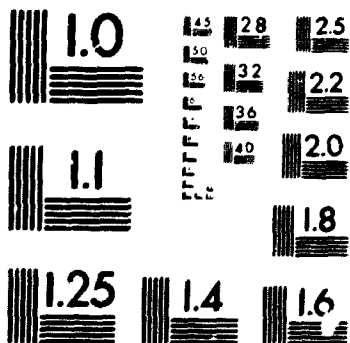


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RINGING OUT THE NARROWING LUST OF GOLD, RINGING IN
THE COMMON LOVE OF GOOD: THE UNITED FARMERS OF
ONTARIO IN LAMBTON, SIMCOE AND LANARK
COUNTIES, 1914 - 1926

BY

KERRY A. BADGLEY, B.A. (HONS), M.A.

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
and Research in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of History
Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
1996

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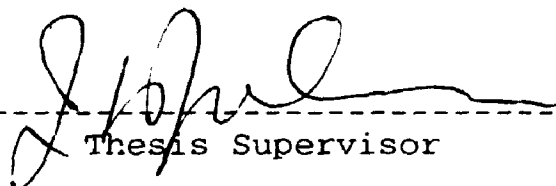
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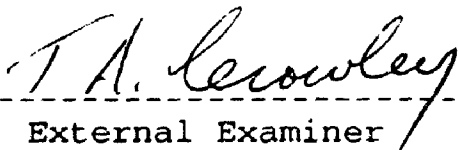
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for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy



Chair, Department of History



Thesis Supervisor



External Examiner

Carleton University

11 April 1996

"RING OUT THE NARROWING LUST OF GOLD; RING IN
THE COMMON LOVE OF GOOD"

Headline of the pro-UFO Almonte Gazette
on the eve of the 1921 federal election
2 December 1921

ABSTRACT

The United Farmers of Ontario (UFO) was founded in 1914 and, by 1919, had become a significant political force in the province. In that year the organization, through the efforts of locally-nominated candidates, won more seats than any other party and formed a governing coalition with the Independent Labor Party (ILP). By that time, its sister organization, the United Farmers Co-operative Company (UFCC), was flourishing, as was the United Farm Women of Ontario. The movement had achieved much of its success by levelling a challenge to the 'Big Interests', a term used by members to denote those who controlled the economic, political and social structures in the province, and by advancing an alternative vision of democracy, which sought to maximize citizen participation in the decision-making process.

By the mid 1920s, however, the movement went into a decline from which it was never able to recover. Membership in the UFO declined; the promise of equality put forward by the UFWO did not materialize; and the UFCC, once a key component in the development of an alternative vision, had become a company more focused upon profit-making than anything else.

This thesis seeks to explain both the rise and the decline of the UFO. It challenges the liberal capitalist interpretation of the movement as being nothing more than 'Liberals in a hurry' and the Marxist view that the UFO consisted of self-interested, backward looking, petit bourgeois independent commodity producers.

Unlike other studies of the UFO, which focus on its leadership, this study examines the movement as it manifested itself in three Ontario counties. Utilizing anarchist theory, it is argued that alternative economic, political and social visions were developed by members as they broke free from hegemonic forces. These same forces, however, combined with a number of internal struggles and a conservative leadership, resulted in the decline in the movement as a vehicle for democratic change in Ontario.

Acknowledgements

It is impossible to thank each and every person who helped me complete this thesis, but a few individuals merit special mention.

My thesis supervisor, Professor J.K. Johnson, was of immense assistance, carefully reading and making valuable comments on each draft that I submitted. He made me come to terms with aspects that I would have rather avoided and, as a result, I think that the dissertation is all the stronger for it. Elizabeth Price also read early versions of each chapter, and made innumerable constructive suggestions as to how they could be improved. She also listened to my ramblings, and still remained my friend. Her tireless efforts and constant encouragement are greatly appreciated.

Staff at the Archives of Ontario were, as usual, friendly and helpful. I also had the pleasure of dealing with staff at the Simcoe County Archives, the Lambton County Archives, and the University of Guelph Library. Everyone at these institutions went out of their way to accommodate me, and I thank them all.

A number of other people, many of whom I am lucky to call friends, also assisted (knowingly or otherwise) in the completion of this thesis: Professors N.E.S. Griffiths, Duncan McDowall, D.A. Muise, Carman Bickerton, all of the History Department at Carleton. Thanks are also extended to David Shanahan and Robert McIntosh, Professors Irene M. Spry, D.H. Akenson and Brett Fairbairn, Dr. Donald C. Savage of the Canadian Association of University Teachers, Nancy Kiefer, Susan Paré, Simon Snow, Shawn Cafferky, Charlene Porsild, John Franklin, Dan German, Jim Kenny, and the late Professor D.S. Macmillan. Thanks are also extended to my brother, Aaron, for his encouragement and support. In addition, I thank the coffee and tobacco producers of the world for their fine products.

Finally, there are two people who deserve special thanks. My wife, Susan, has endured more than anyone should have to while I worked on this thesis. Through it all, however, she provided me with encouragement and love, and showed me why it was so important that I finish it.

The second person is my mother, Harmony Marion Joyce Badgley, who, sadly, passed away before the thesis was completed. Born in 1927, she grew up in a working-class household in Oshawa during the Depression. Those events had a profound effect on her life. Whenever she spoke of those times, however, she did not speak of the hardships as much as the feelings of mutuality and community of people who were trapped in a situation over which they had no control. She inculcated me with a love for learning, and showed me time and time again that all human beings are entitled to be treated with dignity and respect.

As a child of the Depression my mother also had a fatalistic side. One of her favourite sayings was: "You can get used to anything, even hanging." I hope I can be forgiven for not getting used to her not being around. It is to the memory of my mother that this thesis is dedicated.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

To ask questions about the nature and behavior of one's own society is often difficult and unpleasant: difficult because the answers are generally concealed and unpleasant because the answers are often not only ugly...but also painful ...In contrast, the easy way is to succumb to the demands of the powerful, to avoid searching questions, and to accept the doctrine that is hammered home incessantly by the propaganda system.

Noam Chomsky¹

What follows is an account of how a large and significant group of individuals in Ontario came to see things differently, and of how they then lost this alternative vision. Collectively known as the United Farmers of Ontario (UFO), these people formulated a critique of society that had potentially profound implications: the economic system was called into question; doubts were raised about the effectiveness of existing political structures; uncertainty was expressed regarding the treatment that over half of the population (women) received; extreme ambivalence was advanced with respect to war, militarism, and patriotism; profound suspicion was shown concerning the actors in society who disseminated information, particularly journalists and politicians. In sum, the individuals who established and supported the UFO rejected many of the

¹ Noam Chomsky, Towards a New Cold War: Essays on the Current Crisis and How We Got There (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), p. 9.

prevailing values in society. They were, in effect, dissidents.

Although they initially acted with spontaneity, fervour and conviction, members of the UFO could not sustain their critique of society, and their ability to see things differently evaporated in fairly short order. It is the process of their acquiring and then losing the capacity to posit an alternative vision that is addressed in this thesis. And, since this process is most readily observable at the grassroots, an examination of the UFO as it manifested itself at the local level is presented.

In tracing the emergence and the lapse of the alternative vision evidenced in the United Farmers of Ontario, a number of contentions will be advanced. First, it is argued that the UFO represented a potentially significant challenge to the established order that was spontaneous, highly creative, and democratic in its outlook. Idealism was an important component of the movement, and it distinguished rank and file UFO members from many of their contemporaries (and from some other farmers). 'Potentially' should be stressed, however, because from its origins onward the movement faced oppositional and co-optive tactics from mainstream society, and these tactics weakened its actions.

Second, it is suggested here that the thoughts and actions of individuals at the local level did not always harmonize with those of the central leadership. There were

moments, however, when local club members relied on the movement's leadership for advice and direction. The effect of such reliance was profound because many influential figures in the UFO, their rhetoric notwithstanding, adopted 'Liberal' rather than radical positions.

Third, despite their ability to break free from some fundamental societal assumptions, UFO members were unable to extricate themselves completely from others. The experience of women in the movement (to whom a chapter is devoted) serves as an example of this phenomenon.

Fourth, even though some scholars have advanced claims to the contrary, sincere and often creative efforts were made by UFO members to unite with labour's contemporary political movement, the Independent Labor Party (ILP).

Finally, one of the more significant factors accounting for the decline of the movement was the failure of its co-operative enterprises to posit an alternative to prevailing economic practice. Indeed, the co-operative side of the UFO (discussed in Chapter 6) provides insights on how hegemony can redirect the response of a mass democratic movement.

Three Counties

In order to test these contentions, three counties -- Lambton (in south-western Ontario), Simcoe (in the central portion of the province), and Lanark (in eastern Ontario) have been chosen for examination because they represent three distinct regions within 'Old Ontario.' By undertaking

a thorough study of these counties, one is able to determine whether or not there were any regional variations evidenced in the movement. Another reason for selecting Lambton, Simcoe and Lanark is that, with the exception of Lanark, there are some extant local records pertaining to the UFO. In addition, all three counties were reasonably well served by local newspapers, and from this source it has been possible to reconstruct, at least in outline, the major clubs, thus providing sufficient information on which to base an analysis.²

The UFO

The UFO was formed in 1914 as a result of the efforts of W.C. Good, J.J. Morrison, E.C. Drury and Col. J.Z. Fraser, four prominent agrarians in the province. Their intention was to create an agrarian organization -- a

² Despite the dearth of local documents, Lanark was chosen because it had four major centres in which weekly newspapers were published. Throughout the period under consideration the following newspapers were printed in Lanark: Almonte Gazette, Carleton Place Herald, Perth Expositor, Perth Courier, and Smiths Falls Record-News (actually an amalgam of the Record and News). Other newspapers, such as the Lanark Era, are referred to from time to time in the thesis, but only sparingly either because they were not published during the entire period, or because few copies survive. Simcoe County also had more than its share of newspapers, including Northern Advance (Barrie), Collingwood Bulletin, Collingwood Enterprise, Orillia Packet, and Orillia Times. Lambton, on the other hand, was not well served by local weeklies, although the papers that are extant do help to fill in the wide gaps created by scanty local documentation. Aside from the Oil Springs Advance (of which all available issues predate 1918), Petrolia Topic (later the Petrolia Advertiser-Topic), and the Forest Standard, it appears that few copies of Lambton County newspapers survive.

pressure group, not a party -- that would serve educational, economic, and political needs of farmers. At that time farmers' organizations were in a state of disarray: the Patrons of Industry and the Farmers' Association had effectively ceased to exist; and the Patrons of Husbandry (commonly known as the Grange) was a shadow of its former self. By 1914 the largest agrarian body in Ontario was the Farmers' Institute, a provincial government-sponsored educational organization. In fact, several Farmers' Clubs of the Institute were 'stolen' by J.J. Morrison and others; they were able to convince some FI clubs to drop their ties to the government and to join instead with the UFO.³ Initially, response to the organization was luke-warm, but with the arrival of the First World War and the convergence of other political, social and economic forces, support for the UFO grew exponentially. Then, in 1918 when it entered the arena of electoral politics, the movement assumed a new form. Farmers in the riding of Manitoulin, acting without advice or guidance from the central organization, nominated

³ On the Farmers' Institute (FI), see Kerry Badgley, "The Social and Political Thought of the Farmers' Institute, 1884-1917: Manifestations of Agrarian Discontent," MA Thesis, Carleton University, 1988. Even though restrictive measures (which severely limited the subjects that could be discussed at FI meetings) were imposed in the 1890s by the provincial government in response to the Institute's support of the Patrons of Industry, a critique of society persisted, as did a spirit of dissidence. J.J. Morrison attracted several FI clubs to the UFO by pointing out to its members that they could organize and, thus, free themselves from the constraints imposed by provincial officials. National Archives of Canada, MG 27 III D 3, "Memoirs of J.J. Morrison," pp. 14-6.

one from their ranks to contest a provincial by-election, and won the seat. Another by-election victory soon followed in the riding of Ontario North, and with each success members throughout the province became more self-confident, more willing to challenge some of the fundamental assumptions of their society.

At the same time, the UFO's sister organization, the United Farmers' Co-operative Company (UFCC), entered into a number of co-operative ventures. A central buying agency enabled local clubs to purchase farm supplies at lower costs than through traditional 'middlemen'. Later, a system of short-lived chain stores, offering consumer goods, made an appearance. As well, over time several departments, each handling a single commodity or a few related ones, began marketing members' produce on a co-operative basis.⁴

The popularity of the movement culminated with the 1919 provincial election (in which the UFO won more seats than any other party and formed a coalition government with the ILP) and with the performance of the Progressive party in the 1921 federal election, (in which it elected 24 Ontario members out of a caucus of 65).⁵ By that time, the UFO

⁴ On the UFCC, see Louis Aubrey Wood, A History of Farmers' Movements in Canada: The Origins and Development of Agrarian Protest 1872-1924 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975 -- first published 1924), pp. 311-3.

⁵ This study also seeks to add to the sparse literature regarding the activities and operations of the federal Progressive party in Ontario. Relatively little has been written about the movement since W.L. Morton completed

could boast of having some 60,000 members, including members of the United Farm Women of Ontario (UFWO) and the United Farm Young People of Ontario (UFYPO).⁶

Despite its success, the UFO went into decline in fairly short order. With the exception of support for its co-operative activity, membership and interest had fallen off dramatically by the mid-1920s. Politically, the movement suffered a decisive loss in the 1923 provincial election, and it was unable to replicate its 1921 performance at the federal level in the 1925 and 1926 elections. The UFO continued to operate, albeit in a reduced form, until it disbanded in 1943.

Why Another Study of the UFO?

As Van Loon and Whittington point out, there is a tendency on the part of scholars to direct most of their attention to 'third party' movements in Canada at the

his study, and, in the more current works that do exist, the Progressive experience in the province is usually summed up in a few paragraphs. W.L. Morton, The Progressive Party in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950 -- reprinted with corrections 1967). Morton focuses on the party's leadership, and he tends to ignore the contribution of Ontario members (who he argues closely resembled Liberal party supporters), choosing to see the Progressives as a Prairie phenomenon. For a recent treatment of the Progressives, see John Herd Thompson with Allen Seager, Canada 1921-39: Decades of Discord (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1985), pp. 14-37.

⁶ For a good general description of the UFO's emergence and growth, see Wood, pp. 273-84. See also Jean MacLeod, "The United Farmer Movement in Ontario, 1914-1943," MA Thesis, Queen's University, 1958, pp. 32-75.

expense of traditional political parties.⁷ Undoubtedly, the rise and fall of 'minor' parties and movements have occupied the minds of some historians, and the UFO has received a modicum of attention. However, as a review of the existing literature will show, there has been a tendency to approach the movement from a single, narrow perspective, which has led to a standard and rather unsatisfactory interpretation of its meaning and significance.

Aside from a few contemporary accounts of the UFO,⁸ autobiographies of two important figures in the agrarian movement,⁹ and several biographies of the organization's leaders,¹⁰ relatively little has been written on the

⁷ Richard J. Van Loon and Michael S. Whittington, The Canadian Political System: Environment, Structure and Process (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1971), p. 265.

⁸ Wood; H.H. Hanam, Pulling Together for 25 Years: A Brief Story of Events and People in the United Farmers' Movement in Ontario During the Quarter Century, 1914-1939 (Toronto: United Farmers of Ontario, 1940); Melville H. Staples, The Challenge of Agriculture: The Story of the United Farmers of Ontario (Toronto: George N. Morang, 1921). See also William Irvine, The Farmers in Politics (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976 -- first published 1920).

⁹ E.C. Drury, Farmer Premier: The Memoirs of E.C. Drury (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1966); W.C. Good, Farmer Citizen: My Fifty Years in the Canadian Farmers' Movement (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1958).

¹⁰ W.B. Hillman, "J.J. Morrison: A Farmer Politician in an Era of Social Change," MA Thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1974; Charles M. Johnston, E.C. Drury: Agrarian Idealist (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986); T. Robin Wylie, "Direct Democrat: W.C. Good and the Ontario Farm Progressive Challenge, 1895-1929," PhD Thesis, Carleton University, 1991; R. Thomas, "The Ideas of W.C. Good, a Christian and Agrarian Reformer: The Formative Years, 1914-1919," MA Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1973; Doris

United Farmers of Ontario, especially in the past decade.¹¹ With a few exceptions, the literature that does exist dates primarily from the 1960s and 70s.¹² A survey of this literature will demonstrate that, although certain themes have been explored in great detail, other equally important aspects of the movement have been all but ignored.

A theme that has received extensive speculative attention is the growth and decline of the UFO. A number of explanatory theories have been advanced. Some point to the cancellation of conscription exemptions for rural workers as a primary impetus for the UFO's development.¹³ W.R. Young argues that its growth was attributable not only to the revocation of conscription exemptions, but also to the

Pennington, Agnes Macphail: Reformer (Toronto: Simon and Pierre, 1989); Terry Crowley, Agnes Macphail and the Politics of Equality (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1990).

¹¹ There are a few exceptions. See, for example, Anthony Winson, The Intimate Commodity: Food and the Development of the Agro-Industrial Complex in Canada (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1993), pp. 15-42. Winson, however, relies mainly on secondary sources.

¹² Some work was undertaken in the 1950s. See, for example, Dudley Alexander Bristow, "Agrarian Interest in the Politics of Ontario: A Study with Special Reference to the Period 1919-1949," MA Thesis, University of Toronto, 1950. Bristow's account of the UFO is fairly standard, although he does allow, without providing much evidence, that there were tensions between the rank and file membership and the movement's leadership. See esp. pp. 35-6.

¹³ See, for example, MacLeod; J.D. Hoffman, "Farmer-Labour Government in Ontario," MA Thesis, University of Toronto, 1959. R. Trowbridge, "Wartime Rural Discontent and the Rise of the United Farmers of Ontario, 1914-1919," MA Thesis, Waterloo University, 1966.

changing social character of the province; that is, from a rural to an urban society.¹⁴ According to Richard Van Loon, whose views bear some affinity with those of Young, the movement came about as a result of societal change in Ontario rather than economic hardship.¹⁵

As to the decline of the UFO, Wayne C. Brown argues that it had more to do with the 'broadening out' controversy than with other factors.¹⁶ For Terry Crowley it was linked to the prosperity the farmers enjoyed as the 1920s

¹⁴ W.R. Young, "Conscription, Rural Depopulation, and the Farmers of Ontario, 1917-19," Canadian Historical Review, Vol. LIII, No. 3, September 1972.

¹⁵ Richard J. Van Loon, "The Political Thought of the United Farmers of Ontario," MA Thesis, Carleton University, 1965. Van Loon's interpretation differs from others in that, although he argues that the UFO was ill-equipped to fight the problems it identified because of its inability to develop a coherent ideology (pp. 57-8), he also contends that the movement was still more than a group of 'Liberals in a hurry.' He notes that, for the local clubs in 1919, "the old party system in Ontario and indeed the entire system of parliamentary government as they knew it was corrupt beyond redemption. There was no answer save to overturn it and supplant it. To a large degree, their political ideas were radical and to a very surprising degree, they were original, at least in North America." (pp. 68-9). Van Loon also mentions the tension between the central leadership and rank and file members (pp. 87, 115). There are, however, some contentious points. For example, although he writes that many of the ideas of the UFO were highly original and that, as a result, the movement represented a significant break from orthodoxy, he nevertheless argues that its members were "afraid of change" (p. 117).

¹⁶ Wayne Crawford Brown, "The Broadening Out Controversy: E.C. Drury, J.J. Morrison and the United Farmers of Ontario," MA Thesis, University of Guelph, 1979.

progressed.¹⁷ Foster Griezic believes that the movement lost support because of "severe post-war agricultural depression from 1920 to 1925."¹⁸

Consisting largely of MA theses and articles, this work on the UFO shares a common trait or, more to the point, a common deficiency: in virtually all accounts, one finds a near obsession with the movement's leadership. Although the spontaneous and locally-initiated origins of the UFO are frequently mentioned, essentially only lip-service is paid to the rank and file membership.¹⁹ The result has been

¹⁷ Terry Crowley, "The New Canada Movement: Agrarian Youth Protest in the 1930s," Ontario History, Vol. LXXX, No. 4, December 1988. See also Christian Leithner, "The National Progressive Party of Canada, 1921-1930: Agricultural Economic Conditions and Electoral Support," Canadian Journal of Political Science, Vol. XXVI, No. 3, September 1993. Leithner does allow, however, that merely studying economic conditions "cannot adequately explain" the growth and dissolution of the movement (pp. 436-7).

¹⁸ Foster J.K. Griezic, "An Introduction," in Wood, p. xiii. Griezic also points to the conflicting views within the movement as a reason for its decline (p. xii), and to the decision to give "priority to economic rather than political action after 1924." (p. xxi). This last point is particularly problematic, and I hope to demonstrate in Chapter 6 on co-operation that the reason this shift occurred is much more complicated than Griezic allows.

¹⁹ Brian D. Tennyson, "The Ontario General Election of 1919: The Beginnings of Agrarian Revolt," Journal of Canadian Studies, Vol. IV, No. 1, February 1969. Tennyson states that the largest single factor in Hearst's defeat (note that the reference is to Hearst's defeat, not to the UFO's victory) was the "general unrest among farmers and urban workers occasioned by years of impotent protest, greatly aggravated by the war." (p. 34). He also mentions that the central UFO leaders were besieged with calls day and night from farmers asking that something be done in response to the revocation of conscription exemptions for farmers' sons (p. 29). Neither of these themes, however, are discussed to any great extent. On

that the movement has not received the sophisticated scholarly treatment that it deserves, and misconceptions and facile interpretations abound. Since there are so few exceptions to this trend of focusing on the leadership,²⁰ a new study that takes a different approach is obviously

an earlier agrarian movement in Ontario and its decline, see Ramsay Cook, "Tillers and Toilers: The Rise and Fall of Populism in Canada in the 1890s," Historical Papers 1984 Communications historiques. According to Cook, the demise of the populist Patrons of Industry was due in no small part to the inability of the movement's leadership to free itself from old party allegiances, the implication being that the leadership was not as radical as their supporters were. Maybe so, but Cook, like virtually everyone else who studies agrarian movements from a political perspective, did not examine the Patrons at the local level.

²⁰ One of the few studies from that period to concentrate on local members is F.J.K. Griezic, "'Power to the People': The Beginning of Agrarian Revolt in Ontario: the Manitoulin By-Election, 24 October 1918," Ontario History, Vol. LXIX, No. 1, March 1977. Griezic, however, focuses only on the by-election and does not address the tension between the central organization and the local clubs. See, as well, David Hoffman, "Intra-Party Democracy: A Case Study," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. XXVII, No. 2, May 1961. Hoffman examines the difficulties that existed within an organization when the leadership and mass supporters clashed over objectives. Despite not going into detail about what occurred at the local level among rank and file members, Hoffman nevertheless argues that the "parliamentary" side of the movement felt forced "to compromise with a more complex political reality," and thus departed "from the strictest application of the doctrine of the grass-roots organization." (p. 233). He also notes that the chief problem for the UFO mass membership "was whether or not to continue to support a parliamentary body whose conceptions of the role of the party was increasingly different from the aims of the movement when it entered into politics." (p. 234). See also Jim Anderson, Isaac Applebaum, Jane Craig, Ilka Karl, Robert Sweeny, Jamie Swift, Harmiena van Oosten, Robert Winslow, A Political History of Agrarian Organizations in Ontario 1914-1940: With Special Reference to Grey and Bruce Counties (n.l.: Chase Press, 1973). Despite its title, however, most of this rather un-focused publication concentrates on the UFO's leadership.

long overdue.

In this dissertation it is argued that all of the elements that historians have cited -- conscription, social change, economic conditions, and so on contributed to the growth and decline of the UFO, but they were also augmented by other factors. First, it is contended here that the growth of the movement was related to a sense that the promise of democracy was unfulfilled in the province. Despite the claims of the traditional parties, society was not advancing along democratic lines. In fact, in the face of the slaughter that occurred in Europe, profound scepticism was expressed at the local level about the efficacy of Ontario's political structures. More importantly, these attitudes began to feed into other aspects of farmers' lives. When, for example, the Borden administration revoked conscription exemptions for agricultural labourers, a number of spontaneous and highly militant meetings took place along concession lines.²¹ At these meetings farmers, although they were labelled traitors by the mass media, began to realize that if they banded together there might be a chance of effecting real change in the polity.

Second, the decline of the movement can be attributed, at least in part, to the dissonance created by the central

²¹ These meetings are addressed in Chapter 3. For a discussion of the farmers' response to the revocation of conscription exemptions, see Wood, pp. 276-82.

UFO and by agrarian politicians. Members who had supported UFO and Progressive candidates, became convinced that things were not going to change substantially as a result of electoral victories, and they began to believe that there was no advantage to be had in supporting these politicians.

Third, and related to the above, one sees in the experience of the UFO the power of hegemony in political culture, the fact that boundaries were set for dissident thought and action. Farmers broke free from hegemonic forces, but only momentarily. They could not sustain the effort in the face of the oppositional elements that acted vehemently to counter their dissent. Equally important, forces from within the movement, especially at the central level, actually aided the opposition against it. Altogether the weight of hegemony became too much for local members to bear, and many simply stopped trying to present an alternative vision.

Aside from the lack of attention that these forces have been given in standard accounts of the UFO, the most problematic aspect of the existing studies is, as mentioned above, that they are all focused on the central leadership and pay only passing attention to the local membership. This is a highly curious treatment for a movement that was such an avowedly decentralist one. 'Constituency autonomy' was one of the guiding principles of the UFO, and it was taken seriously. Ultimately, it was the decline in members and

support at the local level that led to the UFO's downfall. Even if they occasionally deferred to the central organization, the local clubs were very important, and an examination of when and why they deferred helps explain the decline of the movement.²² Hence, this study hopes to begin the process of examining the UFO at a level that has hitherto been largely ignored.

The UFO and Ontario Historiography

In order to explain how the UFO could be treated in such a consistently unsatisfactory manner, some mention must be made of the historiographic paradigms that pervade the study of Ontario.

The most prevalent framework used for explaining the province's history is one which points to Ontario political culture as being inherently conservative.²³ This

²² Perhaps one of the main reasons accounting for this concentration on the movement's leadership is the type of documentation most readily available on the UFO. Records at the Archives of Ontario and at the University of Guelph Archives (the two richest centralized sources of information concerning the movement) are mainly concerned with the central UFO. Thus, it is much easier to concentrate on the executive level of the movement.

²³ One practitioner of this model is Peter Oliver. See his collection of essays, Public & Private Persons: The Ontario Political Culture 1914-1934 (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company, Ltd., 1975), esp. "Introduction: On Being an Ontarian," and "Sir William Hearst and the Collapse of the Ontario Conservative Party," and his G. Howard Ferguson: Ontario Tory (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), esp. chapters 5-8. For a recent, somewhat contradictory article which subscribes to this view, see Donald C. MacDonald, "Ontario's Political Culture: Conservatism with a Progressive Component," Ontario History, Vol. LXXXVI, No. 4, December 1994.

conservatism, allegedly developed in the formative Upper Canadian years, emphasizes rule by elites and an aversion to democratic practice. According to the prevailing historiographic paradigm, these attitudes are firmly engrained in the general population; by the early twentieth century they had filtered down from the dominant elements in society to the extent that average citizens shared the elites' values.²⁴ While desiring change, Ontarians, apparently, want only gradual and pragmatic measures; they want only minimal disruption to the status quo.²⁵ Those in power who deviate from this path are punished with defeat at election time.

This interpretation is pervasive. For instance, those who study the immediate post-Confederation period write of Oliver Mowat's pragmatism and conservatism.²⁶ The early part of the twentieth century belongs to the progressive but

²⁴ On the formative years of conservatism in Ontario, the authority remains S.F. Wise. See, for example, "Upper Canada and the Conservative Tradition," in Edith G. Firth, ed., Profiles of a Province (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1967); "The Ontario Political Culture: A Study in Complexities," in Graham White, ed., The Government and Politics of Ontario 4th Edition (Scarborough: Nelson Canada, 1990).

²⁵ A clear expression of these ideas can be found in Desmond Morton, "Sic Permanet: The People and Politics of Ontario," in Donald C. MacDonald, ed., The Government and Politics of Ontario, 2nd Edition (Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold Ltd., 1980).

²⁶ A. Margaret Evans, Sir Oliver Mowat (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992).

pragmatic James Whitney.²⁷ Such traits, as well, are seen in all provincial governments until 1919, when the first deviation occurred. And, aside from the Drury and Hepburn interludes, the tradition continues, or so the argument goes, to the present day.

The defeat of the UFO came naturally enough, then, because of the inherent conservatism in the province and because of the natural inclination to revert back to the 'brokerage' model of politics.²⁸ Nowhere is it entertained that the reason for the defeat could have been the fact that the UFO/ILP coalition did not go far enough in its agenda.

²⁷ Charles W. Humphries, 'Honest Enough to Be Bold': The Life and Times of Sir James Pliny Whitney (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985). Humphries allows, however, that Whitney recognized the importance of appealing to the progressive element of the population, realizing that he could not rely solely on the elite conservatives of the province if he wished to be politically successful (pp. 216-7).

²⁸ For a critique of the brokerage model, a model that still pervades the minds of many historians, see Gad Horowitz, "Toward the Democratic Class Struggle," Journal of Canadian Studies, Vol. 1, No. 3, November 1966. Although written nearly thirty years ago, Horowitz's critique on brokerage politics remains particularly relevant today. He contends, for example, that the assertion that the role of the party system is to function as a non-ideological broker among power groups "is first of all to conceal the fact that 'non-ideological' is double-speak for 'in accordance with the prevailing ideology,' and second of all, it is to deny that the role of the party system is to move us closer to democracy." (p. 8). Horowitz also makes some telling remarks about democracy, or the lack thereof, in Canadian society. As he notes, people "no longer use the term 'democracy' to refer to a situation in which masses of people participate, directly and meaningfully, in the making of decisions which shape the basic conditions of their existence." (p. 3) Finally, Horowitz argues that it is not even the political elites of the country who make the most important decisions; they are made instead "by other elites which are not accountable to the community." (P. 3).

When one examines what was occurring at the local level at that time, one is left wondering if this may have been the case.²⁹

There are problems with this analysis. First, in order to adhere to this framework: one must necessarily ignore the instances in Ontario's past when significant challenges to elite dominance have occurred. To do so is no small feat, for it means down-playing or ignoring the Rebellion of 1837, the Clear Grits, the Patrons of Husbandry, the Knights of Labor, the Patrons of Industry, the Farmers' Association, the UFO, the CCF, and the Communist Party.³⁰

²⁹ Although works on the Ontario political culture make the occasional reference to groups outside the mainstream calling for change, these groups are not taken seriously, even when they manage to attain political influence. See, for example, MacDonald's treatment of the Knights of Labor, the Patrons of Industry and the UFO in "Ontario's Political Culture," pp. 310, 313. What escapes MacDonald's attention is that these groups managed to exist and mount political threats in a society whose power-brokers presented a powerful vision of the world.

³⁰ One way to diminish the importance of these moments is to treat each challenge as a discrete occurrence, unconnected from one another or with common antecedents in only one or two other movements. For a good example of this, see Wise, "Ontario Political Culture." He refers to the Drury and Hepburn governments as "temporary aberrations in an endless succession of Conservative administrations." (p. 53). Even those who allow that there was a moment when mainstream political figures, such as R.L. Borden, believed the political system could be turned into something creative and more democratic, contend that such experiments were failures. Hence, it was perfectly understandable, even desirable, for Canadians to return to the more traditional brokerage and consensus politics (as personified in Mackenzie King). John English, The Decline of Politics: The Conservatives and the Party System 1901-20 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977).

A more nuanced approach to Ontario's political culture is evidenced in S.J.R. Noel's Patrons, Clients, Brokers: Ontario Society and Politics 1791-1896. Noel examines "clientelism," the "pattern of patron-client relationships that is woven into the total fabric of the community, and whose political effectiveness and durability are all the greater precisely because it is not exclusively political."³¹ In other words, the patron-client relationship is assumed to be a normal part of the political process, "because it was a normal part of practically everything else."³² These relationships become pervasive to the point that they are not questioned; they are the normal state of affairs.

Noel concentrates primarily on the nineteenth century, terminating his study with the end of the Mowat era in 1896. Despite the pervasiveness of clientelism, Noel does point to a moment when a significant number of people (supporters of the Patrons of Industry) rejected the system as it was and proposed instead a radically different one. This opposition was perceived as a serious threat to the existing order, and Noel describes at length the enormous effort expended by

³¹ S.J.R. Noel, Patrons, Clients, Brokers: Ontario Society and Politics 1791-1896 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), p. 14.

³² Ibid., p. 15.

Mowat to diffuse and eventually defeat it.³³ He argues that the Patrons of Industry did not emerge from but rather was a challenge to clientelism, and he admits that his model cannot explain the movement's rise or its internal dynamics. However, Noel contends that the model does provide a good explanation for the Patrons' rapid demise.³⁴

A number of intriguing implications arise from Noel's work. First, he acknowledges (albeit only implicitly) that it took an enormous effort for the Patrons to free themselves from the prevailing political culture. In attempting to make this break, they were faced with a largely hostile press that simply could not entertain an alternative to either the Liberals or the Conservatives. Second, Noel points out that to reject clientelism was to reject the rewards that could be derived from entering into patron-client relationships.

It should be kept in mind that Noel and others consider the Patrons to have been a significant challenge to the existing political structure. In their view, the fact that the movement captured 17 seats in the 1894 election stands as testimony to its strength.³⁵ If this perspective is

³³ Ibid., pp. 299-306. This account is an excellent example of the tactics employed by those in power to diffuse and destroy mass democratic action.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 317.

³⁵ It has been argued that an average shift of 3% in the vote in 20 other ridings would have resulted in Patron victories. S.E.D. Shortt, "Social Change and Political Crisis

correct (and there is no reason to doubt the assessment of Noel and others), then it is indeed curious that most observers do not consider the UFO victory in 1919 to be evidence of a similar challenge.

Equally problematic to the historiographic paradigm emphasizing the province's inherent conservative nature is the increasingly popular notion that there are no coherent threads in Ontario's past. Reviewing the major historical works pertaining to the province that were written in the 1980s, David Gagan contends that they have "no unifying meaning or purpose beyond geographical reference." He argues that the studies help to describe

a unique society whose evolving characteristics were forged by processes that were in themselves not peculiar to Ontario. But in the context created by the interplay of time, place, people and circumstances they produced a distinctive society...that has no precise antecedent and was not subsequently replicated in another time and another place as the nation expanded. This is important information.³⁶

However intriguing this interpretation may be, Gagan does not describe exactly what traits constitute Ontario's distinctiveness. If he is correct in his assertion that the history of the province can no longer be written using the "Empire Ontario" or "Canada writ small" paradigms (although

in Rural Ontario: The Patrons of Industry, 1889-1896," in Donald Swainson, ed., Oliver Mowat's Ontario (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1972), p. 222.

³⁶ David Gagan, "Writing the History of Ontario in the 1980s: Defining a Distinctive Society," Acadiensis, Vol. XXI, No. 1, Autumn 1991, pp. 166, 179.

examples of both persist), and if in his own interpretative framework he is articulating the norm for present and future scholarly work, then one cannot help but be discouraged.

Gagan's proposed framework for Ontario historiography is discouraging on two counts. First, although there is no doubt that there were moments in the province's past when responses to external forces were unique, his paradigm does not allow for those times when the response was similar to that of other regions or of other periods. This has more than passing relevance to students of populism, who are constantly informed that Prairie populists were much more radical in their aims than Ontario farmers. Second, although there may be elements in the responses to external forces that have no discernible antecedents, one should not overlook the possibility that these responses were informed by past experience. Gagan's framework does not allow for this possibility.

These are important issues. Although postmodernists might deride the use of interpretative frameworks (excepting their own), no meaning can be derived from the past unless linkages are explored and continuity tested as the basis for analysis. It could be argued, for instance, that instead of being 'crypto-Liberals' as they are labelled in some accounts, Ontario farmers more closely resembled Prairie populists and, like them, they formulated a creative and democratic response to the problems they identified in their

society. And, if one extends this observation to its logical conclusion, there is, of course, a connection to the historiographic paradigm mentioned above. Assuming that there was some continuity between UFO members and their predecessors (the Grange, Patrons of Industry, Farmers Institute, and Farmers' Association), and that these groups had linkages, however tenuous, to urban movements, then a framework emerges that posits the notion that Ontario might not be the inherently conservative province it is so frequently described as being.

How, finally, have historians who have written general accounts of Ontario's past treated the UFO? In some instances, the attention paid to agrarian protest in general and to the UFO movement in particular has been condescending and, in other instances, it has been dismissive. There is, however, a more prevalent treatment -- these subjects have consistently been addressed (and distorted) within the context of the supposed conservative political culture of the province. Robert Bothwell, in his general history of Ontario, argues that the UFO can be lumped together with the Liberal and Conservative parties in the period 1919-39 because it did not depart from orthodox political behaviour. Later, however, he notes that the Drury Government provided "an object lesson in what can go wrong with a militant, one-

issue reform party when it unexpectedly achieves power."³⁷ Bothwell's views have resonated with those of many others, but the most prevalent treatment still remains to be mentioned. More often than not, farmer movements, and agriculture in general, are ignored.³⁸

³⁷ Robert Bothwell, A Short History of Ontario (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers Ltd., 1986), pp. 120-3. Bothwell refers to the UFO government as a 'one-issue' administration, but then proceeds to highlight several matters that the UFO addressed while in power, and then argues that it was infighting in the movement that played a major role in its defeat. Note too that Bothwell concentrates exclusively on the period when the UFO formed the government, ignoring the movement before 1919 and after 1923. In addition, there is no mention of the role Ontario Progressives played in the 1921 federal election. On the whole, the brief section concerning the UFO is filled with condescension. The UFO in power fares slightly better in another general history of the province. According to Randall White, the 1919 election victory was the "one point in Ontario history from 1867 to the present when genuinely spontaneous mass protest might be said to have played a decisive role in regional politics." This, however, overlooks the achievements of the Knights of Labor, the Patrons of Industry and the Farmers' Association. Explaining the defeat of the Drury Government, White believes that what Drury and other UFO/ILP leaders lacked most "was practical political experience and skill -- the sense, so highly developed in Oliver Mowat, of how to deal with the wickedness of the kingdom on earth." White, Ontario 1610-1985: A Political and Economic History (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1985), pp. 213-4.

³⁸ One of the more egregious examples of ignoring agriculture and, consequently, agrarian movements, can be found in Michael Bliss, Northern Enterprise: Five Centuries of Canadian Business (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987). Despite claiming that agriculture was "Canada's most important single industry," and noting that it has been "traditionally slighted in the writing of business history" (p. 18), Bliss ignores it too, save for a few brief passing remarks. On the dismissive side are historians such as W.R. Young, who argue that the entire movement was an ill-conceived blip on an otherwise calm political sea, a blip which self-destructed due to its misunderstanding of who the real enemies were and due to its implosion because of inherent contradictions in its platform and among its membership. Young's thoughts have been

Rural History

The lack of attention given to the UFO can be attributed in part to the present state of rural history. In a recent review of the field, R.W. Sandwell points out that several novel and productive approaches have yielded work which challenges many commonly-held assumptions.³⁹ Rural historians are uncovering evidence that nineteenth-century farmers subordinated the accumulation of capital to a "pre-capitalist" social formation which gave priority to the independent family household.⁴⁰ The implications of such findings are intriguing. If it can be shown that there was more to farming than mere money-making, and if it was the case that this mentality carried over into the twentieth century, then one could see the members of the UFO as being after something more than maximization of profits.⁴¹

seen to be competent enough to be included in a general text aimed at undergraduate students. See his "The Progressives," in R. Douglas Francis and Donald B. Smith, eds., Readings in Canadian History: Post-Confederation, Third Edition (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, Ltd., 1990). The role of outside forces and any notion of how difficult it is to build a mass movement are not discussed in Young's framework.

³⁹ This is particularly the case regarding challenges to the 'wheat staple' paradigm that once dominated accounts of Canada's economic development. R.W. Sandwell, "Rural Reconstruction: Towards a New Synthesis in Canadian History," Histoire sociale/Social History, Vol. XXVII, Number/numéro 53, mai/May 1994, pp. 7-10.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 10.

⁴¹ Sandwell notes that in recent works there is a tendency on the part of historians to abandon the distinction between "traditional peasantry" and "modern agrarian capitalists" and instead to see nineteenth and early

Sandwell contends that what is needed is a better appreciation of the family farm as an "economic, political, and cultural institution." She argues that historians have traditionally paid lip service to this institution but have given only "scant attention to either the form of labour or the type of society characterized by non-wage workers organized on the basis of kinship within a capitalist system."⁴² In particular, Sandwell stresses that more work needs to be done to enhance our understanding of how complex the forces were which acted on the family farm unit and of how these forces were "tied to the political and economic dynamics of the larger society."⁴³ In fact, Sandwell argues that if any insights of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are to be obtained, historians must

deconstruct definitions of economic activity and family life that obscure the intimate relations between work, society, economics, and the family...Until we redefine economics to include the variety of activities carried on to 'make a

twentieth-century farmers as a class of "petty producers who grew much of their own food, and participated in commercial markets," employing American historian Allan Kulikoff's words. Ibid., p. 15. See also Allan Kulikoff, "The Transition to Capitalism in Early America," The William and Mary Quarterly, Vol. 46, No. 1, January 1989, esp. p. 129. This interpretation, however, is not without problems. As will be seen here, early twentieth-century Ontario farmers were inundated with messages from the state, from agri-business concerns, and from the farmers' movement itself, to produce more and to set up their operations on "sound business principles." The message was hammered home with even greater force during the First World War owing to food shortages.

⁴² Sandwell, p. 16.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 29.

living' within the household and redefine the family as an economic and political site -- not simply an affective one -- the culture and society of the nineteenth century rural majority will remain obscure, marginal to the 'real' political and economic concerns of historians.⁴⁴

There is much merit in this argument. Although there are some attempts in this thesis to deal with Sandwell's points and concerns, there are also some significant departures. For example, rather than addressing politics as it affected family units (important as it is), it is argued here that one must first arrive at a better understanding of how such politics were conceptualized. Only then can one make assessments of how family dynamics influenced this construct.⁴⁵ In other words, if one proceeds with an

⁴⁴ ibid., p. 32.

⁴⁵ Sandwell raises some very valid points but, with her adoption of a postmodernist position, a number of theoretical problems emerge. Sandwell, for example, believes that there is much to be said about recent work that explores the "gendered relations of power in society..." There is no doubt that much can be gleaned from these studies (the inclusion of a chapter devoted solely to the experience of women within the UFO points to the benefit of employing gender as an analytical category), but one wonders why Sandwell makes no mention of the existence of other (gender notwithstanding) equally pervasive forms of power. On this point I am in basic agreement with Bryan D. Palmer who, in writing on the working class, argues that it "cannot be conceived or understood as ungendered, but neither can history be reduced, as some would have us believe, only to gender and its oppressions...women and men demand treatment, not as biological and social dichotomies, but as possibilities themselves severed by other possibilities, of which class is perhaps the most fundamental." Palmer, Working Class Experience: Rethinking the History of Canadian Labour, 1800-1991 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992), pp. 24-5. See also the quotation of Elizabeth Fox-Genovese on the same pages. Nonetheless, Palmer's statement concerning class is far too restrictive, and overlooks the fact that those who own a limited amount of the

inaccurate perception of how people expressed political thought, then one runs the risk of looking for the wrong elements at the familial level.

As evidenced in Sandwell's article, the breadth of present-day rural history, with its various subjects and diverse interpretative frameworks, has meant that no 'school' of Canadian rural or agricultural history has emerged. John Herd Thompson, in writing on the state of rural/agricultural history, celebrates this diversity because it allows historians to explore numerous sub-fields that have yet to be treated adequately, and because it prevents rigid orthodoxy from setting in.⁴⁶ He argues, however, that one key element in rural life -- 'traditional' politics -- has been all but ignored in recent work on the country's rural past. In the main, rural historians have abdicated the area

to political scientists and sociologists, who repeat the same questions about the CCF in Saskatchewan and Social Credit in Alberta before reaching the unhelpful answer that farmers behaved as they did because they were a homogeneous class of 'petit bourgeois independent commodity

means of production can also suffer oppression. These forms of oppression may be more obscure, more difficult to trace with any great amount of certainty, but, as will be argued here, they certainly exist.

⁴⁶ John Herd Thompson, "Writing About Rural Life and Agriculture," in John Schultz, ed., Writing About Canada: A Handbook for Modern Canadian History (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., 1990). An indication of this diversity, Thompson argues, is seen in the wide range on topics addressed in Donald Akenson's more or less annual Canadian Papers in Rural History.

producers.⁴⁷

Another problem for students of Ontario rural history is that most research in the field remains centred on Prairie farms and farmers⁴⁸ or on rural life in Atlantic Canada (although admittedly this is a fairly recent area of study).⁴⁹ Such work, while valuable, especially in helping historians come to terms with rural inequality and

⁴⁷ Thompson, pp. 108-9. Those who feel Thompson's caricature is too strong should consult Parvin Ghorayshi's "Canadian Agriculture: Capitalist or Petit Bourgeois?" Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, Vol. 24 No. 3, 1987. Note that Ghorayshi commits the "fallacy of false dichotomous questions," demanding a choice between two responses which are neither exclusive nor exhaustive. See David Hackett Fisher, Historians' Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), pp. 9-12. Thompson believes that politics must be included in the research of rural society "because government policies for colonization, land distribution, and marketing have been of crucial importance to rural people. What we must do is relate the two; we must look at the way government policies affected the lives of rural communities. Wheat marketing policy, for example, has been well-covered from an administrative perspective. But the effects of the marketing system imposed by the Canadian Wheat Board on individual farms and communities wait to be examined, as do the effects of most federal and provincial programs." Thompson, "Writing about Rural Life," p. 109.

⁴⁸ See, for example, Paul Voisey, Vulcan: The Making of a Prairie Community (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988); Cheryle Jahn, "Class, Gender and Agrarian Socialism: The United Farm Women of Saskatchewan, 1926-1936," Prairie Forum, Vol. 19, No. 2, Fall 1994; Alvin Finkel, "Populism and Gender: The UFA and Social Credit Experience," Journal of Canadian Studies, Vol. 27, No. 4, Winter 1992-93; Elizabeth Kalmakoff, "Naturally Divided: Women in Saskatchewan Politics, 1916-1919," Saskatchewan History, Vol. 46, No. 2, Fall 1994.

⁴⁹ Daniel Samson, ed., Contested Countryside: Rural Workers and Modern Society in Atlantic Canada, 1800-1950 (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1994) is a good sample of studies of rural society in Atlantic Canada.

hierarchical social structures,⁵⁰ helps reinforce the notion that rural history is not an important field within Ontario historiography.

Turning to what has been written with respect to Canada's most populous province, we find that most of the work undertaken in rural history consists of studies that either address specific communities of interest,⁵¹ deal with specific localities,⁵² or attempt to reassess the

⁵⁰ See, for example, Rusty Bittermann, "The Hierarchy of the Soil: Land and Labour in a 19th Century Cape Breton Community," Acadiensis, Vol. XVII, No. 1, Autumn 1988; Rusty Bittermann, Robert A MacKinnon, and Graeme Wynn, "Of Inequality and Interdependence in the Nova Scotian Countryside, 1850-70," Canadian Historical Review, Vol. LXXIV, No. 1, March 1993.

⁵¹ In particular, Irish immigrants have received much attention of late. See, for example, Donald H. Akenson, The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984); Bruce S. Elliott, Irish Migrants in the Canadas (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988). Other communities of interest, such as producers of specific commodities, have also recently received some attention. See, for example, Heather Menzies, By the Labour of Their Hands: The Story of Ontario Cheddar Cheese (Kingston: Quarry Press, 1994).

⁵² See, for example, Glenn J. Lockwood, Beckwith: Irish and Scottish Identities in a Canadian Community (Carleton Place: Township of Beckwith, 1991); W.H. Graham, Greenbank: Country Matters in 19th Century Ontario (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1988), which examines rural society in Ontario County. Although he has produced a highly competent and, at times, engaging study, Graham shares with other local historians an unwillingness to explore the role of politics in rural communities. There are no references to the Patrons of Industry, for example, and although he goes well into the twentieth century with some of his subjects, there is no mention of the UFO. This is a curious oversight, especially when one remembers that the second UFO MPP to be elected (John Widdifield) represented the riding of North Ontario and was re-elected in three successive contests.

role agriculture played in the provincial economy through the use of primarily quantitative data.⁵³ As well, rural women have received some attention of late,⁵⁴ and rightfully so, given the dearth of literature concerning their experience, especially in rural society. A few anecdotal accounts⁵⁵ have also been written in recent

⁵³ See, for example, R. Marvin McInnis, Perspectives on Ontario Agriculture 1815-1930 (Gananoque: Langdale Press, 1992); Douglas McCalla, Planting the Province: The Economic History of Upper Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

⁵⁴ There are several studies of women in rural settings. Space does not allow for a comprehensive listing of these works (see the chapter on the UFWO), but see, for example, Margaret Kechnie, "The United Farm Women of Ontario: Developing a Political Consciousness," Ontario History, Vol. LXXVII, No. 4, December 1985; Pauline Rankin, "The Politicization of Ontario Farm Women," in Linda Kealey and Joan Sangster, eds., Beyond the Vote: Canadian Women and Politics (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989); Linda M. Ambrose, "'What Are the Good of Those Meetings Anyway?': Early Popularity of the Ontario Women's Institutes," Ontario History, Vol. LXXXVII, No. 1, March 1995.

⁵⁵ A good example of this genre is Royce MacGillivray, The Slopes of the Andes: Four Essays on the Rural Myth in Ontario (Belleville: Mika Publishing Company, 1990), which is based on his youth in Glengarry County. Although MacGillivray's analysis is excellent at times, the book is uneven. Of particular relevance is his chapter on how farmers came to be vilified in the early twentieth century as smelly, filthy, uncultured rubes. He also alludes to one of the main problems facing rural historians, the lack of evidence: "The abuse of farmers is familiar to all of us but it proves surprisingly hard to document. Evidently, like the various forms of racial prejudice, it belongs to the verbal culture, leaving little trace in the printed record." (p. 136). At the same time, however, MacGillivray offers few observations about politics as it manifested itself in rural areas, except for making sweeping claims about farmers voting blindly for the parties their fathers supported (p. 134). There are two chief problems with such over-generalizations. First, the most successful third parties in Ontario until fairly recently were farmer-based. Second, these voting patterns were seen in urban

years.⁵⁶

The Limits of Conventional Theory

One of the main problems one encounters when studying agrarian populist movements is the lack of a theoretical perspective in which to place one's analysis. Mass democratic movements are often referred to as 'populist' movements. But populism does not easily lend itself to definition, particularly since activists on both the left and right of the political spectrum have claimed ownership of the word. As John Richards points out, however, populism does have a meaning in everyday language: movements are populist

areas as well.

⁵⁶ In addition, two works have recently been published that attempt to describe certain aspects of Ontario's history in terms of residual rural culture. In his study of the margarine debate in Canada (which devotes considerable space to Ontario), W.H. Heick argues that it took Canada longer than other countries to legalize the sale of margarine because of the slow transformation "from a rural society to one with predominantly urban perspectives." W.H. Heick, A Propensity to Protect: Butter, Margarine and the Rise of Urban Culture in Canada (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 1991), p. vii. Why butter was the symbol of rural values is not explained. Even more problematical is the confusion between rural interests and the interests of dairymen. It is the latter group and its successful lobbying efforts that is really the focus of Heick's work. In an account of the Province of Ontario Savings Office, a financial institution created by the UFO in 1922 to finance the Drury Government's rural credit plan, Randall White attributes the success of the Savings Office in no small part to the folksy, friendly small-town service it offered to its clients. Randall White, "The Province of Ontario Savings Office, 1922-1990: A Case Study in the Complexities of Ontario Political Culture," Ontario History, Vol. LXXXVII, No. 1, March 1995. Why simple human courtesy should be a 'rural' trait and not one shared by all members of a society is not explained.

to the extent they display a strong faith in the 'common man's' virtues, in the ability of ordinary people to act together politically despite potentially serious class, racial, regional, or religious cleavages among them. Populist movements argue that concentrated political and economic institutions wield unwarranted power and, as a corollary, demand decentralization of economic and political power to the 'people.'⁵⁷

Even so, populism resists any simple theoretical categorization.

Lawrence Goodwyn was confronted with this problem in his studies of the Populist movement in the United States. Faced with working within one or the other of the two historical paradigms most prevalent in the 1970s (liberal capitalist and Marxist), Goodwyn concluded that neither provided the necessary concepts to explain the movement. As a result, he developed his own framework. This framework centres around a 'movement culture' that placed the highest

⁵⁷ John Richards, "The New Populism," Labour/Le Travail, Vol. 23, Spring 1989, pp. 263-4. This article is actually a review of three recent books on populism, and although Richards provides some valuable insights, he also adds some debatable points. For example, he writes: "The virtue of populism is to take local democracy seriously, to insist that ordinary people can 'get things done.' But only the truly romantic anarchist can believe in a society without impersonal market transactions and central bureaucracy." (p. 266). See also his "Populism: A Qualified Defence," Studies in Political Economy, Vol. 5, Spring 1981; and Crowley, Agnes Macphail. In the latter work Crowley defines populism as a "conception of the political process that seeks to overcome barriers separating those who govern from the people governed. Populist movements typically stress mass involvement and more direct accountability by officials to the voters...when they are successful at the polls, the complexity and variety of political issues creates inevitable tensions between those within the populist movement who comprise its base and those who get elected." (p. 26).

priority on people playing a meaningful role in how their lives were governed. His contributions vis-à-vis this thesis are discussed below.

Finding examples of Marxist interpretations of farmers' movements in the Canadian context is a difficult task, since there are few Marxists who consider farmers significant enough to merit serious examination.⁵⁸ Farmers, however, formed too great a percentage of the population to be

⁵⁸ A good example of agrarian movements being downplayed in Marxist accounts is found in the work of Kealey and Palmer on the Knights of Labor. In their otherwise first-rate study, they point out, for example, that the 1890s was a period of agrarian revolt which found its voice in the Patrons of Industry. "Within this agrarian upheaval flourished the same kinds of rhetoric and analysis used by the Order (Knights of Labor) throughout the 1880s. This should not surprise us, for the Patrons contained an active contingent of former Knights...who sought to create a farmer-labor alliance capable of reforming society from top to bottom." Gregory S. Kealey and Bryan D. Palmer, Dreaming of What Might Be: The Knights of Labor in Ontario, 1880-1900 (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1987 - first published 1982), pp. 387-8. What they do not mention is how the Patrons could so easily accommodate the ideas and rhetoric of the Knights of Labor, because to do so would mean that they would have to allow that the social critique developed in their industrial proletariat could be pursued as strongly by 'petit bourgeois' farmers. After presenting a thorough examination of how ideas mattered to workers, it is curious that Kealey and Palmer refuse to admit that such ideas might matter to farmers, other than at a rhetorical level. Palmer also treats farmers with a cursory glance in his history of the Canadian working class, granting the UFO a brief reference in a paragraph describing the ILP and its electoral success in 1919.. See Palmer, Working Class Experience, p. 179. The movement was accorded similar treatment in an earlier version of the book. See also Kealey, "The Writing of Social History in English Canada, 1970-1984," Social History, Vol. 10, No. 3, October 1985, in which rural themes are virtually ignored.

completely ignored.⁵⁹

There are two notable Marxist studies that have some bearing on the subject of this thesis. Russell Hann's work on farmers' efforts to cope with industrial society is insightful, if for no other reason than he attempts to take agrarians on their own terms. Relying on a Thompsonian framework, Hann presents a perceptive account of the Ontario agrarian movement from the Grange to the Patrons of Industry. He argues that, as "losers" in an increasingly urbanized society, farm groups have been largely ignored. When one enters into their world, however, Hann contends that one can see "that there was widespread popular opposition to the creation of the Canadian commercial framework"⁶⁰ a popular opposition that manifested itself in agrarian organizations. Equally important is his notion that farmers "viewed the industrialization and urbanization

⁵⁹ The dismissal of farmers as a politically significant group often takes the form of omission. In his "State Repression of Labour and the Left in Canada, 1914-20: The Impact of the First World War," Canadian Historical Review, Vol. LXXIII, No. 3, September 1992, Gregory Kealey notes that, when Borden introduced conscription, there were demonstrations throughout Quebec in opposition to the move (p. 309). No mention is made of the demonstrations and mass meeting farmers staged when conscription exemptions were revoked for farmers' sons. Later, when describing the national convention of the Trades and Labour Council in 1917, he notes that, after some debate, the organization voted in favour of opposing the "conscription of manpower until wealth too was conscripted," (p. 310) but neglects to note that this view was officially adopted by the UFO a year earlier. Johnston, p. 49.

⁶⁰ Russell Hann, Farmers Confront Industrialism: Some Historical Perspectives on Ontario Agrarian Movements (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1975), p. 2.

of Canadian society from a perspective denied to those caught up in the logic of the process" and that they were thus able to formulate a probing critique of what they saw.⁶¹ Farmers, then, were able to break free from some of the notions of those who were advancing society along conventional lines, and to put forward a vision, based on very different values, of how society should function. Although one may quarrel with Hann's preoccupation with industrialization (to the exclusion of much else that may have contributed to the militant response of the farmers), a debt is owed him for rescuing Ontario farmers from the indifference or condescension that is typical of most contemporary works. Owing to its brevity, however, Hann's book barely scratches the surface on many themes.⁶²

More recently, T. Robin Wylie, one of the few historians to examine agrarian populism from a Marxist perspective, undertook a study of Ontario farm leader W.C. Good. Wylie's interpretation of the farmers' movement provides a good example of some of the debatable conclusions reached by those who study agrarianism in this manner. He

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 9.

⁶² Hann also provides an insightful discussion of the 'agrarian myth,' the belief, on the part of farmers, that agriculture was a more noble calling than industry or the professions because these other enterprises could not operate without food provided by farmers, and because farmers, in working the land, were closer to the natural world and, thus, had a better appreciation of how nature unfolded. Ibid., esp. pp. 9-13.

begins by asserting that, historically, there have been two approaches within modern capitalism in search of direct democracy: populism and revolutionary socialism. After allowing that both traditions recognize the need for change from below, and that both have been challenged by politics from above (that is, "strategies of accommodation" to the existing order from within the movement), he notes that the populist approach (as tried in the UFO/Progressive movement) failed because the farm community was "unable to rise above its sectional interests," because, ultimately, farmers were "crypto-Liberals who wanted either fusion with the Liberals or a broad People's Party, or reformers from below who advocated a positive experiment in group government."⁶³

The problem, according to Wylie, is that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Canadian society was characterized "by a massive rural middle class, a powerful urban bourgeois, and a small and inexperienced working class."⁶⁴ Owing to the "intermediate class position" of farmers, they could "look forward politically yet be economically reactionary." In short, in Wylie's opinion, an agrarian populist movement is democratic only in so far as democracy furthers the class ends of its members.

⁶³ Wylie, pp. 1-4. Quotation is from pp. 3-4. For a similar argument regarding Prairie populists, see John Conway, "'To Seek a Goodly Heritage': The Prairie Populist Resistance to the National Policy," PhD Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1979.

⁶⁴ Wylie, pp. 5-6.

With respect to economic issues, it is inherently undemocratic since it inevitably fights to preserve class position. Farmers who became adherents of agrarian radicalism were, then, expressing

a sense of identity and loyalty to the dominant social order. But as threatened small property owners, they expressed this identification in a critical manner, by trying to reshape religion, patriotism, economic policies, and government reforms to suit their class needs...⁶⁵

Continuing, Wylie asserts that Canadian populists "were a notoriously self centred group. They refused to look beyond agricultural issues...refused to co-operate with labour, and refused to take any positive direction from their leaders on whether to be organized as a party or in a positive group government fashion."⁶⁶

Each of these assertions is addressed in subsequent chapters, but a few words are in order here. First, Wylie's claim that there was an undifferentiated rural middle class borders on the nonsensical. As will be seen in Chapter 2, there was anything but homogeneity in the Ontario countryside in the early twentieth century. Granted, some farmers were prosperous, but there were also many for whom each year meant a struggle merely to survive. As to farmers' self-centredness, it will be demonstrated in subsequent chapters that farmers often went far beyond agricultural

⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 6-7.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 7.

issues and their immediate class concerns in their social criticism. Moreover, it will be shown that sincere and often creative efforts were made at the local level to secure united efforts between farmers and the urban working class. Finally, it will be argued that it was the very act of farmers' listening to the movement's leaders that forestalled their development of a more probing critique of the society in which they lived.⁶⁷

Recently, historical scholarship has witnessed the rise of another interpretative framework, postmodernism. Although the following critique of this framework places great importance on language, and on how phrases loaded with political implications can turn into rhetoric, it should not be seen as embracing post-structuralism and discourse-

⁶⁷ Wylie also suggests that the movement died as a result of the split between crypto-liberals and direct democrats. It is argued here that this was an important component in the decline of the movement, but not the only one. By focusing on the split as it manifested itself within the movement's leadership, Wylie fails to explain, as does everyone who subscribes to this view, how rank and file farmers reacted to the split, if at all. He does, however, offer some insights into the movement. He notes, for example, that certain leaders, such as E.C. Drury (who served as Premier of the province during the UFO/ILP government), pushed the UFO along crypto-liberal lines by insisting that "a change of measures, not institutional structures, would be sufficient to safeguard rural interests." (p. 9). He also points out some features of the thought of direct democrats such as Good about how a populist movement should achieve its goal. For Good, no solutions to societal problems would be achieved without farmers' freeing themselves from what existed. Self-emancipation and self-determination were "the litmus tests of the rural revolution. Farmers had to be organized in co-operatives 'from below' through active membership control." (p. 10). The term 'self-emancipation' is particularly important for the purposes of this thesis.

centred approaches to history. It should be stated at the outset that the position taken in this thesis is that postmodernism, instead of being liberating, plays into the hands of capitalism and the liberal doctrine of possessive individualism. As Ian McKay notes, the postmodernist dream of deconstructing every belief system, narrative, binary opposition, and so on, and of showing how they are socially constructed, supposedly results in people being freed

from the master narratives, freed from the burden of personal identity, freed from Enlightenment ethical systems -- finally free as individuals to construct and reconstruct themselves, to pick and choose among the ruins of old certainties of gender, class, and all our other forms of belonging...Qualms about the ethics of capitalism are passé; now we shall celebrate the fluidity, indeterminacy, artificiality and joyous dandyism of the present moment...And out with all that boring Marxist angst about the culture of consumption: in with a celebration of the joys of constructing a personal identity through... shopping...although of course she (or he) does it with the cynical, knowledgeable, appropriating, above-it-all cool gaze that has allowed her (or him) to cut such an endearing and successful figure in the modern academy.⁶⁸

For McKay, such thinking is nothing more than "liberalism with-a-modem (and a Mastercard). An exhilarating prospect for those who buy into it, no doubt."⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Ian McKay, "Why Tell This Parable? Some Ethical Reflections on the Dionne Quintuplets," Journal of Canadian Studies Vol. 29, No. 4, Winter 1994-95, p. 146.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 146. McKay also argues that some of the people advancing the postmodernist agenda are "terminally confused and cynical...their cynicism might be mistaken for radicalism (for sometimes the targets of the sneer are the rich and powerful), but it is actually politically vacuous, and often leads to something quite reactionary." (pp. 146-7).

Indeed, when taken to its logical conclusion, postmodernist thinking, with its eschewal of analytical totality, represents a fundamentally nihilistic or even totalitarian vision.⁷⁰ As Elizabeth Fox-Genovese notes,

rather than offer an alternative to modernism, postmodernism, with its extraordinary emphasis on personal expression, in effect drives the logic of modernist individualism to its ultimate conclusion, in which a flagrant nihilism passes into a transparent totalitarianism. For, in the measure that the attack upon order is waged in the name of subjective perception and unlimited self-determination, it is also an attack upon the notion of any legitimate patterning or control in human relations.⁷¹

For historians, another problematic question is the nature of facts since, as Jeffrey Taylor points out, most discourse theory adherents recognize "that language itself

⁷⁰ On the nihilistic overtones of the postmodernist perspective, see Andrea Levy, "Progeny and Progress: Reflections on the Legacy of the New Left," Our Generation, Vol. 24, No. 2, Fall 1993-Winter 1994, esp. pp. 11-2, 25. Equally disturbing for Levy is the notion that much of postmodernism is passed off as radical, when in reality it bears a close resemblance to "liberal pluralism." (p. 12).

⁷¹ Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, "From Separate Spheres to Dangerous Streets: Postmodernist Feminism and the Problem of Order," Social Research, Vol. 60, No. 2, Summer 1993, p. 246. Fox-Genovese also points to the irony that the firmest and most consistent theory of 'the personal is political' came out of the work of Giovanni Gentile, who at least "had the wit to know that he was proclaiming a totalitarian doctrine." (p. 246). For a thorough critique of discourse theory and deconstruction, key elements in the postmodernist agenda, see Bryan D. Palmer, Descent into Discourse: The Reification of Language and the Writing of Social History (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990). For a concise summary of this work, see Palmer, "The Eclipse of Materialism: Marxism and the Writing of Social History in the 1980s," in Ralph Miliband, Leo Panitch, and John Saville, eds., Socialist Register 1990 (London: Merlin Press, 1990).

is constitutive of reality; we cannot read past language to an underlying source, but we must analyse how language itself forms reality."⁷²

Taylor's article is one of the few discourse-centred treatments of the political manifestations of the farmers' movement, and it stands as an example of the problems associated with embracing such a theory. Taylor, through selective use of sources, creates a false dichotomy (strange, for one so pre-occupied with binary opposites) between the 'radical' nature of populist protest in the late nineteenth century (as exemplified in the Knights of Labor and the Patrons of Industry) and the 'pro-bourgeois' perspective of twentieth-century populists. Aside from not explaining why this change occurred, Taylor ignores the views (that can easily be documented) that were shared by both groups. Equally important, he completely discounts the social forces which pushed farmers into accepting the market assumptions he derides (even though these assumptions were prevalent in the nineteenth century as well).⁷³

Instead of relying on the interpretative frameworks described above, this thesis is informed by aspects of anarchist theory. Defining anarchism is itself a difficult

⁷² Jeffrey M. Taylor, "The Language of Agrarianism in Manitoba, 1890-1925," Labour/Le Travail, Vol. 23, Spring 1989, p. 94. On the problematic nature of facts, see Palmer, Descent into Discourse, pp. 205-6.

⁷³ It bears mentioning that Taylor's article, like much surveyed here, concentrates on the movement's elites.

task⁷⁴ because, as is often pointed out, there have been numerous styles of thought and action that have been referred to as 'anarchist.' For the purposes of this thesis, the definition of anarchism that will be used is not

a fixed, self-enclosed social system but rather a definite trend in the historical development, which...strives for the free unhindered unfolding of all the individual and social forces in life... For the anarchist, freedom is not an abstract philosophical concept, but the vital concrete possibility for every human being to bring to full development all the powers, capacities, and talent with which nature has endowed him, and turn them into social account.⁷⁵

In some key respects an anarchist perspective allows for a wider scope of analysis than a Marxist one. It allows, for example, for an exploration into the innate creative and

⁷⁴ One of the best introductions to the philosophy of anarchism and the wide variety of streams within it remains George Woodcock, Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1962 -- reprinted with a Postscript, 1975). See also Woodcock's Anarchism and Anarchists (Kingston: Quarry Press, 1992); Daniel Guerin, Anarchism, with an introduction by Noam Chomsky, translated by Mary Klopper, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970); Michael Bakunin, Bakunin on Anarchy: Selected Works by the Activist-Founder of World Anarchism ed., trans., and Introduction by Sam Dolgoff, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972).

⁷⁵ Rudolph Rocker, Anarchosyndicalism, p. 31, cited in Noam Chomsky, For Reasons of State (New York: Pantheon Books, 1973), p. 370. See also Frank Harrison, The Modern State: An Anarchist Analysis (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1983), esp. pp. 13-5; John Clark, The Anarchist Moment: Reflections on Culture, Nature and Power (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1984), esp. pp. 19-32. Noam Chomsky has defined anarchism as "a historical tendency, a tendency of thought and action, which has many different ways of developing and progressing and which...will continue as a permanent strand of human history." Chomsky, The Chomsky Reader, ed. James Peck (New York: Pantheon Books, 1987), p. 29.

humane traits in human beings;⁷⁶ it helps make sense of peoples' concerns for de-centralization and local autonomy; it allows for a greater understanding of the co-operative impulse in human beings;⁷⁷ it avoids grand theories; and it also posits that people have an instinctive aversion to power and authority. Marxism, with its concentration on class position and on the impossibility of individuals who have even a modicum of power vis-à-vis their control of the means of production, ever advancing a radical thought, is obviously far more restrictive in this regard. More importantly, anarchism allows for a reconciliation between 'individualism' and 'collectivism,' two seemingly oppositional theoretical perspectives, according to much of what has been written lately.⁷⁸

None of this is to suggest that UFO members were proto-anarchists bent on overthrowing the state and all agencies

⁷⁶ See Brian Morris, Bakunin: The Philosophy of Freedom (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1993), esp. pp. 81, 114-5.

⁷⁷ See John G. Craig, The Nature of Co-operation (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1993); Michael Taylor, Anarchy and Cooperation (Toronto: John Wiley & Sons, 1976).

⁷⁸ For an interesting attempt to go beyond these seemingly dichotomous positions, see L. Susan Brown, The Politics of Individualism: Liberalism, Liberal Feminism and Anarchism (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1993). Brown sees anarchist theory as comprising a multitude of opinions and perspectives, but she also points out that there are similar characteristics prevalent in these views: "Anarchists oppose the idea that power and domination are necessary for society, and instead advocate more co-operative, anti-hierarchical forms of social, political and economic organization." (p. 106). Brown also notes that anarchists "believe in the inherent dignity and worth of the human individual." (p. 107).

of oppression or all manifestations of power. To advocate such a position is not the purpose of this thesis. Yet, if one accepts the main thrust of anarchist theory, which posits that there is a historical tendency (a tendency that finds more intense expression at some points in time than others) for people to question society's 'truths' and to try to play a meaningful role in how their lives unfold, then the following interpretation of the United Farmers of Ontario will make sense.⁷⁹

Other Influences

In addition to anarchist theory, this thesis has been informed by the work of Lawrence Goodwyn, Gregory Kealey, Bryan Palmer, James Naylor and David Laycock, for reasons that are explained directly.

Lawrence Goodwyn's ground-breaking work on American Populism in the late nineteenth century did much to re-conceptualize populist movements.⁸⁰ Refusing to accept the liberal capitalist paradigm of farmers' being history's

⁷⁹ As Woodcock points out, "Anarchism is a doctrine which poses a criticism of existing society; a view of a desirable future; and a means of passing from one to the other." Anarchism: A History, p. 7. Woodcock also believed that "the dissolution of authority and government, the decentralization of responsibility, the replacement of states and similar monolithic organizations by a federalism which will allow sovereignty to return to the intimate primal units of society -- this is what in their various ways the anarchists have all desired..." Ibid., pp. 24-5.

⁸⁰ Lawrence Goodwyn, Democratic Promise: The Populist Moment in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976); The Populist Moment: A Short History of the Agrarian Revolt in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).

losers and therefore unworthy of study, and the Marxist contention that farmers were incapable of radical thought given their class position, Goodwyn saw the Populist movement as a group of people struggling to inject democracy in a polity that they perceived to be anything but democratic.

Central to Goodwyn's analysis is the notion that populist movements represent the attainment of "individual self-respect" and "collective self-confidence," an attainment that

permits people to conceive of the idea of acting in self-generated democratic ways -- as distinct from passively participating in various hierarchical modes bequeathed by the received culture.⁸¹

Goodwyn presents a sequential process by which a mass of people become a "movement culture" of opposition.⁸² Equally important, if not more so, he perceptively points out that "mass democratic movements are overarchingly difficult for human beings to generate." So much can go awry, and a "failure at any stage of the sequential process aborts or at the very least severely limits the growth of

⁸¹ Goodwyn, Populist Moment, p. xix.

⁸² The stages are (1) "the movement forming," in which an autonomous institution is created wherein new interpretations can be developed; (2) "the movement recruiting," when a tactical means is developed to attract large numbers of people; (3) "the movement educating," when a culturally unsanctioned level of social analysis is attained; and (4) "the movement politicized," when an institution is created whereby new ideas can be expressed in an autonomous political way. See Ibid., p. xviii.

the popular movement."⁸³

Related to this, Goodwyn's studies also touch upon the cultural "creation of mass modes of thought that literally make the need for major additional social changes difficult for the mass of the population to imagine."⁸⁴ This idea has importance here because it is argued that, despite great efforts to free themselves from prevailing attitudes, UFO members were never completely divorced from some of the fundamental assumptions that served as the underpinning for the official or hegemonic culture.⁸⁵

Kealey and Palmer, who have studied Toronto and Hamilton workers respectively, and have collaborated on a history of the Knights of Labor, have done much to advance the fields of labour and social history. They have accomplished this by looking beyond the institutional bodies that claimed to represent the interests of labour and by choosing instead to study the rich associational and recreational life of workers, and to assess how this life manifested itself politically. Taking this approach, they have been able to conclude that there was something that could be termed a working-class culture and that this

⁸³ Ibid., p. xvii.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. xi.

⁸⁵ This may have been due to the rise of more powerful media forms in the twentieth century than Goodwyn's populists had to contend with. However, it may also be argued that Goodwyn's populists were never as free as he believed they were.

culture enabled workers to posit an alternative vision.⁸⁶ Central to their studies is the notion that the lives of common people do matter and that, despite the onslaught of received culture people are still able to mount challenges to the established order.⁸⁷

Another influence here is James Naylor and his study of labour's challenge to the established order in Ontario during the post-First World War era. Beginning with the assertion that the class battles of that period were not fought exclusively in Western Canada,⁸⁸ Naylor argues that workers in Ontario were faced with the same challenges that workers in the West encountered, and that their response was

⁸⁶ The problematical points in their arguments are discussed elsewhere in this chapter. In Dreaming of What Might Be, Kealey and Palmer acknowledge their debt to Goodwyn for providing the analytical framework that allowed them to see the Knights of Labor as "a movement culture of alternative, opposition, and potential." (p. 17).

⁸⁷ This is not the place to enter into a sustained examination or debate of the work of Kealey and Palmer, but a quotation from their conclusion about the significance of the Knights of Labor will shed some light on its relevance to this study: "It was a moment of tremendous potential in which class seemed to override...the sectional, sexual, and ethnic divisions so prominent in the history of Canadian labor... There were differences and divisions, to be sure, as there always must and will be, but there was also possibility, and a movement to push it forward...one senses that working men and women glimpsed and debated alternatives in which they created, out of their past and present realities and achievements, a new, if unrealized, conception of behaviour and human nature." ibid., p. 393. Obviously, for the purposes of this thesis, the references to working men and women, and to class, require modification.

⁸⁸ James Naylor, The New Democracy: Challenging the Social Order in Industrial Ontario, 1914-1925 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), p. 3.

equally important.

No less significant is Naylor's assertion that labour's challenge during that period provides "an example of the creative potential of a workers' movement freed from the constraints of 'normalcy,' and free to dream of a new, more equitable, social order. Central to this notion of 'reconstruction' was a conception...that the international struggle for democracy must be brought home."⁸⁹ Naylor's account is particularly sensitive to the remedies proposed by workers; he examines them within the context in which they emerged,⁹⁰ and he addresses some of the less generous ideas that were developed.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 3. Naylor also castigates Canadian historians for failing to recognize "the options that presented themselves -- and were defeated -- in the short period from 1914 to the mid-1920s." (p. 10).

⁹⁰ See, for example, his description of the workers' call for reform of the electoral system. Although it may appear naive to present-day historians, Naylor believes that "it is important to recognize that, when combined with the democratic rhetoric that accompanied the war and the growing disregard for democratic procedure by governments, the result was explosive. Labour's call for a wider, participatory democracy threatened a greater impact than the narrowly electoral character of its demands." Ibid., p. 84.

⁹¹ Discussing nativism among workers, Naylor points out that the workers faced a barrage of anti-alien propaganda: "The press, politicians, and businessmen vilified 'the Hun' during the war and...scapegoated immigrants in a post-war 'red scare'." Ibid., p. 103. Such comments should be read in conjunction with Jeff Keshen, "All the News That Was Fit to Print: Ernest J. Chambers and Information Control in Canada, 1914-19," Canadian Historical Review, Volume LXXIII, Number 3, September 1992. Although solidly researched, the article contains a few contentious points. First, Keshen largely ignores those who opposed such censorship at that time. As will be seen, farmers had much to say about wartime

Naylor also explores the relations between organized Labour and the UFO, and he shows that, in many respects, farmers and labourers had similar reasons for being disenchanted with the existing political parties and politics.⁹² In addition, he demonstrates where farmers and workers differed on matters such as the eight-hour day, but at the same time notes that in many ridings the UFO and the Independent Labor Party (ILP) worked in concert. In fact, in only two ridings in the 1919 provincial election did the UFO and ILP oppose one another.⁹³

Another important aspect to Naylor's work on the Labourist challenge to Ontario's social order is his contention that Ontario's political culture is not one of innate conservatism. Because historians tend to focus on radicalism (both labour and agrarian initiated) as a Prairie

ensorship, despite the legal restrictions placed upon their right to express such opinions. Keshen makes no reference to this opposition. Second, Keshen argues that Chief Censor Ernest J. Chambers' heavy-handed tactics "may have appeared unnecessarily tough," but then states that his actions merely "mirrored a society frantic in its fear of enemy aliens and the rise of the left." (p. 343). Even if Keshen had proved that this was the case (which he does not), the issue seems to be a horse and cart one. In other words, to what extent was this public hysteria (such as it was) the result of media propaganda which related countless 'Hun atrocities' and disparaged the left at every opportunity? Keshen leaves such questions unanswered.

⁹² Ibid., p. 122.

⁹³ Ibid., pp. 123-5. The two ridings were North Waterloo and West Lambton. The reasons accounting for the split between the ILP and UFO in West Lambton, a subject Naylor does not address, are discussed in chapter 3.

phenomenon, the myth of Ontario as a conservative province has remained intact: "Consequently, Peter Oliver can effectively ignore the massive class conflicts that lay behind the defeat of the Hearst government in 1919."⁹⁴ As has been articulated already in this chapter, Naylor's sentiments are echoed here, with the additional comment that the agrarian movement in the province was as radical as that of the Labourites.⁹⁵

Naylor concludes by noting that if democracy is partly defined as "mass participation in deciding social priorities and direction," then the uprising in post-war Ontario

qualifies as a unique democratic moment in our history. It was an imperfect moment, however, as labourism had no ready solutions to workers' lack of power, and the undercurrent of nativism survived to return with a vengeance in the 1920s. Nevertheless, a massive, popular, debate on the nature and direction of Canadian society raised a

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 215.

