was not long before most French Catholic parishes in the west were swamped by Catholics of other ethnic backgrounds. By 1920, all the Episcopal sees west of the Ottawa River had English-speaking bishops, with the exception of Prince Albert, St. Boniface, and Gravelbourg.[29] The Canadian west was lost to French Canada.

The Ku Klux Klan and Anti-Catholicism

The Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan was under the paranoid delusion that French Catholics were on the brink of taking over the west. For them, the scenario resembled what had occurred in the Eastern Townships in Quebec, as depicted in Robert Sellar's *The Tragedy of Quebec* (1907). French Catholics moved into the Eastern Townships and displaced English Protestant farmers who had lived there for generations. They took over the schools and made it impossible for Protestant children to have easy access to non-sectarian education. The English had had no option but to pull up stakes and move out. Sellar painted the mournful scene: "For the first time a priest drives up the lane lined by maples which the grandfather of the dispossessed Protestant planted, and levies tithes on the yield of fields his great-grandparents redeemed from the wilderness, and which four generations of Protestants have ploughed."[30]

Following the takeover of the Eastern Townships, French Catholic settlers pushed into eastern and northern Ontario. The *Klansman* cited an article by Henri Lemay in *La Revue Canadienne*, which detailed what had happened. Within twenty-five years of arriving in Nipissing County, the French had elected two representatives to the Ontario Legislative Assembly. In fifteen counties they formed a Catholic majority. "We invaded it [Ontario] at three different points," exulted Lemay, "East, North and

Southwest. That which our fathers have done in Quebec, we shall do in Ontario, in the Maritimes and in the West."[31] Making matters worse, as far as the Klan was concerned, was the high French Catholic birth rate. The revenge of the cradle was at hand. Canada was on the "highway to national disruption."[32]

The *Klansman* published an unceasing flow of anti-Catholic articles. One told the story of how an airplane flew to the Arctic with a cross blessed by the pope. The cross was to have been dropped at the North Pole, but, providentially, the plane crashed before it got there.[33] Another article reported that Al Smith, the Catholic governor of New York, had packed the courts with "Romanist" judges. During his term in office there had been thirty-one judicial vacancies. Of these, seventeen were filled with Catholics, eleven with Protestants, and three with Jews. As a result, there were ten fewer Protestant judges at the end of his term than there had been at the beginning.[34] "Death for Heretics Today" quoted a sermon supposedly given by a Jesuit priest in Turin, Italy, which called for the death penalty for all recalcitrant heretics.[35] "Admit Plot to Kill Obregon by Poisoning" revealed a conspiracy, allegedly hatched in a convent, to poison the president-elect of Mexico.[36] The article "Rome, Past and Present" exposed the Roman Catholic Church as "the seducer and corrupter of nations." So great was "her" infamy "that the whole civilized world drop[ped] its head with shame when the picture of the Scarlet Woman on the hydra-headed beast [was] unveiled in the pages of history." She was the "Mother of Harlots ... drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the Martyrs of Jesus." Temporal rule was her aim, religious dogma, a mere pretext. "Great God," the article fulminated, "give us a revival of patriotism that will shake the very foundations of her structure, and start the red blood to coursing afresh through the veins of every loyal Canadian citizen."[37] "Can a faithful and devout Roman Catholic who takes orders blindly from the Roman Catholic clergy be at the same time a patriotic and loyal citizen of any country?" the *Klansman* asked. The answer, of course, was no.[38]

The Klan magazine also advertised anti-Catholic books for sale, which were available at the Protestant Book House in Saskatoon. The titles included *Thirty Years in Hell* by ex-priest Fressenberg, who exposed the "unholy doings of Priests," and *The Priest, the Woman, and the Confessional*, "the greatest exposure of the 'Death Trap to Virtue' ever made." *Maria Monk* divulged Black Nunnery secrets, while Dr. Fulton explained the

need for clerical marriage in *Why Priests Should Wed*. Customers who submitted a book order of five dollars or more received a free copy of the *Life of Ex-Nun Minnie Morrison*.[39] Klan lodges were encouraged to set up their own libraries, and, to that end, the *Klansman* offered a free volume to any local that sold ten subscriptions to the magazine. If it sold thirty subscriptions, the lodge would receive four books.[40] The Klan also advertised anti-Catholic lecturers, such as Helen Jackson, an "escaped nun" who regaled audiences with the secrets of the convent. Her props were little leather bags, which she said were used to dispose of dead infants and aborted foetuses, the discarded offspring of priests and nuns.[41] As Richard Hofstadter shrewdly observed, anti-Catholicism was "the pornography of the Puritan."[42]

J.J. Maloney

John James Maloney was the Saskatchewan Klan's leading anti-Catholic lecturer. Born 13 February 1896 in Hamilton, Ontario, he grew up in the north end of the city, the rough territory of the "wild Irish," "where men were men and policemen went in pairs."[43] Educated at St. Mary's school, which was run by the Sisters of St. Joseph, he served as an altar boy at the cathedral. In the fall of 1911, he entered St. Jerome's College, Berlin (renamed Kitchener during the First World War), a boys' school of the Congregation of the Resurrection. The pupils adhered to a strict regimen. They rose at 5:30 AM, studied from 6:00 to 7:00, attended mass at 7:00, had breakfast at 7:45 and attended classes from 8:15 AM to 5:45 PM, with an hour-and-a-half for dinner. Maloney waited on tables, ran the college tuck shop, and worked as the business manager of the school magazine. During the summers he worked a variety of jobs, including record clerk in a CPR freight office, and conductor and motor man on the Hamilton street railway.

Upon graduating from St. Jerome's, Maloney entered the Grand Seminary in Montreal, where he followed a Spartan routine: up at five in the morning, in bed by nine o'clock, plain food, no newspapers, and no smoking. A rule of "practically perpetual silence" was in force. Putting a foot inside a fellow student's room could lead to expulsion, and seminarians were advised to wear trunks when they bathed. In 1918, Maloney came down with the flu and was hospitalized. He grew fond of one of the nurses, and she of him. He discovered, he later recounted: "The iron bars and the cold gray walls of a Convent did not securely encase the ideas of popery ... Nature, for a definite reason, gave us certain passions, and I then began

to contend and now positively assert that for any man or set of men to make laws contrary to this is not only immoral but absurd as well." Troubled by the sexual feelings that had been aroused in him, Maloney turned to his spiritual counsellor, who advised him to pray, ask for the intercession of the Virgin Mary, and go down into the crypt and meditate over the tombs of the Sulpician fathers buried there. The visit brought no comfort: "The damp air, the awesome stillness, the utter depressing atmosphere suddenly disgusted me, and I thought that God never intended such asceticism." He came to believe that celibacy was abnormal and that priests should marry. "Rebellion entered my heart," he wrote.[44]

Maloney left the seminary but not yet the Church. He sold a newspaper, the *Catholic Register*, door to door, but said that he felt guilty because the people who bought it could not really afford it. He was also critical of what he regarded as the anti-British tone of the paper. He raised the matter with Archbishop McNeil of Toronto, who shrugged off the complaint.[45] At about this time, Maloney ran short of funds and allegedly helped himself to some of the money he had collected from the sale of the newspaper. When the theft was discovered, he was dismissed. Maloney then sued the paper, maintaining that he had been injured in his character and reputation. The trial for theft made for high drama. In the midst of his testimony, Maloney collapsed and fell forward onto the railing, crying out in a loud voice that all he was seeking was the justice of a British court. In the end, he was acquitted.[46]

In the days that followed, Maloney wandered like a lost soul through the streets of Toronto. By chance one day he walked into a Presbyterian Church. The minister treated him kindly and soon afterwards Maloney joined the congregation. He was invited to give a talk about his conversion. The speech went well, and Maloney discovered that he had a previously unsuspected talent, that of an anti-Catholic lecturer. He began to tour southern Ontario, excoriating Rome as "the Scarlet Woman and betrayer of God's Word." Troops had to be called out at Kitchener to put down a near riot. At Rothesay there was an attempt to blow up the Presbyterian Church. Maloney was unfazed. He had found his life's work, a martyr in the cause of anti-Catholicism.[47]

Maloney made his first foray into Saskatchewan in a federal by-election in February 1926. Prime Minister Mackenzie King, having been defeated in his home riding of North York, Ontario, was parachuted into Prince Albert, a safe Liberal seat. Maloney worked for King's opponent, who was soundly defeated. After the by-election, Maloney headed to Victoria,

British Columbia, where he continued his anti-Catholic lectures. He returned to Saskatchewan in 1927. "It was a province in which I was destined to make history," he later wrote. "Little did I realize that the inspiring thrill I felt as I gazed at the golden horizon one evening from the observation car of the speeding Trans-Canada Limited, was the premonition that though the province I was then traversing for the most part knew me not, before long I was to be the famous political machine's greatest worry."[48] He was referring to the Liberal Party machine, which he was to help overthrow.

Maloney addressed the Klan's provincial convention in Moose Jaw at the end of October 1927, offering encouragement to the delegates in the wake of the Emmons-Scott defection. "Carry on and you will have the laugh on the machine," he said. "Quit and their objective will be accomplished."[49] He came to the assistance of the Klan, speaking at its meetings and helping it recruit new members. His speaking style was riveting, though somewhat disjointed. As one reporter commented: "[He appears] to undervalue the advantage of an orderly marshalling of his facts and instances and to pursue a very erratic course in the presentation of his subject and is consequently difficult to remember and leaves a rather hazy and jumbled effect."[50] The Roman Catholic Church had been the ruin of every country that it had penetrated, Maloney said. Its record in the Great War had been shameful. Nuns "renounced their sacred prerogative of motherhood" and "handed their pay cheques over to a church which owned them body and soul." Convents must be open to government inspection to make sure that the inmates were not being held captive against their will. Roman Catholic orphanages were full of the children of priests and nuns. And so it went, hour after hour, a continuous rant, overflowing with lurid images and dark suspicions.[51]

At intermission, envelopes were passed around for those who wished to subscribe to Maloney's anti-Catholic newspaper, the *Freedman.* He asked members of the audience to write questions on the back, which he would attempt to answer in the second half of the program. "What was the meaning of the Catholic mass?" It was part of the psychology of superstition, he said. Should a Protestant marry a Catholic? No, he replied. Such unions could only lead to grief: "When you marry a Catholic girl, you marry a whole regiment." Priests, who were trained in the arts of "mesmerism and hypnotism," exerted a fearful hold on women and robbed them of trust in their husbands.[52]

A set-piece of Maloney's repertoire was the "Jesuit Lecture." "This is a Protestant country," he insisted. "We owe nothing to the Pope of Rome, and he has no authority over us, and this we will demonstrate, even if we must take up arms." Martin Luther was the "author of religious freedom" because he had exposed the iniquity of the papal system. The Church had responded to his rational arguments not with reason but with the sword. In Scotland, John Knox had taken up the cause, and now Protestants in Scotland led in every department of life and business. Not so the Roman Catholic population, who languished on the sidelines and contributed little to the welfare of the state. The Jesuit order had been expelled from many countries, and Canada would rue the day it had readmitted it. By subtle and devious tricks, Catholics made Protestants their compliant tools. For example, in the federal election of 1896, Wilfrid Laurier had taken a stand against Catholic schools in Manitoba, while the Conservatives supported them. Roman Catholics voted for Laurier because he was a Catholic, and Protestants voted for him, too, because of his opposition to Catholic schools. As a result, he won the election. How fiendishly clever![53]

Maloney was often in a highly agitated state. After one of his meetings had ended, he rushed back into the hall, newspaper in hand. He said that if what the newspaper reported was true (he did not say what the story was about), "it was high time to shoulder guns and fight the despicable system fostering these Jesuitical activities."[54] On another occasion, he cried out: "Oh Protestant people and Christians, is there anything better than to try by persuasion and argument to lead your fellow men out of darkness and superstition into the light?" The Bible says, "Search the Scriptures," but Rome says, "Don't. Let us think for you."[55] Superstition and superstition alone held the Roman Catholic Church together. Only 19.3 percent of the population of Saskatchewan was Catholic, and yet Catholics dominated the government. "Rome," he said, "votes 100 percent Liberal in this province and Rome doesn't vote without her price."[56] He told the story of a soldier's funeral in Toronto. The casket was covered with a Union Jack. The priest demanded that it be removed, and when his request was denied, he allegedly snatched the flag, threw it on the floor, and spat upon it.[57] According to Maloney, the pope was planning to build a palace in Montreal. Mussolini wanted him to leave Italy, and Quebec was the only place that would have him, or so Maloney maintained.

He was pelted with rotten eggs at Meota, and a melee ensued. "To hell with the British flag," someone in the crowd shouted.[58] At Melville, he was almost struck on the head with an iron bar, but the blow was deflected just in time. In Macklin, sheets were thrown over his head as he walked down stairs in the hotel in which he was staying.[59] At Mazenod, there was a plot to douse the lights and throw rocks at him in the darkened hall. Water was poured into the gasoline tank of the generator that supplied the electricity. The generator sputtered and died, the lights went out, and rocks were thrown, but none hit its target. Maloney's bodyguard that night was Klan organizer Duncan Carlyle Grant, who later worked on Tommy Douglas's campaign in the 1935 federal election, evidence that "progressives" were not immune from the preachments of the Klan.[60]

Lawrence Shirley, a Roman Catholic seminarian, attended one of Maloney's meetings. The speaker paused to take a sip of water, and, as he did so, he asked if anyone in the audience disagreed with what he was saying. Shirley rose to his feet. Spotting the clerical collar, Maloney put down the water glass and ordered Shirley to sit down. Shirley said that that was a matter for the chairman (a United Church minister) to decide. "If you do not shut up and sit down, I will have you thrown out of this hall," Maloney bellowed. Shirley continued to stand. Maloney turned to the chairman: "Are you going to make him sit down or not? If not, I want my $10 back that I paid for the rental of this hall tonight." Just then, Shirley caught the eye of the policeman, who was in charge of security. From the expression on the policeman's face, Shirley knew that he was safe. He said that Maloney had been misrepresenting the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church. Again, Maloney appealed to the chairman, who reminded Shirley that Maloney had promised to take questions at the end of the talk. Shirley replied that Maloney had interrupted his own speech to ask for questions, and, therefore, he had the right to put a question to him. The chairman said that he was afraid that a riot would break out if Shirley did not sit down. Shirley nodded and took his seat. At the end of the lecture, Maloney came up to Shirley, who remarked that it was a cowardly thing to stir up religious strife. Maloney drew back his fist, as though ready to strike a blow, but his arm was caught from behind. Shirley made a hasty exit before a fight could break out.[61]

Maloney's speeches were mostly anti-Catholic boilerplate. "Christ had no garment," he said, "the priest can't say mass without a dozen expensive vestments; Christ had nowhere to lay his head; the Pope, the chief priest of Rome, has a palace of thousands of rooms." The chalices in Catholic

churches were made of solid gold and silver, studded with precious jewels. In Canada alone they were worth at least $200 million. Convents were "un-British, un-Christian, un-Godly, inhuman and powerfully corrupting to our country as a breeder of vice." Further: "[It was an abomination to allow a] foreign church to come in here, and imprison for life 80,000 of our girls ... We would not allow the Pope of the Buddhists to do it. We would not allow the Chief Priest of the Mohammedans to do it. But we allow the Italian pope to do it." Keep your eye on the priest confessor, he warned: "Whenever and wherever he comes in, Christian liberty goes out."[62]

If Maloney displayed any spark of originality, it lay in his application of general anti-Catholicism to the specifics of contemporary affairs. He spoke of the "marvellous growth" of the Roman Catholic Church, the convents, monasteries, hospitals, colleges, schools, churches, and chapels. While the First World War had exacted a heavy toll on Protestant manhood, Catholics in Quebec had emerged relatively unscathed. Now Catholic immigrants poured in from eastern and southern Europe to supplement their number.[63] It really was too much! If something were not done and done quickly, what would become of "our liberty, our British connection, free public schools, in fact all that the Britisher holds dear?"[64]

The French language was appearing in the most unexpected places – on postal orders, train tickets, even on the dollar bill. The Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission put French programs on the air, even in parts of Canada where nobody could understand French. Of course, Rome was behind it: "Quebec is French, and Quebec is Rome." The British North America Act, 1867, recognized the French language in Quebec courts, the Exchequer Court of Canada, the federal Senate and Parliament, and in the Legislature and Upper House of Quebec, and that was all. Why, then, was "French on even cornflakes boxes, drug store supplies, etc., articles selling West of the Great Lakes to over three million people, when hardly four percent have even French blood in their veins and ninety-five percent of these speak and read English?"[65]

Maloney was sick and tired of hearing about "minority rights." One would think that the majority had no rights at all! The problem with Catholic schools was that they were divisive, and they failed to inculcate a sense of shared nationality and common citizenship. Why should Catholics have school rights that were denied to Baptists, Lutherans, Anglicans, and other denominations? Catholics had the right to practise their religion. Maloney had no quarrel with that. The problem was that the Roman Catholic Church wanted to meddle in politics and extract

special concessions from the state. This was where Maloney drew the line. His policy was "equal rights to all, and special privileges to none." He said that the great merit of the Ku Klux Klan was that it brought Protestants together, regardless of denomination and party label. At last, they were standing up for themselves against the consolidated power of Rome.[66]

In October 1927 Maloney sued Gerald Dealtry, publisher of the *Saskatoon Reporter*, for defamatory libel. The paper had described Maloney as a "wilful liar" and a "swine," that is to say, "a lowly and filthy creature and unfit to associate with other human beings."[67] The defence maintained that the allegedly libellous statements were well founded and had been made in the public interest. The case was tried before a jury in Court of King's Bench in Saskatoon, Mr. Justice Donald Maclean (former leader of the Saskatchewan Conservative Party) presiding. J.F. Bryant and George A. Cruise acted for the prosecution; H.A. Ebbels and J.H. Hearn for the defence. As the proceedings unfolded, it became clear that it was not so much Dealtry who was on trial as the Ku Klux Klan itself.

Long before ten o'clock on 24 January 1928, when the trial was scheduled to begin, the small courtroom was filled to overflowing. A large throng gathered in the lobby, unable to gain entry, and scores were turned away. The defence moved to have members of the Ku Klux Klan excluded from the jury on the grounds that they were bound to be prejudiced in Maloney's favour. The prosecution responded that if that were to happen, then "all British and Christian people" would be rendered ineligible as the Klan was a British and Christian organization. Moreover, Maloney was "not connected with the KKK and not as an organizer at any time."[68] The motion was denied, and Klansmen were admitted to the jury. The next day the crowds were even larger, hundreds more squeezing into the upper and lower halls and onto the wide staircase, "a pushing, jostling mass of humanity." The door to the courtroom was locked, with policemen standing on guard. Inside, men and women from all walks of life occupied every available seat or stood jammed in the aisles, while barristers and law students crowded into the enclosure that had been set aside especially for them.

All eyes were on the witness box, when Maloney, who was described as "a comparatively young man with claims to good looks and of neat attire," took the stand. Under questioning from Bryant, he recounted his personal history, beginning with how he had been raised in Hamilton and attended St. Jerome's College in Kitchener. He vehemently denied the accusation,

which had been made in Dealtry's paper, that while at college he had pilfered funds from the tuck shop. Looking directly at the defence table, he shouted, "Go ahead with that now!" The judge intervened, instructing the witness to confine himself to answering the questions put to him and not to address the court at large. Bryant asked Maloney if he had ever been threatened with expulsion from St. Jerome's. "Never" was the reply. Had there been any trouble with the teachers? Once, he said, a prefect had kicked a friend of his, and he had hit the prefect in the face. Was there any other trouble? Well, Maloney answered, he had been whipped on his bare body. "That's their method," he said. During the war, there had been a good deal of anti-British sentiment at the college. On one occasion, a priest had spit while naming members of the British royal family. Maloney denied that he had tried to evade military service. Quite the opposite, he said. He was the only student, as far as he knew, who had tried to enlist.

Maloney's record as a sales agent for the *Catholic Register* came under scrutiny. Father O'Donnell, his employer, had accused him of stealing forty dollars. Maloney sued for libel and for unpaid wages of $1,135. He said he had been acquitted of the forty-dollar theft charge and had initiated an action of malicious prosecution against O'Donnell. At this point, the judge interrupted the witness again, instructing him to limit his remarks to answering the questions that were put to him. Maloney said that his goal in life was to study theology and to be ordained as a Presbyterian minister. He had come to Saskatoon in October 1927 and had given a series of lectures, partly to raise funds to cover the cost of tuition.[69]

> Bryant then asked a key question: "Are you a member of the Klan?"
> Maloney : "In Saskatchewan?"
> Bryant: "In Saskatchewan."
> Maloney: "No."

Maloney assured the court that he had not come to the province as a member of the Klan or to organize for the Klan. He had given lectures in Presbyterian, United, and Baptist churches, and to Odd Fellows, Masons, Sons of England, and the Red Cross. His lectures were mainly about the difference between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, but he had also spoken on the theme of "Canada and Her Greatness." He admitted that R.C. Snelgrove, an organizer for the Ku Klux Klan, had arranged speaking

engagements for him and drawn up advertisements for the meetings. Maloney then revealed, somewhat belatedly, that he had been a member of the Klan in Ontario but had resigned because he thought it was "un-British."[70]

By now it was late afternoon. As the room darkened, a shaft of light fell on Maloney from a window high in the vaulted ceiling, as though a spotlight had been fixed on him. J.H. Hearn, lawyer for the defence, asked in cross-examination whether it was true that he had tried to cash a bogus cheque. Maloney replied evasively. He said that, if memory served him correctly, he had an account at the Canadian Bank of Commerce. "Had you one?" Hearn inquired. Maloney burst out: "Yes, and I don't want any of your Jesuit tricks with me." The judge called him to order. "Yes, but I've been persecuted," Maloney burst out nervously, his voice rising above the hubbub in the courtroom. "All right," the judge said sternly, "but I don't want you to talk like that to me. I make allowances for your quick temper, but you must control yourself."[71]

In his closing address, J.F. Bryant asserted that the articles in Dealtry's newspaper were false and were intended to bring Maloney into "public hatred, contempt and ridicule." Maloney, Bryant said, was "a young man [32 years old] of high educational attainment, of fine morals and courage of conviction, who had withdrawn from the Roman Catholic Church and had suffered much from persecution." His case was no different from many that had arisen in Martin Luther's day, "when those who protested were called Protestants." The Ku Klux Klan was guilty of nothing untoward, Bryant said. The Roman Catholic Church had its "knights" (Knights of Columbus), so why should Protestants not have theirs, too, provided, of course, that "everything was decently done and within the laws of the country?"[72]

J.H. Hearn closed for the defence, contending that "toleration, citizenship, fairness and justice were on trial." The essence of Canada was that it cherished peace and freedom. No one had asked agitators to come to Saskatoon and attack the Roman Catholic religion. Maloney had arrived "like a bolt from the blue." Had he come to preach about God Almighty? Had he come to show the path to salvation? No, he had come to promote the Ku Klux Klan and to stir up religious hatred and prejudice. Hearn challenged the jury to find one sentence that was truthful concerning the Roman Catholic Church in Maloney's newspaper, the *Freedman*. He asked them to find "one fair sentence about the church which had done works of mercy for hundreds of years." Hearn then made reference to his own

Catholic faith. "Maloney," he said, "came here to insult me and everybody of my faith in the country. We are all part of a Jesuit system – no motive we have can be honest." "I have a right to citizenship!" Hearn exclaimed. "Let our country be vindicated – let Dealtry be free."[73]

Judge Maclean's charge to the jury put the spotlight on the Ku Klux Klan, as though it was on trial and not Dealtry. He said that the question before the jury was whether the Klan was an un-British and un-Christian organization. If it were, then Dealtry's comments about Maloney were justified because it was right for him (Dealtry) to warn the public against Maloney and the views he was espousing.[74] If, on the other hand, the Klan was a decent, respectable, and law-abiding organization, then Dealtry had been at fault in his verbal attack on Maloney. After brief deliberation, the jury found against Dealtry and, implicitly, for the Klan. Dealtry was fined two hundred dollars or, in default of payment, three months in jail.[75] The verdict said much about the state of public opinion at that time. The jury had had the opportunity to rebuke the Klan, and it deliberately refrained from doing so.

Maloney claimed to have addressed as many as 200,000 people in Saskatchewan in the period from 1927 to 1929. During the election campaign, he travelled 6,400 kilometres giving dozens of speeches in the Conservative cause. When the election was over, he hoped that he would be given a government job of some kind. He took a room at the Hotel Saskatchewan in Regina and waited for a call from the premier. Finally, the telephone rang. Could he come to room 323? A doctor wanted to see him. "Who was this doctor?" Maloney wondered. When he got to the room, he found a loud, boisterous party in progress. He did not recognize anybody but was given a friendly welcome, nonetheless. Then he heard someone mutter, "Protestant turncoat." "No, I'm not," he countered, but he had scarcely got the words out, when he was punched in the mouth. Someone shouted, "Maim him so he will take part in no by-election." Maloney grabbed a chair to defend himself. An ash tray was thrown at him, and he ducked it just in time. At last the hotel detective arrived and took Maloney to hospital by ambulance. The bruises were serious, but X-rays revealed that no bones had been broken.

Having failed to secure a patronage job, Maloney started to think that the Conservatives were just as bad as the Liberals. All they cared about was power, and to hell with principles. It was all Quebec's fault. "It makes me sick," he wrote, "Quebec! Quebec! Quebec!"[76] He packed his bags and moved to Edmonton, where his anti-Catholic speeches were well

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received, especially when he referred to Edmonton as "the Rome of the West." He had supporters in the Royal Canadian Legion, who allowed him to hold meetings in their newly built Memorial Hall. As his fame grew, he hired an airplane and flew out to distant towns to give speeches. In Edmonton, newsboys hawked his newspaper in the street, shouting "Maloney's *Liberator*, Maloney's *Liberator*."[77] Eventually, he rose to the position of Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan in Alberta, with headquarters in Edmonton and eleven branches in the central and northern parts of the province.

It did not take long for Maloney's career to spiral downward. He became involved in number of court cases: a $26,000 defamation suit against him by H.A. Mackie, an Edmonton barrister; a charge that he had administered "seditious oaths" (Klansmen had to swear to keep secret crimes committed by other Klansmen, with the exception of treason, rape, and "malicious murder"); a charge of conspiracy and theft for having removed certain documents from a law office; and an accusation of having submitted a false insurance claim for automobile repairs. As the judge was about to deliver the sentence in the insurance case, Maloney threw himself at the mercy of the court. "Please, please give me one more chance, just one more chance," he pleaded. "I'll show the world what I can do. I was trapped. My parents are sick in Hamilton. Please give me a chance. I have Bright's disease."[78] Unmoved, the judge imposed a hundred-dollar fine and two months at Fort Saskatchewan Penitentiary. His loyal supporters visited him in jail.

Little is known of Maloney's final years. He retired to British Columbia, returning to Alberta in 1938 to campaign against Bill Aberhart and the Social Credit Party, which he derided as a "real fizzle" (at least he got that right). In January 1940, he was in Melville, Saskatchewan, taking on James Gardiner, then federal minister of agriculture. The following year he returned to Kitchener, Ontario, his old stomping ground, where he managed to get himself charged on six counts of representing himself under

Facing page

Top: John James Maloney (to the left with hat in hand) about to depart by plane en route to a Klan rally at Grande Prairie, 1932. After leaving Saskatchewan, Maloney became Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan in Alberta. *Provincial Archives of Alberta, BL108*

Bottom: Klan meeting in Edmonton in October 1932 at the Memorial Hall of the Royal Canadian Legion. *Provincial Archives of Alberta, BL125*

false pretences.[79] We catch one last glimpse of him, wandering the streets of Regina, lonely, penniless and homeless. He ran into a classmate from the Montreal seminary. "Would you like to come to the rectory for a meal?" the priest inquired. Gratefully, Maloney accepted.[80]

The School Question

The main reason that Maloney's anti-Catholic crusade resonated in Saskatchewan was that it coincided with the eruption of the school question. It was a truth universally acknowledged that the public school was the key to the assimilation of the foreigner. J.S. Woodsworth, future leader of the CCF, wrote in 1909: "How are we to break down the walls that separate these foreigners from us? First of all comes the Public School."[81] J.T.M. Anderson, Saskatchewan Conservative leader, said the school was the "great melting pot" from which would emerge "the pure gold of Canadian citizenship."[82] And Premier James G. Gardiner took pride in the fact that, in 1928, over 97 percent of the children of the province were being educated "in our common public schools, playing on the common playground and learning the one language, the same ideals and customs."[83] *The Klansman* published a paean to the "little red school house":

> The spirit of freedom which guided our fathers
> No longer shall slumber while danger is near.
> Of all the rich blessings God gave us to cherish,
> The little red school house we hold the most dear.
> And woe to the hand that shall dare to assail it,
> For thousands have sworn the red school house to save.
> We'll stand by the school house, the little red school house,
> And long o'er its portals our banner shall wave.[84]

But while there was a consensus as to the social necessity and transcendent value of public schools, there was deep disagreement over whether separate schools should be allowed to coexist with them. The North-West Territories Act, 1875, provided that a majority of ratepayers in any district could "establish such [public] schools therein as they may think fit, and make the necessary assessment and collection of rates therefor." The minority ratepayers, be they Catholic or Protestant, had the corollary right to set up a separate school and were liable only for the financial support of that school. Thus, a dual school system was built into the educational

infrastructure of what was later to become the province of Saskatchewan. In 1884, the Council of the North-West Territories created a board of education with Protestant and Catholic sections, each responsible for the administration of its respective schools, including certification of teachers, selection of textbooks, and appointment of inspectors. In 1892, the bifurcated Board of Education was abolished in favour of a council of public instruction consisting of the lieutenant-governor, his executive committee, and four appointed members, two of whom were Protestant and two Catholic. The four appointed members served in an advisory capacity only and did not have a vote in the deliberations of the council.[85]

Led by the superintendent of education, the council assumed the powers formerly exercised by the Board of Education for the administration and management of public and separate schools. All schools were to be conducted in the English language, except that local trustees had the right to allow "a primary course" to be taught in the French language. Religious instruction was allowed only in the last half-hour prior to the closing of the school in the afternoon. The Council of Public Instruction was superseded by the Department of Education in 1901. Under the direction of the commissioner of education, who was a member of the Executive Council (that is, the cabinet), it took advice from an educational council consisting of five members, two of whom were Catholic. It was obvious that, as time went by, minority school rights were gradually whittled away. Initially, separate schools had been administered by the Roman Catholic section of the Board of Education; now they fell within the same regulatory framework as the public schools.[86]

A debate erupted in 1905 when federal legislation was drawn up to create the new provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta. The autonomy bills, as originally drafted, restored minority school privileges as they had existed in 1875, reversing the erosions that had occurred in 1892 and 1901. Archbishop Adélard Langevin, of the Archdiocese of St. Boniface, which at that time included Saskatchewan, regarded the education clause of the autonomy bills as a vindication of Roman Catholic rights. British Protestants, on the other hand, maintained that education fell within provincial jurisdiction and ought not to have been interfered with by the federal government. Moreover, they believed that separate schools subverted British national identity. Only the public school – the *national* school, as they called it – could ensure that young Canadians learned the proper lessons of citizenship. In the end, the legislation was withdrawn

and replaced with a bill that gave Roman Catholics the school rights they had enjoyed since 1901. This was less than they hoped for but better than nothing, which is what their opponents wanted them to have.

The issue loomed large in the 1905 Saskatchewan election. Walter Scott, leader of the Liberal Party, defended separate schools on the grounds of the moral obligation to protect minority rights. Frederick Haultain, of the Provincial Rights Party (forerunner of the Conservative Party) took the opposite view. In the midst of the campaign, Archbishop Langevin informed Catholics that it was neither "reasonable" nor "conscientious" for them to vote for the Provincial Rights Party, which he characterized as "le destructeur systématique des écoles catholiques dans les Territoires" (the systematic destroyer of Catholic schools in the Territories). Haultain cried foul and accused the Liberals of forming an unholy compact with the Roman Catholic Church. The Liberals captured sixteen of twenty-five seats, including all seven constituencies in which Catholics and persons of foreign origin formed the majority. All the seats won by the Provincial Rights Party were predominantly British Protestant. This set the pattern for future elections. The Liberals monopolized the Catholic and "foreign" vote, which, combined with support from moderate British Protestants, kept them in power until 1929.[87]

The School Act provided for the teaching of a primary course in French ("All schools shall be taught in the English language but it shall be permissible for the board of any district to cause a primary course to be taught in the French language.") In addition, regulations in 1901 allowed for "instruction in any language other than English," such instruction to be given "between the hours of three and four o'clock in the afternoon" and "confined to the teaching of reading, composition and grammar." School boards were empowered to raise the money necessary to pay the salaries of foreign-language instructors, all such sums to be collected by the board "at a special rate to be imposed upon the parents or guardians of such pupils as take advantage of the same."[88] In 1915, Premier Walter Scott, who was also minister of education, introduced an amendment to the School Act, which stated that if the regular teacher was competent to give non-English-language instruction, he or she might do so, thereby saving foreign parents the expense of hiring a special instructor. The Conservatives condemned the proposal, saying that it gave school boards in foreign districts an incentive to hire teachers of their own ethnic background, even if such teachers were not fully qualified or not as qualified as others available to fill the job. Foreign teachers could not be relied upon to

assimilate the non-British to Canadian norms, it being understood that "Canadian" in this context meant "British Canadian." The opposition to the amendment was so intense that Scott was forced to withdraw it.[89]

Another storm blew up when Judge McClorg of Saskatoon ruled in September 1911 that municipal ratepayers had the right to pay their taxes to the school system of their choice, be it public or separate. Previously, it had been held that members of the religious minority were compelled to support the separate school, although the School Act did not explicitly say so. The ruling was potentially fatal for separate school boards since Catholic ratepayers could withdraw their support at any time and transfer their children to the public school. This would make it difficult for separate school boards to issue bonds to finance school construction because lenders could not be certain of getting their money back. Premier Scott came to the rescue with an amendment to the School Act, making it compulsory for the religious minority to pay their taxes to the separate school, thereby nullifying the effect of the McClorg decision.[90] At the same time, he amended the law with respect to the payment of business property taxes in a way that was advantageous to the separate schools.

Reverend Murdoch MacKinnon, minister of Knox Presbyterian church in Regina, attacked the amendment, which he regarded as a craven capitulation to the Roman Catholic Church. For him, personal liberty was at stake. People should have the right to support the school system of their choice. Prodded by MacKinnon, the synod of the Presbyterian Church in Saskatchewan opposed the amendment, as did the Saskatchewan Conference of the Baptist Church. The Orange Lodge also took up the cause. It called the public school the "brightest star in the diadem of heaven," the very bulwark of British nationality, and insisted that Premier Scott had no business tampering with it.[91] The premier bowed to the pressure and withdrew the amendments, saying that they were unnecessary because they merely made explicit what was already implicit in the existing school law. He was vindicated on 31 July 1918 when the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the highest court of appeal, ruled that the members of the religious minority were obliged to pay their taxes to the separate school. The court took the position that the right to tax-supported separate schools was meaningless unless there was a practical way to fund them.

In January 1916, Conservative Party leader W.B. Willoughby provoked another controversy, this time having to do with language of instruction. He favoured an English-only policy, a position supported by the Saskatchewan School Trustees' Association. Reverend S.P. Rondeau, a Protestant

minister who later joined the Ku Klux Klan, claimed that the French were trying to "dominate" Canada and that a "sane" educational policy had to be based on one common public system and one common language, which, of course, had to be English. *Le Patriote de l'Ouest*, the French Catholic newspaper, sarcastically suggested that the Saskatchewan School Trustees' Association rename itself the "Unschooled Orangemen's Association" and hold its meetings in the mental asylum at North Battleford. But the trustees had public opinion on their side. The Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association, the Saskatchewan Association of Rural Municipalities, the Saskatchewan Baptist Conference, and the Anglican Synod of Saskatchewan all passed resolutions in favour of English-only in the schools.[92]

William Martin, who had succeeded Scott as premier, tried to work out a solution. He introduced an amendment to the School Act in 1918 by which "all schools were to be taught in the English language and no other language was to be used during school hours, but upon a resolution from the local school board, French could be taught as a subject of study for one hour a day." W.F.A. Turgeon, the only Catholic in the cabinet, was tempted to resign in protest, but Archbishop O-E Mathieu of Regina urged him not to. He said it was better to fight for French Catholic rights from inside the government rather than from outside. The upshot was a new amendment, which made English the sole language of instruction, except that French could still be used as the language of instruction in the first grade and as a subject of study for one hour per day after the first grade. In addition, the half hour of religious instruction could be taught in French, which made a total of ninety minutes of French per day. Inevitably, the "compromise" came under fire. Reverend Murdoch MacKinnon thundered: "French must go. Quebec failed us during the war. ... Let all enlightened citizens speak, write and wire until French goes with German." French Catholics, for their part, did not accept that their mother tongue could not be taught in schools paid for by their tax dollar. This was the uneasy status quo that existed when the Ku Klux Klan appeared on the scene. It did not create the school crisis but, rather, inherited a situation that had vexed and disturbed the province from its origins.[93]

La Langue et la Foi

Francophones in Saskatchewan were concentrated in three main areas: Moose Mountain in the southeast, from the Missouri Coteau to the Cypress

Hills in the southwest, and the North and South Saskatchewan River valleys in the north.[94] A provincial meeting, convened in 1909, led to the establishment of a French-language newspaper, *Le Patriote de l'Ouest*, which took for its motto "Notre Foi Notre Langue." Then, in February 1912, 450 French Roman Catholics gathered at Duck Lake to select delegates to the *Congrès de la Langue Francaise*, which was to be held at Quebec City in June of that year. The Duck Lake convention was addressed by Bishop Mathieu of Regina, who emphasized the need to conserve the French language, "that jewel polished through the centuries." Language was "a bond of nationality and a help to religion," he said. At the same time, Mathieu counselled moderation. The strength of a cause, he said, was often indicated by the restraint with which it was defended. French Canadians in Quebec had never found language an impediment to loyalty to the British Crown. They had resisted the call of radicalism, and their reward had been political liberty. Canada was a land of two languages. The French in Saskatchewan should ask for their rights and nothing more. If they conducted themselves as good citizens, they would earn the respect of their fellow Canadians and be allowed to preserve their culture and religion as they wished.[95]

While Bishop Mathieu was the voice of moderation, not all French Catholic leaders displayed the same restraint. Louis Schmidt, who had been a member of Louis Riel's provisional government in 1885, gave a rousing address at Duck Lake, urging his compatriots to "agitate" and "make some noise." *Le Patriote de l'Ouest* was equally militant, announcing that: "A vigilant sentry was required to single out the movements of the enemy; a clarion was needed to rally the troops around the flag and to sound the charge against those who wanted to eliminate the French Catholic race from the west." The Masonic order, the paper charged, was "the army of Satan."[96] At the 1913 Saskatchewan convention of French Catholics, Bishop Roy of Quebec declared: "Among the floods of mixed immigration pouring into the country, we are the race chosen by God on this continent to make Christ known, and make the people serve him. Nothing else signifies."[97] This was the kind of talk that enflamed the Ku Klux Klan.

Following the Duck Lake convention, a provincial French Catholic organization was set up with northern and southern sections, each with its own executive committee. In the north, six of eleven members of the executive were priests, and, in the south, five of nine. The new organization was

called l'Association Franco-Canadienne de la Saskatchewan (AFC), later renamed l'Association Catholique Franco-Canadienne de la Saskatchewan (ACFC) to emphasize its religious character. Attending the 1913 convention were representatives of the German Roman Catholic Association (*Deutsche Katholische Volksverein*), who brought fraternal greetings and promised to stand "shoulder to shoulder" with the French in the defence of separate schools. By 1914, the ACFC had more than thirteen hundred members organized in forty-four local groups, or *cercles* (circles), and *Le Patriot de l'Ouest* was adopted as the official organ.[98]

The association did its best to encourage colonization of French Catholics in the west, in particular the repatriation of French Canadians who had left the Province of Quebec for the United States. It was hoped that they could be brought back to settle the Plains, a program that met with limited success. Although colonization was important, the chief concern of the organization was French Catholic education. As Raymond Denis, president of the ACFC put it: "Our enemies understand as well as we do the importance of the school. The very future of our race depends on the protection of our schools ... for a language that is not taught in the school is doomed to disappear; a language that is not read, that is not written, will be forgotten. At the same time, our language is the guardian of our faith. Our enemies know it; that is why they attack the teaching of French, undermining in this way the very foundations of our race."[99]

The ACFC struggled to recruit bilingual school teachers, who were in short supply. It joined with sister associations in Alberta and Manitoba to bring in teachers from Ontario and Quebec, and it provided loans to French speakers to take teacher training in Saskatchewan or Quebec. It lobbied the Department of Education to recognize teaching certificates issued by French normal schools in Quebec, a concession that was eventually granted. A placement bureau was set up to keep lists of school districts that needed French teachers and to match them with qualified teachers who were seeking employment. The school was the battleground for the soul of the nation.

The Anti-Separate School League sprang up in 1920 and began circulating a petition for the suppression of the French language in the schools and the abolition of all separate schools in the province. The ACFC at first ignored the campaign, hoping it would die out of its own accord, but later reconsidered this passive approach and began to circulate a counter-petition. Archbishop Mathieu (Regina became an archdiocese in 1915)

gave the movement his blessing, on the condition that the methods employed were moderate and involved "no rash declarations."[100] German Catholics were supportive, as well.

Meanwhile, the ACFC tackled the problem of French textbooks and readers in the schools, selecting for use the Magnan series, which was popular in Quebec. The Department of Education gave its approval in 1920 since the market in Saskatchewan was too small to warrant commissioning a set of textbooks specifically for the province. The ACFC also appointed its own school inspectors, even though that was actually the government's job. The ACFC circumvented the rules by designating its inspectors as "visitors" and saying that anyone could "visit" the schools, provided they had permission from the local trustees. Nothing prevented the "distinguished visitor" from asking a few questions about what was going on in the classroom.[101] The ACFC also set its own examinations and awarded diplomas and prizes for students in French schools. Again, from the outside, it looked as though the ACFC was exceeding its proper jurisdiction and taking on responsibilities that ought to have resided with the Department of Education.

The ACFC also lobbied the federal government to print income tax forms in French and denounced the "flagrant injustice" of Canada savings bonds' being available in English only. In both cases, the documents were provided in both languages.[102] In addition, some private insurance companies began issuing their contracts in French, while Winnipeg wholesalers made concessions to francophone customers. The victories, though minor, were satisfying.

Unfortunately, they caused a backlash, and, as usual, most of the controversy swirled around the school system. Protestants formed the majority on most public school boards, but there were exceptions. In some districts, Catholic trustees were in charge. They employed nuns as teachers and permitted crucifixes and other religious emblems on school property. The Protestant minority in such cases had the right to establish a separate school, but this course of action was impractical if the Protestant population was miniscule. The anomalous result was that, in some areas, Protestants were obliged to send their children to a public school that was, in fact, a Catholic school.[103]

Gravelbourg, a mostly Catholic town about 190 kilometres southwest of Regina, organized a public school district in 1908. A convent was opened in 1918, and the public school was transferred to rented quarters in the

basement. The mother superior of the convent was appointed principal of the school, and the sisters made up the teaching staff. The local presbytery of the United Church appointed a committee, consisting of Reverend S.P. Rondeau (who later joined the Klan) and P. Beauchamp, to look into the matter. They visited Gravelbourg several times and interviewed the Protestant and Jewish families. Of fourteen non-Catholic children of school age, about half did not attend the school because their parents objected to the sectarian instruction. The other Protestants allowed their children to attend, albeit reluctantly. Some of them owned businesses in the community, and they felt they had to stay on good terms with their Catholic neighbours or their livelihoods would be placed in jeopardy.[104]

A delegation of Protestants paid a visit to the school, which they discovered to be thoroughly integrated into the convent. There was no wall separating the two sections of the building, and the connecting hallways and doors were always kept open. The principal and teachers wore religious garb, each with two sets of beads and two crucifixes. Each classroom had two crucifixes, one at the front over the teacher's desk and the other at the back of the room. Religious statues adorned the hallways, and portraits of Roman Catholic dignitaries were hung on the walls. The Protestant committee brought the whole matter before the Department of Education in Regina, trusting that some form of remedial action would be taken. The department declared that it was not acceptable for the public school to remain in the convent and instructed the Gravelbourg board of trustees to house the school in a separate building. Years passed, and nothing was done. The talk on the street was that the school would stay in the convent indefinitely.[105] As the dispute dragged on, Protestant families left the area, giving as their reason that they did not want to send their children to a Catholic school.

The Protestants who remained in Gravelbourg were advised by the Department of Education to accept a compromise: a separate classroom outside the convent with a Protestant teacher. They refused because they felt they were entitled to a regular public school. A correspondent to the *Regina Star* wrote that he spent his time, as a parent, trying to dispel the false impressions received by his children at the convent school. He said he had found them "in a darkened bedroom, under the influence of religious fear, with a picture of the Virgin, making the sign of the Cross and repeating certain prayers which they had been told were necessary for their salvation."[106] In the village of Ferland, a little Scottish girl became

a local Protestant heroine when she pelted the Catholic schoolteacher with eggs after the teacher had forced her brother to say Catholic prayers.[107] An Orange order newsletter posed the inflammatory question: "Would you like to have a black-skirted 'she-cat' of a Nun teach your children in a public school that you are a heretic and that you and your wife are living in sin and your family are bastards, then when chastising your child to make it kiss the forbidden image, the Crucifix?"[108] Raymond Denis, president of the ACFC, replied in kind. He said he was waiting for the government to isolate the "cowardly members of the Ku Klux Klan in the same way as tubercular patients [were] isolated in sanatoriums and the mentally deranged in asylums, because they [were] a menace to public safety."[109]

"O Lord, how long, how long?" groaned the *Klansman*. The separate school, it said, was the bulwark of the Roman Catholic Church, while the public school was the source of popular knowledge and freedom. It was the rock upon which democratic government was built. The Klan was not merely concerned about religious symbols in the public schools: it wanted to get rid of separate schools altogether. They were regarded as an offence to the British Protestant nation. But little could be done with the Liberals in office and the public lulled into complacence: "The press panders, the politicians trim, the preachers doze, the public mind ignores, the country drifts, drifts, drifts." It was time for the Klan to rally the populace: "Awake! O Sword! Against the deceiver and the destroyer. Put up thyself into thy scabbard only when the people are delivered by knowledge."[110]

Premier Gardiner received a telegram on 23 January 1928 from Protestant parents in the Gouverneur school district in southwest Saskatchewan, advising him that if the crucifix were not taken down from the classroom in three days (a fitting time period), they would withdraw their children from the school. The school inspector took the matter up with the trustees and persuaded them to remove the crucifix. However, on 31 January, local resident Frank Jackson wired the department to say that it had not been taken down. Apparently, the trustees had dug in their heels. On 9 February, they wrote the department stating that it was lawful to have a crucifix in the classroom (which it was). They blamed all the trouble on the Ku Klux Klan. Four days later, Jackson informed the Department of Education that six children had been withdrawn from the school and that the remaining Protestant children were to be taken out the next day, making a total of fifteen absentees. Truancy charges were laid against the parents, who received free legal assistance from James F. Bryant, the

vice-president of the provincial Conservative Party. He was able to get the charges dismissed on the grounds that the school had ceased to be a public school in the legal sense because it had failed to abide by regulations under the School Act.[111] Therefore, the non-attending children could not be truants. Premier Gardiner made a personal visit to the town and urged the trustees to reconsider their position. On 16 March 1928, the crucifix was finally removed, and the Protestant children returned to the classroom the following Monday.

Catholics found it hard to understand why Protestants were so offended at the display of a crucifix in the classroom. "On y met bien le portrait du Roi, d'un homme célèbre, etc., pourquoi serait-il mal d'y mettre celui de ROI DES ROIS?"[112] (They put on the wall the portrait of the King, of a celebrated man, and so on, why would it be bad to put there the image of the King of Kings?) From the Protestant point of view, however, obeisance to the cross was a form of idolatry and therefore forbidden by scripture. It had been a major issue of the Protestant Reformation, which asserted the authority of the Bible over the traditions of the Roman church.

Protestants also took offence at the French textbooks used in the Catholic schools. The books, which were authorized for Quebec, offered a rather skewed picture of Canada. Nine-tenths of the geography text was about Quebec, with chapters on the position, area, and coast of Quebec; the lakes and rivers of Quebec; the government, towns, agriculture, lumbering and mining, fisheries and furs, manufacturing and commerce of Quebec. Saskatchewan was covered in three short paragraphs. A chapter entitled "Races of Men – Religion" included the statement: "Christianity is the religion which acknowledges our Lord Jesus Christ as its founder. It acknowledges three distinct branches: (a) The Catholic Church, the only true Church; (b) the schismatic Greek Church; (c) the different Protestant churches."[113] In response to protests from the Klan and others, the books were de-authorized on 30 June 1927; however, because there was no ready substitute available, they were reinstated for another year, on the condition that lessons offensive to Protestants be deleted.[114] Eventually, new textbooks were found, and the controversy was put to rest.[115]

Ukrainian Schools

The turmoil spread to Ukrainian districts, too, where the issues were somewhat different from those prevailing in the French-speaking schools. From 1896 to 1914, about 170,000 Ukrainians had arrived in Canada, mainly from Galicia and Bukovina in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. They

settled in large blocs in the bush-covered northern Prairies, extending from southeastern Manitoba to east-central Alberta.[116] Most were of peasant stock, but there was a sprinkling of educated young men who had attended high school, teacher's college, or theological seminary in Galicia. In Canada they worked as interpreters, teachers, newspaper editors, and missionaries. They often functioned as intermediaries between Anglo-Canadian politicians and the mostly illiterate Ukrainian population.[117]

One such agent was Joseph Megas, an organizer for the Liberal Party. He taught school for a time and then became editor of *Kanadyiskyi Farmer*, a Ukrainian-language newspaper funded by the Liberals. Beginning in 1908, he helped organize school districts in Saskatchewan, helping to recruit bilingual Ukrainians who were qualified to teach in the public schools, while also offering the hour-per-day of Ukrainian language instruction that was allowed under the School Act. He vetted them carefully, making sure that they were reliably Liberal in their politics. At election time, Megas accompanied Liberal candidates into Ukrainian communities, translating their speeches and even arranging for the local choir to sing in their honour.[118]

The Ukrainian press emphasized that, while it was necessary to learn the English language, it was essential that the public schools teach Ukrainian, too. *Ukrainsky Holos* maintained in 1912 that Ukrainians must preserve their "national distinctiveness" or they would become "the soulless raw material out of which another's people's nation was built." Assimilation would turn Ukrainian children into "English fanatics who recognize nothing greater and holier than English traditions."[119] One hour of instruction in Ukrainian per day was not enough. At least half the school day should be devoted to Ukrainian. According to schoolteacher Wasyl Mihaychuk:

> Our boys do not become excited at the mention of Lord Nelson's name, nor do our girls respond to Darling. They remain indifferent to the heroic deeds of these characters. However, we observe an entirely different phenomenon when we tell them stories about the lives of Shevchenko and Paulyk or about our other heroes, and when we read them short stories of Vera Lebed. Their eyes shine and the heart rejoices when one sees their joy and alacrity of spirit as they read or listen to these Ukrainian stories. Such is the nature of the human spirit that it comes to life and acquires independence when one sees people like oneself overcome obstacles, perform noble deeds and become heroes.[120]

The RCMP had serious doubts about Ukrainian schools, which they regarded as potentially disloyal and un-Canadian. Commissioner Cortlandt Starnes warned in a memo in 1922 that, while other ethnic groups dabbled in nationalistic activities from time to time, they did not do so "in so organized and systematic a manner as the Ukrainians."[121] Reverend Edmund H. Oliver, principal of the Presbyterian theological college at the University of Saskatchewan, also identified the Ukrainians as peculiarly imbued with a "rising national spirit." His survey of seventeen Ukrainian school districts in eastern Saskatchewan during the First World War found that at least 20 to 25 percent of Ukrainian teachers taught English through the medium of the Ukrainian language, which was a breach of Department of Education regulations.[122] The difficulty, Oliver pointed out, was that when Ukrainians were in the majority in a school district, they controlled the board of trustees and hired Ukrainian teachers, even if they were less qualified than the English-Canadian candidates who applied. The Liberal government was afraid to do anything about the situation because it depended on Ukrainian votes to stay in power.