⁹⁵ Although Naylor does an excellent job in pointing out the deficiencies of other historians who have sought to reinforce the notion that Ontario and conservatism are one and the same thing, he can be fairly conventional at times in his views of farmers. On the UFO in power, for example, Naylor argues that little was accomplished during its tenure: "Ontario farmers shared a fundamental economic liberalism rooted in their historic Liberalism and reinforced by a petit bourgeois suspicion of an interventionist state. Farmers were interested in freeing the markets from the unfair influences of monopolies and the tariff, not in adding a new constraint. Such a farmer-dominated government pledged to economy, if not parsimony, would not adopt the more statist, and more expensive, elements of the ILP program -- large-scale public works and welfare measures such as old age pensions." Ibid., p. 223. This is not the time to enter into a prolonged debate with Naylor, but for a listing of some of the interventionist measures legislated by the UFO, see Drury, pp. 107-12, and Johnston, pp. 149-65.

hope of possible futures.⁹⁶

That the immediate postwar era represented a unique democratic moment in Ontario is supported in this thesis; that the motive power for this moment came primarily from the workers is not. In addition, although Naylor's point regarding the movement's lack of direction is well taken,⁹⁷ he does not factor in to any significant degree the role hegemony played in bringing workers and farmers back into the fold of 'acceptable' political behaviour. In this thesis, an attempt has been made to do so.

Finally, political scientist David Laycock has done much to re-kindle interest in agrarian populist movements, and his work has relevance to the following chapters.⁹⁸ In

⁹⁶ Naylor, p. 252.

⁹⁷ Albeit with some reservations. It might be argued that the lack of a plan was a positive trait in the movement.

⁹⁸ Laycock is not the only political scientist to see the agrarian protest as being more than the machinations of cranky independent commodity producers. Reg Whitaker, for one, argues that the political theory that agrarians developed in the late 1910s and early 1920s "was in fact radically divergent from that of the dominant forces in Canadian life, which had used representative and parliamentary governmental institutions to divide and mystify the subordinate classes." Reg Whitaker, "Images of the State in Canada," in Leo Panitch, ed., The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), p. 51. See also his Introduction to the reprint of William Irvine's study of agrarian protest, in which he notes that "the farmers' movement did involve the vision of a better world that was indeed radical by the standards of the time." After allowing that not all farmers held such views, Whitaker argues that "the point is that advanced ideas were generated by advanced thinkers: such ideas were not simply disembodied rhetoric but found resonance in the larger movement. The movement was precisely that: a group of people in motion, in search of a

fact, his study of populism on the Prairies ranks among one of the more important works on mass democratic movements in Canada. Beginning with the notion that "Canadians have not always accepted determination of the legitimate scope and character of democratic politics by governments and elites,"⁹⁹ Laycock proceeds not only to show the richness and creativity of Prairie populist thought, but also to take issue with the view that the class position of populists stalled any efforts at real change:

being independent commodity producers did not circumscribe their political and social visions to the extent that they could entertain only paradigmatic, petit bourgeois notions and perspectives. In political life democratic thought is not parcelled up with the assignments of class copyrights to all of the elements that have constituted it over the years.¹⁰⁰

Laycock points out that there were distinct streams of populist thought, ranging in intensity from 'crypto-Liberal' to 'radical democratic'.¹⁰¹ These categories are important

better life, open and questioning." Whitaker, "Introduction," in Irvine, p. xi.

⁹⁹ David Laycock, Populism and Democratic Thought in the Canadian Prairies, 1910 to 1945 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), p. 3.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 4. See also his comments on pp. 130 and especially 267, where he notes that, although the movement had a class-based character, "this class basis did not exclusively define its extended conceptions of democracy. Class attachments do not necessarily produce all-embracing class logics." See also pp. 272, 288.

¹⁰¹ Such distinctions are not explored in this thesis because the focus is not to identify streams of thought. As will be seen, such distinctions are blurred to the point of meaninglessness when examining local farmers. Instead, this

if for no other reason than that they represent an attempt to address the numerous and diverse ideas from which individuals could choose.

Laycock also stresses the role of co-operation in moving a populist movement forward towards attaining greater democratic forms: "Participation in co-operative enterprises gave hard-pressed farmers self-respect and a sense of the democratic possibilities" that could sustain a movement.¹⁰² In addition, he points out that the parallel rise of technocrats (accompanied by the growing belief amongst members of the public that experts could solve social, political and economic ills) created profound problems for the movement. What he does not do, however, is merge these two themes so as to explain why the great co-operative ventures did not produce a sustained mass democratic movement. Such an effort is made here, because the demise of certain aspects of the co-operative movement in Ontario created substantial problems for the UFO, problems that, in the end, turned out to be insurmountable.

Equally significant for this thesis is Laycock's examination of the role of the state in populists' conceptualizations of the 'good society'. In most cases they believed that the state must be involved in eliminating the

thesis seeks to explore how thought manifests itself at the local level.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 29.

power of those who abuse it. More importantly, many populists recognized the positive uses of state power, and their recognition marks the moment, according to Laycock, "when the abstract objection to the state as a coercive force becomes vestigial in populist discourse."¹⁰³ This was certainly the case for the UFO which, despite itself, attained political power in the province in 1919. Undoubtedly, electoral success had a profound impact on the movement, because before its 1919 victory the UFO had been a persistent critic of the role of the state in reducing farmers' democratic possibilities.¹⁰⁴

Certainly, Laycock's work is not without problems. He has a tendency, for example, of being too rigid in his categories. Some people were crypto-Liberals, others agrarian radicals, and still others either social democrats or social credit adherents. This propensity for categorization is, no doubt, an occupational hazard;

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 12.

¹⁰⁴ Laycock also states that another conceptualization of the state is possible within a populist paradigm. In almost all populist movements, he notes, there is a hostility towards the state because it is seen as a key player in maintaining inequitable social relations: "Those populisms that advocate a socialization of power develop a vague conception of the state as the political embodiment of domination per se. In this sense, the logical extension of the democratic idea is the elimination of the state itself. Populism here crosses paths with anarchism." Ibid., p. 12. In his recognition of the liberating possibilities of populism, Laycock is one of the few present-day writers to associate anarchism explicitly with populism, even though, as will be seen, there is every reason to do so.

certainly it is a tendency that is hard to avoid when trying to identify streams of populist thought. However, as will be seen, such categories lose their meaning when local farmers are examined. At times radical democratic impulses can be discerned, at other times crypto-Liberal thought is clearly evidenced. At all times, though, one sees people trying to understand a world that does not make sense to them.¹⁰⁵

Another troubling aspect of Laycock's work is that, as with virtually every other account of agrarian radicalism, there is a tendency to focus on the movement's leadership. Rank and file members, while often referred to in general terms, are only called to the forefront to help underscore points already raised. Perhaps Laycock can be forgiven for this; as a political scientist he is interested in the dynamics of a movement as it affects the realm of 'conventional' politics.

A further problematic aspect to Laycock's work that is not so easily dismissed is his position that Prairie populists were inherently more radical (or at least potentially radical) than their counterparts in Ontario. In page after page the argument is made that it was on the

¹⁰⁵ Moreover, Laycock down-plays the sheer power of the 'official' culture in mediating the response of populists. That said, he is much more attentive to this issue in his studies of present-day politics. See Laycock, "Democracy and Co-operative Practice," in Murray E. Fulton, ed., Co-operative Organizations and Canadian Society: Popular Institutions and the Dilemmas of Change (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

Prairies that one witnessed "concerted and diverse attempts to reconstitute the democratic experience within the Canadian polity."¹⁰⁶ As for Ontario, the following passage sums up Laycock's perceptions:

Most UFO voters saw it as a moderate reform party for rural Ontarians and others interested in 'honest' government. Like its predecessor, the Patrons of Industry, the UFO was not seen by most as a fundamental alternative to either the established party system or the prevailing economic system.¹⁰⁷

Given this view, Laycock spends little time discussing populism in Ontario. Instead, he focuses on the distinctly Prairie brand of mass democratic action.¹⁰⁸ As will be argued here, many of the traits that Laycock ascribes to the movement on the Prairies are also applicable to the Ontario context. And if it is the case that the attempts of Prairie populists to reform their society have been trivialized, then the efforts of Ontario populists have been marginalized to an even greater extent.

Final Comments

This thesis differs from the studies that have preceded it in that it focuses on local activity rather than on the efforts of the central organization. Moreover, instead of directing attention to the strains that tore the movement between those who favoured broadening out and those who

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁰⁷ Laycock, Populism and Democratic Thought, p. 26.

¹⁰⁸ See, for example, Ibid., pp. 6, 25, 175, 272, 297.

advocated group government, and instead of dwelling on the legislative accomplishments of the Drury Government and the federal Progressives, the activities of the rank and file will be privileged. What is examined here are the concerns of local members, with an emphasis on the strains that existed between their vision of society as it should be and the constant inundation of the world as it was. Key to understanding this inundation is the 'propaganda system' of the official culture and the impact of this system upon individuals and small groups. As mentioned, this study examines that aspect of human nature that allows individuals to break free from hegemony and to conceptualize alternatives. At the same time, it also seeks to describe the process by which hegemonic forces work to stifle this capacity. Throughout the thesis frequent references are made to the media, in particular, small town newspapers. These references have been included in an attempt to show how ideas articulated by the media played a significant role in shifting the terms of the debate, and how this shift was achieved in a manner that was so subtle that it was hardly noticed, much less commented on. Although, as will be seen, farmers were remarkably adept at spotting distortions and outright lies, and at realizing that newspapers were owned by those who controlled the wealth and, thus, wielded considerable political power, the messages flowed in such a way that, gradually, the issues shifted and farmers were

inundated with the notion that a full stomach and pocket book were all that mattered.

The reader will observe that much of the periodization and a great deal of the text of this dissertation are centred on elections. There are two primary reasons for this. First, naturally enough, elections were seen as important events. At the theoretical level they provided, as they do now, a rare occasion for citizens to play a meaningful role in shaping their destinies. Hence, they served as opportunities for people to express what mattered to them. Second, and more pragmatically, local newspapers devoted more attention to the UFO during elections than at other times. As a result, one gets the best impressions of the state of the movement (in terms of membership and in terms of what local clubs were up to) during elections.¹⁰⁹

Of course, one must never overlook the fact that the UFO meant different things to different people and, perhaps more importantly, that the meaning consciously ascribed to it by members may differ from scholarly interpretations of that meaning. Monty Leigh, a Simcoe County farmer and rank and file member of the UFO, believed that the organization was formed because "farmers thought we should have more say

¹⁰⁹ Studies of elections in local areas can yield very worthwhile results. See, for example, Griezic, "'Power to the People'," ; Daniel T. Byers, "The Conscription Election of 1917 and Its Aftermath in Orillia, Ontario," Ontario History, Vol. LXXXIII, No. 4, December 1991.

in government."¹¹⁰ For Leigh, the movement did not represent a break from orthodoxy, nor did it represent the manifestation of revolutionary potential. Yet, at the same time, his statement evidences a view of the UFO that differs from the conventional assertion that it was little more than a collection of cranky farmers showing their displeasure at the revocation of conscription exemptions, their concern over rural de-population, their desire to make more money, or their 'irrational' fear of bigness and change. For Leigh, the UFO provided a mechanism through which farmers, who wanted to have more say in how their lives were governed, could attempt to effect change. It should be made clear, of course, that what follows does not suggest that all UFO members had the same goals and aspirations. In fact, it must be noted that there were some who merely used the UFO as a vehicle to maximize profits or to further some other objective.¹¹¹ That said, if one can speak of general trends within the movement, local UFO clubs exemplified the desire on the part of people to play a more substantial role in how their lives and their relations with other

¹¹⁰ Jabez Montgomery Leigh, Monty Leigh Remembers: Early Days in Oro Township and Orillia, Grace Leigh and Sally Gower, eds. (Orillia: Simcoe County Historical Society, 1983), p. 18.

¹¹¹ There were some, no doubt, who used the UFO out of political ambition. It should be remembered that Mitch Hepburn was an early supporter of the UFO and one of the founders of the East Elgin UFO Club. See John T. Saywell, 'Just Call me Mitch': The Life of Mitchell F. Hepburn (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), pp. 12-23.

individuals and groups were governed.

Ultimately, the purpose of this thesis has been to put a few names to the thousands of Ontarians who saw things differently (if only for a short while) and who struggled to find meaning in a world that no longer made sense to them. They had witnessed a war that resulted in the slaughter of millions; they had experienced first hand that the capitalists' promise of prosperity was largely mythical (except for those few who had made the promises); and they had come to the realization that the democracy for which so many had made sacrifices had not materialized. Much can be learned from their experience that has more than passing relevance today. Equally important, if not more so, this thesis has been an attempt to restore for these people the dignity that they have long deserved, but have rarely been accorded. UFO members did not revert inward into a shell; they did not respond in a scientifically predictable manner based on their class position; and they did not passively accept the hand that they had been dealt. Instead, they formulated a vision of society that challenged many fundamental assumptions. That they were able to create such a vision points to what can be accomplished when average citizens begin to conceptualize alternatives.

Chapter Outline

Chapter 2 provides a brief historical sketch of the three counties under consideration, presents some basic

demographic data on these counties, and attempts to answer the question frequently posed but never explored: who comprised the UFO? Chapter 3 is devoted to the origin and growth of the movement, and examines the UFO at its peak between the 1919 provincial election victory and its strong showing in the 1921 federal contest. The political defeat of the movement and subsequent decline is outlined in Chapter 4. The experience of women in the movement, with particular reference to the persistence of certain attitudes on the part of their male counterparts, is discussed in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 is an examination of the co-operative side of the UFO with particular emphasis on the shift in focus from co-operatives as a means of political protest to co-operatives as a means for profit maximization. Chapter 7 is a conclusion.

Chapter 2

Historical and Statistical Profiles of Lambton, Simcoe and Lanark Counties

In a recent collection of historical essays on Upper Canada the editors observe that, owing to more sophisticated methodologies and applications of theoretical models, "no work by professional historians on the history of Upper Canadian regions can now be done which does not, at least in part, employ quantitative methods."¹ The same can be said of scholarly efforts related to post-Confederation Ontario. When examining a movement such as the UFO it is imperative that a profile of its membership be provided. In fact, in this case it is important that a profile be prepared because no such attempt has been made in previous studies of the movement. The purpose of this chapter is, then, to describe briefly (with an emphasis on physical and demographic characteristics) each of the three counties under consideration (Lambton, Simcoe and Lanark), to provide a preliminary sketch of who comprised the movement in these counties, and to offer some explanations for the UFO's composition.

As was pointed out in the introductory chapter, most histories of the UFO have either ignored the movement's

¹ J.K. Johnson and Bruce G. Wilson, "Introduction," in Johnson and Wilson, eds., Historical Essays on Upper Canada: New Perspectives (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1989), p. 17.

composition -- apart from the obvious observation that it was agrarian in nature -- or, by focusing on the UFO's leadership, implied (without providing much evidence) that its members represented the cream of the rural crop; a 'rural elite'.² Little effort has been made either to challenge or to substantiate these claims. For the purposes of this thesis, the task of attempting to answer the question of who made up the UFO is vitally important. If it is shown, for instance, that the membership was drawn largely from the landed gentry in the counties under consideration, then it could be argued that the movement amounted to little more than an assemblage of self-interested people who were concerned about seeing their

² This is particularly the case with Marxist accounts, who tend to see the movement as being composed of 'independent commodity producers. See, for example, T. Robin Wylie, "Direct Democrat: W.C. Good and the Ontario Farm Progressive Challenge," Ph.D Thesis, Carleton University, pp. 4-9. C.M. Johnston, however, argues that the UFO comprised several different types of farmers (dairymen, fruitgrowers, cattlemen, etc.), and that this diversity presented problems for UFO organizers that Prairie farm leaders did not have to contend with. Johnston also noted that there were differences between the "self-styled yeoman" and marginal farmers, and made the point that many from the former group occupied prominent positions within the UFO (such as F.C. Biggs and R.W.E. Burnaby). Although it is true that these figures occupied high-ranking positions within the movement, its actual composition was quite diverse, as will be seen. In addition, although members of the rural elite may have worked within the UFO to advance their own ends, the message they sent out to other farmers was anything but selfishness. Besides, prominent fruit-growers, livestock breeders, and the like had their own organizations with which to advance their particular goals. Charles M. Johnston, "'A Motley Crowd': Diversity in the Ontario Countryside in the Early Twentieth Century," in Donald H. Akenson, ed., Canadian Papers in Rural History Volume VIII (Gananoque: Langdale Press, 1990).

class position diminished or even threatened with extinction. On the other hand, if it is demonstrated that members were drawn from the poorest of farmers in these counties, then it would be possible to claim that the movement had the hallmarks of a radical insurgency of the provincial underclass. However, if neither of these scenarios is accurate, if the movement consisted of farmers from all walks of life, then a number of other explanatory possibilities present themselves. It might be argued, for instance, that the UFO was an inclusive organization, and that it served to break down socio-economic barriers and to enlist farmers from all sectors in a common cause. At the same time, one might also deduce that the presence, in the membership, of certain prosperous and well-respected farmers may have forestalled the UFO's undertaking a sustained critique of society.

The analysis which follows points to the conclusion that the third of these scenarios is the more accurate portrayal of UFO composition and character. As will be seen, the movement's membership in Lambton, Simcoe and Lanark counties was, generally speaking, a mirror of the overall rural population in these localities. True, there were a number of well-to-do farmers in the movement, but there were also members who fought poverty at every turn. In most cases, however, the farmers who joined the UFO appear to have been the 'average folks' of their communities.

Before describing and analyzing the UFO membership, some prefatory remarks are in order. First, as will be seen, documentation regarding local UFO clubs is extremely fragmentary; in particular, there is a lamentable dearth of local minute books and membership lists. In fact, for the three counties under consideration, only three UFO minute books -- all generated by clubs in Simcoe County -- were located.³ Hence, it was necessary to find other sources to determine who were members of the movement.

Newspaper accounts provide a useful source of information regarding club membership, because UFO meetings were frequently covered by the local press. The one drawback associated with culling names from these sources is that usually only members of the club's executive were mentioned, a problem that is addressed below. That said, however, there are some accounts in which rank and file members were named and, using this information, it has been possible to reconstruct at least partial membership lists for certain clubs. The activities of other clubs, particularly those that were not near towns with weekly newspapers, did not receive regular media coverage. As a result, only those groups that were covered regularly will be examined here.

One final explanatory note is in order. The general

³ The minutes of the East Lambton UFO Political Association were also located, but they do not reveal the movement's membership in that locality, save for a few members of the executive.

data presented here has been calculated from printed Census of Canada reports.⁴ Comprehensive census records, as historians know, are decennial. In this chapter, data from the 1921 census and, wherever possible, assessment records from 1920-22 have been privileged since they provide concrete evidence regarding the conditions in which farmers lived at the peak of the movement.⁵

It should be emphasized that the following is not a comprehensive study of UFO membership in each of the three counties. There has been no substantial attempt, for instance, to chart the counties over time, nor has there been an extensive search through property records, probated wills, and the like. To have undertaken this work would have entailed a thesis in itself, and a more detailed demographic study of UFO membership, indeed of the rural population in general, will have to await further studies. The purpose of this chapter is to delve as deeply as possible into an assortment of records so as to determine who comprised the UFO movement, and to situate them in relation to non-member farmers and to society in general.

⁴ Some data from the annual reports of the Statistics Branch of the Ontario Department of Agriculture has been used as well. However, the data collected by the province at that time was not as comprehensive as that gathered by the federal government. For example, many of the tables in the printed federal census returns are broken down to the township level, while the most detailed provincial statistics are at the county level.

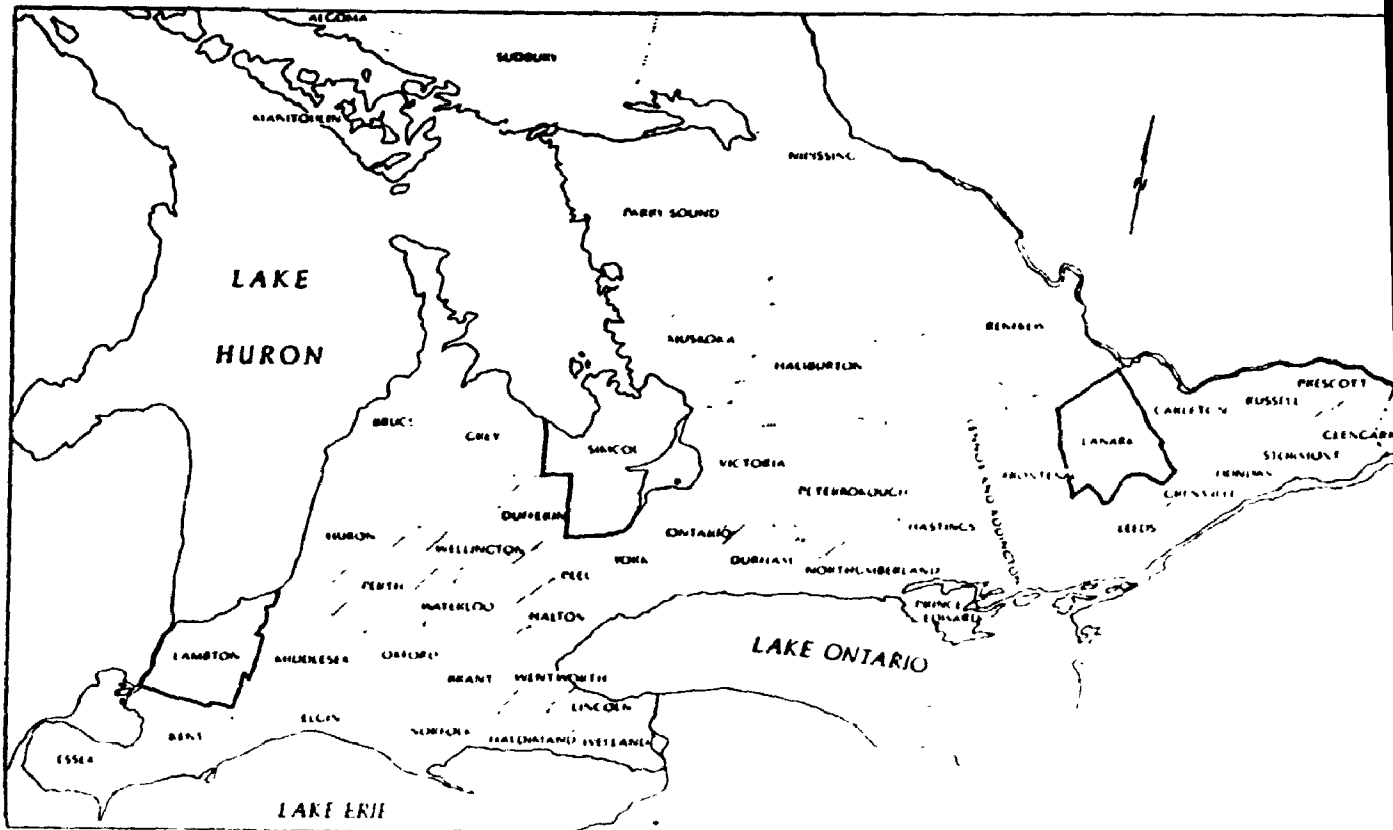
⁵ When necessary, data from the 1911 and 1931 printed censuses has been used as well.

Lambton, Simcoe and Lanark -- A Thumbnail Sketch

Historical Background

The locations of Lambton, Simcoe and Lanark counties are shown on Figure 1. Owing to geography and human influences, each of these counties developed in different ways. The following section briefly touches upon their origins and growth as European settlements up to the early twentieth century.

Figure 1
Counties of Southern Ontario



Source: Robert Bothwell, A Short History of Ontario.

European settlement in Lambton County did not begin in earnest until the 1830s, due partly to its being heavily forested as compared to adjacent counties. Located in southwestern Ontario (bordered by Kent and Middlesex counties, and by Lake Huron and the St. Clair River), Lambton had a population of 1,728 in 1834. By 1851, however, aided by immigration and, to some extent, internal migration, it had attained a population of over 10,000.⁶ Not long after that date oil was discovered in the County, with the first wells being drilled in the early 1860s. Oil refineries soon followed, and the early twentieth century witnessed the emergence of petro-chemical industries and other commercial enterprises, including large-scale milling, salt, navigation and construction companies. By 1891 the County's population had risen to 58,810; however, the opening of the West and the movement of many in Lambton to industrial centres in the United States led to a decline and then gradual levelling off in Lambton's growth. It was not until after the Second World War that the 1891 population figure was reached again. Despite this, thanks to its rich agricultural land and valuable oil fields, Lambton County enjoyed a fairly healthy agricultural and industrial base throughout the early

⁶ At least one local history argues that some early Lambton settlers included people from Lanark County, who were discouraged by the lack of agricultural potential in that area. Jean Turnbull Elford, Canada West's Last Frontier: A History of Lambton (Sarnia: Lambton County Historical Society, 1982), p. 3.

twentieth century. The main urban centre in Lambton County was (and is) Sarnia which, by 1914, had a population of roughly 14,000. Several smaller communities also thrived -- the towns of Petrolia, which had attained a population of 4,357 by 1891,⁷ and Forest, which by the early 1900s had a population of approximately 2,000.⁸

Although the site of French missionary efforts as early as the 1600s, Simcoe County (located in central Ontario, and bordered by Grey and Dufferin counties, the present-day Regional Municipalities of Peel, York, and Durham, and Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay) was not settled permanently by Europeans until the early 1800s. Although relatively rich soils -- particularly those found near the Holland Marsh in the southern portion of the County⁹ -- facilitated substantial agricultural production, Simcoe also benefitted from its position on the Great Lakes waterway, the shipyards at Penetanguishene and Collingwood (to name but two

⁷ This is the highest population ever recorded for the town. By 1901, it had fallen to 4,135 and by 1911, to 3,518.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 1-7, 130-40, 146-54. See also Victor Lauriston, Lambton's Hundred Years 1849-1949 (Sarnia: Haines Frontier Printing Co., 1949), esp. pp. 8-23, 290-316; and Jean Turnbull Elford, A History of Lambton County (Sarnia: n.p., 1967). An account of Lambton's early development can also be found in Belden's Illustrated Historical Atlas of the County of Lambton (first published 1880, reprinted with additions 1973), pp. 3-20. For a succinct history of Lambton, see Nick and Helma Mika, Places in Ontario: Their Names, Origins and History, Part II (Belleville: Mika Publishing Company, 1981), pp. 486-8.

⁹ The Holland Marsh, however, was not drained and utilized for extensive farming until the 1920s.

examples) evidencing the importance of Great Lakes commerce to Simcoe's economy. By the end of the nineteenth century there were several small villages in the County in addition to prosperous towns such as Barrie (with a population of roughly 6,000), Collingwood (5,500), Orillia (5,000), Midland (2,000), and Penetanguishene (2,000). In addition to small and, in some cases, large industries in these towns, there existed a number of large-scale lumbering operations in the County,¹⁰ and the end of the century witnessed a rise in tourists as well as cottagers from urban centres such as Toronto, who were drawn to Georgian Bay and Lake Simcoe areas. Agriculture, however, continued to play a significant role in Simcoe's economy¹¹

Lanark County, located in eastern Ontario (bordered by Renfrew, Frontenac, and Leeds-Grenville counties, and the present-day Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton) was initially settled by Europeans in the 1810s. By 1825 7,928 people resided there and within 24 years -- mid century -- the population had reached 27,317. By that time -- thanks

¹⁰ On lumbering to the Georgian Bay area, see James T. Angus, A Deo Victoria: The Story of the Georgian Bay Lumber Company, 1871-1942 (Thunder Bay: Severn Publications Ltd., 1990).

¹¹ For an overview of late nineteenth-century Simcoe County, see John Craig, Simcoe County: The Recent Past (n.l.: Corporation of the County of Simcoe, 1977), pp. 1-24. On the County's earlier history, see Andrew F. Hunter, A History of Simcoe County (Barrie: The Historical Committee of Simcoe County, 1909), and H. Belden & Co., Historical Atlas of Simcoe County (first published 1881, reprinted 1975), pp. 3-20. See also Nick and Helma Mika, pp. 395-8.

largely to the excellent water-power capabilities that the County offered industrialists -- there had emerged the beginnings of what were to be substantial woollen industries.¹² In addition, the harvesting of lumber played an important role in the County's development, as did the manufacture of iron products, such as the Findlay stove factory (located in Carleton Place) and Frost and Woods' agricultural implements factory (located in Smiths Falls), to name but two examples.¹³ Moreover, several other important industrial concerns were established in Lanark County in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹⁴

¹² By the late nineteenth century Lanark was one of the province's leading textile producer, with operations that rivalled Cornwall, St. Catharines and Hamilton. Warren R. Bland, "The Location of Manufacturing in Southern Ontario in 1881," Ontario Geography, No. 8, 1974. On the growth and decline of the woollen industry in Lanark, see Elizabeth Price, "The Changing Geography of the Woollen Industry in Lanark, Renfrew and Carleton Counties 1830-1911," MA Research Paper, University of Toronto, 1979.

¹³ For a description of the lumbering industry in Lanark, see Howard Morton Brown, Lanark Legacy: Nineteenth Century Glimpses of an Ontario County (Perth: Corporation of the County of Lanark, 1984), pp. 228-51. On iron foundries and other industries, see Carol Bennett, In Search of Lanark (Renfrew: Juniper Books, 1982), especially her sections on Carleton Place and Smiths Falls. See also Nick and Helma Mika, pp. 490-2. For an overview of nineteenth-century Lanark County, see H. Belden & Co., Historical Atlas of Lanark and Renfrew Counties (first published 1880-1, reprinted 1972), pp. 13-23. The best local histories concerning Lanark County deal with specific localities; the work of Glenn J. Lockwood, in particular, provides some of the best examples of what local history can produce.

¹⁴ For a listing of manufacturing concerns, in Perth alone, see Larry Turner (with John T. Stewart), Perth: Tradition and Style in Eastern Ontario (Toronto: Natural Heritage/Natural History Inc., 1992), pp. 123-5. Some of the

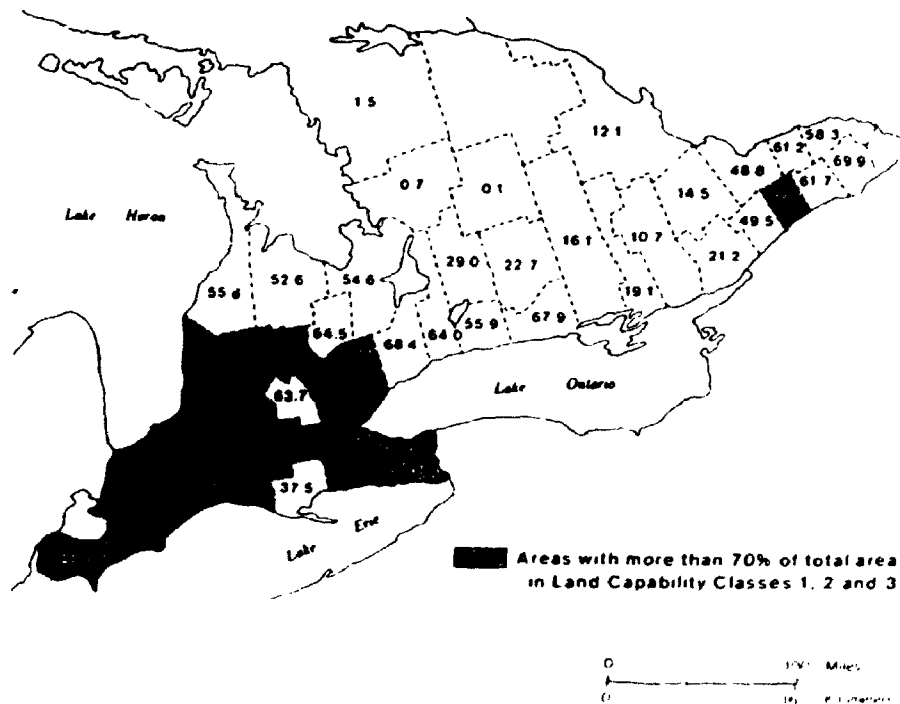
The Physical Setting

The physical environments that comprised the counties included both the best and the worst of environs in "Old Ontario." As Figure 2 indicates, Lambton is situated in a region containing mainly grey-brown Podzolic soil, some of the highest quality agricultural land in the province. Simcoe County straddles the line between this grey-brown Podzolic soil and the less arable and less fertile brown Podzolic soil. In their studies of the physical characteristics of the province, Miller and Hoffman

more prominent industries in Perth included Code Felt Ltd. (established in 1870), Walmpole Inc. (pharmaceuticals, 1905), Brown Shoe Company (1911), and Jergens Canada (1917). Readers will note that several local histories have been consulted for this and other chapters. Perhaps at this point -- while citing Turner's work -- a word is in order concerning local history. Turner's history of Perth represents both the best and the most problematic aspects of the genre. Well researched and written in lively prose, Turner's work is similar to many other local histories in that there is a reluctance to address politics. This is particularly true with Turner's treatment of twentieth-century Perth, where one finds virtually no reference to even the most basic aspect of politics -- MPs and MPPs. Even though the UFO represented the provincial seat in which Perth was situated for the period 1919-23, and maintained a strong presence in the town for at least part of the 1910s and 1920s (including a co-operative store), not a single reference to it could be found. In a town where -- as will be seen -- elections could generate considerable excitement and where many from the town belonged to one political association or another, this is a curious and important oversight. Turner, it should be stressed, is not alone in this type of omission. Even one of the best practitioners of local history in the province, Glenn Lockwood, devotes surprisingly little space to politics and the political culture of a community. In his otherwise excellent manuscript on Montague Township, there are no index references to the UFO and only passing mention of the more established political parties. The UFO fares better in his work on Beckwith Township, but just barely.

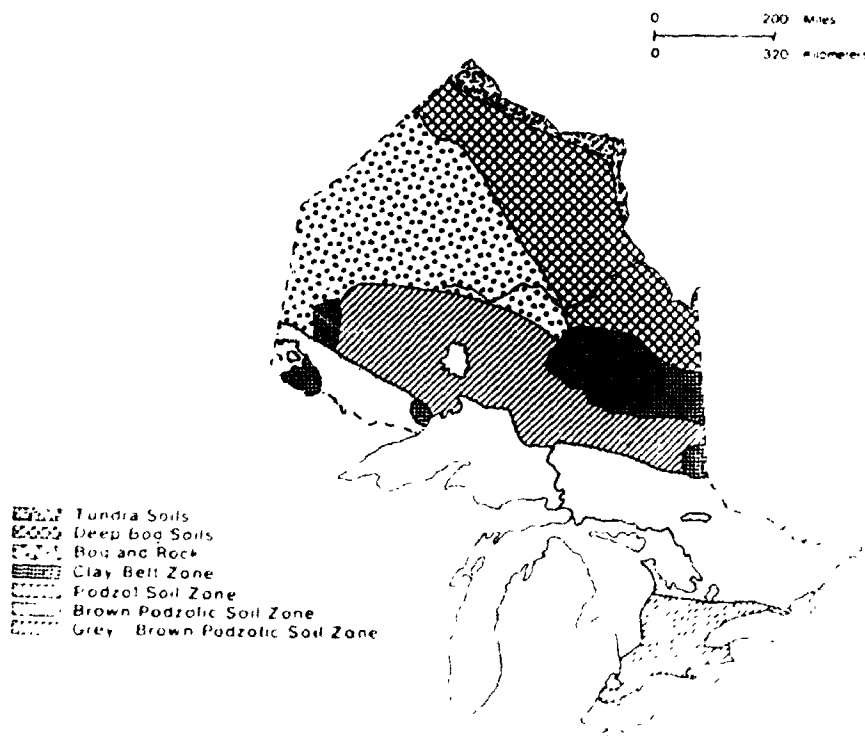
developed a soil classification system which rated soil quality on a scale of one to seven (one being the highest and seven the lowest quality soil). As can be seen in Figure 3, which shows the percentage of soil in each southern Ontario county that belonged to the three best soil types,

Figure 2
Percentage of Soil Falling within Classes 1, 2, and 3
of Scale Developed by Miller and Hoffman



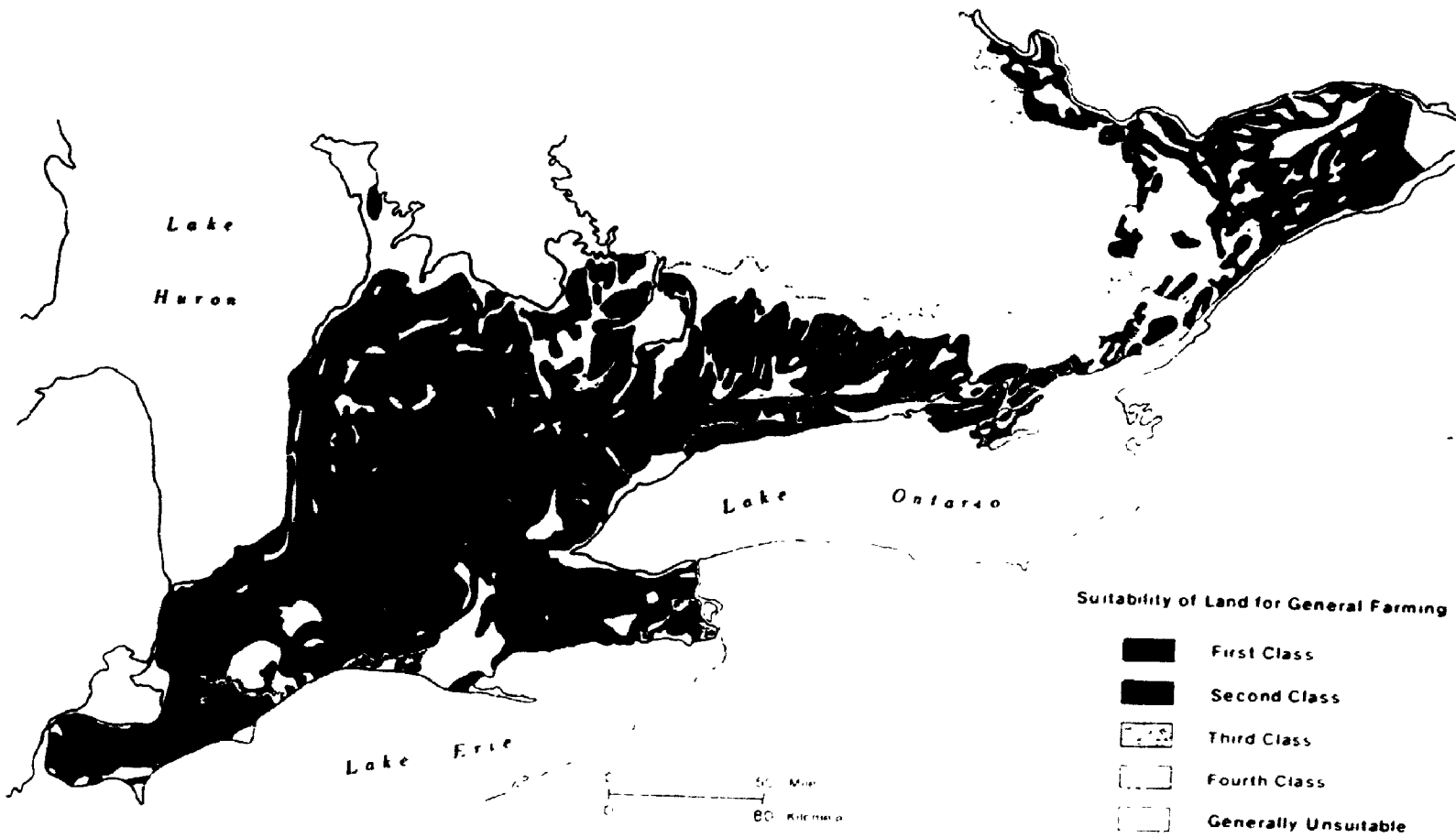
Source: Louis Gentilcore, ed., Ontario.

Figure 3
Soil Regions



Source: Louis Gentilcore, ed. Ontario.

Figure 4
Generalized Land Classes



Source: Louis Gentilcore, ed., Ontario.

Lambton is clearly the most fertile of the three counties under consideration, with some 85.7% of its soil belonging to the high quality classes. Simcoe contains 54.6% of such soil and Lanark, clearly the worst of the three, contains only 14.5%. The work of L.G. Reeds, whose five-type soil classification system predated that of Miller and Hoffman, also points to these conclusions, as evidenced in Figure 4.¹⁵ Other features, such as average daily temperature, annual precipitation, growing degree days, start of the growing season, date of first frost, and so on, also worked in favour of Lambton and Simcoe inhabitants and against anyone trying to farm in Lanark.¹⁶ As will be seen, the climatic and geological conditions limited the types of crops that could be grown in Lanark and, equally important, the amount and quality of crops that could be produced.

Statistics generated by the Ontario government on land usage bear out these assertions. As is demonstrated in Table 1, the percentage of land cleared in Lanark was noticeably lower than that in the other two counties. Although large percentages of rural land had been cleared in Lambton and Simcoe by 1920, barely half of Lanark's acreage had been

¹⁵ A good summary of these and other findings regarding geological features of Ontario can be found in L.G. Reeds, "The Environment," in Louis Gentilcore, ed., Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), pp. 1-22.

¹⁶ See Ontario, Department of Agriculture and Food, Origins, Classification and Use of Ontario Soils (Toronto: Department of Agriculture and Food, 1974) esp. pp. 12-20, 45-54.

improved. Certainly, the poor quality of the soil and its limited agricultural potential discouraged clearing on the scale witnessed in the other two counties.

Table 1
Rural Land Cleared in Lambton, Simcoe
and Lanark Counties 1920

<u>County</u>	<u>Acres Assessed</u>	<u>Acres Cleared</u>	<u>%Cleared</u>
Lambton	658,445	525,598	79.82
Simcoe	967,478	687,471	71.06
Lanark	670,969	336,764	50.19

Note: Figures for unorganized townships are not included in these totals.

Source: Ontario Department of Agriculture, Annual Report of the Statistics Branch 1920 (calculations by author).

Demographic Features

In 1921 Lambton's total population was 52,102, of which 27,283 (52%) were classified rural and 24,819 (48%) urban. In 1921 Simcoe had a population of 84,032, of which 43,154 (51%) were rural and 40,878 (49%) urban. Lanark was composed of 32,993 residents, 15,547 (47%) of whom were considered rural and 17,444 (53%) urban.¹⁷ It bears mentioning that these totals remained fairly stable during the early

¹⁷ Census of Canada, 1921. Unless otherwise noted, all data in this section is from the printed censuses of either 1911, 1921 or 1931.

twentieth century, although Lambton and Lanark had experienced a slight downward trend in population from the late nineteenth century. Only Simcoe recorded a population increase over the 1911-21 period.¹⁸

When one separates urban and rural populations in the three counties, a different picture emerges with respect to population change. As demonstrated in Table 2, virtually every township (ie. rural area) in Lambton, Simcoe and Lanark counties experienced a real decline in population between 1911 and 1931, mostly as a result of migration to urban centres. In some townships, such as Enniskillen in Lambton, Tay in Simcoe, and Bathurst in Lanark, the decline was substantial. As will be seen in the chapters to follow, there existed in the UFO negative feelings toward urban areas and urban society in general. It is reasonable to assume that rural depopulation in these counties fed into that animosity.¹⁹

¹⁸ Simcoe had a population of 82,315 in 1911; Lambton, 56,642; and Lanark, 37,232.

¹⁹ Several studies of the UFO have addressed the issue of rural depopulation and how it affected farmers' political thought. See, for example, W.R. Young, "Conscription, Rural Depopulation, and the Farmers of Ontario, 1917-19," Canadian Historical Review, Vol. LIII, No. 3, September 1972.

Table 2
Population Change -- Lambton, Simcoe and Lanark County
Townships, 1911-31

Lambton Township	1911	1921	1931	+/-
Dawn	2,930	2,470	2,294	-636
Moore	3,771	3,611	3,381	-390
Plympton	3,206	2,829	2,695	-511
Sarnia	2,663	2,538	3,441	+778
Sombra		3,274	2,971	-303
Bosanquet	2,491	2,332	2,200	-291
Brooke	2,992	2,703	2,373	-619
Enniskillen	3,632	3,063	2,692	-940
Euphemia	1,846	1,543	1,455	-391
Warwick	2,772	2,376	2,234	-538

Simcoe Township	1911	1921	1931	+/-
Matchedash	459	507	480	+21
Medonte	3,361	2,723	2,533	-828
Orillia	4,508	4,561	4,979	+471
Tay	5,245	3,159	2,770	-2,475
Tiny	4,121	4,026	3,693	-428
Flos	3,239	3,034	2,929	-310
Nottawasaga	4,432	4,110	3,759	-673
Oro	3,485	3,098	2,842	-643
Sunnidale	2,175	2,070	2,013	-162
Vespra	2,596	2,281	2,486	-110

Lanark Township	1911	1921	1931	+/-
Dalhousie	1,225	1,047	930	-295
Darling	623	441	424	-199
Lanark	1,595	1,289	1,247	-348
Lavant	547	429	407	-140
Pakenham	1,605	1,518	1,384	-221
Ramsay	1,942	1,713	1,679	-263
Sherbrooke N.	277	283	281	+ 4
Bathurst	2,228	2,023	1,789	-439
Beckwith	1,402	1,221	1,221	-181
Burgess N.	752	660	592	-160
Drummond	1,764	1,584	1,426	-333
Elmsley N.	1,066	779	788	-278
Montague	1,839	1,792	1,642	-197
Sherbrooke S.	742	770	718	- 24

Source: Census of Canada, 1911, 1921, 1931 (calculations by author).

In all three counties, the population was overwhelmingly Canadian-born. Of the 52,102 people in Lambton, 44,745 (86%) were born in Canada, 4,941 (9%) were British-born, and 2,416 (5%) were listed as "foreign-born." In Simcoe, 74,457 (89%) of the total population of 84,032 were born in Canada, 8,386 (9%) were British-born, and 1,189 (2%) were foreign-born. In Lanark, of its population of 32,993, 30,211 (92%) were Canadian-born, 2,145 (6%) were British-born, and 637 (2%) were foreign-born. When one turns to ethnicity, predictable and similarly consistent patterns emerge. As Table 3 indicates, the overwhelming majority of people listed either England, Scotland or Ireland as the country of their families' origin.

Table 3
Ethnicity in Lambton, Simcoe and Lanark 1921

Ethnicity	Lambton	Simcoe	Lanark
English	23,154	33,564	7,218
Irish	12,500	23,468	13,575
Scottish	11,683	14,148	10,047
French	1,367	7,992	1,140
Other	1,805	3,643	775
European			
Asiatic	102	121	90
Aboriginal	541	320	18
Total	52,102	84,032	32,993

Note: The numbers in the table do not add up to the total county populations because "not specified" have not been included here.

Source: Census of Canada 1921.

In terms of religious affiliation, one observes a considerable amount of homogeneity as well. As seen in Tables 4.1 to 4.3, there were few denominations with more than 200 hundred members in each county. In Lambton, the largest religious denomination was Methodism, followed by Presbyterianism and Anglicanism. There were also large congregations of Roman Catholics and Baptists, each group accounting for roughly 10 percent of the total population. In Simcoe, Methodists and Presbyterians comprised 27% and 26% of the total population, respectively, followed by Anglicans (20%) and Roman Catholics (17%). In Lanark, Presbyterians formed the largest religious denomination, followed in turn by Anglicans, Methodists, and Roman Catholics.

Table 4.1
Religious Denominations with 200 or More Adherents
Lambton County 1921

<u>Religion</u>	<u>Adherents</u>	<u>% of Population</u>
Methodist	20,103	34%
Presbyterian	15,714	28%
Anglican	10,389	20%
Roman Catholic	4,791	9%
Baptist	4,611	8%
Congregationalist	727	1%
Mormon	532	1%
Salvation Army	421	1%
Plymouth Brethren	200	.3%

Note: Figures above are out of a total population of 58,689. It is not known why the total population figure given in this set of data differs from the population figure used elsewhere for Lambton County.

Source: Census of Canada 1921 (calculations by author).

Table 4.2
Religious Denominations with 200 of More Adherents
Simcoe County 1921

<u>Religion</u>	<u>Adherents</u>	<u>% of Population</u>
Methodist	22,719	27%
Presbyterian	22,073	26%
Anglican	17,341	20%
Roman Catholic	14,797	17%
Baptist	2,957	3%
Brethren	596	.5%
Salvation Army	562	.5%
Mennonite	417	.5%
Congregationalist	382	.5%
Jewish	306	.5%

Source: Census of Canada (calculations by author)

Table 4.3
Religious Denominations with 200 or More Adherents
Lanark County 1921

<u>Religion</u>	<u>Adherents</u>	<u>% of Population</u>
Presbyterian	11,191	34%
Anglican	7,825	23%
Methodist	5,809	17%
Roman Catholic	5,665	17%
Baptist	1,370	4%
Congregationalist	395	1%

Source: Census of Canada (calculations by author)

There were 6,775 occupied farms in Lambton in 1921, as compared to 7,914 in Simcoe and 2,896 in Lanark. What is of perhaps more interest, however, is the size of most farms in these counties. As table 5 indicates, the majority of farms in all three counties were between 51 and 200 acres in size. Only in Lanark was there a significant percentage of farms of over 201 acres. Although by 1931 there was a slight decline in the number of small farms in Lambton, Simcoe and

Lanark (as well as a slight decline in the number of farms in these counties), the figures remain fairly stable (see table 6).

Table 5
Farm Size by County 1921

Acreage	Lambton	Simcoe	Lanark
1-50	2,079 (31%)	1,948 (25%)	248 (9%)
51-100	2,989 (44%)	3,477 (44%)	681 (24%)
101-200	1,443 (21%)	2,037 (25%)	1,066 (36%)
200+	264 (4%)	452 (6%)	901 (31%)
Total	6,775 (100%)	7,914 (100%)	2,896 (100%)

Source: Census of Canada, 1921 (calculations by author).

Table 6
Farm Size by County 1931

Acreage	Lambton	Simcoe	Lanark
1-50	1,730 (27%)	1,729 (23%)	203 (7%)
51-100	2,721 (43%)	3,156 (42%)	622 (23%)
10-200	1,580 (25%)	2,160 (28%)	1,032 (38%)
200+	320 (5%)	546 (7%)	872 (32%)
Total	6,351 (100%)	2,729 (100%)	7,591 (100%)

Source: Census of Canada, 1931 (calculations by author).

A large farm does not, however, always ensure prosperity. One must improve one's land in order for it to

be productive and profitable. In Lambton, of the 650,970 farm acres in 1921, 461,848 (71%) were improved; in Simcoe in that year, of the 844,617 acres of farmland, 556,227 (66%) were improved; in Lanark, of the 563,256 acres of farmland in 1921, only 195,785 (35%) were improved. In Lanark, then, having a large farm might mean having large areas of woodland, rocks, slash and/or marsh.²⁰

Farm tenancy, although certainly not unheard of, was relatively rare in all three counties during the period under consideration. Of the 6,775 occupied farms in Lambton, for example, 5,850 (86%) were owned by the occupants. Of the remaining operating farms, 478 (7%) were run by tenant farmers, and 447 (7%) were occupied by part owners/part-tenants. In Simcoe, of the 7,914 occupied farms, 6,683 (84%)

²⁰ Census of Canada, 1921. The figures presented here differ from those in Table 1 -- which were provincially-generated -- possibly due to the difference in terminology ("farmland" as opposed to "rural" land). Relatively little work has been undertaken to explore the relationship (if any) between farm size and prosperity. Even William Marr, who has produced some insightful work on farm size in nineteenth-century Ontario, is more concerned about how farm size assisted in determining how resources were allocated and in what types of crops were grown. Marr argues that so few studies exist because such work involves tracking down individual farms through manuscript census returns, a process he identifies as "laborious." For our purposes here, if one wished to study the relationship between farm size and prosperity it would also necessitate a literal tracking down of each farm used in the study in order to determine the quality of soil, number of hills and rocks, etc. For an example of Marr's work, see his "Did Farm Size Matter? An 1871 Case Study," in Donald H. Akenson, ed., Canadian Papers in Rural History Volume VI (Gananoque: Langdale Press, 1988). For Marr's comments on methodological problems associated with studies of this sort, see 279.

were operated by owners, 852 (11%) were run by tenants, and 379 (5%) were operated by part-owners/part tenants. In Lanark, of the 2,896 occupied farms, 2,641 (91%) were run by owners, 136 (5%) by tenants and 119 (4%) by part-owners/part-tenants.

Farm ownership (or at least the assignment of that designation in census reports) does not, however, necessarily define an individual's financial position and, by extension, his/her socio-economic status in the community. Indebtedness may provide a more accurate measure. But it is difficult to establish the amount of farm mortgage indebtedness for the three counties for the early 1920's, as this was not included in the 1921 Census. However, such figures do exist in the 1931 printed Census, and they indicate that a significant percentage of farms carried mortgages. Of the 4,516 farms Lambton County, 2,443, or 54%, indicated mortgage indebtedness. In Simcoe, of the 5,971 farms that provided information on the subject, 3,109 (52%) reported such debts. In Lanark, of the 1,768 farms, 918 (52%) carried mortgages. While it is true, therefore, that many farms were of the 'fully-owned' status, it remains the case that even in these fairly long-settled areas a considerable amount of mortgage indebtedness persisted -- over 50% of the farms in each county carried mortgages.²¹ It is reasonable to assume that similar patterns existed in

²¹ Census of Canada 1931, Vol. VIII, pp. 416-7, 421.

the early 1920s.²²

Agricultural Production

Agricultural production portrays a telling story, not only in terms of crops grown in the three counties, but also in terms of the dollar return each of these crops brought farmers in those localities. As Tables 7.1 to 7.3 indicate, the field crop which, in 1920, brought in the highest return in Lambton and Simcoe was wheat, with oats occupying second-place in both counties. In Lanark, not known for its productive soil, the chief crop in terms of return was hay, followed by oats. In all three counties, grain and forage crops made up a significant percentage of produce grown, although Simcoe farmers grew substantial quantities of root crops.

²² Chattel mortgage figures for the early 1920s were published by the Ontario Department of Agriculture. In 1920, for example, one finds the following figures:

<u>County</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Amount</u>
Lambton	27	\$29,386
Simcoe	144	\$102,548
Lanark	51	\$67,469

Source: Ontario, Department of Agriculture, Annual Report of the Statistics Branch 1920, Part II.

2

PM-1 3½"x4" PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
NBS 1010a ANSI/ISO #2 EQUIVALENT

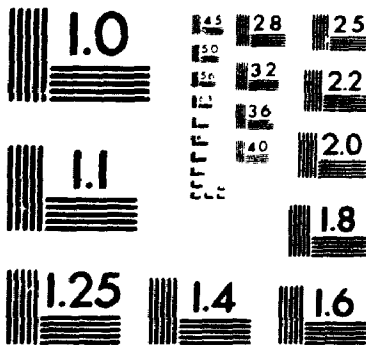


Table 7.1
Field Crops -- Acreage, Yield, Value and Return Per Acre
Lambton County 1920

Crop	Acreage	Yield	Value	Ret/Acre	\$Ret/Acre
Hay (cultivated)	84,216	99,603t	\$1,497,903	1.2t	\$ 17.79
Oats	76,874	3,383,338b	\$1,627,558	44.0b	\$ 21.17
Wheat	58,007	1,241,200b	\$2,271,095	21.4b	\$ 39.15
Corn (forage)	16,956	130,409t	\$ 564,972	7.7t	\$ 33.32
Corn (husking)	13,561	764,632b	\$ 518,890	56.4b	\$ 38.26
Barley	9,188	301,107b	\$ 228,625	32.8b	\$ 24.88
Mixed Grains	6,905	290,992b	\$ 188,973	42.1b	\$ 27.37
Root Crops ²³	6,060	63,911t	\$ 684,965	10.5t	\$113.03
Potatoes	2,148	256,445b	\$ 210,943	119.4b	\$ 98.20
Flax (fibre)	885	193,840l	\$ 20,270	219.0l	\$ 22.90
Other Forage Crops	716	1,283t	\$ 11,742	1.8t	\$ 16.40

Table 7.3
Field Crops -- Acreage, Yield, Value and Return Per Acre
Simcoe County 1920

Crop	Acreage	Yield	Value	Ret/Acre	\$Ret/Acre
Oats	130,371	3,958,460b	\$2,031,157	30.4b	\$ 15.58
Hay (cultivated)	95,298	107,528t	\$2,006,645	1.1t	\$ 21.05
Wheat	56,457	1,265,307b	\$2,370,340	22.4b	\$ 41.98
Barley	36,455	998,260b	\$ 821,276	27.4b	\$ 22.53
Mixed Grains	23,296	668,705b	\$ 483,519	28.7b	\$ 20.75
Rye	11,292	151,623b	\$ 200,922	13.4b	\$ 17.79
Potatoes	10,878	1,214,622b	\$ 636,607	111.6b	\$ 63.12
Corn (forage)	10,378	82,071t	\$ 353,530	7.9t	\$ 34.06
Buckwheat	10,337	176,011b	\$ 171,886	17.0b	\$ 16.63
Peas	5,104	95,320b	\$ 153,780	18.7b	\$ 30.13
Turnips	4,014	1,634,332b	\$ 223,935	407.0b	\$ 55.79
Other Root Crops	1,736	17,060t	\$ 90,355	9.8t	\$ 52.04
Grains (for hay)	1,180	1,438t	\$ 22,740	1.2t	\$ 19.27
Other Forage Crops	1,055	1,508t	\$ 18,905	1.4t	\$ 17.91

²³ This does not include potatoes and turnips.

Table 7.2
Field Crops -- Acreage, Yield Value and Return Per Acre
Lanark County 1920

Crop	Acreage	Yield	Value	Ret/Acre	\$Ret/Acre
Hay (cultivated)	68,670	67,153t	\$1,368,296	.9t	\$ 19.92
Oats	41,849	1,215,813b	\$ 760,060	29.1b	\$ 18.16
Wheat	8,121	132,778b	\$ 239,522	16.3b	\$ 29.49
Corn (forage)	7,671	64,385t	\$ 291,899	8.4t	\$ 38.05
Mixed Grains	5,891	173,675b	\$ 140,776	29.5b	\$ 23.89
Barley	4,084	108,821b	\$ 107,300	26.5b	\$ 26.27
Buckwheat	3,820	58,308b	\$ 61,945	15.3b	\$ 16.22
Potatoes	2,327	229,512b	\$ 153,636	98.6b	\$ 66.02
Grains (cut for hay)	1,449	1,779t	\$ 26,558	1.2t	\$ 18.32
Other Forage Crops	916	1,072t	\$ 13,935	1.2t	\$ 15.21
Peas	725	11,284b	\$ 19,272	15.6b	\$ 26.58
Rye	599	8,458b	\$ 10,120	14.1b	\$ 16.89

t = tons

b = bushels

l = pounds

Source: Census of Canada 1921 (calculations by author).

What is of even greater interest is the return farmers received for their produce. As table 8 indicates, Lanark farmers received less yield per acre than their counterparts in the other counties. In the case of wheat, for example, Simcoe farmers realized a return on average of 22.4 bushels per acre, while Lambton farmers enjoyed an average yield of 21.4 bushels per acre. In Lanark, however, the average return was 16.3 bushels per acre, markedly lower than the yield in the other two counties. With few exceptions, this pattern continues through the list of crops grown.

Table 8
Dollar Returns per Unit Produced -- Selected Field Crops
Lambton, Lanark and Simcoe Counties 1920

Crop	Lambton	Lanark	Simcoe
Hay (cultivated) (\$)	15.04/t	20.38/t	18.66/t
Oats (\$)	0.48/b	0.62/b	0.51/b
Wheat (\$)	1.83/b	1.80/b	1.87/b
Corn (forage) (\$)	4.33/t	4.53/t	4.31/t
Barley (\$)	0.75/b	0.98/b	0.82/b
Mixed Grains (\$)	0.64/b	0.81/b	0.72/b
Potatoes (\$)	0.82/b	0.67/b	0.57/b
Other Forage Crops (\$)	9.15/t	13.00/t	12.54/t

t = tons b = bushels

Source: Census of Canada, 1921 (calculations by author).

In 1920 local markets still reflected local conditions;²⁴ if a crop was not produced in abundance in a given area, prices tended to be higher than in areas in which the crop was produced in greater quantities. Thus, in some cases, as is evidenced in Table 8, Lanark farmers were able to realize slightly higher dollar returns per unit produced. This was particularly true with respect to forage crops (hay, corn, etc.) and some grains, most notably barley and oats. In other cases, where the relatively small amounts of crop produced should have equated with higher dollar per unit produced returns, Lanark farmers received comparable returns for their produce as their counterparts in Lambton

²⁴ For a good indication of how prices could differ in local markets, see Ontario Department of Agriculture, Annual Report of the Statistics Branch 1920 (Toronto: King's Printer 1921), Table p. 37.

and Simcoe and, in some cases, even less. In these instances, one must assume that there was either little local demand for these crops or, more plausibly, that the quality of the produce was of an inferior grade.

Even when higher returns per unit produced were the case in Lanark, any benefit derived from such prices was negated by the fact that Lanark farmers, on average, produced much less per farm than their counterparts in Lambton or Simcoe. As Tables 7.1 to 7.3 show, individual farm output was markedly lower in Lanark than in the other two counties. Clearly, then, Lanark lagged behind Lambton and Simcoe in terms of individual farm income, at least as far as field crops were concerned.

In terms of fruit production, one finds a fairly consistent return per unit produced (see Table 9), albeit with some minor variations resulting, presumably, from local market prices. There are, however, significant differences in the amount and type of fruit grown in each county. In Lambton, one finds strong production figures for virtually all fruits listed in printed census returns. Simcoe County farmers, with cooler summers, a shorter growing season and less high-quality soil than Lambton farmers enjoyed, produced relatively insignificant amounts of peaches and grapes. In Lanark, with even worse climatic and geological conditions, there was no peach or pear production, and insignificant plum, cherry and grape production. These poor

production figures for Lanark may, to some degree, reflect the choices made by farmers there, but there were definitely forces beyond farmers' control which precluded the production of certain fruits.

Table 9			
Fruit Production - Lambton, Simcoe and Lanark Counties 1920			
Fruit	Lambton	Simcoe	Lanark
Apples			
Produced	600,825b	266,185b	21,021b
Value (\$)	407,574	100,927	21,738
Ret/Unit (\$)	0.68	0.68	1.03
Peaches			
Produced	21,059b	14	---
Value (\$)	27,532	13	---
Ret/Unit (\$)	1.31	0.93	
Pears			
Produced	12,260b	1,452b	---
Value (\$)	13,043	2,088	---
Ret/Unit (\$)	1.06	1.44	
Plums/Prunes			
Produced	9,942b	4,099b	252b
Value (\$)	11,686	6,240	391
Ret/Unit (\$)	1.18	1.52	1.55
Cherries			
Produced	3,216b	2,664b	19b
Value (\$)	5,819	5,457	32
Ret/Unit (\$)	1.81	2.05	1.68
Grapes			
Produced	48,932l	2,228l	1,218l
Value (\$)	3,425	156	85
Ret/Unit (\$)	0.07	0.07	0.07
Strawberries			
Produced	121,940qu	236,615qu	12,806qu
Value (\$)	23,563	42,993	2,981
Ret/Unit (\$)	0.19	0.18	0.23
Raspberries			
Produced	147,446qu	157,646qu	1,320qu
Value (\$)	32,806	28,938	293
Ret/Unit (\$)	0.22	0.18	0.22
Currants			
Produced	30,114qu	16,157qu	1,156qu
Value (\$)	5,950	3,055	216
Ret/Unit (\$)	0.20	0.19	0.19

Gooseberries

Produced	1,673qu	10,961qu	2,021qu
Value (\$)	197	1,552	303
Ret/Unit (\$)	0.12	0.14	0.15

b = bushel l = pound qu = quart

The one area in which Lanark farmers seem to have held their own was livestock. Despite its relatively small population, the County had strong figures in certain types of livestock, as Table 10 demonstrates. In particular, cattle and sheep played prominent roles in the farming operations of many Lanark farmers. These figures are not surprising -- given the relatively poor soil quality and climatic conditions in the County, it made sense for farmers to turn to livestock for milk, wool, and meat. As will be seen, the poultry, sheep, cattle and swine holdings of farmers in all three counties -- all of which were held in sufficient quantities to produce for non-farm consumption -- go some way toward explaining the popularity of the co-operative marketing activities (both the establishment of new associations and the augmentation of those already in existence) that characterized the rise of the UFO.

Table 10
Livestock -- Lambton, Simcoe and Lanark Counties 1921

Stock	Lambton	Simcoe	Lanark
Horses			
Number	21,973	29,409	10,337
Value (\$)	2,604,937	3,773,977	1,236,102
Cattle			
Number	90,855	104,891	58,907
Value (\$)	4,414,559	3,833,567	1,952,031
Sheep			
Number	24,060	52,949	34,881
Value (\$)	170,279	346,283	224,123
Swine			
Number	52,165	65,284	17,192
Value (\$)	496,223	618,963	142,649
Hens and Chickens			
Number	612,322	554,159	209,553
Value (\$)	322,537	323,092	117,594
Turkeys			
Number	29,766	11,938	6,062
Value (\$)	29,303	15,512	5,716
Ducks			
Number	19,380	10,842	1,366
Value (\$)	10,515	8,430	956
Geese			
Number	13,209	19,467	1,946
Value (\$)	16,648	25,962	2,956

Source: Census of Canada, 1921.

There were, of course, other ways to augment farm income. As R. Marvin McInnis points out, wood products continued to contribute significantly to farm income in some areas well into the twentieth century. These products took the form of timber for firewood, staves, shingles, fence posts, rails, building materials, potash and particularly after the end of the nineteenth century, pulpwood. In addition, farmers could obtain extra cash by providing

labour and/or animal power for transport services and for construction.²⁵ Other profit-making farm activities included the curing of meats and the spinning and weaving of wool and, as Table 11 suggests, if a farmer was fortunate enough to possess sugar maples, then some income could be obtained through the sale of maple syrup and sugar. As is evident in Lanark in particular, such profits could assist in adding a few dollars to a farm's total income.

Table 11
Maple Syrup and Sugar Production
Lambton, Simcoe and Lanark Counties 1920

<u>County</u>	<u>Syrup</u>	<u>Sugar</u>	<u>Total Value</u>
Lambton	8,294gal	42lbs	\$24,545
Simcoe	12,701gal	675lbs	\$30,592
Lanark	48,243gal	5,706lbs	\$98,499

Source: Census of Canada 1921.

To obtain an estimate of average annual farm income in each of the three counties, the income from all farm activities (as listed in the 1921 Census of Canada) has been totalled and this figure has then been divided by the number of occupied farms in each county, as seen in Table 12.

²⁵ R. Marvin McInnis, Perspectives on Ontario Agriculture 1815-1930 (Gananoque: Langdale Press, 1992), pp. 93-4. Douglas McCalla makes the same point regarding farm income in his work on pre-Confederation Ontario. An excellent summary of his work can be found in his Planting the Province: The Economic History of Upper Canada 1784-1870 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

Table 12
Value of Farm Products -- Lambton, Lanark
and Simcoe Counties 1920

Product	Lambton	Simcoe	Lanark
Field Crops (\$) ²⁶	7,978,427	10,334,851	3,297,925
Fruits (\$) ²⁷	557,228	303,085	123,507
Forest Products (\$)	49,894	175,166	177,901
Stock Sold Alive (\$)	3,240,133	3,569,297	1,271,655
Animal Products (\$) ²⁸	2,752,906	3,278,287	1,761,677
Total (\$)	14,578,588	17,660,686	6,632,665

Average Value of Products per Farm

	Lambton	Simcoe	Lanark
No. Occupied Farms	6,775	7,914	2,896
Avg. per Farm (\$)	2,151.82	2,231.58	2,290.28

Source: Census of Canada 1921 (calculations by author).

Based on these figures it is apparent that, on average, farms in each county produced crops and other products worth roughly the same value. The numbers change, however, when total farm value, as determined in the 1921 Census of

²⁶ Includes produce consumed on farm as well as crops sold.

²⁷ Includes maple syrup.

²⁸ Includes dairy products (milk, cream, butter fat, butter and cheese), eggs, honey and wax, and wool. Dairy products reflect the total value for both farm consumption and for market.

Canada, is considered.²⁹ As Table 13 indicates, Lanark lagged behind Simcoe by roughly \$1,000, and behind Lambton by over \$1,500.

Table 13
Total Farm Values, Lambton, Simcoe
and Lanark Counties 1920

	Lambton	Simcoe	Lanark
Total Value (\$)	59,405,383	63,806,525	20,450,610
Average per Farm (\$)	8,768.32	8,062.49	7,061.67

Source: Census of Canada 1921 (calculations by author).

One should remember, however, that these are average figures. In many cases, farmers fell well short of these averages while other, more fortunate ones undoubtedly exceeded them.

Another way to obtain a notion of the relative prosperity of farmers in each county is to examine the value of farm property, implements and livestock on hand -- in other words, farm assets. When farm assets are added and an average is determined for each county, the following picture emerges, as seen in Table 14.

²⁹ The total farm value is determined by adding the values noted in the table above, and by then adding to this figure the values of land, buildings, implements and machinery, and live stock.

Table 14
Farm Property, Implements and Livestock
Lambton, Simcoe and Lanark Counties 1920

	Lambton	Simcoe	Lanark
Land	\$32,485,525	\$33,705,588	\$11,628,748
Buildings	\$15,648,642	\$20,714,518	\$ 5,982,410
Implements	\$ 5,513,203	\$ 6,310,410	\$ 2,071,385
Livestock	\$11,889,968	\$14,092,887	\$ 6,226,890
Total	\$65,537,338	\$74,823,403	\$25,909,433

Average Value per Farm:

County	No. Farms	Avg. per Farm
Lambton	6,775	\$9,673.41
Simcoe	7,914	\$9,454.56
Lanark	2,896	\$8,946.63

Source: Census of Canada 1921; Ontario, Department of Agriculture, Annual Report of the Statistics Branch 1920 (calculations by author).

Again, one sees that, on average, Lanark farmers were less well-off than their counterparts in Lambton and Simcoe counties, with average farm assets worth over \$500 less than those of Simcoe farmers, and over \$700 less than those of Lambton farmers.

Clearly, there were differences in farming in the three counties under consideration. This is particularly evident when the figures for field crops, fruit and livestock are

calculated per farm in each county. For instance, there was, on average, 13.4 cattle per farm in Lambton, compared to 13.2 in Simcoe and 20.3 in Lanark; Lambton farmers each produced, on average, 88.7 bushels of apples, compared to 33.6 in Simcoe and 7.3 in Lanark; and Lanark farmers had an average of twice as many acres in hay as the other two counties. As is seen in the preceding tables, Lambton farmers were heavily involved in fruit farming, and also specialized in chickens and other fowl. Simcoe represented a typical mixed farming area, with middling numbers in almost all categories. Lanark farmers, conversely, specialized in dairy cattle, sheep and pasture.

These figures invite some speculation. Clearly, the UFO attracted several types of farmers -- commercial agrarians, 'average' farmers, and marginal ones. Although this speaks well for the inclusiveness of the movement, perhaps the differing motives for becoming members and the different needs of each type of farmer may have also helped pull the political side of the movement apart. As will be argued in subsequent chapters, there was a slightly greater militancy in Lanark than in Lambton or Simcoe which may have been due, in part, to the less diversified and less prosperous rural economy. It may also explain, at least partly, why Lambton, with its greater level of professionalism and affluence, adhered more strongly to the principle of group government rather than to the notion of broadening out the movement so

as to include other, non-agricultural groups.

Composition and Character of UFO Membership

Methodology

Among the three counties under consideration, it appears in most cases that Lambton farmers had better and more productive land to work with than Simcoe farmers, and that Simcoe farmers enjoyed better conditions than farmers in Lanark. In fact, although Lanark farmers tended to operate larger farms than those in Simcoe and Lambton, their productivity was not as high as in the other two counties, and their average assets fell short as well. Although there were characteristics common to all three counties, each area was to at least some degree distinct. Were the differences among them reflected in each county's UFO membership? To attempt to answer this question one must turn to township assessment rolls and to assembled UFO membership lists.

In this section the task is to attempt to ascertain who joined the UFO in the counties under consideration. In order to make this determination for Lambton and Lanark, names were culled from local newspaper accounts of meetings for the period 1916 to 1930. In cases where there was ambiguity as to whether or not a person in attendance was a UFO member, the name was not used. The names that remained were then matched up with the pertinent entries in assessment records for selected townships in each county. In Lambton, the townships of Plympton, Bosanquet, Enniskillen, Warwick,

Brooke, Moore and Euphemia were utilized, and in Lanark, the townships examined included Ramsay, Drummond, Montague, Beckwith, North Elmsley, Lanark, Pakenham, North Burgess, Dalhousie and North Sherbrooke.³⁰ Matching up UFO members against literally thousands of names on assessment rolls is an extremely time-consuming task. Thus, in the case of Simcoe County, where the records of three local farmers' clubs exist, it was decided to focus only on those townships where these clubs were located. In effect, the Oro Station and Rugby UFO clubs in Oro Township, and the Edenvale UFO Club in Flos Township can be seen as a sort of 'control group' vis-à-vis the other counties. What follows should by no means be considered an exhaustive listing of UFO members in the three counties, but it certainly can be viewed as suggestive.

Using newspaper accounts to locate UFO members does, however, present certain problems. One of the major concerns is that many of those referred to in newspaper stories served, in some capacity, on the executives of local clubs. The danger, then, is that these members may have enjoyed a higher socio-economic status than rank and file members. Fortunately, the three extant minute books from Simcoe County provide lists of members elected to executive

³⁰ In Lambton, all but Sombra, Dawn and Sarnia townships were analyzed. In Lanark, the townships of Darling, Lavant, South Sherbrooke and Bathurst were not thoroughly analyzed because too few UFO members were located in these areas.

positions for each year, and these lists can be utilized to determine if local executive members were of a different socio-economic class from average members.

Assessment records are a rich source of information about individuals; they often include the age of the property owner, the number of acres owned, the number of acres cleared, the amount of non-productive land owned,³¹ in some cases the religious denomination of the property owner, and whether the occupant was an owner or leaser.³² That said, a number of caveats should be stated before

³¹ In the assessment used in this chapter, non-productive land was divided into three categories: woodland; slash; and swamp, marsh or wasteland. In the calculations that follow, these categories have been combined.

³² Assessment rolls were used in two important Ontario historical demographic studies, Michael Katz's The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975); and David Gagan's Hopeful Travellers: Families, Land, Social Change in Mid-Victorian Peel County, Canada West (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981). In his work, Gagan notes that assessment records for Peel County for the period in question were badly preserved, and were therefore of little value (p. 9). Katz had a different experience. He states that assessment rolls can "supplement the manuscript census with detailed economic information, usually about each adult member of the workforce (p. 18 -- see also pp. 19-20). Neither author, however, explores the problems associated with assessment rolls that are discussed here. A more recent example of the use of assessment rolls in a study is Michael Doucet and John Weaver Housing the North American City (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991). The authors refer to these records as "important research tools," (p. 471) but do not discuss some of the problems that they can create for researchers. For an example of what an extensive survey of assessment rolls can produce in rural history, see Peter A. Russell, "Upper Canada: A Poor Man's Country? Some Statistical Evidence," in Donald H. Akenson ed., Canadian Papers in Rural History Volume III (Gananoque: Langdale Press, 1982).

examining what assessment records can contribute to this study. First, although the rolls show what the assessor considered to be the value of property, specifically buildings and land, there was often no consistency in the evaluations made from one county to another or, for that matter, from one township to another. However, this does not create too great a problem for our purposes, as what is of interest here is not the intrinsic value of property, but only the relative value of UFO members' property as compared to that of non-members.

Second, assessors did not always record all of the information requested as per the pre-printed forms. In some townships, the religion of the owner was dutifully identified, whereas in others it was not noted. The same applies to the age of the owner, and to a number of other matters that are addressed below.³³

Assessment records present additional problems for those attempting to uncover data regarding an organization's members. In each of the three counties, some members could not be located, despite thorough and repeated efforts to do so. There are a number of reasons that may account for this. First, many farmers who joined the UFO may have found it more convenient to become members of clubs in a different

³³ Such problems are not unique to assessment rolls. The same problem with mid-nineteenth-century Canadian Census returns is noted in David Gagan, "Enumerator's Instructions for the Census of Canada 1852 and 1861," in Histoire sociale/Social History Vol. VII, No. 14, November 1974, p. 355.

county, especially if they lived close to county boundaries. This is certainly true in areas such as Smiths Falls, where, for example, the long-serving Smiths Falls UFO Club president, John Willoughby, lived in neighbouring Leeds-Grenville. Owing to time and financial constraints, searches were not undertaken of the assessment records of other counties.

As well, many of the members may have been farmers' sons, whose names did not always appear in assessment records. There were also several instances in which the names of farmers' daughters were located in newspaper accounts. In these cases it was impossible to match that person up with the parent who would have been listed in the assessment roll.

Third, there may also be a time factor involved. Again, owing to research constraints (plus a question of balance -- this thesis is not solely a demographic study), it was decided to use only one assessment roll for each township. An effort was made to choose rolls dating from around 1920, not only because these records were the most readily available, but also because the information they contain corresponds most closely with the 1921 Census of Canada data. The problem is, however, that a UFO member who left the area in 1919, or a farmer who moved to the area in 1925, would not be listed in a 1920 assessment roll.

Fourth, in many newspaper accounts of UFO meetings,

only the first initial of the member was used. Moreover, occasionally a person might be identified only as "Mr. Jones." As a result, it was not always possible to match up an individual, especially when the designation was "J. Wilson" or "D. Smith." In those cases, it seemed best to err on the side of caution and not just randomly select a corresponding name (out of many) from the assessment roll merely to have it included in the tables.

A final caveat bears mentioning here. Anyone who uses assessment records for statistical purposes invariably encounters problems of multiple ownership of property. In some instances, there were two or more individuals listed as owning one parcel of land; in others, two or more family members were listed as owners. The latter case is much easier to deal with: whenever a farmer and what is clearly his son are listed as joint owners, the entire value of the property has been included in the calculations. A determination was made for inclusion based on the assumption that the entire property would pass to that son on the death of the parent. In cases of two brothers co-owning a parcel of land, the value has been halved so as to more accurately reflect the wealth of each brother. In the instances of co-ownership by what seem to be two unrelated persons, the property value has been left as is, and a notation has been made.

Some further explanatory notes regarding methodology

are now in order. The method used for determining the socio-economic status of UFO members is fairly straight-forward. Known UFO members have been matched up with the entries pertaining to them in township assessment rolls. The numerical values ascribed to these individuals have been totalled (when appropriate) and then averaged out.