During the First World War, Ukrainian immigration to Canada came to a halt. From 1920 to 1924 there was a mere trickle, only 1,503 Ukrainians arriving during that period. After the signing of the railways agreement in 1925, large-scale migration resumed, with a total of 59,891 entering Canada from 1925 to 1934, the great majority in the period from 1925 to 1930 since immigration came to a standstill during the Depression.[123] The 1920s immigration was different in character from that of the prewar era. A Ukrainian state had briefly flourished at the end of the First World War, but with the triumph of the Bolsheviks it was mostly absorbed into the Soviet Union, while the western portion was divided among Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania. Most of the Ukrainian immigrants to Canada in the postwar period came from the latter three countries. They dreamed of restoring the independent Ukrainian state, and their thoughts were of the homeland. By contrast, the first wave of Ukrainian immigrants from 1896 to 1914 had focused to a greater extent on building a new life in Canada, while also holding onto their cultural heritage.[124]

As Ukrainians moved into rural Saskatchewan, they took control of municipal councils and school boards. The British were relegated to minority status. At election time, they scoured the countryside, "bringing in the halt, the lame, the blind, anything in fact that [was] entitled to vote, to the annual school meeting in order to keep their trustees in office."[125] It was a losing battle; the foreigners kept coming. In 1927, the Caldervale

School District, about sixty-five kilometres northwest of Yorkton, elected a solidly Ukrainian board of trustees, which then proceeded to hire a teacher broadly sympathetic to the Ukrainian nationalist cause. Disgruntled parents demanded that the teacher be dismissed. They complained that 95 percent of the school's Christmas concert had been conducted in Ukrainian. The petition was signed by fifteen English-speaking and seven Ukrainian ratepayers. The latter, though of Ukrainian origin, disliked the heavy emphasis being placed on the Ukrainian language and wanted their children to learn English.[126] The teacher used as a textbook a Ukrainian primer published in Winnipeg, which had a picture of the Canadian flag on its frontispiece, together with images of a bishop's cloak, a book of saints, and a church bell. On the inside cover of one of the books a student had written: "Isabelle Barber, Pina Ulkara, Jedburgh," followed by the date in Ukrainian letters. Isabelle's parents demanded that the provincial government intervene to ensure that their child received a proper English-language education. The Department of Education appointed an official trustee, relieving the board of its duties. However, this was not the end of the story. Just before the 1929 election, the official trustee was removed and the Ukrainian board reinstated.[127] It had applied the necessary political pressure to retain control of the school.

At Laniwci school near Biggar, the newly elected Ukrainian Catholic board dismissed the incumbent teacher and appointed a Catholic in his place. A group of ratepayers (Peter Wasylciw, John Kinar, Peter Woszniak, Fred Kruty, Fred Waligrozki, P. Musiuk, F. Magus, Mike Tomyn, Joseph Lychak, and John Kozak) signed a protest letter, complaining that the new teacher discriminated against children of the Greek Orthodox religion. According to the letter, he spent his time spouting religious prejudice and intolerance, while neglecting the curriculum that he was supposed to teach. Making the situation even more galling was the fact that fully two-thirds of the schoolchildren belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church. The protest group felt it had no alternative but to set up a separate school to escape the tyranny of the Catholic public school board. "If we are forced at last to do so," it wrote, "would we be able to think any more that we are living in a land of freedom and religious tolerance? Would we not think that we live in Mexico?"[128]

Wakaw, a town 110 kilometres northeast of Saskatoon, had a population mostly of eastern European origin. In 1927, the public school board consisted of two Catholics and one Protestant. The Catholic trustees hired the Sisters of Presentation to teach the school for one year on a trial basis.

Four nuns were employed – one as a cook, two for the primary grades, and one as a music teacher. As a result, the board saved between five hundred and one thousand dollars per year in salaries. The Protestant trustee resigned because he objected to having the sisters teach in the public school, and a campaign was organized to set up a Protestant separate school. The Catholics tried to head this off, assuring the Protestants that, if they did not want their children to be taught by the sisters, the board would rent a hall and hire a Protestant teacher. The offer was refused, and a separate school was established. According to Department of Education regulations, Jews had to support the public school, which was now Catholic. However, to get around this, they declared themselves to be Protestants![129] Eventually, a solution was found. The nuns were dismissed, and everybody returned to the public school.

The Gardiner Government and the School Issue

The school question was discussed at the annual provincial conference of the United Church held in June 1928. Premier Gardiner (a member of the United Church) was on hand to defend his policies. He acknowledged that there was "serious public unrest" in a number of school districts: Gravelbourg, Ferland, Ponteix, Moose Pond, Val Marie, Plessis, Forget, Begin, to name a few. At Begin, the image of the Virgin Mary had been placed over the teacher's table and Protestant children were made to bow before it. In Gravelbourg, as we have seen, the school was housed in the convent. In Ferland, an unauthorized person had removed the crucifix from the school. At Val Marie, the election of school trustees was being contested because of a mix-up over the date of the annual meeting. The secretary had postponed it to attend his wife's funeral but forgot to take down the notice advertising the event. The Protestants went ahead with the meeting and elected an all-Protestant board, to the great consternation of the Catholics.

Gardiner tried to put these local tumults in perspective. He reminded the United Church Conference delegates that there were 4,776 school districts in Saskatchewan and that the great majority of them were not having serious problems. When disagreement arose, he thought it was better for the local people to sort it out rather than to have the provincial government impose a solution. The convent in Gravelbourg was a large building, and it was intended that one day the whole of it was to be used for religious purposes. In the meantime, the school board had rented

some of the rooms. The building was in good shape, its water supply, toilets, ventilation, and lighting all very satisfactory. The school board had requested permission to lease space in the convent for twenty years, but the government had set the limit at five years, at which time the matter would be looked at again.

In reply to the premier, Reverend J.A. Donnell said that the number of school districts involved in controversy was not the main issue. If even one Protestant child was forced to attend a Catholic school, the injustice had to be corrected. Imagine, he said, if a public school teacher wore Orange regalia in the classroom. The outcry from Catholics would be deafening. Surely, it was equally inappropriate for public school teachers to wear religious habits.[130] Following the discussion, the United Church Conference passed a resolution stating that "representations be made to the Government asking the School Act be so amended as to require that all public schools be conducted during school hours in a manner strictly unsectarian."[131] It was a stiff rebuke to the premier.

Worse was to come. On 20 January 1929, J.T.M. Anderson moved in the legislature an amendment to the School Act: "No emblem of any religious denomination, order, sect, society or association, shall be displayed in or on any public school in the province, nor shall any person teach or be permitted to teach in any public school in the province while wearing the garb of any such religious denomination, order, sect, society or association."[132] Both Ontario and New Brunswick already had such a regulation, except that in those provinces religious symbols were prohibited but not religious garb.[133] *Le Patriote de l'Ouest* described the situation in near-apocalyptic terms, comparing the Anderson amendment to the sack of Jerusalem by barbarian hordes in the Middle Ages. The paper urged Catholics of every nationality – English, Polish, German, Ukrainian, Franco-Canadian – to come together to defend their Catholic schools, even if they were, in fact, public schools: "Let the example of this baneful society [Ku Klux Klan] who is recruiting its members ceaselessly in the hope of continuing their labor of hate against the Catholics and the established power stimulate us in the concentration of Catholic forces."[134]

In February 1929, the Saskatchewan School Trustees' Association (SSTA) held its annual convention, attended by about a thousand delegates from across the province. A resolution to endorse the Anderson amendment passed unanimously, a striking demonstration of how profoundly out of step the government was with public opinion. The trustees did not stop

there. A resolution was introduced to make English the sole language of instruction in the classroom. This would undo the legislation of 1918, which allowed French in Grade 1 and as a subject of study for one hour per day in the higher grades. Only one delegate dared to speak against the motion. “Before passing the resolution,” she urged, “in the name of justice [let us] inquire into this matter and see how far it extends.” Her intervention fell on deaf ears. Mr. Fredlund, of Percyville, amended the original motion, adding the words “and on the playground.” Whoops of delight went up from the convention floor.[135] In the discussion that followed, J. Wilson said that he was an Englishman by birth, who had resided in Canada for twenty years. For ten of those years, he had served as a school trustee. He said that control of school affairs in the district where he lived had fallen into the hands of foreigners, who were illiterate not only in English, but also in their own language. For some time, he had suspected that they were “controlled and directed by someone higher up,” that is, a Catholic priest. At Orangeville, the Christmas program had been conducted entirely in Ukrainian. In Woodrock, Ukrainian textbooks were in full use. He knew of one case in which a capable Canadian teacher had been dismissed and his job given to a Ukrainian. Another English teacher was on the verge of dismissal. The foreign school districts, which were responsible for these actions, had not even bothered to send delegates to the SSTA convention. They carried on as they pleased regardless of what the provincial body said or did.[136]

The hall buzzed with indignation. A voice from the gallery shouted out a question to Augustus H. Ball, deputy minister of education, who was in attendance. The questioner wanted to know how it was possible that Ukrainian could be taught in the schools in contravention of the School Act. Why were the schools not inspected properly? Ball replied that there were nearly five thousand districts in the province and that the inspectors could not be everywhere at once. If there was trouble and the department was advised about it, they sent out an inspector to carry out an investigation. Moreover, ratepayers had the right to bring a complaint against the trustees before the local magistrate. If the trustees were found guilty of breaking the law, they could be removed from office. This hardly satisfied the convention. The motion to ask the government to ban all languages but English from the classroom and the playground was approved by an overwhelming majority. “English is the birthright of every Canadian,” declaimed Mrs. L. Gamble of Trewadle.[137]

It was customary for the SSTA to designate the minister of education as its honorary president. On this occasion, the honour should have gone to Premier Gardiner, who was the minister at the time. However, when his name was placed in nomination, there were cries of "No! No!" from the floor. In vain, the chairman pleaded with the delegates to respect precedent and not to insult the premier. But the opposition only grew louder, and the name of C.E. Little, SSTA secretary (and also president of the provincial Progressive Party), was placed in nomination. Gardiner's name was withdrawn, and Little was chosen unanimously.[138] The Orange *Sentinel* crowed with delight. Not only had the convention supported the ban on religious symbols in public schools and approved the English-only resolution but it had also snubbed the premier. Never before had "so dark a cloud hovered over the Liberal camp."[139] The *Western Producer* expressed sympathy for Gardiner. It did not think he deserved such disrespectful treatment. Nor did the paper support the English-only resolution. While it may have been true that, in some parts of the province, foreign languages were being used in schools beyond what the law allowed, the problem was not as widespread as it had been made out to be.[140] The *Moose Jaw Times* agreed. Assimilation of the non-British in Saskatchewan was proceeding at a fairly rapid rate. Efforts to speed it up by draconian legislation, which could not in any case be enforced, especially on school playgrounds, only served to stir up bad feeling.[141]

The Regina *Leader*, surprisingly, given its status as the leading Liberal paper in the province, approved of the school trustees' resolution.[142] A.J. Balfour, the secretary of the Ku Klux Klan in Regina, congratulated the paper on its enlightened stand: "This is not and should not be allowed to become a political matter. It is a British question and one that calls for just such loyal support as your paper so splendidly brought forward."[143] Gardiner thought it absurd to ban non-English languages from the playground. "There has got to be a little reason exercised even by educationists," he dryly remarked.[144]

In a speech in the legislature on 29 January 1929, Premier Gardiner invoked the Fathers of Confederation and, in particular, the Confederation debates in 1865 in what was then the United Province of Canada. The Reform (Liberal) Party in Upper Canada (Ontario) had been led at the time by George Brown, a vehement critic of separate schools. However, in the discussions leading up to Confederation, he underwent a conversion of sorts. He came to realize that the project of building a new nation

required compromise and reconciliation. He preferred to have Confederation with separate schools to not having Confederation at all. Premier Gardiner spoke, too, of Sir Oliver Mowat, one of the Fathers of Confederation, who had been premier of Ontario. He, too, had opposed separate schools, but when called upon to govern the province within the terms of the British North America Act, he had dealt fairly with the Catholic minority. His enemies had said that he was under the thumb of the bishops, and the cry went up, "No Popery!" Gardiner said that now the same unfair comments were being made against him. There was no need for the Anderson amendment. School disputes were better resolved, as they had been in the past, by negotiation and compromise at the local level.[145]

Saskatchewan people, Gardiner said, were "moulding themselves into a strong Canadian nationality, honouring the Union Jack because of the freedom it gives, honouring the Union Jack because of the liberty it gives, honouring the Union Jack because those who have established the Empire, in establishing it, have honoured the rights of minorities throughout the length and breadth of that Empire."[146] T.C. Davis, the attorney general, who also participated in the debate, claimed that members of the Ku Klux Klan were "traitors," who disrupted national unity.[147] Liberals were the true patriots, he said.

The ghost of the First World War hung over the debate. J.M. Uhrich, the only German Canadian in the cabinet, recalled that, during the war, Catholic and Protestant, Jew and Gentile, had fought side by side with equal bravery on "the gory fields of that awful struggle." "Amid the storm of shot and shell, through fogs of deadly gases, Catholic boys bore from the fields the torn bodies of Protestant comrades, and Protestant boys with equal fortitude gathered the helpless bodies of Catholic boys in their arms and carried them to safety." When peace finally came, "the brown columns began the return march. And mothers gathered to gaze at the gaps once filled by their gallant dead. So they stood – Jewish mothers and Gentile mothers; Catholic mothers and Protestant mothers; the same pain in their hearts; the same tears in their eyes." "If my country means anything to me," Uhrich declared, "it means that its institutions are broad enough to protect every man in the right to his faith, every man in the right to his opinion, every man in his liberty of speech, in his right of peaceful assemblage."[148]

The Klan drew a different lesson from the war. For members of the Klan, the war had been fought to maintain Canada's British identity, which, in their view, was compromised by what they considered to be an attack

on the public school system. They could not accept public schools that were run as though they were Catholic schools and public schools that did not operate solely in English. This was an affront to "Britishness" as they understood it. Gardiner and the Liberals had a different definition of "Britishness." They honoured the Union Jack because of the freedom and respect for minorities that it represented. Both sides wanted to keep Canada British, each according to its own lights.

Anti-Catholicism was nothing new to Saskatchewan. As the *Moose Jaw Times* pointed out in an editorial titled "Elections – Saskatchewan Style," there had never been a provincial election in which horrifying tales had not been told about the pope and his conniving minions. But in 1929, the cry was louder and shriller. The Ku Klux Klan, which the *Moose Jaw Times* dubbed the "the guerrilla arm of the Opposition," took the old anti-Catholic clichés – papal authority, confessionals, convents, alleged inattention to the Bible, "superstition," and so on – and magnified them to new levels of vituperation.[149] The threat allegedly came from Quebec because it voted en bloc and wielded disproportionate influence over the Liberal government in Ottawa, and from Catholic immigrants, whose votes kept the Liberals in power in Regina. The issue boiled over in the school question, which was a proxy for the battle for the soul of the nation. By 1929, the SSTA almost unanimously urged that religious symbols be removed from public schools and that English only be allowed as the language of instruction. In taking this stand, it took the side of the Klan over the Gardiner government, an alignment that did not bode well for the Liberals in the upcoming provincial election.

7
The Threat of Moral Disorder

The First World War was a turning point in modern history. It brought about cultural upheaval and social transformation on a massive scale. There was a general sense that the old order was passing away and that a new era was being ushered in. To the moral guardians of the age, the 1920s looked like one big, endless party, a vast dance floor of hedonistic release. As Cynthia Commacchio argues, "the abundant and varied diversions of the new age, the dance halls, cinemas, spectator sports, automobile trips and 'speakeasies'" energized a new youth culture to which commercial interests happily pandered. Toronto's chief of police declared that parents did not know what young people were doing in their leisure time and that the modern home was a mere "parking place between shows and dances." In 1921, in Guelph, Ontario, a local preacher held forth on the "reeking atmosphere" of the dance hall and the "absolutely inevitable stirring of sexual passion entailed in the so-called jitney and other similar dances." Modern youth were "dancing themselves to perdition" to the "uncivilized strains of jazz and other 'Negro' music."[1] As American evangelist Billy Sunday put it, the world was "going crazy, mad, bughouse."[2]

The *Moose Jaw Times* in July 1928 posed the question: "Is Youth Hell-Bent? The Few Bad Ones Get All the Publicity." The article, a reprint from a Los Angeles newspaper, cited an expert who thought that youthful misbehaviour was the result of lax child-rearing practices and the failure to use the rod and spank the child: "If petting is parked by the wayside, the parent furnished the automobile. If gin puts kick into parties, the boy did not invent the boot. Neither did the flapper invent the knees."[3] However, the article acknowledged that "hell-bent" youth received a disproportionate amount of publicity. One drunk was enough to break up the party and bring in the patrol wagon. One hip flask stirred up more commotion than a thousand books taken out of the library. The "revolt of youth" was the work of a minority. Most youth were as steady and reliable as they had ever been. Another article described a campaign by the

New York YMCA and YWCA to stop the practice of "petting" (sex above the waist). Dr. Max J. Exnor, director of the American Social Hygiene Association, was quoted as saying that it was harmful because it cultivated "the lower order of love." Eleanor Wembridge, of the county court in Cleveland, reported that petting in moderation was regarded in certain circles as a social asset. College girls who did not pet were ashamed to admit it because it was assumed that "they must pet or be left behind."[4]

In October 1927, the *Moose Jaw Times* ran a piece from the *Ottawa Citizen* on the decline of church-going. Automobiles by the thousand toured the countryside on Sunday afternoons. Church pews were empty, while seats at boxing matches or at the theatre were always full. One Ottawa boy was overheard to say to another: "But what do you go to church for? No one goes there nowadays. They are nearly all empty."[5] Closer to home, the Biggar, Saskatchewan, weekly newspaper reported a string of automobile thefts. Young Arnie Labreck "borrowed" a car to go out to the country to see his best girl, who was employed as a domestic servant in a nearby town. He was locked up in the town jail for the night, and the next morning he appeared before the justice of the peace and was charged with having taken a car without the owner's consent and fined twenty dollars and costs.[6] In another incident, "mere youngsters" placed twenty-eight spikes on the rails just outside of town, wedging them tightly between the joints. A number of cottages had been broken into, including that of Mr. Froom, who reported the loss of a shotgun and several cartridges. It was a veritable youth crime wave, or so one might have concluded from reading the newspaper.[7]

The *Moose Jaw Times* was prompted to ask: "Is the World Growing Worse?" There were arguments to be made on both sides of the question. On the one hand, it was said that "unwedded lust was laughing at wedded love and [that] infidelity in marriage relationships [was] growing." Great numbers of people were money mad, "feeding their lower cravings to the degree of gluttony." Youth were "morally flippant and frivolous." But there were positive signs, too. The churches had never been more active in missionary work or the Bible published in so many languages. The problems of society were immense and seemed to be growing worse, but the *Times* thought it was unwise and unchristian to yield to despair.[8]

W.P. Reekie, president of the provincial Women's Christian Temperance Union, wrote to President Walter Murray of the University of Saskatchewan on 28 January 1928 concerning the allegedly immoral conduct of the "boys and girls" at the university. Her informant was Reverend S.P.

Rondeau, a United Church minister and member of the Ku Klux Klan. It seemed that girls were smoking cigarettes in their rooms in residence at the university and in restaurants downtown. The dean of women reportedly condoned the practice. "I am sorry if that is the case," Reekie wrote, "for any woman who has no higher ideals for the welfare of the girls committed to her charge is not worthy of the position." At the dances held at the university, boys showed up with the smell of liquor on their breath, and the girls felt obliged to dance with them or be called "old fashioned or Puritan or something like that, and it is very embarrassing for them."[9]

Murray replied that he, too, had received a letter from Reverend Rondeau. With respect to the complaints about smoking and drinking, the president pointed out that it was easier for the university to make rules than to enforce them. The students were not children. Although some of them were no more than seventeen or eighteen years old, others were over twenty-one and claimed to be "their own mistresses or masters." If regulations were imposed arbitrarily, the students would balk at them and nothing would be achieved. Murray thought it advisable to proceed with caution and secure the students' cooperation in whatever disciplinary measures were taken. A faculty committee had been appointed to supervise the dances. No drinking was allowed, and no one who had been drinking was permitted on the premises. However, intoxication was not easy to prove. The impression that a person's breath smelled of liquor could be challenged or denied, as often happened in cases brought before the courts. Murray thought that the girls ought to have the strength of character not to dance with men who were behaving badly. As for smoking, the regulations were less strict. As far as Murray could tell, public opinion did not condemn men for smoking, though perhaps a larger number thought it was improper for women to do so. "Since the War," he added, "public opinion has been less exacting in these matters."[10]

In a follow-up letter, Murray provided a full report on girls' smoking in residence. It had been prepared by the Committee on Discipline, consisting of the deans and three professors appointed by the University Council. They unanimously agreed that it was undesirable for girls to be smoking. However, some of them claimed they smoked at home and that their parents approved of it. Therefore, it was decided not to impose a ban, except insofar as smoking was "objectionable or injurious" to fellow students.[11] Reekie replied the next day. She was not happy with the university's response and felt something "*drastic*" (italics in original) had to be done. "I expect you will think I am a crank," she said, "and I'll admit

that on some things I am, perhaps owing to my Scotch ancestry and the influences that were thrown about me when I was a girl and growing up." She felt very strongly that young girls at the university were in need of protection by the university authorities. Many had grown up in quiet, sheltered homes. At university, they came into contact with girls who were older and more experienced. They were made to feel that their mothers' ideas were old-fashioned and that it was "smart" to smoke. The university must come to the aid of such girls and prohibit smoking in the residence or, if that were not possible, assign a smoking room for the few who desired to indulge the habit. "I don't mean that as sarcasm," Reekie wrote, "I am serious about it. We isolate for measles etc., and this is a far more serious matter and of longer standing. These girls are going to be the mothers of the race and how can we have 100 percent children if the mothers are not up to standard."[12]

Several months went by, and nothing was heard from Reekie. Then in November 1929 there was another letter. Reekie had heard that a young man had written to his mother about the Agro (agriculture) Banquet Initiation, which featured a "scrumptious meal," together with "wine, cigarettes, cigars and whoopee."[13] Reekie was greatly alarmed by the wine and the "whoopee." She said that members of the WCTU were considering not sending their children to the university until the matter was cleared up. Murray assured her that that he had attended the banquet and that the "wine" had been nothing more than diluted fruit juice of a ruddy colour. The word "wine" was printed on the menu, but it was just "one of those student jokes that sometimes are not appreciated outside." As for the "whoopee," Murray supposed that it was slang for a good time. The banquet, on the whole, he said, was "far more staid and proper than the usual Canadian Club luncheon."[14]

Reekie was by no means alone in her concerns. The Saskatchewan Conference of the United Church in 1927 officially deplored the prevalence of "many suggestive and degrading forms of dancing," and it called special attention to the evils arising from unsupervised public dances.[15] It also condemned the "gambling spirit" that had infected the province in the form of raffles, lotteries, and various games of chance to raise money for charitable purposes. The United Church deemed such practices unworthy and destructive of national character.[16] It also gave full support to efforts of the Lord's Day Alliance to maintain the "priceless heritage" of the Sabbath, preserving it as a "breathing space for the spirit." Christian people were encouraged to refrain from unnecessary business on that day

and to shun organized and commercial amusements.[17] As the mood of wartime sacrifice dissipated, the Sabbath was opened up for concerts and sports events. Restaurants bent the rule that allowed them to sell goods on Sundays and in some cases operated virtually as grocery stores. The sale of gasoline and oil was impossible to prevent, and motorists took to the road for Sunday drives.[18] By the end of the decade, the Lord's Day Alliance was regarded as a spent force and was pushed to the periphery of Canadian church work.[19]

The Ku Klux Klan and the Flapper

The 1920s was the decade of the flapper. She was an iconic presence with her fashionable bobbed hair, lipstick, short skirts, and silk stockings.[20] It is not clear when the term "flapper" originated and how it found its way into the vernacular. According to a 1920s fashion magazine, it initially referred to a gawky teenage girl "supposed to need a certain type of clothing – long, straight lines to cover her awkwardness – and the stores advertised these gowns as 'flapper-dresses.'" After the First World War, "flapper" came to represent an attitude as well as a style of dress or mode of appearance. According to *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, she was "a young girl, esp. one somewhat daring in conduct, speech and dress." As one popular newspaper columnist put it: "She disports herself flagrantly in the public eye, and there is no keeping her out of grown-up company or conversation. Roughly, the world is divided into those who delight in her, those who fear her and those who try pathetically to take her as a matter of course."[21]

The flapper represented a challenge, real and symbolic, to the established gender order. During the war, women had taken up jobs as "farmerettes," munitions workers, and army nurses. While there was some retreat to domesticity in the 1920s, the expanding white-collar sector opened up new opportunities. A period of waged work became a familiar stage in the lifecycle of middle-class women (for the working-class female, labour had long been a necessity) in the years between graduation from school and getting married. By 1931, 47.4 percent of Canadian women aged twenty to twenty-four were in the paid labour force. In the twenty-five to thirty-four age group, the percentage fell to 24.4 percent since it was still not thought proper for married women to earn a wage outside the home.[22]

As Carolyn Strange has shown, single wage-earning women came to be perceived as a moral problem. As they took jobs in department stores,

offices, and factories, they were drawn out of domestic service, whether paid or unpaid. They had money of their own to spend and free time to do as they pleased. To the alarm of moral overseers, they promenaded down the streets in their "finery," put on airs, and frequented dance halls. As a result, they became the target of morality campaigns, which were part of a larger effort to purify and regenerate the "race." Among social reformers, there was a great fear of "race suicide" as the birth rate among middle-class Anglo-Saxons fell while the inflow of foreign immigrants, with their higher birth rate, increased. Toronto police magistrate (and prominent imperialist) George Taylor Denison openly declared that Jews were "neurotic," southern Europeans "hot-blooded," Chinese "degenerate," and Aboriginal peoples and blacks "savage" and "primitive." White women had to be kept away from such types, lest the Anglo-Saxon race be "mongrelized." Hence the need to regulate the moral conduct of white working girls to make sure that they were fit to fulfill their function as procreators of the race. This was what made the image of the flapper especially disturbing. Glamourized and sexualized, she did not have the appearance of a suitable mother. The great loss of white Anglo-Saxon Canadian men in the First World War made the matter of replacing the population even more urgent than it otherwise would have been. Thus, issues of gender, race, and morality converged. Single white women had to be protected, that is to say, they had to be controlled, because the future of the race depended on them.[23]

At Regina College, which was run by the Methodist Church, two girls created a sensation in 1916, when they bobbed their hair, but by the 1920s it was the standard style. Girls experimented with the "shingle," "buster brown," marcel waves, spit curls, and little back-combed bushes covering the ears called "cootie garages." Clothing styles showed the flapper influence. Girls wore sleeveless dresses with the low waist design. They rolled their stockings below the knees in keeping with the popular tune, "Roll'em, Girlies, roll'em, Everybody roll'em, Roll'em down and show your pretty Knees!" Newspapers, magazines, and movies purveyed the latest fads. Playing at a Regina theatre in 1931 was the movie, "Confessions of a Co-ed: A Flaming Diary of Flaming College Youth." The film dealt with "the lives and loves, hopes and ambitions of the most interesting people in America today, the young College students. Its startling exposures ... will amaze you ... an exciting procession of girls' clothes, proms, dances, dating and week-ending in fashionable mountain resorts." In 1922, the Regina *Leader* published an alarmist article entitled "Empire May be Undermined by

Spirit of Jazz." The music critic for the paper composed facetious program notes for a jazz concert: "Petting parties, with club variants, were a significant feature of cave-man life. The untrammeled ego has been stimulated to a remarkable degree since the war by modern conceptions of what freedom means."[24]

In addition to anxieties about "flapperdom," there were worries about the stability and sanctity of marriage. The divorce rate in the 1920s was extremely low, but it seemed to be trending upward. The Committee of Evangelism and Social Service of the United Church in Saskatchewan reported that, in 1928, the number of divorces in Canada was 785, which represented an increase of thirty-seven, or 4.9 percent, over the previous year. In addition, there had been a rise in the number of divorces granted in the United States to persons of Canadian birth. According to the *Marriage and Divorce Bulletin* of the United States Bureau of the Census, many Canadians sought residence in the United States for the sole purpose of obtaining a divorce since American divorce laws were not as strict as were those in Canada. The United Church undertook to "promote the preparation of youth by parents and leaders of youth for the sacred responsibilities of family life and parenthood ... and to inculcate Christian ideals of the permanence of the marriage tie and fidelity to the marital bond."[25] In like manner, the General Synod of the Anglican Church in Canada passed a resolution in 1927 requesting bishops to place before every member of the church the vital importance of loyalty to the Christian ideal of marriage and urging the bishops to consider what means might be found to "overcome the menace of divorce."

In 1927, the Local Council of Women (LCW) in Regina discussed the laws relating to marriage and divorce. E.W. Stapleford, the wife of the president of Regina College and convener of the LCW laws committee, remarked that H.G. Wells in a recent novel had devoted one hundred pages to sex questions. She outlined the proposal of Judge Ben Lindsey of Colorado for "companionate marriage," in which the marital bond could be dissolved at any time by mutual consent. Stapleford thought that Lindsey was "scarcely logical in his arguments."[26] The *Leader* also weighed in on what it called "Companionate Foolishness." "The older marriage customs," the paper editorialized, "at which these impatient fledglings rail, do to some extent insure homes against sudden and arbitrary demolition. Erecting a marriage partnership without such insurance is as foolish as maintaining a dwelling with no fire protection."[27]

The Ku Klux Klan's response to challenges to the gender order was direct and emphatic. It held that the woman's role was that of wife and mother. Anything that departed from the maternal ideal was to be denounced and rejected. This helps to explain the order's animosity towards the Roman Catholic Church. The Klan thought it was unnatural for men to be celibate and for women to spend their lives in convents, abandoning the duties of motherhood.[28] Similarly, the confessional was suspect because of its potential impact on the husband's authority. If a woman confided in a priest, she was no longer under the sole sway of her husband.

The Klan had a good deal to say about "manliness," as the following prayer, taken from the *Kloran* (the Klan's constitution and rules of order) indicates:

> God give us men! The Invisible Empire demands
> Strong minds, great hearts, true faith and ready hands.
> Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
> Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
> Men who possess opinions and will;
> Men who have HONOR; men who will NOT lie;
> Men who can stand before a demagogue
> And damn his treacherous flatteries without winking
> Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog
> In public duty and in private thinking:
> For while the rabble, with their thumb-worn creeds,
> Their LARGE profession and their LITTLE deeds,
> Mingle in selfish strife, lo! Freedom weeps
> Wrong rules the land, and waiting justice sleeps.
> God give us men!
> Men who serve not for selfish booty,
> But real men, courageous, who flinch not a duty;
> Men of dependable character; men of sterling worth;
> Then wrongs will be redressed, and right will rule the earth;
> God give us men![29]

Klan lecturer J.H. Hawkins called upon the male citizens of Canada to be "real men." In May 1928, he told an audience in Watrous: "You must awaken to the situation you are facing and, as men, stand as a solid wall against invasion of your Dominion by those who cannot be assimilated,

those with other ideals, their own schools and their own Churches and who refuse to learn your language."[30] The country was being invaded, as in wartime. Men had the duty to guard and protect their wives, sisters, and daughters. The Klan was a brotherhood, an "Invisible Empire" of idealized manhood. The "outside world" (the visible empire) was tawdry and tarnished. The Knights rose above this shabby, external world to a noble plane of "chivalry, industry, Honour, and love."[31]

The Klan had a women's auxiliary in Saskatchewan, of which we know very little. Its membership fee was half that of men, which implies a lesser status. From press reports, we know that women attended Klan rallies, but they were never on the platform and never said anything that was quoted in the newspaper. They played whist and made lunches at Klan socials. For example, at the Rosetown Klan No. 60 whist drive in April 1930, the ladies' first prize was won by E. Jones of Houghton and the gents' first prize by D.H.C. Wright of Regina: "A very nice lunch was served by the ladies and everybody is asking for another in the near future."[32] The Moose Jaw Klan put on the play "Wives on Strike," which had both male and female cast members. The performance drew audiences of five hundred on two successive nights. According to the *Klansman*, it "left nothing to be desired in the way of comedy, and scarcely a minute's rest was given the audience as the rebellious wives went about their task of devising ways and means for husband training."[33] The subject matter is suggestive, hinting perhaps that the inversion of the gender order on the stage served to subtly reinforce it in everyday life.

The Klan's self-declared purpose was to protect the home and the chastity of womanhood and "to exemplify a pure patriotism towards our glorious country." To the tune "Home, Sweet Home," they sang the words:

> Home, home, country and home,
> Klansmen we'll live and die
> For our country and home.
> Here honor, love and justice
> Must actuate as all;
> Before our sturdy phalanx
> All hate and strife shall fall.
> In unison we'll labor
> Wherever we may roam,
> To shield the klansman's welfare,
> His Country, name and home.[34]

Women were placed on a pedestal, romanticized, and patronized. Hawkins discoursed at length about "his wonderful mother, his sacrificing wife, his wonderful children," at times bringing tears to the eyes of women in the audience – and of some men, too.[35] At a Klan rally in Regina, he proclaimed: "Show me a man that has ever reached a position of eminence that didn't have a good wife or a good mother helping him. You cannot find in all the world a man since the Garden of Eden who has not been fed and comforted in the lap of a woman; and this organization owes a duty to the women of Canada." To women in the audience, he said: "We need your help and your assistance and, in return, we are going to throw around your homes a solid wall of love, loyalty and devotion." Women were especially to be protected from predatory non-white males in order that the race might be kept pure and undefiled. "When the time comes in Canada," Hawkins said, "when there can be induced into Chinese dives girls less than fourteen years of age – and the girl taken out of that Chinese dive in Moose Jaw under the influence of drugs might have been your daughter, your sister – when the time comes that these people are preying on the white women of Canada, isn't it time to form an organization such as the Klan to protect the sanctity of your homes and protect your womanhood?"[36] A threat to the gender order was simultaneously a threat to the racial order. In the Klan mind, they were almost one and the same thing.

Prohibition

Prohibition was the great moral battleground in Saskatchewan in the 1920s. During the First World War, both bars and liquor stores were closed down. However, in the aftermath of the war, the spirit of sacrifice gave way to a more relaxed attitude, and pressure increased to allow the legal sale of beverage alcohol. The entire decade was spent in almost continuous battle between prohibitionists and anti-prohibitionists. At stake was the moral order of the province.

The fight to keep Canada dry was related to the fight to keep Canada British since foreigners and Catholics were portrayed as the primary culprits of the liquor traffic. It was noted that Jews, such as the Bronfmans, were prominent bootleggers, and press reports of drunkenness, and the mayhem that went with it, regularly featured persons with foreign-sounding names. *St. Peter's Messenger*, a Catholic newspaper, reported: "The leaders of the prohibition league are ... filled with a virulent hatred of the Roman Catholic church and all that belongs to it."[37]

The Saskatchewan Temperance Act went into effect on 1 May 1917. It shut down the liquor stores (the bars had been closed since 1 July 1915) and permitted the sale of liquor to citizens within the province only on a doctor's prescription for medicinal purposes.[38] However, it was still legal to buy liquor from outside the province and have it shipped in for one's personal use. Export houses were established in Manitoba to supply Saskatchewan customers by means of a mail-order business. Similar arrangements were put in place for export houses in Saskatchewan to supply Manitoba and other provinces that had gone "dry." Because of the export-house loophole, the liquor business continued to flourish. In addition, an illicit traffic in liquor was carried on by sales from the export houses in Saskatchewan to local bootleggers and "blind pigs," that is, places where alcohol was sold illegally.

Such conditions led prohibitionists to appeal to the federal government to impose a Dominion-wide ban on the manufacture, importation, and exportation of liquor. The federal government acted on 22 December 1917. Under the authority of the War Measures Act, it prohibited "the transportation of liquor into any part of Canada wherein the sale of intoxicants was illegal after April 1, 1918." The manufacture of liquor in Canada was also forbidden. Reverend W.J. Stewart, secretary of the Saskatchewan Social Service Council, rejoiced: "This is something for which all people interested in temperance reform have long prayed and toiled with great sacrifice." These wartime provisions remained in effect until 1 January 1920, at which time it was again legal to manufacture liquor in Canada and to transport it from one province to another. Under pressure from the prohibitionists, the Dominion government offered to prevent the importation of liquor into any province that requested such action to be taken. Saskatchewan held a referendum on 25 October 1920, asking the question: "Shall the importation or bringing of intoxicating liquors into the province be forbidden?" The vote was 55,259 in favour of importation and 86,949 against. It was a major triumph for prohibition, but not as impressive as the victory in the 1916 referendum. Only about half the eligible voters bothered to cast a ballot. Enthusiasm for prohibition was beginning to ebb.[39]

The federal government set 1 February 1921 as the date when importation of liquor into Saskatchewan would stop. However, this did not mean that all 58 export houses ("boozoriums," as they were called) that were operating in the province immediately went out of business. The number

fell to thirty-five in March 1921 and to fourteen in June 1922.[40] The others had stocked up large quantities of liquor before the importation ban went into effect and had sufficient supply to stay in business for another two or three years. In addition, large quantities of liquor entered the province illegally, mainly from British Columbia and Quebec, where the laws were not as strict. In one instance, a Regina bootlegger purchased a rail carload of liquor from a Vancouver firm. The car was labelled "fish" and was supposedly destined for Montreal. The car was diverted to Regina, but before it could be unloaded, liquor commission enforcement officers spotted it and seized the contents. Another ploy was to put sand or steel filings into the axle box of a rail car, causing a "hot box" and forcing the car to be left at a siding in some remote location. Smugglers then rushed to the scene and transferred the liquor into trucks.[41]

Much of the liquor was shipped to the United States, where prohibition had gone into effect under the Volstead Act, 1920. As the chief prohibition officer in the United States commented: "You can't keep liquor from dripping through a dotted line."[42] Many of the export houses in Saskatchewan were located in small border towns, such as Bienfait, Carnduff, and Gainsborough. American rum-runners crossed into Saskatchewan in automobiles, picked up the liquor at the export houses, and roared back into the United States. What they were doing was legal as long as they were in Canada, but as soon as they entered US territory, the liquor was contraband and they had to run the gauntlet of law enforcement officers. Criminal gangs often tried to hijack the cargoes, which led to wild chases and shoot-ups. A raucous, lawless atmosphere prevailed. During one month in 1922, there were twenty-five bank robberies in southern Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba.[43]

The Dominion government might have made the export of liquor trade to the United States illegal, which would have been the neighbourly thing to do, but deliberately refrained from doing so. It was openly speculated that the liquor interests had undue influence with the Liberal government in Ottawa. The presence of the export houses was harmful for Saskatchewan because much of the liquor was not sold in the United States but, rather, diverted for illegal sale within the province. In February 1922, the Saskatchewan government limited the location of export houses to cities of not fewer than ten thousand and restricted transportation of liquor to common carrier by rail or water, which meant that automobiles could not be used. The export houses along the border were forced to close

down. Only six remained in business, and they were located in Regina, Saskatoon, and Moose Jaw. However, the legislation banning transportation by automobile was struck down by the courts on the grounds that the law was outside the constitutional jurisdiction of the province. The liquor now moved by rail from city warehouses to points near the border, where, as before, it was picked up and transported by automobile to the United States. In June 1922, the Dominion government finally took action against the export houses. It made it illegal for all but brewers and distillers to export liquor or keep it for export in a province in which prohibition was in force. The amendment went into effect in Saskatchewan on 15 December 1922. It had taken two years of lobbying on the part of prohibitionists to win the victory.[44]

When the Dominion Distributors warehouses were shut down in Regina, the provincial liquor commission (the body responsible for enforcement of the provincial liquor laws) looked the other way while the booze was transferred to cellars and garages in the south part of the city. In one residence alone, more than three thousand cases of whisky were stored. This was enough to supply Regina retailers for sixteen months. Fines were imposed on illegal liquor sellers from time to time, but the profits were so large that the penalties were readily absorbed into the cost of doing business.[45] This was but one instance of how difficult it was to enforce the Saskatchewan Temperance Act.

Within urban municipalities, the responsibility fell largely to the local police force. If necessary, they could seek the help of the Saskatchewan Provincial Police (SPP), which looked after law enforcement in rural areas. In 1919, the officers of the SPP spent fully four-fifths of their time on liquor-related offences, an unwelcome distraction from other criminal matters. The RCMP, together with the Department of Inland Revenue, had responsibility for the seizure of illicit stills. It was a losing battle, mainly because of the insufficient number of officers and the lack of public support. In 1924, the RCMP reported that the manufacture of home brew was on the increase, notwithstanding the fact that the number of men assigned to Inland Revenue work had been raised from five to fourteen. Many people resented the prohibition law and had no qualms about breaking it. In many of the smaller communities it was almost impossible for the police to gather evidence at all.[46] Word that a police officer was in the vicinity spread quickly, allowing moonshiners time to hide or destroy their stills. The Regina *Leader* estimated in 1923 that there were 20,000 stills in Saskatchewan, one for every five farms.[47]

The ban on liquor did not extend to that sold by pharmacists for medicinal purposes, which was another headache for law enforcement officers. Pharmacists were constantly badgered by those who wanted liquor without a prescription or in excessively large quantities. Doctors, too, were under pressure from the public. Dr. T.V. Connell, president of the Saskatchewan Medical Association, complained: "It was one thing to give physicians the power to issue prescriptions for the sick, but it was another to make us the official bartenders of the province." Druggists who obeyed the law lost customers to less scrupulous competitors. Fly-by-night drugstores were set up for the sole purpose of selling liquor. Eventually, stricter regulations were put in place. Prescriptions were limited to eight ounces of brandy or rye whisky at a time, and pharmacists were required to keep complete records of every prescription filled, such records to be available to inspectors on request. The stricter enforcement had positive results. When the Saskatchewan Liquor Commission began its work in July 1920, doctors were writing up to seven hundred liquor prescriptions per month. By February 1921, the sale of medicinal liquor had fallen by one-half.[48]

There was disagreement about why prohibition was not properly enforced. Some said it was impossible to enforce a law that most people did not support and were not willing to obey. Others said the provincial government wanted prohibition to fail so that it could collect revenue from the government sale of liquor. Still others speculated about powerful forces operating behind the scenes, for example, the Bronfman family, who controlled much of the export trade. At a temperance meeting in Preeceville, someone in the audience made the comment that Harry Bronfman was "bigger than the government."[49]

The general difficulty of trying to enforce a law that seemed unenforceable encouraged anti-prohibitionists, who, in May 1922, organized the Temperance Reform League, later renamed the Moderation League. Their goal was to restore the legal sale of liquor in government-owned outlets. The league included representatives from the Great War Veterans' Association, the Trades and Labour Council, the Regina Merchants' Association, and the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches. It presented a petition to the legislature on 23 February 1923 bearing 65,974 names. The petition was rejected by the government on the grounds that no change could be made to the liquor laws without the authority of a referendum. The Moderation League thereupon organized a second petition, this time calling for a referendum. It had over 80,000 signatures and was delivered to the premier on 30 November 1923.[50]

Meanwhile, prohibitionists mobilized their forces. They formed the Prohibition League of Saskatchewan under the presidency of Anglican bishop George Exton Lloyd, who, as we have seen, was a leading figure in the Keep Canada British campaign and had helped inspire the Klan's policy to impose a quota on foreign immigration. Adopting the slogan "Saskatchewan Hold the Line," the Prohibition League held rallies all across the province.[51] Members of the league argued that prohibition had not been given a fair chance to succeed. The liquor export houses had been closed only since 15 December 1922. More time was needed – at least three years, they said – to see whether the experiment would work.[52] The referendum was scheduled for 16 July 1924. In the meantime, both Manitoba and Alberta voted in favour of government sale. Donatien Frémont, *chef du secretariat* of the ACFC, gave it as his opinion that French Catholics in Saskatchewan were "instinctively hostile" to prohibition, which he described as an "anti-Christian measure because it circumvented individual liberty" and represented "a new step on the road to socialism."[53] For ultra-British Protestants, this was one more proof that French Catholics were seriously lacking in the qualities of citizenship.

The ballot placed two questions before the voters: (1) "Are you in favour of prohibition in Saskatchewan?" and (2) "If a liquor control system under government control be established which of the following do you favour? (a) Sale by the government; or (b) Sale by the government in sealed packages of all spirituous and malt liquor, and also sale of beer in licensed premises." Some 207,346 votes were cast out of approximately 300,000 eligible electors. On the first question, 119,337 voted against prohibition and 80,381 in favour of it. On the second, 89,001 voted for government control and 81,125 for government control plus sale of beer by the glass in licensed premises.

Accordingly, the government set up the Saskatchewan Liquor Board, which went into operation on 15 April 1925. Eleven liquor stores were established in the seven cities of the province (Regina, Saskatoon, Moose Jaw, North Battleford, Prince Albert, Swift Current, and Weyburn) as well as the Town of Yorkton. The rest of the province was divided into numbered districts, each comprising about three rural municipalities and the towns and villages therein. In these districts, the board had to give thirty days' notice of its intention to open a store. During that time, the local residents had the opportunity to hold a vote, and if the majority voted against it, no store was established. Even after the store was opened, the people in the area could petition to have it shut down. The legislation

limited the total number of liquor stores in the province to twenty-five but placed no limit on the number of beer stores. During the first year, ninety beer stores were in operation, and by 1929 there were 175.[54] The stores proved a financial boon to the province. The net profit from liquor sales for the fiscal year ending 31 March 1929 totalled $3,083,947.46, an increase of more than $600,000 over 1928.[55] The Saskatchewan government obtained more from liquor revenues than it did from any other tax.[56]

Heavy penalties were imposed for the sale of liquor by anyone other than a government liquor store vendor or a druggist selling for medicinal purposes. The keeping and consumption of liquor was lawful only in a dwelling house, which was defined as a private residence or the guest room of a hotel.[57] Beer and liquor could not be consumed in bars or restaurants, in parks, or in any other public place. For a first offence, the magistrate had the option of handing down one of three sentences: a minimum fine of two hundred dollars with sixty days in jail in default of payment; a minimum fine of one hundred plus imprisonment; and imprisonment for four months without the option of a fine. For the second and subsequent offences, the minimum fine was four hundred dollars, and imprisonment was mandatory for at least thirty days.

The SPP generally had to go undercover to obtain the evidence required for an arrest. This created ill feeling because many people still thought the law was onerous and unfair. In the village of Pangman, SPP constable F.H. Rash was able to get "in" with members of the drinking crowd, but they soon figured out that he was an agent. They offered him a drink mixed in a cup with hot water. About five minutes later, Rash knew he had been drugged. He went to his room, pulled the bed to the door, and fell unconscious. His drinking companions entered the room while he was asleep and went through his belongings. The next morning, when he went downstairs, he was greeted with the words: "We know you are a damn whisky spotter."[58]

Some of the "spotters" were unsavoury types, often former bootleggers given to bouts of drunkenness and prone to the taking of bribes.[59] Justice of the Peace W.E. Knowles of Moose Jaw referred to them as "blacklegs and the riff-raff of the streets," who had no business trying to get law-abiding citizens into trouble.[60] Charles Doell appeared in court in Kerrobert in October 1927 on a liquor charge. Two spotters, Steven Loftus and Frank Abraham, had met the accused in the Canada Café and asked him if he thought there was still time to obtain some beer from the liquor store before it closed. Doell replied, "Oh, you don't need to worry about

that. I have plenty at home." They accompanied him to his house, where they purchased four bottles of Shea's Stock Ale at twenty-five cents each. Loftus drank a bottle at Doell's home and wrapped the other three in a newspaper and carried them under his arm. At about nine o'clock in the evening they returned to their room above the Canada Café, where Loftus opened a second bottle. He took a mouthful and then passed it to Abraham, who also took a swallow. Afterwards the bottle was recorked and sealed with wax. Loftus put a label on it, indicating when and where it had been procured. He signed the label, and Abraham, who was illiterate, marked his X. It was later presented in court as an exhibit. Justice of the Peace Ward imposed the minimum penalty of two hundred dollars or thirty days in jail, with the costs of the court amounting to $5.75 or fourteen days in jail, the two jail sentences to run concurrently.[61]

The enforcement of the liquor laws or the lack thereof kept the prohibition issue at a constant boil. The Moderation League was not content to rest on its laurels. It wanted to have more flexible hours of operation for the liquor stores and at least one store in each city open late at night. It also lobbied for "beer by the glass," in effect, the re-opening of bars and the sale of beer in restaurants. The league worked on the principle that "constant dropping would wear a stone away."[62] The prohibitionists fought back, even though they must have sensed that the tide was running against them. On the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Saskatchewan Women's Christian Temperance Union in 1929, the guest speaker, Louise C. McKinney, president of the Alberta Union, spoke of the greater difficulties in gaining support for prohibition compared with when the WCTU was first started. Two factors had led to the decline of the movement, she argued. One was complacency on the part of temperance advocates, who had mistakenly believed that the battle had been won during the war and let down their guard, and the other was the more intensive and efficient organization of the liquor forces. "But prohibition is bound to win eventually," she confidently predicted, "because it is in the line of human progress ... By abandoning prohibition, Canada forfeited her place in the sun."[63]

The Bronfmans

Yechiel, patriarch of the Bronfman dynasty, had owned a grist mill and tobacco farm in Bessarabia in the Russian Empire. The grist mill suggests the possibility that even in the old country the Bronfmans were involved in distilling whisky ("Bronfman" in Yiddish means "liquor man"), but evidence on this point is inconclusive.[64] In the 1880s, Bessarabia was swept

by anti-Jewish pogroms, causing the family to immigrate to Canada. They homesteaded near Wapella in Saskatchewan, later moving to Brandon, Manitoba, where Yechiel and his sons sold firewood and frozen whitefish. They also went into the hotel business. Hotels had bars and sold liquor, and from there it was but a short step for the Bronfmans to invest in distilleries and the whisky trade. When prohibition went into effect, Harry Bronfman, one of Yechiel's sons, took advantage of the loophole that allowed the sale of alcohol for medicinal purposes. He obtained a wholesale drug licence from the Saskatchewan government and set up the Canada Pure Drug Company in Yorkton, which went into operation in a warehouse next to the Balmoral Hotel, across the street from the CPR freight sheds. With the assistance of Liberal friends in Ottawa, he had no trouble having it designated a bonded warehouse. In addition to selling straight liquor through drug stores, he sold alcohol to manufacturers who concocted a variety of patent medicines, including a "Dandy Bracer – Liver and Kidney Cure, which, when analyzed, was found to contain a mixture of sugar, molasses, bluestone, and 36 percent pure alcohol – plus a spit of tobacco juice." The Bronfmans also perfected the art of turning raw alcohol into palatable whisky. To make Scotch, they mixed 65 percent overproof white alcohol with water, a dash of burnt sugar (caramel), and some real Scotch. The cost of the ingredients that went into the mixture was $5.25 a gallon ($1.17 a litre) and it was sold for the bottled equivalent of $25 a gallon ($5.56 a litre). The Yorkton plant processed 5,000 gallons (22,500 litres) a week and made an annual profit of $4,692,000.[65]

The Bronfmans owned export houses in Saskatchewan along the American border, in places like Estevan, Bienfait, Carnduff, Carievale, Gainsborough, and Glen Ewen. These operations came under scrutiny when, in June 1926, the House of Commons suggested the appointment of a royal commission "with full powers to continue and complete investigating the administration of the Department of Customs and Excise and to prosecute all offenders."[66] At the Winnipeg hearing, Cyril Knowles, an inspector with the department, testified that six years earlier Harry Bronfman had attempted to bribe him. It seems that in December 1920 Knowles, accompanied by an RCMP officer, apprehended some American rum runners at Bronfman's border house in Gainsborough, Saskatchewan. The Americans mentioned Bronfman's name, apparently thinking this would be sufficient to get them released. Knowles paid a visit to Harry Bronfman, who, according to Knowles, offered him $3,000 to drop the case. Knowles claimed that he immediately reported the incident to

customs department officials in Ottawa, who were uninterested in the matter. Knowles assumed that Bronfman had somehow gotten to his superiors, who turned a blind eye to the bootlegger's activities.[67] Early in 1928, the interim report of the Royal Commission recommended immediate prosecution of Bronfman on a charge of attempted bribery, but the federal government took no action. Ernest Lapointe, the federal minister of justice, said that some of the Crown witnesses were ill and that, in any case, it was up to the provincial government to prosecute. T.C. Davis, the Saskatchewan attorney general, countered that the matter fell within federal jurisdiction. With both levels of government disclaiming responsibility, there was no prosecution.