The results of these calculations, while providing some insights regarding UFO membership, do not reveal where members stood relative to other farmers in the townships in which they lived. In order to compile a manageable control group of non-members, a random selection of other farmers was assembled for each locality by selecting the first three farmer property-owners from each page of the township assessment rolls.³⁴ The decision to select three from each page was designed to provide a sampling of farmers from all areas of the township (because known UFO members were also themselves located in most parts of a given township) and to prevent focusing unintentionally on particularly wealthy or poor areas. The numerical values associated with these farmers were totalled and then averaged out. In cases where farmers were listed as tenants, or where there was some doubt as to whether or not the person enumerated was a

³⁴ Admittedly, some of these people may have been UFO members as well, but the purpose here is to identify a township average. If these people were UFO members, they were also residents of the township. To repeat, the purpose is to provide a general local scenario, not an in-depth study of the property-owning dynamics of each township.

practising farmer, the individuals were ignored in the control group, and the next farmer was selected.³⁵

Distinguishing Features of UFO Membership by County

Based on the data obtained through the survey of local assessment records, the overall county averages for Lambton and Lanark counties, and the averages for Oro and Flos townships, Simcoe County, are as follows:

Table 15
UFO and Non-UFO Membership -- Lambton and Lanark Counties
and Oro and Flos Townships -- Simcoe County

Lambton County

	UFO	Non-UFO
Number Identified	185	627
Avg. Age	44.74	47.94
Avg. Acres Owned	113.75	107.92
Avg. Acres Cleared	98.58	92.40
Avg. Acres Non-Prod.	15.17	15.52
Avg. Value Land	\$3,551.35	\$3,488.97
Avg. Value Buildings	\$ 692.45	\$ 687.09
Avg. Total Value	\$4,243.80	\$4,176.06

Lanark County

	UFO	Non-UFO
Number Identified	137	541
Avg. Age	46.06	48.63
Avg. Acres Owned	197.82	190.11
Avg. Acres Cleared	108.34	116.33
Avg. Acres Non-Prod.	89.48	73.78
Avg. Value Land	\$2,260.60	\$2,382.62
Avg. Value Buildings	\$ 740.00	\$ 659.96
Avg. Total Value	\$3,000.60	\$3,042.58

³⁵ The decision was made to use samples rather than to total all of the farm figures entered for township farmers after it was discovered that many irregularities exist in the assessment rolls. For example, some farms were run as estate farms or they were operated as corporations. Such farms were not included in the sample group. In addition, there were many examples of rather large farms owned by groups of people. These too have been eliminated, as have other atypical entries that might skew the results of the calculations.

Oro and Flos Townships -- Simcoe County

	UFO	Non-UFO
Number Identified	80	216
Avg. Age	39.60	47.26
Avg. Acres Owned	142.51	135.30
Avg. Acres Cleared	102.27	93.88
Avg. Acres Non-Prod.	40.24	41.42
Avg. Value Land	\$2,694.31	\$2,844.21
Avg. Value Buildings	\$ 809.10	\$ 800.84
Avg. Total Value	\$3,503.41	\$3,645.05

Source: Assessment rolls, UFO minute books, various newspapers (calculations by author).

Keeping in mind that these are aggregate averages, the results are nonetheless intriguing inasmuch as there are similar patterns exhibited in each county.

In Lambton, a total of 185 UFO members were identified, and a breakdown by township of those farmers is included in Appendices A to G. For those townships in which 15 or more UFO members were located, it can be seen that those members were fairly representative of the total farming population. That said, there was a tendency on the part of Lambton UFO members to be slightly better off than their non-UFO counterparts. In Warwick and Plympton townships, the difference in the value of property owned UFO members and non-members amounted to over \$300 on average, while in Bosanquet township the difference approached \$60.

In Lanark, a total of 137 UFO members was located, and a breakdown by township of these farmers is included in Appendices K to S (for townships in which 15 or more UFO members were located). It appears that, overall, UFO members

tended to be more or less representative of the general farm community.³⁶ In Ramsay Township, where the most UFO members were located, the average UFO member's farm was valued at \$3,933.15, while, on average, a member of the general population held a farm valued at \$3,664.21, a difference of \$268.91.³⁷ In Drummond Township, however, the UFO members located had, on average, assessed farm holdings worth less (on average, \$412.50 less) than the non-members sampled. Interestingly, in most cases UFO members tended to have smaller farm holdings with fewer acres cleared. As well, on average they held land and buildings worth considerably less than their counterparts in Lambton. Such figures may, however, be misleading. The smaller farms may have been on better quality land, and a different formula for valuation may have been employed in Lanark and Lambton counties. The only significant difference between UFO members and non-members relates to age. In townships where ages were recorded, UFO members tended to be younger than those sampled as non-members, which may also explain the fewer cleared acres on their farms.

³⁶ The townships of Dalhousie, North Sherbrooke, North Burgess, North Elmsley and Lanark are thus, excluded. Figures for these townships have been included, however, because they appear to support the findings for townships in which more than 15 UFO members were identified.

³⁷ As noted in Appendix K, part of the reason for the difference in average values is the fairly high values for farm buildings owned by UFO members. The values for land were very close.

It should be remembered that the UFO members found in both Lambton and Lanark were probably members of local club executives. Were those farmers better off than non-executive members? In order to test this possibility, one can profitably turn to the three UFO clubs in Simcoe County whose meeting minutes and membership lists are extant. First, it is necessary to ascertain how many members in each of these clubs served on the executive.³⁸ As seen in Table 16, a good percentage of members served in some capacity during the period in question.³⁹

Table 16
Percentage of Members Who Sat on the Executive of Three
Simcoe County UFO Clubs

	Total No. of Members	No. of Those Serving on Exec.	% of Total Serving on Exec.
Rugby	43	14	33%
Oro Station	61	24	39%
Edenvale	47	22	47%
Total	151	60	40%

Source: Minute books of the Rugby UFO (1920-30), Oro Station UFO (1917-30) and Edenvale UFO (1920-34) (calculations by author).

³⁸ In the case of the Oro Station UFO, the years 1917-30 were used for locating executive members. For the Edenvale UFO, the years 1920-34 were employed; and for Rugby, the years 1920-30 were used.

³⁹ Only those who served on the executive proper, and not those appointed to special committees or named as delegates to provincial or regional conventions, are enumerated in the tables. Granted, some members were virtual fixtures as executive members for many years, but the fact that so many people were able to have input at the executive level speaks well for the democratic spirit of each club.

Table 17
Property and Property Value Indicators
Executive and Non-Executive Members in Three Simcoe
County UFO Clubs

Rugby UFO Club

	Executive	Non-Executive
No. Identified	9	21
Avg. Age	36.38	41.33
Avg. Acres Owned	162.86	180.18
Avg. Acres Cleared	132.86	138.63
Avg. Non-Prod. Acres	30.00	41.55
Avg. Value, Land	\$2,146.43	\$2,553.13
Avg. Value, Buildings	\$ 896.43	\$1,012.50
Avg. Total Value	\$3,042.86	\$3,565.63

Oro Station UFO Club

	Executive	Non-Executive
No. Identified	15	19
Avg. Age	37.07	42.53
Avg. Acres Owned	143.08	140.94
Avg. Acres Cleared	119.08	110.41
Avg. Non-Prod. Acres	24.00	30.53
Avg. Value, Land	\$2,392.31	\$2,035.29
Avg. Value, Buildings	\$1,069.23	\$ 820.59
Avg. Total Value	\$3,461.54	\$2,855.88

Edenvale UFO Club

	Executive	Non-Executive
No. Identified	11	5
Avg. Age	40.82	53.40
Avg. Acres Owned	122.40	82.00
Avg. Acres Cleared	94.00	62.00
Avg. Non-Prod. Acres	28.40	20.00
Avg. Value, Land	\$3,850.00	\$1,700.00
Avg. Value, Buildings	\$ 810.00	\$ 733.33
Avg. Total Value	\$4,660.00	\$2,433.33

Source: Minute books of the Rugby UFO, Oro Station UFO, Edenvale UFO, and various assessment rolls (calculations by author).

Next, executive and non-executive members from these clubs were compared in a manner similar to that of farmers in the Appendices (see Table 17). In the case of the

Edenvale Club, executive members appear to have been much better off than non-executive members. A similar pattern -- although less marked -- exists in the case of the Oro Station Club. In Rugby, however, one finds the situation reversed, with executive members less well off than their non-executive counterparts. It is not known why Rugby exhibited this characteristic, and there is no way of determining whether it was merely an anomaly. If the Rugby situation was atypical, and if the Edenvale and Oro Station clubs can be taken as representative of UFO clubs throughout the province, then, if anything, the figures for assets owned by Lambton and Lanark UFO members might actually be inflated. In other words, the economic status of rank and file members (as opposed to those who served on club executives) might be demonstrably lower than indicated.

As was briefly alluded to above, the comparative averages calculated for UFO members and non-members reveal another interesting pattern: UFO members tended to be younger than the overall farm population. This trend is even more marked when one compares the ages of executive and non-executive members in the Edenvale, Rugby, and Oro Station clubs. Granted, the sample in this case is small but, assuming that the results are not anomalous and assuming that service on a club's executive indicates greater commitment to and activity in the UFO than general membership does, one can infer that the UFO was a young

person's movement. This feature of the movement invites some speculation. That youth was a defining characteristic could, for instance, reflect the idealism that pervaded the UFO. It could also represent an impatience -- generally associated with youth -- for change (and a conviction that change cannot be achieved through traditional avenues), a fickleness of political allegiance, or a propensity for early disillusionment. As studies have indicated, young voters tend to be more volatile in their political allegiances, having fewer preconceived notions and being more flexible in their partisanship, than older voters.⁴⁰ In addition, young voters tend to be more apathetic than older ones.⁴¹ As will be seen in the following chapters, all of these predilections found expression in the movement.

In addition to these differences in economic status and age between UFO members and non-members, one can also document variations in religious affiliation. Assessors enumerated enough UFO members by religion in Lanark (a total of 118) and in the two Simcoe County townships under consideration (a total of 71) to allow for a statistically

⁴⁰ See, for example, Harold D. Clarke, Jane Jenson, Lawrence LeDuc and Jon H. Pammett, Political Choice in Canada (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1979), pp. 381-8.

⁴¹ See, for example, Rick Van Loon, "Political Participation in Canada: The 1965 Election," Canadian Journal of Political Science, Vol. III, No. 3, September 1970, p. 389. See also Lester W. Milbrath, Political Participation: How and Why do People Get Involved in Politics? (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965), pp. 134-5.

meaningful comparison to be made between adherents to the movement and the general population.⁴² In making such a comparison in these localities one finds the following results.

Table 18
UFO Membership -- Breakdown by Religious Affiliation
Lanark County and Flos and Oro Townships

Lanark County

Religion	Number of UFO Members	% of UFO Members	% General Pop. in County
Presbyterian	65	55%	34%
Roman Catholic	18	15%	17%
Methodist	13	11%	17%
Anglican	13	11%	23%
Congregationalist	6	5%	1%
Holiness Movement	2	2%	1%
Baptist	1	1%	4%

Flos and Oro Townships

Religion	Number of UFO Members	% of UFO Members	% General Pop. in County
Presbyterian	46	65%	26%
Methodist	13	18%	27%
Anglican	5	7%	20%
Congregationalist	4	6%	1%
Roman Catholic	2	3%	17%
Baptist	1	1%	3%

Sources: Assessment Rolls, UFO minutes books, various newspapers (calculations by author).

In Lanark and the two Simcoe townships Presbyterians were significantly over-represented in the movement (as were Congregationalists, albeit to a lesser extent). Exactly why

⁴² Unfortunately, the religious affiliations of Lambton residents was not recorded by assessors at that time.

this was the case is difficult to assess, but one plausible explanation lies in the state of Presbyterianism at that time. As Richard Allen points out, Presbyterians made up a significant portion of Social Gospel adherents.⁴³ In addition, John S. Moir argues that, during the early 1920s, the denomination was embroiled in a highly divisive debate regarding Church Union. He contends that those who tended to support Union leaned towards the Social Gospel element of Presbyterianism to a greater extent than those who called for a separate Presbyterian Church.⁴⁴ Moir's argument is supported in more recent research undertaken by N. Keith Clifford, who further suggests that rural areas were more supportive of Union than urban centres. Hence, it seems logical, given the idealistic nature of Social Gospellers, that many of its adherents -- rural, pro-Union Presbyterians -- found their way into the UFO, a movement that, as is argued here, was also characterized by idealism.⁴⁵

Interestingly, Methodists, who played a significant role in the Social Gospel movement, were slightly under-

⁴³ Richard Allen, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-28 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), pp. 15-6.

⁴⁴ John S. Moir, Enduring Witness: A History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, New Edition (n.l., n.p., 1987), pp. 209-22.

⁴⁵ N. Keith Clifford, The Resistance to Church Union in Canada 1904-1939 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985), pp. 183-4. Richard Allen documents a strong link between the social gospel and the Progressives. On this connection in Ontario, see Allen, pp. 202, 211-2.

represented in the above membership figures. Even so, when one combines Presbyterian and Methodist membership in Table 18, one finds that these denominations accounted for 66% of UFO adherents in Lanark (as compared to their accounting for 51% of the general population) and 83% (as compared to 53%) in Simcoe. Obviously, the movement had a strongly evangelical composition.

Baptists were also under-represented in these membership figures, but not to the extent that Anglicans were. Why Anglicans accounted for such a small proportion of the UFO membership presented here is not known. However, if Richard Allen is correct in his assertion that, of all faiths, Anglicanism was among the least receptive to the Social Gospel movement, then one might hypothesize that this lack of receptivity to social activism determined, at least in part, low interest among Anglicans in the UFO.

Generally speaking,⁴⁶ though, it appears that the movement in Lanark and, to a lesser extent, Simcoe, was reasonably inclusive, especially in terms of bringing Protestants and Catholics together in a common cause -- no small accomplishment in a province where groups advancing religious and ethnic bigotry, such as the Orange Lodge,

⁴⁶ It should be kept in mind that Table 18 represents only 118 UFO members in Lanark County and 71 Simcoe County members. Hence, it should be seen as suggestive rather than definitive.

still held considerable political and social influence.⁴⁷

The above would appear to suggest that shared religious affiliation was a significant feature in the composition of the UFO. It seems likely that membership prompted by or based on physical proximity might also be a defining characteristic of the movement. The records of the three Simcoe County UFO clubs provide an opportunity to chart member pervasiveness. By matching up UFO farmers with assessment roll entries, one can obtain an idea of the proximity of members to one another. Figure 5 shows the location of identified members of the Rugby and Oro Station clubs in Oro Township. Farmers belonging to the Rugby Club are represented by an X and farmers belonging to the Oro Station Club are marked with an O.⁴⁸ As can be seen, members were clustered around the villages with which the clubs were associated and, in the immediate areas around each village, virtually every lot contained at least one person who at one time or another was a UFO member. The same pattern can be observed in the case of the Edenvale UFO

⁴⁷ R.S. Pennefather argues that the Orange Lodge played a "powerful role" in the 1923 defeat of the UFO/ILP Government. R.S. Pennefather, "The Orange Order and the United Farmers of Ontario 1919-1923," Ontario History, Vol. LXIX, No. 3, September 1977. As seen in Table 18, Roman Catholics and Anglicans were under-represented in the two Simcoe clubs, which may have been due to either few Catholics living near the clubs in question or to local bigotry.

⁴⁸ The number of marks on the map does not correspond to the number of farmers identified because farmers' sons sharing land with their fathers have not been noted.

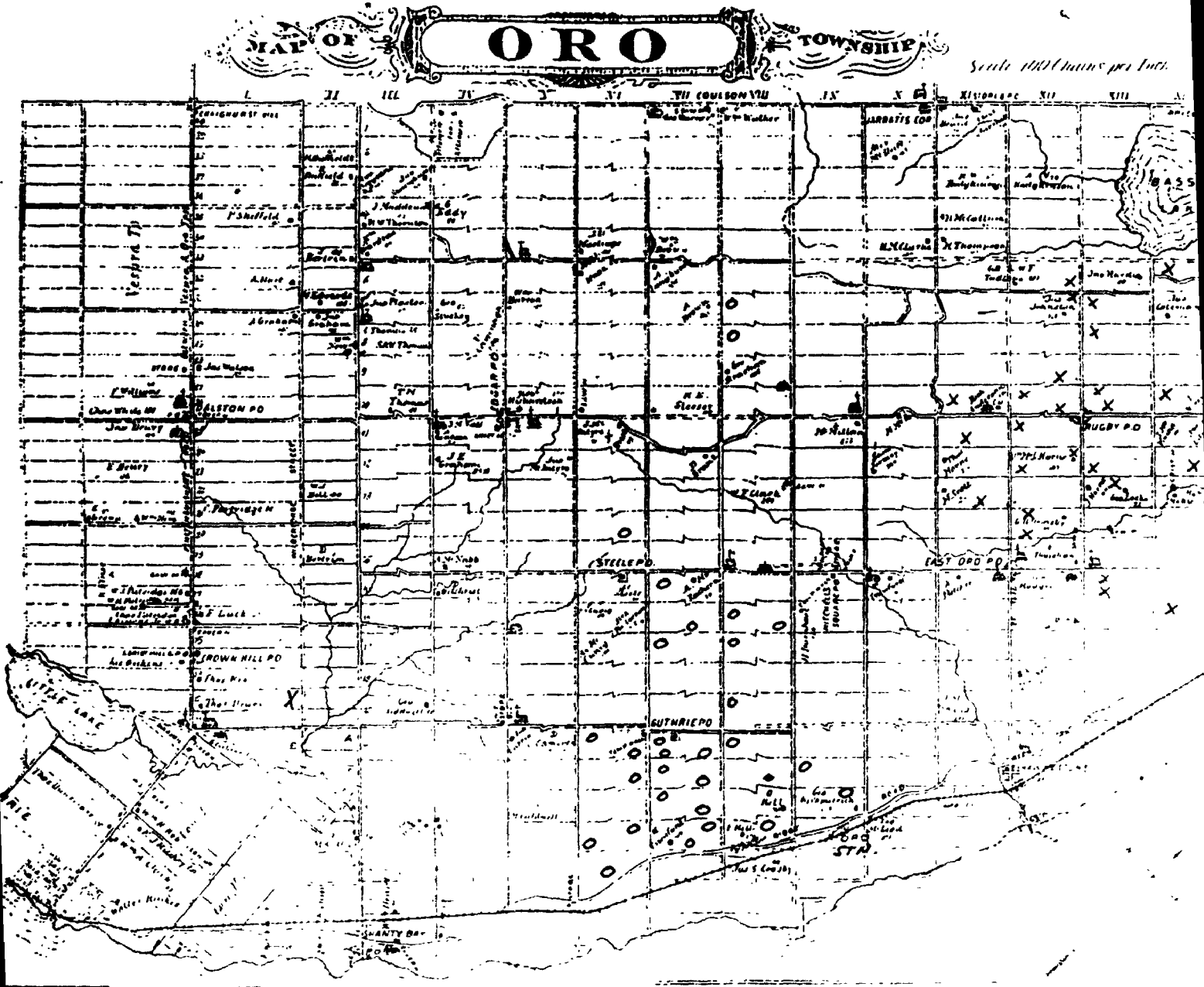
Club, as seen in Figure 6, where members are represented by an X. In many cases, neighbours were UFO adherents, although they may not have been active at the same time.

If one takes Simcoe to be a fairly typical county, then one can assume that such clusters existed around centres in Lambton and Lanark as well. In Lanark, these clusters must have been fairly large because, as will be seen in subsequent chapters, membership counts in UFO clubs in Carleton Place, Perth and Smiths Falls often exceeded 100. If the Simcoe UFO clubs were typical, and if clubs in Lambton and Lanark displayed similar characteristics, then the notion that the UFO was a pervasive organization is reinforced.

It should be kept in mind, however, that the maps are not an exact picture of membership in these clubs because many members have not been identified in the assessment rolls. Of the 61 members of the Oro Station UFO between 1917 and 1930, for example, only 29 are noted on the map. If the other 32 members were plotted on the map, then the pervasiveness of the movement would be even more apparent. The same can be said of the other two clubs.⁴⁹

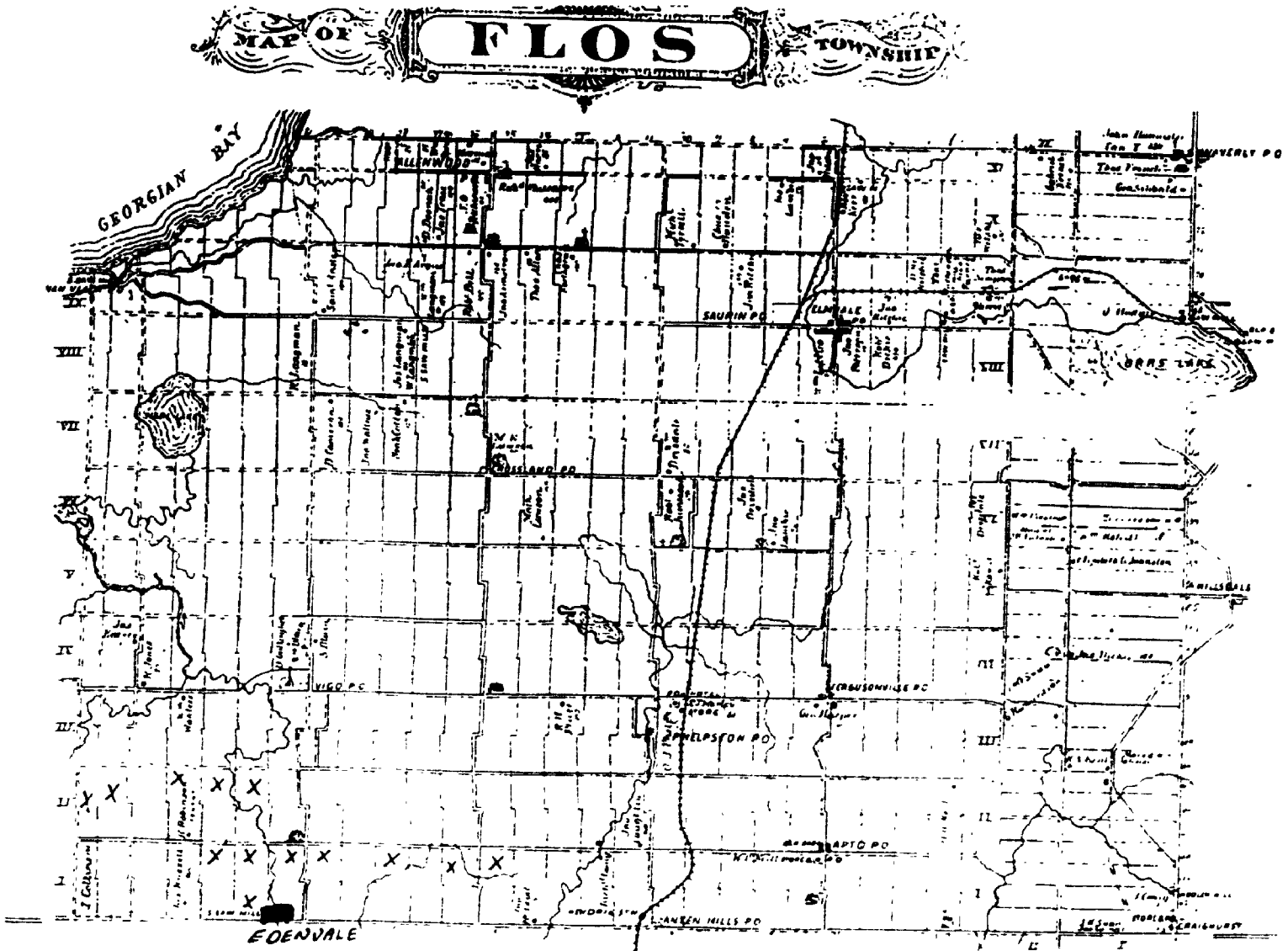
⁴⁹ Only 24 of the out of 43 total members have been plotted for the Rugby UFO, and only 13 out of 37 total members for the Edenvale UFO.

Figure 5
Rugby and Oro Station UFO Clubs Membership
Oro Township -- Simcoe County



Source: Assessment Rolls -- Oro Township
H. Belden & Co., Historical Atlas of Simcoe County

Figure 6
Edenvale UFO Club Membership
Flos Township -- Simcoe County



Source: Assessment Rolls -- Flos Township
H. Belden & Co., Historical Atlas of Simcoe County

Quite simply, although one can, in some cases, plot UFO members on maps, the pervasiveness of the movement in rural Ontario is impossible to measure with any degree of accuracy. It is not known, for example, how frequently a UFO member may have mentioned to a non-member neighbour that his club was about to purchase a large order of salt or binder twine, and how frequently, in such instances, the neighbour made a purchase through that member. Moreover, as will be seen in the chapter dealing with co-operative activity, some clubs actively encouraged non-members to make purchases through the local UFO. At best, one may suggest that the UFO was a strong presence in rural communities, at least in Lambton, Simcoe and Lanark counties. It is plain, however, from the examples of the three clubs in Simcoe County, as well as from other evidence to be cited below, that the number of farmers identified in the foregoing merely scratches the surface as far as membership goes. Even the figure of 60,000 members across the province at the UFO's peak cannot reflect the total number of members the movement had over the 30 years of its existence.

Although much can be learned from the preceding township figures, it should be kept in mind that the averages presented for each township are simply that -- averages. Such figures tend to mask one of the more persistent characteristics of the countryside -- inequality. As seen in many of the tables in the appendices, some

farmers were exceedingly well-off while others appear to have just barely scratched out a living. In Bosanquet Township, for example, one finds a farmer such as Nicholas Sitter, who with his wife controlled 292 acres of land (237 of which were cleared) worth over \$10,000, and buildings worth \$2,000. At the other extreme one finds farmers such as James Zavitz, a 53 year-old who owned 50 acres of land (45 of which was cleared) and whose total assessable assets were valued at \$1,850. In Ramsay Township one finds Hiram McCreary, whose land and buildings were assessed at \$7,800, and Dan McPhail, whose holdings were valued at \$1,500. In Flos Township, Newman Giffen had farm holdings assessed at \$10,600 and his brother, Henry, owned \$8,300 worth of land and buildings. On the other hand, Zeeman Rupert's 76-acre farm and buildings were valued, in total, at only \$2,700. And on and on. Moreover, these sorts of disparities were also found amongst the non-UFO members who farmed in these townships.

If those farmers with holdings of less than 100 acres relied solely upon their farms for their income, then they may have found themselves in what T. Robin Wylie termed a "poverty trap." A survey of dairy farms in Oxford County undertaken in 1917-18 showed that even in these enterprises, where acreage is not as important as it is for farms growing field crops for market, a holding of 100 acres netted its owner only \$1,296 that year, after expenses. According to

the survey, some farmers with less than 45 acres actually lost money. As A. Leitch of the Ontario Agricultural College (who oversaw the survey) pointed out, "Unless a man has an enormously large farm, it is impossible to make over \$2,000 (per annum) -- and that only by working 13 hours a day."⁵⁰ Other studies from around the same time confirmed Professor Leitch's conclusion -- a farmer had to work incredibly hard to make even a moderately-sized farm profitable. Even then, the net returns could be quite small. A survey of Caledon Township in Peel County showed that the annual net return for farmers in that township averaged less than \$1,000; in other words, less than the average annual income of an urban manual labourer. Surveys of Dundas, Middlesex, Dufferin and Wellington County farmers from around the same time provided the basis for similar conclusions.⁵¹

How, though, does this relate to the United Farmers of Ontario? Did the "poverty trap" have a bearing -- perhaps even a marked bearing -- on the character of the movement? The above clearly demonstrates that individuals with varying financial means joined the UFO. Rural society was stratified, and the composition of local clubs reflected this stratification. Despite the fact that rank and file UFO members might have been slightly less well-off than non-

⁵⁰ For a good account of these surveys, Wylie, pp. 296-9; Sun, 15 January 1919, p. 4; 22 January 1919, p. 4.

⁵¹ Most farmers, however, did not pay rent, and had lower food and heating costs.

members, economic status appears not to have been a determinant of membership. It also did not dictate the internal operations of the clubs. Admittedly, in many cases some of the more successful farmers occupied prominent positions in the local executives (or even at the central level). But, at the same time, in the actual day-to-day administration these people had, in theory, no more rights than other UFO members.

Of course, statistics cannot indicate why individuals joined the movement. In order to explain motivation, some speculation is necessary. Some farmers may have joined simply because the UFO offered them a professional association through which they could keep in touch with other farmers and remain current on issues affecting agriculture. However, this motivation probably did not account for many members, since there existed several professional associations in existence at that time that addressed the needs and concerns of particular farmers. Some undoubtedly became members in order to take advantage of the savings realized through the collective purchase of consumer goods and farm supplies and to take advantage of the potential profits that might be made through collective selling. One wonders, though, how strong this motivation was, especially since, as noted earlier, it has been documented that members both ordered consumer goods and farm supplies to other farmers in their localities, and marketed

some of the produce their neighbours wished to sell. This seems to have been the case when the neighbours were relatives. Yet, as is clearly seen in the lists of members in the appendices, there were many families in which there was more than one UFO member. Therefore, it is likely that there was more at work here than simply the desire to be a member of a professional organization or to maximize returns and lower prices for consumer goods and farm supplies.

Other factors may have prompted farmers to consider joining the UFO. Perhaps there was a certain amount of peer pressure, or perhaps being a member of a movement that was sweeping the province engendered a feeling of belonging. In addition, the social connection offered by the UFO could have been a strong motivational factor. Members of UFO clubs participated regularly in dances, picnics, suppers, meetings, and so on, which brought farmers together so that the monotony and drudgery of farm life could be forgotten, if only momentarily. As well, the clubs encouraged their members -- particularly the younger ones -- to compose essays, perform musical numbers, stage theatre productions, give speeches and sit on committees that were designed to benefit not only farmers but the larger community as well (their efforts included beautification projects, the erection of war memorials, famine and disaster relief, etc.). It seems likely that these benefits and activities were sufficiently appealing that they prompted some farmers

to join.

Finally, discontent in all of its various forms must have been a strong motivation for many who became members. One could have been outraged at the federal government for reneging on its promise to exempt farmers' sons from conscription; one may have been angered at the fact that the slaughter in the Great War did not result in the democracy that had been promised by political leaders; one could have been disgusted at the reported graft and corruption among politicians and business leaders; one could have been uneasy about the movement of people away from rural townships to the province's cities and towns; one could have been enraged at farmers' impotence with respect to playing any sort of a meaningful role in how their province and country were governed; or, perhaps, one could have been frustrated by what one perceived to be a lack of democracy in Ontario. In all of these scenarios, farmers may have felt that the best remedy was participation in and promotion of a mass democratic movement such as the UFO.

As is evidenced above, farmers in Lambton, Simcoe and Lanark counties faced circumstances, conditioned by the areas in which they lived, that were both similar and distinct. In terms of social composition, all three counties shared traits that were the norm throughout the older section of the province. They all, for example, were composed of people who were predominantly of British

heritage and Canadian birth; the populations of each of the three were split roughly equally between urban and rural residents; a few religious denominations dominated in each jurisdiction; and the rural areas in all three counties were experiencing declines in total population. At the same time that they shared these traits, however, there were also differences. Lanark farms tended to be larger than those in Lambton or Simcoe, but were, on the whole, less productive and less valuable. Lambton farmers enjoyed not only better quality soil but also greater choice with respect to what they might grow. Simcoe County farmers were only slightly worse off in this regard.

Some of this may have influenced the composition of certain UFO clubs. In several of the less well-off townships of Lanark County, UFO members tended to be poorer than their colleagues. In other areas, where a certain amount of prosperity was enjoyed, there was a tendency for UFO members to be slightly better-off than their counterparts along the concessions. However, overall -- that is, considering both executive and rank and file members -- it appears that a UFO farmer in all three counties was as close to an average farmer as one could be.

The foregoing helps describe who UFO members were and the settings in which they found themselves, but it cannot address some of the more intangible aspects of the movement. The chapters which follow are taken up with this task.

Chapter 3

Ringing out the Narrowing Lust of Gold and Ringing in the Common Love of Good: The Rise of the UFO

(The 'Big Interests') prate about restored prosperity and a full dinner pail, as if that was all you need.

From the Manifesto of the Smiths Falls
Progressive Committee, 1921¹

Introduction

The growth of the UFO -- culminating in the movement's 1919 electoral victory in Ontario and its strong showing in the 1921 federal election -- and the interpretations that have been offered to explain this growth were addressed in the introductory chapter. This chapter moves beyond macro-theories and examines the specific character that the UFO assumed in Lambton, Lanark and Simcoe counties during the time of the movement's dramatic rise. Since, as is contended here, the period represented what Goodwyn would call "the movement educating" where members self-consciously developed an awareness and critique of the "prevailing forms of economic power and privilege" in society, the chapter begins with an account of what farmers were saying about particular issues.² It then moves to an examination of how, as they gained confidence and determination, farmers found concrete expression for their views, most notably in their spirited

¹ Smiths Falls Record-News, 6 December 1921, p. 5.

² Lawrence Goodwyn, The Populist Moment: A Short History of the Agrarian Revolt in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. xxi.

participation in the 1919 and 1921 election campaigns. Finally, it explores UFO members' attempts to develop alliances with Labour as they worked to implement their ideas.

Throughout the period 1919-21 UFO members were increasingly suspicious of and oftentimes outrightly hostile toward not only politics as it was practised in specific instances, but also established power in all of its various forms. The structures that farmers felt wielded inordinate influences -- the old political parties, corporations and the media -- were often referred to collectively as the 'Big Interests'. But even though UFO members concluded that these 'Big Interests' were responsible for much of the malaise that they saw around them and, as a result, their special privileges had to be withdrawn and their abuses of power countered, the movement, in the words of Sunnidale Corners UFO Club members, "represented far more than a few disgruntled people wishing to teach the older parties a lesson," and more than a demand for occupational rights. It represented, more properly, "a great awakening."³ UFO president R.H. Halbert threw out a challenge:

Canada was...in a period of reconstruction, and were the farmers going to contribute anything to the moulding of public opinion that in reconstruction, the common people might get a square deal?...Great issues were at stake today, and the next few years would determine the future of Canada. Had the farmers the courage to face the

³ Sun, 21 August 1920, p. 7.

future with the inspiration of a great purpose or would they let past and present conditions go on?⁴

And farmers responded to that challenge. They hoped, like he did, "to see the day of co-operation among the common people" and, to ensure the arrival of that day, they invested significant time and effort not only toward devising corrective measures for specific problems, but also toward 'redeeming' society as a whole.

At first, members' comments on the issues of the day were tentative, and one's initial impression is that they were often merely reiterations of assertions made by the central leadership, assertions which were, at that time, infused with fierce rhetoric. However, given the frequency and intensity of their speeches, one wonders about the extent to which UFO leaders said what they thought members wanted to hear. Perhaps the rank and file did have their own informed, strongly-held views. Certainly over time -- particularly during the 1921 campaign -- as farmers became more sure of themselves, they began to articulate their own vision of a new democracy.

In effect, the 1919 and 1921 election campaigns marked a turning point for UFO members. The Liberal and Conservative parties had failed "to play square with the common people" and, as a result, "independent political

⁴ Smiths Falls Record-News, 1 September 1921, pp. 1, 7.

action seemed to be the only course open to them."⁵ Once they had decided to take that course, the campaigns then provided the context for farmers' discovering that there were others, besides themselves, who were dissatisfied with the status quo and for their endeavouring to establish alliances with dissatisfied groups. And they also gave UFO members the opportunity to attempt to play a more meaningful rôle in how they were governed. The UFO rank and file laboured, with energy and enthusiasm, to create an alternative societal structure that would allow 'ordinary people' to participate in the formulation of public policy. In sum, Ontario farmers were experimenting with dissension in their critique of the status quo and they were giving expression to idealism in their attempts to develop and implement an alternative vision. The early 1920s was indeed an exciting time to be a member of the UFO.

There is another, equally important aspect of the UFO that is examined -- although only briefly and, with respect to some themes, only implicitly -- in this chapter, the life of the local club. Although much has been written on the rise of the UFO as a political force in the province, very little attention has been paid to the local clubs. How were they structured? What transpired at meetings? What issues were perceived to be important, and how were they approached? What sorts of proposals did rank and file

⁵ Orillia Times, 24 November 1921, p. 4.

members advance? These and other questions are addressed in this chapter.

Before proceeding, a few points, both methodological and theoretical, need to be made. First, there is scant pre-1919 documentation relating to UFO clubs.⁶ Prior to its contesting the 1919 election, even local newspaper coverage of the UFO was sparse. Local records, where they do exist, consist largely of membership lists and brief minutes of meetings. Hence, little attention is paid here to the movement before 1919, aside from rural/urban tensions and the UFO's stand on conscription -- two issues that were covered relatively extensively by the media.

Second, it will be noted that there are frequent references to UFO leaders in this chapter, particularly for the 1919 period. The decision to write with such an emphasis was made with reluctance but, given the scarcity of local sources, there was no other recourse. Quite simply, the words of the movement's leadership were recorded much more frequently than those of rank and file members. Their speeches are not without merit and, in this context, have utility since they convey the ideas which were current at

⁶ As T. Robin Wylie points out, from 1914 to 1916 the UFO "barely existed as an entity independent of the United Farmers' Co-operative Company. What actions it did take were of a lobby character, presenting the annual convention resolutions to the appropriate level of government and passing on petition initiatives." Wylie, "Direct Democrat: W.C. Good and the Ontario Farm Progressive Challenge, 1895-1929," PhD Thesis, Carleton University, 1991, pp. 327-8.

the time, the ideals to which average members were exposed. It may be difficult to determine the extent to which members of the UFO 'elite' were sincere in their opinions, but it is irrefutable that their speeches had a profound impact on local farmers. Through its pronouncements, the UFO leadership helped to provide rank and file members with the means to express their discontent, and by 1921 these same members -- including farmers in Lambton, Simcoe and Lanark -- were using the movement to advance their societal critique.

The Growth and Operations of Local Clubs

The UFO experienced exponential growth during the First World War. In February 1915 membership stood at roughly 2,000, but by 1916 the number had climbed to 5,000. In December 1917 there were an estimated 25,000 members in over 1,000 clubs. Expansion continued at such a steady pace that in 1919 the UFO could boast of some 48,000 members. The movement reached its high-water mark after the 1919 provincial election; some 10⁶ new UFO branches were established in 1920 alone, and membership reached approximately 60,000.⁷ According to one contemporary estimate, the total UFO membership that year represented approximately one-third of the total number of farmers in

⁷ Louis Aubrey Wood, A History of Farmers' Movements in Canada (Toronto: Ryerson, 1924 -- reprinted by University of Toronto Press, 1973), pp. 276, 282-3.

the province.⁸ It would appear that the actual figure may have been closer to 20% but, as mentioned in Chapter 2, there was some turnover in membership, which means that more than 60,000 farmers were members.⁹ Moreover, as noted when measuring the pervasiveness in the movement, the UFO had an impact even on non-members.

Clearly this increased support for the UFO resulted from opportunism on the part of some, given the election of the Drury Government. But it is likely that the majority of the new members were motivated by a sense of optimism that had been generated by the movement, an optimism that manifested itself in increased involvement in the discussion and debate of public policy issues with the goal of infusing the political system with popular participation.

Provincial figures do not reveal much, however, about the growth the movement experienced at the local level, particularly with respect to Lambton, Simcoe and Lanark counties. Exact membership figures for most clubs are difficult to ascertain, but in Lambton there were four UFO clubs in the Forest area alone by July 1915, and within two

⁸ Collingwood Bulletin, 19 February 1920, p. 2.

⁹ According to Ian Drummond, in 1921 there were some 295,000 people engaged in agriculture in Ontario. If there were 60,000 UFO members at that time, then members equalled roughly 20% of the agricultural population. Ian M. Drummond, Progress Without Planning: The Economic History of Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), p. 362.

years membership in and around Forest numbered some 300.¹⁰ By late 1919 there were over 75 UFO clubs in the County.¹¹ If the average membership of each club in Lambton was 30, then the County membership was roughly 2,250. In Simcoe, although the UFO was not a significant force in the County prior to 1917, new clubs emerged soon after. The Guthrie Farmers' Club affiliated with the UFO in 1918,¹² and new clubs were formed in Loretta, Kirkville and McMurchy's Settlement that same year.¹³ In 1919 it was estimated that there were some 600 UFO members in the provincial riding of South Simcoe.¹⁴ In Lanark, the Carleton Place UFO Club had over 100 members by early 1919, and was approaching the 200

¹⁰ Sun, 7 July 1915, p. 5; 4 July 1917, p. 5.

¹¹ Ibid., 2 April 1919, p. 10; 26 November 1919, p. 10. See also Forest Standard, 22 June 1916, p. 2. New clubs were formed as late as 1921, such as one near Wanstead, Lambton County. Sun, 12 January 1921, p. 7; Forest Standard, 20 June 1921, p. 1.

¹² Orillia Times, 14 February 1918, p. 2.

¹³ Over 60 farmers joined at the inaugural meeting of the Loretta Club. Sun, 12 June 1918, p. 3. On the other clubs, see Collingwood Enterprise, 8 August 1918, p. 1; Sun, 2 April 1919, p. 3. The Edenvale Club affiliated with the UFO in April 1919. Simcoe County Archives (SCA), Minute Book of the Edenvale Farmers' Club/ UFO (henceforth Edenvale Minutes), 9 April 1919. Distinguishing between UFO and Farmers' Clubs tends to down-play the influence that the UFO had in a community. The Oro Station Farmers' Club, well before affiliating with the UFO, sent delegates to local UFO conventions and formally supported UFO candidates in the 1919 provincial election. SCA, Minute Book of the Oro Station Farmers' Club/UFO (henceforth Oro Station Minutes), 22 July 1919, 2 October 1919, 6 November 1919.

¹⁴ Collingwood Enterprise, 2 October 1919, p. 4.

mark by June of that year. The clubs in and around Pakenham at that time had over 200 members,¹⁵ and Farmers' Clubs throughout the County continued to affiliate with the UFO.¹⁶ One UFO member estimated that there were 900 UFO members in Lanark in 1919.¹⁷ By 1921, the County sported 18 clubs, many of which had memberships of over 100.¹⁸

Membership figures tell only part of the story regarding local connection with and involvement in the UFO. Picnics and other social events could, and often did, attract thousands of people.¹⁹ These events brought

¹⁵ Sun, 2 April 1919, p. 10; 11 June 1919, p. 10. According to the Lanark agricultural representative, the average attendance for Carleton Place UFO Club meetings was well over 70 in 1921. Archives of Ontario (AO), RG 16, Series G-5-1, "Annual Reports of Agricultural Representatives 1907-1969," MS 597, Reel 30, "Lanark 1921-22," p. 16.

¹⁶ The Ramsay Farmers' Club formally affiliated with the UFO in early 1919, although it had been connected unofficially for some time. Almonte Gazette, 21 March 1919, p. 4.

¹⁷ Smiths Falls Record-News, 16 September 1919, p. 1; Carleton Place Herald, 17 September 1919, p. 1; Almonte Gazette, 19 September 1919, p. 1. It was also noted that, at that time, there were 3,873 rural voters on the polling lists. If these figures are fairly accurate, then one can assume that a significant percentage of households had more than passing familiarity with the UFO.

¹⁸ Perth Courier, 30 January 1920, p. 3.

¹⁹ Accounts of 'monster' picnics abound in newspaper accounts. See, for example, Collingwood Enterprise, 10 July 1919, p. 1, where it was noted that a UFO picnic in Simcoe that month attracted 3,000 people. In 1917 the second annual Forest United Farmers' Association picnic in 1917 had an attendance of roughly 5,000. Forest Standard, 5 July 1917, p. 2. The Ramsay Farmers' Club picnic in 1921 drew an estimated 2,000 people. Almonte Gazette, 17 June 1921, p. 1. Even the relatively small Jarratt UFO Club in Simcoe held a picnic in

farmers and their families together, thus relieving the isolation many of them felt. They also allowed UFO members and non-members alike to share ideas about politics, economics, and other issues of the day.

How did the clubs operate? It appears that local members had the autonomy to structure their clubs and meetings however they pleased, within some broad boundaries. Extant minute books provide few clues about matters as basic as the duration of meetings. In many instances, though, at least a part of each club meeting was devoted to co-operative buying and selling. After that business part of the gathering was concluded, it appears that there was no pre-ordained structure dictating how the meeting should proceed. A guest speaker -- ranging from a central UFO personality to the local agricultural representative -- might say a few words; a local issue might be discussed; a committee might report on its work; electoral strategy might be formulated; or a number of other matters might be addressed. In short, meetings were what local members wanted them to be.

Considering that the UFO was essentially a young person's movement, it is not surprising that clubs involved themselves in many initiatives related to self-improvement, sport, and entertainment. Some clubs held regular debates,

1921 that generated some \$400. Orillia Times, 23 June 1921, p. 2.

so that farmers could discuss contemporary issues, and develop elocution skills. As one local member put it, "if we could all speak in public, it would make a great difference in the way politicians and town folk think of us."²⁰ In some localities, sporting clubs or even sports leagues were organized.²¹ Other clubs, such as the Kinnaird UFO in Lambton, formed literary societies which staged readings, recitations and concerts in front of large and appreciative audiences.²² Even if some clubs were not this ambitious, most still featured annual musical or dramatic performances. In some localities, committees were struck to address specific issues.

In their role as service organizations, UFO clubs often went beyond addressing the needs of their members to act on behalf of the larger community. In Simcoe, for instance, the Rugby Club was instrumental in erecting a monument to those

²⁰ Collingwood Bulletin, 3 April 1919, p. 3. The passage comes from an article in that newspaper which was written in the form of a conversation between a UFO member and a non-member. No other version of this article was found in any of the other newspapers surveyed, which suggests that it was produced locally.

²¹ The Stroud UFO in Simcoe organized a curling club. Collingwood Saturday News, 22 January 1921, p. 4. In many counties baseball and/or hockey leagues were formed. Almonte Gazette, 17 June 1921, p. 5; Forest Standard, 4 August 1921, p. 1; Sun, 13 January 1921, p. 1; 27 January 1921, p. 6.

²² Forest Standard, 14 March 1918, p. 6.

from the village who had served in the Great War.²³ With a similar community focus, members of the Lanark County Cedar Hill UFO Club explored the possibility of obtaining electricity for the locality, entering into negotiations on the matter with G. Arthur Burgess, the mayor of Carleton Place.²⁴

In addition to providing services, the clubs were also, of course, politically active. In Lambton, for instance, there was a county-wide legislative committee, which was designed to handle all complaints farmers had with public policy by taking "the cases up directly with Ottawa."²⁵ And, in addition to being social events, the annual picnics and special winter-month suppers that virtually all UFO clubs staged had political overtones, even in non-election years.²⁶ Speaking at a Forest picnic in 1918 Arthur Hawkes of Toronto claimed, for instance, that many of the freedoms for which previous generations had fought were in a fragile

²³ Other UFO clubs in the area apparently assisted the Rugby Club in this initiative. Simcoe County Archives (SCA), Minute Book of the Rugby UFO (henceforth Rugby Minutes), 9 May 1921.

²⁴ Almonte Gazette, 5 August 1921, p. 1. The club invited Dr. A.A. Metcalfe of Almonte to advise it on the subject, and he told members that "where there was a waterpower in a municipality which could be developed at a reasonable price the people of that municipality should take it up and develop it themselves...and not depend upon the Hydro Electric Commission." Nothing came of this initiative.

²⁵ Ibid., 11 July 1918, p. 1.

²⁶ See, for example, SCA, Rugby Minutes, 19 December 1921.

state in Canada:

Speaking of the injustice of the censorship, the practical suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and the curbing of free speech, he was of the opinion that we should be careful that the freedom for which our boys are fighting in the fields of Flanders is not surrendered here.²⁷

Indeed, such declarations -- both insightful and admonitory -- permeated the UFO milieu.

Development of Societal Critique

As was mentioned above, the period under review was, to use Goodwyn's designation, one of the "movement educating," when the UFO rank and file attained "a heretofore culturally unsanctioned level of social analysis."²⁸ During the First World War, farmers in Lambton, Simcoe and Lanark grew increasingly uncomfortable with the restrictions placed upon them by the state -- the prime issue being, of course, the revocation of conscription exemptions -- and one detects early grumblings against established power. Then, at the prompting of movement leaders such as Drury who insisted that it was vital for all UFO clubs to "thoroughly study and discuss the affairs of the country (so that) they may be able...to discharge their great duty to the cleaning up of the affairs of Canada"²⁹ and through the efforts of these leaders to expose UFO members to a host of new ideas,

²⁷ Sun, 10 July 1918, p. 7.

²⁸ Goodwyn, p. xviii.

²⁹ Collingwood Bulletin, 10 July 1919, p. 4.

farmers began to formulate their own critique. At first they presented their views, whether they related to the bias that permeated the urban press or to the country's inherently corrupt political system, hesitantly and cautiously. Gradually, however, they became more forceful since, as one member noted, the issue had never been intelligence or resolve but confidence.³⁰ Indeed, their confidence in their own abilities grew to such an extent that at one Simcoe County meeting UFO president R.H. Halbert was denounced as being a detriment to the movement because he tended to stifle independent thought.³¹ Certainly, by the 1920s farmers were formulating and expressing their views quite spontaneously, so much so that one UFO MPP, W.I. Johnson, expressed pleasure at the way in which they were "studying the affairs of the world today more than ever before (and) were doing their own thinking."³²

The following is an account, by specific theme, of the development of UFO members' societal critique. Rural/urban tensions will be addressed first, followed by individual treatments for conscription, the tariff, the 'Big Interests', the old political parties, and prohibition.

Rural/Urban Tensions

³⁰ "What the farmer lacks is not ability but confidence in his own ability." Lanark Era, 11 September 1918, p. 8.

³¹ Collingwood Bulletin, 4 September 1919, p. 4.

³² Smiths Falls Record-News, 24 August 1920, p. 5.

The tensions between rural and urban society have been described in several works on the UFO.³³ Briefly, there was concern on the part of many farmers that cities were draining rural areas of both their sons and their farm labourers. Equally important, many farmers believed that urban centres, which held political influence that was disproportionate to their share of the population, were gaining even more power over the formulation of public policy. In response, UFO members often pointed to these inequities, and argued that cities -- with their slums, abject poverty and loose morals -- were the areas where many societal problems had their origins.

Although some fuel for these views was provided by the Sun³⁴ and by UFO leaders,³⁵ the distrust of urban society originated largely with farmers themselves, based on their

³³ See W.R. Young, "Conscription, Rural Depopulation, and the Farmers of Ontario, 1917-19," Canadian Historical Review, Vol. LIII, No. 3, September 1972; Jean MacLeod, "The United Farmer Movement in Ontario, 1914-1943," MA Thesis, Queen's University, 1958, pp. 36-42.

³⁴ See, for example, Sun, 16 May 1917, p. 5 for an article entitled "Hustling the Ontario Farmers," and 24 September 1919, p. 1, for the article "Stacking the Deck Against Agriculture." In the latter article it was noted that the Fair Price Commission that had been appointed to set the price of milk in Toronto, the Wheat Board, and the National Industrial Conference of 1919 were all dominated by urban interests.

³⁵ Hiram McCreary, UFO MPP for North Lanark, often alluded to the subject. See, for example, his comments in Smiths Falls Record-News, 18 October 1921, pp. 1, 5. See also the comments of South Lanark UFO MPP W.I. Johnson. Almonte Gazette, 4 February 1921, p. 1.

own experiences. One Lanark County farmer was bemused when he and his 'hayseed' colleagues heard of the proposal, put forward by a group of urban businessmen, that farmers should be compelled to raise all the livestock they possessed to maturity. "Alas," he wrote, "it takes more than wind to feed these animals and fowl."³⁶ Tensions resulted, in part, from bad press farmers frequently received in newspapers. A columnist for a Smiths Falls paper claimed that UFO members were convinced that city people "were lying awake at night plotting against their peace and happiness."³⁷

Rural/urban tensions were clearly evidenced in the 'Patriotism and Production' campaign, a federal/provincial initiative designed to facilitate farmers' increasing production, thus satisfying wartime demand. Some farmers complained that urbanites called for greater production, but

³⁶ Carleton Place Herald, 8 May 1917, p. 5. On urban perceptions of farmers, see Royce MacGillivray, The Slopes of the Andes: Four Essays on the Rural Myth in Ontario (Belleville: Mika Publishing, 1990), ch. 3. Distrust towards urban society sometimes took more subtle forms. For example, a UFO convention in Lanark County in 1919 started at 1:00 p.m. Standard Time because the members "were determined to have nothing to do with the troublesome 'new time'." Almonte Gazette, 3 October 1919, p. 3. Earlier that year Oro Station UFO members in Simcoe County had sent a petition to the federal Minister of Agriculture registering their displeasure at the imposition of Daylight Saving Time. SCA, Oro Station Minutes, 6 February 1919.

³⁷ Smiths Falls Record-News, 8 September 1921, p. 3. For additional comments on urban/rural tensions, see Chapter 5.

did little or nothing to assist them in attaining that goal.³⁸ Many others protested in silence by treating the entire effort with indifference.³⁹ Farmers often argued that they were doing their best to increase production during the War, and the notion that they needed to be told by urban-based bureaucrats to heighten their efforts undoubtedly created resentment not only toward those implementing the program but also toward urbanites in general.

Much of the hostility that farmers exhibited towards urban society was undeniably a self-defence mechanism. Cities, with all their conveniences and employment opportunities, presented an attractive alternative to farm

³⁸ See, for example, the comments of John M. Houldershaw of Simcoe County. Sun, 9 May 1917, p. 3. Henry John Pettypiece, editor of the Forest Free Press and staunch supporter of the UFO, was a persistent critic of the campaign. See, for example, Ibid., 17 February 1915, p. 3; 30 August 1916, p. 3; Forest Standard, 12 July 1917, p. 4. During the War Pettypiece heaped derision on Canada's judges for not giving up part of their salary (though they made between \$7-10,000 annually) and yet telling others that sacrifices had to be made. Sun, 22 March 1916, p. 3. The campaign does not fall within the scope of this thesis, but enough literature exists in the pages of the Sun and local weeklies to justify a separate research project. On Pettypiece, see Wood, pp. 152-3. Pettypiece sat as Liberal MPP for East Lambton from 1898 to 1905, and often championed farmers' causes.

³⁹ As Robin Wylie points out, of the 10,000 war production questionnaires sent to farmers by the Hearst Government in 1917, only 130 were returned. In addition, "mass production rallies elicited virtually no farmer participation ... a province wide rally at Massey Hall saw farmers represented by the Department of Agriculture officials." Wylie, p. 285. For examples of local indifference, see Almonte Gazette, 5 March 1915, p. 1; SCA, Oro Station Minutes, 11 December 1917.

life for rural youth. To counter their allure, it was believed that the benefits of rural living needed to be espoused, and there was no better way of accomplishing this than setting up a negative comparison. Given the prevailing view that there was something about rural life that made it morally superior to city life, mounting such a 'campaign' was not difficult.⁴⁰ Farm residents saw the unfolding of nature on a daily basis, and were thus, so the argument went, much closer to natural ways. This notion was widely promoted. So too was the idea that rural society escaped the moral decay and corruption that had emerged in urban areas.

One of the effects of pitting rural and urban forces against one another was that farmers were able to conceive of their plight as something that originated elsewhere. The city, with its concentrations of wealth, power and political influence, was surely responsible for at least some of the problems farmers faced. Although the act of casting urban society in an unfavourable light did much to bolster farmers' self-confidence -- it inculcated them with a sense of pride for their calling -- harbouring such views was also problematical. In the case of UFO members, as will be seen, antipathy towards cities and ascribing blame to urbanites made forming alliances with labour groups very difficult, as

⁴⁰ For an earlier articulation of the 'agrarian myth' by Ontario farmers, see Russell Hann, Farmers Confront Industrialism: Some Historical Perspectives on Ontario Agrarian Movements (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1975), pp. 10-5.

if it was not difficult enough without adding further strains.

Many farmers believed that urban residents saw them as uncultured and uneducated rubes. Such beliefs led many farmers to look upon relatively innocuous initiatives with jaded eyes. In 1918, for instance, the provincial Department of Agriculture sent farmers calendars which contained farming tips, dates of agricultural meetings, and so on.⁴¹ One Lanark recipient claimed that these calendars were an insult to farmers' intelligence, and wondered why other classes had not been sent similar publications.⁴² Other farmers echoed his views, questioning how anyone could not take statements such as "do not kick over the lantern" and "this is a good month to oil the harness" as anything but condescending.⁴³ That the calendars cost the province some \$18,000 to produce and distribute merely added to the outrage many farmers felt, not to mention the credibility that this fact lent to their argument that the exercise was nothing more than a blatant and cynical vote-buying effort on the part of the Hearst Administration.⁴⁴

Conscription

⁴¹ Orillia Packet, 7 February 1918, p. 8.

⁴² Almonte Gazette, 28 March 1919, p. 2.

⁴³ Collingwood Bulletin, 16 October 1919, p. 5; Almonte Gazette, 31 October 1919, p. 7.

⁴⁴ Perth Courier, 3 October 1919, p. 3.

Clear evidence -- at least as far as farmers were concerned -- of urban ignorance of rural conditions emerged during the debate about whether or not Canada should conscript men for service in the Great War. In the view of farmers, distant bureaucrats, who had no knowledge of what they endured, were regularly making decisions that affected their ability to perform their vocation. And to make matters worse, despite telling farmers that more crops needed to be grown, the government was contemplating taking away their most valuable means of increasing production, their sons and their hired labour. It is no wonder that farmers' sentiments boiled over as it became increasingly obvious that some form of conscription would be introduced.

Although they risked being labelled unpatriotic, a significant proportion of Ontario farmers responded angrily to conscription. For many, it was their first experience with outright dissension. They viewed the actions of the government as arbitrary, unfair, ignorant, and undemocratic, and they let their opinions be known. The whole situation ultimately provided some important insights and lessons for UFO members. Indeed, it could be argued quite plausibly that the fight over conscription induced many members to begin questioning other 'truths' that were central to the society in which they found themselves.

Even before conscription was extended to farm-help and farmers' sons, there was grumbling among farmers regarding

the government's expectations of them. By late 1917, for example, it had become common practice for military tribunals to use the ratio of a 'man-and-a-half per 100 acres' as somehow being a sufficient measure of manpower required to raise and harvest crops. 'A Farmer Who Is Awake' in Simcoe County asked why farmers had not been consulted when this ratio had been determined. Comparing farms to factories, he inquired whether any other manufacturers would "allow themselves to be treated with such contempt, and not even demand a voice in the councils that deal with their vital interests, their rights, their very self-respect?"⁴⁵

By late 1917 many farmers had begun to doubt the sincerity of the Union Government's promise not to conscript farmers' sons.⁴⁶ Local response was vehemently negative. In November 1917, for instance, the Ferth Farmers' Club held a meeting on the subject, which was attended by some 500 people. A petition protesting "the manner in which the loc ?

⁴⁵ Sun, 28 November 1917, p. 3. Apparently, the 'man-and-a-half per 100 acres' was determined by a Lieut.-Col. Smith, who sat on the military tribunal for the London district. Originally set at a man-and-a-half per 150 acres, he later modified it to 100 acres. The rate, however, was not an official one. Local tribunals set their own ratios, but it appears that many followed London's lead. Ibid.

⁴⁶ Suspicions remained despite assurances to the contrary in the press. In December 1917 the Forest Standard confidently reported that Justice Duff's judgement as Central Appeal Judge for Canada "makes it quite clear that farm workers are entitled to exemption on the grounds that production must be maintained...This judgement of the Appeal Judge is binding as law upon appeal tribunals and local tribunals throughout the country." Forest Standard, 13 December 1917, p. 3; 27 December 1917, p. 4.

tribunals are interpreting the Military Service Act" was drafted at this gathering. During a recent sitting of a tribunal at Perth, the petition noted, some 100 applications for exemption were considered. Roughly 20 of the men who had applied were ordered for immediate service, and the remainder were granted exemptions for periods of only two to six months. Approximately 75% of the applicants were farmers' sons, and local farmers were outraged that their applications were being treated in such a manner.⁴⁷

A well-attended meeting on exemptions was also held in Tottenham, in Simcoe. The unanimously-passed resolution that was the outcome of this meeting was sent to the Minister of Agriculture. After noting that much remained to be done to complete that year's harvest, and that other work on farms had been neglected in the attempt to produce more food, the resolution highlighted the fact that many farmers' sons and farm labourers had been denied exemptions:

it is our petition that all these boys should be

⁴⁷ The local Food Controller, Dr. A.E. Hanna, tried to hand the petition to Agriculture Minister T.A. Crerar and to discuss the problem with him, but was unsuccessful. Virtually every farmer who spoke on the issue stressed his loyalty, but also insisted that farmers be given a 'square deal'. Perth Courier, 23 November 1917, p. 5, Sun, 21 November 1917, p. 8. See also Perth Expositor, 29 November 1917, p. 3. On p. 4 of the same edition, the Expositor printed the names of those who had received temporary exemptions under the headline "Many Exemptions Have Been Granted to Farmers' Sons". Only those who read the text of the article would realize that the exemptions were merely temporary. A similar meeting held in Mara Township, near Simcoe County, was covered by Simcoe newspapers. See, for example, Orillia Packet, 29 November 1917, p. 1. See also Sun, 28 November 1917, p. 10.

allowed exemptions from military service when their appeals are reached...We declare our loyalty to the purpose of winning the war...at the same time urging that it is only consistent that the producers of farm products should not only be allowed, but compelled to remain on the farms.⁴⁸

Farmers were loyal, residents of Simcoe and other counties argued, and they were trying to fulfil their wartime obligations. Consequently, they deserved fairer treatment.

Clearly, conscription was a sensitive issue for farmers, and it became even more sensitive as the perception grew in rural communities that the government was reluctant to ensure that all Canadians paid their fair share towards the War effort. At the 1916 UFO provincial convention, members went on record as opposing "any proposal looking to the conscription of men for battle while leaving ...plutocrats fattening on special privileges...in undisturbed possession of their riches."⁴⁹ Local members added their own unique touches to this sentiment. For instance, 'J.K.' of Lambton believed that people with surplus revenue should lend it to the community for a period of five to ten years, interest free. He felt that if the present administration could show the courage to enact such a measure, then there might not be so much grumbling about conscription. He believed, however, that no jurisdiction in Canada was capable of taking this step because, although

⁴⁸ Collingwood Bulletin, 29 November 1917, p. 7.

⁴⁹ Cited in Charles M. Johnston, E.C. Drury: Agrarian Idealist (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), p. 49.

Canada had sent troops overseas to fight for democracy, the government was "practising tyranny at home."⁵⁰

When it finally came, the official revocation of Borden's promise not to conscript farmers' sons was met with vehement protest by agrarians.⁵¹ Protest meetings were held throughout Ontario. In Simcoe, for instance, some 350 farmers attended a mass rally in Oro Township to protest the Military Service Act. According to press accounts, only one speaker supported the new regulations, and he was given rough treatment by the rest of the audience. A resolution, passed unanimously, accused Borden of violating the pledge he had made during the election campaign that farmers' sons would be exempted from compulsory military service. It went on to assert that Oro farmers were not motivated by selfish interests, nor were they disloyal. Instead, they aimed "to avert a wholesale tragedy" that would result if production was allowed to diminish.⁵² Consequently, Oro farmers

⁵⁰ Sun, 10 April 1918, p. 3. Earlier, H.J. Pettypiece had suggested that, if the provincial government was really sincere about the need for everyone to make sacrifices, then it would convert Government House into a treatment centre for wounded returned soldiers. Ibid., 8 November 1916, p. 3. See also his letter regarding wartime taxation in Ibid., 22 March 1916, p. 3.

⁵¹ Some newspapers blamed the UFO for the protests. See, for example, Perth Courier, 31 May 1918, p. 5.

⁵² As seen in other references in this chapter, in many of these meetings farmers felt compelled to stress their loyalty. Although such disclaimers were probably voiced in an attempt to avoid public condemnation, their decision may also have been designed to prevent legal reprisals. In a Sun article entitled "Farmers Beware! The Police are on Your

demanded that the government "honor its pledge to exempt all bona fide farmers" from military service.⁵³ One newspaper which reported the meeting also noted wryly that many who were in attendance were of draft age. If this was the case, then one obtains a notion of how some young people became

Trail," it was alleged that a Toronto reporter had informed the police of a meeting in the Toronto Labor Temple in which anti-conscription sentiments were expressed. George Kennedy of the Toronto Police warned farmers that "from now on no farmer ...will be able to plead ignorance of the Order-in-Council referring to persons spreading disaffection among his Majesty's subjects." Sun, 12 June 1918, p. 4. It should be stressed that, with the preponderance of rhetoric such as this, the decision to oppose conscription was a courageous one. Even the "ordinarily militant United Farmers of Alberta acquiesced in Ottawa's decision on conscription." Johnston, p. 53. In September 1918 it was reported that an Ontario farmer named Cross was arrested and fined \$500 for stating that "we could not be under any worse Prussian rule than we are now." The judge who sentenced Cross apparently said "I have already remarked that a lot of farmers should have been put in jail, and so far as I am concerned, I am going to put this down." Jim Anderson et al., A Political History of Agrarian Organizations in Ontario 1914-1940: With Special Reference to Grey and Bruce Counties, (n.l.: Chase Press, 1973), p. 7. In keeping with the perceived need to justify all of their actions, Forest UFO members argued in 1917 that their annual picnic should not be postponed (despite wartime conditions) because the gathering was the best means for getting farmers together to discuss increasing production. Forest Standard, 20 June 1917, p. 3.

⁵³ Orillia Weekly Times, 9 May 1918, p. 3. See also Orillia Packet, 2 May 1918, p. 1. One Oro farmer took exception to the Packet's coverage, and claimed that there were many more in attendance than the reported 350. Responding to the charge that farmers were tired of the War, he pointed out that, with the exception of munition manufacturers and "Government pets" who were amassing fortunes from it, the entire world was tired of the War. The editor of the Packet countered by asserting that the report of the meeting was "uncolored by enthusiasm for or against the object of the meeting." Ibid., 16 May 1918, p. 6. The Weekly Times put the attendance of the meeting at 500, claiming that it was "the largest meeting ever held in Oro Town Hall."

attracted to the UFO.⁵⁴ A gathering held in Uthhoff a few days later -- labelled an "anti-draft meeting" by the local press -- attracted well over 100 farmers, mostly from the northern part of Orillia Township. A resolution similar to that developed at the Oro Station rally was approved, with only two dissenters.⁵⁵

Individuals also expressed their urgent and heartfelt concerns over conscription. James Sheehan, reeve of Adjala Township in Simcoe County and a staunch UFO supporter, chided the government for its hypocrisy, and declared that he had heard of a farmer from Adjala who had approached an officer at Niagara Camp to ask how he was supposed to harvest his crops:

The officer is quoted as putting him off with 'it is men we want, to with production.' This, I imagine, is what the Kaiser would advise...No doubt the Kaiser would be glad to see our cattle destroying our crops.

The controversy prompted Sheehan to think back to the 1917 federal election campaign:

Where are the men today who last fall were going up and down the back concessions, shaking hands, patting us on the shoulder, and whispering into our ears promises -- promises they have since

⁵⁴ Barrie Northern Advance, 9 May 1918, p. 3. The article also implied that those in attendance were indifferent to the suffering of the soldiers overseas and that their loyalty was in doubt.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 1.

broken? Where are they today?⁵⁶

All of this, of course, raises the question about whether farmers were motivated purely by self-interest or whether an aversion to militarism played a role in their response. Despite the short-shrift given to agrarians in most accounts of pacifism in Canada, there is little doubt that at least some UFO members, with their idealist bent, opposed war as a matter of principle.⁵⁷ Calling himself 'Conscientious Objector', a farmer from Brigden, Lambton County went so far as to ask the Sun editor if he knew of any religious groups that opposed the War. He had been a life-long member of the Methodist Church, but "in consideration of the stand it has taken regarding war and politics I feel as a matter of conscience that I must sever

⁵⁶ Sun, 19 June 1918, p. 3. Sheehan's reference to cattle destroying crops came from another story that he had heard to the effect that a military officer advised a farmer to turn his crops over to his cows if, because of labour shortages, he could not harvest them.

⁵⁷ A recent, and egregious, example of ignoring farmers' thoughts on WW I can be found in Thomas P. Socknat, Witness Against War: Pacifism in Canada 1900-1945 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987). Socknat devotes only a few paragraphs to agrarian sentiment against the War, and he states that, although they opposed conscription, "most farmers strongly supported the war effort and denounced suggestions that they were in any way unpatriotic." (p. 64). As proof, Socknat offers an advertisement placed in virtually every newspaper by the Union Government during the 1917 federal election. Instead of taking the advertisement for what it was -- a blatant propaganda ploy aimed at shaming farmers into voting for the Union Government -- Socknat writes that it "clearly reflected" farmers' sensitivity to the War (Ibid.).

my connection with it."⁵⁸ Another correspondent to the Sun, 'Atom', noted that earlier cultures had made sacrifices to war gods: "so doth the modern dweller of to-day with the same easiness of belief, cast their offspring into that hell hole (war), to satisfy their gods of profits and empires."⁵⁹ Note that these, and several other letters expressing similar sentiments, were written during the War and not after when it was much easier (and far less dangerous) to adopt a pacifist stance. However much one might argue that this was nothing more than farmers' trying to justify a position against conscription, it must be stressed that these views were extremely unpopular in English-speaking Canada at that time, and they exposed the dissidents who voiced them to considerable back-lash. Nor did the pacifist stream in the movement dissipate with the end of the War. The UFO leader R.H. Halbert found receptive audiences when, in 1920, he condemned compulsory military training, arguing that militarism was the primary cause of the Great War.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Sun, 9 January 1918, p. 3.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 14 April 1915, p. 10. See also Ibid., 27 December 1916, p. 3 for a letter by 'Pagan' from Simcoe County.

⁶⁰ Almonte Gazette, 4 June 1920, pp. 1, 3; Orillia Packet, 28 October 1920, p. 5.; Orillia Times, 4 November 1920, p. 7. Even those UFO members who participated in the War effort did not seem to be particularly proud of their actions, choosing to describe them in the mode of 'something that had to be done'. Compton Jeffs, Progressive candidate in South Simcoe in the 1921 federal election, recalled that he was

The Tariff

Another manifestation of rural/urban differences -- and another controversy that UFO members entered -- was the debate over Canada's protective tariff. In many accounts of early twentieth-century agrarian protest movements the tariff occupies centre stage.⁶¹ According to most of these works, concern over the tariff bordered on an obsession for many farm leaders (including UFO officials) and, by implication, it occupied a central position in the thoughts of the rank and file. Certainly, many words on the tariff were either spoken or written by the movement's leaders, and their assertions would have reached the members of local UFO clubs. In some localities UFO members argued that the tariff was a red herring offered up by the old political parties as either the saviour or curse of the country. In other words, it was another example of the 'Big Interests' controlling the political agenda. Rank and file members saw the tariff controversy as part of a larger malaise that went beyond simple trade barriers.

Usually, the most vocal critics of the tariff at the

active in recruiting work (being too old to serve himself), but that he did "not ask for any credit for any action (he) took in the war." Jeffs claimed that he would not have brought the issue up at all during the campaign were it not for the fact that former Union candidates were bragging that they had won the War. Jeffs felt that the soldiers, not the politicians, deserved this credit. Barrie Northern Advance, 3 November 1921, p. 2.

⁶¹ See, for example, Wood, esp. pp. 225-70.

local level were those who, although sympathetic to the UFO, were not farmers. H.J. Pettypiece had nothing but contempt for the government for placing high tariffs and taxes on agricultural implements during the War, when this machinery was needed most. From April 1916 to January 1917, he noted, Canadian farmers paid nearly \$1,250,000 in duties and war taxes on implements:

Increased food production is an absolute necessity in order to win the war, but until our Parliaments free themselves from the grip of the combines which now control legislation, no great increase need be expected. The Kaisers we have created in this country are as detrimental to our freedom as is the German Kaiser. Parliamentary Government in this country is a howling farce.⁶²

Editorials such as this could not help but have some effect on the UFO members who read them.⁶³

In fact, the effort to which some farmers went to point out distortions and propaganda regarding the tariff was, at times, nothing short of amazing. D.A. Taylor, a farmer from

⁶² Sun, 23 May 1917, p. 3. Pettypiece also argued that the government was selective in its use of tariff walls, noting that urban newspapers had pressured the government into eliminating duties on printing presses and type-setting machines. Ibid., 17 February 1915, p. 3. See also Ibid., 2 November 1921, p. 6 for his attack on Canada's "cotton lords" who complained that they could not compete with US companies in the home market without the tariff and yet managed to "sell millions of dollars of goods in the United States and other countries."

⁶³ See, for example, the letter of Charles Stephens of Lambton in Sun, 17 September 1921. Regarding the tariff, one Simcoe County farmer asked "Why cannot the consuming public in the cities see that the farmer is not only fighting his own battles, but theirs as well; in saving ourselves we save the customer also." Ibid., 5 March 1921, p. 3.

near Forest in Lambton, was angered with the Sun for printing advertisements of the Reconstruction Association, a group, he argued, that was a front for protectionist forces. He was particularly upset over the hypocrisy of the group. Although the Association argued for protection, Taylor discovered that

a great many of these manufacturers have absolute Free Trade in their raw material...If the Sun would publish a facsimile of pages 36 and 37 of Schedule A of the Customs Tariff opposite the Association's ad...and follow it up with a facsimile of Schedule B the next time, it would certainly top their ace...and give the farmers of Ontario the best object lesson they could have.⁶⁴

It is not known how Taylor had reached his conclusions. Perhaps he had been shown the Schedules at a UFO meeting; maybe they had appeared elsewhere; or conceivably Taylor had stumbled upon it himself. At any rate, he retained the information and imparted it to his colleagues as yet another example of the low and hypocritical tactics to which pro-tariff forces resorted.⁶⁵

UFO leaders were, the evidence seems to suggest, more interested in the tariff than rank and file members were. A number of reasons may be offered to account for this. First, since many of the UFO 'elite' were prosperous farmers, they saw the connection between the tariff, markets and farm

⁶⁴ Ibid., 16 April 1919, p. 8.

⁶⁵ Taylor's words should be seen in conjunction with UFO members' thoughts regarding media distortions, discussed below.

machinery prices more readily than average agrarians did. In addition, they had better access to data concerning the effects of high duties. However, even though their views may not have harmonized, the UFO leaders did still have a marked impact on local members. By writing widely on the topic, they gave the rank and file yet another reason for distrusting those who had implemented and who controlled the tariff. Although the issue was not widely debated in club meetings, it is reasonable to state that, for most UFO members, the tariff was yet another example of an indifferent or outrightly biased government, which did its bidding for the 'Big Interests'. If that is granted, then it is a fairly small leap to assume that the tariff was, for UFO members, yet another demonstration that the government, though allegedly for 'the People', had actually been perverted by corrupt forces.

The 'Big Interests'

At the local level, one finds numerous references to the 'Big Interests', a faceless force which corrupted political morals, exploited farmers and workers alike, and served as the motive power behind a fiscal system that rewarded only a small, privileged sector of society. As with other issues, UFO members were exposed to the angry rhetoric of UFO leaders and other progressive commentators. These words enabled farmers to make sense out of their condition, to the point that they were soon finding examples of the

negative influence of the 'Big Interests' on their own.

A central concern of many UFO members was corruption in both business and government, and for many these issues were intertwined. One of the more celebrated cases of corruption occurred when Joseph Flavelle's meat packing firm, the William Davies Company, was accused of profiteering for its allegedly having realized a five-cent profit on each pound of bacon it sold.⁶⁶ A persistent and, at times, vicious critic of Flavelle was H.M. Gadsby, a prominent political columnist for Saturday Night. Many of Gadsby's columns were reprinted in several rural weeklies (including the Smiths Falls Rideau Record), so many UFO members were exposed to the machinations of Flavelle and his business associates. And, of course, these machinations added grist for the

⁶⁶ Flavelle's saga has been related elsewhere. See Michael Bliss, A Canadian Millionaire: The Life and Business Times of Sir Joseph Flavelle, Bart. 1858-1939 (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1978), pp. 335-62; James Naylor, The New Democracy: Challenging the Social Order in Industrial Ontario, 1914-1925 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), p. 82. What is of interest here is the massive public relations campaign that the company undertook to deny the charges. A detailed, full-page advertisement from the firm rebutting the allegations appeared in several newspapers. See, for instance, Midland Free Press, 26 July 1917, p. 3; Smiths Falls Rideau Record, 26 July 1917, p. 4; Collingwood Enterprise, 26 July 1917, p. 3; Orillia Times, 26 July 1917, p. 6; Perth Courier, 27 July 1917, p. 7; Almonte Gazette, 27 July 1917, p. 7. The company claimed to have realized a profit of only 2/3 of a cent per pound. If this was the case, then it should be kept in mind that it sold 160,000,000 pounds of meat in the fiscal year ending March, 1917. If the 2/3 of a cent profit is applied to each pound of meat sold, then the profit Flavelle's firm accrued that year still amounted to slightly over \$1 million.

farmers' mills.⁶⁷

The leadership within the UFO movement certainly assisted in developing farmers' suspicion of the capitalist class. Speaking at a UFO picnic in Simcoe in 1919, E.C. Drury noted that the Dominion Textile Company -- which, he alleged, practically controlled the cotton trade in Canada -- paid an average annual dividend of 23% from 1916 to 1918. Even so, it was one "of the infant industries that... (was) howling for more protection." Speaking at the same picnic, J.J. Morrison claimed that during the War the wealthy in Canada were allowed to "tie up their money in war securities exempted of taxation" to the tune of \$1.4 billion. Soldiers, who received \$1.10 per day and who came home physical and emotional wrecks, were now expected to help pay off the war debt: "It is your fault. You allowed a pack of rascals to

⁶⁷ On Gadsby, see Bliss, p. 344. Gadsby had particular scorn for those businessmen who also claimed to be upstanding Christians. He attacked Flavelle in 1916 when he learned that Flavelle had purchased a huge quantity of eggs, kept them in cold storage, and during the winter mixed them with fresh eggs and sold them for a dollar a dozen. "You can figure out for yourself just how precious a few million two and a half cent eggs would be to Mr. Flavelle when sold at the right time for 8 cents apiece." Gadsby then observed that Borden had appointed Flavelle chairman of the Imperial Munitions Board: "From cold storage eggs to shrapnel. From one high explosive to another -- both shell games." Smiths Falls Rideau Record, 1 March 1917, p. 4. For other examples of his attacks on Flavelle, see Ibid., 1 March 1917, p. 4; 2 October 1917, p. 4. For an overview of the UFO's perspective on business/government collusion, see Sun, 8 October 1919, p. 11.

rob this country in the name of patriotism."⁶⁸

Other commentators, such as H.J. Pettypiece, augmented the leaders' accusations with some denunciations of their own. Responding to Lord Shaughnessy's comments that farmers were in a rut, Pettypiece agreed:

If we had not been for years in ruts we would not have given a thousand million dollars to railway exploiters and there would not be so many 'Lords' and 'Knights' and other tinhorn title bearers in this country...if we were not in ruts we would not allow the railway and other combines to control most of our legislation.⁶⁹

Average farmers themselves made the connection that many politicians were in the back pockets of industrial concerns, and they often made their views on this public. During the 1921 federal election, for instance, North Simcoe UFO members ran a "U.F.O. Column" in a Collingwood newspaper in which they launched several attacks on the Conservative MP, Col. John A. Currie. It was noted, for example, that Currie shed "crocodile tears" when the Massey-Harris agricultural implement factory closed down, and that he

⁶⁸ Collingwood Enterprise, 10 July 1919, p. 1; Collingwood Bulletin, 10 July 1919, p. 2. At a Lambton UFO picnic a short time earlier, R.W.E. Burnaby noted that the Dominion Textile Company had realized a 300% profit the previous year, which fuelled the high cost of living farmers and the general public experienced. Forest Standard, 3 July 1919, p. 3.

⁶⁹ Sun, 28 March 1917, p. 3. See also Ibid., 22 September 1915, p. 3. Mistreatment at the hands of the 'Big Interests' was not confined to farmers. Levi Taylor of Simcoe noted with disgust that the Georgian Bay Navigation Company tied up its fleet in 1920 in order to break the seaman's union. Orillia Packet, 7 October 1920, p. 1.

blamed farmers for the failure of the firm because of their supposed propensity for purchasing American products. UFO members responded by claiming that the president and general manager of the company ("two more patriots") drove American cars, proving that they did not practice what they preached.⁷⁰ Attacks on Currie continued throughout the campaign,⁷¹ including an allegation that, although he professed to be anti-combine, he had been involved in a scheme to corner the wire fencing market.⁷²

How, in the view of UFO members, had the 'Big Interests' accomplished all this? How had the country succumbed to an "industrial piracy"⁷³ in which all average Canadians were exploited? For many farmers, there were two separate but related forces that accounted for the current state of affairs: the media and a government which allowed itself to be bought by the highest bidder through political parties were together responsible for the sad state of the Canadian polity. In fact, it did not take farmers long to

⁷⁰ Collingwood Bulletin, 17 November 1921, p. 8.

⁷¹ See, for example, Ibid., 1 December 1921, p. 4.

⁷² The allegation was formed as a question: "Did not once upon a time the manager of the Sarnia Fence Wire Company publish a statement...which stated that Col. Currie had approached that Company with a view of having the Sarnia Wire Fence Co. join with other fence wire companies to form a trust and also assured them that a duty would be placed on No. 9, 10, and 12 wire, which would give them control of the fence wire business?" Ibid., 1 December 1921, p. 4.

⁷³ Ibid.

realize that many politicians from the old parties, as well as members of the partisan press, were part of the 'Big Interests' which they served so loyally.

The Media

The leaders of the UFO played an important role in inculcating many farmers with the idea that the mass media could not be taken at its word.⁷⁴ Again, their rhetoric struck a responsive chord in many members, for whom many things began making much more sense. The very same media that sanctimoniously congratulated itself for shaping public opinion was perceived by farmers as a vast propaganda machine which narrowed the boundaries of the debate, and which frequently resorted to falsehoods and fabrications to accomplish its ends.

Farmers were exposed to almost constant comment on the media. Even out-of-province guests speaking to local UFO clubs encouraged members to be sceptical of the press. John Kennedy, vice-president of the Grain Growers Grain Company (GGGC), informed a Perth audience in 1917 that Canadian newspapers were subsidized:

With the exception of some farm papers and local town papers the others are invariably subsidized ...We usually find that each paper is controlled by a political party; each one is abusing the other and who can say but they are not both right? Then we have other presses that are supported by

⁷⁴ On farmers' distrust of the media, see also chapter 5.

large capitalistic corporations.⁷⁵

As a result of such connections, none of these types of newspapers could be trusted to provide anything resembling the truth.

Countless incidents which showed the press to be in the back pocket of industrialists and political parties were presented to farmers. H.J. Pettypiece, a newspaper man himself,⁷⁶ argued that urban dailies were under the control of manufacturers and, to bolster this contention, he provided several examples.⁷⁷ A.A. Powers of the Sun

⁷⁵ Perth Courier, 13 July 1917, p. 8. Kennedy had delivered the same message to Simcoe farmers a few days earlier. At that meeting E.C. Drury noted that the press "fashioned public opinion" about farm conditions without knowing anything about the subject. Orillia Packet, 12 July 1917, p. 5. W.C. Good maintained that the mass media was chiefly responsible for the "corruption of social taste." W.C. Good, Farmer Citizen: My Fifty Years in the Canadian Farmers' Movement (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1958), p. 98. Good also exposed the journal Rural Canada as a cynical front for pro-tariff forces. Sun, 6 October 1920, p. 7; 9 October 1920, pp. 1, 5.

⁷⁶ Pettypiece's Forest Free Press had, he boasted, a circulation of 1,600 in 1920, "the best in Lambton." Archives of Ontario (AO), RG 3, Series 4, Box 22, File 03-04-0-105, Pettypiece to Drury, 10 May 1920.

⁷⁷ In 1916, for instance, he drafted an article for the Toronto Globe which pointed out that, in addition to benefitting from the tariff, Canadian manufacturers also received over \$3.25 million in customs refunds and drawbacks in 1915 alone. The Globe's editors refused to publish the piece, contending that "there is no drawback allowed when manufactured for home consumption." Pettypiece maintained that drawbacks existed, and that he could prove that such refunds had been paid since 1907. For Pettypiece, the incident served to show how the 'Big Interests' prevented the truth from reaching the public. Sun, 30 August 1916, p. 3. See also Ibid., 28 March 1917, p. 3. James Muir, the editor of the Almonte Gazette, was critical of the media from time to time.

Publishing Company (the farmer-owned co-operative enterprise which published the Sun) frequently pointed out distortions in the urban press.⁷⁸ During the 1919 provincial election campaign, UFO candidates often referred to the control of the media by the 'Big Interests'.⁷⁹ They, like Pettypiece, stressed the necessity of presenting the 'real facts' to the people so that they could make informed decisions regarding public policy issues. By 1921, when the federal election was being contested, distrust of and contempt for the mass media had become so intense that some Progressive candidates promised that, if elected, they would enact legislation requiring newspapers and periodicals to state publicly who owned or controlled them.⁸⁰

The leadership's critique of the media was taken up by UFO members⁸¹ as they began providing their own examples

He particularly abhorred the "voluntary censorship" newspapers conducted during the War. Almonte Gazette, 2 August 1918, p. 4.

⁷⁸ See, for example, Ibid., 21 March 1919, p. 4.

⁷⁹ J.B. Johnston, UFO MPP for East Simcoe, was a particularly harsh critic of the media, which he saw as a tool of the old political parties. Orillia Times, 16 October 1919, p. 6. Johnston alleged that reports of UFO/ILP splits were "propaganda from the enemy," and that, contrary to press opinion, the country was not going to ruin because farmers were politically active. Orillia Packet, 17 June 1920, p. 1. See also Sun, 1 October 1919, pp. 1, 4.

⁸⁰ Orillia Packet, 1 December 1921, p. 6; Orillia Times, 1 December 1921, p. 3.

⁸¹ Moreover, their responses reveal how highly literate some farmers were. A study undertaken in 1915 by the Commission of Conservation surveyed 400 farmers in four

of the questionable credibility of the press. E.A. Elsom of Lambton showed how urban papers took unfair shots at rural residents.⁸² Others, such as 'Farmer' in Simcoe, noted that the urban press, in "column after column," advised farmers to buy needless so-called 'labour saving' implements. Some farmers made such purchases and, as a result, ruined themselves financially. This, the correspondent asserted, was the real cause of rural depopulation.⁸³

Rank and file members' critique of the media intensified after the 1919 provincial election and found its clearest expression during the 1921 federal campaign. It would seem that farmers were motivated to adopt this stance in part because many newspapers took an anti-UFO position

Ontario counties -- Dundas, Waterloo, Northumberland and Carleton. Among its findings were the following: 67% of those surveyed took an agricultural paper, 17% received story magazines, and 77% subscribed to a daily newspaper. Oil Springs Advance, 17 February 1916, p. 4. See also Royce MacGillivray, The Mind of Ontario (Belleville: Mika Publishing Company, 1985), p. 52.

⁸² Sun, 4 December 1918, p. 3.

⁸³ 'Farmer' had approached the Orillia Packet (1 May 1919, p. 8) to try to correct "an amazing amount of nonsense" that a Packet reporter had written about rural depopulation. Several examples of such sentiments can be found. Alfred G. Tate of Haliburton County had written of the relationship between the government and the media during the Great War: "As to the real dangers and necessities incurred by the war, let the Government come out flat-footed and let the people know what is required and why. But when the Toronto Star says... 'We must have faith that what the London, England, authorities do is for the best,' you will have to pardon us hayseeds, but we have not been used to running countries on faith. We want facts." Sun, 6 March 1918, p. 3.

and were eager to report scandals or rifts within the movement.⁸⁴ Whatever the reason, however, UFO members' opinion of the press was extremely low by 1921. After a North Simcoe nomination convention that year, for instance, Collingwood's Mayor Holden complained to the Orillia Packet that many speakers at the meeting heaped abuse upon abuse on the press. Of the two journalists who had attended the meeting, one left early in disgust. The one who remained asked for evidence to back up the invective being hurled at newspapers and was shouted down for his troubles.⁸⁵ Clearly, the subject was a sensitive one for local

⁸⁴ Some newspapers distorted incidents to serve their own ends. In 1920, the Smiths Falls Record-News reported a speech by Drury in which he allegedly stated that the UFO/ILP coalition could not continue. Drury had, in fact, alluded to his 'Broadening Out' project, and buried in the article it was noted that he had called upon all sectors in society to form a "People's Progressive party." However, the headline, "U.F.O. and Labor to be Divorced," conveyed a decidedly different impression. Smiths Falls Record-News, 7 December 1920, p. 1. If newspapers did not distort, they certainly often intended to embarrass. See Collingwood Bulletin, 12 May 1921, p. 2, in which it was reported that UFCC president, R.W.E. Burnaby, claimed he had been offered a \$1,000 bribe to use his influence to secure an appointment for an individual as a government purchasing agent. Burnaby was asked to reveal the person's name to the Standing Committee on Privileges and Elections, but he refused to do so. The Bulletin then listed an "Honour Roll" of UFO/ILP MPPs who had defeated a Liberal motion in the Legislature to compel Burnaby to divulge the name of the individual. Some local papers, however, did try to balance critiques of the UFO with accounts of how other newspapers deliberately distorted the farmers' position. See, for example, Forest Standard, 2 February 1921, p. 8.

⁸⁵ Orillia Packet, 11 November 1920, p. 10.

farmers.⁸⁶

In the "U.F.O. Column," the space that had been either allotted to or, more likely, purchased by the UFO in the Collingwood Bulletin during the 1921 election campaign, it was noted that the Collingwood Enterprise had recently "filled its pages" vilifying the GGGC with distortions of fact. After refuting the charges, an explanation as to why these misrepresentations had appeared was offered:

It is quite probable that the Enterprise hoped ...to extract a little sympathy from the electors of North Simcoe for the candidate supporting the Big Interest Government. Their efforts are in vain. The people are wise to this political game.⁸⁷

No longer would the media be taken at face value.

The Old Political Parties

The last third of the 'Big Interest' equation was a political party system that not only turned a blind eye to

⁸⁶ Some newspapers gave as good as they got. See Collingwood Enterprise, 10 July 1919, p. 4, which contained jabs at Drury and Morrison in two separate articles. In 1919 the editor of the Orillia Packet wrote that an agrarian political party would spell ruin for the Canadian political system: "With all its weaknesses, the two party system has proved far superior to the group idea, which induces log rolling, corruption, and class and racial antagonism." Orillia Packet, 27 February 1919, p. 7. The editor did not feel obligated to give examples of a multi-party system, focusing instead on the historical development of Canada's two-party system.

⁸⁷ Collingwood Bulletin, 24 November 1921, p. 5. Many newspapers actively opposed the UFO. The Barrie Northern Advance was a particularly harsh critic of the movement, to the point that it often resorted to re-printing attacks on the UFO from other newspapers. See, for example, Barrie Northern Advance, 17 November 1921, p. 5.

corruption, but also actually participated in it. During the 1919 provin- l campaign either West Simcoe UFO candidate Richard Baker or his staff did considerable research and pointed out that, although both old parties officially condemned the practice of government officials' participating in elections, "Yet, right here in West Simcoe we have a paid official of the Hearst Government acting as President of the Liberal-Conservative Association."⁸⁸ D.A. Taylor of Lambton summed up what the 1919 provincial contest meant to him:

The coming election has to be fought against the money power and there are those who say the money power will win every time. It also has to be fought against a corrupt and lying press...Will the people stand true to their own interests in the face of it all?⁸⁹

The connection between the 'Big Interests' and political parties was featured prominently during the 1921

⁸⁸ Baker also alleged that the provincial Crown Attorney had prepared over 30 briefs to prosecute combines in Ontario charged with restraint of trade, but that "our Crown Attorney has so far refused to prosecute these charges." Collingwood Lulletin, 16 October 1919, p. 5. See also the comments of Compton Jeffs of Simcoe (Sun, 1 October 1919, pp. 1, 4), W.I. Johnson, South Lanark candidate (Smiths Falls Record-News, 30 September 1919, p. 1; Perth Expositor, 2 October 1919, p. 3), and Hiram McCreary, North Lanark candidate (Perth Courier, 3 October 1919, p. 4).

⁸⁹ Sun, 11 December 1918, p. 3. Earlier, Taylor had written that "Manitoulin has shown the way," and that every riding should nominate UFO candidates. If they were elected, it would "end once and for all Government by the rich...Hearst seems to fear that the Manitoulin man will be lonesome in the House. Let us then see to it that we go 'over the top' at the next election and give him lots of company." Ibid., 6 November 1918, p. 3.

federal campaign. Leaders such as T.A. Crerar pointed out that the 'Big Interests' were "bearing the expenses of this government's campaign" and that, in return, the government allowed corporate mergers that further exploited Canadians.⁹⁰ East Simcoe UFO candidate Thomas Swindle informed audiences that railroads were constructed with massive public subsidies to the 'Big Interests', who amassed enormous wealth from them and then sold them to the government when they were no longer profitable.⁹¹ UFO supporter James T. Gunn of Simcoe argued that the Conservative party's raison d'être was to benefit the 'Big Interests' and the ruling classes.⁹²

For many converts to the movement, the old parties represented out-moded and dangerous forms of political behaviour that one should be wary of and dissociate from. James Martin, originally nominated to contest Centre Simcoe in 1919 for the UFO, later resigned. Among his reasons for doing so was that if the Liberals did not nominate a candidate for the riding, he would be labelled a Grit, due

⁹⁰ Orillia Times, 17 November 1921, p. 4; Barrie Northern Advance, 17 November 1921, pp. 1, 5.

⁹¹ Orillia Times, 24 November 1921, p. 4. See also the comments of Compton Jeffs, South Simcoe candidate, Barrie Northern Advance, 8 September 1921, p. 6; and 3 November 1921, p. 3, where he argued that the railroads had not been built to aid the people who relied upon them. Instead, they were built "for the money that could be got out of them."

⁹² Orillia Times, 24 November 1921, p. 4.

to his past affiliation with that party.⁹³ In 1919 R.W.E. Burnaby told a Lambton audience that anyone believing that the Liberals or Conservatives would change the existing state of affairs was delusional.⁹⁴ Compton Jeffs of Simcoe reminded an audience there of the massive effort on the part of the Tories to defeat farmer candidates in Manitoulin and North Ontario.⁹⁵ North Lanark UFO candidate Hiram McCreary admitted to having voted both Grit and Tory in the past, but he swore that he had learned from his mistakes. In addition, he warned his supporters that both old parties would be well-organized for the election, and that they would resort to any kind of trick or deceit to attain their ends. In short, the old parties were institutions bent on forestalling any political, social or economic advancement for the common people.⁹⁶

Prohibition

Richard Allen contends that "it would be difficult to

⁹³ Collingwood Bulletin, 25 September 1919, pp. 1, 4.

⁹⁴ Forest Standard, 3 July 1919, p. 3.

⁹⁵ Sun, 1 October 1919, pp. 1, 4.

⁹⁶ Almonte Gazette, 19 September 1919, p. 1; Smiths Falls Record-News, 16 September 1919, p. 1; Carleton Place Herald, 17 September 1919, p. 1. McCreary was particularly upset at Hearst's dismissal of the UFO as nothing more than a group of "camouflaged Grits." McCreary thought otherwise. See also the comments of W.I. Johnson, the other UFO candidate in Lanark in 1919. Perth Courier, 26 September 1919, p. 8; 3 October 1919, p. 1; Smiths Falls Record-News, 30 September 1919, p. 4; Perth Expositor, 2 October 1919, p. 3; Almonte Gazette, 3 October 1919, p. 3.

exaggerate the significance of the prohibition movement for the Social Gospel."⁹⁷ Given that the UFO was drawn heavily from the evangelical denominations, it is logical that prohibition or, at the very least, regulation of the manufacture and sale of intoxicants was a concern of many farmers.

Virtually every UFO candidate in the 1919 election campaign felt compelled to state his views on the subject,⁹⁸ and those who were ambiguous on the issue were given a rough time by rank and file members.⁹⁹ Generally speaking, being a strong advocate for temperance legislation was seen as a positive attribute by many UFO candidates and members.¹⁰⁰ Even candidates representing the old parties saw political advantage in noting that they supported the

⁹⁷ Richard Allen, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-28 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 264.

⁹⁸ See, for example, the comments of South Simcoe candidate, Edgar J. Evans (Sun, 1 October 1919, pp. 1, 4); West Simcoe candidate, Dick Baker (Collingwood Bulletin, 16 October 1919, p. 5).

⁹⁹ J.B. Johnston, candidate for East Simcoe in 1919, was heckled by his own supporters when he refused to state his position on temperance. Orillia Packet, 16 October 1919, p. 2; Orillia Times, 16 October 1919, p. 6; Orillia Weekly Times, 16 October 1919, p. 5.

¹⁰⁰ In North Lanark, UFO candidate Hiram McCreary was referred to by local members as the only temperance candidate in the riding. See the comments of local farmer W.H. Robertson in Almonte Gazette, 17 October 1919, p. 12. See also Ibid., 10 October 1919, p. 6. According to the Gazette, McCreary's upset victory was attributable, at least in part, to his stand on prohibition. Ibid., 24 October 1919, pp. 1-2.

Ontario Temperance Act.¹⁰¹ And if interest in temperance legislation was strong in 1919, it had intensified by 1921 when the federal election was held. Lanark Progressive candidate R.M. Anderson made it known in no uncertain terms that he advocated the total prohibition of the manufacture, importation and sale of all intoxicating beverages.¹⁰²

Whether the farmers' stand on temperance or their policies in general attracted religious figures to the movement is debatable. The fact remains, however, that several ministers appeared, apparently enthusiastically, at local club meetings and at other UFO-sponsored events. Rev. Greig of Balderson supported the values advanced by the UFO, and as early as 1918 he reminded Perth area farmers that "the making of better citizens should stand higher in the aims of the order than any mere pecuniary gain."¹⁰³ In Lanark in 1919, a UFO meeting in Maberly featured a Rev.

¹⁰¹ See, for example, the comments of Lambton East Tory candidate J.B. Martyn. Forest Standard, 16 October 1919, p. 4. The commitment of old party candidates, however, was a matter of some suspicion among temperance adherents. As Royce MacGillivray points out: "A fact always forgotten by those readiest to sneer at the Ontario temperance movement, was that it operated from the beginning to end against powerful economic forces. The brewers, distillers, and tavern keepers, and all who were financially interested in their welfare, understood and hated it. The politicians, who were avid for campaign contributions from these sources, also knew how helpful tavern-keepers were in organizing support at elections. Not surprisingly, the politicians often proved unreliable, if not treacherous, supporters of temperance." Royce MacGillivray, The Mind of Ontario, p. 56.

¹⁰² Almonte Gazette, 2 December 1921, p. 2.

¹⁰³ Lanark Era, 11 September 1918, p. 8.

Clark, an Anglican priest, and Rev. Smith, a local Methodist preacher.¹⁰⁴ In Simcoe, Rev. N. Campbell gave words of encouragement to Oro farmers shortly after the 1919 election.¹⁰⁵ In some ridings during the 1921 federal election, clergymen spoke publicly in favour of Progressive candidates because of their commitment to ending political corruption and, more importantly, because of their stand on prohibition. R.M. Anderson, the Progressive candidate for Lanark in 1921, enjoyed the support of Middleville's Presbyterian minister, Rev. J.B. Townend, who "looked upon the farmer movement with friendly eyes," and Middleville's Congregational minister, Rev. McColl, who was particularly fond of Anderson's stand on prohibition and gambling.¹⁰⁶

Why did most farmers feel so strongly about the need to regulate or ban the sale of intoxicants? Part of their reasoning may relate to their suspicion of large-scale industries, of which breweries and distillers formed a substantial sector. At least some agrarian resentment may also have been due to farmers' seeing intoxicants and taverns as yet another example of urban society taking humanity down the wrong path. And, finally, their stance may

¹⁰⁴ Smith told the audience that he had studied the policies of all the political parties, and had "decided the Farmers' Platform was the one he would support." Sun, 23 July 1919, p. 10.

¹⁰⁵ SCA Oro Station Minutes, 6 November 1919.

¹⁰⁶ Almonte Gazette, 11 November 1921, p. 1.

be attributed to the religious background of most farmers who saw alcohol as an evil which tended to erode Christian values. This third possibility bears closer examination. There was, indeed, strong moral overtone in UFO members' views regarding alcohol.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, it is indisputable that the movement had an evangelical tone. Lambton County organizer J.J. Wilson asserted in 1920 that his heart and soul were in the UFO; "he considered it the only source of salvation to better the conditions of this country and her people."¹⁰⁸ In taking a prohibitionist stance, farmers were clearly not acting out of economic or political self-interest. From an economic perspective, the regulation and, in extreme cases, prohibition of the sale of alcohol meant that distillers and brewers would not be buying grain farmers produced. And politically, a strong stance on prohibition did not make any sense either since it meant that many labourites in urban areas -- who tended not to be pro-temperance -- would find forming a lasting political alliance with farmers problematic. Religious convictions must, then, have taken precedence in the formulation of

¹⁰⁷ That some UFO leaders were staunch supporters of the Ontario Temperance Act certainly helped the farmers' cause. E.C. Drury was renowned for his personal pro-temperance stance. Indeed, he spoke on the issue as often as he could. To cite but one example, in a single weekend in 1921, just prior to the referendum that would decide whether or not Ontario would ban the importation of liquor, Drury addressed congregations in churches at Dalston, Crown Hill and Edgar. Orillia Times, 14 April 1921, p. 3.

¹⁰⁸ Almonte Gazette, 4 June 1920, pp. 1, 3.

their views.

The 'Rank and File'

One of the central points of this thesis is that local UFO members and UFO clubs often formulated ideas of their own that were striking for the sophistication of their analysis and for the thoroughness and clarity of their proposed solutions. Ideas that augmented official policy came from a number of sources. Some were the conceptions of a single person; others seem to have arisen spontaneously within local clubs; still others were attempts to refine policy or to make it work in a specific locality. Although much creative thinking emerged, understandably so, during election campaigns, some was also undertaken in other circumstances.

There were several rank and file UFO members who can be characterized as original thinkers; those who observed contemporary political, social and economic behaviour and found much of it lacking. Certainly, there were times when the solutions these members proposed were anything but conventional.

F.E. Webster of Simcoe County was one who marched to his own drummer.¹⁰⁹ Webster frequently contributed letters

¹⁰⁹ Webster was born in Simcoe County in 1868, and attended local schools and the Ontario Agricultural College. He began farming near Creemore in 1890 and in 1902 married Alice Hollingsworth, an early member of the Women's Institute and a founding member of the United Farm Women of Ontario. Webster was prominent in several early agrarian organizations, such as the Patrons of Industry, the Farmers' Institute, and

to the Sun, and his insights show the extent to which some people believed that the UFO could offer an alternative to the status quo. In 1918 he predicted that returned soldiers would shoulder much of the War debt rather than those who had reaped large profits from that conflict. As a remedy, Webster advocated a universal tax on land values. Noting that United Farmers in the West supported this measure, as did the "single taxers, the socialists, the anarchists and the labor unions," he suggested that these groups follow the lead of the prohibitionists with their Committee of 100 and form a Committee of 1,000 to press the government to implement the tax.¹¹⁰ To support his position, Webster often cited writers with whom he agreed, including the American anarchist W.C. Owen.¹¹¹ A vocal critic, Webster

the Farmers' Association. He helped establish an apple-growers' co-operative, and assisted in the creation of a local telephone company. He was also one of the founding members of the Madill's Corners UFO Club. Sun, 29 September 1927, p. 9.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 11 December 1918, p. 3. A.J. Forsyth of Barrie had earlier expressed similar sentiments, but for different reasons. He favoured the single tax because it would rid communities of land speculators. On a higher, more naive level, Forsyth believed that if wealth was conscripted in this manner, then there would be no wars because there would be no profits to be made from them. Ibid., 10 October 1917, p. 3.

¹¹¹ One Owen passage that Webster cited was: "Anarchists do not propose to invade the individual rights of others, but they propose to resist...all invasion by others. To order your life as a responsible individual without invading the lives of others is freedom; to invade and attempt to rule the lives of others is to constitute yourself an enslaver; to submit to invasion and rule imposed on you against your own will and judgement is to write yourself down a slave." Ibid., 2 April 1919, p. 8. A year earlier the Sun quoted a passage from Wilhelm von Humboldt's The Sphere and Duties of Government, in

undoubtedly spoke for many who were less articulate than himself.¹¹²

Other farmers, although perhaps not as perceptive and original in their thinking as Webster, also developed their own ideas. D.W. Lennox, a Lambton UFO member, was outraged over the fact that the Lieutenant-Governor's official residence cost Ontarians \$5,000 alone to heat, and denounced it as "one of the biggest humbugs ever worked off in a democratic country." By way of a solution, he proposed that the official residence be sold to some millionaire "with money to burn," and a much less expensive residence be purchased for the Lieutenant-Governor, who would then have

which it was argued that, as the state enacts legislation to make itself relevant, there arises a need to increase state revenue and the number of officials. Public affairs becomes more complex to the point that it requires "an incredible number of persons to devote their time to its supervision, in order that it may not fall into utter confusion." People who would otherwise engage in creative and useful tasks become bogged down with bureaucratic duties. Thus, people tend to move away from self-reliance and self-help. "Hence it arises that every decennial period the number of public officials increases, while the liberty of the subject proportionately declines." Ibid., 25 September 1918, p. 3. On Humboldt's connection to anarchist thought, see Noam Chomsky, The Chomsky Reader, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1987), pp. 147-51; L. Susan Brown, "Anarchism, Feminism, Liberalism and Individualism," Our Generation, Vol. 24, No. 1, Spring 1993, p. 27.

¹¹² Webster addressed a wide range of topics. In addition to those cited above, he challenged the myth that farmers were profiting from the War (Sun, 4 September 1918, p. 3), and he praised Wilsonian reforms in the United States, noting that Canada had no equivalent figure: "Privilege goes on its merry old way ... Freedom! How much of it do we enjoy? How much freedom have we won since this great war began? Are we fighting at home as vigorously as the veterans in France to rid our land of autocracy?" Ibid., 14 August 1918, p. 3.

to pay to heat it.¹¹³ His suggestion was not revolutionary, but it represents individual members thinking about issues and devising remedies. It is also probable that Lennox's self-confidence was bolstered by the exercise, and that many farmers like him had similar experiences. In this way, voting for a third party became all the easier.

Insights were obtained, as well, from those chosen from the ranks of local clubs to contest elections. W.I. Johnson, candidate for South Lanark in 1919, told audiences how he re-conceptualized his notion of democracy while serving overseas in the Great War. In Europe, he had the opportunity to meet all sorts of people, and to discuss politics. It was through this process that he realized that Canada was not as democratic as it could be. He came to see that the government represented the profiteer and the 'Big Interests', not the people. If elected he promised to "go to Toronto and stand on the floor of the house and thrash out questions in the interests of the farmers so that the people of South Lanark would feel that they were" represented in the legislature.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Ibid., 1 October 1919, p. 1.

¹¹⁴ Smiths Falls Record-News, 30 September 1919, p. 1; Perth Expositor, 2 October 1919, p. 3. Later in the campaign, Johnson revealed his personal preferences to the voters. He favoured public ownership of utilities (because it would destroy combines and profiteers), government control of natural resources, direct democracy (initiative, referendum, recall), and a patronage-free civil service. Perth Courier, 17 October 1919, p. 8. Johnson continued to deliver these messages to voters. See, for example, Smiths Falls Record-

Other farmers broke free entirely from conventional rural thinking and, seemingly, from some farmers' interests. Alfred Wilkes of Lambton cancelled his subscription to the Sun because the paper opposed the legalization of margarine: "I thought your paper was strictly non-partizan, but your attitude...proves you are as strongly one-sided as either Grit or Tory." Wilkes' motivation for supporting the legalization of margarine is not known but, given that he probably knew that its legalization would adversely affect dairy farmers, his opinion points to how independent a UFO member's thought could be.¹¹⁵ D.A. Taylor of Lambton differed from both the central leaders and many rank and file members when he advocated political action, but with the UFO as a primary mechanism. He was convinced that, if the UFO began acting like a political party, even if it was not an official one, then the opposition would smash it.

News, 24 August 1920, p. 5; Almonte Gazette, 17 September 1920, p. 1. North Lanark UFO candidate Hiram McCreary assured voters that he could not be "swayed by the Big Interests" and that he was the "candidate of the people." Ibid., 10 October 1919, p. 6.

¹¹⁵ Sun, 13 February 1918, p. 3. The margarine debate is the subject of Wilfrid Heick's A Propensity to Protect: Butter, Margarine and the Rise of Urban Culture in Canada (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 1991). Although useful, Heick's study fails to convey the vehemence with which the debate was conducted at the local level. For example, the Oro Station Farmers' Club sent two delegates to the annual Board of Agriculture meeting in Orillia in 1917. Both delegates voted for the legalization of margarine and were subsequently "severely criticised for using their votes in such a manner ...but for the fact that the club had appointed its own delegates and to abide by their influences no penalty could be imposed." SCA, Oro Station Minutes, 5 July 1917.

Instead, Taylor proposed nominating farmer candidates who, instead of pledging to adhere to a platform, would merely act in the interests of agrarians.¹¹⁶

Acting on Their Social Critique

Identifying societal problems is one matter; acting to remedy the areas of concern is another matter. In the case of the UFO, the initial response was to fight the 'Big Interests' on the political front. As W.C. Good pointed out in his memoirs, by 1919 farmers had realized that it was foolish "to nullify their political influence by splitting their votes between two political parties who were practically identical in their general character."¹¹⁷ As the East Lambton UFO Political Association put it, "the time has arrived when the organized farmers should take steps to place a candidate in the field."¹¹⁸

As with most politicized mass movements, the clearest

¹¹⁶ Sup, 11 December 1918, p. 3. At least one club attempted to act on this principle. West Lambton's candidate in the 1919 provincial contest, J. M. Webster, was officially listed as an independent "in the interest of the U.F.O. members of the district," a distinction not found in accounts of other ridings. Ibid., 13 August 1919, p. 11. At one stage during the 1919 campaign, however, a UFO member from North Lanark suggested that Hiram McCreary be referred to as "the candidate of the farmers of the North Riding." Although many members agreed with the suggestion, it appears not to have been acted upon. Smiths Falls Record-News, 16 September 1919, p. 1; Carleton Place Herald, 17 September 1919, p. 1; Almonte Gazette, 19 September 1919, p. 1.

¹¹⁷ Good, p. 117.

¹¹⁸ Lambton County Archives (LCA), Box 16(2), File 16A-F, Minutes, East Lambton UFO (henceforth "East Lambton Minutes"), 24 July 1919.

expressions of farmer discontent were evidenced during election campaigns. If farmers elected more agrarians to legislatures, then government policy would more accurately reflect, or so the argument went, their views. In addition, if other occupational groups followed their lead, the polity would be one which accurately represented the collective will of 'the People'. Thus, in order to fully appreciate the vehemence of farmer discontent, and the alternatives that UFO members advanced, an examination of the 1919 provincial and 1921 federal elections is in order.¹¹⁹ Election campaigns provide valuable insights into both individual members' thought and the autonomous operation of local clubs. In every riding in the three counties under consideration, UFO/Progressive candidates were nominated for the 1919 provincial and 1921 federal contests. For many members, it was only logical that farmers take this action.¹²⁰ It was during elections that people were

¹¹⁹ It bears mentioning that the decision to contest elections actually came from the local clubs, not the central office. In fact, the UFO leaders spent most of the 1919 election campaign catching up on what was going on in the localities. See E.C. Drury, Farmer Premier: The Memoirs of E.C. Drury (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1966, pp. 81-4; Good, p. 120. The desire for political action was not restricted to provincial politics in 1919. For instance, some Lambton farmers advocated banding together politically at the municipal level, so as to defeat an "autocratic" County Council that had passed roads legislation that favoured urban interests. Sun, 5 March 1919, p. 3.

¹²⁰ As one Simcoe farmer wrote: "Many farmers think the U.F.O. should keep out of politics. But why? Manufacturing and professional interests are always represented in Parliament. Farmers never were. It's to their own interest to have a say

exposed to the tactics of the old parties, and to the rhetoric of central UFO officials. In the latter case, the words were absorbed, refined, and enhanced by local members.

First, however, it should be noted that UFO clubs had autonomy in deciding how candidates were chosen¹²¹ and, with that autonomy, the method sometimes changed on an ad hoc basis.¹²² The fact that so many clubs made efforts to be equitable in delegate selection speaks well for the inclusiveness of the movement at that level.¹²³ Local

in making laws which will come under." Collingwood Bulletin, 3 April 1919, p. 3.

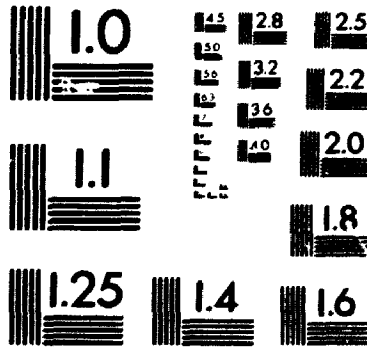
¹²¹ The decision to field a candidate or not was left to the clubs as well. When T.P. Loblaw of the central UFO cancelled his scheduled talk to a UFO meeting in Smiths Falls in August 1919, one member suggested that the fielding of a UFO candidate be discussed. However, the nomination of a candidate appears to have been generally taken for granted and, as a result, members discussed instead what qualities the candidate should possess. Smiths Falls Rideau Record, 26 August 1919, p. 4; Almonte Gazette, 29 August 1919, p. 6. The possibility of fielding an UFO candidate in Lanark was alluded to prior to this meeting. See, for example, Ibid., 21 March 1919, p. 4; Smiths Falls Rideau Record, 20 May 1919, p. 4; Sun, 11 June 1919, p. 10.

¹²² In Centre Simcoe, three candidates were nominated for the 1919 provincial election. Although James Martin received more than 50% of delegates' votes on the first ballot, the second place candidate insisted on a second ballot before he would resign, because it "would be a cowardly thing ...if I am not fit to represent you, put me out." Collingwood Enterprise, 11 September 1919, p. 7. The delegates agreed to alter the voting procedure, and stage a second ballot, even though one was not necessary.

¹²³ For instance, the East Lambton UFO, a model of decentralization, ensured that each township in the riding selected four delegates, two men and two women, for the 1919 election convention. Lambton County Archives (LCA), Box 16(2), File 16A-F, "Minutes, East Lambton UFO," (East Lambton Minutes), 24 July 1919. This structure was also in place for

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PM-1 3½"x4" PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
NBS 1010a ANSI/ISO #2 EQUIVALENT



clubs also determined how the election campaigns were to be conducted (advertising, posters, debates, etc.) and, more importantly, how they were to be financed.¹²⁴ Finally, local clubs were free to determine whether or not candidates would be obliged to sign recall papers.¹²⁵

There is little doubt that the UFO leaders played a key role in the election campaigns. Most of what they said farmers already knew or felt, but having one's leaders from the central body speak at local meetings and repeat what one

the 1921 contest. Petrolia Advertiser-Topic, 13 October 1921, p. 1. In West Lambton in 1920, it was decided to field a joint UFO/ILP candidate in the next federal election. The convention to select a candidate was structured much like the procedure in East Lambton. Sun, 26 June 1920, p. 9.

¹²⁴ See, for example, LCA, East Lambton Minutes, 24 September 1919, where it is noted that members felt that the campaign would cost \$510. Each township director was given a target, ranging from \$80 for Euphemia Township to \$110 each for Brooke, Warwick, and Plympton townships. Evidently, the \$510 was raised. West Lambton raised \$311 for the 1919 campaign, with no member contributing more than \$1. Sun, 3 December 1921, p. 9. In a convention to determine whether or not to field candidates in Lanark in 1919, delegates from North Lanark voted to pay all financial obligations incurred by the candidate, whereas South Lanark delegates refused to do so, arguing that they did not believe that they had the authority to bind their clubs to such an agreement. Smiths Falls Record-News, 9 September 1919, p. 4; Almonte Gazette, 12 September 1919, p. 1; Perth Courier, 12 September 1919, p. 2. Clubs in Simcoe also raised money for UFO candidates. SCA, Edenvale Minutes, 8 October 1919.

¹²⁵ The recall was a contentious issue in some ridings. In Centre Simcoe in 1919 there was a heated debate on the subject during a nomination meeting. One nominee, J.T. Simpson, opposed the measure, arguing that if people did not have confidence in the candidate to use his judgement, then he did not wish to stand as a nominee. Collingwood Bulletin, 4 September 1919, p. 4. East Lambton UFO members insisted that any candidate they nominated sign recall papers. LCA, East Lambton Minutes, 20 August 1919.

was already thinking undoubtedly provided validation for many farmers by letting them know that they were not alone, and their opinions were not unique.

As early as 1917 UFO president R.H. Halbert declared:

government by the people is a myth. The real rulers of Canada are the knighted heads of combines. Financial, manufacturing and food distributing interests are organized, and the individual farmer, standing alone, has no chance against them.¹²⁶

Halbert told a Simcoe audience in 1919 that the old parties would try to undermine the UFO by attempting to nominate UFO members for the provincial election. He opined that any member who accepted such a nomination "deserved to get licked."¹²⁷ A.A. Powers of the UFCC attacked leaders from both of the old parties as being lackeys of the 'Big Interests', and claimed that "there is only one cure for this thing and that's to go into practical politics."¹²⁸

There also was a strong appeal to farmers to support UFO candidates because they came from their ranks. West Simcoe candidate Richard Baker noted that, as a farmer, he knew the problems agrarians faced every day, and he

¹²⁶ Quoted in Wood, p. 278.

¹²⁷ Collingwood Saturday News, 16 August 1919, p. 3; Sun, 20 August 1919, p. 1. See also Halbert's comments in Collingwood Enterprise, 18 September 1919, p. 2; and A.A. Powers' comments to Lanark farmers in Almonte Gazette, 21 March 1919, p. 4; Perth Courier, 21 March 1919, p. 1.

¹²⁸ Smiths Falls Record-News, 16 September 1919, p. 1; Carleton Place Herald, 17 September 1919, p. 1; Almonte Gazette, 19 September 1919, p. 1.

instructed voters to vote for a lawyer if they wished to have an MPP who did not understand their concerns.¹²⁹ Indeed, there were elements in the candidates' speeches that struck responsive chords among the electorate. South Simcoe candidate Compton Jeffs informed an audience in 1919 that democracy had disappeared in Ontario during the War: "What democracy have we won at home when an officer whose commission may have come by pull receives double the pension of a private who fought in the ranks?"¹³⁰

Of course, local members also had much to say, and they were often much more pointed in their comments than those nominated or those from the central UFO. Trevor Maguire of the Perth UFO asked farmers and labourers to join together, since both groups were "robbed at the point of production" by the 'Big Interests'.¹³¹ G.A. Burgess of Carleton Place told farmers that he once supported the Tory incumbent in North Lanark, but now he was working to defeat him because "he was not progressive enough."¹³²

¹²⁹ Collingwood Bulletin, 2 October 1919, p. 4. A.E. Vance, a Lambton UFO member, echoed these views, and in 1919 contrasted the number of farmers in the Legislature to farmers as a percentage of the provincial population. LCA, East Lambton Minutes, 20 August 1919.

¹³⁰ Sun, 1 October 1919, pp. 1, 4.

¹³¹ Smiths Falls Rideau Record, 20 March 1919, p. 4.

¹³² Almonte Gazette, 17 October 1919, p. 12. The local "U.F.O. Column" demonstrates farmers' self-confidence and mocking tone for the old parties. In one article, shortly before the 1919 election, it was noted that several Liberal candidates were afraid to run in the contest, and that the

As was the case in 1919, during the 1921 federal election campaign UFO leaders provided fuel for rank and file members with their rhetorical flourishes at local meetings. In 1920 at a Lambton UFO meeting Manning Doherty, UFO Agriculture Minister in the Drury Cabinet, blamed industrialists for maintaining the artificially high prices that hurt farmers:

The very fact that the big interests have been holding stubbornly back sustaining high prices, has put the buying public in a like attitude and I want to again warn those leaders of industry and capital that no matter how strong and how numerous they may be they cannot successfully compete with the laws of nature.¹³³

T.A. Crerar informed a Barrie audience that what was needed was unity in the country "and a vision of the big things. We should forget appeals to racial and religious prejudices and have the Canadian spirit, which existed during the war and which would make for purity, decency and economy in public administration."¹³⁴ E.C. Drury claimed that the Progressive party was formed because "evils existed and ...the Government did not try to right them." Thus, the

Tories were so frightened at the prospect of losing that they were "throwing their old friends over board and scouring the townships for farmer candidates who are willing to lend themselves to the discredited party." Perth Courier, 10 October 1919, p. 4.

¹³³ Forest Standard, 23 June 1920, p. 1.

¹³⁴ Orillia Times, 17 November 1921, p. 4. However, Crerar apparently made no reference to increasing citizen participation in public affairs, even though it was clearly mentioned in the Progressive platform.

people had to do so:

That is the issue. The old parties are tied up, and our only hope lies in the new Progressive movement. It had started with the farmers, but it was not confined to them now.¹³⁵

Rank and file members were indeed ready for a fight in 1921. Partly because the press was more sympathetic to the movement in Lanark County than in either Lambton or Simcoe,¹³⁶ their feelings were recorded to a much greater extent there than in the other two counties. Hence, the experience of Lanark UFO members is highlighted here.

In Lanark, even the meetings held to nominate candidates featured farmers at their most confident and most determined. A local newspaper reprinted several members' comments that were overheard at the 1921 Lanark convention, and some of these merit inclusion here. G.A. Burgess: "I was a candidate in the 1917 election. R.L Borden telephoned me and asked me to retire. I refused. If I had asked him to retire would he have thought it very cheeky?" William Code: "For forty years since I've known anything of governments we've been like Israelites in the wilderness, but we haven't had a Moses." D.H. Gemmell: "I'm supposed to be here from

¹³⁵ Ibid., 24 November 1921, p. 6; Orillia Packet, 24 November 1921, p. 1.

¹³⁶ See, for example, the editorial regarding the annual Smiths Falls UFO meeting in the Smiths Falls Record-News, 2 December 1920, p. 6, which was positive towards the movement: "It is from men such as these that the present Government of Ontario is recruited, a Government which is giving the province good laws and wise administration."

the working class. They say to the working man the farmer is the wrong man for you to go in with. There are conflicting interests. If there is any difference between the town worker and the farm worker we are the people to fix it up." John McArton: "I don't want to go to the House of Commons. There is the Senate, but I don't think that I am quite doting enough for that." Mrs. George W. Buchanan: "I don't know about the House of Commons but there is the Senate. These old men need a woman to look after them." D.J. Hogan: "In 1919 Hon. J.A. Stewart told the farmers they were making a mistake in entering the provincial field and they should be in the federal field. Now we are in." M.J. Smith: "No one can alleviate the condition of the farmer so well as the farmer himself. We congratulate ourselves that we are a free people, able to govern ourselves, but we have a government in power without a right to govern." W.H. Robertson: "Canada's greatest drawback is that the wealth of the land has drifted into the hands of the few."¹³⁷

In these words, one sees members dealing with power in a mocking fashion, but their jokes reveal the contempt that they felt for those who had for so long had nothing but contempt for them. Now that farmers were organized, profound changes would be made -- Canada would be the democracy it deserved to be.

¹³⁷ Almonte Gazette, 21 October 1921, pp. 1, 4. See also Perth Expositor, 20 October 1921, p. 4; Perth Courier, 21 October 1921, p. 2.

Lanark Progressives selected R.M. Anderson, a "well-known and prominent farmer of Bathurst Township" who had been township clerk for some 15 years prior to his nomination.¹³⁸ Anderson took a militant position during the election, quite possibly at the prompting of the local Progressive group. In his advertisements, which differed from the other ridings only in the vehemence of the message, readers were informed that the tariff had

fostered combines, trusts and 'gentlemen's agreements' in almost every line of Canadian industrial enterprise by means of which the people of Canada -- both urban and rural -- have been shamefully exploited through the elimination of competition... (the Tariff) has been and is a chief corrupting influence in our national life because the protected interests have contributed lavishly to political and campaign funds thus encouraging both political parties to look to them for support, thereby lowering the standard of public morality.¹³⁹

Anderson and his supporters ran many advertisements during the campaign but one, in particular, deserves to be discussed at length. With the headline "Manifesto of the Smiths Falls Progressive Committee," the essay-length document outlined all of the injustices that "the masses" had endured. Beginning with the notion that Canada was

¹³⁸ Anderson was described as a "broad-minded gentleman who firmly believes in his own cause and is yet moderate enough in the expression of his views to command respect." Almonte Gazette, 21 October 1921, p. 2. Anderson, a "Scotch Presbyterian," was also vice-president of the Lanark Mutual Fire Insurance Company, and considered himself a life-time "student of Political Economy." Smiths Falls Record-News, 1 December 1921, p. 4.

¹³⁹ Almonte Gazette, 2 December 1921, p. 2.

facing a crisis owing to unemployment and the national debt, the advertisement then raised the question of who was responsible for this state of affairs? "They are known as the practical hard-headed businessmen and educated politicians," the same people, it was argued, who failed to prosecute their friends who had been implicated in wartime scandals. In response to Tory and Grit assertions that the tariff was the people's salvation, the Progressives warned:

Don't be fooled. Tariff cannot and will not cure unemployment. Why? It not prevented it? The causes are deeper and arise out of our present economic system and its methods of production. The exploitation of the people is the same whether you have high tariff or free trade.

In fact, it was argued that the present economic system was responsible for war, since tariffs led to retaliation by competing countries and such retaliations could escalate into armed conflict. It was even alleged that those in power wished to maintain this system, and "put forth every effort to blind you to the real issue." Whatever the merits of the last point, the above-noted passage did represent some in-depth thinking.

The Manifesto went into detail about other concerns. Regarding labour issues, it noted that the federal government, although a large employer, had been "instrumental in violating the fair wage regulations," despite posing as a friend to the worker. This, however, was a problem that paled before others. There was misery in a land of plenty, yet politicians were

exposing for you the iniquities of their party machine with its vicious patronage operation, reckless expenditure of public funds, maladministration of our laws in respect to the payments of taxation, political appointments to the Senate by a decadent Government, and we are the victims.

Of course, none of this would be possible without the assistance of the 'Big Interests', who were placarding the country, "controlling the press, misrepresenting the true state of affairs...(so) that they may again be elected to power for another period of exploitation.." Reminding readers how they had been treated in the past by these people, the authors of the Manifesto argued that neither the Conservatives nor the Liberals promised anything different this time around: "DON'T BE FOOLED ANY LONGER." From the present government, "all you can expect is words." Progressives, however, wanted action, and called for a reduction in unemployment, the elimination of profiteering, the implementation of fair taxation, and better treatment for returned soldiers. It was clear that voters should support candidates who knew their problems, people from their own ranks "who are concerned in the welfare of the struggling masses of humanity, and not the favoured few."¹⁴⁰

The Manifesto is a striking document, not only for its length but also for its clarity and logic. The 'Big

¹⁴⁰ Smiths Falls Record-News, 6 December 1921, p. 5. The Committee's platform, which effectively became the platform for the Lanark County Progressives, is found in Appendix "T".

Interests' were not some abstraction that was pulling the country's strings; they were actual people who engaged in business and politics, and perpetuated lies. Neither Grits nor Tories had alleviated misery; neither had produced full employment nor equality of opportunity. Moreover, real, participatory democracy was the furthest thing from their minds. The Manifesto evidences the resentment that UFO members felt over the state of affairs in which they found themselves. Their alternative vision found concrete expression in a document not produced by head office, but by a local group of persons, ratified by the mass membership. Moreover, it made sense to 6,615 voters of the 15,865 in Lanark who cast their votes for the Progressives in the election in 1921.¹⁴¹

The above mentioned ideas resonated throughout the ridings. In Simcoe two UFO members appeared at a United Farm Women of Ontario meeting at Cooper's Falls, and one of them denounced John A. Macdonald and Wilfrid Laurier as traitors to the people of Canada.¹⁴² In North Simcoe, the local UFO discovered a speech delivered by Tory incumbent Col. John A.

¹⁴¹ The results of federal and provincial elections involving UFO/Progressive candidates in Lambton, Simcoe and Lanark are contained in Appendix "U".

¹⁴² Orillia Packet, 27 October 1921, p. 1. The remark drew howls of outrage from the press, especially since the UFWO meeting was to have been a social get-together. Lawrence A. Cooper, a UFO member, defended the two men by claiming that they had been invited by the UFWO to discuss how the tariff affected women. Ibid., 3 November 1921, p. 8.

Currie in which he said that he informed the House of Commons of his willingness to use machine guns during the farmers' march to Ottawa in 1917:

Just think of the courage that would be necessary to turn a machine gun on unarmed civilians! The Colonel declared he was equal to the occasion. Yet regardless of this he tells us that the farmers will vote for him. He must think the farmers are easy. They will hurl his insults back in his face and vote for Ross.¹⁴³

Without a doubt, there was more at stake in the election than the tariff, prohibition, or rural representation in the legislature.¹⁴⁴

Time after time Progressive candidates validated the thoughts of rank and file members. Thomas Swindle, the East Simcoe candidate, appealed to those who had supported the old parties in the past. He realized that it was difficult to break away from old party loyalties,¹⁴⁵ but if people

¹⁴³ Collingwood Bulletin, 17 November 1921, p. 8. See also Ibid., 24 November 1921, p. 2 for an article drafted by the North Simcoe UFO Political Association. The latter article reprinted the Farmers' Remonstrance that was delivered to the Government during the march. This means that the local group had a copy of the document at its disposal.

¹⁴⁴ In a subsequent article it was noted that the 'Big Interests' realized that the defeat of Meighen meant the end to "industrial piracy." Thus, the "Big Interests will spend millions of dollars to prevent the defeat of this paternal government." Ibid., 1 December 1921, p. 4.

¹⁴⁵ There is no doubt that old political loyalties were difficult to break free from but, arguably, it was somewhat easier to convince UFO supporters to do so, at least in the 1919 and 1921 elections. As noted in Chapter 2, UFO members, on average, were younger than their rural counterparts. As has been argued in a study of recent political behaviour, "each wave of new voters is likely to respond to at least some new forces, their behaviour relatively unconstrained by pre-

did so, they would be rewarded: "When you vote for a Progressive candidate you vote for a government by the people and for the people."¹⁴⁶ In fact, Swindle advanced a platform very similar to that of the Lanark Progressives.¹⁴⁷ North Simcoe candidate Thomas E. Ross¹⁴⁸ believed that the central issue of the election

existing societal cleavages, parental partisanship, or other long-term forces." Harold D. Clarke, Jane Jenson, Lawrence LeDuc and Jon H. Pammett, Political Choice in Canada (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1979), pp. 382-3.

¹⁴⁶ Barrie Northern Advance, 17 November 1921, p. 1. Swindle also claimed that the Progressive party emerged out of the failure of the old parties "to play square with the common people." As a result, "independent political action seemed to be the only course open to them." Orillia Times, 24 November 1921, p. 4.

¹⁴⁷ As did the Lanark Progressives, Swindle favoured a direct tax on land values; graduated taxes on income, inheritance and corporate profits; direct legislation; proportional representation; Senate reform; an eight-hour day; public control of the railways, public utilities and natural resources; disability insurance; old age pensions; unemployment insurance; and "total disarmament.." The only significant difference in Swindle's campaign was that he called for "the exclusion of all Asiatics. In other words I say, Canada for Canadians and British subjects." Ibid., 1 December 1921, p. 3; Orillia Packet, 1 December 1921, p. 6. Given that virtually all UFO clubs argued for racial and ethnic harmony among groups in Canada, it is difficult to understand why Swindle advocated this measure, other than to appeal to the nativist tendencies in some urban workers. On this theme, see Naylor, p. 103. For an examination of the interplay among nativism, the state, and working-class repression in early twentieth-century Canada, see Gregory S. Kealey, "State Repression of Labour and the Left in Canada, 1914-20: The Impact of the First World War," Canadian Historical Review, Vol. LXXIII, No. 3, September 1992.

¹⁴⁸ Ross, a prominent farmer, was born in Oro Township and attended school in Barrie and then at Guelph at the Ontario Agricultural College. Married to Helen J. Duncan in 1899, He was an elder in the local Presbyterian Church. Orillia Times, 13 October 1921, p. 6; J.K. Johnson, ed., The

was whether or not Canada was to have "government by the people for the people or continue government by the interests for the interests."¹⁴⁹

Developing Alliances in Implementing the UFO Vision

Given the enthusiasm and evangelical bent of many UFO members, it is understandable that they sought alliances with other groups with similar objectives. The most logical ally, it seemed to many members, was the labour movement, which too was in the process of experimenting with political action with the newly-formed Independent Labor Party (ILP).

In most accounts of the UFO, the explanation for the divisions between labour and farmers is fairly simple. On the one hand, labour was pro-tariff while, on the other hand, farmers were decidedly anti-tariff.¹⁵⁰ Although this interpretation is borne out to a certain extent when the central organizations of the two groups are examined, it is

Canadian Directory of Parliament 1867-1967 (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1968), p. 510.

¹⁴⁹ Orillia Times, 13 October 1921, p. 6. Ross was pleased that the Progressives did not have a central campaign fund: "Anyone who stoops to use such funds sells himself into bondage. Only by having representatives who will stand true to their principles, no matter what pressure is brought to bear upon them, can Canada be extricated from its present unfavourable condition." Ibid., 24 November 1921, p. 1; Collingwood Bulletin, 24 November 1921, p. 4. See also the comments of Compton Jeffs, the Progressive candidate for South Simcoe (Barrie Northern Advance, 8 September 1921, p. 6; 3 November 1921, p. 2), and those of West Lambton candidate R.J. White (Forest Free Press, 16 November 1921, p. 3).

¹⁵⁰ See, for example, W.L. Morton, The Progressive Party in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950 - reprinted with corrections, 1967), p. 118.

far too simplistic an explanation when the focus moves to the grassroots. The tariff, although a concern, had relatively little to do with local battles between farmers and labourers, as an examination of UFO/ILP relations in the three counties under consideration clearly demonstrates.

It appears that local UFO and labour groups interacted only sporadically before the 1919 Ontario election and, at that time, any differences the two groups had were not seen as particularly important ones. When the election was called, however, it seems that local UFO and labour organizations came together spontaneously to fight what they perceived to be a common foe -- the 'Big Interests'. It was during this process that both groups realized that, although there were similarities between them, there were also some profound differences.

Evidence suggests that in several ridings the UFO invited labourers and returned soldiers¹⁵¹ to nomination meetings, and that both groups eagerly accepted. In some

¹⁵¹ As will be seen, on several occasions returned soldiers were represented separately at UFO/ILP conventions. The documentary evidence suggests, however, that they were not a particularly vocal group. Although this should not be construed as meaning that returned soldiers, as an entity, were unimportant, a decision has been made here to focus on the more public deliberations among ILP and UFO members. On the politicization of returned soldiers, see Desmond Morton and Glenn Wright, Winning the Second Battle: Canadian Veterans and the Return to Civilian Life 1915-1930 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987). Even Morton and Wright acknowledge that, with respect to the 1921 campaign, "Considering the veterans' role in 1917 and the anathema the GWVA had pronounced on the Unionists in 1920, veterans had remarkably little to say in the contest." (p. 162).

ridings, such as West Simcoe, relations between farmers and labourers remained fairly cordial for the duration of the campaign.¹⁵² In others, UFO overtures for a united campaign were rebuffed.¹⁵³ In addition, in several jurisdictions no effort at all was made to officially unite farmer and labour forces.¹⁵⁴ In still other ridings, confusion led to a situation whereby UFO and ILP candidates squared off against each other in the election.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵² The only divisive issue was that of the eight-hour day. Richard Baker, the UFO candidate nominated for the riding and a farmer, avoided a split between the two groups by stating his support for the eight-hour day, as long as it did not apply to farm labour. The main union in the riding was the Collingwood Maritime Trades Association, which backed Baker's campaign. Collingwood Enterprise, 11 September 1919, p. 8; Collingwood Bulletin, 11 September 1919, p. 1. In fact, the local ILP used Baker's position on the eight-hour day in their election advertisements. Collingwood Saturday News, 18 October 1919, p. 1. In West Lambton, the UFO and ILP formally amalgamated in 1920 to fight the next federal election. Petrolia Advertiser-Topic, 22 July 1920, p. 8.

¹⁵³ In North Lanark, for example, UFO members approached the Almonte local of the United Textile Workers of America in order to obtain its support. Farmers pointed out that they received 9 cents per pound for the choicest beef, while workers paid 40 cents per pound for steak. If farmers and workers were to co-operate, this gap might be reduced. In response, the union claimed that it had too much on its agenda to consider the proposal. Almonte Gazette, 19 September 1919, p. 1.

¹⁵⁴ This was the case in East Lambton, where the prospect of meeting with ILP officials does not seem to have been raised during meetings held to determine whether or not to field a UFO candidate. LCA, East Lambton Minutes), 24 July 1919, 20 August 1919. The fact that East Lambton was overwhelmingly rural probably explains the decision not to affiliate formally with the ILP.

¹⁵⁵ This was the case in South Lanark, where the local UFO nominated a farmer candidate without consulting with the ILP. In response, the ILP nominated Richard Grant as its

East Simcoe provides a good example of the complexities and difficulties that were overcome in order to field a UFO/ILP candidate. During the nomination meeting, to which both returned soldiers and workers were invited, Frank Foster, business manager of the Orillia Federal Labour Union (which, according to Foster, had 652 members), stated that the only plank that soldiers and labourers could not endorse was the call for prohibition. The issue, Foster believed, should be left for the people to decide in a referendum. Even the farmers' stand on the tariff would not cause very much trouble, thought Foster, who believed that high tariffs did not help Ontario workers in any meaningful way.

When asked if there were any aspects of the ILP's platform that the farmers would object to, meeting chairman E.C. Drury felt that the eight-hour day might be problematic. Drury asked labour and soldier delegates to put themselves in the place of farmers, who could never work an eight-hour day and expect to run a profitable operation. As well, if urban workers were granted an eight-hour day, it would make towns and cities more attractive for rural youth,

candidate. UFO candidate W.I. Johnson suggested that, if labour supported the UFO in the provincial contest, the UFO would return the favour by backing an ILP candidate in the next federal election, but to no avail. Smiths Falls Record-News, 2 October 1919, p. 1; Almonte Gazette, 10 October 1919, p. 11. Grant's platform, it bears mentioning, was no more radical than that of the UFO. See Smiths Falls Record-News, 16 October 1919, p. 1. In addition, in West Lambton, UFO members nominated Jonah M. Webster, while the ILP nominated James S. Crawford. Sun, 13 August 1919, p. 11.

providing more incentive when the labour situation was already dire, for their leaving the farm. Instead of offering to support the plank, Drury argued that the only difference between farmers and labourers was that workers sold their labour for wages, whereas farmers sold "theirs in the form of produce." It is not known whether farmers in the audience supported Drury on this point, but the absence of any objection implies that there was general agreement.¹⁵⁶ Subsequently, the delegates were presented with three options: farmers could nominate their own candidate; farmers could support an ILP candidate; or a joint UFO/ILP convention could be held to nominate a joint candidate.¹⁵⁷ Ultimately, the third option won out, and a committee was struck to devise a mutually satisfactory platform. Those in attendance agreed to meet again the following month.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ Orillia Packet, 28 August 1919, pp. 1, 8.

¹⁵⁷ The problem with East Simcoe, as Drury remarked, was that the urban and rural populations were almost equal. Hence, neither group could be elected without the support of the other.

¹⁵⁸ Although not reported in the local press, a Toronto Star article claimed that the meeting was a highly acrimonious one, with R.H. Halbert allegedly saying to Foster "It looks to me as if Labor is afraid of the farmers," to which Foster was reported to have replied "Labor is afraid of no one. There is a chance of a cleavage here, and I warn you to avoid boasting." None of this was reported in local press stories, but the Star article was reprinted in the Collingwood Bulletin, 4 September 1919, p. 6. In addition, a week after the original convention, the Packet quoted an unnamed prominent local farmer who insisted that farmers wanted their own candidate, and that they did not wish to be seen as connected with the ILP. Orillia Packet, 28 August 1919, p. 8. One wonders if this was a true reflection of the farmer's

Approximately 450 delegates attended the 8 September meeting at Orillia: 200 UFO members, 200 ILP supporters, and 50 returned soldiers. Drury reported that the ILP and UFO platforms had been effectively combined with a few alterations.¹⁵⁹ Before proceeding with the selection of the candidate, he made two things clear. First, whoever was chosen would enjoy the full support of both the UFO and the ILP, no matter who won and, second, the candidate would be required to sign recall papers. John Benjamin Johnston, a manufacturer's agent for stoves and milking machines, was nominated as the UFO/ILP/Soldier candidate.¹⁶⁰ Despite substantial opposition from many local newspapers, the fragility of the alliance, and the fact that the candidate was of limited talent, Johnston defeated his Conservative and Grit opponents.¹⁶¹ Farmers, labour and soldiers had

sentiment, or if the Packet, not known for its sympathy for farmers or for labour, distorted the statement or even fabricated it.

¹⁵⁹ The alterations, however, were not reported in newspaper accounts. In all likelihood, temperance and eight-hour day concerns were watered down so as to be mutually satisfactory.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 11 September 1919, pp. 1, 6. Local newspapers could not resist pointing out the irony of farmers', who complained about not having enough of their own at Queen's Park, nominating an industrialists' agent as their candidate. As the Packet emphasized with glee, Johnston, neither worked on a farm nor in a factory, and he had not served in the armed forces. Ibid., 11 September 1919, p. 9; 9 October 1919, p. 1; Orillia Times, 25 September 1919, p. 4.

¹⁶¹ On Johnston's shortcomings (most notably his evasiveness and his lack of skill in public-speaking), see Ibid., 16 October 1919, p. 6; Orillia Weekly Times, 16 October

successfully united to defeat the 'Big Interests', at least in East Simcoe.¹⁶²

Despite the victory and the coalition government, difficulties in reconciling the three groups remained. Again, East Simcoe is illustrative of the problems that beset the movement. The 1920 annual UFO convention in East Simcoe featured a prolonged debate on whether or not to form a united front of farmers, workers and returned soldiers to contest the next federal election. A. Jackson, representing the Trades and Labour Council, submitted four planks that the Council wished to see added to the Farmers' Platform: 1) an eight-hour day; 2) old age pensions; 3) a fair rent clause; 4) an amendment to the Criminal Code so as to include profiteering. Thomas Swindle, chair of the meeting,

1919, p. 6; Orillia Packet, 16 October 1919, p. 8.

¹⁶² At an Oro Station UFO meeting held shortly after the election, Johnston and Foster both spoke on the differences between the two groups, apparently to underscore how difficult the next few years would be. SCA, Oro Station Minutes, 23 October 1919, p. 1. Tensions between these two dissident groups did flare up from time to time after 1919. In Lanark, the ILP chose Duncan H. Gemmell in 1920 to contest the next federal election, and asked the Smiths Falls UFO to endorse the choice. Although some farmers believed that the two groups should amalgamate, others felt that the ILP's persistent call for an eight-hour day made an alliance an impossibility. UFO members ultimately decided that it "would not endorse anything but an open convention" to select a candidate. One farmer, James Porter, said that Almonte Labourites had recently stated that they would field a candidate regardless of what the farmers decided to do: "We offered to go before them in open convention...but they didn't want that." By that time, the ILP claimed a membership of 4,000 in the County, a claim which some UFO members dismissed as a gross exaggeration. Smiths Falls Record-News, 3 November 1920, p. 2.

felt that the only contentious point was an eight-hour day but, in a conciliatory gesture, said that the Progressives could suggest to Parliament that a board be appointed "to fix the hours in each industry...making the health of the men the first consideration." This appeased the labour representatives, who agreed to work out a mutually satisfactory platform.¹⁶³

Tensions between the two groups in East Simcoe mounted, however, as the election neared. UFO, ILP and returned soldier delegates -- between 700 and 800 in all-- gathered at a convention at Midland in October 1921 to select a candidate. Prior to the meeting there had been rumours that the ILP would attempt to have Manley Chew, a local manufacturer and former federal Liberal candidate, nominated as the Progressive candidate.¹⁶⁴ Why labour supported Chew is unknown,¹⁶⁵ but several farmer delegates adamantly opposed his nomination, insisting that an arrangement had been made in 1919 whereby the riding was to be represented provincially by the ILP and federally by the UFO.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ Orillia Packet, 7 October 1920, p. 1; Orillia Times, 7 October 1920, pp. 1, 4.

¹⁶⁴ Chew had contested the 1908, 1911, and 1917 elections, and had been elected in 1911.

¹⁶⁵ Some ILP members may have believed that Chew would attract Liberals to the Progressive cause.

¹⁶⁶ The agreement seems to have been lost sometime between 1919 and 1921 but there was an alleged copy which read: "We, the undersigned, on behalf of the United Farmers, returned soldiers and Labourites, agree that the following

Tempers flared to the point that one of the UFO organizers told the farmer delegates to adjourn to a nearby hall to nominate their own candidate, as the UFO could not accept a manufacturer as its representative.¹⁶⁷

As the farmers rose to leave, local labour leader David Kennedy announced that there was still hope that a compromise could be reached, "as the Labor Men were in a position to nominate a candidate who has the confidence of every labour man, farmer and soldier who had ever done a cent's worth of business with him," meaning Chew. Kennedy also said he was unaware of anything in the UFO constitution that precluded a manufacturer from running as a UFO candidate, and that even Crerar tried to "retain the services of a professional man -- Dr. Michael Clark." Thus, he reasoned, the objection to Chew "was not one of principle."¹⁶⁸ He then led the Labor and soldier delegates

shall be the basis of representation: Labor and Returned Soldiers to have representation in the Ontario Legislature, and the U.F.O. to name a candidate for the Federal House, to be endorsed by the aforesaid body and supported to the last ditch." The document, dated 27 September 1919, was signed by 12 prominent Labourites, UFO members, and returned soldiers. Orillia Packet, 6 October 1921, p. 1.

¹⁶⁷ According to one account, the UFO delegates were willing to abandon the agreement on the condition that the nominee be either a farmer, a worker, or a returned soldier. "Against a manufacturer they were adamant." Collingwood Enterprise, 13 October 1921, p. 2.

¹⁶⁸ Kennedy's reference to Clarke is a reference to his defection from the Progressives owing to his belief that it had become a class movement. Clarke's defection was seized upon by the old party press, and Crerar's attempt to bring him back into the fold was more damage control than anything else.

out of the hall so that the UFO delegates could determine how to proceed.

Now on their own, the farmer delegates discussed what had just transpired. G.R. Murdoch, UFO MPP for Centre Simcoe, expressed his regret at what had happened, but said that the incident was not the farmers' fault: "The whole thing had been organised from beginning to end by capitalistic interests...The farmers were for equal rights for all, and privileges to none. The capitalists were for themselves." The ILP delegates, Murdoch contended, were just as self-destructive as those in the Legislature. J.B. Johnston, the newly-elected UFO MPP for East Simcoe, did not think that the rift between the ILP and the UFO was a permanent one. He referred to himself as a representative of the workers, and thought that the delegates should simply select the candidate with the greatest number of votes. At that point, a Mr. Yeats of Penetanguishene said that when Johnston was nominated he had signed an agreement stating that a farmer should have the federal nomination, to which Johnston said that he had "never repudiated the agreement." Thomas Swindle then stated that the accord had been drafted between the ILP and the UFO, and that it "gave the farmers the right to have a farmer candidate, and Labour had no say." He went on to recall that, at the time the accord was

Wood, p. 357. See also Crerar's letter to Clarke, reprinted in the Sarnia Canadian Observer, 23 September 1921, p. 13.

signed, the workers had said "Put up your farmer and we will show you how we stick." With respect to the present dilemma, Swindle said he was glad that "the farmers had stood up and said no. They wanted no manufacturer or manufacturer's tool" to represent the Progressives. Frank Foster argued that there was enough talent to choose from among the farmers, so there was no need to look elsewhere. Although Chew might appear to be a worthy citizen, farmers "had been beguiled before." Chew, Foster claimed, was "one of the capitalistic class. If elected would he be true to (the) principles" of the UFO?¹⁶⁹

At the end of the day the farmers decided to nominate their own candidate. Thomas Swindle was chosen,¹⁷⁰ and he sent a number of olive branches to the ILP and returned soldiers. He stated, for example, that in principle he favoured an eight-hour day (although it should not be legislated until later), and that he felt that the government should pay returned soldiers a sum equal to what

¹⁶⁹ Journalist W.L. Smith also spoke briefly to the delegates, and argued that the position in which the farmers found themselves was a difficult one, but that "it was a local question to settle among themselves." Orillia Packet, 6 October 1921, p. 5.

¹⁷⁰ Owing to the lateness of the day (voting did not commence until 6:00 p.m.), and the fact that the hall had to be vacated by 7:00 p.m., UFO organizers attempted to use open voting for the nominations. The assembled group would have nothing of it, however, and insisted on a secret ballot. Three candidates agreed to stand for nomination, and when the second place candidate offered to step down after the first ballot, the farmers refused to let him do so, and insisted on a second ballot.

they would have received if they had been employed at home during the War.¹⁷¹ The ILP never officially responded to these overtures.

Living in a system in which the interests of workers were at odds with those at farmers, it is natural to assume that there would be differences between the two groups in their fights against the 'Big Interests.' In many cases, the differences were too profound to overcome. But in some ridings there were sincere and creative efforts to unite agrarian and worker parties in an attempt to gain representation in the Legislature.

Conclusion

The Great War and the period which followed contained many of the elements necessary for the emergence of a movement culture of opposition. During the War, farmers saw a government attempt to take away their labour force for military service, while simultaneously granting benefits to industrialists who made immense profits from the War. For

¹⁷¹ The account of this meeting is a composite derived from several area newspapers: Ibid.; Orillia Times, 6 October 1921, pp. 1, 4; Collingwood Enterprise, 13 October 1921, p. 2. Manley Chew was eventually selected by the Liberals to contest the riding, and he received the support of the Orillia Times, which castigated the farmers for selfishly keeping their own candidate in the contest, thus opening up the possibility of splitting the non-Tory vote. The editor could not see by the UFO would allow this to happen, considering its object -- "the defeat of the Meighen government." Undoubtedly this must have come as a surprise to some Progressives, who believed that the object was to defeat the party system, not just one party. See Orillia Times, 20 October 1921, p. 4; Orillia Packet, 13 October 1921, p. 1; 20 October 1921, p. 1.

many UFO members this was yet another example of a polity dominated by the wishes of the 'Big Interests'. The media, itself part of the dominant class, continued to mystify Canadians about the true state of affairs with its use of propaganda and outright deception. Urban society, growing at an alarming rate, was pushing its own version of morality upon the populace, a morality which was at odds with what most farmers believed.

Where, then, did UFO members see themselves in terms of class and in relation to capitalism and the free enterprise market system? In this chapter one can ascertain that members saw themselves not as capitalists who controlled the means of production and who exploited labour. Instead, they saw themselves as being part of an exploited group. In the absence of holding a collective monopoly over agricultural produce (which, as is argued in the chapter on co-operation, was not their intention), farmers were vulnerable to the decisions of food processing companies and retailers who were, in turn, conditioned by international markets and prices. In short, farmers were so far down the chain of production that their agency was negligible.¹⁷² Add to this the notion that UFO adherents believed that they also had no agency in the political process, and one is able to discern a movement that was attempting to redress the power

¹⁷² See Melville H. Staples, The Challenge of Agriculture: The Story of the United Farmers of Ontario (Toronto: George N. Morang, 1921), p. 156.

imbalances that it perceived.

In 1921 the movement could be characterized as embodying hope, idealism and enthusiasm, all of which centred upon increasing citizen participation in public policy formulation. In short, one sees in the UFO a strong element of an unconscious strain of anarchism. From the many messages UFO members were inundated with during the immediate post-War period -- from the movements' leaders, from the farm press, and from their own experiences -- a common theme emerged: something was wrong. The traditional ethos that hard work and moral living led to a rich and contented life was exposed as a myth. These values, in themselves, did not produce a harmonious society because there were larger forces that sought to destroy it. It was only through the diligent efforts of groups such as the UFO that the 'Big Interests' had not succeeded in doing so. Still, one could not help but be demoralised by living in a social, political and economic system that demanded that it be watched constantly.

In response, local UFO clubs banded together and decided to fight those responsible on their own terms. In response to being slaves to the dictates of middlemen, they established co-operatives (discussed in chapter 6). In response to what they perceived to be a hopelessly corrupt system, they decided to contest elections. That they were able to produce a political force capable of securing power

provincially and electing enough MPs to have the right to be the Official Opposition (although the right was not exercised) was a formidable accomplishment. UFO members had done their part; it was now up to those they elected to begin the process of setting things right.

Chapter 4

"Sane and Careful Administration": The UFO Movement in Decline

Rank and file UFO members might be excused for believing that Canada would witness profound change following the 1921 federal election. After all, the UFO had formed the government in Ontario in 1919 and the Progressive party, having just contested its first election, now occupied 64 seats in the House of Commons -- enough to form the Official Opposition¹ and enough to hold the balance of power in the federal arena.² Many farmers took the words of the movement's leaders at face value and envisioned a new society that would check the influence of the 'Big Interests' and give common people more agency in how their country was governed.

Aside from a few reforms, however, the promise of

¹ However, the party executive decided not to exercise this privilege, thus allowing the Conservatives to assume the role. See John Herd Thompson with Allen Seager, Canada 1922-1939: Decades of Discord (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1985), pp. 27-8. Of the 64 seats, 24 were from Ontario ridings.

² Equally important, in the 1919 provincial election the UFO received 254,923 votes out of 1,176,541 total valid votes, which represented 21.7% of the popular vote. In 1921 the Progressives received 314,092 votes out of 1,135,424, or 27.7% of the popular votes in the province. As a result, there was some momentum to that point. Chief Election Officer, Electoral History of Ontario: Candidates and Results with Statistics from the Records, 1867-1982 (Toronto: Office of the Chief Election Officer, n.d.), pp. J5-J6; J.M. Beck, Pendulum of Power: Canada's Federal Elections (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1968), pp. 160-1.

change did not materialize in any meaningful sense, and by 1923 the UFO had entered into a period of decline from which it never recovered. This chapter explores how and why this happened. Although some members, and even some clubs, attempted to advance an alternative vision of what society should be like, their efforts were negated by the central body and UFO legislators who, for several reasons, adopted a moderate stance once elected. At the federal level, reforms were virtually impossible because the Progressives were reluctant to use their power to defeat the King Government. At the provincial level, there was an unwillingness on the part of UFO MPPs to rock the boat in any significant way, and the 'broadening out' controversy -- the split over whether the UFO should expand so as to include non-farmers or whether it should remain an agrarian movement -- sapped the UFO of much of its energy.³ One may debate the causes for the UFO's decline -- inexperience, strained relations with labour, deference to power, internal discord, and so on -- but the consequence of this decline is indisputable. The widespread changes that rank and file UFO members expected never materialized.

On the matter of cause, it is contended here that there was much more working to defeat the movement than its

³ On the broadening out debate, see Wayne Crawford Brown, "The Broadening Out Controversy: E.C. Drury, J.J. Morrison and the United Farmers of Ontario," MA Thesis, University of Guelph, 1979.

declining ties with labour and its parliamentary failures. The UFO did not exist in a vacuum. It was part of a society in which many features were so firmly entrenched that they were accepted almost as revealed truth. That the movement was able to challenge some fundamental assumptions (the two-party system, the first-past-the-post electoral system, private ownership of community property, etc.) stands as testament to its ability to critically evaluate what surrounded it, and to its perseverance. Yet the pressures wielded by the 'old order' made it extraordinarily difficult to sustain this effort.

In Ontario there were those who benefitted -- sometimes immensely -- from the preservation of the status quo. Moreover, although the UFO attained a measure of political power, those who opposed it still had other forms of power at their disposal that they were fully willing to utilize. The old order was not going to pass away without a fight, and the strategies it employed in combatting the UFO were numerous. The movement could be ridiculed, discredited, ignored as a statistical aberration⁴ or, even more

⁴ The political success of the UFO and Progressive party in Ontario in 1919 and 1921 was, in fact, a statistical aberration. Although in 1919 the UFO won more seats than any other party, it received only 21.7% of the popular vote. The Tories and Liberals received 34.9% and 26.9% of the popular vote respectively, even though they elected fewer MPPs. As was mentioned above, in 1921 Ontario Progressives received 27.7% of the popular vote. Thus, although there was momentum to that point, the chances of the UFO repeating its success in 1922 was slim, especially given the overall inexorable shift in the rural/urban population figures. The point here is that the

effectively, dismissed as well-intentioned but wrong-headed. A substantial portion of this chapter is thus devoted to the power of hegemony, and to those cultural agents who either actively promoted the benefits of returning to the old order or recaptured UFO members' support through a host of strategies.

Before proceeding, it should be noted, first, that as was the case in the chapter describing the rise of the movement, much of the activity examined here relates to elections. Sources for local activity are even scarcer for this period than they are for the 1910s and early 1920s. Newspaper coverage of the UFO declined substantially after the 1921 contest, especially regarding the activities of local clubs. One of the few times local groups received any significant notice was during election campaigns.