Reverend George Exton Lloyd, who led the Prohibition League, made much of the fact that Jews were well represented in the booze trade. "Of the forty-six export houses in Saskatchewan," he maintained, "sixteen are owned and run by Jews. When the Jews form one half of one percent of the population, and own sixteen of the forty-six export houses, it is time that they were given to understand that since they have been received in this country, and have been given rights enjoyed by other white men, they must not defile the country by engaging in disreputable pursuits."[68] As time went on, the export houses were concentrated in fewer hands. The three main companies that survived were all Jewish-owned: the Bronfmans (Sam, Allen, and Harry), the Regina Wine and Spirit Company, and the Globe and Wine Spirit Company.[69] By the time the export houses were shut down in December 1922, all but two small concerns were run by the Bronfmans. Reverend E.H. Oliver, principal of the Presbyterian college at the University of Saskatchewan, and Reverend H.B. Johnston, the Presbyterian minister at Assiniboia, sent a joint letter to the *Saskatoon Star* on 21 November 1921, which stated: "There are certain Jews in the province engaged in the liquor trade who could contribute a great deal to Saskatchewan by leaving it at once."[70]

Both the Klan and the Conservative Party took the view that the Liberal Party was in league with the liquor interests and had turned Saskatchewan into a "bootlegger's paradise." Harry Bronfman was a strong supporter of the provincial Liberal Party, and the Bronfman family had a tight relationship with the Liberal regime in Ottawa, which was of considerable benefit to their business interests.[71] According to James F. Bryant, a leading Conservative, Harry Bronfman was king of the bootleggers and "many times a millionaire." "What sum do you think he paid into the Liberal campaign fund for immunity from prosecution during the whole time he

operated in Saskatchewan and amassed his millions?" Bryant asked. Attorney General T.C. Davis promised to initiate the prosecution, but there were endless delays. By the time the provincial election was called in 1929, over six months had passed since the promise to prosecute had been made and still nothing had been done. "Is it true that the Gardiner government dare not prosecute this case for fear of consequences to itself?" inquired the *Regina Star*. "Has the machine a stranglehold on justice in Saskatchewan?"[72] During the election campaign, the Jewish community in Regina filled the Talmud Torah Hall in support of Liberal candidates D.A. McNiven and F.N. Darke. L. Rosenberg and A.H. Friedgut urged those in attendance to show their disapproval of the Conservative Party, which was guilty, one of the speakers said, "of stirring up racial differences and hatred and strife."[73]

Soon after the Conservatives took office, Harry Bronfman was taken into custody at his Montreal home and whisked away to Saskatchewan, where he stood trial on two separate charges, one for attempted bribery and the other for tampering with witnesses. In the first case, which concerned Knowles's allegations dating back to 1920, Bronfman's lawyer suggested to the jury that the charges were tainted by anti-Semitism. "Has the day come when race and prejudices are to play a part in our courts?" the lawyer asked, "Surely the day has not come in this fair western country when passion and prejudices will send some poor devil to incarceration because of some political hate."[74] After deliberating for four hours, the jury turned in a verdict of not guilty. The witness-tampering trial was even more dramatic. The defence was able to discredit the Crown's key witness by trapping him in a conversation in which he promised to reverse his testimony in exchange for a bribe. Once again, Harry Bronfman was acquitted. The jury took only ten minutes to decide.[75]

The Ku Klux Klan and Moral Reform

Historically, the Liberals in Saskatchewan had been the party of social and moral reform, while the Conservative Party was regarded as laggard in that department. The Liberals, for example, had introduced prohibition during the First World War. Now the tables were turned. The Gardiner government reintroduced the legal sale of liquor and was accused of failing to prosecute bootleggers, like the Bronfmans, with sufficient rigour. J.T.M. Anderson, leader of the Conservative Party, publicized the fact that he had returned two cheques of five hundred dollars each, which had been sent to the Conservative Party by the liquor interests. As premier,

he claimed that he carried on the government sale of liquor only because the people had voted for it in a referendum: "I can safely say on behalf of my government that we look forward with no pleasure to having to carry out this particular mandate on the part of the people." He advised parents not to let their children collect beer bottles for pocket money because there was a risk "of boys getting bottles containing remnants of beer and partaking of those remnants."[76] The Anderson government introduced compulsory scientific temperance education in the schools of the province, an initiative that won praise from the Saskatchewan Prohibition League.[77] As long as Anderson was in power, there was no sale of beer by the glass. It was permitted in 1935, one year after the Liberals were returned to office.

William Calderwood identified twenty-six Protestant ministers in Saskatchewan who belonged to the Klan or who were directly involved in it. They included 13 United Church ministers, 4 Baptist, 4 Anglican, 3 Presbyterian, 1 Lutheran, and 1 Pentecostal.[78] They were attracted to the Klan not only because it was anti-Catholic but also because of its stand on moral reform. United Church minister Reverend L.B. Henn, of Macrorie, thought that the primary aim of the Klan was Christian service to others and that, through service, men and women were brought closer to Christ, "the Criterion of Character." Reverend W. Titley, of Imperial, maintained that the Klan existed to defend Protestant rights and truths, and he urged "every true Protestant to support it."[79] Baptist ministers T.J. Hind and William Surman, both active in the Klan, were elected, respectively, president and secretary of the Baptist Convention in Saskatchewan.[80] In 1930, three members of the Klan were appointed to the Social Services Committee of the Assiniboia Presbytery of the United Church. Their report focused almost entirely on such matters as "the large amount of bootlegging in this Presbytery," infractions of the gambling law, and Sabbath day observance.[81] They regarded the Klan as a worthy and righteous organization that was trying to shore up the moral foundations of society at a time when they were thought to be crumbling.

The Klan consistently emphasized its religious orientation. Its symbol was the burning cross, which it did not see as an insult to the cross but, rather, as a glorification of it. The Klan Kreed "reverently acknowledge[d] the majesty, goodness and supremacy of Almighty God and recognize[d] his mercy and providence through Jesus Christ our Lord." During the initiation ceremony, the candidate for admission to the Klan approached

the Exalted Cyclops (president) and the "sacred altar," on which was placed an open Bible. The Exalted Cyclops lifted a vial of "precious fluid" and sprinkled it on the initiate, dedicating him "in body, in mind, in spirit, and in life, to the holy service of our country, our Klan, our homes, each other and humanity." Klan meetings opened with prayer and closed with benediction: "May the blessing of our Lord wait upon thee and the sun of glory shine around thy head; may the gates of plenty, honour, and happiness be always open to thee and thine, so far as they will not rob thee of eternal joys. May no strife disturb thy days, nor sorrow distress thy nights, and when death shall summon thy departure may the Saviour's blood have washed thee from all impurities, perfected thy initiation, and thus prepared, enter thou into the Empire Invisible and repose thy soul in perpetual peace. Amen!"[82]

It is well to remember that Imperial Wizard William J. Simmons, who founded the modern Klan, was himself a former preacher, and Pat Emmons, who helped bring the Klan to Saskatchewan, was a part-time evangelist. Part of the Klan's organizing technique was to approach Protestant ministers and to enlist their support, which many were happy to give since the Klan's concerns about crime and vice mirrored their own. In the United States it is estimated that as many as 40,000 fundamentalist ministers joined the Klan, including sixteen of thirty-nine Klokards (national lecturers).[83] Many clergymen drawn to the Klan in Saskatchewan were frustrated by the Gardiner government's failure to properly enforce the prohibition laws. This was a charge echoed by the Anderson Conservatives, which forged yet another link between moral crusaders and the anti-Liberal forces in the province.

There were a few Protestant ministers in Saskatchewan who condemned the Klan outright, even as others endorsed it. Reverend H.D. Ranns, the United Church minister in Biggar, and a former student of Salem Bland, the controversial liberal theologian and social gospel advocate at Wesley College in Winnipeg, denounced Klansmen as "bigots and lawbreakers."[84] In one small town in Saskatchewan, the United Church minister refused to allow the Klan lecturer to speak in the church, but he was overruled by the church board by a vote of six to two. A young minister, about to take up his pastorate, was asked by the church board whether he belonged to the Klan. "I hardly knew how to answer the question," the young man later recalled, "I was wondering whether I should say 'No, but I will join later,' [or to say] simply 'No.'"[85] Reverend W.A. Davis of Birch

Hills described the Klan as "unchristian," and Reverend E.R.M. Brecken of Young said it was "unpatriotic, unchristian, mischievous in its methods, and [could] prove to be only disastrous in its results."[86] In Moose Jaw, Reverend E.F. Church, of Zion United Church, admonished that if he wanted to fight Catholics, he would do it "as a gentleman and not shrouded in a white hood," adding that he saw no reason to fight anyone, provided they were law-abiding people.[87]

On 18 October 1927, the Saskatoon Presbytery of the United Church passed an anti-Klan resolution:

> Whereas it is being stated that the United Church is backing the Ku Klux Klan and that the people are being asked to join the organization because of that fact. Therefore this Presbytery of Saskatoon desires to place on record: FIRST – That the United Church is not supporting the Ku Klux Klan in any way. SECOND – That this Presbytery believes that the principles of the Ku Klux Klan are in opposition to the teaching of Jesus and therefore cannot be supported by the United Church of Canada. Further that a copy of this resolution be sent to the Conference for further action if they see fit, also the Press.[88]

The resolution was presented to the Saskatchewan Conference of the United Church at its annual meeting in Regina in June 1928. It was referred to a committee, which recommended "that the Conference refrain from making any deliverance on the question."[89] When the committee's non-committal resolution came before the plenary session, it was approved without debate. The Klan was simply too controversial for the conference to take a stand either for or against it. The silence speaks volumes. The largest Protestant church in the province was afraid to condemn a blatantly racist and anti-Catholic organization.

The "Invisible Empire" was able to present itself as a Christian organization upholding the moral order at a time when it was thought to be under siege. As we have seen, the legacy of the First World War was all-important. The war was seen as a source of moral disorder. Women challenged their assigned gender roles; flappers cut their hair, wore short skirts, drank and danced the night away – conduct unbecoming the future mothers of the race. Young people seemed to be in open rebellion, or at least that was the way they were portrayed in the alarmist press. The Klan was a backlash against such perceived degeneracy. In Saskatchewan, the culture war focused on prohibition, which had been the leading domestic wartime

victory of the moral reformers. They were unwilling to surrender without a fight, even though they must have known, or at least suspected, that theirs was a losing cause. But then again, the Klan itself was a losing cause. By the late 1920s there were so many foreigners in Saskatchewan (who, incidentally, were not enamoured of prohibition) that it was difficult to see how the province could be kept British in the racial definition of British. Psychologically, there is something satisfying in the embrace of a losing cause. It feeds the martyr complex, which the Klan had in spades. But before we contemplate the Klan's downfall, we need to consider its greatest victory.

8
Rage against the Machine

The year 1929 saw the Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan at the peak of its influence. More than any other factor, it changed the political climate to pave the way for the Conservative victory in the provincial election, an outcome that had seemed highly unlikely, if not absolutely impossible, before the Klan arrived on the scene. The Klan's campaign to keep Canada British set the political agenda and forced the Gardiner government on the defensive. The Liberals had no choice but to discuss foreign immigration and the schools question, issues disadvantageous to them, rather than focusing on their strengths, such as fiscal responsibility and the strong economy. Although the Conservative Party did not endorse the Klan, it did not condemn it either. Officially, the Klan was non-partisan, but it was well known that it supported the Conservatives, whose policies were compatible with its own. It was the informal Klan-Conservative alliance that brought down the Liberal government.

Recent American historiography has depicted the 1920s Klan as, in some respects, a "progressive" civic reform organization because it fought political corruption and promoted social reform, at least in certain localities. The interpretation applies to Saskatchewan only to a limited extent and only insofar as the Klan helped to bring down the Liberal political machine. The latter was a blot on democracy, and the province was well rid of it. The "well-oiled machine" was run out of Regina, initially under the direction of James Calder, one of the original cabinet ministers appointed in 1905 and, later, by James Gardiner, who took command in 1922.[1] Although coordination and direction came from the centre, there was considerable local autonomy in decision making, ranging from the selection of candidates down to deciding which of two hardware stores would provide a half dozen shovels for a road crew or which of two hotels would house the itinerant school inspector.[2] The Liberal MLA or candidate (if the constituency was held by the opposition) made recommendations for

the distribution of local patronage, and his advice was almost invariably adopted. Liberal supporters were awarded civil service jobs, which included everyone from the deputy minister at the top level down to the lowly pound keeper, game guardian, or boiler inspector. Calder oversaw appointments with remarkable attention to detail. He advised in 1912 that the government gardener should be watched because he was "not as solid as he should [have] be[en]."[3] On two occasions, Calder sent deputy ministers to assist Liberal election campaigns in Alberta. So-called highway inspectors, hotel inspectors, and other types of inspectors toured the province in "high-powered sedans," giving nominal attention to the duties they were being paid to perform and spending most of their time working for the Liberal Party.[4]

Each constituency was assigned an organizer, quite often the highway inspector but, in other cases, the MLA or local candidate. The organizer appointed two poll captains for each of the constituency's fifty or so polling divisions. When the voters' list was drawn up, the poll captains were designated as the official enumerators; if not, the enumerators were accountable to them. In this way, the Liberal Party had control of the electoral machinery. Each poll captain was responsible for identifying the political affiliation of the voters in his district. He classified them as L (Liberal), C (Conservative), or D (Doubtful).[5] In most constituencies, especially in rural areas, the number of "D's" was very small. Communities were tightly knit, and most people knew how their neighbours were likely to vote. The job of the Liberal organization was to firm up the "L's," weaken the "C's," and win over the "D's." Government patronage was dispensed with this end in view. A furniture dealer might be told that if he and his family did not vote Liberal, no government business would come his way. Wavering constituents might be mollified with a gravel road. On one occasion, Ukrainians complained that not a single candidate of Ukrainian ancestry had been nominated in the entire province. Soon afterwards, a Saskatoon medical doctor of Ukrainian origin was parachuted into a constituency in the northeastern part of the province.[6] Ukrainian voters fell into line. The machine looked after its own.

Even the provincial police were drawn into the network. According to David E. Smith, "both the inspectors and detectives reported on general political conditions in their areas; sometimes they advised on local organizational matters and suggested the names of individuals who should receive special consideration from the Liberal government in Regina."[7]

Several officers in the Saskatchewan Provincial Police were known to be Liberal operatives. Their unofficial duties included attending and reporting on opponents' meetings. Teachers, too, were monitored. In 1912, Calder instructed school inspectors: "I will be very glad indeed if you will give me such assistance as you can in a quiet way while on your rounds."[8] Politically unreliable teachers ran the risk of having their certificates withdrawn, and school boards might be told not to hire them. If the board defied the advice, it could have its school grant cancelled.[9] F.-X. Chauvin, a school inspector appointed in 1912, worked on government time as a Liberal party organizer. When the deputy minister of education complained about this, Chauvin got in touch with the attorney general, W.F. Turgeon, and asked him to set the deputy minister straight on how things were done in Saskatchewan. According to Chauvin, he was perfectly within his rights. Finally, in 1915, the Department of Education was able to secure Chauvin's resignation.[10]

Patronage was involved in the distribution of building contracts, legal services, and government insurance work. In 1908, the province began the practice of guaranteeing bonds for the construction of railway branch lines, which gave the government leverage over railway companies, which, in turn, put pressure on their employees to vote Liberal. Calder corresponded with the head offices of large companies with branches in the province, such as farm implement dealers and banks, asking for information about the political leanings of their agents and branch managers. Companies that did not support the government could not expect any favours.[11] When prohibition was lifted in 1925, new vistas of patronage opened up. The government liquor board purchased all the beer and liquor that was legally sold in the province. Breweries and distilleries making donations to the Liberal Party earned their just reward.[12]

The machine came close to having its operations exposed in 1916, when J.E. Bradshaw, Conservative MLA for Prince Albert, made a series of corruption charges. He alleged "graft, incompetence, and connivance of officials" in connection with the liquor and hotel trades, road-building contracts, and the construction of the insane asylum at Battleford and the jail in Regina. Although a handful of Liberal MLAs was forced to resign from the legislature and some even went to jail, the government emerged from the scandal more or less unscathed. It was able to convince the public that members of the cabinet had been ignorant of wrongdoing. All the culprits were at the lower levels of the party, and they were appropriately punished. All was forgiven, and the machine continued to hum along.

William Martin, who succeeded Walter Scott as premier in 1916, was not as intensely partisan as his predecessor had been. He supported conscription and the Unionist government in 1917, and he distanced himself from the federal Liberal Party. Martin announced that he wanted to take the patronage out of civil service appointments and the tendering of government contracts. While no one quite believed him, it was politically astute of him to make the gesture. The number of questions asked in the legislature about patronage and political corruption dropped dramatically. Under Martin's premiership, Charles Dunning was placed in charge of the Liberal Party organization, except for the foreign-language press, which was handled by Attorney General W.F.A. Turgeon. (A French-language newspaper obligingly inquired: "We would like to know what our attitude must be for the next election and what campaign to start.")[13]

When Dunning became premier in 1922, he adopted a more partisan tone and had the machine restored to fighting trim. The job of running it was entrusted to Jimmy Gardiner, who was also minister of highways. While party influence pervaded all government departments, it was most evident in highways. In 1922-23, for example, twenty-two highway inspectors were being paid out of the capital account, most of them on salary. They included "Big Jim" Cameron, who specialized in the recruitment of candidates; Archie McCallum, "a trouble-shooter and fixer"; and Billy McKay, "whose forte was making trouble for opponents."[14] Conservative J.F. Bryant charged that Cameron had taken part in the Manitoba provincial election campaign in 1927, while still receiving his usual civil service salary and expenses. The Opposition tried to have him summoned before the Public Accounts Committee, but the Liberal majority on the committee blocked the move, maintaining that no civil servant should be questioned under oath unless specific charges were made against him.[15] Highway expenditures in constituencies represented by opposition MLAs in the period from 1925 to 1929 ranged between $66,000 and $155,000, while expenditures in Liberal ridings were between $250,000 and $350,000, and this despite the fact that opposition constituencies had a median population of 19,800, compared with 17,500 for Liberal ridings.[16]

With the revitalization of the Conservative Party in 1928 on a wave of Klan enthusiasm, the attack on the machine sharpened. Although the Conservatives were willing to admit that some civil servants were not tainted by politics, they maintained that most of them had been appointed because they were reliable cogs in the Liberal machine. They openly campaigned for the Liberals at election time, even during regular work

hours. Conservative A.G. McKinnon contended that in the federal election of 1926 fully half the Liberal poll workers in Regina had jobs in the civil service.[17] Voter intimidation was common. Farmers were told by the highway inspector that if they wanted to secure a much-needed road, they would have to "change their politics."[18] Returned soldiers were rejected for government jobs because they dared to vote Conservative. In one instance, a foreign immigrant who had not yet been naturalized was given a job in preference to a British subject who had served in the First World War. The Conservatives said it was "a disgrace to a civilized country."[19] J.T.M. Anderson told the story of a civil servant in Regina who came to see him just before the 1929 election campaign. While they were talking, there was a knock on the door, and the civil servant nearly jumped out of his chair he was so frightened. "My great desire in life," Anderson asserted, "is to rid this province of the Gardiner political machine."[20]

Even the premier began to have doubts about how the machine was being run. Liberal Party workers on the government payroll seemed to be garnering more bad publicity than they were worth. Perhaps it would be better just to have the Liberal Party pay their salaries. Gardiner decided to cut back on the number of "highway inspectors," though he stopped short of getting rid of them. When J.T.M. Anderson moved a resolution in the House "that all contracts of $500 or over for the construction of public works and for the purchase of public supplies and Government printing should be awarded only after fair public tender therefor," the Liberals moved an amendment that tenders be required only "where practicable," thereby negating the substance of the Conservative proposal.[21]

Gardiner had the worst of both worlds. He failed to clean up the patronage system sufficiently to satisfy critics outside the party, while his efforts to curb excesses alienated some of his own supporters. He referred obliquely to a shadowy "ring," whose members had "approached him early in his career with offers of generous financial support in return for guarantees of government business."[22] After the 1929 election, he identified them as "a combination of individuals who ha[d] posed as either Liberals or Conservatives, but who kn[e]w no politics other than their own pockets." One of the "gentlemen" of the ring had stated that he had lost $300,000 since Gardiner became premier because Gardiner would not go along with his schemes. This same individual (who remained unnamed) claimed to have spent $27,000 to get the Conservatives elected, and he was "prepared to spend that much more to rebuild the Liberal party of this province without Gardiner in it."[23] In particular, Gardiner

maintained that his decision to put the power utilities of the province under public ownership annoyed the "ring" because it had hoped to make large profits under a privately owned system. In addition, Gardiner said that he had cut out the agents who had made beer and liquor purchases on behalf of the Saskatchewan Liquor Board. This angered the agents, who lost their commissions, while saving the taxpayers a good deal of money.

Critics of the Liberal Party were sceptical. L.H. Neatby, for one, wanted to know more about what he referred to as: "this pernicious combination against which Mr. Gardiner tells us that he has been waging a plucky but losing fight." It would have been helpful to have had the information before the election, he said, rather than by way of post-mortem. It would also have been useful if Gardiner could have been "a little more specific in his charges and [could have] produce[d] stronger evidence than the bare word of a discredited politician."[24] The *Western Producer* asked: "Who constituted the ring which dominated the Liberal party before Mr. Gardiner's accession to power? In what manner did they, if they did, enrich themselves at the public expense?" Now that the premier had exposed a skeleton in the Liberal closet, there ought to be a thorough investigation: "Light should be thrown in the dark corners."[25] Even the *Leader* thought that Premier Gardiner needed to be a little more forthcoming. If he had specific information about the "ring," he should let the public in on the secret.[26]

For the Conservatives, the machine was an offence against "British principles in the administration of the affairs of the people." Their fight against it, they said, was a reassertion of British liberty and fair play, a "popular revolt against despotism."[27] This fit in well with the Klan's campaign to keep Canada British, especially in light of the fact that the machine owed its success, in large part, to manipulation of the foreign vote. According to J.S. Woodsworth, the system worked as follows: "A thoroughly disreputable fellow, who is useful because he can speak several languages, is engaged to secure voters. He 'rounds up' as many as he can, and enters their names on the voters' lists." On registration day, the citizen-voter showed up "with stolid face and unresponsive eyes." The clerk inquired of the interpreter, "He understands this?" The interpreter replied, "Oh, yaas; I explaan to heem bee-fore." "Can he write?" asked the clerk. The interpreter repeated the question and received a shake of the head in reply. The new voter made his mark. "Well – what of it? That is the same mark required on the ballot. Besides he will probably be allowed

an interpreter in the voting booth." On election day, beer and liquor flowed freely. "The election is won!"[28]

Nowhere were the machine's operations more insidious than in the control of the press. The Regina *Leader* received $2,486,384 in printing contracts from 1905 to 1929, all of it untendered.[29] The Liberals also had the support of the *Moose Jaw Times* and the *Saskatoon Phoenix*. In Prince Albert, the *Herald* switched from the Conservatives to the Liberals in 1917. About two-thirds of the 150 or so rural weeklies supported the Liberals, encouraged by government contracts for the publication of legal and court announcements, notices of liquor licence applications, and other types of advertising. For a small paper operating on a close margin, this revenue made the difference between solvency and bankruptcy. The Liberals also courted the ethnic press, in keeping with their strategy of monopolizing the foreign vote. They raised the money to establish *Der Courier*, the German-language newspaper, for the good reason that, as Calder pointed out in 1908: "There is not a Dominion or local Constituency in Saskatchewan in which there is not a very heavy German vote, and as the majority of them have been voting Liberal in the past it is very important indeed that they should be kept thoroughly posted regarding the political questions of the day."[30] Support also flowed to Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish, Ukrainian, German, Hungarian, and Hebrew newspapers in the form of government advertising or contracts for the publication of statutes and pamphlets.

Because of near-total Liberal domination of the print media, it was difficult for the Conservatives to influence or shape public debate. One Conservative wrote in exasperation: "You realize that the young people of this Province now have access only to Liberal propaganda of the type that is most one-sided and artificial and their only chance to learn of the principles for which the Conservative party stands comes through the parents who will eventually pass away. Without a newspaper we have no chance of winning any seats in this Province and unless the rising generation is given a chance to absorb its principles the Conservative Party will become nearly, if not entirely extinct in Saskatchewan."[31] On 16 July 1928, less than a year before the provincial election, Charles E. Campbell, owner of the *Edmonton Bulletin*, launched the "independent" (that is, Conservative) *Regina Star*.[32] Suddenly, the Conservative point of view was constantly and prominently before the public. Soon after the *Star* appeared on the scene, the *Leader* announced a 40 percent reduction

in its subscription rate, which, according to the *Star*, would save newspaper buyers $150,000 a year. Just imagine, the *Star* conjectured, what savings might be realized if a firm of independent accountants was allowed to do an audit of the finances of the provincial government![33]

The paper published an editorial entitled "Smash the Machine!" which deplored the abysmal condition into which the province had sunk. It characterized the Liberal government as "essentially a gang of political thugs using government patronage to maintain itself in power at the expense of the people." Those who would not go along with the party were insulted and threatened. The "real secret behind Gardiner's power," the *Star* averred, was the "slavish support of the former NEWSPAPER PRESS MONOPOLY in this province" (capitals in original). Hundreds of thousands of dollars of lucrative printing contracts had poured into the coffers of the newspaper press monopoly, which "just as ruthlessly used its power to support THE MACHINE as to charge its subscribers the highest subscription rates in Canada" (capitals in original).[34]

In another editorial, the *Star* portrayed the machine as a "Frankenstein monster." It was a "degrading thing" for the people of Saskatchewan to have to admit that their government was kept in power "by a party organization, maintained with their money, having its being for the simple purpose of wholesale bribery and corruption for the purpose of obtaining votes for a discredited government."[35] The machine, the paper said, stank in the very nostrils of the people. Howard McConnell, Conservative MLA for Saskatoon, remarked that Conservatives in the province had never had a daily press to match the favourable coverage given to the Liberals day in and day out. If the papers kept on repeating that black was white, and white was black, eventually that was what the people believed. But now, he said, with the advent of the *Star*, "We feel the sun is rising and the clouds are rolling away."[36]

The machine blatantly interfered with the administration of justice in the province. When Saskatchewan became a province in 1905, it entered into an agreement with the federal government, whereby the Royal North West Mounted Police (RNWMP) provided police services. However, the provincial government created its own police force in 1910, which functioned as a supplement to the RNWMP. In particular, the provincial police looked after the enforcement of the Liquor Act. It was a "secret service" in the sense that its officers carried out their duties incognito, investigating citizens suspected of breaking the liquor laws.[37] Chief Constable

Charles A. Mahoney, formerly of the Ontario Provincial Police, had close ties to the Liberal Party.[38] His officers sat in on Conservative meetings and reported to Liberal Party officials what was said at such gatherings.[39]

General law enforcement continued to be the responsibility of the RNWMP under an agreement the province had signed with the Dominion government. Owing to wartime conditions, the contract was terminated on 1 January 1917, and the secret service, which was now named the Saskatchewan Provincial Police, assumed responsibility for the work formerly undertaken by the Mounties. Mahoney now had the title SPP chief commissioner. The strength of the force was initially eighty-six, including twenty-nine former RNWMP officers, and peaked at 175 in 1920.[40] As we have seen, the enforcement of prohibition was a major preoccupation. Even when government sale of beer and liquor was allowed in 1925, bootleggers still flourished. In 1927, 2,488 cases dealt with by the SPP related to the enforcement of Saskatchewan statutes, and, of these, fully 1,269 pertained to the Liquor Act.[41]

To compound the difficulties, the police were subjected to political pressure in the performance of their duties. In 1929, Inspector James Taylor, who had been in charge of the RCMP detachment in Swift Current, resigned from the force over this very issue. He gave details of a case involving Constable Scotland, who had been stationed at Ponteix, in southwest Saskatchewan, and had worked under Taylor's supervision. The local French Catholic population thought that Scotland was a little too zealous in the prosecution of bootleggers, and they complained to the provincial government about him. The attorney general dispatched Archie McCallum, a Liberal Party "fixer," who told Taylor: "Scotland is too drastic in his methods. He is getting the party in wrong. I want him moved out of there and a French Catholic put in there in his place."[42] Taylor refused as a matter of principle. He did not think it was ethical for political agents to interfere with police work. The order came down from Regina that Scotland was to be transferred from his post within twenty-four hours. Fortunately, a group of Ponteix businessmen was aware of what was going on. These people thought that Scotland was doing a good job and managed to block the transfer.

Taylor cited another case of which he had first-hand knowledge. During the Maple Creek by-election campaign in November 1927, he had arrested the porter of a local hotel on liquor charges. The owner of the hotel was a Liberal who was trying to secure an appointment as sheriff for the Maple

Creek District. Taylor was asked to arrange to have the case remanded until the by-election was over. He did not agree to this, and, once again, "highway inspector" Archie McCallum intervened. He tried to persuade Taylor to accept a fine from the porter of fifty dollars on a plea of "having liquor in his possession" and to keep the matter out of the newspapers. But Taylor refused to compromise his principles. In the end, the hotel porter pleaded guilty to selling liquor and was fined three hundred dollars and costs. Taylor received an official reprimand.[43] James Gallen, a former SPP officer, also had a story to tell. It involved J.R. Paisley, a prominent Liberal, who had been charged with misappropriating $15,069.90 while serving as secretary-treasurer of Victory municipality. Gallen was instructed to get Paisley off the hook. He went out into the district to find people who were willing to testify on Paisley's behalf, which involved interviewing potential witnesses and discussing their testimony "over a bottle of liquor." The plan worked; Paisley was found not guilty.[44]

When the Anderson government took office, it appointed a royal commission on the administration of justice. The three commissioners were judges, two of them (J. MacKay and P.E. Mackenzie) Liberals and the third (J.F.L. Embury) a Conservative. They concluded that wrongdoing had occurred under the former government, including "fabrication of charges for political reasons, interference with the postings of policemen in certain places, the payment of policemen by the government while engaged in political work, and moving policemen at government expense in order to vote."[45] The police had been ordered to refrain from enforcing the law in cases in which enforcement would have been detrimental to the Liberal Party. Conversely, they were told to prosecute the Ku Klux Klan to the full extent of the law and to "publicize their misdeeds, 'if any.'"[46] The Conservatives pledged to institute reforms. Upon assuming office, Murdoch A. MacPherson, the new attorney general, wrote to Colonel G.S. Worsley, commander of the RCMP in Saskatchewan, stating that politics would in future play no part in the enforcement of the law, including the liquor law. He informed Worsley that if any supporter of the government attempted to use political influence to interfere with an action of the mounted police, he was to report the incident to the attorney general, who would ensure that an investigation was carried out in accordance with proper police procedure.[47]

It seemed that Premier Gardiner was aware of problems in law enforcement and wanted to do something about it, but, as with the patronage

issue, it was a matter of too little too late. Soon after becoming premier, he met with Ernest Lapointe, the federal justice minister, and told him that policing in the province "was rapidly developing into a condition which [was] likely to bring the whole matter into the field of political controversy." Saskatchewan had three police forces: the RCMP, the SPP and the Municipal Police. The result was turf wars, not to mention the appearance of too many law officers at public gatherings – "giving the appearance of a military occupation."[48]

Gardiner suggested three options: a return to the pre-1917 arrangement in which the RCMP had responsibility for provincial policing; complete removal of the RCMP from the province; or restriction of the RCMP to operations along the US border and in the North. He favoured the first solution because it would distance the provincial government from the difficult job of liquor law enforcement. As things stood, nobody was happy. The prohibitionists thought that enforcement was too lax, the anti-prohibitionists thought it was too strict, and everybody blamed the government. Gardiner and his attorney general, T.C. Davis, went to Ottawa in January 1928 to work out a deal to abolish the SPP and to transfer its responsibilities to the RCMP. A hitch developed over the question of whether the provincial attorney general would be able to exercise control in matters affecting provincial jurisdiction. Gardiner and Davis wanted to have a clause inserted into the agreement giving the attorney general the right to approve senior RCMP appointments. Lapointe refused, and the Saskatchewan delegation returned home empty-handed. After a flurry of telegrams, Gardiner agreed to accept federal assurances that the province would be consulted informally on appointments. A second meeting in March resulted in a final agreement, and on 1 June 1928, the RCMP officially assumed responsibility for provincial policing, and the SPP was abolished. But the change did not bring an end to political interference. As we have seen from the Taylor charges, the RCMP still had to deal with Archie McCallum and company.[49]

There were also complaints about the justices of the peace. They were a legacy of the English legal system, in which local squires dispensed justice in their respective counties. In England, they were invariably men of substance and education, members of the gentry and of a different social class from the parties who regularly appeared before them. They had the benefit of trained lawyers who served as clerks and gave them advice on points of law. In Saskatchewan, the justices of the peace were usually appointed on a political recommendation, and, typically, they lacked formal

legal training. Furthermore, they had to sit in judgment on their neighbours, who were their social equals. Their jurisdiction was quite extensive, covering offences under the Motor Vehicles Act, Game Protection Act, Liquor Control Act, municipal bylaws, as well as preliminary hearings for offences under the Criminal Code. They also had jurisdiction in civil cases for debt up to the amount of one hundred dollars. The lack of legal expertise often led to serious gaffes, which came to light in appeal proceedings. In one instance, a JP admitted to having burned all the evidence in a case. He then called for a new hearing so that one side involved in the proceeding could do a better job than it had done the first time.[50] Some JPs were barely literate. J.T.M. Anderson said that he had a letter in his possession written by a justice of the peace in which the English was so poor that he could scarcely make out the meaning. The gist of it was something like: "If you don't stop breaking the law, we'll have to have you arrested."[51] There were about 1,300 JP's in Saskatchewan, most of them unqualified from the point of view of legal training and appointed mainly for political reasons. This might have been minimally tolerable if there had been a change of government from time to time. But the Liberals had been in power so long that the petty judiciary had virtually become an extension of the party machine.[52]

There was also the matter of the official guardian for Saskatchewan, a minor item in itself but symptomatic of the larger problems that beset the justice system. The province had laws concerning estates and properties belonging to infants. It was necessary that their interests be protected, and the responsibility fell on the official guardian. In the Province of Ontario, the officer received a fixed salary and the employees in his office were on the public payroll. In Alberta and British Columbia, he was a salaried servant and all the fees and profits accruing to the office were part of government revenue. In Saskatchewan, the official guardian was Norman MacKenzie, a loyal Liberal, who had held the position almost since the foundation of the province. He was not on salary but, rather, collected fees, which in the year 1926 amounted to the tidy sum of $21,210.56. The Conservatives contended that the Office of the Official Guardian was "one of the juiciest 'plums' in the power of our beneficent government to bestow and it has given this 'plum' to one of its most influential friends."[53] They promised to put the official guardian on a fixed salary, thereby bringing Saskatchewan into line with the other provinces.

Liberals also controlled the election machinery, and abuses were rife. The officials in charge of voter registration were foot soldiers of the party,

who did not mind bending the rules.[54] In one provincial election, circulars went out saying: "You don't have to be a British subject in order to vote if your name is on the voters' list." Constituencies were routinely gerrymandered to the point that some of the boundaries resembled "a frog's hind leg."[55] In the run-up to the 1929 provincial election, the officials in charge of compiling the supplementary voters' list asked applicants to give information as to their racial origin, religious beliefs, and political affiliation! Only then were their names added to the list.[56] Even some Liberals thought this was going a bit too far.

Conservatives made much of the scandal in Happyland constituency in the 1925 provincial election. Thomas Baldwin, the Progressive candidate, obtained signed statements from a large number of electors in polling subdivision 28, who said they had not voted at poll 28, even though their names were entered in the poll book as having done so. F. McPherson was a resident in the Weyburn Mental Hospital on the day he was recorded as having voted.[57] The Liberal defence was that the election law allowed only six months during which a complaint of this kind could be brought before the courts. After that period had elapsed, poll books were destroyed in accordance with the terms of the Election Act. If the complaint were to be taken seriously, it ought to have been made earlier. Baldwin had in fact made the complaint within the six-month period, but he had neglected to initiate legal action. The opposition parties asked that the matter be referred to the Select Standing Committee on Privileges and Elections, but the Speaker ruled that the motion was out of order because it did not contain a specific charge.[58] Gardiner issued a carefully worded denial: "No member of the Government in 1925, to my knowledge and, I believe, to anybody else's knowledge – no member of the Government of the present day, had any knowledge of anything that took place in the constituency of Happyland of the nature suggested by my honourable friend."[59]

J.T.M. Anderson

Until the Ku Klux Klan appeared on the scene, the Liberal machine looked unbeatable. In the 1921 election the Liberals carried 46 seats; Independents, 7; Progressives, 6; Labor, 1; Conservatives, 2; and Independent Conservative, 1.[60] The Conservatives won only the Souris and Moosomin constituencies in the southeast corner of the province. In April 1921, just weeks before the election was called, the Conservative leader, Donald Maclean, resigned, leaving the party leaderless as it went into the campaign. The post remained vacant for almost three years.

J.T.M. Anderson (second row from the bottom on the right) with a group of Ukrainian-Canadian school boys, ca. 1910. He was Director of Education for New Canadians in Saskatchewan from 1918 to 1922 and premier of the province from 1929 to 1934. *Saskatchewan Archives Board, RA3488*

A leader was finally found in 1924 in the person of James Thomas Milton (J.T.M.) Anderson. Born 23 July 1878 in Fairbanks, Ontario, he was the son of James Anderson and Mary E. Ferris, both of Irish Protestant descent. After attending high school in Toronto, he studied at the University of Manitoba, where he distinguished himself as the recipient of the silver medal for classics in 1911. Like Gardiner, Anderson taught school in rural Saskatchewan and had first-hand acquaintance with the conditions prevailing in a variety of ethnic communities. He was appointed school inspector, a position he held from 1911 to 1918.[61]

In the latter year, he published *The Education of the New Canadian: A Treatise on Canada's Greatest Educational Problem*, the book that made his reputation as an authority on the role of the public school in assimilating foreign immigrants. In Anderson's view, the "new Canadian" must of necessity be transformed into a "British Canadian," a "living link in the great earth-girdling imperial chain of the greatest Empire on earth." He was confident that the task could be accomplished. The foreign immigrant, he thought, was receptive and eager. He wrote of a visit to a country school in which thirty-five Ukrainian pupils were enrolled. "What would you like to sing?" he asked. "Never Let the Old Flag Fall," responded a seven-year-old, while another called for "Tipperary." They sang these songs with a will, Anderson said, even though they did not understand all the words.[62]

In Anderson's estimation, eastern European children were generally very bright and, given the opportunity, learned very quickly. "No better material can be found among our newcomers from which to mould a strong type of Canadian citizen than is to be found among these Ruthenian [Ukrainian] children," he observed. He pointed to the contributions Ukrainians had made to the war effort. Two battalions had been raised in northern Alberta largely of men born in Galicia (or whose fathers had been born there). One of the battalions was known as the "Irish Guards." Anderson said that he had no fear that "Slavic racial or religious ideals, or even racial characteristics" would take over Canada. The Slav at all times in history has more often "taken on the ideals of his neighbours than he has imposed his on others."[63]

Unlike the Klan, Anderson did not think that British national identity was a matter of race or "blood." He believed that it was possible to learn how to be British; it was not necessarily a matter of genetic transmission. Anderson maintained that it was unfair to judge people by their ethnic background. For example, he deplored the widespread practice of denying schoolteachers of Ukrainian origin positions in city schools. He knew of one applicant, an honours graduate in English and history, who had been passed over because "he had a foreign name, and the parents might not like it." And yet the people who displayed such prejudice could talk for hours about the "problem of racial assimilation." Anderson suspected that the real fear was that the foreign teacher might end up marrying an English girl. Anderson, for his part, did not object to such marriages: "Shudder as we Anglo-Saxons may at the thought of it, our descendants are more than likely to marry Poles or Bohemians or Ruthenians or Russians, as we now call them. We must assume a different attitude on this question."[64]

At the same time, Anderson was not averse to recycling negative ethnic stereotypes, many of them borrowed from an American sociological treatise entitled *The Immigrant Tide: Its Ebb and Flow* by Edward Steiner. He quoted Steiner's observation that Slavs displayed "a certain passivity of temper, a lack in sustained effort and enthusiasm, an unwillingness to take the consequence of telling the truth, a failure to confide in one another and in those who would do them good, a rather gross attitude towards sexual morality, and an undeniable tendency towards anarchy." They had some good qualities, too, such as "a deeply religious nature, a willingness to suffer hardship, a genius for self-expression in all forms of

art," and they were "usually honest in their business dealings and hospitable to strangers." Anderson added that "the Slav gave the world a Copernicus before a Newton was heard of; that John Huss appeared before Luther; that the great Slavic teacher, Comenius, lived before Pestalozzi; and that Tolstoy, Pushkin, and Sienkiewicz stand fairly well beside our makers of literature."[65]

Anderson was not racist in the manner of the Klan. For him, the test of citizenship was not where you had come from but what you had made of yourself. He attributed almost alchemic powers to the public school. It could make a British Canadian out of almost anybody. He even conceded that the foreigner might have something to teach the Britisher: "If these people have brought something to contribute to our civilization," he wrote, "we should find out what this 'something' is, and we should, from a sense of duty to our own children, encourage them to become acquainted with these New Canadians. We should accept the properly qualified teacher of foreign parentage as teacher of our children." However, for Anderson, "tolerance" was a two-edged sword. He told the story of a young man who attended a concert at a rural school. The children were happily singing and reciting poems in English, while their parents looked on, beaming with pride. Suddenly, the man started to cry. When he was asked what was troubling him, he replied in broken English that he had been sent to a Mennonite school where only German had been taught. He wished he could speak English as well as the children, but he had been denied the opportunity of learning it.[66]

In 1918, Anderson was named director of education among New Canadians for Saskatchewan, a special post that was created in the Department of Education to deal with the problem of assimilating the foreigner. In 1922, shortly after Charles Dunning became premier, the position was abolished, and Anderson was demoted to school inspector in Saskatoon at a reduced salary. The official reason was that "such progress ha[d] been made that it [was] no longer considered necessary to have a director devoting his whole time to this important phase of educational work."[67] This was nonsense, of course. Anderson protested the demotion and was rebuked by the premier, who intimated that if he continued to complain, he might find himself without employment of any kind. Anderson wrote a letter of apology, which, incidentally, the Liberals later used against him in election campaigns.[68] Anderson resigned from the Department of Education in March 1924 to become leader of the

provincial Conservative Party and the federal party's paid organizer for Saskatchewan.[69] It was a risky move. The provincial party had only $362 in its bank account.[70]

Saskatchewan went to the polls on 2 June 1925, and, once again, the Liberals swept to victory, taking a total of fifty-two seats. The Progressives had 6; Independents, 2; and the Conservatives, 3 (J.T.M. Anderson, Saskatoon; M.A. MacPherson, Regina; and W.C. Buckle, Tisdale).[71] During the campaign, the Liberals read selected quotes from Anderson's *Education of the New Canadian* to showcase his prejudice against foreigners. Ironically, at about the same time, Premier Dunning wrote privately to John Dafoe, editor of the *Manitoba Free Press:* "The country doesn't want any Poles at all ... Ruthenians can be educated all right but ... they cannot be civilized, at least not in one generation; and ... the educated Ruthenian is a menace to his own countrymen and to the community."[72] As Harris Turner, leader of the Progressive Party in Saskatchewan, aptly observed, the Liberals loved to condemn racial and religious strife, while doing their best to stir it up.[73]

Disappointed at the outcome of the 1925 election, Anderson stepped down as Conservative Party leader, though he continued to serve in the capacity of House leader (which meant he "led" two other people). He applied for a job as immigration agent for the CPR in Saskatoon but was unsuccessful. His fortunes were at low ebb. The Conservative Party in the province was a rag-tag affair afflicted by "local jealousies" and "an absence of enthusiasm generally." In February 1927, two Progressive MLAs crossed the floor of the legislature to sit with the governing Liberals. They said that they admired Gardiner's "sane and economical government." The Conservative gloom was only slightly relieved when Howard McConnell won a by-election in Saskatoon, boosting the party's representation in the Legislative Assembly from three to four. The Conservatives now held both Saskatoon seats and one of two seats in Regina. But, overall, the situation was grim. The Liberals took ten of eleven by-elections that were held between June 1925 and December 1927. They looked to be as strong as ever.[74]

The Conservatives put a major effort into the Moose Jaw by-election held in May 1927 but to no avail. Howard McConnell, who had recently won the seat in Saskatoon, campaigned vigorously in the constituency, as did other Conservative big guns. They hammered away at the iniquities of the Liberal machine. Premier Gardiner retaliated with a strong defence of the notorious highway inspectors. He said that there were only six of

them in the employ of the government and that they were paid twelve cents a mile for travel expenses and $4.25 a day for hotels. It was ludicrous to think that they constituted some kind of monstrous machine that could control the whole province.[75] The government promised to build a normal school in Moose Jaw if the Liberal candidate was elected. It proved a telling issue that swayed the vote. Once more, the machine had worked its magic.

Meanwhile, the Progressive Party was falling apart. Its provincial convention in July 1927 was supposed to have been attended by 5,000 delegates at the exhibition stadium in Regina, but only 250 showed up.[76] Premier Gardiner took the opportunity to strike, even making the suggestion that the Progressives were somehow linked to the Ku Klux Klan.[77] He said that, just as the Non-Partisan League (the Progressives' predecessor) had used American agents to sign up members, so, too, did the Klan. The failure of the Progressive Party convention just went to show that "the day of the get-rich-easy politician [was] past in the province of Saskatchewan."[78]

Until the Klan appeared on the scene, the Liberal machine ruled supreme. It rolled over the opposition, crushing everything in its path. The Progressive Party was fading fast, and the Conservatives were going nowhere. The smooth-talking salesmen from Indiana had a simple pitch: "Wake up, Saskatchewan! Your country is slipping through your fingers. Do something about it. Don't let the machine control you." The halls were packed, the rhetoric soared, and the mood in the province was transformed. Suddenly, the once-formidable machine looked strangely vulnerable.

The Conservative Party Rebuilds

There was excitement in the air at the joint meeting of the two Regina Conservative constituency associations on 1 March 1928. The purpose of the gathering was to choose delegates and alternates for the upcoming provincial Conservative Party convention, which was to be held in Saskatoon later that month. The delegates selected included two prominent Klansmen: Dr. W.D. Cowan, provincial treasurer of the Klan, and Charles Ellis, editor of the Klan newspaper. J.W. Rosborough, Imperial Wizard for Saskatchewan, was listed as an alternate. Clearly, the Klan had infiltrated the Conservative Party in a serious way.[79] The convention, which opened on 18 March, had as its main business the approval of the platform for the next election. It was drafted largely by J.F. Bryant, after he had consulted with the president and secretary of the Progressive Party. Bryant

informed federal Conservative leader R.B. Bennett: "[It] embodied all the planks which we could conscientiously take from the Progressive platform, from Premier Bracken's platform in Manitoba, from the resolutions passed at the farmers [*sic*] convention, the conventions of the Rural Municipalities and the Trustees' convention during the last eight or ten years."[80] It was not meant to be a narrowly partisan document but, rather, a reflection of broadly based community concerns. J.T.M. Anderson put out an appeal for the support of all groups opposed to the government, from which he did not exclude the Ku Klux Klan. However, since the Klan was officially non-partisan, it made no reply. The Progressives, on the other hand, responded avidly. Progressive leader Dr. Charles Tran sent a telegram to the Conservative convention that read: "Heartily concur in the spirit of your deliberations. Gladly accept any democratic principle re cooperation."[81]

Klansmen were much in evidence at the convention. J.F. Bryant informed the federal Conservative leader R.B. Bennett: "[The order is] going very strong and will be of great assistance in defeating the present Government, and I do not think that we should throw any stones at them any more than we should expect that the Liberals should throw stones at the Knights of Columbus or any other similar organization that is so strongly supporting them."[82] A letter from Dr. W.D. Cowan to Bennett on 16 January 1928 hinted at a closer relationship than was implied by the statement "I do not think that we should throw any stones at them." He wrote: "The Liberal machine used to control all societies here and made them auxiliaries to their party. For the past two years we have been undermining them. We now have a good three years control of quite a number. We shoved the Grits out at the top and pushed Conservatives in at the bottom and then promoted. The one (scribbled on the back) is the most complete political organization ever known in the west. Every organizer in it is a Tory. It costs over a thousand dollars a week to pay them. I know it for I pay them. And I never pay a Grit. Smile when you hear anything about this organization. And keep silent."[83] The name "scribbled on the back" is indecipherable, but it was almost certainly the Ku Klux Klan. Cowan, in his capacity as provincial Klan treasurer, issued cheques to pay Klan organizers, and, as he said, not one of them was a Grit. It is significant that Cowan describes the Klan as "the most complete political organization ever known in the west." This is strong evidence of the Klan's contribution to the Conservative victory in 1929.

J.H. Hearn, a Roman Catholic Conservative from Saskatoon, was of the opinion that there had been a concerted attempt to get as many Klansmen as possible to attend the Saskatoon convention. He personally witnessed Klan literature being distributed on the convention floor. Of fifty-seven candidates eligible for election to party offices, the nominating committee selected only two Catholics: J.J. Leddy from Saskatoon and A.G. MacKinnon from Regina. Leddy was asked by the chairman to withdraw his name as "it was considered inexpedient that any Catholic should hold office in this organization." Leddy declined to withdraw, but he was defeated in the vote of convention delegates, while MacKinnon's name mysteriously disappeared from the list of nominees. Fred Somerville had dictated the names from a pencilled memorandum to John Diefenbaker, who typed out the official copy. Somerville denied having left out MacKinnon and said that Diefenbaker must have done it, a charge that Diefenbaker denied. It may have been an innocent mistake, but that seems unlikely. Conservative M.A. MacPherson, MLA for Regina, regretted that not a single Catholic had been elected to an executive position in the party. He thought it would bode ill for the party if the election turned into "a purely religious fight in the main," although he added that the Catholics could hardly blame the Conservatives since the Roman Catholic Church had "almost solidly supported the Liberals since 1905."[84]

The major achievement of the convention was the ratification of the Conservative Party platform. The summary version contained twenty-six points, ranging from the general ("thorough revision of the education system of the province"; "encouragement of diversified agriculture"; "improvement of conditions of labor generally"; "policy of economy and retrenchment"; "balanced industrial development"; "strict provincial law enforcement"; "furtherance of scientific research"; "political equality of the sexes"; "reorganization of the civil service") to the specific ("promotion of a campaign of temperance education though public school text books"; "reorganization of the provincial farm loan board"; "reduction in the automobile licence tax"; "preference to returned soldiers in civil service positions"; "eradication of bovine tuberculosis"). In between, there were middle-range measures such as: "immediate return of the natural resources of the province [from the federal government] and compensation for lands and resources alienated"; "aggressive immigration policy based on the selective principle"; "amalgamation and coordination of all public welfare services"; "establishment of an investigating commission

on public health and the creation of free consultative clinics"; "development of the power resources of the province as publicly owned and operated utilities"; "development of provincial coal deposits"; and "public tender for public contracts."[85]

As a result of the consultations that J.F. Bryant had carried out, there were many points of similarity between the Conservative Party and Progressive Party platforms, and there was even parallel wording. Conservatives wanted "public tender for public contracts"; Progressives called for "government contracts by tender only." Conservatives sought "immediate return of the natural resources of the province and compensation for lands and resources alienated"; Progressives, "immediate return of the natural resources of the province with compensation for lands and resources alienated." Conservatives promised "reorganization of the civil service"; Progressives, "a civil service commission free from political partisanship." Conservatives demanded "reorganization of the provincial farm loan board"; Progressives, "recognition of the farm loan board as a benefit to be set up on a business basis free from political influence with sufficient capital to cause a general reduction in interest rates on farm mortgages." Conservatives advocated an "aggressive immigration policy based on the selective principle"; Progressives favoured "an immigration policy which will ensure the permanency of British institutions and ideals."[86]

The summary version of the Conservative platform masked the rigour and thoroughness of the party's deliberations as it girded itself for the task of government. Under the heading "thorough revision of the education system" were a set of detailed proposals, which included: (1) "revision of the textbooks with a view to seeing that all textbooks with a denominational bias and with unpatriotic sentiments are kept out of the public schools of Saskatchewan"; (2) selection of textbooks "with a view to inculcating patriotism and love for Canada and Saskatchewan in the pupils of our schools"; (3) amendment of the school act "to prevent the use of any religious emblems in the public schools of the province, where there are pupils or ratepayers of mixed religious denominations and to prohibit the holding of the public school in buildings used for religious purposes except temporarily."[87] There was also a pledge to build more rural high schools, while simultaneously guarding against the tendency to "educate the farm boy or girl away from the farm." The schools: "will fit the students for life on the farm and give them a correct outlook on agricultural life, and will at the same time create a love for the soil and for the province

of Saskatchewan, and will instruct them in citizenship and in loyalty to British institutions." A ten-point guide for the curriculum began with "thorough instruction in Canadian and British history and in civics" and ended with "a well rounded out course in vegetable and flower growing coupled with a practical and theoretical course on the raising of small fruits, apples, plums, cherries and grapes in Saskatchewan."[88]