Second, throughout this chapter it is noted that UFO members faced a constant barrage of mixed messages from their leaders, from the media, from the old political parties and, at times, from within their own clubs. Although an effort has been made to analyze each of these agents separately, they overlap from time to time in both their pronouncements and their efforts. Ideally, each agent might be treated as a discrete entity, but it is more realistic to

1919 and 1921 election results could only arouse false hopes among farmers for further political success because there was no basis for growth if the movement remained a strictly rural one. Electoral History of Ontario, pp. J5-J6; Beck, pp. 160-1.

describe how these forces intersected and reinforced one another to bring the full weight of hegemony to bear on UFO rank and file.

Third, it must be stressed that writing about the decline of a movement such as the UFO requires considerable speculation. Tracing the diminution of the oppositional rhetoric of the movement's leadership is difficult enough, but it is even more problematic trying to document variations in the intellectual workings of individual farmers. Yet, if one reads enough of the evidence, one discerns that rank and file members became demoralized as they gradually realized that their monumental effort to break free from repressive societal norms did not automatically mean the enactment of fundamental change. It is in this context, then, that one obtains a better understanding of how UFO members became resigned to the status quo and of why they returned to old political allegiances.

UFO Leaders

The standard interpretation of the UFO is that it was, in the main, "crypto-Liberal" in thought and practice.⁵ As was shown in the preceding chapter, this generalization is misconceived since it incorrectly paints all UFO members with the same brush. At the same time, the misconception is

⁵ See David Laycock, Populism and Democratic Thought in the Canadian Prairies 1910-1945 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), pp. 25-6.

an understandable one, because so much attention has been paid to the movement's leadership, where the UFO's crypto-Liberal stream found its clearest expression. Of course, given that the movement's leaders were often portrayed and perceived as the force that would liberate farmers (and, by extension, society) from serfdom to the old parties and vested interests, the implications of their crypto-liberalism are profound.⁶ Examples of the leaders' thoughts and actions after obtaining provincial power and federal prominence serve not only to illustrate the importance that these figures were accorded by the media and by UFO members,

⁶ The emphasis on the UFO's leaders is, not unexpectedly, evident in the Sun. But, it is perhaps more surprising that other pro-UFO newspapers focused on these individuals to an even greater extent. James Muir, editor of the pro-UFO Almonte Gazette, is a case in point. See, for example, his editorial in 1920 entitled "Farmers Govt Carries Out Its Platform," Almonte Gazette, 4 June 1920, p. 6. According to Muir, during the government's first session, "practically the whole of the U.F.O. election platform was passed, leaving Premier Drury in a state of satisfaction...the quantity of legislation handled by the session has been much above the ordinary. Over 250 bills have been handled, while the average session sees the introduction of only about 150." Earlier that year Muir had used the top left-hand corner of his newspaper -- a space usually devoted to the weather or left blank -- to pronounce that "The number of things done in the Toronto Legislature is startling." Ibid., 30 April 1920, p. 1. See also Ibid., 14 January 1921, p. 3, where it was noted that the next legislative session would be even better than the preceding one, because the government had had time "to look around and (study) the requirements of the people." Muir even jumped the gun from time to time and applauded legislation that had not passed and would, in fact, never be passed. See, for example, his confident prediction that the UFO would introduce the Hare system of proportional representation during the fall 1920 legislative session. Ibid., 23 July 1920, p. 7. See also Ibid., 21 January 1921, p. 1; 5 August 1921, p. 1.

but also to demonstrate the influence that the messages they disseminated ultimately had on the movement's rank and file.

Owing to his position as Premier, much attention was accorded E.C. Drury by the media and by the UFO's rank and file. Although Drury realized that he could not afford to alienate members of his support-base, and although he genuinely tried to address some of their concerns, there were indications early on that farmers would have to watch him and his ministers closely.⁷

Immediately after the 1919 election victory Drury, although Premier, did not have a seat in the Legislature, nor did Agriculture Minister Manning Doherty and Attorney General W.E. Raney. Tempers flared in the riding of South Renfrew, near Lanark, when it was rumoured that UFO MPP John Carty might be asked to resign his seat in favour of Doherty. The central UFO eventually decided not to ask this of Carty, but the incident left some local members wondering how different the new government was from its predecessor, given that they were almost asked to sacrifice constituency autonomy -- and their MPP -- in deference to central authority.⁸ Aside from a few slips such as this,⁹ however,

⁷ On the early years of the Drury Government, see Charles M. Johnston, E.C. Drury: Agrarian Idealist (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), pp. 68-82.

⁸ The Almonte Gazette complained that Drury and Doherty remained without seats because many UFO clubs "refused to allow their elected representatives to resign and thus make the way for non-elected ministers. This failure to provide seats for ministers shows a serious lack of party loyalty."

Drury convinced many supporters by his performance that he was leading "a movement of Democracy," to use his own words, that would enable common people to participate meaningfully in the political process.¹⁰

Over the next three years, the Drury Government legislated, by contemporary standards, a number of progressive measures, but little changed regarding the

Almonte Gazette, 9 January 1920, p. 3 (emphasis added). For a newspaper that vilified blind obedience in the Liberal and Conservative parties, this was a curious stance to adopt. On the issue, see also Forest Standard, 25 December 1919, p. 1; Almonte Gazette, 23 January 1920, p. 2. For an overview, see Dudley Alexander Bristow, "Agrarian Interest in the Politics of Ontario: A Study with Special Reference to the Period 1919-1949," MA Thesis, University of Toronto, 1950, p. 35.

⁹ For example, in October 1920 rural residents learned of Drury's reluctance to oppose proposed Bell telephone rate increases on the ground that the federal government owned "more than one-half the railway mileage of Canada and the Provincial Government did not want to clash with the Federal power." At that time Bell had an exclusive contract with Canada's railways regarding its long-distance lines, and was regulated by the federal Board of Railway Commissioners. Christopher Armstrong and H.V. Nelles, Monopoly's Moment: The Organization and Regulation of Canadian Utilities, 1830-1930 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), pp. 163-86. On the 1920 rate increase, see Ibid., pp. 276-7. Drury eventually stated his opposition to the proposal. Forest Standard, 7 October 1920, p. 1.

¹⁰ Drury's quotation come from a speech he delivered in Orillia shortly after the 1919 election. Manning Doherty expressed similar sentiments in Lambton a short time later. Forest Standard, 23 June 1920, p. 1. See also J.J. Morrison's comments, made almost simultaneously to Lambton UFO members, in which he noted that the time was ripe to secure "some new means for the obtaining of the concensus (sic) of opinion of the people on which, and only on which, the country should be ruled." Ibid., 1 July 1920, p. 3. See also Ibid., 8 July 1920, p. 1.

political process.¹¹ Although Drury could boast of having implemented several reforms during the 1923 campaign, he was forced to remain silent on several planks of the Farmers' Platform, the guiding principles in the UFO's political agenda.¹² An examination of how Drury conducted the campaign provides a good example of the mixed messages UFO members received.

In May 1923, shortly before the election, Drury drew a packed house at the Balderson Theatre in Perth. He began his speech by noting that it was "a wholesome thing when the citizens could turn out at even a busy time to hear public matters discussed."¹³ What followed, however, was not so much a discussion as it was a lecture. He spoke at length in defence of his government's accomplishments, particularly those regarding temperance legislation. Concluding, Drury felt that the UFO should be re-elected for the province's welfare, because his government

stood for sane and careful administration,

¹¹ On UFO legislation, see Johnston, esp. pp. 149-65.

¹² To be fair, many of the Platform's planks fell under federal jurisdiction (such as tariff and taxation matters), but there were some which could have been acted upon by the provincial government, but were not. For instance, the province would have been within its rights to implement programs for returned soldiers in urban areas; to extend co-operative agencies, "including arrangements with consumer societies for the supplying of foodstuffs at the lowest rates"; and to implement a number of electoral reforms. For the text of the Farmers' Platform, see Appendix V.

¹³ Smiths Falls Record-News, 31 May 1923, p. 3. Drury's words were paraphrased in this article.

bettering of the educational system, safe Hydro Electric and Hydro Radial development, bettering administration of forests and enforcement of the Ontario Temperance Act.¹⁴

All noble goals, to be sure, but they were not in the same league as promising to quash the 'Big Interests' and thus eliminate the stranglehold they had on Ontario's citizens, the commitment that had been advanced in the previous campaign. In fact, if the press accounts of his speech are accurate, Drury made no mention at all of the importance of checking the influence of the 'Big Interests', of the desirability of reforming the electoral system, or of the need for greater citizen participation in public affairs.¹⁵

During the 1923 campaign Drury was forced to adopt a defensive position; after all, he had to campaign on the performance of his government. Although he easily defended his record on radials, temperance, forest management, and similar moderate accomplishments, other policies created problems for Drury. Instead of outlawing race track betting, for example, the government had imposed a tax on winnings.

¹⁴ Perth Courier, 1 June 1923, p. 4.

¹⁵ Drury made a similar speech in Carleton Place later that day. See Almonte Gazette, 1 June 1923, p. 4. To be fair to Drury, it bears mentioning that UFO/ILP MPPs in the Legislature only added up to 55, in a House of 111. Drury was understandably careful and compromising at times because he had to count on the support of other MPPs (mainly Liberals) to stay in power. Johnston, pp. 81-2.

Justifying the policy in Simcoe during the campaign,¹⁶ Drury argued that "the Province could not stop betting, so what was wrong in taking a part of the proceeds and making it a little less attractive."¹⁷ Only a few years earlier the Drury Government had enacted some of the most stringent temperance legislation in the country. Gambling was, however, apparently conceived as qualitatively different from alcohol consumption. Drury pronounced that, although drinking could be abolished, the evil of gambling could not, and it was, therefore, desirable to profit from it. Given the strong evangelical tendency within the UFO and its hope for inculcating the polity with a greater sense of morality, this position must have perplexed and even annoyed some supporters.

During the 1923 campaign Drury was largely silent about such matters as the transferable vote and proportional representation, two planks of the Farmers' Platform that could legally be implemented at the provincial level. He did

¹⁶ Drury spoke on several occasions in Simcoe during the 1923 campaign. In commenting on a rally held in Orillia, local newspapers noted that there was none of the enthusiasm that had been evidenced at UFO gatherings in the past. The hall in which the rally took place was not even filled. Orillia Times, 14 June 1923, p. 4; Orillia Packet, 14 June 1923, p. 2.

¹⁷ Ibid., 24 May 1923, pp. 2-3; Barrie Northern Advance, 24 May 1923, p. 5; Collingwood Enterprise, 31 May 1923, p. 4. For accounts of other speeches Drury made in Simcoe during the campaign, see Orillia Times, 14 June 1923, p. 4; Orillia Packet, 14 June 1923, p. 2. Drury had defended his stand on race track betting a year earlier in Oro Station. Barrie Northern Advance, 27 July 1922, p. 5.

state, conversely, that if he and his government were returned, he would implement some form of closure in the Legislature. He had opposed such measures in the past, but he had changed his views and now felt that the government needed a means of ensuring that debate ended after a reasonable time. According to Drury, the filibuster at Queen's Park shortly before the election was called meant that the 1923 contest was being held "without redistribution and without provision for the transferable vote."¹⁸ Thus, instead of advancing a policy that allowed for expanded democratic forms, Drury used part of the campaign to promote a contrary notion -- the reduction in freedom for MPPs in the Legislature. As a representative of a party that advocated constituency autonomy and MPP responsibility to their constituents, this must have been confusing.

In August 1923, after the movement's defeat in the election, Drury announced that he would not continue to lead the UFO unless a convention was held to ratify his leadership, and unless he was free to pursue his plans for a Peoples' party. In a speech he delivered at a UFO picnic at Wasaga Beach later that month, he actually attacked the UFO,

¹⁸ Orillia Packet, 24 May 1923, pp. 2-3; Barrie Northern Advance, 24 May 1923, p. 5; Collingwood Enterprise, 31 May 1923, p. 4. A month earlier Drury had stated in the Legislature: "There is no closure in this House and I hope the time will not come when there will be, but free speech should not be abused." For an account of the debate which resulted in the abandonment of redistribution and the transferable vote, see Almonte Gazette, 27 April 1923, p. 2. Drury's quotation is from this article.

claiming that it was run by a clique. What was needed, declared Drury, was for the movement to broaden its base of support. Although it is debatable as to how this would eliminate elite domination of the UFO, Drury's sentiments "appeared to find favor with many of the hearers, to judge by the applause."¹⁹

That Drury drew applause for his proposed Peoples' party underscores a significant problem that rank and file members faced -- what was the ultimate goal of the UFO? For some, the movement existed for the benefit of farmers and farmers alone. If other groups wished to organize to safeguard their interests, and if these interests sometimes intersected with those of farmers, then well and good. Such groups, however, were to remain separate and distinct from the UFO. There were other members, conversely, who saw the UFO as a movement that should ultimately benefit all common people. If the democratic measures it advocated were implemented, then it would enable other groups to liberate themselves as the UFO had, and would lead inevitably to the betterment of humankind. Thus, there was nothing wrong with forming a Peoples' party -- that was, in fact, the logical conclusion of the UFO's agenda. Still others never appeared to make the distinction between the two camps, either seeming to support Drury and Morrison at the same time, or dismissing the debate as irrelevant to their locally-based

¹⁹ Ibid., 10 August 1923, p. 1.

democratic agenda. As will be seen, the issue was never satisfactorily resolved among the movement's rank and file.

Drury continued to have a substantial effect on the movement, or at least upon Simcoe UFO members. After losing his seat in 1923, he sought federal office in the 1925 contest, when he was the only Progressive candidate for the two federal Simcoe constituencies. Drury sought the North Simcoe seat which, at that time, was held by Progressive T.E. Ross who, it appears, intended to seek re-election.²⁰ At the nomination meeting, Ross and Drury were chosen to stand as candidates but Ross, despite being the incumbent, refused to run, claiming that Drury's "proper sphere was in Federal politics."²¹ It is not known if Ross reached this decision by himself, or if he felt intimidated by Drury's status and, thus, compelled to step aside. In any event, his

²⁰ Ross seems to have been a competent MP, one who attempted to adhere to the principles of the UFO. Speaking during the 1923 provincial campaign, he claimed that there were only two political parties -- one which represented the moneyed interests (the Liberals and Conservatives) and one which worked on behalf of the "common people." As proof that the 'Big Interests' still ran the country, he noted that, during the last session of Parliament, Liberal MP Andrew Ross McMaster introduced a motion requiring all cabinet ministers to resign their directorships of large corporations once they became ministers, and disallowing smaller companies with which ministers were involved from conducting business with the government. Only McMaster and the Progressives voted in favour of this motion, even though the Liberals supported such a measure while in opposition. Barrie Northern Advance, 24 May 1923, p. 5.

²¹ Barrie Examiner, 1 October 1925, pp. 1-2; Collingwood Bulletin, 1 October 1925, p. 1; Collingwood Enterprise, 1 October 1925, pp. 1, 5.

withdrawal undoubtedly disappointed many of his supporters, even if a former Premier was now their candidate.

Drury ran an uncontroversial campaign. In his view, the key issue was the tariff, and almost all of his efforts were devoted to advocating its elimination. The rhetoric he used is, however, revealing. For instance, one of his speeches on the tariff provides a rare glimpse of his views on what Progressivism stood for:

The question of protection is a great moral one. Allowing one class to take from another for their own personal benefit is a great moral question ...the Progressive party has been opposed to the protection interests...We are the only party interested in the welfare of the common people.²²

Although Drury may have seen the tariff as a source of all the country's problems, more often than not he failed to make this connection evident to his audiences. Regardless of the sincerity of his efforts, the fact remains that he did not delve to any great extent into the consequences of protection. Most notably, there was no reference to the 'Big Interests' who, as was claimed in the 1919 and 1921 elections, robbed common people by benefitting from such measures as high tariffs.²³

²² Barrie Examiner, 1 October 1925, pp. 1-2; Collingwood Bulletin, 1 October 1925, p. 1; Collingwood Enterprise, 1 October 1925, pp. 1, 5. Drury also spoke on the subject of prohibition. See, for example, Barrie Examiner, 22 October 1925, p. 1.

²³ There were a few exceptions. For example, in a debate on the topic with his Conservative opponent, W.A. Boys, Drury argued that the tariff was iniquitous and inflationary,

Drury was not the only UFO leader to propagate moderate or mixed messages after the electoral successes. R.H. Halbert, speaking to Almonte UFO members, said that before he was elected to the House of Commons he believed that the person who stole from the public purse was the greatest danger to the country. Since being elected, however, he had changed his mind and now believed that "the man who stirs the fires of racial and religious hatred is the greatest menace the country had today." That Halbert, who at that time was a member in good standing in the Orange Order,²⁴ could become more tolerant is admirable; that he now believed racist forces to be more dangerous than the 'Big Interests' is somewhat more problematic. As is demonstrated in other chapters, there were UFO members who believed that the 'Big Interests' actually fostered racial hatred and various forms of intolerance to suit their own ends. Thus, Halbert may have presented his audience with a cause-and-effect inversion that made little sense.

Even J.J. Morrison, the leader most often labelled a radical, did not always appear as one. At a meeting at Orillia in late 1922, he identified a problem facing

adding that it led to unemployment and fostered combines that allowed manufacturers to reduce production and thereby raise prices. Ibid., 29 October 1925, pp. 1, 13.

²⁴ Almonte Gazette, 4 June 1920, pp. 1, 3. On Halbert's Orange Lodge membership, see R.S. Pennefather, "The Orange Order and the United Farmers of Ontario 1919-1923," Ontario History, Vol. LXIX, No. 3, September 1977, p. 173.

Progressive MPs. According to Morrison, they were reluctant to defeat the King Government for fear of forcing an election. To do so meant risking electoral defeat: "If you were in that position you would sidestep too. The personal interests of the Member of Parliament come into conflict with their duty and it is difficult under those circumstances to get good government."²⁵ Morrison may have been alluding to the futility of parliamentary democracy, but another message can be discerned -- Progressive MPs could be forgiven for sacrificing good government for self-interested motives, because it was human nature to do so. In fact, Morrison's comments could be taken as an insult to members because, by implication, he was arguing that they too would sacrifice principle for power if they were faced with a similar situation.

Speaking at a Lanark County picnic during the 1923 provincial campaign, Progressive leader Robert Forke spoke in glowing terms of the accomplishments of the UFO/ILP coalition. He also expressed his hope that Drury would retain the premiership, if for no other reason than a defeat would have a negative effect on the national movement. Were Drury to lose, however, Forke argued that the farmers had

²⁵ Orillia Packet, 16 November 1922, p. 1; Orillia Times, 16 November 1922, p. 1. One Orillia resident claimed that Morrison spent the evening engaging in the sort of preaching that was "the real cause of all the dissatisfaction and distrustfulness" in Canada. He then argued that Morrison filled farmers' heads with dangerous thoughts. Orillia Packet, 30 November 1922, p. 2.

forever altered the political landscape in Canada: the election of the Liberals or Conservatives would not make a great deal of difference because "the influence of the Progressive movement will live." In effect, Forke gave the farmers license to withdraw their political support from the UFO. In fact, he extended this thought one step further by reminding his audience that the movement was "more than a political (one). It is a reaching out towards an ideal."²⁶ Not long after, however, Forke seemed to contradict himself. Apparently forsaking ideals, he told an audience in the nearby Carleton riding that his experience in Ottawa had taught him the value of compromise. He urged his audience not to put too many planks in the party's platform because, "although certain principles never changed, yet in political life circumstances and conditions often altered."²⁷

The foregoing is but a brief survey of the sorts of messages transmitted to UFO rank and file once political power was attained. Undoubtedly, the leaders were faced with circumstances that necessitated conventional approaches. The UFO Government had to address issues that went beyond purely local matters; radials, trade, education, resource management, and so on required action. Moreover, these issues needed to be dealt with through an established bureaucracy and established practices. Indeed, elected

²⁶ Almonte Gazette, 2 June 1923, p. 1.

²⁷ Ibid., 8 June 1923, p. 2.

politicians were only one component of a complex political structure that had been legitimized and firmly entrenched in Ontario and throughout Canada.²⁸

The constraints were profound, but there was room to implement measures to loosen these boundaries. Instead of attempting to implement the required changes, however, the leaders shifted their rhetoric. Largely absent after 1921 was the oppositional stance that the leaders had originally taken against the 'Big Interests' and the inherently corrupt and undemocratic political system that bolstered these interests. Now the best the leaders seemed capable of doing was to promise "sane and careful" government with reforms enacted and implemented through compromise. Although this apparently pragmatic position may have represented all that they thought they could realistically achieve under the circumstances, it could not help but have a negative effect on the youthful, idealistic and optimistic UFO rank and file.

Yet not all needed to be lost. Between the UFO elite and the mass membership existed UFO/Progressive MPPs and MPs who, because they were drawn from the 'common people', were given the task of going off to their respective legislatures and fighting to have the will of their constituents heard

²⁸ J.E. Hodgetts links the growth of the provincial bureaucracy with the election of the Whitney Government in 1905. From Arm's Length to Hands On: The Formative Years of Ontario's Public Service, 1867-1940 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), pp. 110-39.

and implemented. If they remained true to the principles of their supporters, then there remained reason for optimism and, indeed, idealism, among the mass membership.

One encounters relatively few instances when UFO/ Progressive MPPs and MPs incurred the wrath of local members. There were times, however, when some members must have wondered exactly what their representatives were doing in Toronto and Ottawa. At a Ramsay Farmers' Club picnic in 1921, North Lanark MPP Hiram McCreary discussed the bonus that MPPs had voted themselves that year. After declining the \$2,500 sessional indemnity in 1920, Drury suggested that a bonus of \$600 be paid to MPPs for 1920-21. McCreary told his audience of his response when the proposal was put to him:

I said nothing at all against it. I was willing to take it, and I was willing to do without it, but I don't believe in a man holding up his hand against a thing yet knowing that he is going to get it, and then coming back to his constituents saying 'I did not vote for it.' If there is any blame to the government for taking it, I stand or fall by it. I voted for it.

Although such honesty and courage, one newspaper opined, would win McCreary new friends and supporters,²⁹ some UFO members must have wondered why the bonus was considered in the first place, given the relatively high rate of pay MPPs

²⁹ Almonte Gazette, 17 June 1921, p. 1.

received.³⁰

Despite the rhetoric during election campaigns, most UFO/Progressive MPPs and MPs behaved conventionally once elected. Undoubtedly, this can be explained, in part, by the fact that the existing political system demanded such behaviour, but there were other reasons as well.

UFO MPPs found that their tasks as representatives were more complicated than they perhaps had first envisioned, and that it was easier to revert to old party tactics than it was to sustain a radical position or even to provide straightforward explanations for their actions. Hiram McCreary, for one, became proficient in the former approach. Upon being nominated to contest his seat in 1923 during a UFO/ILP convention, McCreary boasted at length of the Drury Government's accomplishments, including the removal of Great Britain's embargo on Canadian beef, the encouragement of co-operative marketing of agricultural produce, and the construction of provincial highways. In fact, he took personal credit for having a highway pass through Carleton Place rather than through Smiths Falls, which was outside

³⁰ East Simcoe UFO MPP J.B. Johnston supported paying MPPs higher wages. He reasoned that, if such a measure was enacted, then good, free-thinking people could be attracted to run for provincial office. Orillia Times, 4 November 1920, p. 7. Local UFO members, such as Donald MacPhail of Perth, did not agree. In fact, MacPhail wished to see MPP's salaries reduced. In his view, if farmers had to economize, then so should elected officials: "If the present Government does not take the opportunity (to reduce salaries), I am sure no other Government will." Sun, 17 December 1919, p. 10.

his riding. Instead of receiving applause, however, McCreary was asked by one member of the audience "Why did you not get it through Almonte?" In traditional roads-for-votes style, McCreary replied "I'm going to get something for you yet. We're working on it now. Send the right people to parliament and you'll get good roads."³¹ Steering clear of promising to implement an alternative electoral system or to improve democratic mechanisms to check the power of the 'Big Interests', McCreary adopted, in his response, all the trappings of an old-style political speech.

McCreary was not the only UFO politician to engage in this sort of behaviour. East Simcoe UFO MPP J.B. Johnston boasted that the riding received more government grants during his first term than it had "during the whole Conservative regime."³² Johnston also promised that the Orillia-Penetang highway would materialize if he and the UFO were returned to power.³³ North Simcoe Progressive MP T.E. Ross, sounding uncharacteristically like an old-style politician, informed his audience during the 1925 federal election that he had recently managed to obtain an

³¹ Almonte Gazette, 25 May 1923, p. 1. During the 1923 campaign South Simcoe UFO MPP Edgar J. Evans felt compelled to explain why some of the northern ridings had received more money for roads than southern ones had. Sun, 7 June 1923, p. 3.

³² Barrie Northern Advance, 24 May 1923, p. 5. See also his comments in Ibid., 27 July 1922, p. 5.

³³ Orillia Packet, 21 June 1923, pp. 1, 12; Orillia Times, 21 June 1923, p. 5.

allocation of \$20,000 to repair and dredge the Collingwood Harbour, and that over his four years as the federal member he had managed to secure a total of \$168,000 for that purpose.³⁴

To return to McCreary, although touted by the local press and his own advertisements during the 1919 contest as a candidate of the people who would combat the 'Big Interests', he performed unspectacularly at Queen's Park. During his tenure he was noteworthy only for his introduction in 1920 of a motion requesting that the federal government hold a referendum on the importation of liquor into Ontario.³⁵ For the most part, however, he performed the duties of a back-bench MPP of the governing party. In 1923, with a provincial election call, McCreary again invoked the image of the UFO as the sole democratic party in the Legislature, as evidenced by his advertisements.³⁶

³⁴ Ross also defended his voting record. Responding to opposition charges that he had supported every major Liberal initiative, he said that he had "voted to the dictates of my conscience and out of four votes on the budget I cast three against the Government." Collingwood Enterprise, 1 October 1925, p. 4.

³⁵ Almonte Gazette, 23 April 1920, p. 1; 30 April 1920, p. 1; Gerald A. Hallowell, Prohibition in Ontario, 1919-1923 (Ottawa: Ontario Historical Society, 1972), pp. 76-7; Johnston, pp. 157-9.

³⁶ McCreary's election advertisements were less extensive during the 1923 campaign than they had been in 1919. Whether this was due to a lack of campaign funds or to the arrogance of the riding association is debatable; what is certain is that there were few newspaper advertisements. Only late in the campaign, when it dawned on some that even though he was the incumbent he might not be re-elected, did

McCreary's appeal to voters provides an example of how the rhetoric of earlier times persisted, despite conventional behaviour at Queen's Park. In one of his advertisements, readers were warned that "Democracy is on Trial." As such, people needed to support McCreary, "the Candidate of the People." In the same advertisement it was argued that the Drury Government's social legislation eased "the strain on the body and mind of the worker," and that people should vote UFO so as to "Keep Democracy in Power."³⁷ The only problem with making these claims in 1923 was that, despite a tenure of four years, McCreary could not show his constituents any significant change in how things were done in government. He was not alone in this; virtually every UFO MPP utilized the same sort of tactics during the 1923 election, and almost every UFO MPP evidenced the same discrepancy between rhetoric and action.

There are many contradictions in populism, not the least of which is that, although there is a desire among populists for their elected officials to be 'of the people', there is also a respect for those who mature while in office and who are able to take on opposing politicians on an equal footing. By necessity, most UFO/Progressive MPPs and MPs became conversant not only in parliamentary practice, but

advertisements begin to appear.

³⁷ Almonte Gazette, 22 June 1923, p. 4.

also in contemporary political tactics. Not to do so meant endless humiliation at the hands of members of the older parties. Yet, to become like or even emulate those one once vilified carried with it significant problems. One, for instance, began to sound like those whom one professed to oppose.

By 1925, the rhetoric of opposition had shifted so markedly in Lanark that claims for the UFO focused on its providing 'common sense' government rather than on its serving as the bastion of democracy. What transpired in the election campaign aptly illustrates this point.

The local Lanark UFO decided not to field a candidate in the 1925 election. Members were apprised that Duncan H. Gemmell, long known for his UFO sympathies, planned to run as an independent and perhaps this influenced their decision.³⁸ A strict prohibitionist (an executive member of the local Prohibition Union), Gemmell said that the issue would play a significant role in his campaign.³⁹ As

³⁸ The official reason for not fielding a candidate was not reported in the local press. The record of the meeting at which the decision was made simply noted that the group met and decided not to contest the election. Almonte Gazette, 9 October 1925, p. 1.

³⁹ Ibid., 16 October 1925, p. 4. Gemmell also sat on the Smiths Falls Town Council. By waiting until mid-October to announce his candidacy, he greatly complicated the political situation in Lanark. The Liberals, not knowing his plans by early October, nominated Dr. Ernest H. Wickware as their candidate. Until that time it was understood among Lanark Liberals that if Gemmell decided to run, they would not field a candidate against him. Wickware later decided not to accept the Liberal nomination. Ibid., 2 October 1925, p. 1; Perth

predicted, Gemmell received the support of the Lanark County UFO Political Association. In a pro-Gemmell advertisement John H. Chapman, the Association's secretary, noted:

Whereas the political situation in Lanark County has materially changed since our last meeting, Mr. Gemmell...having entered the field as an independent candidate, and having announced his platform, which meets with our approval, we take this earliest opportunity of endorsing him as one who would be a worthy representative in the House of Commons, and would request the entire group of United Farmers to give him their hearty support.⁴⁰

Gemmell claimed that he had decided to run as an independent because he was

firmly of the belief that the people...of this constituency have reached that stage in their political life when they do not intend to be further exploited just for party's sake, but rather that their public wants and conditions would find expression in keeping with their spirit of democracy...these things force me to the conclusion that there is still room for men of independent minds to render public service."⁴¹

As to Gemmell's position on the issues, he was convinced that tariff questions should be left to those who were elected to Parliament, not to a board, as some farmers proposed. He supported increased, "yet selective," immigration and reform, not abolition, of the Senate. He also, predictably, stressed the need to maintain prohibition

Courier, 9 October 1925, p. 5; 16 October 1925, p. 6.

⁴⁰ Almonte Gazette, 23 October 1925, p. 5. See also Carleton Place Herald, 21 October 1925, p. 8; Perth Courier, 23 October 1925, p. 8.

⁴¹ Ibid., 16 October 1925, p. 6; Almonte Gazette, 16 October 1925, p. 5.

of the sale and manufacture of alcohol. In announcing his platform, Gemmell asked for support on the grounds that he would work hard for all classes of citizens, and that he knew of the conditions of the common people.⁴² Gone was any reference to the 'Big Interests', and any promise to expand democratic mechanisms. Instead, Gemmell merely pledged to work hard for everyone in the riding. Perhaps Gemmell's mild campaign -- particularly his seeming refusal to address power inequities -- accounts, in part, for the weak support he received from the electorate.

Why Lanark, the County in which one witnessed fierce opposition to conventional political practice in 1919 and 1921, supported Gemmell on this and other occasions instead of putting forward more militant candidates is not known.⁴³ Some of the factors may have been the defeat suffered by Anderson in 1921, and the less-than stellar

⁴² Ibid., 23 October 1925, p. 5; Perth Courier, 23 October 1925, p. 8.

⁴³ Gemmell had a long and rather chequered history of contesting elections in Lanark. He was nominated by the Progressives in 1922 to run in federal a by-election but, with only three weeks remaining in the campaign, he declined to accept the nomination, citing time and logistical constraints. Owing to the timing of his decision, the Progressives did not field a candidate. Smiths Falls Record-News, 14 November 1922, pp. 1, 5; Almonte Gazette, 17 November 1922, p. 1; Perth Courier, 17 November 1922, p. 2. He ran again in the 1926 provincial election as a Prohibition Union candidate, and received the endorsement of the South Lanark Progressive Association. Much to its chagrin, he withdrew only days before the election. Smiths Falls Record-News, 11 November 1926, p. 7; 18 November 1926, p. 1; Perth Courier, 12 November 1926, p. 3; Almonte Gazette, 12 November 1926, p. 1.

performances of Johnson and McCreary, which might have fostered rank and file demoralization. When combined with the factors discussed below, demoralization as cause becomes a distinct possibility.

It appears that those UFO candidates who consistently questioned existing political practice and presented an alternative vision enjoyed success even after their more moderate colleagues suffered defeat. East Lambton MPP L.W. Oke maintained his position as a foe of the 'Big Interests' and was returned in 1923 and 1926.⁴⁴ During the 1925 federal election, he alleged that the 'Big Interests' encouraged rural depopulation and were, consequently, leading the country to ruin. He based his argument on the claim that farmers no longer had the purchasing power that they once had and, as a result, products manufactured in cities could not be sold. Continuing, Oke stated that the province could not

have Toronto doubling its population every 15 years since incorporation and us helping to build industry there, and every township, practically in the whole province losing in population -- 5,000 in this riding alone. What is going to become of us nationally? And yet, when the farmer tries to get his own rights...men of every calling in the

⁴⁴ During the 1923 campaign Oke differed from many of his UFO colleagues by largely resisting the temptation to resort to old party tactics. When both the Liberal and the Conservative candidates attacked Drury's extravagance with public money, Oke, instead of defending him or promising more money for the riding, merely replied that "there wasn't the least doubt that (they two old parties) were together out to lick" the UFO and all it stood for. Forest Standard, 21 June 1923, p. 1.

industrial centres come out and decry the farmers' movement and his voice in public affairs. This is only stimulating us to fight for our rights, and what we believe to be in the best interests of the country.⁴⁵

Whatever the merits of Oke's economic analysis, his assertion that farmers were fighting powerful forces from urban centres that were indifferent to their fate certainly struck some members as a truism. Doubtless, other factors contributed to Oke's success: he represented a predominantly rural riding, and he did enjoy the support of the local Prohibition Union in the 1926 provincial contest.⁴⁶ But there were similar ridings in Ontario in which many voters had already returned to the old parties. It is reasonable to assume, then, that Oke's campaigns -- both the views he expressed and his commitment to action -- struck a responsive chord in many East Lambton farmers.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Forest Free Press, 24 December 1925, p. 8; Forest Standard, 24 December 1925, p. 4.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 25 November 1926, pp. 2, 6. East Lambton's political allegiance to Oke and to the UFO may also have had something to do with geographic location and the type of agriculture practised there. As noted in chapter 2, Lambton represented a particular kind of specialized cash-crop agriculture. Farmers in East Lambton may have felt more vulnerable to climate and market variations. Conversely, they may have been better organized than their counterparts were in Simcoe or Lanark, or they may have been blessed with more leisure time than mixed or dairy farmers in Simcoe or Lambton were.

⁴⁷ In early 1925, when W.E. Raney succeeded Manning Doherty as leader of the Progressive group in the Ontario Legislature, Oke stated that he would not accept Raney as leader, and that he would henceforth sit as a "clear" UFO MPP. It was no secret that Oke opposed Raney's leadership, if for no other reason than he was not a farmer. Oke's departure from

The Co-opting of Local Clubs and Rank and File Members

As Lawrence Goodwyn noted, it is "overarchingly difficult" to build and sustain a mass democratic movement of opposition.⁴⁸ This certainly was the case for UFO members who had to contend not only with cleavages among the movement's leadership, but also with the negative public perceptions regarding what the UFO hoped to accomplish. Yet there were those in the movement who persisted in advancing an agenda of change. Some clubs had sufficient numbers of these members to allow them to pursue this course consistently. In other instances, individual members continued to fight the moneyed interests, and all the political trappings that accompanied them, on their own.

Despite attacks from a largely hostile media, the machinations of the old parties, squabbles among the UFO leadership, and a host of other factors, there were rank and

the group was not met with protests by East Lambton UFO members. Part of his statement read: "It is my understanding that I was elected to the Legislature to uphold the rights of the farmer in legislative affairs, in accordance with the principles of the U.F.O. organization. This being my conception of the circumstances under which I was elected, I cannot...recognize any...allegiance to a group in the Legislature which...is in no sense charged with the advancement of U.F.O principles and ideals. This being the case, I emphatically deny that Mr. Raney is the leader of a group which is in any way entitled to be called the U.F.O." Upon hearing of Oke's announcement Drury noted sardonically that Oke now represented an organization which was no longer in politics. Ibid., 29 January 1925, p. 1.

⁴⁸ Lawrence Goodwyn, The Populist Moment: A Short History of the Agrarian Revolt in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. xvii.

file UFO members who rejected the messages of possessive individualism that abounded and continued to adhere to the original spirit of the movement, people who felt that there was more at stake during elections than merely promising to provide good government.⁴⁹ Their persistence stands as tribute to a movement that could, at least for a time, politicize people with rather startling success.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ 'Possessive individualism', as conceptualized by C.B. Macpherson, consists of seven propositions. Among these propositions are the notions that "freedom from dependence on others means freedom from any relations with others except those relations which the individual enters voluntarily with a view to his own interest; the individual is essentially the proprietor of his own person...for which he owes nothing to society; human society consists of a series of market relations; political society is a human contrivance for the protection of the individual's property in his person and goods." C.B. Macpherson, The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 263-4. Macpherson contends that possessive individualism is the dominant societal paradigm in capitalist society, a view shared by the author.

⁵⁰ The picnics, suppers and other social events that continued to characterize the movement enabled farmers to exchange ideas and helped to alleviate feelings of isolation, thereby fostering agrarian solidarity. It should be mentioned that many of these events were staged in order to raise money or goods for fire relief, famine victims, and other charities. As noted elsewhere, however, UFO social events featured speakers from the central UFO and from the movement's legislators. Consequently, the rank and file were drawn into the battles of the central office. See, for example, Sun, 22 June 1922, p. 4; Orillia Packet, 9 November 1922, p. 8; 29 March 1923, p. 3; Forest Standard, 24 January 1924, p. 8; 21 February 1924, p. 2; Smiths Falls Record-News, 28 March 1922, p. 1; Almonte Gazette, 7 March 1924, p. 1; 27 June 1924, p. 1; 5 March 1926, p. 1. As time went by, UFO social events were not even free from commercial influences. For instance, the Ramsay UFO picnic in 1925 featured representatives from the Ford Motor Company, who presented motion pictures on tractor operations and other 'educational' subjects to an apparently appreciative audience. Sun, 25 June 1925, p. 8. Prominent agrarian politicians visited local clubs fairly frequently.

The independent attitude of local clubs manifested itself early on during the UFO Government. Not long after the 1919 election, members reacted angrily to the central organization's proposal to increase membership fees. The Lambton County UFO, an umbrella group which represented 75 clubs, voted against the proposed increase, arguing that it was "unnecessary and harmful to the organization."⁵¹ Heber Shaw, a UFO member who lived near Lanark, summed up the rank and file side of the debate by writing that an increase in membership fees was the last thing the UFO needed. With the UFO in power, he argued, the task was to orchestrate a mass movement by increasing membership. Higher fees would accomplish the exact opposite. Shaw also pointed out that, in farm households where there were two or more potential UFO members, some farmers might think twice about enrolling their sons, wives or daughters, especially since the previous year had been a bad one, vis à vis agricultural yields, in eastern Ontario.⁵²

During 1920-1, for example, Lanark was visited at least two times each by R.H. Halbert and J.J. Morrison, and also by Senator W.L. Church of North Dakota, A.A. Powers of the United Farmers Co-operative Company (UFCC), R.H. Grant, Minister of Education in the Drury Cabinet, and H.O. Wright, MP for Battleford. Smiths Falls Record-News, 8 July 1920, p. 7; 17 February 1921, p. 4; Almonte Gazette, 23 July 1920, p. 6; 18 March 1921, p. 8; 17 June 1921, p. 1.

⁵¹ Sun, 26 November 1919, p. 10.

⁵² Ibid., 3 December 1919, p. 10.

Several clubs endeavoured to remain politically active.⁵³ The Oro Station UFO, for instance, corresponded with its MPP on a regular basis.⁵⁴ The West Lambton UFO executive maintained frequent contact with the UFO central office, corresponded with its MPP, and sent advice regarding legislation. In fact, the executive passed a motion stipulating that "when the member (could not) accept the advice of the riding executive he should give some reason why."⁵⁵ The Ardtrea UFO Club in Simcoe invited the entire Orillia Township Council and a provincial civil servant to one of its meetings, so as to discuss proposed changes to a nearby provincial highway.⁵⁶ MPPs and MPs were often invited to speak to local UFO clubs on political

⁵³ There are also indications that the UFO provided an example to other citizens. Soon after the 1919 provincial election a new organization -- the Fifty Sunday Meeting Association -- was established at Smiths Falls. Its object was to encourage people to "take a greater interest in the town's affairs." Whether this group patterned itself after the UFO is uncertain, but the fact that some prominent UFO members were involved in its creation is not without significance. Smiths Falls Record-News, 30 December 1919, p. 7.

⁵⁴ Simcoe County Archives (SCA), "Minute Book of the Oro Station Farmers' Club/UFO," (henceforth Oro Station Minutes), February 1922.

⁵⁵ Sun, 26 June 1920, p. 9.

⁵⁶ Orillia Packet, 4 May 1922, p. 4. Later, the Club invited a provincial official to discuss consolidated schools. Later still, one of the Club's meetings featured the chairman of the Orillia Water, Light and Power Commission. Ibid., 18 May 1922, p. 3; 6 July 1922, p. 6.

matters.⁵⁷ Finally, by way of example, in 1923 East Simcoe UFO supporters expected their candidate not to back any coalition government with any other political party except ILP or Soldier members, without first calling a convention "and abiding by their decision."⁵⁸

In East Lambton there was a concerted effort to follow the actions of the riding's MPP and MP, and to keep abreast of politics in general. In fact, the political organization met even in non-election years in order to keep interest high. In addition, MPPs and MPs were invited frequently to speak to the group. Although some speeches were little more than reviews of the past legislative session, at other times elected officials addressed specific issues, such as the broadening out controversy.⁵⁹

An examination of the East Lambton UFO Association enables one to see how rank and file members in the movement persisted in their adherence to the principles of the UFO.

⁵⁷ See, for example, Collingwood Saturday News, 27 October 1923, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁸ Orillia Packet, 24 May 1923, p. 2-3; Barrie Northern Advance, 24 May 1923; Collingwood Enterprise, 3 May 1923, p. 4. This measure, although locally-initiated, was first submitted to J.J. Morrison for approval. He thought that it was democratic, and suggested that it be submitted to Drury as well. Drury also gave his approval.

⁵⁹ East Lambton MPP L.W. Oke, for example, was asked to speak on the broadening out issue after it became public. Lambton County Archives (LCA), Box 16(2), File 16A-F, "Minutes, East Lambton UFO" (henceforth East Lambton Minutes), October 1922; Forest Standard, 27 January 1921, p. 1; Sun, 22 June 1922, p. 4.

In April 1923, on the eve of the provincial election, the Association met to plan for a May nomination meeting. As had been the case in the past, each polling sub-division was to send two men and two women to the convention, and the delegates were to be chosen by the local clubs. Urban and rural UFO supporters were to have equal status and an urban resident could be nominated, "provided, however, that the candidate be in accord with principles similar to the established principles of the U.F.O." Not willing to have their candidate become a lackey of any party, members of the Association also agreed that if the candidate was elected and the UFO formed the government, "he or she should have the status of an independent member" excepting times when a want of confidence motion was tabled.⁶⁰ Oke spoke at the meeting and, rather than using his speech to defend the UFO's legislative record, he provided information about redistribution, proportional representation, and the transferable vote. In fact, according to the minutes political questions were "discussed at considerable length."⁶¹

⁶⁰ LCA, East Lambton Minutes, 14 April 1923; Sarnia Canadian Observer, 23 April 1923, p. 1.

⁶¹ LCA, East Lambton Minutes, 14 April 1923. Oke did, however, offer several explanations for the Drury Government's inaction on some fronts. He mentioned, for example, that Drury was unable to abolish patronage because he lacked private members' support. At the same meeting the Association drafted a petition to Drury and the Attorney General to the effect that, if the position of registrar for Lambton County became vacant in 1923, then the appointment of the present deputy

Even so, all was not well for Oke. Before the nomination convention the Association met twice more, and at the first meeting on 5 May some members voiced their discontent with his performance at Queen's Park, especially his position on the Adolescent School Attendance Act, which raised the school-leaving age in the province from fourteen to sixteen.⁶² Some rose to speak in Oke's defence and, perhaps due to a lack of a viable alternative, the Association -- despite recording concern over Oke's performance -- passed a motion endorsing "the general policy of the U.F.O. Government during the last 3 1/2 years."⁶³

Oke, who did not attend the 5 May meeting, learned of the critical remarks, and requested that a meeting be held the following week so that he could defend himself. During this 10 May meeting Oke said that many of the criticisms levelled against him were due to misunderstandings. He

registrar to the position "would be in accord with the established principles of the U.F.O." Oke was one of seven UFO MPPs who opposed Drury's Civil Service Superannuation Act. Johnston, p. 128.

⁶² The specifics of their concerns were not recorded in the minutes. On the Adolescent School Attendance Act, see Johnston, pp. 90, 190.

⁶³ LCA, East Lambton Minutes, 5 May 1923. At roughly the same time the South Lanark UFO Riding Association passed the following resolution: "We, the executive board of the Drury party in South Lanark, go on record as expressing our implicit faith in the Drury Government and in the Progressive party...and we desire...to express our sincere appreciation of the work of our member, Mr. W.I. Johnson in the last four years in the Provincial House." Smiths Falls Record-News, 10 May 1923, p. 1.

proceeded to go into detail regarding UFO legislation and, in a rare moment of old-style politics, he then reminded his audience that he had "secured assistance from the Govt for a municipal drain in Brooke Township." Oke's explanations and justifications did not appease everyone in attendance, however, and several questions were put to him after he finished his speech.

J.J. Morrison also attended and spoke at the 10 May meeting, and he began his speech by denying the charge -- apparently made by someone in the audience -- that he was a dictator. He went on to outline the history of the Patrons of Industry, and he then argued that the reason the movement was defeated was that the Patron MPPs had been "baited by the politicians of the old parties." UFO MPPs had to avoid this trap if they wished to remain successful. He concluded with a defence of the central office's opposition to certain UFO legislation, such as civil servant superannuation, amendments to property qualifications, and the Adolescent School Attendance Act. After his speech he received a vote of confidence from the Association.⁶⁴

The convention, which was held soon after, was comparatively anti-climactic. Three members, Oke, H.A.

⁶⁴ LCA, East Lambton Minutes, 10 May 1923. On the civil service superannuation legislation, see Johnston, pp. 128-9. On the removal of property qualifications as a condition to holding municipal office, see Orillia Times, 25 November 1920, p. 4.

Gilroy,⁶⁵ and Silas Smale, agreed to let their names stand as nominees. It appears, though, that both Smale and Gilroy only made this commitment so that they could address the audience, because they both withdrew after speaking. Smale apparently supported Drury's policies, although he defended Oke's position on the Adolescent School Attendance Act, claiming that Oke simply did not feel that the legislation went far enough. Gilroy professed to be neutral on the broadening out issue, and "admitted that Mr. Oke had a want of diplomacy which was due to a lack of education," but added that "his greenness was wearing off." Thus Oke received the nomination unopposed, and in his acceptance speech he discussed his performance as MPP. He pointed out that he sat on six committees at Queen's Park which, he felt, attested to his effectiveness as an MPP. He concluded his speech by arguing that the old parties

want to bust the U.F.O. I have tried for four years to educate myself and to be a credit to the party and to myself. I will fight clean to keep the old parties away from you. They are full of tricks.

The convention ended with the passing of a resolution that

⁶⁵ Gilroy was born in Durham County, Ontario, and in 1881 he moved with his family to a 250-acre farm in Lambton near Alvinston. He attended the London Commercial College, returning to the County in 1902 to take up farming. He married and had a son and a daughter. In 1923 he became a director of the UFCC and three years later became president. According to his biography in the Sun, Gilroy saw co-operatives as a "business enterprise, not a species of charitable institution." He thought that co-operative principles would "succeed only in so far as they are allied with sound business methods." Sun, 17 November 1927, p. 1.

reiterated approval for the Drury Government's performance.⁶⁶

Oke won the riding with a fairly comfortable plurality. After the election the Association met to discuss the new political reality. B.W. Fansher suggested that the UFO ought to become the Official Opposition, and that Drury should remain on as leader.⁶⁷ A Mr. Auld disagreed, stating that a new leader should be chosen by elected MPPs, representatives from the central office, and riding delegates. This sparked a debate over broadening out, although exactly what was discussed was not recorded. Finally, members agreed to support electing a leader after the December UFO convention, and they decided that East

⁶⁶ LCA, East Lambton Minutes, 15 May 1923; Sarnia Canadian Observer, 16 May 1923, pp. 1-2. Support for Drury did not mean that the East Lambton Association uncritically accepted everything from the central office. Shortly before the election several members expressed concern about the way in which the Sun covered the UFO, prompting the following resolution which was forwarded to the central body: "Resolved that whereas there is a feeling among the loyal U.F.O. electors of East Lambton that the Farmers Sun is not giving adequate support to the Farmers cause during the campaign. Therefore, be it resolved that this executive...recommend that the Sun devote more space and energy in combating the many erroneous statements emanating from the Party press arrayed against us. And be it further resolved that this executive use every means at its disposal to increase the circulation of the Farmers Sun in this riding." LCA, East Lambton Minutes, 21 June 1923. Although autonomous in their rhetoric, East Lambton members did contact the UFO central campaign manager in order to obtain "whatever literature is necessary for use in the campaign." Ibid.

⁶⁷ The UFO elected 17 MPPs in the 1923 election, 3 more than the third-place Liberals. The party did not, however, exercise its privilege and become the Official Opposition.

Lambton convention delegates should be instructed to recommend that a committee, consisting of members from the central office and of UFO MPPs, be struck to "consider ways and means of selecting a leader satisfactory to all and formulate plans for the calling of a convention."⁶⁸ At an Association meeting later that year assistant director John Darville pointed out "some weakness in the organization and voiced the opinion that the movement had not been too fortunate in the selection of leaders." It appears that Darville's comments went unchallenged, even by Oke and Fansher, who were in attendance.⁶⁹

In the adjacent constituency of West Lambton, one sees how tensions within the UFO, often brought about by a local club refusing to defer to the central organization, had profound effects on the movement. At the West Lambton UFO Political Association's annual meeting in 1922, defeated Progressive candidate R.J. White claimed it was wrong for Progressive party leader T.A. Crerar to pursue a broadening out policy with the federal wing of the movement, which prompted a debate on the subject. Matthew White then read a letter he had sent to Drury on broadening out, and UFO MPP J.M. Webster was asked his opinion on the topic. Before he could state his position, riding director Byron Young interrupted and asked Webster to explain why no democratic

⁶⁸ Ibid., 21 July 1923.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 9 November 1923.

mechanisms through which constituents could express their views had been implemented. Young said that he had no knowledge of anyone at the local level ever being asked his or her opinion on roads policy, for example, and then asked Webster to "explain on what authority he, when speaking in the budget debate, stated that the government was carrying out the policy advocated by the U.F.O." Instead of offering an explanation, Webster attacked Young for not supporting the government, and accused him and other members of being merely interested in seeing their names in the newspaper.

Young took exception to Webster's remarks, and said he "had no intention of giving servile support to any elected member." He stated that, although he felt like a non-entity after the 1919 election in terms of having input into UFO policies, at least he was going to remain true to the movement's principles, implying that Webster was not. Young concluded by restating his faith in the recall system and defiantly daring those who disagreed with him to secure the required number of votes to remove him from the position of riding director. In an effort to calm the debate, member W. Zealand proposed a vote of confidence in Webster, which passed.⁷⁰

Incidents such as this serve to illustrate how complex even basic political issues could be at the local level. There were those who, although disappointed with their MPP,

⁷⁰ Sun, 14 December 1922, p. 5.

could express support because there was no viable alternative. The debate also clearly shows that there were idealistic members in the group as well as pragmatists.

With the call for a provincial election in April 1923, Webster let it be known that he did not completely believe Drury when he stated that he did not try to negotiate some sort of deal with the provincial Liberals. Webster said he would listen carefully to what Drury and the Liberal leader, Wellington Hay, had to say on the matter, so that he could return to Lambton as "an honest man."⁷¹ Webster was again chosen to represent the UFO in the election but, according to press accounts, there remained unresolved tensions among the riding's UFO members. Several supporters during the campaign urged rank and file members to put aside "petty" differences and rally behind Drury, implying that not all members supported him.⁷²

Grass Roots Idealism

Clearly, there remained UFO rank and file who displayed indefatigable energy, and who persisted in putting forward an alternative vision of society. By the mid-1920s, these members became increasingly atypical as local UFO clubs -- taking the lead from the central organization and from society -- began to moderate their societal critique and plan for action. But they remained nevertheless, and they

⁷¹ Forest Standard, 19 April 1923, p. 4.

⁷² Ibid., 7 June 1923, p. 4.

persisted in attempting to fulfil the professed ideals of the movement.

F.E. Webster of Simcoe continued to criticize the old parties and the 'Big Interests', as well as the UFO itself. When Drury announced his intention to form a Peoples' Party in 1922, much to the chagrin of J. W. Morrison, Webster dismissed the media reports of the incident as nonsense. The press, he noted, would have the Ontarians believe that "the progressive movement hinged on what Mr. Drury or Mr. Morrison thought." Believing that nothing could be farther from the truth, Webster recalled how the North Simcoe UFO members chose their candidate for the 1921 election:

We conducted these conventions just as we saw fit, and we neither asked nor received advice from Morrison, Burnaby, Crerar or Drury. If (Drury) ...considers we did not go far enough, or, if (Morrison) considers...we went too far in opening our convention to all parts of our riding, why, we cannot help it, for we propose to conduct our conventions just as we see fit, irrespective of what either of these gentlemen may or may not think.⁷³

⁷³ Ibid., 22 August 1922, p. 5. In the same edition James Mercer, Director of the East Simcoe UFO, argued that the Drury/Morrison split was largely irrelevant, because the UFO was not a political organization. The 1919 victory was simply a protest against the behaviour of past administrations. If some farmers wished to form a Peoples' party, then they had every right to do so, but it was erroneous to claim that it was affiliated with the UFO. Ibid., p. 5. The spirit of independence in Simcoe UFO clubs was evidenced from time to time. The Rugby Club, for example, passed a resolution in 1923 which stipulated that any donations to the local candidates' campaign expenses were to be strictly voluntary. In other words, no members were to feel compelled to make a donation out of blind party loyalty. SCA, "Minute Book of the Rugby Farmers' Club/UFO," (henceforth Rugby Minutes), 18 June 1923.

Arthur E. Vance, UFO Director for East Lambton, added his own unique thoughts to the broadening out debate. He accused the 'Big Interests' of controlling the "avenues of information to the people with the apparent purpose of making sure the special privilege of their return to office." He then criticized some UFO MPPs who, he believed, had let power obscure their thinking. By adopting the old parties' tactics, they had weakened their position "instead of giving themselves strength as they would have done had they been willing to do their best and trust the people for results." Vance argued that:

It is not for any Government to say whether we shall have party government or...group government or any other kind of government. It is for the people alone to say. As United Farmers of Ontario we have started a group movement with some considerable measure of success, and as good farmers it behooves us to plough a straight furrow and not to turn back, for we know the old ways were devious ways and led us nowhere, and we perceive that the Progressive scheme is only the old party in a new dress -- a system in which we would soon be as hopelessly lost as we were under the old parties from which we have broken away.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Sun, 29 August 1922, p. 5. In 1921, John Houldershaw of Stayner heard that Morrison and Drury, who were reported to have been at loggerheads, were presently "cooing like a pair of doves," possibly so as to avoid alienating agrarian voters in the next federal election. Houldershaw felt that Morrison should let the people know where he stood: "If it is Mr. Drury who has repented we will rejoice more than we would over one hundred U.F.O. men who need no repentance." Ibid., 16 July 1921, p. 3. At a meeting in support of MPP W.I. Johnson during the 1923 campaign, William Code of Lanark had heard some people say that the initials 'UFO' meant 'Us for Ourselves'. Code disagreed, claiming that they really represented 'Us for Others'. He noted that the political side of the movement "was a spontaneous outburst of the people" who did not wish to

Vance's words encapsulate many of the issues that the UFO faced: the choice between forming a Peoples' party or insisting on group government; UFO legislators' adopting old party tactics; central versus local control of the movement; and a media that actively worked to discredit the movement. Identifying the problems was one thing; trying to remedy them was quite another.

Even with all the issues facing the movement, idealists continued to express their views eloquently. In 1925 'A Student of Life' in Simcoe voiced concern over the number of criticisms farmers were levelling against the Sun for taking an independent stand on political questions. If farmers were not prepared to support a paper that stood for the truth, then how could the organization ever prosper? The problem lay, in part, in the reluctance of some officials to tell Ontarians the truth, and the answer lay in complete candour:

truth never yet has been harmed by open and free discussion...Prejudice is the blind which prevents many from letting in the light of the day, while indifference and disinclination to study shut out many more from a correct understanding of public affairs...the only hope of having an honest, representative Government at Ottawa, lies in the education of private and public opinion...the formation of intelligent opinions will ever be a slow process so long as men put self interest or

elect slaves to the old parties: "The Farmer and Labor party was composed of independent thinking people whose representatives in Parliament could express themselves in a way they could not under the party system." A former Tory, Code was now an advocate for the independent policies of the UFO. Smiths Falls Record-News, 14 June 1923, pp. 1, 4; Perth Courier, 22 June 1923, p. 3.

class interest before public interest.⁷⁵

Idealistic, yes, but at the root of this commentator's words was the notion that common people were entirely capable of playing a role in how the country was governed.

F.E. Webster noted with disgust in 1926, upon learning that the UFO had decided to re-enter politics,⁷⁶ that the principle of constituency autonomy was again under attack. When the North Simcoe UFO Association originally incorporated for political purposes, the provisions of the charter were prepared under the direction of the central office. Later, when the Progressive Association was formed, the members, realizing their past mistake, clearly articulated in the charter that they were "free to act on (their) own principles." At that time Drury completely agreed with the clause:

But now the Political Committee of the U.F.O. bobs up and tells us we will not be recognized by the executive unless we submit to the direction and dictates of the central office. Or, in other words, we are denied the rights of riding autonomy.

Referring to the UFO's long-standing distaste for the older parties' control over their local associations, Webster

⁷⁵ Sun, 8 October 1925, p. 8. In the same edition N. Wilmott (county unknown) complained that, when citizens asked for something as simple as a flag of their own, they "are sneered at and called disloyal by imperialistic, militaristic demagogues, who have wrought such havoc in our land." Ibid., p. 8.

⁷⁶ At the December 1925 UFO convention, delegates voted to sanction political action once again. Almonte Gazette, 18 December 1925, p. 3; 25 December 1925, p. 1.

wrote that "a lot depends on just who is giving the orders as to whether or not it is a crime." He also noted defiantly that the North Simcoe organization would "run our political conventions irrespective of the rules and regulations of either the U.F.O. or Progressive executives."⁷⁷

In late 1925 the East Lambton UFO Political Association nominated Progressive MP B.W. Fansher as its candidate in the up-coming federal election. As mentioned above, the UFO as a whole had, shortly before, decided to renew its political activity, but it had also determined that there was to be no broadening out. Defending the decision, Mrs. John Darville said that it was not

a slap in the face of our town friends. There is nothing in the constitution...that prevents sympathizers with our movement in the villages or towns voting with us (but) if you want us to hold the olive branch out to the towns, mn, mn, (sic) not me. No more broadening out for this child. She stands on the farm and for a farmer representative she is going to stand.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Sun, 4 March 1926, p. 8. During the 1926 federal election campaign Webster observed that three distilleries had contributed a total of \$274,737 to the Conservative and Liberal parties, and he wondered if these contributions had anything to do with the Customs Scandal, especially since it was illegal for companies to contribute to election funds. There had been no criminal investigation yet, if the ILP or UFO had done the same thing, then "a tremendous howl would go over the land. Why did not Hon. H.H. Stevens move in the committee for prosecution of these companies, when he knew the facts? The answer is only too well known." Ibid., 2 September 1926, p. 14.

⁷⁸ Forest Free Press, 24 December 1925, p. 8; Forest Standard, 24 December 1925, p. 4. Also speaking at the nomination meeting was Silas Smale, who disagreed with Darville. Smale was uncomfortable with parts of the UFO resolution, particularly those which suggested that the UFO

During the 1926 federal campaign Lambton UFO member Silas Smale wanted to "take a slam at the Liberals of East Lambton" for fielding a candidate opposite Fansher in the previous campaign:

They call themselves Liberals, and yet they transgressed every principle of Liberalism by bringing out a candidate when they knew...there was not a ghost of a show of them winning...For the sake of a few paltry dollars they sacrificed what they call their party principles, and they know it. That is the kind of party politics we tried to get away from when the U.F.O. was organized.⁷⁹

The words of the rank and file membership were not frequently recorded. If, however, those that survive are in any way representative, then there was a considerable spirit of opposition in the movement even into the mid-1920s. At the East Lambton nomination convention for the 1925 federal election, with over 300 in attendance, fourteen people were nominated. All except the incumbent, MP B.W. Fansher refused to let their names stand, but not before most of them made five-minute speeches. From these orations, one can catch glimpses of people who still carried with them the fervour of the 1919 and 1921 campaigns. Charles Stevens said that he did not aspire to office, but that he still had an axe to grind: "I will support any candidate who will legislate for all the people. I desire to see the stranglehold of the

wanted nothing to do with urban people.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 24 December 1925, p. 4; Forest Free Press, 24 December 1925, p. 8.

towns and villages over the rural population broken." Harvey Annett said he had worked for the interests of Canadians -- not just farmers -- since 1911, and maintained that he continued to do so by supporting the UFO. John Gibson, who had been involved in the farmers' movement for 40 years, believed it depended "on the farmers to bring about (their) emancipation. It is only by increased intelligence that you are throwing off the Yoke." Duncan McVicar felt that the Progressives should enter the campaign enthusiastically: "Neither the King government nor the Conservatives offer anything to us. Mr. Fansher has been the ideal representative and we cannot do better than accept him."⁸⁰

Even if these words carried little political weight by that time, they underlined the point that many farmers still believed that the system worked against them. The difference between speaking in this manner in 1919 and speaking this way in 1925 was that in 1919 such language represented a call for mass democratic action. By 1925, however, it meant nominating a candidate to fight for farmers' interests. Although the spirit of opposition can be seen, there are

⁸⁰ Petrolia Advertiser-Topic, 24 September 1925, p. 1.

Musings about political matters continued well after the UFO had become a spent political force. J.E. Capes of Wyoming in Lambton reminded Sun readers that partyism needed to be rejected: "Surely it should be possible to discuss all great issues without getting tangled up in partyism." Capes believed that all questions needed to be considered from "the standpoint of citizens," not political parties, and that the solution to many problems still rested in building up co-operative organizations of all kinds. Sun, 7 April 1927, p. 4.

subtle differences. No longer were the wishes of UFO members to be embodied in their elected officials; now Fansher was to go to Ottawa and legislate for them.⁸¹

UFO-Labour Divergences

As is clear from the preceding chapter, from 1919 to 1921 relations between the UFO and the ILP varied widely from riding to riding. After 1921 co-operation between the UFO and labour declined substantially in most constituencies for a number of reasons. First, the differences between the two movements came to the fore in the Legislature, where Drury alienated the ILP on several occasions.⁸² Second,

⁸¹ Another individual who continued to be infused with fiery rhetoric was H.J. Pettypiece, editor of the Forest Free Press. In one of his editorials he reminded his readers that it was the Liberal Government that had, in 1907, granted agricultural implement manufacturers a 99% rebate on the duty for rolled steel and iron that was being used for manufacturing implements. The rebates had been made every year since then, and Massey-Harris was one of the largest beneficiaries of this largesse. In 1923 alone the Company received over \$317,000 in rebates. Ultimately, according to Pettypiece, farmers paid this bill: "They had to pay the duty when they purchased the implements and were then taxed to pay these refunds. Taxing twice to make millionaires of the implement manufacturers. Hon. Mr. Massey (a minister in King's Cabinet) is probably right when he says the implement manufacturers favor the re-election of the King Government." For Pettypiece, then, it continued to make no difference whether the Liberals or Tories were elected. With both, the people were either ill-served or ill-used. Forest Free Press, 29 October 1925, p. 2.

⁸² 'Senex' of Orillia, a person who obviously watched legislative proceedings very carefully, noted in 1923 that the UFO had quashed several ILP initiatives at Queen's Park, including a bill providing for the distribution of free textbooks to all public schools, and a bill allowing for the establishment of proportional representation (PR) in municipal elections. Senex was particularly bemused at the latter action, especially since PR was a plank in the Farmers'

political support for the ILP declined among Ontario voters, leaving many of its riding associations in disarray. Third, in some cases local tensions between the two groups remained unresolved.

Even in those constituencies in which UFO MPPs enjoyed the support of workers, there was no freedom from controversy.⁸³ In East Simcoe in 1923 UFO MPP J.B. Johnston received the support of the Orillia Trades and

Platform. Orillia Times, 8 March 1923, p. 7. Voters had learned earlier that Drury thought it "improbable" that PR would be tried, even on an experimental basis in one or two urban and rural ridings in the next provincial election. See, for example, Almonte Gazette, 3 February 1922, p. 7.

⁸³ The South Lanark UFO-Labor party (as it was known) nominated MPP W.I. Johnson in 1923 to contest the riding again. In his acceptance speech, Johnson boasted of the UFO's accomplishments at Queen's Park. He pledged his loyalty to Drury and said that he was in favour of a Peoples' Party. Johnson also spoke in glowing terms of his ILP colleagues who, he felt, deserved to be commended for their work in the Legislature: "They have never countenanced anything radical, never gone to extremes, but they have introduced and put through bills which made the work of the common people easier, their home life more pleasant and the hours of unemployment and sickness happier." Perth Expositor, 24 May 1923, p. 2. See also Perth Courier, 25 May 1923, p. 4. This was a substantial reversal for Johnson who, three years earlier, when speaking in front of the Smiths Falls UFO, had referred to four ILP MPPs as "the rankest kind of radicals and reactionaries." He did mention, however, that there were six ILP MPPs for whom he had the utmost respect. At the same meeting Johnson had assured his audience that he would "oppose any proposal...at the next session of the Legislature with a view to the introduction of an eight-hour day" for industrial workers. Almonte Gazette, 10 December 1920, p. 1. See also Johnson's comments in Smiths Falls Record-News, 14 June 1923, pp. 1, 4; Perth Courier, 22 June 1923, pp. 3, 8.

Labour Council.⁸⁴ The following week, however, the Orillia Times featured the headline "Labor will Remain Neutral" in reference to the election. The banner was misleading; the story which followed noted that three labourers had organized a meeting, and that those in attendance decided not to assist any party select a candidate. Only after the candidates were named would labour weigh its options and possibly offer its support to one of them. The three men were part of a small group that attended a UFO meeting, from which they emerged displeased with what they heard. They then visited Conservative candidate William Finlayson, and were equally dissatisfied.⁸⁵ Although impressed by the Liberals, they decided not to support them until a candidate was selected. One fact remained clear: this group would not support Johnston.⁸⁶ Given the tone of the meeting, it may

⁸⁴ At the meeting at which this resolution of support was passed, Canadian Labor Party leader James Simpson urged workers to continue the alliance rather than align themselves with the local Liberal Association, as they had been invited to do. To Simpson, only traitors would join up with the older parties: "The only alliance that would be recognized or allowed by the Canadian Labor Party was with the farmers. The industrial toiler should unite forces with the worker on the land." Orillia Packet, 10 May 1923, p. 1. See also Ibid., 17 May 1923, p. 1.

⁸⁵ Among other things, Finlayson told the group that he did not like the way in which the Ontario Temperance Act (OTA) was being administered, and that he did not condone the wild parties that UFO MPPs threw (which were all hushed up, he claimed).

⁸⁶ Orillia Times, 31 May 1923, p. 1. The article was a confusing one and, curiously, it did not mention the number of people who attended the meeting. One audience member, J.D. Hean, supported Johnston, noting that the Tories never worked

have been similar to one held in 1921 that was focused on discrediting the Progressives.⁸⁷

The Liberals decided not to field a candidate, possibly due to their inability to secure labour's endorsement or, perhaps more accurately, because too many workers realized the transparent tactics employed by the Liberals to gain their support. In any event, the incident must have left many Labourites profoundly disenchanted since they appear to have been largely silent during the campaign.⁸⁸

Role of the Old Order in the Movement's Decline

As the evidence cited above demonstrates, UFO leaders

in the interests of workers. Responding to the charge that Drury ran the province by commissions, Hean pointed out that the group that had visited all three parties was itself a commission. It is clear, however, that most in the room were anti-UFO. A Mr. Childerhouse said it was strange that Johnston "should call himself a labor representative when he had repudiated labor in his presence and in the company of many others," but he provided no examples of this.

⁸⁷ At a Liberal convention in Coldwater held at roughly the same time -- May 1923 -- Dr. J.A. Harvie, president of the local Liberal Association, said that the Liberals had a good chance of taking the seat if an alliance with labour was arranged. When it became clear that labour would not assist in selecting a candidate, the meeting turned into a UFO-bashing affair. The Association's vice-president, D.C. Anderson, argued that the UFO, with its secret caucus and whip, was like any other party. Anderson, however, neglected to mention that the Liberals had these features as well. *Ibid.*, 31 May 1923, p. 5; *Orillia Packet*, 31 May 1923, p. 2.

⁸⁸ To make matters even more confusing, the *Toronto Globe* reported that a deal had been struck between the Liberals and the UFO whereby, if no Liberal contested the seat, then no Progressive would go against Liberal candidate Manley Chew in the next federal election. *Ibid.*, 31 May 1923, p.1. No local newspaper carried the story until after it was reported in the *Globe*, and the allegations appear not to have been followed up.

and rank and file both, in time, relinquished their alternative vision and reverted to conventional thought and behaviour. By the mid-1920s, they were motivated less, it seems, by an idealistic altruism and more by a class-based self-interest. And perhaps predictably, the relationships that they had forged with the ILP, though admittedly oftentimes tenuous, eventually broke down altogether. This, apparently, was the character of the movement's decline.

With the confirmation of such a marked change in the UFO, it is inevitable that one turns to the issue of cause. In any examination of the decline of the UFO it is necessary to examine the causal role played by the society in which it operated, the society which it attempted to change. Power, and the social class that had the greatest access to the wielding of power, did not let the UFO go unopposed. On the contrary, through a number of mechanisms Ontarians were exposed to messages that ultimately had a profoundly negative influence on the movement.

Some of the strategies used were blatant, such as those perpetrated by the old political parties. They ranged from scare tactics to dirty tricks as these established political forces fought the UFO on every front. The old parties may have let their guard down in 1919 and 1921, but they would not let it happen again.

Other strategies were more subtle and insidious. The agents here -- the moneyed interests of the 'old order', had

a potent tool at their disposal -- hegemony. As Bryan Palmer notes, capital is remarkably adept at presenting a world view that allows it

to bury its own interests in an avalanche of 'benevolence,' highlighting not the inequities of social relationships but their supposed reciprocities...There are no ties that bind as effectively as those that are self-imposed, those that appear in the historical record of oppression and exploitation at the request of the very people they will secure.⁸⁹

Equally powerful is the ability of a ruling class to develop and impose "an almost 'naturalistic' consensus, so firm in its hegemonic assumptions that the act of contestation easily seems marginalized to the point that it is out of sight and, consequently, out of mind."⁹⁰ These forces had an enormous impact on the UFO, an impact that was so strong that it ultimately rendered the movement harmless. Their workings were various -- the old order attempted to convince UFO supporters that either a) their concerns could be addressed through the traditional means; b) UFO members were well-intentioned but misguided; or c) their proposed reforms were unrealistic -- but their effect was consistent and sure. The ultimate goal was consensus in the belief that the old order represented the best of all possible worlds.

In the view of many UFO members, the reforms that they

⁸⁹ Bryan D. Palmer, Capitalism Comes to the Backcountry: The Goodyear Invasion of Napanee (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1994), p. 17.

⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 17-8.

called for necessitated change at the political level. As a result, they entered territory occupied by political parties that had considerable experience in political manipulation. In short, the UFO fought entrenched, confident entities with vast resources at their disposal.⁹¹ The old parties employed an array of strategies to attempt to destabilize and defeat the movement.⁹² These included exploiting the celebrity status of their leaders, employing scare tactics, and resorting to dirty tricks.

In order to explore the influence the older parties had on the UFO it is necessary to backtrack to the 1921 federal election, where the first significant attempts to defeat the movement are evidenced.

One way the older parties tried to sway voters was to confer rewards upon local candidates. In Lanark, Tory

⁹¹ Occasionally, farmers learned of the efforts of the old parties to defeat their movement at the polls. In 1920, the UFO won a by-election in East Elgin despite "the titanic efforts made by the Conservative forces to win at any price...There was not only apparently money in unlimited quantities for election expenses, but an array of government speakers that was impressive enough to make the electors gasp." Perth Courier, 26 November 1920, p. 2.

⁹² Candidates from the old parties were, in the main, well-funded during election campaigns. They were able to take out large advertisements in local newspapers. In addition, they made frequent use of ready-made advertisements provided by the central organization. The effectiveness of these advertisements is a matter of conjecture but, given the number of times that they appear, it is likely that they served some purpose. See, for example, Almonte Gazette, 9 October 1925, p. 3; 16 October 1925, p. 1; 23 October 1925, p. 2; Carleton Place Herald, 7 October 1925, p. 4; Perth Courier, 9 October 1925, p. 6; Forest Free Press, 8 October 1925, p. 4; Forest Standard, 8 October 1925, p. 4.

incumbent J.A. Stewart was appointed Minister of Railways and Canals shortly before the 1921 election,⁹³ thus making him a valuable asset to the riding. Perhaps because of his newly-acquired prominence, he was assisted by the Liberals who, as was the case in several other ridings, declined to nominate a candidate. Indeed, influential Liberals in the manufacturing centres of Almonte, Carleton Place and Perth declared that they would back Stewart.⁹⁴

Another tactic employed by the old parties was to feature their prominent figures in speaking engagements. For instance, Arthur Meighen visited Simcoe during the 1921 election campaign. Speaking in front of two filled halls in Orillia, he defended the record of his administration and

⁹³ Almonte Gazette, 9 September 1921, p. 1; Perth Courier, 30 September 1921, p. 4. It appears that Meighen trusted Stewart's political judgement and, in August 1921, he asked Stewart for an assessment of the party's electoral chances in Lanark. Stewart replied that the riding of Leeds should be "disposed of" in a by-election before Lanark was contested in a general election. "If we do not win Leeds, the Liberals will, and in either event it will take the pep out of the farmers' political movement in this locality." Once this was accomplished, winning Lanark would be easy for the Tories. National Archives of Canada (NA), MG 26 I (Meighen Papers), Vol. 16, Stewart to Meighen, 23 August 1921, pp. 8951-2; Meighen to Stewart, 24 August 1921, p. 8953.

⁹⁴ The reason they gave for supporting Stewart was that, in light of the trade depression, a solid tariff (such as the one proposed by the Meighen Government) was needed to stimulate industry: "Several of the mills in the county are idle, and the outlook is regarded as grave." Almonte Gazette, 16 September 1921, p. 1.

pointed out the deficiencies of the other parties.⁹⁵ Meighen bombarded his audience with an array of statistics which, he argued, attested to Canada's growing economy, and he also boasted that no breath of scandal had touched his government. Making certain to discredit his opponents, he hinted that there was an "arrangement" between King and Crerar so that certain constituencies were straight two-party battles between either Tories and Progressives or Tories and Liberals.⁹⁶ Such pronouncements would have been given serious consideration. Even in the 1920s party leaders assumed an exalted status. To have the Prime Minister in one's riding was a memorable occasion, and the noteworthiness of such events undoubtedly meant that the messages conveyed profoundly, perhaps even unduly influenced

⁹⁵ This was an important visit, if the view of one local Tory MP can be taken as representative. W.A. Boys, Conservative incumbent for South Simcoe, was highly disappointed that Meighen chose to speak in Orillia and not Barrie, even though Boys' "request was the first in." Boys was also displeased to learn that, despite his best efforts, he was not appointed to Meighen's Cabinet before the election. He wrote to Meighen that "it was unfortunate no farmer was included in the cabinet...it does seem to me that in view of the success of the U.F.O. Movement and our desire to check it in rural Ridings, it would have been good policy to include a farmer, and in addition to that the importance of the agricultural industry, apart entirely from the U.F.O. movement, should warrant recognition." Boys was a farmer. NA, MG 26 I, Vol. 16, Boys to Meighen, 14 September 1921, pp. 8954-5; Meighen to Boys, 16 September 1921, p. 8956; Boys to Meighen, 4 October 1921, pp. 8970-1.

⁹⁶ Orillia Packet, 27 October 1921, pp. 5, 8. See also the account of R.B. Bennett's visit to Stayner in Simcoe during the 1926 federal campaign. Collingwood Enterprise, 12 August 1926, pp. 1, 4, 8.

voters.

The old parties relied on negative messages as well, primarily those that discredited their opponents. In 1923 East Simcoe Conservative candidate William Finlayson brought in Tory MP W.F. Nickle, who claimed that Drury had said that, if the UFO did not win enough seats to form the government in the election, then he would consult with elected and defeated UFO candidates and the UFO executive to determine a course of action. To Nickle, this was hopelessly undemocratic: "Elected members should be the spokesmen of the people...if the people of East Simcoe elected (UFO candidate) Mr. Johnston...(he) could not tell now where he will be or what he will do."⁹⁷

In East Lambton during the 1925 federal election prominent Liberal I. Greenizen stated that he supported paying bounties to oil producers in the area in lieu of protection. He then claimed that his Progressive opponent, B.W. Fansher, also was on record as supporting these payments, although no evidence to this effect was provided. Even so, Fansher voted against them in the House of Commons.

⁹⁷ J.L. Hartt of Orillia also spoke on Finlayson's behalf in the meeting at which Nickle appeared. He asked the audience to remember the image of Sir James Whitney riding to Queen's Park on his bicycle, and of his simply furnished office, in contrast to the extravagance of members of Drury's Cabinet, with their chauffeured American cars and luxurious offices. Orillia Times, 14 June 1923, p. 6.