As the election approached, the party continued to engage in vigorous policy discussion, such as at the meeting of the South Saskatchewan Conservative Association in Regina at the end of March 1929. The first speaker was P.H. Gordon, KC, of Regina, whose topic was "Public Contracts." He noted that it was party policy to require that all contracts of five hundred dollars or over for the construction of public works and all contracts for the purchase of supplies be awarded only after fair public tender. The reform was much needed, Gordon believed, because of the partisan manner in which contracts had been handed out in the past. During the years 1927 and 1928, the Leader Publishing Company had received contracts worth $105,343 and $107,508. The total cost of all government printing for those two years was, respectively, $261,789 and $187,276. Thus, one company had been given the lion's share, and without the benefit of public tender. Gordon also discussed the procedures that had been followed for the awarding of contracts for the construction of public buildings. Under the Liberals, tenders were called for, but the specifications were structured in such a way that contractors were forced to buy their materials from government supporters. Fictitious tenders were often filed to make the winning bid look reasonably priced. W.A. Buckle, MLA for Tisdale, commented that the operations of the Farm Loans Board also had been sullied by political interference. Well-off government supporters were able to obtain loans, while many small and needy farmers were passed over.[89]

R.E. Turnbull spoke on "Law Enforcement," citing numerous instances of "open defiance" of the Saskatchewan Liquor Act. He claimed that no real effort was being made to staunch the flow of "the vilest kind of poison [i.e., alcohol]." There were also wide variations in the severity of punishment meted out: "One man gets $1 and costs, for the same offence another gets five or six months in jail." A member of the audience interjected that he knew of two justices of the peace who could barely write their own names. With respect to the civil service, J.T.M. Anderson remarked that many government employees owed their jobs to party influence and that they had no choice but to act as their political masters directed. Some

had only nominal duties, which they carried out in semi-haphazard fashion, while they spent most of their time politicking. Anderson claimed that these political appointees knew so many secrets about the government's misdeeds that Liberal politicians were actually afraid of them. They could not be dismissed because they knew too much. Anderson promised to protect the true professionals and to get rid of the rest. He committed himself to introducing a system of competitive examinations so that future appointments would be based on merit, not political affiliation, but he inserted one caveat. Whenever a vacancy occurred in the civil service, the Royal Canadian Legion would be advised so that veterans with the necessary qualifications would be sure to know about the position and have the opportunity to apply for it.[90]

Mrs. F.B. Reilly addressed the convention on "Matters of Interest to Women in Politics." Women, she said, had evolved "from an almost slavish state to one of equality with men." Saskatchewan Conservative MLAs had led the way, urging a reluctant Premier Walter Scott to give the vote to women in 1916. At the federal level, in 1917, Prime Minister Robert Borden had extended the franchise to women who were next-of-kin of soldiers and then to all women, on the same basis as men, in 1918. Mrs. Reilly urged Conservatives of both sexes to "discard old ideas, customs and practices for something better, just as we discarded oil lamps for electricity." F.W. Turnbull said that the Conservative Party had always stood for the civil equality of the sexes and pointed out that in Britain seven of the ten women who had been elected to Parliament were Conservatives. Education and child welfare were vital issues, he said, and "anything that touches the child, touches the mother." According to reports coming in from Conservative constituency associations in all parts of the province, women were actively engaged in the campaign. In some cases, they were working independently of male party executives to help elect a new government.[91]

L.W. Williamson dealt with the party's policy on "Cooperation." The platform promised to support cooperative enterprises, such as mills, abattoirs, packing houses, and cold storage warehouses. The Cooperative Association Act already gave five or more persons the right to organize a cooperative local in any district, provided they paid a five-dollar registration fee. However, according to Williamson, nothing much was being done to make the legislation effective. The formation of cooperatives lagged behind what it should have been. The Conservatives pledged to do better. They would establish a new department of cooperatives, which would

examine all proposals for cooperative projects and give them the moral and financial support they needed in order to succeed. It appeared that Conservatives were attempting to steal a march of the Liberals, presenting themselves as the true progressives and defenders of the cooperative movement.[92]

This was also evident in the "Public Welfare" platform, which was laid out by J.A.M. Patrick. It called for the amalgamation and coordination of all public welfare services into one department with a minister in charge. A survey of social welfare institutions would be undertaken with the object of providing more adequate accommodation for the aged and infirm, the deaf, blind, drug addicts, and underprivileged children. Mrs. J.F. Bryant reported that the Old Folks' Home at Wolseley was sorely inadequate. She spoke of an old woman who had run away and sought refuge at the Regina YWCA. When the officials from the institution had come to take her back, she had screamed in terror.[93]

J.T.M. Anderson reported that, when he visited the Weyburn Mental Asylum, he found two children who were not mentally deficient but had been placed there because they were the illegitimate offspring of women who had been committed to the hospital. J.M. Uhrich, the minister of public health and public works, denied the charge, claiming the two little girls were indeed mental defectives. One of them had come into the hospital under suspicion because her grandmother had died in a mental institution. She became depressed, lost weight, and "had a real disturbance." It was determined that the asylum was the best place for her. The other girl, aged two, arrived at the hospital weighing only twenty-three pounds. She could not stand up and was very emaciated. She had been given "electrical treatment and massage" and was now walking around. The superintendent of the Weyburn hospital was a former Liberal MLA, who had no expertise in the field of mental health.[94] His sole "qualification" was that he had formerly been speaker of the Legislative Assembly and had apparently performed well in that capacity. Dr. D.S. Johnstone, a Conservative Party member, gave it as his opinion that the mental hospitals in Weyburn and North Battleford were no better than "corrals." He said that many of the inmates did not belong there but, rather, should have been placed in the psychopathic ward of a hospital for a few weeks or months, until they had been restored to health. He called upon the government to appoint a public commission to survey the health needs of the province as the basis for thorough reform.[95]

The last evening of the convention was devoted to the training of election workers. “The poll division is the thing,” announced F.W. Turnbull, “and if every poll does its duty, the province has done its duty.” “It can be done and it will be done” was the new party slogan. Delegates were instructed in the duties of scrutineers, poll clerks, and deputy returning officers. The finer points of the Election Act were explained, and workers were told that they must ensure that “no votes were polled that should not be, and that all votes were polled that should be.”[96] Tory foot soldiers geared up for battle.

The 1929 Election Campaign

There had been talk of the Liberals going to the polls in 1928, but because of the success of the Klan, the election was postponed. When it was called for 6 June 1929, the *Regina Post* confidently predicted a Liberal victory: “The average citizen who takes his politics rationally believes the Government will be returned.” The *Post* maintained that the Conservative program was entirely negative and “would upset the general harmonious relations existing among the people.” The Tory slogan, “Time for a Change,” failed to rise above the level of cliché. All things considered, the paper doubted that the Conservatives would win more seats than they had in 1925, when they had taken three.[97] The *Leader* also expected a Liberal victory since no province in Canada had been better governed than Saskatchewan. A few minor points of contention aside, “the people of Saskatchewan live[d] in peace and friendship and g[o]t along pretty well together.” Those who were thinking of voting for the Conservatives were advised to ponder whether the cure might be worse than the disease, “if disease exist[ed].”[98] The Conservative Party was fatally linked to its federal cousin, the party of high tariffs, which was by nature opposed to the interests of the Saskatchewan farmer.[99] Saskatchewan, inevitably, was a Liberal province.

Premier Gardiner issued a statement to the electors on 29 May 1929, in which he reviewed the record of his party. The Liberals had been in office for twenty-four years. The first government under Walter Scott had established a solid foundation for the province, and now, a quarter-century later, Saskatchewan ranked third in population among the provinces in Canada, first in the production of wheat, first in per capita wealth, second in railway mileage, and first in improved highway mileage. It had a school system equal to that of any province, a farmers’ organization that worked

harmoniously with the government, and "a contented people who although cosmopolitan live[d] together in understanding and goodwill."[100] The more easily accessible agricultural lands had been occupied, and a good start had been made on industrial development, including the coal briquette and clay industries, sodium sulphate, and the minerals of the north. The province would soon take over administration of natural resources and Crown lands from the federal government. It only remained to negotiate the final terms of the transfer.

The Liberal government had advanced and promoted the cooperative principle, first in the marketing of wheat but also in the distribution of wool, dairy products, poultry, and eggs. Telephone service and hail insurance had followed in the same pattern and so, too, would hydro-electric development. The government had appointed a commission on hydro-electricity and was poised to act on that front. Gardiner then turned to highway construction. Prior to 1921, most of the attention had been given to building the main roads to marketing centres in various parts of the province. With the advent of the automobile, a plan for a provincial highway system had been laid out. By September 1928, 5,600 kilometres of road had been built to earth-standard, and 110 kilometres had been gravelled. In the subsequent two months, 590 additional kilometres of gravel had been added.

The Liberal government also took pride in the fact that it had given the province mothers' allowances, maternity grants, hospital aid and sanatorium grants, old-age pensions, educational grants to soldiers' dependent children; mental hospital sanatoria, free treatment for tubercular patients, old peoples' homes, school nurses, free distribution of serums, Red Cross outposts, and care of neglected children. The "deaf and dumb" were being looked after within the province, and, "in due time," similar services would be provided to the blind, who were currently being sent out-of-province. Improvements to the Workmen's Compensation Act had been introduced in the last session of the legislature, with implementation delayed to give labour unions and employers the time they needed to consider them.[101] The legislature would be recalled in the fall to amend the bill as needed. Gardiner said he was committed to building high schools in rural areas and setting up a superannuation (pension) scheme for teachers. The superannuation bill had already been introduced and would probably be passed in the next session. Gardiner urged voters to steer clear of discussions "of a partisan, sectarian and disquieting nature."[102]

The issue of religious symbols in the schools was vastly overblown. In the great majority of school districts, Protestants and Catholics were working together in a cooperative spirit. The "school crisis" was spurious fiction.

The financial condition of the province was excellent. Total public debt, including both provincial and municipal governments, was only $135 per capita, compared to $262 per capita in Manitoba and $249 per capita in Alberta.[103] Good financial management, strong economic growth, enlightened social policy, and "fair treatment and unprejudiced dealing towards all our people" – this was the Liberal record and they were proud of it.[104] The statement was worthy but a little complacent. It failed to adequately address the national identity issues that were roiling the province.

J.T.M. Anderson opened his election campaign in Saskatoon on 16 May 1929, giving a detailed outline of the Conservative platform. It was basically a reiteration of the program the Conservatives had worked out at their convention the previous year. Anderson highlighted the school question. He said he had no quarrel with the right of the separate schools to exist; rather, his concern was with religious emblems in the public schools, which, he said, breached the separation of church and state. The public school was the bastion of the nation. Its integrity must not be compromised in any way. He denied that he was the "monster of intolerance" that the Liberals made him out to be.[105] All he was trying to do, he said, was to uphold the basic principles of public education.

Only the Liberal Party ran a full slate of sixty-three candidates. The Conservatives put 38 in the field, the Progressives 16, and Independents 22. In 47 of 63 constituencies, the Liberal candidate faced only 1 opponent (Conservative in 26 seats, Progressive in 6, and Independent in 15.)[106] This was a result of deliberate strategy on the part of Conservatives and Progressives. Just as they had collaborated in setting policy, so had they focused their efforts so as to avoid three-cornered contests, which would have allowed the Liberal candidate to slip down the middle with a plurality of the vote. Their shared objective was to defeat the Liberals. By 1929, the province had been polarized, and this was largely the work of the Ku Klux Klan, which had moved large numbers of moderate Protestants, who had previously voted Liberal, out of the Liberal camp. These voters, prodded by the Klan, were exercised by foreign immigration and the school issue. They feared for the British future of the province, and they were prepared to vote anything but Liberal. Even the Independent candidates were not independent in the usual sense; rather, they were compromise

candidates whom both Conservatives and Progressives, but not Liberals, could support.

As the campaign wore on, national identity issues (i.e., Klan issues) over-shadowed all others. In Prince Albert, John Diefenbaker ran for the Conservatives against the Liberal attorney general T.C. Davis. His opponents referred to Diefenbaker as a "Hun," to which he responded: "They call me a Hun! ... Am I a German? My great-grandfather left Germany to seek liberty. My grandfather and my father were born in Canada. It is true, however, that my grandmother and my grandfather on my mother's side spoke no English; being Scottish, they spoke Gaelic. If there is no hope for me to be Canadian, then who is there hope for?"[107] (In fact, Diefenbaker's grandfather on his father's side had been born in Baden in what is now Germany, and his grandparents on his mother's side had no trouble speaking English.)

Diefenbaker launched his campaign at the Memorial Hall in Prince Albert on 26 April 1929, with Mayor S.J.A. Branion in the chair. The mayor said he had no quarrel with the federal Liberals but he thought that the provincial Liberals had betrayed the principles of the party. He wondered what the reaction would be if the Protestant majority in any public school dressed the school teachers in the regalia of the Orange order and had a picture of King William crossing the Boyne on the wall. That, he said, would not be a "square deal." Diefenbaker, too, focused on the school question. The Liberals had accused the Conservatives of not being "tolerant," but had it been tolerant for T.C. Davis, his Liberal opponent, to suggest that Klan lecturer J.J. Maloney be "put down a sewer"? "It remained for Davis," Diefenbaker quipped, "to create the art of the science of tolerance, 'sewerology.'" He also attacked the Liberal machine, mocking the road inspectors, whom he called "highwaymen." One had been paid $6,948 for seven months work. An Opposition MLA had asked the minister of highways what the road inspectors did in the winter. "What do flies do in winter time?" the minister dismissively replied.[108]

The main speaker of the evening was J.T.M. Anderson, who talked about the economic potential of the province. Mines were being opened in northern Manitoba and Ontario, and similar opportunities existed for Saskatchewan, if only they were seized. The Conservative Party had taken the position since 1905 that natural resources belonged to the province and had consistently demanded their transfer from the federal to the provincial government. The Liberals had dragged their feet, seemingly

content with the annual cash subsidy of $750,000 the province received from Ottawa as compensation for the loss of resource revenue. Premier Charles Dunning had said in 1925 that the northland was "largely composed of barren and sandy stretches." But now there had been an awakening, which even the Liberals could not ignore. Premier Gardiner was bogged down in negotiations with Ottawa, and there was as yet no resolution of the matter. The Conservatives would cut through the red tape and get the job done.[109]

Anderson said that he had been accused of intolerance – falsely, he thought. When he graduated from normal school in 1908 and started his first teaching job, forty out of sixty pupils in his classroom could not speak English. Years later, he had been invited back to the school for a Christmas concert. His former pupils were doing well, and one of them was chairman of the school board. This was what a public school education could do for people. The public school was "our greatest institution of democracy," Anderson said, and the Conservative Party was determined to defend it to the hilt.[110]

Liberal candidate T.C. Davis urged electors to respect "the spirit of Confederation" and preserve the unity of the nation. He said there were 8,100 teachers in the province and that, of these, 153 were Catholic sisters. Only 117 Protestant children were being taught by them. Of these 117 children, 31 were in communities with Protestant schools, which they could attend if they wanted to, but they preferred to attend the Catholic school. That left 86 Protestant children being taught by sisters in communities in which there was no other option. And this was what all the controversy was about! Davis said that it was a sad day when religion was brought into the campaign. It bred ill will that would take years to dissipate. The children of the province were being taught to hate one another: "The spirit of intolerance was being burned into their very souls." We are Britishers, Davis declared, "living in the freest country in the world, under a flag and King that stood for liberty and freedom, and ... no real British citizen would tolerate such tactics, much less countenance them."[111] Davis did not sufficiently appreciate the *symbolic* importance of the school issue. It was not the number of Protestant children being forced to attend Catholic schools that upset people but, rather, the fact that it was happening at all. It reminded them that the character of the province was changing. It was not as British as it used to be, in the sense that there were proportionally fewer citizens of British stock. Many voters wanted to keep Canada British according to the Klan interpretation of "British," not the Liberal interpretation.

At a Liberal rally at Lily Plain, C.S. Davis (the candidate's brother) accused Diefenbaker of being a member of the Ku Klux Klan. "Had J.J. Maloney ever been in his office in Prince Albert?" he queried. Did Diefenbaker draw up an affidavit, published in the *Freedman* (Maloney's newspaper), stating that a wealthy Protestant had been tortured in a Roman Catholic hospital at Prince Albert? Was it published with Diefenbaker's consent and how did it get out of his files?[112] C.S. Davis said that he had a list of Klan members in the district, and many of those on the list had been seen in Diefenbaker's committee rooms. When Diefenbaker was asked straight out whether he was a member of the Klan, he replied that he did not intend to answer the question because "he was out for big game." However, he denied the allegation that he had described nuns as "black-skirted she-cats." "Anyone scattering such propaganda as that," he said, "is not fit to live with decent people."[113] Diefenbaker's failure to deny that he was a Klan member suggests that he did not want to offend the Klansmen who were actively supporting his campaign.[114]

Diefenbaker said that he favoured immigrants from Continental Europe (like his grandfather), "as long as they are not brought in such large numbers."[115] The day before the election, the Conservatives ran an ad in the Prince Albert newspaper declaring: "A vote for a Gardiner candidate will ensure a continuation of indiscriminate dumping of immigrants into Saskatchewan with resulting workless days and lower wages for you." This was a risky strategy for Diefenbaker since, according to the 1931 census, 44 percent of the population of Prince Albert and the surrounding area were either Greek Orthodox or Roman Catholic in religion, compared with a provincial average of 29 percent. This meant that Diefenbaker had to capture a high percentage of Anglo-Protestant votes to make up for the large "foreign" vote he seemed to be writing off.[116]

Officially, the Conservative Party adopted a moderate tone on immigration. It promised to increase efforts to repatriate Canadians now in the United States; take full advantage of all assistance tendered by the British government to promote Empire settlement; and to select immigrants "according to the needs of the different industries in Saskatchewan." It believed that "all immigrants should be selected on a basis of fitness and adaptability"; that in selecting new immigrants, relatives of present citizens of Saskatchewan should receive favourable consideration; and that "every encouragement and assistance should be given to fit our new Canadians to undertake the responsibilities of Canadian citizenship." The party promised to appoint an agent general to represent Saskatchewan in the

British Isles and to promote British immigration to the province. Conservatives maintained that, while "unscrupulous members of the Saskatchewan government" were trying to "incite racial hatred against the Conservative party" by attributing to it negative remarks against the non-English population, such remarks "did not represent the Conservative policy or the Conservative attitude towards our immigrants of non-English extraction and we deplore the use of such language by such individuals and hereby repudiate it."[117]

All of this seems disingenuous. J.T.M. Anderson made it clear on the stump that his government "would insist on British immigration."[118] J.F. Bryant, vice-president of the Conservative Party, did not hide his belief that the continuation of Liberal immigration policy would result in the submergence of citizens of British stock. He said that the continued influx of Catholics from central and eastern Europe would give Catholics a majority in the province and then the "French [would] control the political destinies of Quebec, Saskatchewan and all of Canada." Bryant claimed that the Gardiner government was in league with French Catholic cabinet ministers in Ottawa and the Catholic hierarchy to flood Saskatchewan with foreigners.[119] "The difference between the Liberals and the Conservatives," he said, "was that the Conservatives believed that Canada was a British country and they were determined to keep it so."[120] The gist of that statement was similar to that of Klan pronouncements.

The two Conservative and two Liberal candidates in Saskatoon faced off in the city arena on 28 May 1929 before a crowd of 4,000 persons. Anderson led off with a pitch for diversified economic development. He said that, while he appreciated the fact that agriculture was the primary industry of the province and probably always would be, the time had come for new approaches. He pledged to promote lignite coal, both for heating and power generation, such as was being done in North Dakota. The Liberal government had said that it wanted to do something for the coal industry, "but the people had been listening to that story for years and years." With respect to education, Anderson denied the imputations of bigotry and intolerance that had been made against him and his party. The Liberal "little red book," which was being used in the campaign, stated that he was opposed to the presence of religious emblems in schools. This was false, he said. He was opposed to religious emblems in *public* schools. He had no objection to such emblems in Catholic separate schools.

J.W. Estey, one of the Liberal candidates, pointed out that the province was enjoying splendid prosperity, and, while the government could not

take all the credit, it deserved a good deal of it. The affairs of the province had been efficiently administered with due regard for economy but also in a progressive spirit that showed concern for the welfare of every class of person. It had been said repeatedly that both he and C.W. McCool, the other Liberal candidate in Saskatoon, were Roman Catholics, and that a vote for Liberalism was a vote for the Roman Catholic Church. The charge was wholly unfounded. The government had never encouraged anything in the schools to detract from the Protestant religion. The minister of education was a United Church man, and of forty-seven school inspectors, only five were Roman Catholics. The principals at the normal schools were Protestants, as were thirty of thirty-three members of the normal school staff.

McCool, too, was preoccupied with the school controversy. He said that when a Catholic majority in a public school district tried to impose its will on the Protestant minority, the government had approached the majority with a request for fair play. Saskatchewan was not a place where the majority could trample on the rights of the minority. As for immigration policy, it was quite beyond the jurisdiction of the province. The provincial government could not stop from coming into Saskatchewan any person that the federal government decided to admit. As the meeting progressed, it became clear that the Liberal candidates were on the defensive, constantly parrying attacks that were being made against the government.

Howard McConnell, the other Conservative candidate in Saskatoon, reminded the audience that all the Conservative MLAs in the legislature had voted for the old age pension legislation, and they had supported improvements to the Workman's Compensation Act, which were practically a copy of what had been put in place by the Conservative government in Ontario. The Conservatives were firmly in favour of public ownership of the power industry in Saskatchewan, while the Liberals had appeared to waffle on the point. No political party had a monopoly on virtue, McConnell asserted. All parties started out with the best intentions, pledged to work for the public good, but, with the passage of time, they were dragged down by office-seekers and other self-interested persons, and, slowly, the rot set in. The present government had given its best over a long period of time and now it was time for a change.[121]

Dr. John Uhrich, MLA for Rosthern and minister of health, was brought in to campaign in Saskatoon, where the Liberals sensed the tide was running against them. The audience gave him an attentive hearing when he described the various measures that had been taken to halt the spread of

tuberculosis, but when he "wandered from the path of science" to deal with more sensitive issues, he encountered hecklers. "What has the government done about highways for the past years?" Uhrich asked rhetorically. "Nothing," someone shouted. "Well if you feel like that, vote against them," retorted the speaker, at which point several voices chimed in: "That's what we're going to do."[122]

Six hundred people crammed into city hall in Yorkton to hear Jimmy Gardiner on the stump.[123] He spent most of his time defending the government's school policy, which had emerged as the central issue of the campaign, a proxy for the "keep-Canada-British" agitation that had spread through the province, in large part thanks to the Klan. The crowd shouted encouragement: "Hit 'em hard" and "You Tell 'Em Jimmy." But when he turned to Anderson's attempt to amend the Education Act to prohibit religious emblems and garb in the public schools, members of the audience made it clear that they sided with Anderson on that issue. "All right," returned the premier, "Consider this – in none of the provinces in Canada is there any such law and no political leader in any province has ever suggested one." "They haven't the courage," a woman cried out. "Consider the systems in Ontario and Quebec where there are thousands of public schools," Gardiner continued. "It is not British," someone interrupted. "I'll show you whether it is British or not," said the premier. "Do you know that in the county of London in which the capital of the British Empire is situated there are three types of schools. There is the ordinary public school, there are Church of England schools and there are Roman Catholic schools and the county of London contributes 75 percent of their cost. It believes in retaining control of education. That's what's British." The applause was thunderous.[124]

Anderson addressed an audience of between 1,250 and 1,500 on 3 June, three days before election day, in the Armoury in Moose Jaw. Prior to the meeting, the Great War Veterans' Band marched to the venue, demonstrating their support for the Conservatives.[125] W.G. Ross and W.G. Baker, the Liberal and Labour candidates, respectively, in the city, held a meeting a few days later. A man in the audience stood up and asked Baker whether he had served in the Great War. He replied that he had not. "Well, then, you don't understand a soldier's point of view," the questioner retorted. When J.A. Merkeley, the victorious Conservative candidate in Moose Jaw, became minister of labour, railways, and industry, he boasted that 90 percent of the job vacancies in his department were being filled by Great War veterans.[126]

The Conservative campaign came to a climax at a rally at Third Avenue Methodist Church in Saskatoon. Shortly before the meeting began, it was learned that a certain W.T. Jones had signed an affidavit before a justice of the peace alleging that J.T.M. Anderson had attended a Ku Klux Klan meeting, at which Reverend T. Bunting and ex-alderman A.S. Walker had also been present. Anderson maintained that the story was "a dastardly attempt at a political frame up." Looking out at the over-flow crowd, he asked: "Is Mr. Jones in the audience?" A man of dark complexion and medium height moved slowly down the aisle to the front of the hall. Dr. Anderson motioned him to a chair at the back of the platform. "Is Mr. Bunting in the audience?" Anderson inquired. The crowd cheered as the clergyman came to the podium. Bunting denied that he had seen Anderson at the meeting or that he had heard anyone say that he was there. "Is Mr. Walker in the audience?" He, too, testified that he had not seen Anderson at the meeting. At this point, Jones stepped forward from his place at the rear of the platform and joined the group at the front. "Get away from here. Go back over there," Anderson directed. "Get away from decent people." Meekly, Jones retreated to his chair. The man sitting next to him called out to Anderson in a loud voice: "Would you mind having him go a little farther from me. His breath is quite overpowering." Anderson pointed an accusing finger at Jones, motioning him off the platform. Most of the crowd hooted its approval, but there were a few who shouted: "Give him a chance! Give him a chance!" Above the din, Anderson declared in a loud voice: "When that man comes up to speak on any platform, I get off."

The incident revealed that, while Anderson denied having attended a Klan meeting, he had no qualms about inviting two Klansmen to the platform at a major Conservative rally. Despite the fact that Reverend Bunting was a paid Klan organizer, Anderson did not denounce him or say that he was not welcome at a Conservative gathering. There is no indication from the press reports that Anderson made any negative comment about Bunting, Walker, or the Klan. While Anderson insisted that he *personally* was not a Klansman, he was not ashamed to associate with members of the order and, implicitly, solicit their support.