For Greenizen, this represented blatant hypocrisy.⁹⁸

Another strategy employed by the old parties was to attempt to scare voters back into their folds through the propagation of misinformation and malicious distortion. In January 1921, well before any federal election was called, Joseph E. Armstrong, Tory MP for East Lambton, held what amounted to campaign meetings in which he warned that, if the Progressives' platform of free trade was implemented, it "would wipe out every industry" in Forest. Thanks to the tariff, he claimed, over 200 American industries had established operations in Canada in 1920 alone. Once the tariff was eliminated, these industries would disappear.⁹⁹ In Lanark, Tory supporters alleged that the Progressives were pure free-traders, and that their policies would lead either to the ruination of domestic industry or, worse, to annexation with the US.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Petrolia Advertiser-Topic, 15 October 1925, p. 1; Forest Standard, 15 October 1925, pp. 1, 8; Forest Free Press, 15 October 1925, pp. 1, 4. The bounty amounted to \$75,000 that year. Greenizen thought that the amount was appropriate, given that \$500,000 worth of oil was produced annually and between \$3 and \$4 million was invested in the industry. Ibid. See also Ibid., 22 October 1925, p. 2. H.J. Pettypiece reminded his readers that Fansher alone opposed the bounty. Ibid., 15 October 1925, p. 2; 29 October 1925, p. 2. Tory candidate J.E. Armstrong also supported paying the oil bounty to producers. Petrolia Advertiser-Topic, 22 October 1925, p. 1; Forest Standard, 15 October 1925, p. 1.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 27 January 1921, p. 1.

¹⁰⁰ Perth Courier, 2 December 1921, p. 11. See also Almonte Gazette, 2 December 1921, p. 1. In the 1925 campaign Lanark Tory candidate Dr. Richard Preston argued that, if workers wanted to save their jobs, protect their families, and

During the 1921 campaign stories began circulating in the press that Meighen had referred to the Progressives as dangerous Bolshevists. In response to the allegation that he had made such a statement, Meighen issued a clarification:

What I said, in describing the strength of the political organisation that was working up was that, though they themselves were wholly opposed to Bolshevistic principles, they had trailing behind them and allied with them men of seditious principles in this country, and that statement was true then and is true today. Have you followed the by-election in Temiskaming?...Did you follow the ...Provincial contest in Alberta and see that Mr. William Irvine and Mr. Woodsworth and some others were taking part on behalf of the United Farmers, and did you know that one of them was just through serving a term in the penitentiary convicted...of sedition?¹⁰¹

By the time the clarification was issued, the damage was, however, done. Even the retraction planted doubts as to the competency of the UFO. After all, what was to be made of a movement that could not prevent dangerous Bolshevists from

see "good times return to Canada," then they should vote for the Tories and adequate tariff protection. Ibid., 16 October 1925, p. 1. See also Ibid., 23 October 1925, p. 1.

¹⁰¹ Orillia Packet, 3 November 1921, p. 2. The alleged remarks actually had nothing to do with anything that Meighen had said. The comment was based on what a Toronto Star reporter overheard in a conversation between Manning Doherty, H.C. Nixon and R.H. Grant, three ministers in the Drury Cabinet. Grant wrote to Meighen to clarify the matter, and denied ever saying that Meighen had called the Progressives Bolshevists. Instead, he claimed that a member of Meighen's Cabinet, Sir George Foster, had remarked that "the Farmers were Reds, or Bolshe.iks." NA, MG 26 I, Vol. 42, Grant to Meighen, 13 September 1921, p. 24321; Meighen to Grant, 14 September 1921, p. 24322.

infiltrating its ranks?¹⁰²

There is considerable evidence that suggests that the old parties engaged in dirty tricks from time to time. For instance, South Lanark MPP W.I. Johnson spoke at the annual meeting of the County UFO about a "certain gentleman" who had been speaking out against alleged extravagances and scandals at Queen's Park, and of a "certain sheet attacking the Drury Government (that) had been mailed" to households throughout the province. Johnson asked, "where did the money come from to pay for that sheet?" For him, the answer was clear; the 'Big Interests' had financed it in order to generate support for the old parties.¹⁰³ Dan Hogan, the UFO riding director for Lanark, told supporters that the Conservatives had booked every hall in Perth "so that the Progressives would not be able to hold any meetings" there.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² In North Simcoe it was alleged in the local "U.F.O. Column" that Col. Currie or his supporters had sent a leaflet, "without signature, through the mails to the electors of North Simcoe containing lying, slanderous statements" about the Grain Growers Grain Company. Collingwood Bulletin, 1 December 1921, p. 4.

¹⁰³ Smiths Falls Record-News, 1 September 1921, pp. 1, 7.

¹⁰⁴ Almonte Gazette, 2 December 1921, p. 1. Some attempts to discredit the UFO, however, backfired. During a 1923 campaign meeting North Lanark Conservative candidate Thomas A. Thompson --accompanied by Kingston Tory MPP W.F. Nickle -- said he sympathized with the complaints of farmers, but he felt that it was not in Ontario's best interest "to have one group governing the country." He was suspicious of anyone who pitted class against class and "creed against creed." Thompson then attacked the UFO's extravagance, and

Shrewdly, the old parties also relied on the power of slick, but superficial presentation, a strategy that was so effective that they were able to appear to understand why farmers were angry about the way things were, while at the same time calmly assuring them that forming a mass democratic movement was not the best means to accomplish change. This meant utilizing balanced tones and seemingly logical arguments. Manley Chew, the original choice of Labour in East Simcoe who was rejected by the UFO and then subsequently accepted the Liberal nomination, was a master of balanced, almost seductive tones. He ran a 3/4 page advertisement in an Orillia newspaper with the headline "If You Are Thinking of Voting Farmer." In it, Chew acknowledged that his Progressive opponent, Thomas Swindle, was well liked:

But is he really the best man to represent East Simcoe in Parliament? Would not an experienced man be a better representative? And is it not true, if the farmer candidate were not running, all the rural vote would go to Mr. Chew?

Chew also claimed that he was the farmers' true and trusted friend, and that he would "sit on the Government side if either Mr. King or Mr. Crerar is in power." Chew, "The People's Candidate," however, made no reference to being

claimed that civil servants had been forced from the Legislature building so that virtually every Cabinet minister could make room for themselves and their wives. According to a press account, at that point Thompson "turned to Mr. Nickle for corroboration of the statement, but the latter shook his head non-committally." Ibid., 8 June 1923, p. 1.

committed to cleaning up government or to allowing greater citizen participation.¹⁰⁵ But, apparently, if the voters elected him, then a win-win scenario emerged for farmers.

In other instances, Conservative adherents relied on seemingly rational arguments as they extolled the virtues of the tariff. J.A. Stewart informed Lanark farmers that the US Fordney-McCumber Tariff had drastically reduced Canadian exports to American markets. Consequently, it was in the farmers' best interest to support the Canadian tariff walls, since the farmer now had to

find a market for the products heretofore sent to the United States -- he is now more than ever dependent upon the home market. The more employment there is in our towns and cities, the larger market there will be for the farmer's produce. Crerar's Free Trade would diminish employment in Canada and thereby shrivel up the home market of the Canadian farmer.¹⁰⁶

Stewart's reasoning was, at best, shaky. First, as with many

¹⁰⁵ Orillia Times, 1 December 1921, p. 4. Chew benefitted from support from the Orillia Times, a Liberal newspaper. Its editor thought it "regrettable" that there were three candidates in East Simcoe, because the anti-Tory vote was thus split between Chew and Swindle. He noted that in many rural ridings the Liberals had not nominated a candidate, so as to make the going easier for the Progressives. As East Simcoe was largely urban, "the Farmers should have given way and helped to achieve their own ends" by supporting Chew. The Tory candidate would then be easily defeated. "Will they do it, or will many of those in East Simcoe stand pat, vote for a mythical principle, and perhaps by their mistaken action elect the candidate and support the policy they have been denouncing so vigorously?" Ibid., 24 November 1921, p. 6 (emphasis added). For Chew's platform, see Ibid., 1 December 1921, pp. 1, 4; Orillia Packet, 20 October 1921, p. 1; 3 November 1921, p. 11.

¹⁰⁶ Perth Expositor, 17 November 1921, p. 8.

old party candidates, there was the tendency to misrepresent Crerar as a pure free-trader. Second, in his arguments he overlooked the potentially lucrative European market that policy-makers often claimed should be exploited more fully. Finally, Stewart failed to acknowledge that the Fordney-McCumber Tariff may itself have been at least partly retaliatory, and that, as it aptly demonstrated, problems were created as much as they were solved when tariff walls were erected.¹⁰⁷

Other strategies the old parties utilized included the appropriation of UFO positions and the exploitation of the emotion connected with patriotism and the memory of fallen friends and family. The pronouncements of J.A. Stewart are a clear illustration of the former strategy. In his election advertisements, he reiterated Conservative policies, and then added a few touches of his own. He promised, for example, better "co-operation between employers and employed," improved marketing for agricultural produce, extended rural credit, and improved social conditions for those in rural areas.¹⁰⁸ In his campaign tactics, North Simcoe Tory MP Col. John A. Currie exemplifies the second

¹⁰⁷ As W.L. Morton points out, the passing of the Fordney-McCumber Tariff in 1922 signalled "the ending of the standing offer of reciprocity by the United States." W.L. Morton, The Progressive Party in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950 -- reprinted with corrections 1967), p. 154.

¹⁰⁸ Perth Courier, 28 October 1921, p. 9; Almonte Gazette, 28 October 1921, p. 6.

strategy. In many of his advertisements ample mention was made of his military background. To cite but one example, some of his promotional pieces featured a photograph of him in uniform (medals, of course, prominently displayed) with the words "Lest We Forget" printed underneath it.¹⁰⁹

If the above-mentioned strategies proved less than completely effective, then the old parties resorted to the ploy of unravelling the confidence farmers had that they could make straightforward, positive choices. For instance, in a federal by-election in Lanark in 1922, once it became known that there would be no Progressive candidate, both Liberal and Tory forces went to work to try to win the UFO vote. The Liberals assured members that "Liberals and farmers are not far apart on most questions...If you let the Conservatives win you strengthen the Opposition to your interests at Ottawa."¹¹⁰ The Tories stood the issue on its

¹⁰⁹ See, for example, Collingwood Bulletin, 1 December 1921, p. 5. Some UFO members were warned that the old parties would resort to such tactics. W.I. Johnson told Lanark UFO supporters in 1920 that in the next federal election the Union Government would wave the flag and boast of its war record. He stated that "it was the producers of this country who had helped to win the war, not the Government at Ottawa at all." Johnson, it will be recalled, fought in the First World War. Smiths Falls Record-News, 24 August 1920, p. 5. See also Almonte Gazette, 17 September 1920, p. 1 for similar remarks.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 24 November 1922, p. 6. Even so, the Liberals had to reach fairly far to find an example of how King had aided farmers. In a subsequent advertisement, the sole example used was King's actions with respect to the Crow's Nest Pass Agreement: "You may say that this does not affect you here in Lanark. But you have sons, daughters or other relatives and friends in the West in whom you are interested...the Liberal Government's work in helping the Western grower shows that the

head, and asked farmers to consider what would happen if a Liberal was elected:

Lanark...would make the King Government independent of the Progressive support in the House. Progressives know they could not get any legislation enacted in the Progressive interests. Is it not, therefore, to the very best interests of the Progressives and U.F.O. to vote for Dr. Preston...and maintain the whiphand the ...Progressive party has today over the King Government?¹¹¹

One wonders how demoralising it must have been for UFO supporters to realize that their vote could be used only for strategic purposes, rather than for the direct support of a candidate who upheld their principles.¹¹²

The cynicism that pervaded politics must also have been demoralizing for UFO leaders and rank and file. During the 1923 campaign East Simcoe Conservative candidate William Finlayson presented his view of how things should be:

Liberal Party has the farmers' interests at heart and can be counted upon to assist Agriculture in Lanark County and every other county." Ibid., p. 10.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 1 December 1922, p. 5.

¹¹² The riding was won by Conservative Dr. R.F. Preston, a fixture in North Lanark politics who had served as MPP from 1894 to 1898 and from 1905 to 1919. He was Minister Without Portfolio in the Whitney and Hearst administrations. Candidates and Results, p. 409; Smiths Falls Record-News, 14 November 1922, p. 1. Preston also served as reeve of Carleton Place and then as that town's first mayor. The Canadian Parliamentary Guide 1923 (Ottawa: Mortimer, 1923), pp. 183-4. Preston took the largely rural sub-divisions of Ramsay, Pakenham, Beckwith, Bathurst, Drummond, North Elmsley, Montague and South Sherbrooke, while his opponent, David Findlay, took Dalhousie & North Sherbrooke, Lavant, Darling, Lanark and North Burgess, suggesting that Preston was able to make some headway with UFO supporters. Almonte Gazette, 8 December 1922, p. 1.

There had not in the past been any great difference whether the Liberals or Conservatives were in power at Toronto. When one got stale, that party was put out and the other elected to office. This was the time for Liberals to vote for the Conservative candidate, so as to help defeat the Drury government. It was not right that any occupational group should hold office. The duty of all was to put an end to the unbusinesslike government at Queen's Park.¹¹³

An analysis of this remark could be a thesis in itself. What is noteworthy here is the frankness of Finlayson's admission that the two older parties were virtually identical. Unlike the UFO supporters who agreed with this analysis, Finlayson saw it as a positive feature of the Canadian political system.

Another strategy of the old parties was to defuse the UFO's radical dynamic by charging that it merely represented 'Liberals in a hurry'. Although many UFO members vehemently denied that there were any formal, organizational links or any interconnections with respect to philosophy and platform, there were critics from both old parties who argued that the UFO was merely the Liberal party in disguise. Whatever the merits of this allegation, the fact remains that it was used frequently by the Liberals as a compendium for other seemingly rational and convincing arguments. The rhetoric was, indeed, compelling in its clarity and assuredness. After Drury was nominated by the Progressives in North Simcoe in 1925, for instance, the

¹¹³ Orillia Times, 14 June 1923, p. 6.

Liberals of the riding decided not to field a candidate because, quite simply, a party with fiscal policies "similar to that of the Liberal party" was already contesting the seat. Thus, all Liberals were urged "to make every effort in opposition to the Conservative party and its policy in this riding."¹¹⁴

The reality of the situation was that Liberals could not afford to alienate farmers to the extent that the Tories had done. As a result, their oppositional strategies were somewhat more subtle, though, it should be emphasized, they were equally effective. During the 1925 campaign, for instance, West Lambton Liberal candidate W.T. Goodison (who also claimed to speak for Progressive supporters),¹¹⁵ promised to run as an independent Liberal, free to decide on questions based on the wishes of his constituents. Goodison offered a comfortable choice -- he often spoke of the need to pursue a middle course, thus convincing many farmers that

¹¹⁴ Barrie Examiner, 8 October 1925, p. 1; Sun, 8 October 1925, p. 2; Collingwood Enterprise, 8 October 1925, p. 4. It seems that the Liberals could not bring themselves to declare outright support for the Progressives; instead, they merely took an anti-Tory stance. A similar situation existed in Dufferin-Simcoe. See Barrie Examiner, 17 September 1925, p. 1; Sun, 8 October 1925, p. 2.

¹¹⁵ In addition to owning a farm, Goodison was the president of the Goodison Thresher Company, which employed some 250 people. Thus, according to one supporter, he "had the interest of both the industrialist and agriculturalist at heart." Forest Free Press, 1 October 1925, pp. 1, 4.

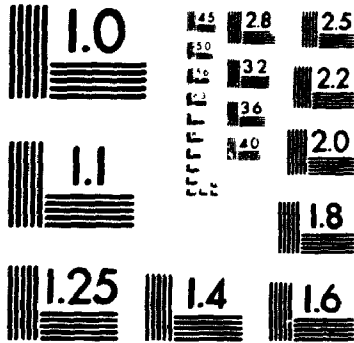
he would address at least some of their concerns¹¹⁶ -- but there is also something subversive at work here. Whether it was intentional or not, he and others like him were, as Palmer put it, burying UFO interests in "an avalanche of 'benevolence'" that highlighted "supposed reciprocities" rather than actual inequities. And they, ultimately, were attempting to develop and impose "an almost 'naturalistic' consensus."

One can go on at length about the kinds of "naturalistic" assumptions Ontarians were exposed to. Conciliation as a value is one of many that springs to mind. However, for a succinct illustration of the kind of opposition UFO members faced after their successes at the polls, one may turn to the efforts of a Simcoe newspaper, the Orillia Times, to 'educate' its readers. In the wake of the populist upsurge, the Times ran a series of editorials on two contemporary issues: group government and proportional representation (PR). At the outset group government was virtually dismissed as a viable alternative since it was noted that even the farmers were divided on the subject and that it was debatable whether the group model could provide better government than the traditional two-

¹¹⁶ During the campaign, for example, he proposed a compromise regarding the tariff, and, with respect to Senate reform, he promised that something would be done to bring it "in closer touch with the people of the country. Ibid; Forest Standard, 29 October 1925, p. 1. It did Goodison little harm to have the support of Free Press editor H.J. Pettypiece, long known for his support of the UFO.

4

PM-1 3½"x4" PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
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party system.¹¹⁷

In subsequent editorials the paper continued the attack with a detailed accounting of the concept's weaknesses. First, group government led inevitably to coalitions, which meant that there was the danger that a minority group might "dominate the situation." Thus, it was quite possible "for a small minority group of insistent agitators, holding the balance of power, to foist upon Parliament and the country legislation the people do not want. It would introduce into our political system bargaining and compromise," although it was not mentioned why compromise was such a dreadful political concept. As well, the group system would produce a government that was neither "stable nor trustworthy," and "practically devoid of responsibility."

In defence of the two-party model, the argument was advanced that it represented the result of over 200 years of evolution, and that it had "proven suitable to the disposition and temperament of the Anglo Saxon people."¹¹⁸ In addition, the old system made for "stable and firm government," which was exactly what the country needed:

¹¹⁷ Orillia Times, 9 February 1922, p. 4.

¹¹⁸ During the 1921 election a correspondent known as 'Politicus' had also decided to enlighten Orillia Times readers about agrarian protest. In two articles he misrepresented the Grange and Patrons of Industry, and then presented a defence of the two-party system over group government: "For generations we have been governed by the two party system; it seems to suit the disposition, temperament and genius of the Anglo Saxon race." Ibid., 24 November 1921, p. 9 (emphasis added). See also Ibid., 10 November 1921, p. 4.

"whatever may be said of Group Government as a theory, this certainly is no time to experiment with political, social or economic issues."¹¹⁹

Continuing, the editor noted that, under the group system, legislators would be elected by PR. The Times was even more critical of this concept than it had been of group government. After admitting that the existing system sometimes produced unfair results, it protested vigorously that it was still a much better system than PR. If implemented, PR might result in a small group with the balance of power dictating government policy, which would make for laws that most people did not support: "We should never forget that the very essence of our liberty is contained in the fact that a Government must have a majority in our Parliament." PR would also bring many candidates into the field who would divide the vote, leading inevitably to the election of "representatives of minorities who have not behind them popular approval for their fads and fancies." These and several other arguments were used to show the dangers associated with implementing PR.¹²⁰ Having

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 16 March 1922, p. 4.

¹²⁰ Other anti-PR arguments included the following: that vote-counting would be slow and tedious, that a British Royal Commission in 1910 recommended against adopting it, that PR did not always produce an accurate reflection of votes cast to seats earned, that a by-election would result in the constituency voting over again, and that the "cost of elections to the candidate over a large constituency eliminate(d) everyone but the rich candidates who can travel the riding and spend plenty of money."

demolished PR as a viable, legitimate alternative, the author of these Times editorials then identified the important issue at hand -- the need to institute a more equitable distribution of seats according to population, because some rural ridings, such as Simcoe East with less than 15,000 voters elected members on an equal basis as those with in excess of 37,000 people.

In its justification of the existing electoral system, the Orillia Times advanced a number of positive arguments. Implicit in the articles was the notion that this existing system represented the culmination of centuries of British constitutional development.¹²¹ It was inherently balanced and inclusive since the use of small constituencies and of two parties tended to "eliminate race, creed and class candidates." In addition, there was a measure of stability in constantly electing majority governments: "At least there is always safety in majority rule." Finally, under the first-past-the-post system the process was not only solid and well-grounded, but also easy to understand: "no other

¹²¹ Few justifications were put forward, possibly because it was taken for granted that what existed was the best of all possible worlds. During the 1925 federal election, it was noted by one newspaper editor that Drury was concerned with the common people. Angered, the newspaperman replied: "We have no common people in this democratic country. The man in the Ford has just as many rights on the highways as a man in the limousine." Collingwood Enterprise, 1 October 1925, p. 5.

system yet devised is an intelligible or speedy."¹²²

It is here that one discerns hegemonic forces at work. In effect, the writer of the editorial pieces was asking UFO members who detested racism to bolster a racist system; who became politicized because they felt themselves to be different (and to be exploited as different) to support a system that could not be disrupted by minorities; who were young and dynamic and eager for change to uphold the values of tradition and stability. The terms of the debate, however, were not phrased in that manner. As has been demonstrated, the persuasion to which UFO members were subjected was much more subtle than that.

This brief review does not do justice to the vehement yet subtle messages to which people were exposed on a daily basis. Although some editors were friendly to the UFO,¹²³

¹²² Orillia Times, 2 March 1922, p. 4; 9 March 1922, p. 4. See also Ibid., 9 August 1923, p. 4 for some insights into Liberalism, the system that stood for "individual responsibility, the most sacred thing on earth," a system that respected a man's sense of self, "and his rights to freedom of initiative and of development."

¹²³ James Muir, editor of the Almonte Gazette, continued to support the movement. He supported PR, believing that it was a more democratic means of electing people to legislatures. Almonte Gazette, 22 February 1923, p. 4. Ironically, in the same page that his editorial supporting PR was another one in which Muir praised Mackenzie King and his government for coming nearer "to the principles of true democracy than any government we have had." Muir made this claim after Progressive MP William Irvine had made a motion in the House of Commons that if a government measure was defeated that it should not mean that the government should resign. King had replied that cabinet was the very basis of responsible government, and that no ruling party should be allowed to remain in power if defeated in the House. According

the majority sided with the arguments put forward by the Times editor.¹²⁴ In an age when so-called political experts were sought out by rural weeklies, these were powerful ideas.¹²⁵

The effects of these forces can be seen in the decline of the political activity of the movement. After the mid-1920s the political side of the UFO was largely inactive. In Lambton, Progressive Bert Fansher re-captured East Lambton in the 1926 federal contest, but by then he was running on a low tariff, low tax platform; many of the features (and much of the enthusiasm) of the previous campaigns had

to Muir, King's statement reached "the very foundations and basis of the British system of Constitutional Government." Thus, King, and not Irvine, was the keeper of the spirit of democracy.

¹²⁴ Some individuals from the mainstream parties advocated changing the electoral system, but they were a decided minority. H.P. Hill, Conservative MPP for Ottawa East and chair of the Legislative Committee that supported PR, spoke in glowing terms of the system to an Orillia audience. Under it, he argued, Canada could become a truly democratic country, rather than merely a democracy in name only. Orillia Packet, 11 May 1922, p. 4; Orillia Times, 11 May 1922, p. 6. Even Mackenzie King proclaimed his support for PR, but, predictably, he made no serious effort to implement it while in power. However, this still did not deter the partisan press from portraying him as a champion of democracy simply because he advanced a Re-distribution Bill in 1924. Perth Courier, 25 July 1924, p. 2.

¹²⁵ See, for example, Almonte Gazette, 14 March 1924, p. 3, especially the article written by F.A. Carman, "one of the most experienced of the Parliamentary press gallery correspondents." Carman was perceptive enough to note that King held the Progressives hostage in the House of Commons with the threat of not passing the Re-distribution Bill. He realized that the Progressives would not ally themselves with the Tories and defeat the government because the next election would then have to be fought using the existing ridings.

disappeared.¹²⁶ Provincially, L.W. Oke retained his seat in the 1926 election, and lost in the 1929 contest. By then, however, Oke was better known for his concern over the financial interests of East Lambton farmers than over challenging the 'Big Interests'.¹²⁷ In Simcoe, aside from Drury's candidature in the 1925, 1926 and 1930 contests, no Progressive candidate ran for a federal seat after 1925.¹²⁸ Provincially, T.E. Ross ran and lost as a Liberal-Progressive candidate for East Simcoe in the 1926 election, as did John Mitchell in Southwest Simcoe, thus ending direct participation in provincial politics. In Lanark, UFO political activity effectively ceased after the 1926 federal election, when a Liberal/Progressive G.W.

¹²⁶ Fansher began watering down his platform in the 1925 campaign. See, for example, Forest Free Press, 22 October 1925, p. 1; 29 October 1925, p. 1. On his 1926 campaign, see Forest Standard, 26 August 1926, p. 2; 16 September 1926, p. 2; Forest Free Press, 16 September 1926, p. 2. In West Lambton in 1926, Progressives chose to support Liberal candidate William Goodison. Ibid., 2 September 1926, p. 2; 16 September 1926, p. 2; 25 September 1926, p. 4.

¹²⁷ Oke also enjoyed the support of the local branch of the Prohibition Union. On the 1926 campaign see Forest Standard, 25 November 1926, pp. 2, 6. Robert J. White contested Lambton West in 1926, but was defeated by Tory incumbent Wilfrid S. Haney. Ibid., 4 November 1926, p. 1; 11 November 1926, p. 1.

¹²⁸ On Drury's campaigns, see E.C. Drury, Farmer Premier: The Memoirs of E.C. Drury (Ref), pp. 166-71. Drury appears in election records as a Progressive candidate but, as C.M. Johnston points out, by 1926 Drury had "shed the Progressive label and for all intents and purposes returned to the two-party fold as a 'free trade liberal'." Johnston, p. 216.

Buchanan contested the seat and lost.¹²⁹ It was the last time a UFO candidate ran in an election in Lanark.¹³⁰

The disillusionment of UFO supporters can be seen even before the post 1925 elections. In 1919, the provincial voter turnout was 72.6%. In that election, many of the young UFO supporters may have voted for the first time. Certainly all of the women voters did. In the 1923 provincial contest the voter turnout was 54.7% Not only did this represent a

¹²⁹ Buchanan was a long-time UFO member and a buyer for the local UFCC. He promised to support a Liberal/Progressive government, but reserved the right to vote independently when directed by his conscience (not his constituents) to do so. By that time, however, Buchanan was not interested in fighting the 'Big Interests'; instead, he saw the central issue as the need to expand markets: "By scientific research and by still further vigorous action on the part of our Department of Trade and Commerce these markets can be extended not only to the benefit of manufacturers but to the farmers as well." Perth Courier, 10 September 1926, p. 10. See also Ibid., 27 August 1926, p. 4; Almonte Gazette, 20 August 1926, p. 1; 27 August 1926, p. 1; 10 September 1926, p. 5; 17 September 1926, p. 1; Smiths Falls Record-News, 9 September 1926, p. 4; 14 September 1926, p. 1.

¹³⁰ Prohibition Union candidate D.H. Gemmell was endorsed by the Lanark UFO Association in the 1926 provincial election but, almost predictably, he withdrew shortly before election day. Smiths Falls Record-News, 11 November 1926, p. 7; 18 November 1926, p. 1; Perth Courier, 12 November 1926, p. 3; 3 December 1926, p. 8; Almonte Gazette, 12 November 1926, p. 1. In a 1929 federal by-election the Lanark UFO voted against fielding a candidate. To do so, it was argued, would split the non-Conservative vote and ensure the Tories of a victory. Almonte Gazette editor James Muir was outraged at the decision, arguing that if Progressive "principles and policies were anything they were worth fighting for." He also argued that the UFO was alienating "many of (its) members who were formerly Conservatives by so frequently espousing the cause of the Liberal candidate in an effort to defeat the Conservatives." For Muir, the decision was an admission on the part of local UFO members that the political side of the movement was dead. Almonte Gazette, 11 October 1929, pp. 1-3.

dramatic drop in voter turnout, but also a record: 54.7 is the lowest percentage of voter turnout ever in an Ontario election.¹³¹ Although one can only speculate why this dramatic decline in voter turnout occurred, it is reasonable to assume that it partly reflected apathy and disillusionment in those who supported the aims and ideals of the UFO.

At the provincial level, in 1932 the UFO briefly affiliated with the newly-formed Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, and then endorsed H.H. Stevens' Reconstruction Party in the 1935 federal election. That same year the Ontario Federation of Agriculture was formed as part of the Canadian Chamber of Agriculture (later the Canadian Federation of Agriculture). The UFO, for all intents and purposes, became the educational wing of the Federation, concentrating mainly on encouraging orderly marketing of farm produce, until it disbanded in 1943.¹³²

Conclusion

The elections of 1919 and 1921 filled UFO members with exhilaration. Hitherto unpoliticized farmers throughout Ontario became aware of the systemic inequities in the society in which they lived, and they pursued these matters through individual study and, more importantly, through

¹³¹ Candidates and Results, pp. J5-J6.

¹³² On the later years of the UFO, see Jean MacLeod, "The United Farmer Movement in Ontario, 1914-1943," MA Thesis, Queen's University, 1958, pp. 154-199.

collective action. Virtually all aspects of the province's social fabric were held up for examination and, in many cases, they were found wanting. In this exciting environment members sought to advance alternatives which were, to their minds, much more equitable, democratic, and just. By contesting elections, a considerable measure of political power was achieved. It was natural to assume, therefore, that change was on its way.

The exhilaration faded, however, as members found that implementing change was going to be much more difficult than was first envisioned. The movement's leaders seemed reluctant to work towards meaningful change; instead, they asserted that what was needed was balance, compromise, and moderation. In addition, there was a lack of consensus among the leaders on matters as fundamental as how the UFO should develop. The lack of zeal and squabbles undoubtedly trickled down into the rank and file and, in some cases, resulted in local groups merely debating issues rather than trying to devise ways to attain specific goals.

MPPs and MPs proved to be of little assistance. These individuals employed fiery rhetoric during their inaugural campaigns and, quite probably because they did so, were elected. Once at Queen's Park or Parliament Hill, however, with few exceptions these legislators began sounding and acting like the old-style politicians they had defeated. When challenged by the membership about their inaction, they

reverted to traditional behaviour, choosing to rely on patronage to garner support. For many, it did not work.

Moreover, relations between the UFO and the ILP, always tentative, became more distant by the mid-1920s. Each group had a specific agenda, and both became increasingly unwilling to compromise or to join forces to fight the common foe, the 'Big Interests'. The inability to forge a lasting alliance had profound effects on both movements.

As if the UFO did not have enough internal problems with which to contend, there was another foe -- hegemony. Prevailing ideas, attitudes, and mores filtered into the movement, sometimes so subtly that they were not perceived. Consequently, many rank and file members abandoned their alternative vision for the possessive individualism that pervaded the society in which they lived. Pinpointing this shift is impossible; it occurred slowly and without a significant event to account for the change. But the evidence strongly suggests that it happened all the same.

Thus far, only the traditional political activity of the UFO has been examined. We now turn to two important components of the movement -- the United Farm Women of Ontario and the UFO's co-operative enterprises -- to explore how, in a less politicized context, UFO members were briefly able to free themselves from the prevailing world-view, but then ultimately lost their ability to see things differently.

Chapter 5

**"Citizens Instead of Wards":
The United Farm Women of Ontario
in Lambton, Simcoe and Lanark Counties**

Feminism is woman's 'restless desire' for deliverance from the false position of subordination in which she has been placed by the reactionary forces in the civilization and progress of humanity of the middle and the dark ages, and the irrepressible determination to resume the position of just honor and esteem in which she was anciently held.

Emma Griesbach¹

Not long after the formation of the United Farm Women of Ontario (UFWO) in 1918, Emma Griesbach wrote an optimistic article celebrating the recent awakening of farm women throughout the province.² There was considerable enthusiasm for the new organization, and she believed it would be the ideal vehicle for women to attain the equality they had long deserved. Griesbach also observed that it was up to the men in the UFO "to give the sisters to understand beyond any doubt or question that the presence of (women) in the clubs is desired and will be appreciated."³ This, she

¹ Sun, 18 September 1918, p. 6.

² The UFWO was established in June 1918 as a result of a meeting in Toronto comprised of some leading women within the UFO. On its formation and structure, see Margaret Kechnie, "The United Farm Women of Ontario: Developing a Political Consciousness," Ontario History, Vol. LXXVII, No. 4, December 1985, pp. 267-9. See also Melville H. Staples, The Challenge of Agriculture: The Story of the United Farmers of Ontario (Toronto: George N. Morang, 1921), pp. 115-32. Women had the option of joining with an existing UFO club or establishing a UFWO club of their own.

³ Sun, 21 August 1918, p. 6.

believed, would be the true test of the UFO's commitment to equality for all, and it would ensure the UFWO's continuing success.

The United Farm Women of Ontario has been largely ignored by historians.⁴ Only two recent articles -- the first by Margaret Kechnie and the second by Pauline Rankin -- discuss the organization at any length,⁵ and both are dismissive about its having had any long-term influence. According to Rankin, the UFWO represented Ontario farm women's "submerging their commitment to women's issues and rallying with their husbands and fathers, a strategy that eventually contributed to their limited impact and subsequent demise."⁶ On first glance this may seem to be so, but upon closer examination does this conclusion stand up? Were there not occasions when the UFWO enabled women to push the boundaries within which they found themselves? And

⁴ One reason accounting for this lacuna might be the lack of readily-accessible documentation regarding the UFWO. Only a small percentage of UFWO members left any written records. Lack of documentation is, of course, a pervasive problem for those attempting to study the experience of women in history. On this problem, see the "Editor's Note" in the special women's biography edition of Ontario History, Vol. LXXXIV, No. 4, December 1992.

⁵ Kechnie; and Pauline Rankin, "The Politicization of Ontario Farm Women," in Linda Kealey and Joan Sangster, ed., Beyond the Vote: Canadian Women and Politics (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989). Louise I. Carbert, in her Agrarian Feminism: The Politics of Ontario Farm Women (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), relies heavily on Kechnie's work and devotes only 3 pages to the UFWO (pp. 12-4).

⁶ Rankin, p. 310.

did the lessons that these women learned from their experience in the movement not hold them in good stead for the future?

Studies of women in organizations established and dominated by men have traced the trials and tribulations of women as they advocated for and attempted to prompt action on particular issues. Interpretations and conclusions vary, but most studies point to the fact that, since these women had allied themselves with male dominated organizations, they were working within a patriarchal framework which profoundly limited opportunities for fundamental change.⁷ The extent to which women were able to advance their own agenda within this framework usually stands as the measure of their success. In this chapter, it will be argued that, although the UFWO offered women hitherto unheard of opportunities to explore and expand upon issues that they felt were important and although they were able to effect some reforms within the farmers' movement that were to their benefit, many of their initiatives came to naught. At times

⁷ In her study of Nebraska farm women, Deborah Fink argues that, "Whereas agrarian ideology has proclaimed that women were liberated rather than limited by their service within the family farm, my analysis indicates that rural women lived the same basic contradictions as nonrural women, although the circumstances of rural life put a unique stamp on the form of these contradictions." Agrarian Women: Wives and Mothers in Rural Nebraska, 1880-1940 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), p. 2. Fink also concludes that, "In spite of their broad participation, women were nonetheless subordinate to men in the farm movements, and movement support for women's issues such as suffrage was ambivalent and perhaps opportunistic." (p. 23).

this was due to the reluctance of the UFO to take on women's issues as a united group, and at other times it was due to general societal constraints on women. Given recent scholarship in the field -- the work of Kechnie and Rankin, for instance -- these conclusions are, of course, entirely obvious. But the experience of women in the UFWO amounts to something more than a failed outcome. It will, therefore, also be argued here, in line with the larger thesis of this dissertation, that women who struggled to influence the farmers' movement must be viewed, first and foremost, as historical agents who attempted to break free from the prevailing orthodoxy and play a more meaningful role in how their lives were shaped.

In this chapter, close attention will be given to letters written to Emma Griesbach -- known as 'Sister Diana' to readers of her weekly page in the Sun -- from women in the three counties under consideration.⁸ These letters provide valuable insights into the concerns of rural

⁸ Griesbach was a school teacher from Collingwood. Raised on a farm, she edited and wrote most of the Sun's "Sisters' Page" from late 1917 until early 1922 when she was effectively dropped by the Sun's editorial board, reportedly for her outspoken opinions. Griesbach's role in the United Farm Women's movement and her dismissal from the Sun are discussed in Rankin's and Kechnie's studies, but both accounts are too brief to allow for a thorough analysis of her accomplishments. It is hoped that this chapter will provide an incentive for undertaking additional research on her life and work.

women.⁹ Moreover, because many women chose to use pseudonyms rather than their real names, their letters were often frank in their subject matter and in the proposed solutions to the problems that farm women perceived.¹⁰

Concerns UFWO Members Expressed

Rural vs. Urban Society

The differences between urban and rural society were felt as acutely by women as by men in rural Ontario, if not

⁹ On the value of examining letters to rural newspapers, see Angela E. Davis, "'County Homemakers': The Daily Lives of Prairie Women as Seen Through the Woman's Page of the Grain Growers' Guide 1908-1928," in Donald H. Akenson, ed., Canadian Papers in Rural History Volume VIII (Gananoque: Langdale Press, 1992). Davis' article, however, is quite brief, and does not address letters that were of a political nature. Although the value of such letters as historical source material is indisputable, they are not always available to researchers. The UFWO was as significant a force in Lanark County as it was in other parts of the province. County-wide membership continued to rise until at least 1926, when most other UFWO clubs were experiencing a severe falling-off in terms of numbers. Smiths Falls Record-News, 11 November 1926, p. 7. And some UFWO clubs in Lanark survived even into the early 1940s. Despite this, however, very little was heard from Lanark women in the pages of the Sun. As a result, the description of Lanark women in this chapter is based largely upon local newspaper accounts of their activities.

¹⁰ Griesbach herself recognized the value of her letters section. "The great majority of home-keeping women in the country have no way of really getting acquainted with their own mentality, except through self-expression in letters. We have not the same opportunities for verbal expression as the men have..." Sun, 17 April 1918, p. 6. See also Ibid., 4 February 1922, p. 6. There is a problem with anonymous letters, however. Many of the women who did not reveal their names often failed, as well, to mention where they were writing from. Hence, there is a good possibility that many letters written by women in the three counties under consideration were not identified and, as a result, have not been included in this chapter.

more so.¹¹ Farm women took offense at being perceived as uncultured hayseeds every bit as much as farm men, and they resented the fact that many urban women were able to enjoy the benefits of labour-saving technology to which they themselves had no access. In addition, farm women chafed at the isolation of their lives knowing, as they did, that women living in cities and towns had access to a host of social activities.

The tension between farm and city was probably exacerbated by the First World War. Writing to the Orillia Packet, 'E.A.' pointed out that, if urban people helped out more and talked less about farmers' not going off to fight, then something might actually get accomplished.¹² The writer observed, further, that women in towns and cities were still able to purchase new clothes, while at the same time farm women were "as a rule dressing plainer and working harder" than ever before.¹³

¹¹ The UFWO (and the UFO) frequently addressed the subject of rural depopulation. This theme is discussed elsewhere in this thesis and in many secondary works on the UFO and, consequently, will be dealt with only peripherally here. For accounts of how local UFWO members felt about the subject, see Ibid., 15 May 1920, p. 6; 2 February 1921, p. 6; 19 March 1921, p. 6; 25 June 1921, p. 6; 18 November 1926, p. 12; Forest Standard, 11 March 1926, p. 3.

¹² Farm women as well as farm men were targeted by the Patriotism and Production campaign. See, for example, Almonte Gazette, 5 March 1915, p. 1.

¹³ Orillia Packet, 3 May 1917, p. 4. 'E.A.' may have been a man. Similar sentiments expressed by men appeared elsewhere. See, for example, Farmer's Advocate (3 January 1918, Vol. LIII, No. 1319, p. 4) where the editor noted that

The subject of work -- or, more properly, the disparities in workloads -- became a common theme in the expression of rural/urban tension. Of interest in a letter from 'A.A.G.' of Simcoe to Sister Diana was her description of the work she undertook on the farm:

I have four small children, do all my own work, sewing, mending and all...I milk, feed calves, pigs, hens, etc. When haying and harvest comes I work in the field day in and day out and nurse a baby besides, and I get no days off. In ten years I have been to one picnic.¹⁴

The final sentence in this passage touched upon another aspect of farm life that was felt particularly acutely by women -- isolation. The loneliness of farm life was a problem identified by many farm women,¹⁵ and for some the remedy for this condition rested with the UFWO and its emphasis on meeting and addressing issues as a group, not as

throughout the province women could be found at work in the fields, and that most of these women were "doubtless doing a woman's work in the house as well...We contend that no person ...in Canada is doing more work through the present crisis... than the women of farm homes in this country."

¹⁴ Sun, 15 May 1918, p. 6. See also the comments of 'Kid' (Ibid., 27 February 1918, p. 6), and the letter from 'Peggy' (Ibid., 10 April 1923, p. 3), both from Simcoe. Fink argues that "Women in more marginal households were likely to be pressed into service as field workers and assigned a greater share of livestock chores than were women living on farms that could afford to hire workers." Fink, pp. 52-3.

¹⁵ For a good discussion of the isolation that farm women experienced in Nebraska, see Ibid., pp. 54-56. Fink notes that Luna Kellie, who became active in the Farmers' Alliance and in the Populist Party, did not get to town once during the first 18 months she lived on a farm in that state.

isolated and distant individuals.¹⁶

To return to the subject of disparities in workloads, 'Sister Blanche' of Lambton, a widow with only one son, felt that during the Great War her efforts were needed more in the field than in the house. Consequently, she took the government's advice and hired a town-woman to keep house. In order to make the work easier for the hired help, Blanche had her 18-year-old daughter do all the washing and churning. After two weeks, however, the town-woman resigned, claiming that there was too much work for her to do. Blanche then compared this woman's duties to those of a farm woman she knew who was also a widow with one son registered for the war:

She feeds thirteen head of cattle, twenty-three pigs, three cows, milks eighty quarts of milk daily, feeds and turns that milk through the separator alone, cleans all the stables and pig pens, cuts mostly all her own wood, manages four of a family, feeds and clothes them on less than six hundred dollars a year.

¹⁶ See, for example, Sun, 24 January 1920, p. 6. In some cases UFWO members blamed the women themselves for their sorry state. 'Sister Lou' wrote to Griesbach and noted that she was "sick to hear farm women grouch and grouch about how hard they work and keep at the same old gait about a thousand years behind the times in their housework and never make the least effort to get out of their rut." Ibid., 1 May 1920, p. 6. What Sister Lou overlooked was that, perhaps unlike her, other farm women may not have been in a position to alter their routine. In fact, some farm women complained that they were unable to enjoy hobbies to the extent that city women did because they were too busy to do so. See, for example, the letter from 'Ambrosine' of Alliston. Ibid., 19 June 1923, p. 3, and the comments of Margery Mills in Smiths Falls Record-News, 17 February 1920, p. 3. 'Margery Mills' was a pseudonym used by Meta Schooly Laws of Cayuga, Ontario, who wrote a regular column in the Sun. Kechnie, p. 278, n. 14.

Not a pleasant picture, made even more unpleasant for Blanche when she thought of city people who were going out and enjoying themselves "while our soldier boys perish on the bloody battle field."¹⁷

Some women spoke with a mixture of pride and resentment when describing the amount of work they did on the farm.¹⁸ In a debate held by the Smiths Falls UFO and UFWO on the resolution that the farmer's wife and daughter were superior to the farmer and his son on the farm, Miss Minnie Armstrong contended that women looked after the vegetable garden and the poultry, operated a free laundry and barber shop, and were often responsible for much of the repair work on the farm. Mrs. Russell McDonald added that labour-saving devices had made work less strenuous for men, but farm women were not able to acquire similar devices of their own. She also

¹⁷ Sun, 5 June 1918, p. 6. See also Alice Webster's comments on farm women's work. Ibid., 26 March 1919, p. 6. Griesbach estimated that it took the average farm woman 12 hours a day to complete her household and farm tasks. Considering that leisure was relegated to only a half-day on Sunday, the work week of this average woman totalled 78 hours. Ibid., 8 October 1921, p. 6. On the government's program to encourage city women to work on farms, see Forest Standard, 1 August 1918, p. 1.

¹⁸ In 1920 Emma Griesbach noted that the bulletins of vocational information published by the Ontario Department of Labor made no mention whatsoever of homemaking as a profession. Griesbach estimated that this meant that the efforts of some 200,000 women were effectively being ignored. Noting that provincial agriculture minister Manning Doherty had announced his intention to bring men to Ontario from Europe to help out on farms, she wrote "I hope he will not overlook the fact that a large part of the burden of agriculture rests on the shoulders of farm women." Evidently, Doherty did overlook this fact. Sun, 14 August 1920, p. 6.

knew one woman who milked twenty cows daily "because her husband had never learned to milk." Mrs. R. Bowen argued further that men often employed hired help, a luxury not often available to farm women.¹⁹

After the War tensions between urban and rural women continued. In a letter to the Orillia Packet in 1920, 'A Farmer's Wife' pointed out that in the past hotels had provided farmers and their wives and children with a comfortable meeting and resting space. At the end of the day, when the shopping was done, the family could wait in the hotel parlour. Parcels could even be delivered there. The situation, however, had changed:

Now you see a notice that the accommodation of the hotel is only for guests. So it is no more a public but a private house. Farmers' wives and children wait about in stores, or round the doors.

It was no wonder to her that many farm women resorted to mail-order houses for much of their consumer goods.²⁰

¹⁹ Smiths Falls Record-News, 28 March 1922, pp. 1, 4. A debate on the resolution that "farmers have more opportunity for pleasure than farm women" was held by the Creemore UFO/UFWO in Simcoe in 1920. Sun, 27 March 1920, p. 6. On the inequality associated with purchases of labour-saving devices on farms, see Royce McGillvray, The Slopes of the Andes: Four Essays on the Rural Myth in Ontario (Belleville, Mika Publishing Company, 1990), pp. 59-60.

²⁰ Orillia Packet, 15 January 1920, p. 4. The writer also mentioned that ordering by mail made more sense during winter, because drives to town in the cold could then be avoided. She also noted that there were no more tying posts for horses in Orillia, which caused problems for her sixteen year-old daughter who enjoyed riding into town. Her complaint regarding hotels corresponds with the call for the construction of rest rooms in towns for the use of rural

Alice Webster of Creemore hoped that rural women were actively supporting the Drury Government's efforts to electrify farms. The "bellowings" of the mayor of Orillia that hydro should be developed for use in cities "suggests a scene we often witness on the farm when the biggest, fattest hog in the pen lies full length in the trough to keep the others out." She went on to suggest that a prod with a long-handled fork would be the "most considerate attention such animals deserve."²¹

Louise Collins of Stayner supported Drury's 'broadening out' plan if for no other reason than it might enable rural and urban people to understand one another better.²² Even so, Collins could not escape feeling that farmers were characterized as hayseeds by urban people. As an example,

women. Rejecting the reliance on hotels for such comforts, Griesbach wrote that "Women never feel quite so much at home at a rest room in a private building. It gives one a feeling of accepting charity; but in the room provided by the public she is as much at home as anybody, and even has a small sense of ownership." Sun, 8 May 1918, p. 6. Women UFO members in Smiths Falls built a rest room in that town even before the UFWO was established there. Smiths Falls Record-News, 3 November 1920, p. 2; 23 December 1920, p. 1. A rest room had been constructed in Forest by the UFWO by mid-1922. Forest Standard, 29 June 1922, p. 3.

²¹ Sun, 12 March 1921, p. 6. Hydro was discussed at local meetings from time to time, to be sure. It is debatable, however, whether or not this was one of the main concerns of average farm women, as Kechnie implies. See Kechnie, p. 270. For accounts of local hydro discussions, see Sun, 21 August 1920, p. 6; 25 June 1921, p. 6. See also Ibid., 14 June 1924, p. 3, for the views of the central UFWO.

²² Ibid., 9 July 1921, p. 4. Louise Collins may have been married to John Collins. See the reference to a Mrs. John Collins of Stayner. Orillia Packet, 2 October 1924, p. 1.

she pointed to Globe articles that criticized farmers for not understanding how the doors operated on the new Toronto street cars. In reply, Collins asked:

how many times have I gone to the pump...to show the stranger from the city how to get water when he didn't understand? When is the press and the crude city people going to stop such slandering, and wake up to the fact that the Progressive farmers do not envy anything in the city. All we ask is a square deal.²³

The Press and its Distortions

As with members of the UFO, many United Farm Women began to realize that the press -- especially the urban press, from which many rural weeklies reprinted items -- often distorted facts to serve the agenda of the 'Big Interests'. Moreover, they recognized the ways in which this was done. Griesbach noted that the 'Big Interests' drove ideas into people's heads "by means of printer's ink...they iterate and reiterate; they publish it in every manner, and they keep on publishing it until they believe they have achieved their end."²⁴ Writing from Simcoe, 'A.W.'

²³ Sun, 31 December 1921, p. 6. Collins' letter also refers to the urban press and its vilification of farmers, a topic discussed below and in other chapters. See also Collins' letter in Ibid., 26 September 1922, p. 4.

²⁴ Ibid., 9 January 1918, p. 6. Griesbach also alluded to the 'Big Interests' subsidizing newspapers in Canada "for the sake of getting their propaganda over to the people." Ibid., 24 September 1921, p. 6. See also Ibid., 10 September 1921, p. 6; 16 November 1921, p. 6. These very sentiments have been expressed more recently by Noam Chomsky. For a good survey of his work in this area, see Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988). The sort of propaganda described by Griesbach did not necessarily apply solely to newspapers. Alice Webster

believed that those who criticized farmers from what they read in newspapers "should qualify their criticism by adding 'according to press reports'," because the reports were often inaccurate.²⁵

Inaccurate and downright dishonest reporting often seemed to coincide with election campaigns. During the 1923 provincial election, a woman who identified herself as 'Centre Simcoe' argued that "The city dailies are so anxious to sow distrust in the minds of the farmers, and some farmers seem content to let them."²⁶ Again, readers had to

supposed that other sisters had grown weary "of finding out of their mail the 'Made in Canada' literature which insults our intelligence by asking us to put in manufacturers' pockets what should go into the public treasury and then call it patriotism!" Sun, 22 October 1921, p. 6.

²⁵ Ibid., 14 January 1920, p. 6. The correspondent was likely Alice Webster. Webster asked in subsequent correspondence if women ever saw "in the society news of the city dailies (anything) but descriptions of how the women and the reception rooms were decorated and never a line to indicate that the women did anything more than display their finery like dummies in a shop window." Ibid., 26 November 1921, p. 6. Examples of farm women noting urban press vilification of farmers are numerous. See, for example, Ibid., 2 April 1921, p. 6. Margery Mills occasionally wrote about press distortions. See, for example, Ibid., 26 November 1919, p. 6. Griesbach herself was the victim of at least one fabrication by the press when the Toronto Daily Star published a remark it attributed to her to the effect that farmers could sell milk for eight cents a quart and still make a reasonable profit. The Star eventually published a retraction, but by then the damage had been done. As Griesbach found out, many of the rural weeklies that carried the Star story failed to publish the retraction. See her letter in the Collingwood Enterprise, 8 January 1920, p. 7. On the issue of wartime press censorship, see Sun, 30 January 1918, p. 6, where Griesbach expressed doubt that the Sun would print her anti-war article. Probably to her surprise, it did.

²⁶ Ibid., 14 June 1923, p. 3.

be very careful when reading so-called 'objective' journalism.

The distortions and outright lying of the city press disgusted many farm women, and may well have reinforced their resentment of urban society. Perceptions that the urban press was serving a less-than-noble agenda may have also led many women to become more sceptical when assessing political and economic questions, both of which -- as will be seen -- were perceived to be dominated by urban 'Big Interests' as well.

Militarism

Militarism or, more specifically, anti-militarism was a theme frequently addressed by Griesbach. Unlike many peace activists who either muted their message or reversed their opinions completely during the War, she continued her anti-war articles for the Sun.²⁷ She often warned her readers not to be led "into thinking that the chief purpose of universal compulsory military training is the defence of Canada." According to Griesbach, the generals who advocated

²⁷ As Barbara Roberts points out, arguing for peace during peace-time is fairly uncontroversial, but "To promote peace in wartime, in contrast, is radical, certainly unpatriotic, and perhaps subversive or treasonous." "Women's Peace Activism in Canada," in Kealey and Sangster, p. 277. A peace activist could, however, also experience difficulties during peacetime for making 'objectionable' remarks. In 1925, outrage greeted Agnes Macphail when she stated that "even if Belgium had not been invaded, Britain would have found some excuse to enter the World War." Forest Standard, 27 August 1925, p. 1. Her remarks, made in Peterborough County, were carried in newspapers as far away as Lambton.

such a policy had motives of a more base character, such as big salaries, easy positions, fine clothes, overseas travel, private cars, decorations and automatic promotions. Most importantly, in her view, they saw "power and authority, which their souls love." As to the causes of war, Griesbach saw virtually all wars arising out of one or more of the following motives: love of battle, love of adventure, love of plunder, love of power, and the love of conquest and territorial extension. In one of her articles on the topic, she gave a thumbnail sketch of the history of wars involving Britain. She then hastened to point out that not one of the wars she described "arose from the wish of the people, or by the will of the people, or for the good of the people."²⁸ Heaping scorn on those who believed in contemporary slogans that the Great War was to "make the world safe for democracy" or that it was a "war to end war" overlooked the fact that the war had enriched the rich and provided more

²⁸ Sun, 14 February 1920, p. 6. The issue of war -- its causes, its historical development and the way to eliminate it -- was a topic of a lesson for the United Farmers Young People of Ontario offered by the Educational Department of the UFO. Referring to the First World War as "a crime against civilization" and recommending that students read Sir Philip Gibbs' Now It Can Be Told, the ultimate goal of the course was to "assist in achieving the ideal of universal peace." University of Guelph Archives, Leonard Harman/UCO Collection (henceforth 'UCO'), XA1, MS A126017, Lesson 1, "International Problems in their Relationship to World Peace." Educating children to detest militarism was an important component of the UFO's platform, although it was often left to the women to work towards this goal. Agnes Macphail often wrote on the topic. See, for example, her article on school book glorification of war. Sun, 8 September 1923, p. 5.

misery for the poor.²⁹ Moreover, Griesbach chastised those who spoke about a period of reconstruction. To her, talk about such lofty goals was empty prating if people refused to acknowledge "that in human society the first constructive principle is a real, universal, cogent and ever-active sense of human brotherhood."³⁰

Alice Webster of Creemore addressed other aspects of warfare in one of her letters to Diana. Referring to a farm family with whom she was acquainted, she remembered how the last remaining son on the farm had been conscripted, "even though 20,000 trained Canadian soldiers in England had nothing to do but rehearse for moving pictures." And yet, farmers were criticized for complaining about the war and for wasting crops during the conflict, while those who donated money and nothing else to the cause were lauded as 'patriots'.³¹

'Seabird' of Simcoe maintained that the extraordinary

²⁹ Ibid., 20 March 1920, p. 6. In the same article Griesbach provided several examples from history to back up her argument, citing in this context a passage from Short History of the English People. See also Ibid., 1 May, 1920, p. 6; 23 July 1921, p. 4.

³⁰ Ibid., 11 December 1918, p. 6.

³¹ Ibid., 2 April 1921, p. 6. Webster wrote on the topic from time to time until at least 1926. See her letter in Ibid., 16 September 1926, p. 4, in which she alluded to newspapers' vilifying farmers who went on record as abhorring warfare during the War: "It is very satisfying now to look back and know that farmers remained sane while others did not." See also the comments of 'Kid' of Simcoe County. Ibid., 27 February 1918, p. 6.

sums of money spent on military preparedness meant that money was effectively stolen from the people.³² 'Fidelia' of Simcoe blamed religious institutions for not taking a stand against the war. Prior to the outbreak of hostilities, she argued, it was easy for the churches to preach humanity and peace. Immediately after war broke out, however, they fell in right behind the state in its war effort:

We see the outcome...instead of the 'Church' acting in the capacity of a peace-maker in all belligerent countries, calming men's passions and moderating their fury...we have the clergy advocating the very forces Christ was continually deprecating, self assertion, temporal power, hate and enmity!³³

All of which went to prove to Fidelia that there was no real separation between church and state.³⁴ A few months before Fidelia made these remarks, a woman who signed herself 'Lambton County Farmer's Wife' wrote to the Sun with suggestions on how to stop the war. Evidently, the letter was so strongly-worded that the editor believed that, if it was published, "we might be committing an offence against

³² Ibid., 11 December 1918, p. 6.

³³ Ibid., 21 August 1918, p. 6. On church support of the Great War, see Richard Allen, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-28 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), pp. 35-45.

³⁴ International peace continued to be discussed at local UFWO meetings. See, for example, Collingwood Saturday News, 27 February 1926, p. 2; 17 April 1926, p. 4; Collingwood Bulletin, 23 February 1928, p. 1; 13 June 1929, p. 2; 3 April 1930, p. 1.

the censorship regulations."³⁵

Democracy

The attainment of a meaningful democratic form of government was a central concern for many farm women, and it is in their musings on the topic that one sees (albeit unconsciously) many elements of anarchism. For many UFWO members democracy meant much more than casting a ballot every few years; it meant encouraging people to accept the responsibilities of citizenship and continuously contributing to public policy formulation.

The UFWO leadership contributed in part to this concern. Margery Mills argued that the UFO was a model of democracy because its policies derived from resolutions passed at various meetings of organized farmers. Each point was discussed clause by clause, and was then accepted in open convention. Mills could not think of any political organization in which policy was made in a similar manner. She then gave a brief lesson on how democratic forms would come about in government:

when a candidate, instead of following the old-established order of procedure and submitting to the electors a policy which some group of men other than themselves or himself has formulated, for their endorsement, accepts a policy formulated by the people themselves, he changes the whole system of government -- makes it democratic. The responsibility of the government belongs to the people...and their representative may, and should, shift the responsibility from his shoulders to

³⁵ Sun, 20 March 1918, p. 6.

theirs.³⁶

Obviously, Mills hoped that the UFO Government would initiate this process.

Griesbach also wrote extensively about democracy, and had many insights on the topic for her readers. A paramount concern of Griesbach was the notion of self-government as a precondition for the emergence of democratic forms. For her, democracy could never be attained until

the units of a community are self-governed in their individual lives, and when they have become sufficiently enlightened to see that the good of each is bound up in the good of all and that no one can grasp more than his due without disastrous consequences to himself and to others.³⁷

Decentralized, small-unit democracy was the key for Griesbach, as it was for many members of the UFWO.

The granting of the vote to women unleashed a flurry of comments from supporters of the UFO. Shortly after receiving the federal franchise, some farm women began heaping derision upon those who voted for the party rather than the candidate in the 1917 federal election. A woman from Simcoe using the pen-name 'A Mad, Bad Sister' wrote to the Sun claiming that she would vote for the devil himself if she thought he would advance policy that she approved. Even if Parliament was full of saints, "what benefit would the people have...if they put through stupid, blundering, ill-

³⁶ Ibid., 10 November 1920, p. 6.

³⁷ Ibid., 22 May 1918, p. 6.

considered measures?" As an example, she named the War Time Election Act, although she was quick to point out that this was not to imply that she thought the present Parliament was "a congregation of Saints."³⁸

Co-operation

Co-operation was also a topic of interest among farm women.³⁹ Some of the ventures they explored were designed to obtain better prices for their produce. Others, however, were directed toward saving money and also improving the conditions within which farm women found themselves. For instance, Emma Griesbach campaigned for the establishment of co-operative laundries, creameries, bakeries, electrical plants and telephone systems, to name but a few examples. Frequently, she informed her readers about how cheaply a community laundry or a co-operative kitchen could be established, and what benefits it would bring to the community.⁴⁰ Alice Webster agreed with Griesbach, and she argued forcefully that co-operation should be the goal of all human activity. Although she noted at the same time that there were many obstacles on the road to achieving this goal, she concluded that "the only insurmountable obstacle

³⁸ Ibid., 12 December 1917, p. 6.

³⁹ Griesbach frequently wrote about co-operatives, arguing on at least one occasion that they were one of the few weapons farmers had with which to bring down the combines of the 'Big Interests'. Ibid., 14 January 1920, p. 6.

⁴⁰ See, for example, Ibid., 31 January 1920, p. 6; 14 February 1920, p. 6. See also Kechnie, p. 276.

lies within ourselves."⁴¹ In her talk before the Union UFWO in Collingwood, 'W.H.B.' of Simcoe mentioned the need for recreation and community spirit; and for her community spirit meant "co-operation, doing things together for one another; it means real neighborliness in other words, brotherly love as the Apostle Paul puts it."⁴² As this and other references indicate, farm women eagerly embraced the co-operative ethos of the United Farmers' movement, and sought to apply it to many aspects of their lives. The fate of the movement's co-operative ventures is discussed in the next chapter.

Relations Between Farm Men and Farm Women

Other than idealized accounts of what farm life should be like, only scant reference was made by UFWO members to the relations between men and women in the farmers' movement. Some evidence, however, can be found -- usually written or spoken by the UFWO elite -- that provides insights into these relations.

In the early years of the UFWO some members expressed hope that the organization would elevate farm women to a position equal to that of their male counterparts in both

⁴¹ Sun, 31 January 1920, p. 6. Webster would have gladly sent her washing to a community laundry, "but although it is freely admitted that farm women are the most overburdened class of society, yet they themselves display a most discouraging apathy towards any movement to take away some of the burden." Ibid., 22 October 1921, p. 6.

⁴² Ibid., 7 April 1920, p. 6.

public and private affairs. Speaking at a UFO picnic in Simcoe in 1920, Griesbach noted that women were equal to men in the movement:

We are governed by the same constitution. Just as in the home one will take one department and another...it is much the same in the farm organization and at the same time, just as in the home, we all give each other support and in time of need, a helping hand. We United Farm Women realize what an immensely important...part public business has in the happiness and welfare of every man, woman, and child in the Dominion, and as intelligent, conscientious women, we intend to take our full share of responsibility for the honest administration of public affairs...It has been said that the farmers have no great leaders. We are not looking for great leaders. Our wish is to make our organization absolutely democratic.⁴³

And, for Griesbach, this was attainable only if the UFO remained a movement that granted women equal rights.

Griesbach had a great deal to say about relations between men and women, much of which challenged farmers' basic assumptions on the subject. In an article entitled "Chivalry vs. Equal Rights," she argued that many of those who called for equal rights and privileges were merely adopting a pose:

A very silly pose too, based on the groundless supposition that all women have or may have a lordly and chivalrous male who will protect her from all the rude world, (though if all males were lordly and chivalrous, where would the rude world be?) and who will provide her with a home in which she will be an honest-to-goodness 'Queen,' if only she will be satisfied with home for a Kingdom. (I would like to say 'queendom,' only there is no

⁴³ Collingwood Saturday News, 26 June 1920, pp. 1, 3.

such word. Somewhat significant, eh?)⁴⁴

For Griesbach, equal rights meant more than being granted selected privileges by enlightened men.

Agnes Macphail frequently spoke on the plight of farm women and the indifference of their spouses. At a Ramsay UFO picnic in 1922, she observed that, although farmers worked hard, farmers' wives worked harder still. Macphail appealed to farmers not to deny their wives the kinds of labour saving devices that they already had for the stable and the barn. She proceeded to draw a dismal picture of the conditions for rural women, and concluded her appraisal by commenting "I don't think that marriage was meant as a burial place for women."⁴⁵ She also noted that she had heard that a UFWO club had recently been formed in Almonte, and she urged all farm women to support it vigorously. Much could be accomplished by the UFWO, and she emphasized that women should not wait for men to promote their cause. "Remember that the greatest dividend that will come is by doing something yourself."⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Sun, 3 July 1920, p. 6. 'Bachelor' of Lambton County once wrote to Griesbach and chided her for ignoring letters from "mere" men. Griesbach replied that, as she was committed to the equality of men and women, she deprecated the use of the word "mere" to describe men: "Be assured, 'Bachelor,' that we are glad to have our 'brother man' show a disposition to exchange views with us." Ibid., 7 May 1919, p. 6.

⁴⁵ Almonte Gazette, 23 June 1922, p. 1. Interestingly, the correspondent covering the event described this section of Macphail's speech as "strange."

⁴⁶ Ibid.

Years later, speaking in Renfrew, Macphail asked an audience made up largely of women if there was a week in which they were not made to feel inferior to men in their own homes. For her, this was a clear case of domination, and it flew directly in the face of the rhetoric of co-operation in the farm family. Even so, during her speech Macphail offered no solutions for the problems that farm women faced.⁴⁷

There were occasions when local UFWO members spoke in glowing terms of their husbands. 'Ophelia' of Simcoe wrote, for example, that her husband "has always been my helper and pal where both flower and vegetable gardens are concerned."⁴⁸ Indeed, many farm men and women realized that mutual respect and assistance were required for a successful home; and genuine love and affection did exist in a number of farm families.

Despite examples of happy homes, UFWO members recognized that men were not always that accommodating or understanding when it came to women in the movement. Louise Collins had read that Agnes Macphail merely shrugged indifferently when men spoke of women as angels of the home. She, however, believed that men who characterized women in this way were gentlemen. "Where I live, if a woman writes a

⁴⁷ Ibid., 20 May 1927, p. 6.

⁴⁸ Sun, 10 April 1923, p. 3.

few lines on fair play for the farmers she is an Amazon."⁴⁹

Some of the letters written to Griesbach on the topic of the relations between men and women may have described personal experiences, and others may have put the problem in abstract terms. 'Sister Ruth' of Lambton wrote, quite passionately, that when a farm woman went

to all the trouble of making over everything possible for her children's clothes that the farmer should appreciate her efforts to save enough that he would not spend thirty or forty cents every week on something which, as far as I can see, does him no good.⁵⁰

The expenditure that Ruth referred to was tobacco, and it was clearly a sore spot for her.

Other Concerns

The sense of self-confidence engendered by being a member of the UFWO quite possibly enabled some women to address topics that were not usually discussed in public. Louise Collins had no qualms about admitting that she had once had a weakness for patent medicines that bordered on addiction, or confessing that she had at one time been swindled out of \$5 by a so-called corn and bunion specialist.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Ibid., 2 April 1925, p. 13.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 27 February 1918, p. 6.

⁵¹ Ibid., 26 March 1921, p. 6. Collins had been drawn to patent medicines because she was attempting to avoid surgery for an unmentioned condition. It is interesting to note that the "bunion specialist" who duped her claimed to

In an equally serious vein, writing to the Sun in response to a letter from a woman that called for the protection of girls, Alice Webster claimed that what girls needed were facts and not lies:

Probably most of those who are mothers now can recall having gone through the process of having their innocence safeguarded with falsehood. I remember asking for facts and being told I was a 'bad girl' for asking. But I kept on seeking. Biblical stories of gross immorality were eagerly devoured; other girls who bore the unsavory reputation of 'knowing too much' were eagerly questioned, and for the sake of the truth sought after I listened to foul stories and coarse jests that have stuck in my memory like a burn ever since, and all in the name of protecting modesty.

Webster also noted that the author of an old medical text that she had consulted actually apologized for including venereal disease as one of his topics. What was needed, she claimed, was proper education. Perhaps children could be taught the facts of life by first exposing them to the process as it manifested itself in plant life. Next, animals might be used to describe reproduction. After that, human reproduction could be explained, and explained without stumbling or having to resort to falsehoods.⁵²

have been "sent out by the Government." The tactic of claiming accreditation or support from the government was commonly used by swindlers. See Kerry Badgley, "'Then I saw I had been swindled': Frauds and Swindles Perpetrated on Farmers in Late Nineteenth-Century Ontario," in Donald H. Akenson, ed., Canadian Papers in Rural History Volume IX (Gananoque: Langdale Press, 1994), pp. 342-3.

⁵² Sun, 12 June 1920, p. 6. Responding to the correspondent, Sister Diana called for more letters "on the important matter of sex education -- real, genuine, rock-bottom, honest-to-goodness opinions." On another occasion,

Writing from Simcoe in response to another letter which asked who knew more about mothering, a mother of six or a childless woman, K.N. Pepper argued that it ultimately depended on the training either may have had in child care. As a mother of eight, Pepper asked where a young mother, isolated from neighbours, was to get her knowledge in time of crisis:

I think it better to have the training before marriage, instead of experimenting upon the helpless children afterward. For me -- I have one wee grave, which need not have been had I possessed the knowledge I should have had.⁵³

It is not likely that a letter such as this one would have appeared in many urban dailies, or even in many rural weeklies.

Pepper's letter also demonstrates what can only be described as a disturbing trend on the part of women who corresponded with Griesbach -- the tendency to either blame themselves for misfortunes beyond their control, such as in Pepper's case, or to denigrate themselves and their letters. 'Cassie' of Simcoe concluded one of her letters by

Griesbach said she thought it inconceivable that any mother could fail to inform her daughters of the facts of life. Yet, she knew of some mothers who did not. The resultant ignorance, she argued, often led to disaster for young women. Ibid., 14 January 1922, p. 6.

⁵³ Ibid., 12 February 1921, p. 6. Diana responded by asking if there was "provision made anywhere in our whole social system for training for parenthood? Some people think it indelicate even to refer to the probability of future parenthood and the necessity for being prepared to discharge its duties."

expressing the hope that Griesbach would not throw it in the trash, although she believed "it would feel more at home there than in the page with those other sisters' splendid letters."⁵⁴ Numerous examples of these self-inflicted insults can be found.⁵⁵ Although some progress had been made regarding women's realizing their self-worth and their right to dignity, many of the old trappings remained. Despite the rhetoric, women continued to suffer from low self-esteem. Moreover, it may well have been the case that some were intimidated by articulate, self-confident women such as Griesbach.

Action that UFWO Members Took

The Farm Economy -- Women and Markets

As was pointed out in Chapter 2, rural society was stratified, at least as far as wealth was concerned. Some farmers were quite successful in their operations while many others barely managed to survive from year to year. The issue of rural poverty, or at least relative poverty, was a subject addressed by several women. Writing to Sister Diana, 'Louise' of Stayner noted that she had recently been asked to complete the income tax return for the family, "as my

⁵⁴ Ibid., 2 July 1921, .p. 4.

⁵⁵ See, for example, Ibid., 12 December 1917, p. 6; 5 June 1918, p. 6; 18 September 1918, p. 6; 4 December 1918, p. 6; 31 January 1920, p. 6; 20 March 1920, p. 6; 18 June 1921, p. 6; 2 July 1921, p. 4.

time was not as valuable as that of the others."⁵⁶ She set about the task with great seriousness, committed to sending the government every last dollar it was entitled to, because being a member of the UFWO meant being honest and giving all a 'square deal'. In the end, it turned out that the family did not owe the government a cent, because of the farm's low net income. "I think the figures will convince any right thinking person that we are not on the farm for what there is in it, but only because we like lots of room and fresh air."⁵⁷

Given the precariousness of the farm economy, it was important that farm women be involved in production. Although in general this is an indisputable fact, according to some scholars the specific functions women assumed changed over time. In her study of farm women's labour, Marjorie Griffin Cohen argues that, as Ontario farmers turned away from wheat production and moved toward mixed farming, they became more involved in areas of production traditionally undertaken by women such as market gardening,

⁵⁶ Ibid., 24 April 1920, p. 6. 'Louise' was likely Louise Collins, a frequent contributor to the Sun. She also referred to herself from time to time as 'Sister Lou.' See references elsewhere in this chapter. Her allusion to her time as not being as valuable as that of others in the family may have been a tongue-in-cheek remark, or another example of the tendency of women to deprecate their work.

⁵⁷ 'A.A.G.' of Simcoe County claimed she knew of several farm families who were barely able to meet their expenses, much less have any money for luxuries. Yet, these same people still "upheld their (political) party to their own hurt." Ibid., 15 May 1918, p. 6.

fruit-growing, poultry-raising and dairying. In Cohen's view, the growth of farm activity in these areas presented a paradox for Ontario farm women. Although women's participation in production actually increased in response to market forces, "there were also forces which ultimately would restrict that participation, at least in the agricultural sector itself."⁵⁸ Focusing on the role of women in dairying, Cohen argues that the dairy industry became increasingly capital-intensive, with the result that men -- because patriarchal structures were firmly established and because governments tended to support "only male efforts in the industry as it became 'big business'" -- effectively took over most operations.⁵⁹ Cohen's argument is a compelling one, and she has ably demonstrated how men appropriated the dairy industry once it became a significant part of the family income.

There are, nevertheless, some problems with Cohen's position. By concentrating on dairying -- a component of the farm economy that she admits was unique -- she has paid insufficient attention to the areas of the farm economy that remained under the control of women. Moreover, by ignoring these other areas, Cohen does not examine how women clung to various aspects of farm production. Evidence strongly

⁵⁸ Marjorie Griffin Cohen, Women's Work, Markets, and Economic Development in Nineteenth-Century Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), p. 92.

⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 93-117.

suggests that women did so, and that the UFWO attempted to legitimize women's efforts in these endeavours by integrating them into the UFO's co-operative enterprises.

There is evidence that strongly suggests that women held on to many of the aspects of farm production that were aimed at outside markets. For instance, at a Perth UFO picnic in 1917, Mr. Marcellus of the Live Stock Branch of the federal Department of Agriculture decried the fact that so many farmers in the area let their wives run the entire poultry operations of their farms.⁶⁰ 'Sister Susan' of Simcoe informed Griesbach that in 1917 she had over 60 hens from which she sold close to \$400 worth of dressed poultry and eggs, in addition to what was consumed by her family.⁶¹ Such activity on the part of farm women was often co-operative in nature, an approach that was encouraged by various authorities. In 1920 Meta Laws of the central UFWO was sent to Lanark to speak to women on the benefits of co-operative buying and selling.⁶² Alice Webster of Creemore noted in August 1920 that many farm women were busy picking berries and fighting weeds in their gardens:

⁶⁰ Perth Courier, 20 April 1917, p. 3. See also the comments of Mrs. Russell McDonald and Miss Minnie Armstrong during a debate held by the Smiths Falls UFO. Smiths Falls Record-News, 28 March 1922, pp. 1, 4. See also Forest Standard, 1 May 1921, p. 3; 28 February 1924, p. 8.

⁶¹ Sun, 20 March 1918, p. 6.

⁶² Almonte Gazette, 16 January 1920, p. 2.

Yet when we take our berries to town we are told not to take them on Thursday because the (town) women are busy preparing in the morning for the weekly joy-ride...and not to take them on Saturday because there is extra cleaning to do and they don't propose to do anything in the afternoon but dress up and go out.⁶³

Aside from the financial considerations, Webster pointed out that farm women would also like to take a few afternoons off, but under the present conditions it was impossible.⁶⁴ At the organizational meeting of the Almonte UFWO in 1922 local Agricultural Representative Fred Forsyth was on hand to discuss the formation of an egg circle.⁶⁵ Two years later, the UFO and UFWO in Lanark combined to organize a campaign designed to encourage co-operative marketing of produce.⁶⁶ One feature of the campaign was to encourage the formation of county egg circles as part of a province-wide egg pool. Mrs. John Stewart of Appleton was given the task of explaining the plan to UFO and UFWO members. Stewart

⁶³ Sun, 14 August 1920, p. 6.

⁶⁴ Ibid. Interestingly, Griesbach referred to Alice Webster as Mrs. Webster. If this reflects her own preference, Webster was unusual in that she did not refer to herself by her husband's first name.

⁶⁵ Almonte Gazette, 24 March 1922, p. 1; Carleton Place Herald, 29 March 1922, p. 5.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 7 March 1924, p. 1. For other evidence, see the "Minutes of the Fourth Annual Convention of the United Farm Women of Ontario 1922," and the "Report on Marketing from the Fifth Annual Convention in 1923" where it was noted that Oxford County led in the co-operative marketing of eggs, and that the system devised to market the eggs "was mainly due to the United Farm Women of that County." UCO, XA1 MSA126005. See also Sun, 18 June 1921, p. 6; 18 December 1924, p. 13.

asked if farmers were foolish enough "to make our children stay on the farm when wheat, which is raised at a cost of \$1.35 a bushel, sells for 85 cents?"⁶⁷ In short, many women who continued to market their produce in fairly significant quantities sought to legitimize their efforts through co-operative activity.⁶⁸

Much of the produce marketed by women was of the perishable sort that was, as a result, vulnerable to the dictates of middlemen. Griesbach frequently argued that women often marketed their produce and saw little or no profit for their efforts:

I know that this is done right straight along. I do it myself, and I grind my teeth in helpless rage as I do it. It is produce which...one cannot hold for higher prices, and the middleman and the consumer are perfectly aware of that.⁶⁹

Consequently, even though rural women continued to be active, they were in a more precarious situation than men, who could hold on to their more durable produce in an

⁶⁷ Almonte Gazette, 14 March 1924, p. 1.

⁶⁸ Griesbach commented from time to time on women's control of milk, poultry, and small fruit production on Ontario farms. On one occasion, she added that, when she made mention of women in these activities, she was referring to "average Ontario farms...not a joint-stock company affair...with an immense amount of capital involved." Sun, 14 August 1920, p. 6.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 9 January 1918, p. 6. See Ibid., 2 October 1920, p. 6 for additional comments from Griesbach. See also the comments of 'A.A.G.' of Simcoe regarding middlemen. Ibid., 26 June 1918, p. 6. On the perishable nature of women's produce, see Cohen, p. 116.

attempt to secure better prices.⁷⁰

Politics and the 1919 UFO Provincial Election Victory

Members of the UFWO, like their counterparts in the UFO, initially placed great emphasis on political action, hoping to solve many of the problems they perceived by electing representatives from 'the People'. As will be argued here, the enfranchisement of women enabled them to enthusiastically pursue political change through the UFO and Progressive parties. In addition, many farm women who had been politically inactive in the past worked to develop an understanding of politics and to put forward remedies for the ills they perceived, all in a remarkably short period of time.

After Beniah Bowman's Manitoulin by-election victory, farm women joined farm men in calling upon other constituencies to field farmer candidates. As 'A.A.G.' of Simcoe wrote,

We should have our own farm representative and stick to him -- no party politics. Then a man working for his own welfare will work for ours, and a farmer knows our needs, not lawyers, doctors, or inspectors running the country to fill their pockets...The quicker we follow Manitoulin's lead, and work for ourselves, one and all, the

⁷⁰ There were, however, some ways in which to exercise some control in the price women received for their produce. Louise Collins announced her family's intention in the coming summer to "have a baseball game with the eggs we can't use. That might be one way of breaking up the chain of stores lined up to say just what we farmers ought to get for eggs this summer." Sun., 25 March 1922, p. 6.

better.⁷¹

Her message was clear: if anything was to be done to benefit farmers in Ontario, it would be done only if farmers were elected to the legislative bodies and if they played a meaningful role in decision-making.

The 1919 UFO victory instilled in many farm women a feeling of self-confidence, and it strengthened their conviction that the UFO would lead the province to societal betterment. Anna Elexey Duff of Lanark went so far as to write a poem and to illustrate it for the Almonte Gazette. The cartoon that she drew featured a farmer saying "Don't fear, I'm at the rear" as he pushed a wheel barrel containing several full sacks of food and a returned soldier. The poem read as follows:

When we women drop the ballot, it will then be
time to note
What the Country will answer, when we vote, yes
when we vote
When we women drop the ballot, drop the ballot one
by one
"Equal opportunities for all," "Special privileges
for none"
When we women drop the ballot, it will then be
time to stop
All intriguing Legislation from the bottom to the
top
We will vote for honest labor in the Country and
the Town
For characters of integrity make honor and renown
Loyal Legislator in the House on Parliament Hill
"Equal commercial values," will cure economic ill
For the things that are, and the things to be, in
Canada home made
When we vote in Federal Government, and on the
Board of Trade

⁷¹ Ibid., 4 December 1918, p. 6.

On the Board of Education there will be a new
trustee
For moderation in taxation, a National Policy
For Patriotism and Production always go hand in
hand
With Temperance, and the Light of truth to cover
all the land
Our vote is our protection, we will drop the
ballot right, every one
For a 'peaceful prosperous Canada,' and a
'Progressive Farmer's Son.'⁷²

Louise Collins wrote to Sister Diana not long after the
UFO victory in response to a letter in the urban daily press
that blamed women for the defeat of the Hearst Government:

Oh! When will we poor long-suffering women cease
to get the blame for every great calamity that
falls on man? Mr. Ray (the man who wrote the
letter in question) says that it was the women's
votes that defeated the...Government. Well we take
the blame.⁷³

Collins also claimed that Ray had stated that women were so
ignorant of political affairs they did not know the
difference between a Grit and a Tory. She replied that women
were actually more intelligent because they realized that
there was no difference.⁷⁴

⁷² Almonte Gazette, 2 December 1921, p. 7.

⁷³ Sun, 26 November 1919, p. 6. Collins had written to
Griesbach even before women got the vote. Commenting on the
results in her riding for the 1917 federal election, she noted
that Liberal candidate E.C. Drury had lost to a "selfish,
greedy trickster who hands out political patronage royally
with one hand, and with the other gathers in every scrt of
personal gain and advantage." The campaign had not increased
Collins' "respect for male suffrage." Ibid., 26 December 1917,
p. 6.

⁷⁴ In October 1921 Collins warned Ottawa to "take a
hint...and throw open the doors and windows at the Parliament
Buildings and let in lots of fresh air, for there is going to
be a real house cleaning." She also wrote that her local

In subsequent correspondence Collins noted that many people objected to women participating in politics. She admitted that she too had objected until the UFO came along, and that she considered herself to be a progressive thinker because she had been able to change her mind. Buoyed by the election victory, Collins concluded one of her letters with a warning to potential candidates that they should not forget the promises that they had made during the campaign: "If they do, we women will jog their memories with their votes the very first chance we get."⁷⁵

There were, as well, some UFWO members who were sceptical of farmers becoming involved in politics and of farm women's role in it. 'An 'Old' Woman' in Simcoe felt that women could achieve more good by training their children to know right from wrong than they could by "trying to make the whole world right again by marking a ballot for a political party." More to the point, she asked what the difference would be if the farmers actually formed their own party:

Will we avoid the mistakes of the old line parties; and will we let townspeople vote for our

Progressive candidate, T.E. Ross, could rest assured that, through the co-operation of the people in the riding, right would triumph over "that \$1,000,000 government campaign fund." Ibid., 15 October 1921, p. 6.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 4 August 1920, p. 6. Earlier that year, Collins had written to Diana that she had noticed several men imbibing in spirits on election day. She supposed it was necessary for them to "drown their conscience and vote for their party right or wrong." Ibid., 24 January 1920, p. 6.

candidates? If we don't we're not logical, and if we do, we're not any better off than we were.

Having made these observations, she admitted that she would vote for a farmer candidate the first chance she got, because she did not wish to waste her vote by voting for the old-line parties, or by not voting at all.⁷⁶

From time to time, UFWO members actively participated in election campaigns, although most of the women speakers during the campaigns were drawn from the UFWO elite. During the 1919 provincial campaign, for instance, Mrs. G.A. Brodie of Newmarket spoke at a political rally in support of J.B.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 19 July 1919, p. 6. It is interesting to note that the correspondent apologized for offending any of her farm sisters by writing this letter, but then pointed out that "there is no law now against expressing one's views," probably referring to war-time censorship measures. Although this woman may have exaggerated the government's repressive actions towards farmers during the war, there is evidence to suggest that state authorities watched farm groups with the express intention of catching them in committing seditious libel. For example, not long after it was formed the UFWO club in Milton, near Georgetown, became the subject of an investigation by provincial authorities. It was believed that seditious utterances were being made at club meetings, including suggestions that N.W. Rowell (at that time the President of the Privy Council and Vice-Chairman of the War Committee of Cabinet) be taken out and shot, and assertions that farmers were not bound to follow any regulations set by the Food Controller. The solicitor to the Attorney General arranged for a woman to attend a meeting of the group so that she could then report on what had transpired. Evidently, she was discovered as she attempted to enter the hall and she was told that she was not welcome. Undeterred, the Attorney General's solicitor suggested to the local Crown Attorney that the women who spoke in a seditious manner should be told "that they must keep entirely quiet or that stringent measures will be taken to quiet them." Archives of Ontario, RG 4-32 1918, file 1711. Griesbach made references from time to time about excessive government controls on free speech during the War. See, for example, Sun, 1 May 1920, p. 6.

Johnston, the UFO candidate in Simcoe East.⁷⁷ Even before Johnston had been nominated, Brodie had spoken at the UFO convention in Orillia. She pointed out that

Women never have been paid for what they have done. We are penalized for raising children. The more we have the more we pay. Children are taxed before they come into the world. The cradle is taxed, and so are the bootees and other things they wear, while my lady's diamonds are free. Governments can conscript life, but it's like pulling teeth to make them conscript wealth.⁷⁸

During the campaign itself, however, Brodie made very few references to women's issues, aside from mentioning that "women were not going to stand behind the old political parties." Instead, she addressed issues that were more relevant to men or, jointly, to men and women, such as giving control of resources to 'the People', increasing farm income, and eliminating government policies that favoured the business class.⁷⁹

A month after the UFO victory the farmers of the Union Branch of the UFO held a joint UFO/UFWO banquet in Collingwood. Brodie was one of the guest speakers who

⁷⁷ Brodie was one of the founding members of the UFWO, and was its first president. Staples, p. 119.

⁷⁸ Orillia Saturday News, 30 August 1919, p. 1.

⁷⁹ Orillia Times, 16 October 1919, p. 5. The same can be said of Agnes Macphail's speech in North Simcoe during the 1921 federal election, as well as Griesbach's speeches. See Collingwood Enterprise, 6 October 1921, p. 1; Orillia Times, 17 November 1921, p. 3; Orillia Packet, 17 November 1921, p. 9. Griesbach's main speech was entitled "Shall Big Interests Rule?" In it she argued that the Liberal and Conservative parties were tools of the 'Big Interests', whereas the Progressives were for "the plain people."

addressed the approximately 250 people in attendance. She informed her audience that, although the election presented new opportunities for farm men, there were also new opportunities for women "who were not willing to sit at the feet of the men and learn, but to stand shoulder to shoulder assuming a fair share of the responsibilities of the hour." Women's accomplishments during the referendum campaign for temperance demonstrated their power in exerting influence in political matters.⁸⁰ Brodie also informed those in attendance that the next federal election would be fought over the tariff and that, in preparation for the campaign, women should "study the tariff and see how you pay 17 to 42 1/2 per cent taxes on everything brought into the home."⁸¹

Even after the euphoria of the UFO's 1919 provincial election victory had died down, some UFWO members continued to be driven by the ideal of democracy, and attempted to implement it elsewhere. Alice Webster attended a school trustee meeting and was surprised to hear for the first time "real democracy advocated from any platform other than the U.F.O." The speaker at the meeting argued that changing the schools was in the hands of the people. He went on to describe the kind of school he wished to see. For him, the

⁸⁰ For examples of temperance matters being discussed at local meetings, see Almonte Gazette, 21 March 1924, p. 8, 28 March 1924, p. 1; Forest Standard, 10 April 1924, p. 3. Griesbach wrote very little on the subject. For a rare exception, see Sun, 16 April 1921, p. 6.

⁸¹ Collingwood Bulletin, 13 November 1919, p. 11.

ideal school would be one in which the "history taught would not be of kings and queens, but the struggles of the people for freedom."⁸² Webster went on to point out that a committee had been formed to look into curriculum change in her district.

The 1921 Federal Election

The 1919 provincial election represented the first time farm women actively took part in an election campaign, albeit on a limited scale. By the time a federal election was called in late 1921, however, many UFWO members were eagerly awaiting the opportunity to participate on behalf of Progressive candidates.

During the 1921 federal campaign working women from town and country united -- as was the case with men -- to fight those whom they perceived controlled Canada's wealth. In North Simcoe Miss Mary McNabb, vice-president of the Ontario section of the Canadian Labor Party, spoke on behalf of Thomas Swindle, and called for a union of producers "of all kinds against those who only own wealth."⁸³ The ideal which every woman in Canada should pursue, she believed, was to have a government led by producers. Referring to the Drury Government, she said that it was a

humane government the people had placed in power
...If you were to die to-night your wife and
children would be protected. Your wife would be

⁸² Sun, 16 July 1921, p. 6.

⁸³ Orillia Packet, 24 November 1921, p. 1.

paid a salary so that she might look after the bringing up of her children.⁸⁴

McNabb also stressed the importance of the plank in the Progressive platform that called for maternity benefits and free hospital treatment of expectant mothers.⁸⁵

There were occasions, as well, when women drawn from the rank and file of local UFWO clubs were given the opportunity to speak publicly on election issues. In North Simcoe in 1921 a woman identified only as Miss Collins was given the task of introducing Agnes Macphail at the meeting to select the Progressive candidate for the riding.⁸⁶ She warned her audience that something happened to men once they

⁸⁴ Orillia Times, 24 November 1921, p. 6.

⁸⁵ McNabb also spoke on behalf of East Simcoe UFO candidate J.B. Johnston in the 1923 provincial election. Ibid., 14 June 1923, p. 5.

⁸⁶ Space does not permit a discussion of the impact Agnes Macphail had on farm women in Ontario. Described by one Simcoe County UFWO member as "a real female Moses to lead us out of bondage" (Sun, 22 April 1922, p. 6), Macphail was an immensely popular figure who enjoyed considerable media attention in both urban and rural newspapers. See, for example, Collingwood Enterprise, 6 October 1921, p. 1; 17 August 1922, p. 4; Forest Standard, 6 July 1922, p. 4; Almonte Gazette, 25 April 1924, p. 3; 20 May 1927, p. 6; 22 June 1928, p. 1; Barrie Northern Advance, 24 July 1924, p. 2; Orillia Packet, 25 October 1923, p. 1; Collingwood Bulletin, 26 November 1925, p. 7. 'Peggy Rambler' of Simcoe County wrote with pride after hearing Macphail speak at a meeting in Stayner, "More power to your arm and to your tongue, dear Miss Macphail. A great many of us farm women and Sun Sisters are watching your career closely." Sun, 26 November 1921, p. 6. Although it is true, as Rankin argues (p. 317), that Macphail often submerged gender issues and focused instead on matters of interest to both men and women, she did refer from time to time to problems that were particular to women, and she remained a source of inspiration for women across Canada.

attained power. and it was the duty of 'the People' to watch them closely so that the power was not abused. She also warned against sending 'yes' men to Ottawa, who would agree with their party's policies even if it meant ruin for their constituencies. Continuing, she claimed that Arthur Meighen had stated that the tariff was the main issue of the election. Collins disagreed:

The issue is, shall the people rule the people, or shall the people be ruled by the moneyed class of this country? There are many other issues in this campaign, and the efforts will be made to pull the wool over your eyes...I heard one prominent man say that politics and patriotism were one and the same thing. Heaven deliver us.⁸⁷

As with other parties, farmer politicians often made references to the role women played in the movement. Visiting Smiths Falls during the 1921 federal election campaign, T.A. Crerar pointed out that it was the Progressives in the West who had been the driving force behind securing the franchise for women. He went on to argue that

You cannot have a sound government unless it is conducted on a high moral plane and women will insist on a higher level...and will not condone wrong-doing. The public man who uses his office to enrich himself or his friends is not going to have a very healthy time in the future with the women of Canada.⁸⁸

Significantly, Crerar made no reference to the desirability

⁸⁷ Collingwood Bulletin, 6 October 1921, p. 1. 'Miss Collins' was probably Louise Collins.

⁸⁸ Perth Courier, 11 November 1921, p. 4.

or even the possibility of women running for office themselves.

Crerar did, however, allude to the notion that women, now enfranchised, would elevate the dirty and corrupt world of politics with their spiritual purity. This theme was advanced by others as well. Speaking at the second annual convention of the Lanark UFO, North Lanark UFO MPP W.I. Johnson congratulated local women for the interest they were taking in political affairs. According to Johnson, women were going to be "one of the greatest factors in the cleansing of the political machine and in the cleansing of the policies that controlled this country."⁸⁹ Clearly, the notion that women were morally superior to men was alive and well in Lanark.⁹⁰

In Lanark, women played a greater role in election campaigns than in Lambton or Simcoe. Only in Lanark did the Progressives' county political association assemble a group of women directors, known as the Women's Progressive

⁸⁹ Almonte Gazette, 17 September 1920, p. 1. See also Johnson's comments at a Smiths Falls UFO picnic earlier that year. Smiths Falls Record-News, 24 August 1920, p. 5. See also Sun, 10 July 1918, p. 7 for similar sentiments expressed at a Forest UFO picnic.

⁹⁰ For a discussion of the idea held by many that women were somehow morally elevated, see Nancy Grey Osterud, Bonds of Community: The Lives of Farm Women in Nineteenth-Century New York (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), pp. 72-80.

Club.⁹¹ The directors of this club were determined to get local women interested in politics, even if they supported other parties. A room was set up in Smiths Falls for women during the campaign, and meetings were held there to explain the tariff and other issues. The meetings were conducted as open discussions, and women affiliated with all parties were invited to attend. Women with differing political views were assured that their votes would not be solicited at these meetings.⁹² Meanwhile, Lanark women often came out in large numbers to hear the local Progressive candidate.⁹³ Even more to the point, women often took active roles in campaign meetings.

By the time the 1921 federal election was called the old-line parties had realized the importance of appealing to women voters.⁹⁴ The message presented by women in these

⁹¹ For the 1921 election, the women directors were Mrs. Duncan W. Stewart, Appleton; Mrs. G.W. Buchanan, Ramsay; and Mrs. J.M. Edmunds, Montague. Almonte Gazette, 15 July 1921, p. 7. The husbands of Buchanan and Edmunds were township directors during the campaign. In Simcoe, a number of Orillia women formed an organization in support of the government candidate, Dr. Raikes. Orillia Times, 20 October 1921, p. 4; Orillia Packet, 20 October 1921, p. 1. In the 1925 federal election, women in North Simcoe acted as co-directors for the townships in that riding. Collingwood Bulletin, 1 October 1925, p. 1.

⁹² Smiths Falls Record-News, 22 November 1921, p. 8.

⁹³ See, for example, Almonte Gazette, 4 November 1921, p. 1.

⁹⁴ Actually, token gestures were made to women in the 1919 provincial election. See, for example, Ibid., 10 October 1919, p. 4. But even the UFO tended to ignore -- at least initially -- the importance of securing women supporters. At

parties, however, differed considerably from that of the United Farm Women. In Simcoe, for example, independent Liberal candidate Manley Chew employed the assistance of Mrs. W.J. Stevens of the Women's Liberal Club of Toronto, who informed her audience that women should take an interest in the tariff issue, because it took "such a large shot out of the pay envelope" of their husbands.⁹⁵

In Lanark during the 1921 campaign John A. Stewart the Tory incumbent and Minister of Railways and Canals, often brought his wife on stage to address women in his audiences. At one meeting in Pakenham, Stewart's wife admitted that she was not a suffragette: "I did not want the vote. I do not think the women of this county were prepared for the vote but we have got it. It is now up to every woman to play her part." Regarding the tariff, she noted that women made up some 90% of the consumers of the country: "The men made the money and the women spent it, but they had been spending too much of it across the line." If women would only take the time to ensure that the goods they purchased were Canadian-

the meeting to select a UFO candidate for South Lanark in 1919, no women were present. Moreover, the only person in attendance at the meeting who is reported to have lamented this was A.A. Powers, president of the UFO Publishing Co. Perth Expositor, 2 October 1919, p. 3.

⁹⁵ Orillia Times, 24 November 1921, pp. 1, 6. A local woman, Mrs. J. Grant Needham, also spoke on Chew's behalf, focusing on the dishonesty and extravagance of the Meighen Government. The only reference she made to women was to suggest that the Meighen Government kept food prices artificially high with excessive tariffs.

made, most of the problems associated with the tariff would be solved.⁹⁶

Mrs. Stewart's comments were too much for at least one woman to take. Mrs. J. Stewart of Appleton had never been to a political rally until mid-November 1921, and at the meeting she attended she heard the speeches of Mrs. John Stewart and Mrs. Agnes Munro of Winnipeg. "Of all the rubbish, of all the flag-waving, belittling the loyalty of Canadian citizens and throwing mud at the United States," said Stewart at a Progressive meeting. Continuing, she addressed the cry of 'drive them out' when both women referred to immigrant women in the West. "Had anyone ever heard such rot? They were to be driven out because they didn't appreciate Arthur Meighen."⁹⁷ Stewart went on to

⁹⁶ Almonte Gazette, 28 October 1921, p. 1. In addition, see her comments, and the remarks of Mrs. Agnes Munro of Winnipeg, to an audience of women in Perth. Munro argued that it was difficult to assimilate immigrants, "Yet these foreign Canadian citizens had a vote...so it was up to us to educate them along proper lines of citizenship." Many of her other remarks were much harsher in their sentiments. Perth Expositor, 17 November 1921, p. 8.

⁹⁷ Stewart was not the only woman to express disgust at the way in which racial and ethnic questions were addressed in the 1921 election. Alice Webster noted that federal Tory candidate Col. J.A. Currie was filling Simcoe County air with warnings that Quebec might end up ruling the country after the next election if the Tories were not given a majority. Currie also allegedly alluded to the great danger of Quebecers and farmers forming a coalition government. Sun, 3 September 1921, p. 6. Webster further observed that, in the election, there were "those who -- accusing everybody outside the Tory party as being unpatriotic -- are making supreme efforts to disrupt Canada with race and religious hatreds." As such, farm women had to "try to stem the evil tide and promote a united Canada." Ibid., 26 November 1921, p. 6. Immigration remained

note that women comprised 65% of the electorate, and that it was no wonder that politicians were trembling at the prospect of what women might do with their votes. She then speculated that, if the women had had the vote 10 or 15 years before, they might not have exercised it; but "the war was a great eye-opener and women had begun to do their own thinking. They had come out in Ontario when a great moral issue was at stake," and they had been active in the West as well. Stewart proceeded to claim that Mrs. John A. Stewart had gone to Carleton Place and Almonte and had assembled loyal women and requested them to ask every man and woman how they intended to vote. "Did you ever know of anything worse?" Stewart maintained that those kinds of acts were at the very foundation of dirty politics, a brand of politics that was going to stop once the Progressives were in power. She appealed to members of her audience not to dishonour themselves by canvassing and asking people for a vote. "Explain matters to them, but don't ask them how they are going to vote." Moreover, she had no sympathy for those who claimed that dirty politics were merely "part of the game," and concluded by remembering that John A. Stewart had said in Carleton Place that agriculture was the basic industry in Canada, "and had then gone on to extol the manufacturers and

a controversial subject even for some UFWO members. At a meeting of the Wanstead UFWO in 1925, there was a lively debate after one of the members presented a paper on the topic. Ibid., 23 April 1925, p. 8.

sneer at farmers."⁹⁸ All in all, an impressive showing from a person who had not been politically active a few weeks prior to this meeting.

R.M. Anderson, the Progressive candidate for the riding, followed Mrs. Stewart at the meeting, and devoted a considerable portion of his speech to women. He believed that women were approaching this campaign in a different frame of mind. They were not so biased, and "all the Progressive party asked was that the ladies in studying the questions of the day would be guided by their own intelligence; that they would study the questions for themselves and come to their own conclusions." Anderson resented the other parties bringing in women from outside the county to instruct the women of Lanark on how to vote.⁹⁹

The Influence of the State

There were times when the state attempted to exert some influence -- directorial, then constraining -- on the UFWO. In Carleton Place, for example, a social meeting of the

⁹⁸ Smiths Falls Record-News, 1 December 1921, p. 7. Mrs. Stewart and Mrs. G.W. Buchanan were rumoured to be potential candidates in a 1922 federal by-election in Lanark, although nothing came of this. Ibid., 31 October 1922, p. 1.

⁹⁹ Ibid. On another occasion, Anderson claimed that women deserved much of the credit for breaking down the old party loyalties. He believed that men were prone to support the parties their fathers did: "Would the ladies do that? No. Their very curiosity would lead them to ask questions and in that way facts would be brought out and we would get better and better government." Perth Expositor, 20 October 1921, p. 4.

town's UFO and UFWO featured a Miss Williams of the Agricultural College at Kemptville, who offered her services "to organize tennis clubs, basketball and to conduct classes in Domestic Science." Also featured was Professor Bell of the same institution, who spoke of the splendid work of the College's teachers and of the "value to the boys and girls on the farms of a course at this College."¹⁰⁰

In March 1922 a UFWO club in Lanark was established at Almonte. The organizational meeting was addressed by Mrs. George Buchanan of Appleton, who had come to that community specifically to organize the club, and by John T. Somerville of Middleville and Fred Forsythe, the local agricultural representative. Somerville and Forsythe spoke on the question of whether an egg circle should be formed with Almonte serving as the headquarters.¹⁰¹

The Union Club 604A in Simcoe was visited from time to time by Alan Hutchinson, the local agricultural representative, who in one such meeting showed moving pictures and gave a talk on the process of vegetable canning.¹⁰² Hutchinson's successors continued speaking at UFWO meetings, often on topics related to domestic

¹⁰⁰ Almonte Gazette, 19 May 1922, p. 1.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 24 March 1922, p. 1; Carleton Place Herald, 29 March 1922, p. 5.

¹⁰² Sun, 27 March 1920, p. 6.

science.¹⁰³ In Pakenham, the UFWO listened to a talk by a Miss Thompson, the home-nursing instructor for the agricultural short courses that were being held in that town.¹⁰⁴ At the central level, a Mr. Benson of the Ontario Department of Agriculture addressed UFWO members at their 1923 annual convention, and instructed them on the packing and candling of eggs and on the formation of egg circles.¹⁰⁵ At the next annual convention, federal officials were on hand to demonstrate the advantages of forming egg circles.¹⁰⁶

Relationship with the Women's Institute

No study of the UFWO would be complete without a discussion of its relationship with the most blatant example of state involvement in women's organizations -- the Women's Institute (WI). A provincial government-sponsored body, the WI was designed to encourage continuing education in areas such as domestic science and health, and to provide social and cultural programs for rural communities.¹⁰⁷ It was an

¹⁰³ Collingwood Bulletin, 15 November 1928, p. 8.

¹⁰⁴ Sun, 11 March 1926, p. 9.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 15 December 1923, p. 3.

¹⁰⁶ UCO, XA1 MS A126005, "Minutes of the Fifth Annual Convention of the United Farm Women of Ontario 1923."

¹⁰⁷ On the WI, see Ruth Howes, "Adelaide Hoodless," in Mary Q. Innis, ed., The Clear Spirit (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966) and Terry Crowley, "Madonnas before Magdalenes: Adelaide Hoodless and the Making of the Canadian Gibson Girl," Canadian Historical Review, Vol. LXVII, No. 4, 1986.

extremely popular organization, and as time went on remained much more vibrant and viable than the UFWO. As has been argued in other accounts, there was a tension -- at least at the central level -- between the two groups.¹⁰⁸ Although there were examples of this tension at the local level, more often than not the local UFWO was on friendly terms with the local WI.

Alice Webster was one individual who was sceptical about the ability of the WI to further the cause of women. She had worked hard for the WI when it first appeared in her locality because, in her opinion, its restrictions on the topics that might be discussed did not initially cause any great problems because "we were dealing with a class of women who were frightened when asked to express their ideas at a meeting." Gradually, however, these women began asking more and more difficult questions, and they gained the courage to speak more freely on many topics:

I have watched the growth and rejoiced. But now we have reached the point where barriers prevent further progress. Barriers erected by the Department of Agriculture, but more rigidly upheld by those who feel it their duty to shield a corrupt Government from criticism. Since women are now becoming citizens instead of wards, we must have a means whereby we may qualify for citizenship.

Since the Women's Institute was not capable of providing such means, Webster argued that it should make way for other groups, such as the UFWO and the Ontario Women's Citizens

¹⁰⁸ Kechnie, p. 269.

Association.¹⁰⁹

In many rural areas, however, most women clung loyally to the WI. In Simcoe County, for example, many WI clubs persisted even after the provincially-sponsored Farmers' Clubs became affiliated -- either formally or informally -- with the UFO. Moreover, the local UFO/UFWO clubs and the WI occasionally worked together.¹¹⁰ For instance, in 1921 a community hall was constructed in Eady, North Simcoe, as a joint effort of the UFO and the local WI.¹¹¹ At the annual

¹⁰⁹ Sun, 3 July 1918, p. 6. In the words of Louise Collins, "All honor to the Women's Institute, but you might just as well try to mix water with oil as to join the Institute and the U.F.W.O. We might agree on the weather and the fashions; but what town women want to pay for butter and eggs, never." Ibid., 22 April 1922, p. 6. Clearly, Collins saw the Institute as urban-dominated with an urban-oriented agenda. It should also be remembered that it was a woman from Simcoe County, Mrs. James N. Foote, who proposed a motion at the first UFWO convention, which stated that there was a tendency on the part of the WI to "stifle any sign of independent thought on the part of women." Another woman agreed, stating that there was "no reason to hope for any improvement from a Government controlled institution." Ibid., 19 June 1918, p. 6. See also Almonte Gazette, 16 November 1928, p. 1.

¹¹⁰ By the early 1920s the Sun began providing accounts of the annual WI meeting. Sun, 20 November 1924, p. 2. In addition, in 1921 the UFWO passed a resolution that the UFWO be represented at all future WI conventions, and that the WI be represented at all future UFWO conventions. As was reported at that meeting, "In many sections there has been a marked improvement in the relationship between the W.I. and the U.F.W.O. We hope before the coming year is out to evolve a plan whereby these two organizations shall realize that they can accomplish the ends for which both are working best by co-operative effort. UCO, XA1 MS A126005, "Minutes of the Third Annual Convention of the United Farm Women of Ontario 1921."

¹¹¹ Sun, 24 September 1921, p. 7. In Uthoff, Ardtrea and Price's Corners, Farmers' Clubs and the WI met jointly before the UFO established itself in the area. See Orillia

East Simcoe UFO picnic in 1922 the UFWO and the WI held a joint tea, featuring speakers such as Mrs. E.C. Drury.¹¹² In other areas, such as Harvie Settlement in Simcoe County, the local Farmers' Club and the WI held meetings in concert well into the 1920s, and managed to carry on good relations with local UFO and UFWO clubs.¹¹³ In many cases, in fact, local UFWO meetings began to resemble those staged by the WI. The Wanstead UFWO spent a great portion of its monthly meeting in January 1925 quilting.¹¹⁴ At one of its meetings in 1926 the Forest UFWO discussed household duties for the month of March.¹¹⁵ The Almonte UFWO maintained the

Packet, 21 December 1916, p. 4; 28 December 1916, p. 6; 4 January 1917, p. 8; 1 March 1917, p. 4; 5 April 1917, p. 6; 31 May 1917, p. 6. After the Farmers' Clubs became affiliated with the UFO, farm women continued to meet under the auspices of the WI. See Ibid., 16 February 1922, p. 4; Orillia Times, 19 June 1919, p. 3. The same also seems to apply to the UFO in Edenvale, where a UFWO does not appear to have been formed to replace the WI. Barrie Northern Advance, 2 March 1922, p. 4.

¹¹² Orillia Times, 3 August 1922, p. 6. In other cases, it appears that the UFWO club actually led to a decline of a WI club. In Lanark, the Carleton Place WI disbanded in 1928, while at the same time the local UFWO Club appeared to be enjoying continued popularity. On the disbanding of the WI in Carleton Place, see Almonte Gazette, 13 July 1928, p. 1. On the popularity of the Carleton Place UFWO, see Ibid., 30 March 1928, p. 7. On the continued popularity of the UFWO in Lanark County, see Ibid., 23 October 1931, p. 1; 13 November 1931, p. 3.

¹¹³ See, for example, Orillia Times, 15 March 1923, p. 7.

¹¹⁴ Sun, 29 January 1925, p. 8.

¹¹⁵ Forest Standard, 11 March 1926, p. 3.

'Janey Canuck' ward in the local hospital.¹¹⁶ The Guthrie UFWO in Simcoe County had each member donate a jar of fruit or pickles to the R.V. Hospital in Barrie in 1925.¹¹⁷ Later, it decided to purchase individual drinking cups for students in two local schools and also to provide pictures for these institutions.¹¹⁸ The suggested programme for local UFWO clubs devised in 1925 by Mrs. J.S. Amos, UFWO president, supports the contention that the UFWO gradually moved into areas traditionally operated by the WI (see Appendix W).

By the mid-1920s the UFWO began to decline in terms of both its members and its effectiveness in the struggle for political, economic, and social equality. Although the softening of the agenda of the UFWO can be seen as a retreat on the part of the organization, it could well have been the case that the frustrations women experienced in political, economic, and social areas pushed them back to topics and areas of concern where they felt they had at least some agency. Many farm women returned to the WI. Indeed, as

¹¹⁶ Smiths Falls Record-News, 11 November 1926, p. 7. For other examples, see Collingwood Bulletin, 6 May 1926, p. 8; Almonte Gazette, 21 March 1930, p. 4.

¹¹⁷ Sun, 19 March 1925, p. 8. Donations to worthy causes was a regular feature of WI work. See, for example, Almonte Gazette, 20 August 1915, p. 1; 7 July 1922, p. 6.

¹¹⁸ Sun, 7 May 1925, p. 8. Topics such as the ones outlined above were discussed at UFWO meetings from its inception. The point here is that these sorts of topics were addressed much more frequently as time went by.

Rankin argues, most probably did so because the WI was "an organization dedicated to legitimizing rural-women's domestic pursuits (and it was) already engaged in reformist initiatives."¹¹⁹

That said, the reason why the UFWO was created in the first place was not always completely forgotten. At a meeting of the Forest UFWO in 1925, Mrs. Darville, district organizer, urged its members "to be interested in the problems outside the home such as the community, the school, and the province. To accomplish things...we need to read and think for ourselves."¹²⁰ By that time, however, most women were doing their thinking in the WI or on their own.

The 1923 Provincial Election and Post-Election Political Activity

By the time the 1923 election was called, the UFWO was not nearly as strong in its support of farmer candidates as it had been previously. At least this is what evidence from the Sun indicates. Only a few women's letters to the paper

¹¹⁹ Rankin, p. 318. On the value of the WI for Ontario rural women, see Linda Ambrose, "'What Are the Good of Those Meetings Anyway?': Early Popularity of the Ontario Women's Institutes," Ontario History, Vol. LXXXVII, No. 1, March 1995.

¹²⁰ Sun, 19 February 1925, p. 8. In addition, the chief speaker for the Carleton Place UFO picnic in 1925 was Mrs. J.S. Amos, president of the UFWO. Her message that day was reminiscent of the sentiments expressed in the early days of the UFWO. Ibid., 9 July 1925, p. 8. See also the accounts of the Union Club 604A in Collingwood Bulletin, 19 July 1928, p. 2, and of the Carleton Place UFWO in Carleton Place Herald, 5 March 1930, p. 1.

during that time made any reference to the election.¹²¹

There were, however, some exceptions. 'Ophelia' provided Sun readers with her observations on the election. First, she scoffed at the man she overheard at the poll who could not understand why women did not vote for the same candidates as their husbands did. She also noticed that many people, whose friends had benefitted from the Widowed Mothers' Allowance, voted against the government that had legislated it (ie. the UFO). Another person told Ophelia that the UFO Government had not done much for farmers:

My reply was that they tried to benefit the people as a whole...Who gave us improved educational means and school grants that enabled the farmer to pay teachers better salaries? Who gave widowed mothers' allowances, enabling them to keep their children in their homes...Who gave support to the mother of the illegitimate children? Has not the guiltless child an equal right with other children?¹²²

She also noted that in her community Drury was burned in effigy after the results had become known, an act which disgusted her. For Ophelia, women in the province now had to ensure that the gains they had made under the UFO were not eroded.

UFWO interest in politics did not, of course, end as a

¹²¹ Exceptions to this include the letter written by 'Centre Simcoe.' (Sun, 14 June 1923, p. 3) and the two letters by Louise Collins (Ibid., 29 May 1923, p. 3; 19 June 1923, p. 3). In her second letter, Collins claimed that if she had \$100,000 she would visit all woman voters in the province to inform them of the threat to the Ontario Temperance Act, and to ask them to vote for the UFO.

¹²² Ibid., 21 July 1923, p. 3.

result of the 1923 election. To cite but two examples, at the 1925 annual UFO convention, Mrs. C. Darville of Lambton moved to restore "the nomination of U.F.O. candidates and participation in politics by the association." No decision, however, was made with respect to this issue.¹²³ As well, in 1927 Emma Griesbach asked if farmers were going to continue to be "bamboozled by political hocus-pocus and claptrap" during election campaigns.¹²⁴ By that time, however, the farmers were of little significance in provincial politics.

Buoyed by the confidence that they had gained while participating in the provincial and federal elections of the early 1920s, UFWO members remained active, as well, in the internal politics of the UFO. They even had occasion to stand for and hold elected positions. At least this was the case in Lanark. Unlike Simcoe or Lambton, the UFO in Lanark actually had a woman on the executive of the county organization. In late 1922 local MPP Hiram McCreary nominated Edna Gardner, a school teacher in Ramsay Township and a daughter of a farmer on the 8th line in that township, to the position of secretary-treasurer.¹²⁵ No other candidate was named. Gardner was reported to have been

¹²³ Almonte Gazette, 18 December 1925, p. 3.

¹²⁴ Sun, 15 September 1927, p. 3.

¹²⁵ That same year the Kinburn UFO, near Lanark, elected two women to its seven-person executive. Almonte Gazette, 6 January 1922, p. 3.

surprised to be nominated, but she accepted the position nevertheless.¹²⁶

The election of women to the local UFO executive remained commonplace for quite some time in Lanark. In 1926 and 1927, for example, Miss Mary Lyle served as the County organization's secretary, and in 1928 Mrs. T. Armstrong held this position.¹²⁷ In 1931 Miss Hazel Thom was elected secretary-treasurer of the County organization. This pattern was not evidenced in either Simcoe or Lambton.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Ibid., 3 November 1922, p. 1. Gardner was still secretary in 1924, and was married in that year to David Hollie Lowry. By that time it appears that her father, William Gardner, had died. Lowry was from Ramsay and owned a house on that 9th line, close to where Gardner's family lived. Gardner resigned her position as school teacher in Ramsay shortly before her marriage. Ibid., 11 July 1924, p. 1. At the same meeting, Mrs. George Buchanan resigned as UFWO Director for the County, and was replaced by Mrs. James T. Wright, wife of the secretary of the Ramsay Club.

¹²⁷ Smiths Falls Record-News, 11 November 1926, p. 7; Almonte Gazette, 26 October 1928, p. 1.

¹²⁸ As well, Lanark did not fit the pattern of most counties in that women were not always given the task (as they were elsewhere) of overseeing the local United Farm Young People's Organization (UFYPO). From 1927 to 1929 M.B. Cochran assumed this responsibility, and in 1931 Fred McTavish took on the role. Smiths Falls Record-News, 11 November 1926, p. 7; Perth Courier, 4 November 1927, p. 1; Almonte Gazette, 26 October 1928, p. 1. The presence of women on the Lanark UFO executive invites some speculation. The fact that more women occupied these positions in Lanark and not elsewhere may have been because women were more important to the farm unit in an economy in which, in many cases, everyone had to contribute to the family enterprise merely to get by. In addition, as is implied in other chapters, there was at times a greater radicalism evidenced in Lanark than in Lambton and Simcoe during the peak years of the UFO. As such, the presence of women on the executives in the Lanark UFO clubs may reflect this radicalism.

The Decline of the UFWO

What accounts for the decline of the UFWO? There were many factors, including the decline of the UFO in general throughout the province. Another reason was the disillusionment experienced by women when it became evident that the UFO was not going to alter its patriarchal structure to any great extent. This was perhaps best summed up in Alice Webster's letter to W.C. Good protesting Griesbach's removal from the Sun after the male-dominated executive of the paper (and of the UFO) had become uncomfortable with Griesbach's feminism. After describing all of the good that Griesbach had done for Ontario farm women, Webster wrote

in the midst of our efforts to raise the standard of rural life you men have stepped out and struck a blow that sends us reeling backward. Why? Do you think the women of this country can put any faith in the sincerity of the U.F.O. when you talk of giving equal rights to women, after you have cut us off from our leader?¹²⁹

Despite the rhetoric of 'equal rights for all', many in the UFO only paid lip service to the notion, and reacted harshly when any threat to the established order presented itself.¹³⁰ After witnessing examples of this sort of behaviour, it is reasonable to assume that some UFWO members became disillusioned and left the movement.

¹²⁹ National Archives of Canada, MG 27 III C 1 (W.C. Good Papers), Webster to Good, 4 February 1922. See also Webster to Good, 20 March 1922.

¹³⁰ See Kechnie, pp. 275-6.

Conclusion

It is difficult to assess the impact organizations such as the UFWO had on women in general. Very little agreement exists among those who study women in agrarian movements as to the effectiveness of these movements in advancing the quest for gender equality. From the preceding, however, a few general comments can be made.

Farm women -- as did their urban counterparts -- experienced (and were cognizant of) the contradictions and confusions of early twentieth-century Ontario. However, since they had recently been enfranchised, many of them looked toward a 'new day' where they could play a meaningful role in how the province was governed. In concert with this notion, it appeared that new societal attitudes paved the way for farm women, as well as for women in general to emerge as true equals in every respect to men. Expectations were, therefore, high.

In the case of farm women, there was already a tacit acceptance of their importance with respect to the farm economy. All members of a farm family, after all, worked so that the farm would be productive. Merely acknowledging the importance of women on the farm, however, did not always amount to men treating them as true equals. In fact, in most cases they were not accorded equality. As a result, many of the women who joined the UFWO expecting to end their isolation, reduce their extremely heavy work-load, and

correct urban misconceptions about rural life, as well as achieve equality were sadly disappointed. In many respects, then, the movement failed to achieve its expectations.

Yet the situation was not as grim as this 'failed outcome' would lead one to believe. The UFWO gave many Ontario farm women their first taste of being a member of an organization, and it provided the vehicle through which they let others know how they felt about things that affected their lives. Moreover, the UFWO provided women who had never been allowed to participate actively in political affairs with the opportunity to learn about how the province and country were governed, and the chance to reflect on some of the ways in which conditions could be improved. Many women witnessed a growth in their self-esteem and self-confidence as a result of UFWO membership, and the lessons obtained from their experience in the movement undoubtedly served them well in later life.

Chapter 6

"To Eliminate the Capitalist and Profiteer is Simple": Agricultural Co-operatives in Lambton, Simcoe and Lanark Counties

We do not even know who sets our prices, or why they do it or how. Only we're beginning to learn that these people whom we have allowed to do our thinking for us, have not been thinking for us at all but for themselves...we have at this late hour discovered that we are not merely individuals with interests limited by the four walls of our homes...and with this awakening has come, of course, the get-together idea, not I, but WE, and we are organizing.

Margery Mills¹

People form co-operatives for a number of reasons. Some are established to fill gaps where capital is either weak or unavailable; some to propagate a communitarian ethos where wealth is distributed according to effort and not capital; some to meet the needs of members rather than the needs of the marketplace; and some to express antipathy to the excesses of capitalism.² At the root of all these motives is the desire to meet human needs on egalitarian principles.

In most co-operatives in Canada the way to achieve this goal in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was to establish the co-operative on the Rochdale plan (that is, one member, one vote). Obviously, then, co-operatives were (and still are) formed in opposition to prevailing

¹ Collingwood Saturday News, 13 September 1919, p. 5.

² Anne McGillivray and Daniel Ish, Co-operatives in Principle and Practice (Saskatoon: Centre for the Study of Co-operatives, 1992), p. 5.

economic and political norms. As a recent account of co-operatives in Canada points out,

The principle of one member, one vote, of economic returns to patronage rather than capital, of open membership and of co-operative education, formed a conceptual whole which makes little sense except when seen as an alternative to economic and political institutions that sustained an undemocratic social order.³

Co-operatives have often been seen as the cornerstone upon which agrarian populist movements were built. In his studies of late nineteenth-century populism in the United States, Lawrence Goodwyn argues that farmers' experiences with co-operatives "radically altered their political consciousness."⁴ Co-operatives offered farmers a valid alternative to the capitalist economy in which they found themselves, and were used as the "central educational tool"

³ Brett Fairbairn, Christopher S. Axworthy, Murray Fulton, Lou Hammond Ketilson and David Laycock, "Co-operative Institutions: Five Disciplinary Perspectives," in Murray E. Fulton, ed., Co-operative Organizations and Canadian Society: Popular Institutions and the Dilemmas of Change (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), p. 33. The authors also argue that "The birth of the co-operative movement stemmed from frustration with movements for political democracy...co-operatives in the Anglo-American world were seen by their earliest proponents as microcosms of a society in which the rules governing the use of politically significant power would remove the privileges based on the ownership of capital or inherited status, and give equal power to the common people in the business of organizing and benefitting from social life." (p. 32).

⁴ Lawrence Goodwyn, Democratic Promise: The Populist Moment in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. xviii.

of the Farmers Alliance.⁵ Historians examining agrarian co-operatives in Canada have reached similar conclusions.⁶

Of course, conceiving of an alternative to prevailing norms and then implementing such a vision will inevitably be met by subtle as well as overt opposition. Perhaps the best way to demonstrate subtle opposition -- the power of hegemony -- and its consequences for a mass movement such as the UFO is to provide a case study of its co-operative activities. Co-operation was a vital component of the UFO. And, as with other late nineteenth and early twentieth-century populist organizations, the failure of its primary co-operative endeavour, especially when combined with political failure, had a devastating effect on the movement's ability to eliminate the inequitable power relations it perceived, and to advance its alternative political, economic and social vision.

In some respects, co-operatives affiliated with the UFO's companion organization, the United Farmers Co-operative Company (UFCC) did not fail. As will be seen, many local co-operatives met with a measure of financial success.

⁵ Lawrence Goodwyn, The Populist Moment: A Short History of the Agrarian Revolt in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 66.

⁶ See, for example, David Laycock, Populism and Democratic Thought in the Canadian Prairies, 1910-1945 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), pp. 28-9; T. Robyn Wylie, "Direct Democrat: W.C. Good and the Farm Progressive Challenge, 1895-1929," PhD Thesis, Carleton University, 1991, where he notes that co-operation "lay at the heart of independent class organization." (pp. 193-4).

In fact, some of these profit-making co-operatives outlived the UFO. Yet, increased returns for farmers was only one of the many reasons for the establishment of UFO co-operatives. The rhetoric of both rank and file and executive members certainly supports this contention. By the mid-1920s, however, with the exception of some local co-operators, a scant few co-operative organizers in the UFCC discussed anything other than the profitability of their ventures. As a result, it seems that UFO co-operatives were failures as alternative enterprises.

Co-operatives of one form or another had existed in Ontario well before the emergence of the United Farmers' movement,⁷ but the establishment of the UFO and the UFCC in 1914 further entrenched co-operative activity in the province. Consumer co-operatives, producer co-operatives, co-operative marketing associations, co-operative stores and co-operative mills flourished in Lambton, Simcoe and Lanark counties and, in fact, throughout Ontario. These enterprises allowed UFO members to experiment with alternative forms of commercial as well as social and political relations that

⁷ The Grange and the Patrons of Industry, as well as other agricultural organizations, did much to foster co-operation among farmers, and several farmer-owned enterprises were operating by 1914. For an account of these early co-operatives, see Louis Aubrey Wood, A History of Farmers' Movements in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975 -- first published 1924), pp. 73-90 and 118-20.

were markedly different from existing ones.⁸ Yet, by the late 1920s, agrarian co-operatives, especially large-scale ones, were shadows of their former selves.

It is the intention of this chapter to examine the transformation of UFCC and UFCC-affiliated co-operatives from vehicles of potential change into something resembling capitalist enterprises. Four main arguments will be advanced: i) that the state played a significant role not only in encouraging certain types of co-operatives (specifically, marketing co-operatives), but also in shaping them to suit ends that were quite different from those of farmers; ii) that farmers were adversely affected by the heavy-handed policies and increasing centralization of the UFCC; iii) that the UFCC's leadership shifted its focus from viewing co-operatives as transformative agencies to money-making ventures, and that they transmitted this message to rank and file members at every opportunity; iv) that, despite these pressures, there remained considerable locally-initiated and spontaneous co-operative activity in all three counties during the 1914-1930 period, activity

⁸ Whether or not one sees co-operatives as radical bodies is a matter of opinion. In the case of the UFCC, it is ludicrous to suggest that most members were bent on overturning all societal institutions. What is argued here is that co-operatives, by promoting community development, direct and meaningful democracy and mutuality rather than the possessive individualism of capitalism, are potentially radical. In short, one's experience in a co-operative may lead one to question some of the fundamental 'truths' of existing social, political, and economic relations.

that attempted to adhere to the professed ideals of the UFO.

Involvement and Influence of the State

No study of co-operation in Ontario can be undertaken without an examination of the role played by the state in this activity.⁹ The role that the state has assumed in the lives of Canadians has been the subject of several historical works, ranging in focus from examining its relation to economic development to detailing its repression of dissident forces to analyzing its influence in entrenching gender roles.¹⁰ Although the approaches vary, there is a consensus that the state was (and is) an active and influential agent in political, economic and social affairs. Despite the outpouring of literature on the subject, however, no thorough account of the role of the state in encouraging, supporting and shaping the development of co-operatives has been written.

⁹ 'State' here is used in a narrow sense of the word, referring primarily to elected and non-elected officials. Other elements of the state (education, religion, the judiciary, and so on) and their effects on co-operation await further study.

¹⁰ Studies of the state in Canada abound. For a few examples, see Tom Traves, The State and Enterprise: Canadian Manufacturers and the Federal Government 1917-1931 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979); H.V. Nelles, The Politics of Development: Forests, Mines and Hydro-Electric Power in Ontario, 1849-1941 (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1974); Gregory S. Kealey, "State Repression of Labour and the Left in Canada, 1914-20: The Impact of the First World War," Canadian Historical Review, Vol. LXXIII, No. 3, September 1992; Ann Porter, "Women and Income Security in the Post-War Period: The Case of Unemployment Insurance, 1945-1962," Labour/Le Travail, No. 31, Spring 1993.

In the few studies that mention the role of the state in co-operatives, some are either neutral in assessing the impact of state activity, or they see the efforts of the state and the outcome of these efforts in positive terms.¹¹ Other, more recent works, while acknowledging the state's role, have been rather ambiguous as to the effects.¹² Consequently, only a handful of studies address

¹¹ B.P. Skey, "Co-operative Marketing of Agricultural Products in Ontario," PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 1933; Canadian Society of Technical Agriculturalists, Agricultural Co-operation in Canada (Ottawa: n.p., 1938); George S. Mooney, Co-operatives Today and Tomorrow: A Canadian Survey (Montreal: The Survey Committee, 1938); Canada, Report of the Royal Commission on Co-operatives (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1945); B.B. Perkins, Co-operatives in Ontario: Their Development and Current Position (Guelph: Ontario Agricultural College, 1960).

¹² For example, McGillivray and Ish note that there are both direct and indirect relationships between co-operatives and the state: "The political, economic and social environment in which a co-operative evolves affects its form, structure, function and ideological perspective. The co-operative ideals ...of self help, democracy and political neutrality requires a maximum of self-regulation...and a minimum of state regulation and state support." (p. 21). The authors also argue that the Canadian co-operative movement has "traditionally insisted upon as much autonomy from the state as the private sector, if not more." (p. 22). Although this might be what co-operatives insist upon, it is not always what they receive. This, however, is not addressed in their work. See also Ian MacPherson, "Creating Stability Amid Degrees of Marginality: Divisions in the Struggle for Orderly Marketing in British Columbia 1900-1940," in Donald H. Akenson, ed., Canadian Papers in Rural History Volume VII (Gananoque: Langdale Press, 1987); Brett Fairbairn, June Bold, Murray Fulton, Lou Hammond Ketilson and Daniel Ish, Co-operatives and Community Development: Economics in Social Perspective (Saskatoon: Centre for the Study of Co-operatives, 1991); David Laycock, Prairie Populists and the Idea of Co-operation, 1910-1945 (Saskatoon: Centre for the Study of Co-operatives, 1985); Laycock, Co-operative-Government Relations in Canada: Lobbying, Public Policy Development and the Changing Co-operative System (Saskatoon: Centre for the Study of Co-operatives, 1987).

some of the problems that can result from state intervention into co-operative activity.¹³ Moreover, those that do chronicle the Canadian experience tend to focus on the grain-growers' co-operatives on the Prairies.¹⁴

The role of the state -- both federal and provincial -- in co-operatives simply cannot be ignored when examining Ontario agriculture during and after World War I. The federal state was active in fostering co-operatives even before the War,¹⁵ and by the mid-1920s federal authorities

¹³ See, for example, G. Davidovik, Towards a Co-operative World: Economically, Socially, Politically (Antigonish: Coady International Institute, 1967), pp. 48-53. Other examples can be found, but one has to turn to non-mainstream sources to find them. Writing about worker co-operatives (but with relevance to agrarian ones as well) J. Frank Harrison sees co-operatives as "alternatives to both capitalism and state socialism." He warns, however, that these bodies "are frequently a palliative against unemployment encouraged by the capitalist state, financed by it, and dependent upon the good will of the state for their continuance." The Modern State: An Anarchist Analysis (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1983), p. 190. Harrison's paradigm of the state has informed the views articulated here, as has the work of Ralph Miliband and Leo Panitch. See Miliband, The State in Capitalist Society (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972); Panitch, ed., The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977).

¹⁴ See above references for several examples. Although these studies are important, there remains a tendency to down-play or ignore Ontario co-operatives. What emerges from these studies is the notion that co-operation was not important to Ontario farmers. As this chapter hopes to demonstrate, during the years that the UFO was a force in the province, the reverse was true.

¹⁵ See J.F. Booth, "Agricultural Co-operation in Canada," in Agricultural Co-operation in Canada, p. 357. For an overview of federal policy before WW 1, see V.C. Fowke, Canadian Agricultural Policy: The Historical Pattern (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1946 -- reprinted 1978), pp. 188-

were involved in several initiatives. To cite but a few examples, the Dominion Seed Branch subsidized the Canadian Seed Growers' Association by some \$10,000 annually, and provided up to \$200 (with an additional \$100 advanced by the provinces) to assist with the costs of staging local seed competitions. These funds could also be used to purchase seed cleaning machinery for co-operative cleaning. In addition, for \$2 the Branch would send a farmers' club or a local co-operative plans and specifications for the construction of a small seed elevator. The federal government was also instrumental in establishing the Canadian Co-operative Wool Growers in 1918, and for some time after that supplied expert graders to the company.¹⁶ Moreover,

By legislation, regulation, supervision and instruction in the federal field during the past two or three years a distinct advance has been marked in connection with the grading and shipping of fruits, potatoes, eggs, poultry and dairy

250. The Ontario government was also active in agriculture at that time, most notably in the creation of the Ontario Agricultural College (OAC) and the Farmers' Institutes. Kerry Badgley, "The Social and Political Thought of the Farmers' Institutes of Ontario, 1884-1917: Manifestations of Agrarian Discontent," MA Thesis, Carleton University, 1988, pp. 34-41.

¹⁶ Barrie Northern Advance, 17 May 1923, p. 1. On the origins of the company, see George Allan O'Brien, "The Co-operative Marketing of Fleece Wool in Canada," MSC Thesis, Cornell University, 1950; The Golden Fleece: Celebrating Twenty-Five Years of Service to the Wool Growers of Canada (n.l.: Canadian Co-operative Wool Growers, Ltd., n.d.). By 1945 the company controlled some 65% of Canada's annual wool clip. Report of the Royal Commission on Co-operatives, p. 176.

produce.¹⁷

Much of this activity involved establishing and supporting producer co-operatives.

Some of the scant documentation regarding the federal state's role in encouraging producer co-operatives reveals the motivation behind such support. Writing to the deputy minister of Agriculture in 1920, the Dominion Live Stock Commissioner noted that Canada had developed some first-rate marketing organizations that had secured good returns for producers. The great problems, however, were to obtain the highest quality product and to ensure high volume shipments. To realize these goals the government must "concentrate upon the output of the individual community." The proposal he advanced was designed to "assist individual communities in the marketing of their stock and produce, to aid the District Representatives in promoting co-operative action for this purpose...to improve the quality and increase the volume of a community through this means."¹⁸

Roughly one year later the Live Stock Commissioner informed the Deputy Minister that the present system of marketing hogs in Canada was "one of the worst in the world...packers have adopted a system of shipping with so

¹⁷ Archives of Ontario (AO), RG 3, (Ferguson Papers), Box 60, File 03-06-0-366 1925, "Status of Cooperative Organizations in Canada."

¹⁸ National Archives (NA), RG 17, Vol. 2984, File 32-2, "Marketing of Live Stock, Etc., in Canada", Live Stock Commissioner to Dr. J.H. Grisdale, 27 July 1920.

little regard to uniformity respecting quality and weight...".¹⁹ Again the answer was to be found in consulting with groups such as producers' associations, and with the Canadian Council of Agriculture, so that a co-operative system could be devised.

Of course, simultaneous with these efforts of the federal government, the provincial state was also extremely active in assisting farmers throughout Ontario. Disseminating information was a major concern of the provincial government, and W. Bert Roadhouse, Deputy Minister of Agriculture, boasted that in 1917 nearly 100,000 pieces of literature were distributed to Ontario farmers.²⁰ In addition, the province provided speakers upon request to address a wide range of agricultural topics,²¹ and it offered short courses and frequently held demonstrations in many localities.²² In Lambton (and

¹⁹ NA, RG 17, Vol. 2958, File 30-5-2 pt. 1, "Live Stock Industry-Hogs-Grading and Marketing of", Live Stock Commissioner to Dr. J.H. Grisdale, 27 August 1921. On the importance of Canada's bacon industry, see Almonte Gazette, 13 October 1922, p. 2; Ontario, Report of the Agricultural Enquiry Committee 1924 (Toronto: King's Printer, 1925), p. 34.

²⁰ Federal authorities also distributed a great deal of literature. In 1920 the Department of Agriculture's list of publications contained some 350 titles. Ibid., 24 June 1920, p. 1.

²¹ Almonte Gazette, 14 January 1916, p. 4; Orillia Packet, 28 March 1918, p. 1.

²² See, for example, Almonte Gazette, 17 December 1915, p. 1; 11 June 1924, p. 1; Carleton Place Herald, 18 January 1916, p. 1. See also the account of the provincially-operated 'Better Farming Special' railway in Ibid., 23 November 1915,

elsewhere), local farmers were successful in securing grants from the province for the County's annual Corn Show.²³ In addition, the province continued to encourage farmers to drain their land, and loans were established for this purpose and even for the acquisition of farms.²⁴

The province also responded to problems that the First World War created for farmers. With world demand for wheat at an all-time high in 1918, the Ontario government purchased 50,000 bushels of No. 1 Marquis Spring Wheat seed from federal authorities. The seed was sold in 2-bushel sacks at the attractive price of \$2.74 per bag, and farmers' clubs could order car load lots.²⁵ In carrying out this plan, the government achieved three main goals: the province had surplus wheat available for export at harvest time; by and large it was a standard type of wheat; and farmers

p. 6. On government demonstrations, see Smiths Falls Rideau Record, 27 December 1917, p. 6.

²³ Oil Springs Advance, 16 March 1916, p. 1; Forest Standard, 16 October 1919, p. 4. The grants ranged from \$250 to \$350.

²⁴ Almonte Gazette, 19 October 1923, p. 1; Forest Standard, 7 August 1922, p. 7. The Ontario government also sponsored the establishment of Boys' and Girls' Live Stock Clubs with the aim of promoting the use of pure-bred stock and providing an incentive for staying on the farm. Mechanisms were developed by the province to allow local clubs to obtain the credit needed to purchase the animals for a club. Orillia Times, 17 March 1921, p. 10.

²⁵ Smiths Falls Rideau Record, 28 February 1918, p. 1.

believed that the state was working in their interests.²⁶

A severe winter in 1916-17 led to a shortage of seed of all types. In response to this crisis the Ontario Department of Agriculture secured a supply of seed potatoes, oats, beans, and so on, which was distributed to farmers at cost. When it was discovered that many farmers were unable to pay up front for the seed, the government arranged with the Canadian Bankers Association and the Organization of Resources Committee to advance up to \$200 for this purpose.²⁷

In addition, during the War the province launched campaigns to encourage urban residents to assist farmers at harvest-time.²⁸ Most of this work was accomplished under the "Patriotism and Production" campaign, a joint federal-provincial effort designed to keep agricultural and

²⁶ Although some farmers, such as the members of the Tilbury UFO, protested that this scheme deliberately undercut the price for seed offered by the UFCC. Wylie, pp. 217-9.

²⁷ See the Conservative Party's 1919 provincial election pamphlet, An Agricultural Policy that is Efficient: Leadership that Means Service and Stability (AO, Pamph. 1919, No. 102), p. 3. Some farmers were critical of the program. In a letter to the Sun John M. Houldershaw of Simcoe County wrote "I do not know of any farmers that require assistance...to buy seed...their credit is usually good, but they do not want to buy seed potatoes when it requires thirty dollars to plant an acre. Sometimes the crop will not sell for thirty dollars." (9 May 1917, p. 3).

²⁸ Later, UFO Agriculture Minister Manning Doherty also attempted to secure farm help from urban areas, ostensibly to assist with getting crops in, but also to try to reduce urban unemployment. Forest Standard, 30 December 1920, p. 3.

production levels high.²⁹

More importantly, authorities in Ontario were also very active in their support of marketing co-operatives. The provincial government set up a Cooperation and Markets Branch within the Department of Agriculture in 1914, and legislation was passed to facilitate co-operative marketing, including legislation that provided loans to co-operatives for the purpose of establishing seed cleaning plants and potato warehouses.³⁰

A blatant example of the province's interest in co-operative marketing appeared in a government advertisement in a 1917 issue of the Sun. The advertisement utilized one of the more popular methods of getting messages across to readers -- the political cartoon. Under the headline

²⁹ Space limitations do not permit a full discussion of the campaign, but an account of a typical "Patriotism and Production" meeting can be found in Almonte Gazette, 5 March 1915, p. 1. See also Sun, 17 February 1915, p. 3, for a description of a Lambton meeting. In Lanark, the provincial government persuaded several large firms in Ottawa to release workers to help out on farms. Almonte Gazette, 7 June 1918, p. 5. For state campaign propaganda, see Canada, Department of Agriculture, Production and Thrift: Agricultural War Book 1916 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1916); Forest Standard, 3 May 1917, p. 7; Almonte Gazette, 11 May 1917, p. 7.

³⁰ AO, RG 3, Box 60, File 03-06-0-366 1925, "Status of Cooperative Organizations in Canada"; Forest Standard, 25 November 1920, p. 4. This program obtained less than stellar results. According to the Co-operation and Markets Branch, the reason for the failure was that "a power cleaner may be purchased for \$600 to \$700 and a gasoline engine for about \$200 and this makes a small amount upon which to base a loan from the Government to a group of farmers." Report of the Agricultural Enquiry Committee 1924, p. 18. No explanation was given regarding the failure of the potato warehouse scheme.

"Organized Marketing on a Business Basis Means Increased Profits for You," the cartoon featured a farmer carrying a bag representing the season's crops. There was a hole in the bag, and the produce that was falling out was being eaten by four fowl, named "superfluous middlemen," "poor storage," "bad packing," and "individual selling." After presenting the standard information regarding the benefits of co-operative marketing, such as improved quality control, better packing, and so on, the advertisement concluded with "Co-operation, in short, PAYS AND PAYS WELL."³¹

Ontario Department of Agriculture officials recognized the benefits of utilizing the local press to deliver their message of co-operation, and it was used frequently. Week after week farmers were exposed to columns supplied to local newspapers by the Department.³² A typical column can be found in a Smiths Falls newspaper,³³ and some insights can be obtained from an examination of what was said and,

³¹ Sun, 25 July 1917, p. 8.

³² See, for example, Almonte Gazette, 4 April 1919, p. 5; 7 January 1921, p. 5; 9 June 1922, p. 4; 19 September 1926, p. 6; Collingwood Bulletin, 22 May 1919, p. 8; Barrie Northern Advance, 4 September 1924, p. 2; Forest Standard, 8 May 1919, p. 8; 25 November 1920, p. 4; 6 January 1921, p. 6; 17 September 1924, p. 5. It is a rare occasion to search through small town papers from that period and not see an article provided by the Ontario Department of Agriculture or the OAC.

³³ Smiths Falls Record-News, 18 July 1922, p. 5. The same article was also located in Forest Standard, 20 July 1922, p. 5; Orillia Times, 3 August 1922, p. 6; Almonte Gazette, 30 June 1922, p. 1; Carleton Place Herald, 2 August 1922, p. 6; Barrie Northern Advance, 20 July 1922, p. 5.

equally important, what was not said in the article.

Entitled "Co-operative Selling," the column began by observing that agricultural products made up a great percentage of Ontario's exports. As such, "We have to see that our agricultural products going to the markets of the world go...in the shape and form demanded by the markets we are attempting to gain." Grading was necessary, and produce had to be of uniform quality to be acceptable. Co-operative marketing would help ensure that these exacting standards were met. In addition, co-operative marketing would stop the dumping of produce on the market at harvest time, which lowered the price and resulted in enormous waste. According to the article, only the speculator benefitted from dumping, and farmers, not those who speculated on the market, were to blame for this situation:

The speculator does not break the price, the farmers do this themselves by dumping their product one against the other, making it possible for the speculator to watch the fight...and then step in and take the spoils at his price.

In other words, farmers, and not the system that was conducive to speculation and dumping, were at fault.³⁴

Further on in the article it was noted that a co-

³⁴ There was a tendency on the part of state authorities to blame farmers for a host of problems. For example, although farmers and shippers were blamed for selling blighted potatoes to consumers in a column supplied by the federal government in 1917, only the farmers' role in these transactions was discussed. Smiths Falls Rideau Record, 1 February 1917, p. 3. See also the article "Farmers are Soil Robbers," Carleton Place Herald, 25 June 1918, p. 3.

operative was more likely to succeed if it concentrated on a single type of commodity, such as fruit, grain, dairy products or livestock. Particular difficulties had to be overcome in each endeavour, and to mix activities spelled trouble for farmers:

Organizations that have attempted to handle the marketing of numerous lines of farm crops have generally been unsatisfactory in that the divided interest of the co-operative is destructive to success.

It is possible that the author had the UFCC in mind when this passage was written.

Interestingly, other benefits of co-operation were not included in the article. At no point was it mentioned that co-operative marketing allowed for some measure of local control, or that it helped to foster a sense of community and self-help in local farmers. Also not noted were the democratic tendencies of co-operation and the perceived long-term effects of large-scale co-operative activity such as the gradual elimination of middlemen and competition. Yet these were the themes that characterized the rhetoric of the idealistic UFO rank and file.

State support of co-operatives was deemed important enough to be mentioned in election campaigns. James S. Gould, the Conservative candidate for South Lanark in the 1919 Ontario election, devoted considerable space in his advertisements to describing the Hearst Government's commitment to encouraging co-operation. Favourable

legislation had been passed, the Co-operation and Markets Branch had been created, and assistance had been granted to wool growers. In addition, for some time the government had carried out a campaign

showing the value of co-operation among the farmers and has assisted in organizing upwards of 400 Farmers' Clubs in the Province, giving full information as to the organization and business, but leaving the conduct of the business affairs to the farmers themselves...³⁵

Gould then boasted that "It is not too much to say that 75 per cent of the co-operative effort of the farmers...is due to the foundation educational work which has for years been carried out by the Department of Agriculture." And in case anyone got the wrong idea, Gould reminded his readers that "Students of the subject know that farmers' co-operative organizations in other countries are kept free from politics."³⁶

After the UFO's victory in 1919, the provincial government increased its efforts to encourage co-operative marketing among Ontario farmers. In 1922 Agriculture Minister Manning Doherty arranged to have Aaron Sapiro, a

³⁵ Perth Courier, 17 October 1919, p. 11 (emphasis added).

³⁶ Ibid. See also the advertisement for the Conservative candidate for Lanark (J.A. Stewart) in the 1921 federal election. Almonte Gazette, 28 October 1921, p. 6. For other examples, see Ibid., 10 September 1926, p. 3; Orillia Times, 1 December 1921, p. 4; Collingwood Bulletin, 9 September 1926, p. 2. See also Dudley Alexander Bristow, "Agrarian Interest in the Politics of Ontario: A Study with Special Reference to the Period 1919-1949," MA Thesis, University of Toronto, 1950, p. 117.

co-operative marketing expert from California, travel throughout the province to deliver his message of co-operation in rural communities.³⁷ In one speech given near Lanark, Sapiro spoke of the advantages of co-operatively marketing cheese. After pointing out the benefits that accrued from this method of selling (standardization of product, effective grading, even distribution, and so on), Doherty took the stage and announced that the province had no intention of controlling or even directing co-operative selling, insisting that co-operatives had to organize and run their businesses through their own membership. The government wished only to assist "in organizing and provid(ing) such legislation as may be necessary." Almost immediately after saying this, however, Doherty made it clear that the aim of the province was "to organize all farm industries in joint-stock companies operating strictly as sales and manufacturing pools." This, of course, contradicted his earlier statements about farmers' running their own affairs and setting up co-operatives based on local conditions and needs.³⁸

³⁷ Sapiro's tour of the Prairies in 1923-4 is described in Ian MacPherson, Building and Protecting the Co-operative Movement: A Brief History of the Co-operative Union of Canada (Ottawa: Co-operative Union of Canada, 1984), p. 77.

³⁸ Perth Courier, 10 March 1922, p. 3; 31 March 1922, p. 3; Almonte Gazette, 23 June 1922, p. 2. It should be noted that it is suggested in this chapter that the state underwent no fundamental change as a result of the election of the UFO. As J.E. Hodgetts argues, although one might have expected some change in the provincial bureaucracy as a result of Drury

The state's interest in co-operatives -- and the character of that interest -- can also be seen in the report of the provincial Agricultural Enquiry Committee, which was struck in 1924 by the Ferguson Government to "study all matters concerning the social, educational and economic conditions surrounding the agricultural...industries of the Province." One of the paramount concerns of the Committee was the marketing of agricultural products for domestic and overseas markets. With respect to livestock, the Committee members conceded that the situation was not dire; however, "In the marketing of cattle...co-operation will have to be depended upon for future headway." The same prognosis was made for field crops.³⁹

The Committee went further than most other government bodies in that it also supported consumer co-operatives. After hearing several witnesses complain about the high price of agricultural implements, and noting that most blamed implement agents and the high commission they charged, the Committee members concluded "that the practical remedy...is the formation by the farmers of a co-operative

assuming the position of Premier, "the inexperience that led to debilitating scandals, and the constant tension between elected members of the Farmers' party and strident extra-parliamentary groups led by J.J. Morrison, all combined to frustrate any dramatic changes in past practices." J.E. Hodgetts, From Arm's Length to Hands-On: The Formative Years of Ontario's Public Service 1867-1940 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995, p. 188.

³⁹ Ontario, Report of the Agricultural Enquiry Committee 1924, pp. 5, 17, 34.

buying agency." Unlike their recommendation concerning producer co-operatives, they did not propose that the government get involved in such a scheme.⁴⁰

By the time the Agricultural Enquiry Committee was conducting its hearings, at least a few prominent UFO members were beginning to express their concern about the activities of the state with respect to co-operatives. In its statement to the Committee, the UFCC argued that co-operatives often worked best when they emerged from the people themselves. Granting this, it was the company's opinion that

the Government should in no way attempt to force, control or direct the trend of the co-operative movement... (Government activity) should be limited to providing facilities for securing the fullest and most reliable information regarding co-operative practice.

The UFCC noted that the provincial government had recently provided a group of turnip growers with a subsidy of \$1,000 so that representatives from the group could investigate turnip markets in the United States. If the UFCC was to do the same, it would have to be completely funded by the

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 70. The Ontario government's activities in the area of co-operation culminated with the creation of a provincial agricultural marketing board in 1931. Significantly, one of the original members of the board was H.B. Clemes, manager of the UFCC. Forest Standard, 30 April 1931, p. 1. B.B. Perkins, , in Co-operatives in Ontario, while sympathetic to state intervention in co-operatives, nevertheless notes that marketing boards, unlike co-operatives, are not voluntary, and are "monopolistic bodies which seek to raise prices to producers through bargaining power, discriminatory pricing... (and) have extensive powers to control the marketing of their designated product." (p. 38).

company.⁴¹

Why, one might logically ask, did the state take such an interest in the activities of marketing co-operatives in Ontario? As has been argued in many studies, the role of the state in a capitalist society is, quite naturally, to serve the interests of capital. And although there is considerable debate as to how the state accomplishes this task, it is generally agreed that it will usually avoid actions that work contrary to the long-term interests of the capitalist class. It is here, as one might expect, that co-operatives present problems. Yet, certain types of co-operatives were highly beneficial to the state; namely, producer co-operatives. Most states depend to a high degree on trade (and Ontario was certainly no exception), and marketing co-operatives presented policy-makers with an ideal opportunity to further the goal of increasing both domestic and international commerce. Clearly, for the federal and provincial governments, the reason for encouraging producer co-operatives was based in no small part on the fact that they facilitated and improved international trade.⁴² And,

⁴¹ Report of the Agricultural Enquiry Committee, 1924, p. 91. George A. Bothwell, president of the UFCC, also made reference to this unfair subsidy in his address at the Company's annual meeting in 1924. Barrie Northern Advance, 18 December 1924, p. 4.

⁴² James W. Robertson, Some Occurrences and Conditions Overseas Which Affect the Production and Marketing of Canadian Agricultural Products: Summary of an Address (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1920), pp. 15-9.

for a country whose agricultural exports amounted to a significant share of its total exports, this was an important contribution. By relying upon marketing co-operatives, a standardized grading system could be implemented -- thus ensuring high quality -- and produce could be assembled in bulk quantities -- thus facilitating large international shipments.⁴³ It is not surprising, then, to find that the state, from very early on, encouraged farmers of the province to participate in producer co-operatives. Moreover, a fringe benefit that resulted for the state was that the public believed that it was serving the interests of 'the People.'⁴⁴

⁴³ The emergence of a consumer society in early twentieth-century Ontario meant a greater demand for standardization in and attractiveness of product. As was pointed out in a newspaper column provided by the Ontario Department of Agriculture, "In the old days the wormy apple, the misshapen potato and the old hen may not have lost their attractiveness, but times have changed...the demands for foods that appeal to the eye and to the sense of taste have increased very greatly." Almonte Gazette, 9 June 1922, p. 4. Evenness of product was also important. As one newspaper noted, "The certainty in the mind of the English bacon curer that he can always get a similarity of product in his purchases is apparently the main reason why Danish bacon... always commands a wholesale price from two to four dollars more a hundredweight over Canadian " Orillia Times, 9 August 1923, p. 4. See also Forest Standard, 20 March 1919, p. 2; Almonte Gazette, 14 March 1924, p. 1; Report of the Agricultural Enquiry Committee 1924, p. 36.

⁴⁴ At least one contemporary observer, George Keen of the Co-operative Union of Canada (CUC), was suspicious about co-operative marketing associations, believing that they could become vehicles for class privilege. He also maintained that such groups depended on the efficiency of their leaders for success, rather than on their individual members. See Skey, pp. 59-60; MacPherson, Building and Protecting, p. 37. Despite these misgivings, the CUC admitted such bodies as members

A problem emerged, however, in that producer co-operatives were not the only type of co-operative activity that proved attractive to farmers. Consumer co-operatives also had great appeal. But, since these sorts of co-operatives ran counter to the goals of a capitalist economy, state authorities were somewhat less than enthused about their existence. They could not take direct action and eliminate them through legislation, but they could be passively obstructionist. It certainly proved a struggle to obtain legislation for consumer co-operatives that was even remotely favourable,⁴⁵ and neither federal nor provincial officials went to any great lengths (as they had for producer co-operatives) to support or guarantee the survival of consumer co-operatives in Ontario. By neglecting, even disparaging consumer co-operatives the state was clearly acting in its best interests, interests which were at odds with the actual needs of farmers.⁴⁶

because, according to Keen, "genuine producers such as marketing co-operatives are organized to eliminate the element of profit on price, and instead to substitute reward for actual service and that it is desirable that both types should...work together for their mutual advantage as against economic interests which operate to their common injury." Keen, The History of the Co-operative Movement in Canada (Brantford: Co-operative Union of Canada, 1943), pp. 5-6.

⁴⁵ Ian MacPherson, Each for All: A History of the Co-operative Movement in English Canada, 1900-1945 (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1979), pp. 29-33.

⁴⁶ The treatment consumer co-operatives received may have been due to the fact that, soon after the formation of the UFCC, retail merchants from the province lodged several complaints to both federal and provincial authorities. Skey,

Two final points regarding state support of marketing co-operatives should be made. First, contrary to the commonly-held perception that such involvement exists solely to benefit farmers, V.C. Fowke argues that the main beneficiaries of these policies are consumers who enjoy lower prices for produce.⁴⁷ Second, federal and provincial authorities often argued that ensuring high quality and standardized produce would mean increased profits for farmers. This is a debatable assertion. Consider the following example. If grade A hogs sold at \$3 more per hundredweight than grade B hogs, and \$5 more than grade C and if 1,000,000 of each were produced in a given year, then it would seem logical to assume that, if farmers produced nothing but grade A hogs the following year at the same rate of production, an additional \$7 million would be realized. As Fowke argues, however, this is not the way the price system works. In reality, if all hog farmers produced grade A hogs, then the market would be flooded with these hogs and the price would be forced down toward grade B or even grade C levels.⁴⁸ Whether or not state officials knew this cannot be proved but, even if the state policies had worked perfectly, farmers would not have realized significantly

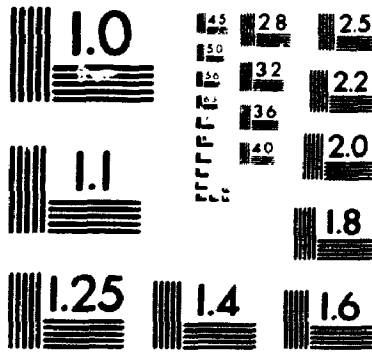
p. 48.

⁴⁷ V.C. Fowke, "Canadian Farmers in an Industrial Society," unpublished paper, 1964, pp. 3-4.

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 2-3.

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higher returns for their produce.

Local Co-operatives -- Establishment and Initial Operations

As demonstrated above, local and even UFCC-directed co-operatives were never entirely free from state influence. This, however, did not preclude spontaneous and creative action on the part of UFO members. Moreover, although the UFO victory in 1919 resulted in a rapid expansion of the co-operative movement, this expansion merely augmented the considerable activity that was already evident in all three counties under consideration. A study of local co-operatives in Lambton, Simcoe and Lanark will provide insights into how such groups, over time and with a barrage of pressure from the state and the UFCC, began focusing more on profitability than on the less tangible aspects of co-operation.

In Lambton, there already existed, among others, county fruit and vegetable, corn growers', and bee keepers' associations, and a farmers' mutual insurance company.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Sun, 14 April 1915, p. 3; 8 February 1917, p. 1. A Live Stock Breeders' Association was formed in 1916. Both the federal and provincial governments supported the establishment of this organization, and representatives of both levels of government provided advice and direction. Oil Springs Advance, 9 March 1916, p. 1; Forest Standard, 1 June 1916, p. 2. Federal and provincial officials also encouraged the production of flax in Lambton, especially once its strategic importance in the War effort became known. See Ibid., 17 August 1916, p. 3; Petrolia Topic, 5 April 1916, p. 1. Some caution must be exercised when considering single-commodity co-operatives. As C.M. Johnston notes, some of these so-called co-operatives were actually joint-stock companies "in which the bulk of shares and hence voting power were lodged with a few affluent growers who dominated its operation." Johnston, "'A Motley Crowd': Diversity in the Ontario Countryside in the Early Twentieth Century," in Akenson, ed.,

As well, there was a county-wide organization known as the Lambton Farmers' Co-operative Society. Formally established in early 1915 with the amalgamation of several farmers' clubs in the county, the society had many directors who later became prominent local figures in the UFO.⁵⁰

Early on members were warned that they had to exercise caution when discussing UFO business transactions publicly. Addressing 200 farmers in Lambton in 1915, Anson Groh, then with the UFCC, offered to take orders for binder twine, and advised his audience that it would be unwise to make the price known "as the dealers would then undersell them in an

Canadian Papers in Rural History Volume VII, p. 244. See also Daryll Crewson and Ralph Matthews, "Class Interests in the Emergence of Fruit-Growing Co-operation in Lincoln County, Ontario, 1880-1914," in Donald H. Akenson, ed., Canadian Papers in Rural History Volume V (Gananoque: Langdale Press, 1985).

⁵⁰ Oil Springs Advance, 11 February 1915, p. 1; Sun, 3 February 1915, p. 3; 15 March 1915, p. 3. In 1915 Lambton was the first county in Ontario to replace the Farmers' Institutes (FI) with a Board of Agriculture, the object of which was to further the interests of agriculture through the dissemination of information, to encourage local talent, and to act as an umbrella organization for all agricultural associations in the county. The idea of creating boards was devised by the provincial government in response to the declining popularity of the FI. They did not, however, meet with much success. For the case of Lambton, see Petrolia Topic, 22 September 1915, p. 7; 17 November 1915, p. 1; Oil Springs Advance, 18 November 1915, p. 5. Boards were also attempted in Simcoe, and managed to survive until 1923, although in greatly reduced form. AO, RG 16, Series G-5-1, MS 597, Reel 56, "Simcoe North 1915-1916," p. 32; "Simcoe North, 1921-22," p. 14. In Lanark, the scheme failed miserably. Ibid., Reel 30, "Lanark 1917-1918," p. 12; "Lanark 1918-1919," p. 16.

effort to break up the (Society)."⁵¹ Some 75 tons of twine was ordered by the estimated 200 farmers in attendance.⁵²

It was also during the formative years of the UFO that Lambton farmers received a taste of the attitude of the provincial government. Speaking at a meeting of farmers at the Lambton Corn Show in 1915, F.C. Hart of the Co-operation and Markets Branch gave the farmers "a few plain truths" about co-operation. He noted that co-operatives -- particularly consumer co-operatives -- required adequate capital if they were going to succeed and, reminding the farmers that the middleman's margin was not all profit, he stressed that there were overhead costs that had to be taken into account. As if to solidify his role as a wet blanket, Hart then remarked that the farmer was often "not a good

⁵¹ Oil Springs Advance, 1 April 1915, p. 1; Petrolia Topic, 31 March 1915, p. 1. This was a constant problem for the UFCC. See Skey, p. 53; The United Farmers' Co-operative Digest, Vol. 1, No. 5, December 1922, p. 3.