Following the Jones episode, the rally resumed. S.F. Zamen was introduced and given the floor. He said he was a Ukrainian and that he had known Anderson fourteen years previously, when the latter had been a school inspector. Zamen testified that Anderson had been good to the children and that it was unfair for people to say that he was prejudiced

against Ukrainians. Finally, it was Anderson's turn to address the crowd. He said that he had never seen such enthusiasm for the Conservative Party in Saskatchewan. The crowds across the province had been large and friendly. No one had heckled him. He extended a welcoming hand to those Liberals who, "for reasons best known to themselves," were coming over to the Conservative camp. At the close of the speech, Anderson was presented with a large floral horseshoe with a ribbon that was inscribed with the words: "Good Luck." It was a gift from the Saskatoon Conservative women's association.[127]

Anderson's final appeal to the voters was published on 4 June. "Once every four years," he said, "the great jury of public opinion is called upon to decide the fate of the government. You are that jury":

> The vote is the free man's weapon.
> A weapon that comes down as still
> As snowflakes fall upon the sod;
> But executes a free man's will
> As lightning does the will of God;
> And from its force nor doors nor locks
> Can shield you – 'Tis the ballot box.[128]

He promised to remove sectarian strife from the public school ("our great training ground of democracy"); support a safe and sane provincial immigration policy; foster and encourage the development of natural resources as a means of economic development and a solution to the problem of seasonal unemployment; promote "the great principle of cooperation so dear to the hearts of our prairie people"; and impartially enforce the laws of the province. Last but not least, he would restore professionalism to the civil service, "giving to the men and women who labour in the service of our province a fuller opportunity to do their best in our provincial life."[129]

Results of the 1929 Election

On election-day, 6 June 1929, the Town of Kerrobert was in a state of nervous excitement "unequalled since the war days."[130] The weather was perfect – Saskatchewan at its best – and there was a record voter turnout. As the hour approached for the polls to close, tension mounted. Loud cheers were heard in the Conservative committee rooms as the results from across the province started to come in over the telephone. When it became clear

that R.L. Hanbidge, the Conservative candidate in Kerrobert, had won the seat, some of his supporters wept for joy. The long Conservative drought was over. Regina would at last have something other than a Liberal government. The defeated Liberal candidate and the president of the local Liberal association visited the Conservative committee rooms and offered congratulations. They said that they had thrown everything they had into the fight, and they looked forward to another round in four years' time. The Conservatives responded by singing: "For they are jolly good fellows." The hall was cleared for dancing, which lasted into the early hours of the morning.[131] That fall, a banquet was held in honour of Hanbidge. The new MLA was already showing his mettle. Every single government job vacancy in Kerrobert had been filled by a First World War veteran![132]

Three days before the election, the *Prince Albert Daily Herald* published an editorial entitled "Victory Assured." The Conservative Party's campaign had not caught on, the paper said; revulsion against J.T.M. Anderson was sweeping the province.[133] The day before the election, the *Herald* reported that all persons conversant with politics in the province were of the opinion that the government would be handsomely returned. Anderson was in danger of losing his own seat.[134] On election night, a large crowd gathered in front of the *Herald* office on Eleventh Street West to hear the results come in. Whoops of joy greeted every Conservative win. When it became clear that the Liberal government had been defeated, a torchlight parade made its way down Eleventh Street to Central Avenue. Someone spotted an old, beat-up automobile wreck on the side of the road. It was hauled in front of the Liberal committee rooms and decorated with a sign that read: "The Gardiner Machine." Diefenbaker carried the east end of the city, where the population was predominantly English-speaking and Protestant, but he trailed badly among non-British and Roman Catholic voters in the west end.[135] As a result, he lost the seat, but it hardly seemed to matter because of the general euphoria surrounding the Gardiner government's defeat. Diefenbaker climbed onto the roof of a truck and addressed his jubilant supporters: "Victory is ours!"[136]

In Rosetown the winner was Conservative candidate Nat Given, the head of the Orange Lodge in Saskatchewan.[137] One of his supporters, J.R. Winter, had made a bet with S.A. Paquette, who was a Roman Catholic and a Liberal. Winter said that if the Liberal candidate won, he would carry Paquette in a wheelbarrow down the main street of Rosetown. Paquette promised to do the same if the Conservative took the seat. On

Cross erected by the Ku Klux Klan in Yorkton, Saskatchewan, on election-day, 6 June 1929. It was burned to celebrate the victory of the Conservative Party over the Liberals. *City of Yorkton Archives*

the Saturday night after the election, the local police chief stopped traffic and cleared a path. Paquette appeared with his wheelbarrow, which he had decorated with flowers and ribbons. In climbed Winter, who obligingly doffed his hat and bowed to the crowd on either side of the street. Paquette firmly gripped the handlebars and wheeled the barrow down the street, "head[ing] for a rock of the largest proportions he could see."[138]

Provincewide, the Liberals captured 28 seats; the Conservatives, 24; Independents, 6; and the Progressives 5. Of the twenty constituencies that were largely non-British in population, the Liberals took nineteen. By comparison, they were able to win only nine of forty-three predominantly English-speaking constituencies.[139] The electorate had been polarized. The Liberals fell back on their Roman Catholic "foreign" base and lost ground among moderate British Protestant voters. The mighty Liberal coalition had fallen apart.

Gardiner maintained that, since his party had the largest number of seats in the House, he should continue as premier until his government was defeated in a non-confidence vote. Because the legislature was not in session, the vote could be postponed for some time. The Conservative, Progressive, and Independent members-elect held a joint meeting and pledged support for a cooperative government led by Anderson. It was clear that the Gardiner government had no hope of survival, but still it clung to power. The opposition brought a petition before Lieutenant-Governor Henry W. Newlands, informing him of their agreement and calling upon him to dismiss the premier, but Newlands declined the petition, saying that the government had the constitutional right to meet the legislature, where its fate would be decided.[140]

Shortly after one o'clock on the morning of 1 July 1929, a fuel can packed with oil-soaked rags was brought to the front entrance of the Legislative Building. A match was thrown. The fire charred the massive oak doors and blackened the surrounding stonework. The ornamental grill at the top of the doors, displaying the provincial coat of arms, was discoloured from smoke and heat, and the glass behind the grill was cracked. Over the ruined doors were scrawled the words, "Gardiner and Crime – Get Out." A resident of the area, driving home at a late hour, had spotted the blaze and smothered it with automobile robes. Otherwise, the damage would have been much more extensive.[141]

The *Regina Star* fumed: "Like a pole-cat at bay, the latest public act of the usurping Premier is to squirt the secretions of his gall-ducts over those

who in pursuance of their sense of public duty oppose his continuance in office." The "usurper," the "poorest sport in history,"[142] held onto office, "dissipating the funds of the Treasury, exceeding the Estimates and contracting illegal expenditures while awaiting public expulsion."[143] Finally, in the first week of September 1929, three months after the election, the legislature was called into session. When Premier Gardiner proposed acceptance of the speech from the throne, Anderson moved an amendment of non-confidence.[144] The amendment passed with the support of all opposition members, and Gardiner had no choice but to resign. The new cooperative government of Saskatchewan was sworn in on 9 September, with a cabinet that included eight Conservatives, one Progressive, and one Independent.[145] The long reign of the Liberal Party in Saskatchewan had come to an end.

Before the election was called, few would have predicted this result. In the fall of 1928, the farmers of Saskatchewan harvested a bountiful crop, and the provincial budget showed a healthy surplus.[146] Saskatchewan's prospects seemed bright, and it hardly seemed necessary or advisable to turn out the government. According to the *Saskatoon Star-Phoenix*, the Conservative campaign was based almost entirely on emotion. Having no credible criticism of government policy to make, the Opposition resorted to stirring up hate and prejudice to win the voters' support.[147] The Regina *Leader* suggested that the Conservatives had no real positive plan for what they wanted to accomplish in office; instead, they spent most of their time attacking the Liberals.[148] This was also Gardiner's assessment: "The average Canadian would have said [the Conservative campaign] could not succeed with our people but experience has shown that a people as well educated as are Canadians can be almost if not quite as easily led by propaganda, scares and the purest fiction as can those of countries much more literate ... the last provincial election here and this last federal election would almost convince one that issues based upon provincial or national policies are impotent when pitted against local prejudice, the need of the moment and the fiction which an unscrupulous mind can concoct."[149]

In this view, the election essentially came down to a contest between reason (Liberal) and emotion (Conservative); sound policy (Liberal) and no policy (Conservative). It was as though the voters had temporarily taken leave of their senses. However, as we have seen, the Conservative Party put forward a comprehensive set of policy proposals, which they

had worked out carefully in conjunction with Progressives and others. They had concrete plans for improvements in education, health, social welfare, cooperatives, economic development, the justice system, the civil service, highways, and electric power distribution. As for the comment that the Conservative campaign was based on "emotion," one person's "emotion" is another person's "patriotism." In the 1929 election, identity politics came to the fore. The election was about keeping Canada British. It was the stated goal of both Conservatives and Liberals, but they meant different things by it. The Conservative definition was close to the Klan idea of a nation in which persons of British stock predominated. The Liberals promoted tolerance for ethnic minorities and Roman Catholics within the framework of British institutions. In 1929, the Conservative model of nationalism was more appealing to moderate British Protestants who had traditionally supported the Liberal Party, and this spelled the end of the Gardiner government.

The iniquity of the Liberal machine was also an issue. Even some Liberals were disgusted by its excesses. The machine stifled political freedom, tainted the administration of justice, distorted the coverage of political issues in the newspapers (the dominant source of information at the time), and forced citizens to conform to the Liberal Party line if they wanted to obtain a government job or do any kind of business with the government. Anderson was not joking when he said the main purpose of his life was to destroy the Liberal machine, and he took great satisfaction in doing so.

He could not have done it without the Klan. The Klan was the key to the election turnaround of 1929. Before the Klan arrived, politics in the province had been somnolent. The Conservatives had not been able to generate any momentum, and some of the Progressives had been drifting into the ranks of the Liberal Party. Liberals were able to win by-election after by-election. At the beginning of 1927, Premier Gardiner had no reason to fear that his government would not be re-elected. The Klan changed everything, spreading like wildfire and transforming the political landscape. In January 1928, Gardiner made the fateful decision to fight the Klan with everything he had. He said that it was an alien American import, prone to violence, and un-British. The Klan retaliated that it was a British institution and that its goal was to keep Canada British. In the duel between competing versions of Britishness in 1929, the Klan won out. The Klan always presented itself as a non-partisan organization. Officially, it was a brotherhood, an "invisible empire" of knights, far above

anything as crass and sordid as party politics. But there was no doubt as to where Klan sympathies lay. The Klan shifted the mindset of the voters. It stirred up the issue of British national identity, especially with respect to the dangers of foreign immigration and sectarian influence on the public schools. The Conservative Party was the beneficiary, and it owed its victory to the Klan.

Epilogue

The fall of the Klan in Saskatchewan was as rapid as was its rise. This was true, too, of the Klan in the United States, where membership fell from about 4 million in 1924 to only 45,000 in 1930.[1] This sudden decline was partly the result of scandal, most notably the conviction of the leader of the Indiana Klan on charges of rape and murder. In Saskatchewan, there were no such scandals. The determining factor was the onset of the Great Depression, when the struggle for survival took precedence over identity politics. Literally, there was not enough to eat. There were 14 deaths from starvation in Saskatchewan, 78 perished from rickets, 6 died of scurvy, 2 of pellagra, and 1 of beriberi, and these were just the deaths reported in official statistics. Others went unrecorded. Gopher meat appeared on the dinner table – "stewed gopher, canned gopher, gopher pie, smoked gopher, and pickled gopher," not to mention the "bachelor-friendly fried gopher."[2] Large swathes of the province were engulfed in dust storms, "black blizzards" as they were known. Families cowered in their homes for days at a time, doors and windows sealed, lamps kept burning, wet cloths placed over children's faces so that they could breathe, until the storm finally passed. At the depth of the Depression, two out of three people in rural Saskatchewan were destitute. It was hard for a man to keep his dignity when he had to ask the village council to provide him with underwear. The cry in Saskatchewan, wrote one reporter, was: "For one thing and one thing only: water."[3] The province was seen as a "rat hole down which millions of dollars taken from eastern taxpayers were dumped."[4]

These were not conditions in which the Keep-Canada-British politics of the Klan could flourish. To spend thirteen dollars on a Klan membership was out of the question when one was struggling to feed one's family. In addition, the Depression brought foreign immigration to a halt. Soon after he became prime minister in 1930, R.B. Bennett cancelled the railways agreement, thereby removing a major source of Klan grievance. At the provincial level, the Anderson government imposed a ban on religious

symbols in the public schools, another measure the Klan had long desired. The Klan now had less to complain about, and this reduced its appeal. The "invisible empire" was always more successful when it was outside the establishment and when it could play the resentment card. Now that it was part of the establishment, it lost some of its allure. The Klan was built on hate, and when there was less reason to hate, there was less reason to join the Klan.

In the long term, the Klan lost the battle for the soul of Saskatchewan. The British Canada it believed in has faded away. In 1986, Saskatchewan adopted as its official motto, *Multis e gentibus vires* ("From many peoples strength"). Multiculturalism is now triumphant, and it would be a brave politician who would try to overthrow it. To take such a stand would be the equivalent of a declaration in the 1920s that Canada was not British. At that time "Britishness" was the reigning orthodoxy, and that is why the Klan's campaign to keep Canada British, however misconceived it might appear to us today, was closer to the mainstream than has generally been acknowledged. The Klan was not a sideshow in Saskatchewan history. It lay at the heart of it.

"Britishness" today remains as highly contested as ever, and nowhere is this more evident than in Great Britain itself. After the Second World War, Britain experienced large-scale, non-white immigration: Chinese from Hong Kong; blacks from Barbados, British Guiana, Trinidad, and Jamaica; and Asians from India and Pakistan. Legally, there was no discrimination against persons of "colour," but social practice was quite different. The *South London Press* reported in 1948: "Many of the West Indians are skilled workers who quickly found jobs and homes, but others, reinforced by some who had come to the country earlier, are drifting into crime, vagrancy, and other anti-social activities."[5] A recurring theme was that white women were the victims of predatory black males, the same charge that was levelled against Chinese men in Saskatchewan in the 1920s.

The growth of the non-white population opened a debate between those who wanted Britain to remain a homogenous white nation and those who sought to redefine Britain as a tolerant, multiracial society. The year 1967 saw the formation of the National Front, which was strongly opposed to black and Asian immigration. It was formed out of a merger of small right-wing groups, including the League of Empire Loyalists, the British National Party, and the Racial Preservation Society. Conservative MP Enoch Powell delivered his famous anti-immigrant speech at Birmingham on 20 April 1968, in the shadow of the riots that had broken out in the United

States after the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. Powell said: "As I look ahead, I am filled with foreboding. Like the Roman, I seem to see 'the River Tiber foaming with much blood."[6] He cited a letter concerning a white woman, whose husband and two sons had been killed in the Second World War. She ran a boarding house in Wolverhampton. When immigrants moved into the area, she refused to rent rooms to them. As a result, she had been reduced to poverty and subjected to abuse and vilification. When she went out to the shops, black children surrounded her and shouted "racialist" at her. The windows of her house were broken, and excrement was pushed through the letter box.[7]

In the House of Lords in 1971, the Bishop of Coventry made what appears to be the first reference in parliamentary debate to Britain as a multicultural society. "We must endeavour," he said, "to take people from the purely negative attitude to immigration and to supplant it with a positive concept of a multi-cultural, multi-racial family, vibrant with life and rich with many-sided culture."[8] On the other side of the debate, Conservative MP John Stokes said in 1976: "If anyone had said a generation ago that one-third of the population of some of the big British cities would be black by the end of the century, he would have been considered a lunatic, but that is the prospect before us ... I also hear from older people who served in the last war and who never realized that we in Great Britain had won the war only to hand over parts of our territory to other races."[9] This almost exactly echoes the complaint of the Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan in the 1920s, except that, in the latter case, the reference was to the First World War and the territory in question was the farmland of Saskatchewan. In both instances there was a perceived threat to a preexisting concept of Britishness, which no longer conformed to the emerging social and demographic reality.

Between 1971 and 1981, the black and Asian population of Britain increased from 1.2 million to 2.1 million, or 4.1 percent of the population. By 2001, 8 percent of the population was non-white.[10] According to former prime minister Gordon Brown, the definition of Britishness "relies not on race or on ancient and unchanging institutions, but rather on a foundation of values that can be shared by all of us, regardless of race, region or religion."[11] Foremost among these values, Brown asserted, are tolerance, liberty, fairness, and a sense of responsibility for the welfare of others. British foreign secretary Robin Cook declared in 2001 that the British were not a race but "a gathering of countless different races and communities, the vast majority of which were not indigenous to these islands."[12]

He went on to say that modern ideas of national identity could not be based on race or ethnicity; rather, they had to arise from "shared ideals and aspirations." Some of the most successful countries in the world, he added, "such as the United States and Canada," exemplify the principle that cultural diversity is an asset when it is allied to the concept of equal citizenship. Not everyone was willing to go along with the redefinition of Britishness suggested by Gordon Brown and Robin Cook. George Carey, a former Archbishop of Canterbury, riposted that "values" of fair play, tolerance, rights and responsibilities, respect for law, and so on were hardly the exclusive property of the British, and they were not an adequate basis on which to build a distinctive national identity.[13]

In recent years tensions over immigration have given rise to the British National Party, which bears a passing resemblance to the Ku Klux Klan of 1920s Saskatchewan in that both are defenders of the British nation in the traditional, as opposed to the multicultural, sense of the term. Nick Griffin, leader of the BNP, describes white Britons as the "indigenous" population who face "genocide." "We are the Aborigines here," he declares.[14] He advocates the mass repatriation of non-white immigrants in order to keep Britain "fundamentally a British and Christian country."[15]

National identity crises afflict many European states, not just Britain. Liliane Ploumen, chairwoman of the Dutch Labour Party, writes: "The success of the integration process is hindered by the disproportionate number of non-natives involved in criminality and troublemaking, by burqas, by men who refuse to shake hands with women ... The street is mine, too. I don't want to walk away if they are standing in my path."[16] The minority government in Holland relies on the support of the anti-immigrant Freedom Party, which lists among its demands the closure of Islamic schools, a prohibition on the building of new mosques, and so-called "assimilation" contracts requiring immigrants to comply with Dutch norms under pain of expulsion.[17] In Italy, foreign labour makes up nearly 10 percent of the workforce. Studies show that racist sentiments are rising, especially among the young. Nearly half of Italians aged eighteen to twenty-nine express varying degrees of xenophobia. Election posters for the Northern League Party depicted a Native American Indian chief along with the slogan: "They put up with immigration, now they live on reserves."[18] An election flier showed an elderly Italian man waiting outside a social services office behind a caricatured collection of Oriental, Roma, African, and Arab immigrants, saying: "Wake Up! Guess who will come last."[19]

In 2010, in Germany, Thilo Sarrazin, a director of the central bank, published the bestseller *Germany Is Digging Its Own Grave*, a scathing indictment of Islamic immigration into the country. He predicts that the high Muslim birth rate means that Germans will soon become "strangers in their own country" and that their grandchildren will grow up in a society in which "their lives are measured out by the muezzin's calls to prayer."[20] German chancellor Angela Merkel has declared that "multiculturalism has failed, utterly failed," because immigrants live in ghettoes and do not integrate with the mainstream of German society. She adds, however, that immigrants are still welcome in Germany.[21]

In 2009, Eric Besson, French minister for "immigration and national identity," launched a three-month national debate on "what it means to be French." On the agenda were Muslim headscarves, citizenship classes, and a proposal to make French schoolchildren sing "La Marseillaise" once a year. President Nicolas Sarkozy contributed the comment: "France has a particular identity, which is not above the others, but which is its own ... I don't understand how anyone could hesitate to say the words 'French national identity.'"[22] The debate did not come up with an agreed-upon definition of Frenchness. Those on the left said that to be French was to have a French identity card and that was all that needed to be said on the subject. Those on the right maintained that there existed "a profound unity of our culture" but were unable to pin it down specifically, other than to list a "shared set of values" such as "liberty, equality, fraternity, and secularism."[23]

Outside Europe, too, global migration is upsetting previous assumptions about national identity. The population of Australia grew by more than 2 percent in 2009, new migrants accounting for two-thirds of the increase. They were blamed for a host of woes, from traffic jams to long hospital wait times. Both major parties have vowed to reduce the intake of newcomers.[24] In Japan a new ultra-nationalist group has taken aim at Japan's half-million ethnic Koreans, Chinese and other Asian workers, as well as Christian church-goers. The extremists hold protests and wave placards that read: "This is not a white country."[25] Israel has at least 250,000 foreign labourers, about half of whom do not have proper legal documentation. They include Chinese construction workers, Filipino health care aides, Thai farm hands, as well as other Asians, Africans, and East Europeans working as maids, cooks, and nannies. "We have created a Jewish and democratic nation and we cannot let it turn into a nation of foreign workers," declares Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. "Saying foreign workers

are diluting the Jewish state is racism," counters Nitzan Horowitz, a member of the Israeli Parliament.[26] In South Korea in the past seven years the number of foreign residents has doubled to 1.2 million out of a total population of 48.7 million. Incidents of xenophobia are on the rise, and it has proved necessary to draft legislation to provide a detailed definition of what constitutes racial discrimination and to devise appropriate criminal penalties.[27]

We live in an era of unprecedented global migration, which some theorists refer to as the third wave of globalization. First, there was the international movement of goods, then money, and now people. Rich, aging countries with low birth rates need workers, and people in poor countries need jobs.[28] The result has been global migration on a massive scale and the corresponding rise of social tension and conflicts over national identity. A recent horrific example is the mass murder carried out in Norway in July 2011 by a right-wing nationalist who said he opposed the "Islamification" of Europe and wanted to keep Norway for the Norwegians.

There is an eerie echo here of the Klan's goal in the 1920s of keeping Canada British. Canada in the 1920s needed immigrant workers. The presidents of the major railway companies and other leading businessmen made that clear to Prime Minister Mackenzie King, with the result that, in 1925, his government signed the railways agreement. It allowed the CPR and the CNR a free hand in recruiting immigrants from central, southern, and eastern Europe. Economic factors drove immigration policy, just as they do today. This resulted in a backlash, especially in Saskatchewan, which was close to the tipping point at which the British population lost its majority status. Many in the province felt that foreigners and Catholics were taking over and that traditional national identity was being lost. They joined the Klan because they wanted to keep Canada British. Such emotions were intensified by the legacy of the Great War, which also had been fought, in part, to keep Canada British. In many respects, the Klan was the continuation of the wartime struggle in the postwar context.

When the Klan organizers arrived from Indiana in November 1926, they found a receptive audience. Before long, lodges were cropping up all over the province. Then, in September 1927, disaster struck. The organizers ran off with the money. Premier Gardiner assumed that this was the end of the Klan. The organization appeared to be entirely discredited. But this was to misunderstand the psychology of the Klan. It had never been an American branch operation; it had always been thoroughly indigenous,

feeding on the existential anxieties of white British Protestants. Fundamentally, it had nothing to do with the United States. The American organizers were catalysts, nothing more.

This explains why, when the organizers stole the money collected from membership fees, the Klan did not die but, rather, resurrected itself. It severed all ties with the United States and adopted a new constitution, which stated that it rejected violence, followed peaceful methods, and abandoned the practice of wearing robes and hoods. It was a thoroughly *British* Klan. This was acknowledged by the *New York Times*, which published an article on the Saskatchewan Klan in July 1928 entitled "Canadian Province Turns to the Klan." The Klan in Saskatchewan, it said, "lack[ed] the robes and hoods and militancy of its southern brethren but bristl[ed] with Kleagles and Wizards and above all well-paid organizers."[29]

Premier Gardiner persisted in saying that the Klan was un-British. He maintained that it was American in character and prone to lawlessness and violence. This line of attack only served to enflame Klan members because it contradicted their own sense of who they were and what they stood for. Thus, Gardiner's strategy backfired. He made Klan members feel misrepresented and persecuted; he fed their martyr complex. Already they felt oppressed by the Liberal machine, which crushed all political opposition and made it seem impossible that there could ever be a change of government. Hegemonic Liberalism suffocated the province. The Klan rebelled, focusing on specific issues such as foreign immigration and sectarian influence in the public schools. On both counts, by the late 1920s, the Gardiner government had fallen out of step with mainstream public opinion.

Fundamentally, the Klan was a racist organization, but then, too, most people in Saskatchewan (and Canada) at the time were what we would today call "racist." They assumed that the white race was superior to all others and that it was undesirable for the races to intermarry. British imperialism was itself permeated by complacent racism. It was used to explain and justify Britain's rule over one-third of the globe. The British "nation" was not confined to the British Isles. It encompassed the "white" dominions, including Canada. This was the British nation to which the Klan felt it belonged, the nation it wanted to protect and of which it wanted to make sure that Canada remained a part.

Saskatchewan had racist legislation on the books, passed by a Liberal government in 1912, well before the Klan arrived on the scene. It prohibited

Chinese men from employing white women in order to prevent interracial sexual relations and racial defilement. Anglican bishop George Exton Lloyd publicly called for the repatriation of the Asians and blacks in Canada to their countries of origin, a proposal so extreme that not even the Klan endorsed it, and yet this did not prevent the University of Saskatchewan from conferring upon him an honorary degree in 1929. The United Church, the largest Protestant denomination in Saskatchewan, had an opportunity to denounce the Klan in 1928, but it deliberately and conspicuously refrained from doing so. That was because a large number of United Church ministers belonged to the Klan and actively proselytized on its behalf. Even Premier James Gardiner, the Klan's foremost foe, did not explicitly condemn the Klan's racist ideology. He criticized the Klan for various other reasons but not for that one. The evidence points to one conclusion: the Ku Klux Klan in 1929 enjoyed widespread support in mainstream, "respectable" Saskatchewan. It was not a fringe phenomenon.

The 1929 election came down to a battle over what it meant to be British. It had nothing to do with multiculturalism in the current sense. The Klan wanted to keep Canada British by making sure that the British "race" remained dominant. The Gardiner government favoured a measure of tolerance for foreign immigrants within the context of a society based on British institutions and loyalty to the Crown. Everybody wanted to keep Canada British, however they defined it.

"There are two absolutes in my life," wrote novelist Nadine Gordimer. "One is that racism is evil – human damnation in the Old Testament sense – and no compromises, as well as sacrifices, should be too great in the fight against it."[30] It is hardly a defence of the Klan in 1920s Saskatchewan to say that it was not the unique purveyor of racism at that time. Nor is it a strong defence to say that it was a British type of Klan, which rejected white hoods and violence. It is hardly a compliment to say that the members of the Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan in the 1920s did not lynch anybody. However, the fact remains that they did not. They were qualitatively different from their counterparts in Indiana or in the American South. They were Britishers, and perhaps, in the end, it was their Britishness that saved them.

Notes

Introduction

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Chapter 1: The Ku Klux Klan Comes to Saskatchewan

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