⁵² Binder twine was one of the first products offered to farmers by the UFO on a co-operative basis, and it was not without its share of controversy. The UFCC originally attempted to secure binder twine from the Canadian Cordage Company, but was refused. As a result, an arrangement was struck between the Company and an Irish firm, causing many to think that farmers were disloyal for not buying Canadian-made goods. Smiths Falls Record-News, 5 August 1920, p. 1; Skey, pp. 36-8. Later, UFO members felt compelled to defend the actions of their brethren on the Prairies when they were denounced as unpatriotic for buying American-made implements. As was explained by UFO faithful, the Grain Growers Grain Company (GGGC) was forced to buy from American firms because Canadian manufacturers refused to do business with it. Orillia Times, 17 November 1921, pp. 3-4; 24 November 1921, p. 4.

businessman."⁵³ Later that year, Lambton Agricultural Representative G.G. Bramhill informed members of the Lambton Farmers' Co-operative Society that co-operation would increase their profits, since co-operatives provided a way to cut many unnecessary expenses.⁵⁴ Both officials focused on marketing co-operatives, and referred to them as a means to financial gain, ignoring the many other benefits that arose out of such activity.

In early 1915 the Society, although not affiliated with the UFO, sent two delegates to the UFO annual convention to learn about the new movement. One of the delegates, Peter

⁵³ Sun, 3 February 1915, p. 3.

⁵⁴ Petrolia Topic, 12 May 1915, p. 3. In all three counties (and throughout the province) there was a constant state presence in the form of agricultural representatives. Relations between the representatives and the UFO in Lambton and Simcoe were fairly cordial, but in Lanark relations became increasingly strained to the point that the representative spoke at very few UFO meetings, and complained of being "looked upon as an outsider." Lanark UFO clubs eventually refused to submit figures associated with their co-operative enterprises (see, in particular, the representative's reports for 1919-20, p. 2; 1920-21, p. 13; and the reports for 1922-23 and 1925-26). There is no evidence to indicate why this tension between the local representative and Lanark UFO members existed, but it may be another example of the greater militancy seen in Lanark UFO supporters. Soon after the Tories regained provincial power in 1923, North Simcoe representative Alan Hutchinson was asked to resign his post, allegedly for campaigning for the Progressives in the 1921 federal election. Hutchinson denied the charge, and speculated that it was his help in organizing a farmers' co-operative potato company that led to his difficulties. Agriculture Minister J.B. Martin claimed Hutchinson was dismissed for "inefficiency." A number of local papers and farmers' clubs rushed to his defence, but to little avail. Orillia Times, 6 December 1923, p. 2; Simcoe County Archives (SCA), Minutes of the Rugby Farmers' Club, December 1923. On the formation of the company, see Hutchinsor's report for 1921-22, p. 34.

Gardiner, "was not allowed to escape until he was placed on the directorate of the United Farmers' Association."

Gardiner was a member of the Osborne Club (a sub-group of the Society), and he provided some insights into its operation. Most of the Club's business was done through local merchants, and it appears that the chief business conducted was that of purchasing supplies, mostly in ten or twenty ton orders. If a farmer paid for the goods upon receipt, one-half of 1% was added to the price to cover expenses. If the goods were not paid for immediately, a further 1% was added after thirty days. Gardiner also mentioned that a farmers' club had been established in nearly all of the forty school sections in Lambton,⁵⁵ and that, although the aim was to build a strong organization within the county, the members were beginning to see the benefits of combining with an already-strong organization, such as the UFO.⁵⁶ In addition to co-operative buying, the members of the Society were attempting to arrange to sell their produce directly to wholesalers.⁵⁷ Although relatively small in size, the Society appears to have had

⁵⁵ This is not an unreasonable claim given that there were over 30 clubs by mid-1915 and some 37 clubs by January 1916. Oil Springs Advance, 13 May 1915, p. 5; Petrolia Topic, 12 January 1916, p. 4. The Reece's Corners branch was formed in March 1915 (Ibid., 31 March 1915, p. 5) and the Brooke Township branch was established in May of that year (Oil Springs Advance, 13 May 1915, p. 4).

⁵⁶ Sun, 14 April 1915, p. 3.

⁵⁷ Petrolia Topic, 31 March 1915, p. 1.

success in its first few years of operation (see Table 1).

Table 1
Lambton Farmers' Co-operative Society
Financial Statement - 1916

Receipts

Received from clubs	\$183.25
Received from twine	<u>130.00</u>
	\$313.25

Expenditures

Expenses of County Board	\$ 56.85
Stock in United Farmers	32.00
Handling twine	43.42
Balance in bank	<u>180.98</u>
	\$313.25

Source: Petrolia Topic, 12 January 1916, p. 4.

In early 1916 a meeting of the Society was convened in Petrolia. The issue at hand was the need for all members to put up a \$10 note to be used as "collateral to form a basis of capitalization." The motion to this effect was passed almost unanimously. Interestingly, the Society's leadership mentioned that the giving of a note was a personal matter, and explained that members were not bound by this act and that they could withdraw at any time without other farmers knowing about it.⁵⁸ Later that year the Society asked

⁵⁸ Ibid., 19 January 1916, p. 1; Oil Springs Advance, 20 January 1916, p. 5. No evidence could be found to suggest that such an option was available to clubs belonging to the UFCC. The meeting was to have been held in the agricultural office; but, as the crowd was far too large, it was moved to Victoria Hall.

members to put up another note, this time for \$25, and this too was agreed to. Local bankers had advised the leadership that they would lend the Society up to 150% of the notes' face value. Evidently, business had picked up, and in December 1916 one club reported doing some \$11,000 in business in the past four months, "Thus saving hundreds of dollars to themselves in the turnover."⁵⁹

Shortly after, the Forest United Farmers Association, which was affiliated with the UFO, emerged from the Lambton Farmers' Co-operative Society. Its directorship consisted of the president and secretary from each of its member clubs. The Association hired Anson Groh -- who had been dismissed by the UFCC for incompetence -- as its manager.⁶⁰ Its object was to "secure more efficient co-operation among the various clubs, so that they can buy in car lots, save in the distributing charges, etc." Soon after its inception, members realized a substantial saving through collective buying. A car of seed corn was purchased for 91 cents per bushel, when the local dealer's price was \$1.15. This meant a saving of 24 cents per bushel, or \$240 on a car of 1,000 bushels.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Petrolia Topic, 21 December 1916, p. 1.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 5 April 1917, p. 1. On Groh's removal from the UFCC executive, see Wylie, pp. 201-2.

⁶¹ Sun, 14 February 1917, p. 4. On co-operative potato shipments, see Petrolia Topic, 17 May 1917, p. 1. As of July 1917 the Association consisted of 40 clubs and some 300 members. Ibid., 4 July 1917, p. 5.

Running the Association was no small feat. The manager took orders from local secretaries, co-ordinated shipments, and collected money for purchases. The goods were sold for delivery right off the car, but provisions were made for those unable to pay by storing their goods for a nominal fee. The manager received a 1.5% commission on all supplies, 2% for groceries, and 5 cents per bag for sugar ordered by the car. Interestingly, provision was also made for non-members' use of the Association. Outsiders paid 1% more than members, but this policy was not enforced. According to A.E. Vance, the Association's secretary, the enterprise "has been organized on the principle that by being generous to outsiders they will soon be secured as members."⁶² In 1917 roughly \$25,000 in business was undertaken, mostly in feeds and flour, although some groceries, salt, and sugar were also handled.⁶³ What is noteworthy about all of the reports of the Association is that at no time was there any acknowledgement of assistance from the state; it seemed to be a purely locally-directed concern.

Writing to the Sun in 1919, Vance elaborated upon some

⁶² Sun, 16 January 1918, p. 3. Noble as this policy may have been, it had a negative impact on local co-operatives because there was no incentive to remain a member. Later, the Oro Station UFO in Simcoe County reversed a similar policy on the grounds that it was too difficult to collect money from non-members. SCA, Minute Book of the Oro Station UFO, 2 August 1923. See also MacPherson, Each for All, p. 315.

⁶³ In Groh's first report, "a good margin over expenditure was shown." Petrolia Topic, 24 May 1917, p. 1.

of the features of the organization. First, he noted that there were several clubs affiliated with the Association, and that the clubs normally consisted of no more than 40 members each. This was a deliberate policy, as the smaller clubs provided a "means of social and educational as well as business advantages -- a condition which does not exist to such an extent where clubs have a large membership."

Although the plan was working well, Vance felt that "to be a live young concern a manager should be engaged permanently on a salary basis, warehouse facilities should be provided and a stock of all kinds of feeds should be kept on hand at all times."⁶⁴ Although the Association remained a profitable concern, the idealistic reasons for co-operating were not abandoned. As late as 1920 it ran advertisements in local newspapers with messages such as "To eliminate the Capitalist and Profiteer is Simple! Accept his responsibility and carry out his risks and retain for yourself his gain by co-operating." Financial gains could be made, but features such as accepting responsibility and gaining self-confidence were equally important.⁶⁵

Simcoe County also had very active co-operative organizations. Large amounts of wool, for example, were being marketed co-operatively by 1918. In addition, the Orillia Co-operative Shippers sold 500 hogs in 1918 with

⁶⁴ Sun, 2 April 1919, p. 10.

⁶⁵ Petrolia Advertiser-Topic, 14 October 1920, p. 2.

receipts of nearly \$17,000 and, although it had been formed only in July 1918, the Union Co-operative Shippers of Collingwood, headed by Frank Griesbach, could boast of shipping \$16,000 worth of hogs, cattle and sheep by year's end.⁶⁶ The Ivy and Thornton Stock and Grain Company was formed in 1917, and nine months later had 100 members and was capitalized at \$100,000. Soon after its establishment this co-operative took over an elevator in Thornton and, in its first year of operation, it sold over \$210,000 worth of grain and livestock for local farmers. The method used for stock-shipping was fairly straight-forward:

Shippers receive the f.o.b. price, and then whatever surplus is left over from the Toronto price, less expenses, is divided among the contributors. Next year, it is intended...to pay the excess over the f.o.b. price into the treasury of the company.⁶⁷

Co-operatives in Nottawa, Kirkville, Valley and Batteau, all small clubs, agreed to a common shipping day so as to ensure full cars.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ AO, RG 16, Series G-5-1, Ms. 597, Reel 56, "Simcoe North 1916-1917," p. 25; "Simcoe North, 1917-1918," pp. 19-21. These co-operatives allowed farmers to realize excellent returns. The local agricultural representative reported one case in which an animal "brought sixty dollars over and above what was offered by the local buyers (Ibid., "1917-1918," p. 22).

⁶⁷ Sun, 17 July 1918, p. 8. In addition to this activity, a co-operative society was formed in Orillia in 1919 by George Keen. Orillia Times 6 November 1919, p. 3; 20 November 1919, p. 6.

⁶⁸ Collingwood Bulletin, 26 June 1919, p. 1. This was a fairly common practice throughout the province.

The early success of co-operation in Simcoe is evidenced in letters sent to the Sun. In 1919 a farmer from Stayner, who referred to himself as 'Sunshine', wrote:

Our club seems to be a success if you can judge by the broad smile the farmers wear for a few days after they have shipped a car load of live stock. Like lots of other things worth while our club was slow on the start, but slow and steady wins the race.⁶⁹

Another Simcoe correspondent, 'G.W.H.', wrote:

Our live stock keep travelling to the city. Two and three cars per week and our shipments ran pretty near seventy thousand dollars since March 4th. It is up to every township to organize as unity means strength.⁷⁰

By 1919 there were at least 59 UFO clubs in Simcoe, each making regular co-operative shipments.⁷¹

The UFCC leadership often visited local clubs to spread the gospel of co-operation. J.J. Morrison and John Kennedy, Vice President of the Grain Growers Grain Company (GGGC), addressed a meeting of farmers' clubs in Simcoe in 1916. Under the existing system, Morrison contended, the farmer

⁶⁹ Sun, 18 June 1919, p. 10.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 10.

⁷¹ AO, RG 16, Series G-5-1, Ms. 597, Reel 56, "Simcoe North 1918-1919," p. 20. According to the agricultural representative, most of the business conducted by these clubs involved shipping produce, although clubs did purchase salt, sugar, molasses, etc. on a co-operative basis. Collingwood Saturday News, 29 March 1919, p. 1. Around that time the Uptergrove UFO made its first co-operative shipment of livestock to Toronto. Orillia Packet, 13 March 1919, p. 6. In addition, a number of farmers' clubs not formally affiliated with the UFO were shipping and purchasing co-operatively. See, for example, the account of the Ardtrea farmers' club in Ibid., 28 November 1918, p. 8.

had no input with respect to the price of his produce: "He took eggs to the local store, and the dealer counted the eggs and fixed the price." By co-operating "the consumer and producer would be brought together," middlemen would be eliminated, and the farmer would have some agency in determining the final price of his produce.⁷²

Kennedy and Morrison returned to Simcoe the following year, this time accompanied by E.C. Drury. After discussing the merits of co-operative marketing, Kennedy said he was not in favour of handling groceries co-operatively. He believed that only those articles that could be bought in car lots, such as machinery and sugar, should be purchased in such a manner because he did not want to interfere "with the merchant's trade in shelf goods."⁷³ The state's bias against consumer co-operatives was, it seems, also beginning to find a voice amongst the UFCC leadership.

In Lanark too there existed a considerable amount of co-operation before the UFO became a force in the County. The first egg circles, for example, were formed in 1914.⁷⁴ The Ramsay Farmers' Club reported good years in terms of co-

⁷² Orillia Times, 13 July 1916, p. 1.

⁷³ Ibid., 19 July 1917, p. 5; Orillia Packet, 12 July 1917, p. 6. For other examples of UFO leadership visiting local clubs, see Forest Standard, 22 June 1916, p. 2; Perth Courier, 13 July 1917, p. 8; Sun, 12 June 1918, p. 3.

⁷⁴ AO, RG 16, Series G-5-1, Ms. 597, Reel 30, "Lanark 1913-1914," pp. 8-9. These circles were formed by federal and provincial officials.

operative selling in 1914 and 1915,⁷⁵ and at times it devoted entire meetings to the subject of co-operative buying and selling.⁷⁶

The Club also brought in speakers, such as the manager of the nearby Lansdowne Co-operative Society. His Society was primarily a marketing concern, buying only seed and some supplies co-operatively, and much of his speech centred around the advantages of co-operative marketing. He did, however, give advice relevant to all co-operators: "The first thing in co-operation is organization. Organize thoroughly, so thoroughly you will be able to have something to say about prices you will pay and prices you will receive."⁷⁷

In 1915 the Club was visited by F.C. Elford, a poultry specialist from the Central Experimental Farm, who spoke on

⁷⁵ Almonte Gazette, 11 December 1914, p. 1, 17 December 1915, p. 1. The Club handled over \$3,000 worth of goods on a co-operative basis in 1914. On the Club's formation, see AO, RG 16, Series G-5-1, Ms. 597, Reel 30, "Lanark 1908-1910," p. 1.

⁷⁶ See, for example, Almonte Gazette, 26 January 1917, p. 4. At that meeting, nearly the entire evening was spent vigorously discussing the merits of the various types of seed corn submitted to the Club by local merchants. It might also be mentioned that some local businesses struck deals with the Club. The Wylie Milling Company of Perth, for example, evidently sold members supplies of feed and flour in car lots and in broken cars at special prices. Ibid., 12 January 1917, p. 4.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 11 February 1916, p. 8. The manager was identified only as "Mr. Webster."

the need for more effective egg marketing,⁷⁸ and in late 1917 the Club met to discuss the possibility of purchasing feed in car lots and of employing a manager to handle shipping and distribution. The local agricultural representative, Fred Forsyth, attended the meeting and took part in the discussion. Many of the farmers argued that money could be saved by eliminating middlemen and by dealing directly with wholesalers. A contrary opinion was expressed, probably by Forsyth, to the effect that employing a manager merely set up another middleman. In addition, the Club had to think of other expenses that would be incurred, such as interest, insurance, and storage of unclaimed goods. In the end, the members decided to study the matter further.⁷⁹

It appears that those advocating increased co-operation eventually won out, and in February 1919 the Club decided to incorporate. At the same time, the question of affiliation with the UFO was raised, and Club members agreed to proceed. According to a newspaper account,

It might not be possible to buy any cheaper than at present, but it would give the Club a standing

⁷⁸ Ibid., 26 March 1915, p. 4.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 14 December 1917, p. 1. It might be noted that, as was the case in Simcoe, the representative also felt it necessary to castigate the farmers for not keeping proper accounts. Forsyth, in a sense, was blaming farmers for any losses they may have incurred. It seems likely that he provided at least some of the arguments against co-operative buying, especially in light of the fact that he seldom made reference to consumer co-operatives in his annual reports, and those comments that were made strongly suggest that he was, at best, luke-warm to the concept.

that it did not now possess. It was a step in the direction of unifying the farmers and bringing them more closely together. In the past they had been a football between the political parties, and instead of acting in unity very often one farmer nullified the action of another.⁸⁰

Affiliation with the UFO, then, represented more than increased returns. Political issues were at stake and, from an idealistic perspective, a closer connection to the UFO would serve to unite members in a common cause.

The formal act of affiliation came at a meeting the following month, and on that occasion A.A. Powers, head of the Farmers' Publishing Company, visited the Club and spoke to those assembled. Powers referred to past attempts at organization, such as the Grange and the Patrons of Industry, and argued that they failed because, unlike the UFO, they had "no centre or head." Continuing, Powers asserted that farmers should "demand from Capital recognition as helpers in wealth production...Why is price fixing applied to the farmers' products any more than to manufacturers' profits? Because manufacturers are organized and influence governments, and farmers are not."⁸¹

In early 1917 a meeting of the Perth UFO was addressed not only by provincial president R.H. Halbert, but also by a Mr. Marcellus of the Live Stock Branch of the federal Department of Agriculture. Marcellus spoke first, and

⁸⁰ Ibid., 28 February 1919, p. 4.

⁸¹ Ibid., 21 March 1919, p. 4.

extolled the virtues of co-operative marketing. In particular, he urged the formation of egg circles. These circles, in his view, enabled farmers to establish different grades of eggs, and allowed for a steady flow of product to market. Moreover, Marcellus informed his audience:

In forming an egg circle you manage it entirely yourself; we take no financial responsibility. Mr. Forsyth, your district representative, or myself, will be willing to lend all help possible. We recommend it highly as a benefit to you.

George Noonan, president of the Perth UFO, informed Marcellus that an egg circle had been considered for some time, and that his advice would likely be acted upon. Marcellus then proceeded to provide the Club with a set of by-laws that were "in use wherever egg circles had been formed." It is not known whether the members adhered to these by-laws or whether they instead took Marcellus at his word and organized the circle to their own liking.

Halbert spoke next. He emphasized that farmers had to keep production levels high, but that they should also use care in keeping track of where their products went, "watching that the iron grip of organized capital can be effectively dealt with." The solution, naturally, was co-operation. After pointing out the benefits of such a course, Halbert "cautioned the local branch to beware of smooth efforts of other lines of organized trade to try and take business away from the U.F.O. by offering supposed inducements."

One of the final speakers, Reverend A.H. Scott, asked Halbert why the UFO opposed the Co-operative Bill that was being debated in the Ontario Legislature. Halbert's response is worth quoting at length:

Mr. Halbert said the bill affected their organization on account of the government wanting each club...to form a county organization. This was not necessary. The U.F.O. was opposed to creating such a middle organization as the government proposed...The Bill also provides that the business of the local branches of the co-operative company shall be carried on under the supervision of government officials. This was quite unnecessary, as the local branches were quite capable of managing their own affairs without outside help.⁸²

Evidently, the UFCC and its increasingly top-down approach was not to be considered outside help.

The rest of Lanark was also growing in terms of co-operative strength. By April 1919 the recently-organized Carleton Place Club had roughly 200 members, the Perth Club was strong, and the Smiths Falls Club was being re-organized to include the nearby Elmsley Club.⁸³ According to Dan Hogan, county director, all of Lanark would be organized by mid-summer, and by June, clubs were established in Lavant, Darling, Dalhousie and Lanark townships. At a local meeting

⁸² Perth Courier, 20 April 1917, p. 1 (emphasis added).

⁸³ AO, RG 16, Series G-5-1, MS 97, Reel 30, "Lanark 1918-19", pp.16-8; Sun, 11 June 1919, p. 10. The Balderson UFO club attained success even earlier than some of the clubs mentioned here. By early 1917 the club had over 100 members and had conducted over \$20,000 in business during the previous year. By late 1917 the membership had grown to over 120. Perth Courier, 20 April 1917, p. 4; 7 September 1917, p. 8.

in Smiths Falls in August 1919, "Prices were considered upon cars of coal, shorts, screenings, flour and feed, and it was decided, in view of the excellent quality of the last consignments...to order several more through the Co-operative Company."⁸⁴ Simply put, the co-operative spirit was alive in Lanark.

The growth and popularity of the co-operative side of the movement was perhaps best evidenced in June 1919 when R.W.E. Burnaby, president of the UFCC, visited Smiths Falls to address the Club on the possibility of establishing a co-operative store in that town. Club members agreed to proceed,⁸⁵ and the establishment of the store took shape during August. A building was secured, and a reported \$3,000 in capital, which was to be used to stock the store and to take care of other expenses, was deposited in a local bank.⁸⁶ Cecil Hitchcock, a former Smiths Falls merchant, was hired as manager.⁸⁷ By late October the store was open, and its first advertisement read that it was "a store at which anybody may buy anything we have and all may buy at

⁸⁴ Smiths Falls Rideau Record, 26 August 1919, p. 4. See also Sun, 2 April 1919, p. 10; 11 June 1919, p. 10.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 11 June 1919, p. 10.

⁸⁶ Smiths Falls Rideau Record, 26 August 1919, p. 4.

⁸⁷ Hitchcock was hired by the UFCC, although it is likely that he was nominated by the local club, as was common practice. See Skey, p. 31.

the same price."⁸⁸

As with other similar UFO enterprises, little remains in terms of documentation regarding the Smiths Falls store's financial fortunes. However, while speaking to the Smiths Falls UFO in late 1920, A.A. Powers briefly described its fiscal condition. By that time the store had \$1,362.50 in local capital stock. Aggregate sales for the first year came to \$71,366.72, and gross profits (not including local expenses) were \$8,563.92. As of 31 October 1920 the store had goods valued at \$12,076.47 on hand (selling price). Local expenses for the year amounted to \$7,743.26 and, as a result, the net profit was roughly \$800. Powers reported that all seemed well, but he made frequent references to the lack of subscriptions to local stock, and to illustrate his point he noted that the nearby Kemptville store had over \$10,000 in local capital stock. Powers' concern was that the central UFO had to use its own capital to make up the difference between the value of goods in the stores and the amount subscribed to locally.⁸⁹ It is unlikely that any

⁸⁸ Smiths Falls Record-News, 14 October 1919, p. 4.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 17 February 1921, p. 4. From what was revealed in Powers' report, the \$3,000 initially stated as being in the bank may have been an exaggeration, although some of those funds may have been expended by the time Powers audited the store. The difficulty that the UFCC had managing branch stores from Toronto did not mean that efforts to do so were not made. In 1921 the UFCC passed a motion to instruct store managers that they were "not to make any purchases without the approval of the Manager of the Branch Store Department, with the exception of fruit...fish, meat, produce, and oil or gasoline." University of Guelph, Leonard Harman/UCO

farmer who heard Powers that day missed his point: more local capital was required.

Despite promising beginnings, UFO stores began closing throughout the province in 1922. Speaking at the UFCC convention in December of that year, Burnaby blamed the members for not patronizing them, and noted that farmers "still had a good deal to learn about co-operation, and that there had been too many of the Judas Stripe even in official positions."⁹⁰ Burnaby then provided three more reasons to account for the failure of the stores: the UFCC's inability to extend credit to consumers, whereas the competition could; the loss of buying power among farmers owing to post-war conditions; and the difficulty of managing stores at such great distances from headquarters.⁹¹

Collection, XA1 MS. A126009, File 2, "Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Directors of the United Farmers Co-operative Co. Ltd." ("Minutes"), 22 February 1921. By this time all pricing was done at head office. Wylie, p. 221. As Skey observes, local members were consulted in management matters from time to time, "but the ultimate control rested with the Central." (p. 31) To be fair, some of the UFCC leadership favoured centralized operations because, if any local store experienced a loss, then it would not be borne by local members but instead would be distributed among all stores. In other words, successful stores would carry unsuccessful ones.

⁹⁰ Barrie Northern Advance, 14 December 1922, p. 10. Burnaby was being paraphrased. The final two stores officially closed in November 1923, although some (such as the one in Forest) remained in business, but with no formal affiliation with the UFCC. Almonte Gazette, 23 November 1923, p. 7; Wylie, p. 194.

⁹¹ Many reasons were advanced to explain the failure of the stores. For example, it was argued that the prices charged by the stores offered no incentive for customers to patronize them. When first established, the stores undercut local

Local Co-operation After the 1919 Provincial Election

After the 1919 provincial election, all signs pointed to a continued, if not increased, support for local co-operatives. This was certainly the case in Lanark County.⁹² Sales at the Smiths Falls and the Perth stores continued to be good (see Table 2),⁹³ and even the relatively modest Glen Tay Club conducted \$10,000 in business in 1920.⁹⁴ And in early 1920 the United Dairymen's Co-operative Company (a department of the UFCC) set up a branch in Middleville.

merchants. However, this led to merchants undercutting UFO store prices, or to ill-will on the part of merchants and manufacturers. So strong were these pressures that it was not long before the UFCC began charging the general retail price for groceries. See Wilfrid Whyte McCutcheon, "Economic Organization and the Development of the United Farmers' Co-operative Company, Limited," MSA Thesis, University of Toronto, 1948, p. 62; Skey, p. 61. Farmers were then to be paid "patronage dividends" at year's end. Some farmers, reluctant to wait a year before receiving a share of the profits (if there were any profits), shopped at other local stores. Wylie, p. 223. R.J. Scott, president of the UFCC in 1938, admitted that "Perhaps the most serious mistake was that the stores were owned and managed from the central instead of having each owned and controlled as an independent enterprise by the members who patronized it." Scott, "Co-operative Purchasing in Ontario," in Agricultural Co-operation in Canada, p. 379.

⁹² In attendance at the founding meeting of the Lanark Village UFO Club was F.H. Buker of the federal Live Stock Branch of the Department of Agriculture, who announced that an egg candling station would be established soon in Perth. The station was to have a collateral security of \$5,000 backed by over 100 members. Lanark Era, 26 November 1919, p. 1.

⁹³ The Perth store was established in September 1920. University of Guelph Library, Leonard Harman/UCO Collection, XA1, MS A126037.

⁹⁴ Perth Courier, 24 December 1920, p. 3.

Table 2
Sales for the Smiths Falls and
Perth UFO Stores to October 1920

Smiths Falls

November	1919	\$ 3,858.61
December	"	4,501.78
January	1920	5,266.04
February	"	4,779.50
March	"	8,255.32
April	"	9,514.93
May	"	10,292.06
June	"	7,072.02
July	"	6,498.43
August	"	5,853.88
September	"	7,337.57
October	"	<u>3,828.39</u>
		\$67,609.02

Perth

July	1920	\$ 2,199.87
August	"	2,765.61
September	"	4,294.32
October	"	<u>3,860.64</u>
		\$13,120.44

Source: University of Guelph Library, Leonard Harman/UCO Collection, XA1 MS A126037.

The Carleton Place Club had a membership of 155 by late 1920,⁹⁵ and averaged over 70 members per meeting in 1921 and 1922.⁹⁶ And business was booming for the Smiths Falls Club. At its annual picnic in 1920, president John Willoughby boasted that "One year ago this month the club brought in the first carload of feed, and today could show a

⁹⁵ Carleton Place Herald, 17 November 1920, p. 1.

⁹⁶ AO, RG 16, Series G-5-1, MS 597, "Lanark 1921-22," p. 16.

record of over \$130,000 worth of business going through the Bank of Commerce, without saying anything of livestock. The club had also bought a large flour mill and had an up-to-date store." Willoughby also made an important connection in his speech that often went unmentioned by government, and even UFCC, officials:

There had been a feeling of danger in some districts that when we had co-operative stores and livestock shipping that it would be considered all which was necessary and there was no need to keep up the clubs. But that was getting away from the ideals and principles of the U.F.O. altogether. We must keep up the clubs in order to progress along the ideals and principles of the organization.⁹⁷

Profits were fine, but members had to ensure that they did not lose sight of the larger picture. Not content to rest on past successes, the Club planned for an even better year in 1921. Early that year each member was asked to pay \$5 to purchase and install scales near the town's stockyards.⁹⁸

Perhaps one of the most dramatic co-operative episodes in Lanark occurred in March 1920, when UFO members around

⁹⁷ Smiths Falls Record-News, 24 August 1920, p. 5. Later that year Willoughby castigated some farmers for taking the bait offered by drovers and forsaking the UFO stock shippers. "There are some farmers who would sell their birthright for ten cents; they don't see any farther than their noses." Ibid., 3 November 1920, p. 2.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 11 January 1921, p. 1. It seems that the club took almost every activity very seriously. A special meeting was held in March 1921 to discuss -- heatedly as it turned out -- the co-operative purchase of seed corn. The debate was over which seed to buy. Ibid., 15 March 1921, p. 5.

Smiths Falls purchased the Woods Mill in that town⁹⁹ (and renamed it the Rideau Milling Company), apparently without consulting the central office. Although the exact price was not known, it was rumoured to be in the neighbourhood of \$30,000. Later, it was revealed that the Company was capitalized at \$40,000, which had been raised locally through the sale of \$25 shares.¹⁰⁰

Not long after the provincial election the executive of the UFCC formally decided to lease the mill from the local farmers "at a rate of 8% clear upon their investment." The UFCC wished to set up a milling department, and the Smiths Falls mill, if properly managed, had considerable potential. A UFCC representative, T.P. Loblaw, was sent to Smiths Falls, and was informed by the local executive that the UFCC could lease the mill for \$3,500 per year plus taxes. Loblaw's account of what transpired bears the hallmarks of a less than honourable deal: "Knowing that the Board of Directors were under the impression that the offer was \$3,500.00, I agreed with them at 8% clear on purchase price. This would be less than \$3,500.00 per year."¹⁰¹ The UFCC,

⁹⁹ The mill had a capacity of 200 barrels per day. Ibid., 13 May, 1920, p. 1. On the purchase of the mill, see Ibid., 25 March 1920, p. 1; Carleton Place Herald, 31 March 1920, p. 1.

¹⁰⁰ It appears that no farmer invested more than \$1,000. Smiths Falls Record-News, 13 May 1920, p. 1.

¹⁰¹ Leonard Harman/UCO Collection, XA1, MS A126037, Minutes of the United Farmers' Co-operative Company (henceforth "Minutes") 29 March, 1920; 31 May 1920; and 5 July 1920.

not the local club, appointed T. H. Squire of Madoc miller at a salary of \$40 per week, and he was instructed to "look after all the details" and make improvements on behalf of the central office.¹⁰²

The problem of having a miller unfamiliar with the community he served soon came to the fore. Shortly after the mill began operating, a farmer at a local UFO meeting accused the GGGC of depriving the mill of grain, a charge that Squire denied, saying that if area farmers would grow enough wheat then the mill would run full time. Another farmer observed that Lanark was not a good area in which to grow wheat, to which Squire replied that, if the land was worked the way the farmers' fathers had worked it, then wheat could be grown in abundance. Yet another farmer claimed that the climate had changed since their fathers worked the land, a contention that was dismissed by Squire, who observed "that the same Being was always in control of the weather."¹⁰³

By late 1920 it was discovered that the mill was in disastrous financial shape. The UFCC commissioned auditor A.F. Low to attempt to find out what had happened, and the

¹⁰² Ibid., 5 July 1920; and 10 July 1920.

¹⁰³ Smiths Falls Record-News, 15 June 1920, p. 4. Evidently, Squire did not take soil depletion into account. In any event, as seen in Chapter 2, Lanark was ill-suited for wheat-growing. Later, C.E. Merkley, a UFCC director for Eastern Ontario, also criticized local farmers for not sending more wheat to the mill. Ibid., 1 February 1923, p. 4.

report he produced, entitled "The Smiths Falls' Haystack," placed the blame squarely on Squire's shoulders:

The cash book and sales book which I instructed your Manager to start, last visit, were discontinued as soon as my back was turned...Now, one of the many baseless notions, which Mr. Squire entertains, is that he is absolute at Smiths Falls, subject only to his own personal inclination -- a kind of modern despot as far as I can make out.¹⁰⁴

According to Low it would take countless hours to sift through Squire's scraps of paper to determine the real state of affairs, and that the final results would be distressing.

Low's prediction proved accurate, and by February 1921 the situation had become so hopeless that the possibility of converting the mill into a cold storage plant was considered.¹⁰⁵ The Record-News thought that it might be a wise move, especially since the federal government, recognizing the value of municipal cold-storage plants, had announced that it would contribute up to 30% of the establishment costs, "provided it is allowed to control rates, which shows that at Ottawa these institutions are regarded as a public loan, when operated with due regard for the public advantage."¹⁰⁶ The plans to convert the mill were not realized, and in November 1922 the UFCC directors

¹⁰⁴ NA, MG 27 III C1 (W.C. Good Papers), Volume 14, pp. 10427-10431.

¹⁰⁵ "Minutes," 22 February 1921.

¹⁰⁶ Smiths Falls Record-News, 3 March 1921, p. 3.

decided to dispose of it.¹⁰⁷ In February 1923 the directors agreed to instruct the manager of the Grain and Feed Department "to take steps to have a U.F.O. brand of Feed and Flour put on the market and that he have authority to negotiate with any reliable milling company" to attain this end.¹⁰⁸ The mill ceased operating on 1 June 1923, leaving Smiths Falls UFO members smarting from the failure of their venture.¹⁰⁹

It should be stressed that the purchase of the flour mill in Smiths Falls was not an anomaly. In other districts several UFO clubs acted, or attempted to act, in a similar fashion. In August 1920 the various farmers' clubs in West Rama Township¹¹⁰ secured a 30-day option on the Brechin Flour Mill. The clubs endeavoured to raise the necessary capital by selling stock at \$100 per share.¹¹¹ It appears

¹⁰⁷ "Minutes," 22 November 1922. The Smiths Falls milling operations lost \$4,877.49 in 1922. Smiths Falls Record-News, 7 December 1922, p. 3.

¹⁰⁸ "Minutes," 1 February 1923 (emphasis added). The UFCC was able to extricate itself from the five-year "lease" after only three years because no formal agreement was ever signed. The UFCC took possession of the mill and acted according to the terms of a draft lease, which was never officially consummated. Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ "Minutes," 1 March 1923. The mill was sold to the Smiths Falls Water Commission for a reported \$35,000 for its hydro-electric power potential. Smiths Falls Record-News, 22 February 1923, p. 1; Perth Courier, 11 May 1923, p. 1.

¹¹⁰ Although, at that time, West Rama was part of Ontario County, it is now part of Simcoe County.

¹¹¹ Orillia Packet, 26 August 1920, p. 5.

that insufficient capital was raised to purchase the mill; but in October of that year the clubs purchased the Harris Brothers Flour Mill in Brechin.¹¹² In Lambton, the Thedford branch of the UFO purchased a church in Bosanquet Township for \$500 in 1920 and converted it into a storage building.¹¹³ In addition, UFO members from the Inwood area purchased the elevators at Inwood, capitalized at \$20,000, raising the required funds by selling \$25 shares.¹¹⁴

Meanwhile, other co-operative ventures, such as live stock shipping and co-operative purchasing, were flourishing in Lanark. In 1920 the Almonte Club shipped 40 cars of livestock; the Carleton Place Club shipped over \$44,000 worth of stock, and made \$13,851 in co-operative purchases of feed, salt and twine; and the Smiths Falls Club shipped over \$60,000 worth of stock.¹¹⁵

¹¹² Ibid., 14 October 1920, p. 2. Even before the Smiths Falls purchase the UFO club in Port Perry established a company capitalized at \$60,000 in order to operate the Carnegie flour, saw and planing mills. Sun, 3 October 1917, p. 4. In addition, the Farmers' Clubs of Howard Township (Kent County) bought the evaporator and flour mill at Ridgetown in 1919. Forest Standard, 12 June 1919, p. 1. And in 1920 the Brant Farmers' Co-operative Society purchased the local Dominion Flour Mills building. See Wylie, p. 245. Later, the prospect of purchasing controlling interest in the Chelsey Woollen Mills for some \$40,000 was discussed and apparently acted upon by UFO members in that area. Barrie Northern Advance, 1 September 1921, p. 7.

¹¹³ Forest Standard, 8 January 1920, p. 1.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 13 January 1921, p. 1.

¹¹⁵ Almonte Gazette, 13 November 1920, p. 1. See also Smiths Falls Record-News, 15 June 1920, p. 4.

Later on in Lanark the UFO -- and through it, co-operation -- continued to be a going concern. In 1926 the Perth Club reported co-operative purchases of flour, feed (one car each) and twine, while it also made co-operative shipments of livestock and eggs; the Smiths Falls Club shipped livestock and purchased coal co-operatively; the Carleton Place Club shipped \$65,000 worth of stock and purchased \$14,939 worth of supplies; and the Almonte Club shipped \$40,000 worth of stock.¹¹⁶

Local Co-operatives, the UFCC and the State

During the years in which UFO-affiliated co-operatives were thriving in Lanark, the state was active as well.¹¹⁷ In 1920 a representative of the federal government (a Mr. Buker) approached the UFO club in Smiths Falls with the intention of adding it to the county-wide network of egg circles, tied together by a central organization. According to the local press, after Buker explained to Smiths Falls farmers the advantages that would accrue to them through the

¹¹⁶ In 1927 the Carleton Place Club had 141 members, and had purchased \$24,377 worth of supplies and shipped over \$49,000 worth of livestock. The Almonte club shipped \$48,165 worth of stock and purchased over \$3,000 worth of supplies. Club members were still attending the UFO-run month-long classes on co-operative marketing in Toronto as late as 1928. Almonte Gazette, 4 November 1927, p. 3; 24 October 1928, p. 1.

¹¹⁷ Dairying and poultry were the primary objects of state support, although efforts were also made in areas such as live stock breeding and wool production. Smiths Falls Record-News, 1 February 1923, p.1; Almonte Gazette, 10 August 1923, p. 4; 31 October 1924, p. 1; Perth Courier, 21 April 1922, p. 3; annual reports of the agricultural representative for the period 1922-35.

formation of such a system, he then revealed the government's motivation:

Where the Government was interested in the matter was in the raising of the standard of Canadian eggs. These were even now a prime favourite upon the British market and the co-operative movement was another step in the direction of making the Canadian product more popular and reliable with the result that they would bring a higher price than the eggs of other countries where no attempt was made to grade them, according to quality.¹¹⁸

The company which emerged from this endeavour, the Lanark Co-operative, Limited, had 1,800 contributors and 112 members by 1920, each of whom gave a promissory note for \$50.¹¹⁹ By July of that year it was doing roughly \$4,000 worth of business per week. According to the Ottawa Farm Journal, the organization was the only one of its kind in Canada "to grade and sell all its eggs by standard and subject to Government inspection." The co-operative was so large and financially strong that it was noted that "many farmers who are not members are deriving benefit from the organization because the co-operative practically sets the store price in Perth."¹²⁰ All in all it was an impressive

¹¹⁸ Smiths Falls Record-News, 18 March 1920, p. 2.

¹¹⁹ The Company was formed in November 1919. At the inaugural meeting in Perth, the district agricultural representative "was in charge of the details...and had carefully arranged for everything." Carleton Place Herald, 3 November 1919, p. 1. See also Almonte Gazette, 7 November 1919, p. 1; AO, RG 16, Series G-5-1, MS 597, Reel 30, "Lanark 1918-19," p. 1.

¹²⁰ Reprinted in the Perth Courier, 2 July 1920, p. 3.

organization, but a surprisingly short-lived one.¹²¹ The UFCC attempted a similar scheme in 1924, with somewhat similar results.¹²² In the end, it seemed that the most successful circles were the ones that were purely local concerns.¹²³

Regarding dairying, in 1922 Lanark farmers were informed of the intention to form the Ontario Co-operative Dairy Products Company Limited, the aim of which was to market the dairy products of the province. One of the organizers, Professor Colquette of the OAC, was on hand to explain the workings of the new firm, which had as its initial goal the securing of 50% of the province's dairy market. Factories from all over Ontario were to sign binding contracts for a three-year period, and would then be

¹²¹ The Company was one of the largest of its kind in the country, but it went into liquidation in 1922. The local agricultural representative, who carefully monitored the progress of the Company, blamed the failure on poor management. See AO, RG 16, Series G-5-1, MS 597, Reel 30, "Lanark," for the years 1919-20 (p. 21), 1920-21 (p. 12), and 1921-22 (p. 16). In the 1921-22 report, the representative wrote cryptically that "while it is a hard blow on the local Representative, it is encouraging to know that he is not held responsible for the failure...by the shareholders."

¹²² See Almonte Gazette, 14 March 1924, p. 1; Carleton Place Herald, 27 May 1925, p. 4. A similar venture was attempted in Simcoe. See AO, RG 16, Series G-5-1, MS 597, Reel 56, "Simcoe North," 1923-24, p. 12; Barrie Northern Advance, 14 February 1923, p. 1; Orillia Packet, 21 February 1924, pp. 5 & 8.

¹²³ AO, RG 16, Series G-5-1, MS 597, Reel 31, "Lanark," for the years 1923-24 (p. 11), 1924-25 (p. 12), 1925-26 (p. 12), and 1927-28 (p. 15), for descriptions of the Middleville, Balderson and Harper egg circles, all of which prospered during the late 1920s and well into the 1930s.

represented on the central board. According to press accounts, it was planned "to market the product in a manner that will eliminate gluts on the market and with the aid of cold storage warehouses spread the marketing season over the full year." A few farmers expressed scepticism, but ex-UFO MPP Hiram McCreary warned them that the industry was "facing a total collapse unless something was done," and that the company seemed to be the best way to remedy the situation. By January 1923 the company seemed to be ready to conduct business, although only on a modest scale and with limited success.¹²⁴ Later, both the Ontario and federal governments assisted Lanark in the construction of a cold storage facility in Perth.¹²⁵

In Lambton, co-operation proved quite popular among UFO members. Members of the Wanstead branch, formed in 1921,

¹²⁴ Perth Courier, 29 September 1922, p. 7; Almonte Gazette, 19 January 1923, p. 8. The failure to attain its goals may have been due, in part, to the creation of the Ontario Milk and Cream Producers in 1923, another province-wide organization, "fostered by the provincial Ministry of Agriculture." Ibid., 30 March 1923, p. 7. The Drury Government was also active in dairying by that time, having passed the Dairy Standards Act. It seems that the motivation for passing this Act was the potential export markets that would result from having standardized dairy products. Smiths Falls Record-News, 30 June 1921, p. 1.

¹²⁵ Almonte Gazette, 27 February 1931, p. 7. The federal government granted 30% of the costs, while the provincial government donated at least 35% of the funds. The full story of the dairy industry in Lanark is much more complicated than is presented here. Several firms often tried to sway farmers to patronize their creameries and cheese factories over others. See, for example, Perth Courier, 25 June 1926, p. 4; Almonte Gazette, 3 September 1926, p. 1; 11 March 1927, p. 8; 25 September 1927, p. 1.

realized by 1922 that their club was too small to ship every two weeks without getting assistance from non-members. As a result, the club devised a scheme, based on one proposed by Aaron Sapiro, to have farmers sign contracts to deliver hogs at certain times, thus ensuring full cars and lower rates. There was another reason for implementing such a scheme: by using a contract system it would prevent some farmers from using the club "as a lever to get a higher price from the drover."¹²⁶

In mid-1922 R.J. McMillan, a director of the UFCC, spoke at a Wanstead Club meeting, and asserted that area farmers were receiving \$2 to \$3 more per hundred for their hogs than they had previously. He also noted that twine was being purchased at about 4 cents less per pound because it was being bought co-operatively. McMillan then told his audience that

The farmer has always been an individualist, both in production and marketing. The system under which he marketed his products made him a competitor of every other farmer with the result that he played directly into the hands of an army of non-producers, the middleman, who in almost every instance made a larger profit than the

¹²⁶ Forest Standard, 20 January 1921, p. 1; 4 May 1922, p. 5. Quotation from Ibid., 18 May 1922, p. 1. On the formation of the club, see Sun, 12 January 1921, p. 7. The contract system was also used by celery growers in the Thedford district. Ibid., 8 June 1922, p. 1. On UFCC contracts, see Skey, pp. 85-6. Relations with private firms continued to be a problem. District agricultural representatives frequently gave the names of UFO club secretaries to private firms so that they could approach them with better deals. "Minutes," 22 February 1921.

producer.¹²⁷

Business improved for the Club, and it enjoyed steady growth. Not only was it making regular shipments to stockyards by 1924,¹²⁸ but it was also engaged in bulk purchases of supplies. In fact, business was so good for the Club that in that year it received letters patent and formed a joint stock company known as the Wanstead Farmers' Co-operative Company, Limited. Upon its incorporation, a correspondent wrote that "It now remains for the club to give attention to other lines of endeavour, educational and social, which were the primary objects in the formation of the United Farmers."¹²⁹

The Forest United Farmers' Co-operative Association also continued to do well. In 1920, it was reported that the turnover for the Association in 1918 had been \$60,000; in 1919, \$135,000; and in 1920, \$323,000.¹³⁰ Stock shipments were being made weekly, and, as stated above, a UFO grocery store was established in Forest in late 1920.¹³¹

¹²⁷ Forest Standard, 22 June 1922, p. 1.

¹²⁸ In 1923, the club had a turnover of \$80,000. Ibid., 18 January 1924, p. 6.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 22 May 1924, p. 6. The club continued to enjoy success long after the UFO ceased to exist. Ibid., 5 June 1924, p. 1; 22 January 1925, p. 4; 29 January 1931, p. 8; Helen E. Amos, The Wanstead Co-op Story 1924-1974 (n.l., n.d).

¹³⁰ Forest Standard, 24 June 1920, p. 1.

¹³¹ Ibid., 1 July 1920, p. 2; 11 November 1920, p. 3. It also appears that a store was established in Thedford, which sold feeds, flour, gasoline, motor oils and other supplies.

By 1924 a UFO egg circle had been established, and members in Lambton had the option of either having their eggs sent to Toronto to be pooled or having them sold locally at current market prices. The arrangement appears to have been the result of local initiative, as it was not found elsewhere.¹³² As late as 1926 the circle was expanding in terms of the amount of business it conducted.¹³³

In 1927 the Forest United Farmers' Co-operative Association was approached by the UFCC with the intention of setting up a wheat pool. Colin Burnell, President of the Manitoba Wheat Pool, addressed a meeting of the Association, and explained the contract system and how it worked in Manitoba. Under the terms of the contract, farmers had to commit themselves to selling exclusively to the UFCC for a period of five years. Contracts were distributed to members, and they were asked to look them over and vote on the advisability of forming a pool.¹³⁴ A number of farmers did

Ibid., 9 December 1920, p. 6; 6 January 1921, p. 2.

¹³² Ibid., 1 May 1924, p. 3.

¹³³ Ibid., 18 February 1926, p. 3. The UFCC Egg and Poultry Department was reorganized in 1924, largely because many of its members complained that the only difference from past practice was that the net earnings accrued to the UFCC instead of to private buyers. After 1924, patronage dividends were paid to members, as opposed to offering better prices, which had been the practice prior to the reorganization. Perkins, p. 50.

¹³⁴ Forest Standard, 10 February 1927, p. 1.

sign contracts.¹³⁵ Aside from activity related specifically to wheat, 1927 was also a reasonably good year in general for the co-operative; it shipped 1,260 hogs, 260 sheep, 77 calves, and 70 cattle. The net proceeds for the year amounted to \$32,343.71.¹³⁶

As with Lanark, the state was quite active in Lambton during the 1920s. It put a great deal of emphasis on celery and other cash crops, in addition to efforts aimed at increasing livestock and dairy production. Celery was seen as a particularly valuable crop in Lambton, which was regarded as having some of the best celery-growing soil in Canada. Because celery required a special system of refrigeration, it was felt that the lack of proper facilities prevented Lambton farmers from attaining full production. Consequently, in conjunction with the federal and provincial governments, the Lambton Growers' Cold Storage Company was formed in 1933. The total cost in erecting the cold storage plant amounted to \$15,717.12 and, although common stock was sold and a bank loan was secured, it appears that the plant would not have been built had the Company not received a \$4,500 loan from the provincial

¹³⁵ By late July 1927 8,000 farmers in the province had done so, representing some 100,000 acres of wheat. By 1928 the number had increased to 9,600. Ibid., 28 July 1927; 5 April 1928, p. 8. In 1928, a livestock pool was formed along similar lines, but owing to difficulties at the UFCC, it was discontinued after 1929. Skey, p. 88; Forest Standard, 5 January 1928, p. 1.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 1 March 1928, p. 1.

government.¹³⁷

There is evidence of renewed confidence and activity following the 1919 election in Simcoe County as well. The Sunnidale Club, with 105 members, joined forces with the Nottawasaga Club to ship co-operatively out of a jointly-owned stockyard at Stayner. Up to three cars per week were leaving for Toronto by 1920.¹³⁸ That same year a UFO store opened in Barrie.¹³⁹ In 1921 Phelpston held its first annual meeting of the UFO Shipping Association, which was headquartered near Barrie. Later that year the Club purchased weigh scales for Phelpston, and announced its intention to erect a covering for them.¹⁴⁰

Despite the support of many Ontario farmers, the UFCC began to experience serious losses during the early 1920s from which it was never able to recover. In order to renew interest in the Company, a number of schemes were undertaken. For instance, in early 1923 Company

¹³⁷ AO, RG 16, Series 16.09, Box A46, File "Lambton Growers' Cold Storage Ltd." On the importance of celery growing in Lambton, see Forest Standard, 19 March 1931, p. 2; 26 March 1931, p. 2; 31 May 1931, p. 1; 14 July 1932, p. 1.

¹³⁸ Sun, 21 August 1920, p. 4.

¹³⁹ "Minutes," 10 July 1920.

¹⁴⁰ Barrie Northern Advance, 24 February 1921, p. 4. Even something as innocuous as this managed to draw scathing comments from the urban press: "it is the wish of your scribe that they through usage come to realize the accuracy of said scales, and to find out the chronic kickers who always felt that the scales should weigh their livestock according to their imagination." Ibid., 28 April 1921, p. 4.

representatives travelled the province to encourage farmers to form UFO egg circles, and two representatives, E.C. Drury and C.E. Merkely, visited Simcoe. They explained that under the scheme the Company graded members' eggs and then marketed them as demand warranted. Expenses such as buying crates and shipping charges were to be borne by the individual circles, and a fee of 1 cent per dozen was charged by the Company to market the eggs. According to Drury, in effect "Instead of selling to the wholesaler, who in turn makes a profit, the farmers became the wholesalers themselves." Merkely had an even stronger message for those in attendance:

It is pretty hard to come back with any co-operative ideas to the farmers after the losses they have sustained...The losses...may have been due to bad business ventures. You must not sit back, for you are partly to blame in putting these men there.¹⁴¹

Despite being berated by a leadership increasingly focused on profit-making as opposed to the observance of egalitarian principles, almost everyone in the hall agreed to join the circle.

Even with UFCC manipulation, the co-operative spirit remained very much alive among Simcoe farmers. In 1924 the Stayner Club bought out a drover's business and stockyard and began shipping soon after. A year later it was reported that 107 cars of livestock had been shipped that year, at a

¹⁴¹ Barrie Northern Advance, 14 February 1923, p. 1.

value of \$153,000. Some 29,538 bushels of wheat, 3,451 bushels of barley and 14,000 bushels of oats had also been shipped; and 1 car of salt, 6 tons of twine, and seed corn had been purchased co-operatively.¹⁴² In 1927 the Nottawasaga Club could boast of shipping \$103,957 of produce, of which \$96,882 was distributed among the farmers who shipped with the club.¹⁴³ And the Rugby Club was still marketing produce well into the late 1920s.¹⁴⁴ Moreover, in 1929 farmers in the Barrie area formed the First Co-operative Packers of Ontario Limited, a co-operative independent of the UFO and run on the Rochdale principles.¹⁴⁵

In Simcoe the state was active as well, especially in the areas of wool, fruit and livestock. The impact of its

¹⁴² Collingwood Bulletin, 22 January 1925, p. 8; 16 April 1925, p. 8. In 1926 the club incorporated as the Stayner Farmers' Co-operative Company (which also included the Sunnidale Corners Farmers' Club). An elevator was constructed in 1926 and that year shipping revenue amounted to \$227,686. Ibid., 21 January 1926, p. 8. In 1927 the value of the shipments was placed at \$259,765. Ibid., 27 January 1927, p. 4. See also, Simcoe County Federation of Agriculture, Report on Co-operative Activities in Simcoe County (Barrie: Ontario Department of Agriculture and Community Life Training Institute, 1944), pp. 14-5.

¹⁴³ Collingwood Bulletin, 15 March 1928, p. 2.

¹⁴⁴ Although it bears mentioning that by that time the club was attempting to attract members by stressing that membership was a paying proposition, especially "since it is the policy of the U.F.O. to advise their members to follow any political party they choose." Orillia Packet & Times, 6 February 1930, p. 13.

¹⁴⁵ Perkins, pp. 43-44.

efforts was positive in some cases and ambivalent in others. With the assistance of the provincial government, several initiatives were undertaken to encourage co-operative marketing.¹⁴⁶ Wool growers in Simcoe, as elsewhere, were supplied with twine and sacks free of charge if they shipped their wool to the Ontario Sheep Breeders' Association in Guelph.¹⁴⁷ With respect to livestock, the state -- through the Board of Agriculture -- attempted to work with local clubs, many of which were UFO clubs, to set up a county-wide shipping network based on clubs' entering into agreements with local shipping agents. A few individuals and clubs did sign contracts, but the 15 clauses in the agreements, which effectively bestowed power in the agents, probably made most farmers balk at such an arrangement.¹⁴⁸

UFO Co-operatives by the Mid-1920s

Despite all of the above-mentioned efforts of individual UFO clubs, after 1925 co-operation through the UFO entered into a period of decline.¹⁴⁹ Although the

¹⁴⁶ On the marketing of apples, see Orillia Packet, 12 August 1920, p. 5; 8 June 1922, p. 2. On livestock, see Ibid., 17 July 1924, p. 5.

¹⁴⁷ Collingwood Bulletin, 19 May 1921, p. 2. On the co-operative marketing of wool in Simcoe, see AO, RG 16, Series G-5-1, MS 597, Reel 56, "Simcoe North," for the years 1921-22 to 1926-27.

¹⁴⁸ For an account of the scheme and the rules, see Orillia Times, 20 July 1920, p. 3.

¹⁴⁹ Yet, it bears mentioning that co-operation remained popular. As late as 1932 there were over 135 co-operative associations in Ontario, with roughly 40,000 members, which

reasons accounting for this decline are numerous, it can be argued that one of the primary reasons was that the central UFO made many costly mistakes, both in financial terms and in its emphasis on certain aspects of co-operation, especially co-operative marketing.

The latter case is well illustrated in the correspondence course on co-operation offered by the UFO Educational Department for 1924-25. In the first lesson, students were informed that the purpose of co-operation was to "obtain for the farmer the advantage of large scale organization, so that by collective buying of farm supplies and the co-operative marketing of farm products, all unnecessary middlemen may be eliminated." Mention of the idealistic benefits of co-operation was relegated to a few short sentences in the section describing the Rochdale Pioneers.¹⁵⁰ The second lesson in co-operation pointed to the success of Danish farmers and their co-operatives, which were "in part supported by the state." The three subsequent lessons were all entitled "Co-operative Marketing." In these lessons, the virtues of commodity plan co-operative marketing, of pooling, of contracts, and of pleasing consumers were extolled. In summing up the future of the UFCC, students were informed that

represented over 15% of all farmers in the province. Skey p. 223.

¹⁵⁰ University of Guelph Library, Leonard Harman/UCO Collection, XA1 MS A126017, Lesson No. 4.

In line with the commodity marketing idea, the policy of the company is to develop the business as a big central organization divided into separate departments each handling a separate commodity or one or two closely allied commodities. Each department will stand on its own feet and the profits of each department will go to the patrons of that particular department in proportion to the volume of business they contribute to it.¹⁵¹

No talk about the values of co-operation to a community, the benefits of local control, or virtually anything that was being discussed a mere five years earlier. What was important now was that farmers maximize the return on their investment, and that they have control over the sale of their products.¹⁵² Such were the lessons that young UFO members were to learn.

There is other evidence pointing to the UFCC's concentration on profitability rather than the intangible features of co-operation. For instance, UFCC-sponsored speakers told rank and file members that they should behave more like the Canadian Manufacturers' Association and

¹⁵¹ Ibid., lessons 6,7,and 8. The quotation is from lesson 8 (emphasis added).

¹⁵² A good indication of the movement towards whole-hearted support for co-operative marketing can be found in "Report on Co-operative Marketing - 1925," written for the UFCC by Mrs. J.S. Amos. Leonard Harman/UCO Collection, YA1 MS A126008, File 5. See also Skey (p. 63) and the account of a UFO co-operative marketing campaign in Lanark (Almonte Gazette, 7 March 1924, p. 1). On earlier efforts, see Sun, 10 September 1921, p. 8; 4 July 1922, p. 3. For accounts of the travelling UFO co-operative marketing course, see Forest Standard, 30 January 1930, p. 2; 20 February 1930, p. 2.

attempt to control output and prices.¹⁵³ Others spoke on the need to manipulate consumers into buying items they did not need.¹⁵⁴ In addition, by the mid-1920s the UFCC supplied club secretaries with confidential price lists which effectively enabled club secretaries to pocket a percentage of the fees or costs of a transaction. This tactic resembled what the UFCC had initially fought against -- the bribing of local members to do business with other firms. This time, however, the bribery was effected internally within a farmers' enterprise.¹⁵⁵ By adopting these tactics the UFCC began to act like the purely capitalist firms it had originally condemned. Such behaviour could not help but have an effect on members.¹⁵⁶

Conclusion

The foregoing raises questions related to the influence of the state and of the central leadership of the UFCC on the co-operative efforts of local farmers. First, it is

¹⁵³ Ibid., 17 March 1922, p. 2; 22 June 1922, p. 1; Almonte Gazette, 14 March 1924, p. 1. For an organization that vilified the CMA, this was a rather bizarre comparison.

¹⁵⁴ Perth Courier, 17 March 1922, p. 6; Sun, 13 August 1921, p. 7.

¹⁵⁵ SCA, acc. 977-10 E18 B1 R3B S1 Sh1 (United Farmers of Ontario and U.F. Co-op), A.J. Saunders to UFO club secretaries, 15 January 1927, 23 March 1927; Skey, p. 53.

¹⁵⁶ Kerry Badgley, "Change in the United Farmers' Co-operative Company and its Effect on the Ontario Co-operative Movement 1914-30," paper delivered to the annual meeting of the Canadian Association for the Study of Co-operatives," Montreal, June 1995.

contended that the state, in serving the interests of capital, acted in ways that adversely affected these efforts. Yet, in objective terms, farmers are capitalists. They invest in land, seed, stock, and implements, and, at times, employ labour in the hope of obtaining a good return on their investment. If this is so, then why did the state not work on their behalf?

It is granted that the state did, in fact, appeal to and attempt to assist with the capitalist impulses of UFO members. The message that was constantly conveyed -- that co-operative marketing meant greater returns for farmers -- amply demonstrates the efforts on the part of both the federal and provincial governments to encourage farmers to think in terms of profit-making. But did UFO members consistently see themselves as capitalists? As noted in this chapter and elsewhere in this thesis, there was a strong contingent of idealists in the movement, individuals who saw co-operatives as more than money-making enterprises. There were financial gains to be made from co-operating, but even with respect to 'profits' the benefits farmers hoped to realize were not so much actual monetary rewards as they were fair returns for their labour. In short, the 'value' co-operation added was its elimination of the 'robbery' farmers endured from middlemen who did not work to grow produce, but still reaped the greater returns from its sale.

In this sense, despite being objective capitalists, UFO

members were subjective victims. They saw themselves as hapless slaves of the 'Big Interests', with no agency regarding how much they were to receive for their labour. The 'Big Interests' dictated what price farmers were to pay for implements and what price they were to receive for produce. In this context, rank and file UFO members believed that they were victims, and that they were not getting a 'square deal'. The purpose of co-operation, then, was to facilitate their breaking free from this bondage. When one adds the other idealistic notions many rank and file members held (such as participatory democracy, anti-militarism, and equality), then one obtains an idea of why co-operation, with its focus on mutuality and grassroots democracy, held such appeal for rank and file members.

This leads to the second question. If it is true that many UFO adherents were drawn to the less tangible benefits of co-operation, then why did the Drury Government not act to instill these values in co-operatives while it was in power? As noted in the previous chapters, there were moments when the aspirations of the movement's leadership did not always harmonize with rank and file members. In addition, as was also demonstrated, UFO MPPs tended to act moderately once elected. To some extent, this may have been due to their desire not to be seen as favouring one group over another (recognizing that they would need to appeal to more than farmers if they wished to be re-elected), but it is

equally plausible to suggest that, given their inexperience in governing, they chose to be uncontroversial or were mystified by the responsibilities of administering an entire province.

In addition, one must keep in mind that the state does not consist solely of elected officials. It also includes the bureaucracy, judiciary, and educational institutions. As seen from the foregoing, the bureaucracy (Department of Agriculture officials and faculty at the OAC) concentrated on marketing co-operatives prior to the 1919 election. As such, even if an elected UFO MPP wished to encourage the less tangible elements of co-operation, he may have encountered a state apparatus that made no provision for or even acted contrary to his intentions.

Writing about co-operatives on the Prairies, David Laycock argued that

Co-operative enterprise thus provided its participants with a sense of achievement and self-respect which is the sine qua non of transformative democratic action. Once the initial hurdles of social isolation and deference to the 'received order' had been cleared, prairie co-operators and their acquaintances could be recruited to a variety of political endeavours.¹⁵⁷

In light of what has been discussed in this chapter, the same could be said about farmers in Lambton, Simcoe and Lanark. There is little doubt that most UFO members were encouraged by their co-operative activity. The problem,

¹⁵⁷ Laycock, Populism and Democratic Thought, p. 34.

however, was that these members did not exist in isolation; a number of influences on the part of the state -- and even the UFCC -- undoubtedly tempered their response to the economic injustices that they perceived. In fact, perhaps after the UFO formed the government in 1919, farmers may have felt confident that all levels of government would act upon their wishes. This may explain, in part, why there was a tendency to opt for centralized co-operatives rather than small, local ones.

If a group of farmers wished to form a co-operative, a dizzying array of options immediately opened up for it. The group could seek state support, affiliate with the UFCC, or maintain local control. Each choice carried both potential benefits and potential pitfalls. If, for example, the group sought state assistance, the co-operative might, as a result of government backing, enjoy a strong, stable foundation upon which to build. Good returns on the group's investment might then accrue, with little liability. However, as a government-sponsored body an array of rules would have to be adhered to, no partisan politics would be allowed, and a considerable amount of autonomy would have to be sacrificed.

If the group wished to affiliate with the UFCC, it would be associated with a large, well-capitalized business. In addition, all members, theoretically, had a voice in the affairs of the Company, and one might eventually become a director. Affiliation with the UFCC, however, meant giving

up considerable autonomy. At the very least it carried with it the risk of being castigated for stupidity and bad business sense from the Company's leadership and, in the worst case scenario, it presented the possibility of large-scale business failures. In either case, it eventually meant that one's co-operative was affiliated with an enterprise that stressed the profitability of its ventures, making scant mention of the other, less tangible aspects of co-operation.

If the group chose to go it alone, it would enjoy complete autonomy and could adapt to suit local needs and conditions. Equally important, if kept small enough it could be a model of democracy. However, maintaining local control meant that financial institutions might not be willing to offer assistance, and that any problems that arose might have to be faced alone. Moreover, even a small financial setback could spell ruin.

Decisions, important decisions, had to be made.¹⁵⁸ In the end, it turned out that many purely local co-operatives, and those with the greatest measure of local autonomy, had a good chance at being successful, at least in terms of maintaining the ideals of the UFO. But UFO members in Lambton, Simcoe and Lanark, not having the benefit of

¹⁵⁸ This, of course, is assuming that the group wished to form a new co-operative. Often, it was much easier to join one of the many that existed already. In fact, one of the problems farmers faced was that there were too many co-operatives to choose from.

foreknowledge, often chose to let the state or the UFCC assist them in their co-operative affairs. And although these ventures were reasonably successful financially, other elements were lost that had profound consequences for the movement.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

Democracy...isn't some ultraprogressive myth of a superbenevolent World As Should Be. The meteoric burlesk melodrama of democracy is a struggle between society and the individual over an ideal -- a struggle from which, again and again and again, emerges one stupendous fact; namely, that the ideal of democracy fulfils herself only if, and whenever, society fails to suppress the individual.

E.E. Cummings¹

The people believed that war would secure relief from autocracy, but autocracy cannot be slain by wars: they only force it to hide for a time after which it will return in a new form. The only sure way is for the people to dream of democracy, plan for it, and then secure it by legislation.

Emma Griesbach²

From the foregoing account of the UFO in Lambton, Simcoe and Lanark counties, several distinctive features of the context in which the movement emerged and the composition of its membership have been described and analyzed. In review, they are as follows. First, the three counties differed (in some cases considerably) in terms of soil quality, crops grown, and the return farmers received for their produce. Lambton farmers, situated in an area with good quality soil and a long growing season, enjoyed a relatively prosperous existence. Simcoe farmers, living in a

¹ E.E. Cummings, A Miscellany Revised (New York: October House, 1965), p. 327.

² Sun, 14 January 1921, p. 6.

county with reasonably good quality soil and a fairly lengthy growing season, employed mixed farming techniques and received relatively good returns for their efforts. Conversely, Lanark farmers, with a short growing season and poor soil conditions, had considerably fewer options at their disposal. Since only certain crops could be grown with any success, many farmers chose to concentrate on livestock instead. Even then, the economic prospects in Lanark were not as favourable as they were in the other two counties under consideration.

Despite the different physical conditions and the varying degrees of prosperity in each jurisdiction, Lambton, Simcoe and Lanark had large UFO memberships. In addition, as demonstrated by the membership profiles, it can be stated unequivocally that the UFO was an inclusive movement in all three counties, a movement that attracted members from every rank in rural society. Relatively well-to-do farmers met and discussed issues with those who struggled to survive each year; people from diverse religious backgrounds fraternized during meetings; and young and old agrarians exchanged ideas. As well, the evidence suggests that members were often neighbours. This was perhaps inevitable since UFO meetings and social events provided an effective means for lessening the feelings of isolation that many rural residents (particularly farm women) undoubtedly felt, and groups of people who knew one another would have taken

advantage of the opportunity to assemble afforded them by the movement. As this facet of the character of the UFO suggests, the United Farmers had a marked impact on agrarian communities. In fact, given the clusters of members in townships, and their proximity to non-UFO members (as seen in the example of Simcoe), it is reasonable to assume that the UFO touched the lives of even more rural residents than raw membership would normally indicate.

The UFO also largely mirrored the social composition of the counties, with two notable exceptions. First, the evidence presented here strongly suggests that the UFO was a young person's movement. Whether it was fear of conscription that initially prompted membership, or whether it was the idealistic premises upon which the UFO was built that attracted young people is uncertain. The fact remains, however, that age was one of the two variables that did not find an approximate match in the overall rural population.

Second, it appears that the UFO tended to draw more adherents of evangelical denominations than members of other religious groups. In Simcoe and Lanark (the two counties in which religious affiliation was listed in the assessment rolls), Presbyterians were over-represented. Given the idealism of Social Gospel adherents, it is not surprising that one finds that they were a prolific presence in the UFO. This does not mean, however, that supporters of other denominations were not members. Even if the movement did not

exactly mirror the religious composition of the three counties, it remained a reasonably inclusive organization, as far as religion was concerned.

If it was the case that all farmers were welcomed into the UFO, then one can conclude that the only difference between members and non-members was the extent to which an individual farmer was an idealist. And, as seen in the writings and the words of rank and file members, the movement did not want for these sorts of people.

Not only did the three counties under consideration resemble one another in terms of the levels and character of the UFO membership, but they also, as the evidence has demonstrated, had an affinity in perspective -- the concerns expressed by movement rank and file were, in the main, similar in Lambton, Simcoe and Lanark. Despite the differences in farm size, wealth, and geographic location, there was a common response to external conditions. In all three counties the UFO was, at least initially, an idealistic organization that experimented with dissidence. This defining feature of the movement was demonstrated in its response to the Great War and the issues that arose from that War.

Given the idealistic character of the UFO, it is understandable that it would be activist in focus and that this activism would find concrete expression in the 1919 provincial and the 1921 federal elections. During the years

leading up to 1919 UFO members had lived through the greatest slaughter that humankind had witnessed up to that point in time, all in the name of democracy. They also saw so-called patriotic businessmen reap huge profits from the carnage, while they themselves were being told by the state to make do with less and produce more. Finally, adherents of the movement experienced the federal government's duplicity first-hand with the revocation of conscription exemptions.

Throughout the province UFO members threw off the yoke of orthodoxy and began asking questions about the society in which they lived. Since they found many of the responses to their queries unsatisfactory, they formulated alternative approaches. In particular, they made an effort to check the influence of the anti-democratic 'Big Interests', the term UFO adherents used to describe the social class that possessed wealth and power sufficient to influence many aspects of life in Ontario.

Farmers believed that the 'Big Interests' accomplished many of their objectives through political avenues. Time and time again agrarians saw how legislators erected tariff walls, paid bonuses, or used other means to protect domestic industry from outside competition. It was thus logical for UFO members to conclude that those who made the laws -- namely, the legislators from the old parties -- were either in the back pocket of the 'Big Interests', or were part of that class themselves. As such, UFO members assumed that an

effective means of checking the power of the moneyed interests was to nominate candidates from their ranks to chal'enge (and, hopefully, defeat) competitors representing the old parties.

The political experiment was, at first, successful. Acting independently and spurred on by the by-election victories of a few farmer candidates, local UFO clubs fielded contestants in the 1919 provincial election and, when the votes were counted, emerged with more seats than any other party. An even greater measure of success was achieved in the 1921 federal contest. Thus, having attained political power, many members eagerly anticipated the future. In their minds, the answer to Emma Griesbach's question, "should Canada be a democracy, government of the people by the people, or should it be government of the people by a group and for the interests of a group?",³ was quite clear.

Despite these early successes, the UFO's venture into politics ultimately ended in failure. The 1923 provincial campaign was a disaster, as were the 1925 and 1926 federal contests, and all that followed. Owing to internal discord (particularly at the central level), the inability or unwillingness of UFO legislators to implement the reforms advocated by the rank and file, the resolve of the old political parties to fight the UFO with every tool at their

³ Orillia Times, 17 November 1921, p. 3.

disposal, and the power of hegemony, the political side of the movement, with few exceptions, was thoroughly exhausted after 1926. In effect, the zeal for political action disappeared.

Accompanying the political defeats was an overall decline in UFO membership. Precise numbers vis-à-vis local adherents are difficult to obtain but provincial figures are available. Across Ontario membership declined precipitously from a peak of 60,000 in 1920 to 20,000 in 1926, and then to no more than 14,000 in 1929.⁴ In Simcoe, where the minute books of three clubs are extant, membership in these clubs peaked in the period 1919-1920 and then rapidly diminished.⁵

Despite the efforts members expended in contesting elections, the activism of the UFO was not confined to

⁴ T. Robin Wylie, "Direct Democrat: W.C. Good and the Ontario Farm Progressive Challenge, 1895-1929," PhD Thesis, Carleton University, 1991, p. 419. For anecdotal evidence, see Forest Standard, 7 February 1929, p. 2, where it was noted that the Forest UFO would not hold its annual picnic that year. See also Almonte Gazette, 21 March 1930, p. 4. By 1926, many UFO clubs in Lanark suffered decreases in membership. In that year the Perth and Almonte UFO clubs reported losses in membership and the Smiths Falls UFO "met so seldom that the members had nearly lost track of one another." Despite this, co-operative marketing in all these clubs remained healthy. Smiths Falls Record-News, 11 November 1926, p. 7.

⁵ The Edenvale UFO reported 30 members in 1919, and reached its peak with 32 in 1920. By 1924, only 12 members remained. In Oro Station, membership peaked in 1919, when the club had 23 members. By 1926, membership had fallen to 16. The Rugby UFO had 22 members in 1920, but by 1926 the number had fallen to 14. Simcoe County Archives, Minute Books of the Edenvale UFO, Rugby UFO, and Oro Station UFO.

narrow political concerns. As a dissident movement it identified as problematical several dimensions of Ontario life that went beyond conventional party politics. For instance, the attainment of equal status for women formed an important component of the UFO's agenda. Initially women enjoyed equal status within the movement as a whole, and then, eventually, they were accorded their own separate organization, the United Farm Women of Ontario (UFWO), which allowed them to explore more directly issues that had an impact on their lives. Led by individuals such as Emma Griesbach and Agnes Macphail, rank and file women responded quite enthusiastically at first. Due in no small part to Griesbach's 'Sun's Sisters' page in the Sun, they began to identify and critically assess some of the societal values that relegated them to the status of second-class citizens. Letters full of wide-ranging opinions on a host of topics crowded the columns of the 'Sister's Page', and clubs sprang up throughout the province. In addition, the UFWO offered many women their first experience in electoral politics and, by this means, undoubtedly educated them in equity activism as well as in the expression of opinions on equal rights.

The UFWO, however, did not escape the dilemma of being an auxiliary to a large, male-dominated organization. As time passed, and it was gradually realized that equality in the movement was not as complete as it could be, many farm women became disillusioned. This disillusionment was

manifested in the decision of some to restrict their memberships to associations that were gender-specific, such as the Women's Institute. In these organizations, as recent historiographical literature has suggested, women worked over the long term to attain a measure of control in their communities, while also continuing to educate themselves. Despite the fact that its active life was short, the UFWO was, however, a significant body. Although its efforts did not lead to the attainment of full equality in the agrarian movement, countless women who had hitherto been afraid to state their opinions found their voice through the Sun or through local UFWO meetings.

The United Farmers' Co-operative Company (UFCC) represented another attempt on the part of the UFO to engender change through non-conventional means, in areas of Ontario life that fell outside of the political arena. UFO members became infused with the belief that co-operatives would allow them to initiate and conduct their own affairs; indeed, for a time it was commonly held that co-operatives would eliminate middlemen and others who unjustly profited from farmer's labour, and that they would allow people to experiment with the locally-based, democratic structures that would ultimately transform society. This belief was, however, short lived. By 1930, the UFCC existed as little more than a state-approved marketing board.

The decline of the UFCC can be ascribed to several

factors. In-fighting, bad business decisions, increasing centralization, state influence and hegemony all played a part in diminishing and ultimately defeating the Company as an alternative mechanism for conducting commercial affairs. Although it remained a successful concern, at least in terms of securing reasonable returns for its members, by the mid-1920s the UFCC was spent as an alternative force. By then it devoted virtually no time to impressing upon farmers that co-operation meant more than a few extra dollars in one's pocket.

The trials and tribulations of the UFCC provide a solid example of what UFO members faced, both from within the movement and from outside influences. Not only did the Company have to attempt to counter the central precepts of a society in which capitalist concerns were considered the engine of economic development and the natural form of economic behaviour, but it also had to contend with a state that bolstered these notions. Although the state did encourage certain UFCC activities, it only did so because these endeavours helped advance certain elements of the state's agenda, an agenda which differed markedly from that of UFO members. By the mid-1920s, there is little doubt that many farmers viewed the UFCC merely as a means to get produce to market, and to receive a decent price for it. Although the enterprise did not, as a result, achieve its original goals, many agrarians who had access to the UFCC

were able to experience the individual self-respect and the collective self-confidence that form the very heart of co-operation. Given the countervailing forces -- described in this thesis -- to alternative perspectives, it is understandable that experimentation with and adherence to province-wide co-operation was fleeting. Still, even after large-scale co-operatives such as the UFCC began resembling capitalist concerns, many local co-operatives remained to provide an example of what rank and file members could accomplish, if given the opportunity.⁶ Despite the fact

⁶ At the 1995 annual meeting of the Canadian Association for Studies in Co-operation, Charles A. Diemer, an Essex County farmer presented a moving defence of the co-operative ethic. He became involved in co-operatives in the late 1930s and, at times, his words bore striking similarities to those of UFO members. He observed, for instance, that "change is not always for the betterment and social well-being of all people, but rather to the advancement of those who are in quest of control and wealth." (p. 1) He also noted that co-operation had a "profound impact on society, and stood in an absolute way as a bulwark against exploitation and aggregated injustice." (p. 3) Acknowledging that there are financial gains to be made from co-operating, Diemer quickly noted that co-operatives help ensure that some do not benefit at the expense of others: "What better way is there to ensure equity and justice," he asked, than to limit profits one could acquire? (p. 6) This was important, he felt, in a world where greed, "by far the most devastating malignancy that has ever penetrated the universe," was pervasive. (p. 7). Diemer sounded even more like some of the more radical UFO members when he concluded by asserting that "There is absolutely no possible way to attain lasting world peace, the end to violence and all those other social bewilderments by leaving it to elected representatives in government. It is essential for all of us to accept the challenge as both a moral responsibility as well as a privilege to co-operate in a profound way and help to write the next chapter of history." Charles A. Diemer, "Changes in Co-operatives - Changes in Society and Culture," Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Association for Studies in Co-operation, Montreal, June 1995.

that they operated in the shadow of a large, centralized company whose leaders had accepted the notion that co-operation meant greater financial returns, and little else, local co-operatives continued to stress membership participation and the value of democratic, locally-based decision-making.

All this could easily be interpreted as hopelessly bleak. After all, despite the best of intentions, the movement did not attain many of the goals that it had set for itself. After the UFO disbanded in 1943, the 'Big Interests' continued to operate much as they had before -- the media, as a vital component of the old order, remained loyal to its masters; new electoral systems did not replace the traditional, first-past-the-post mechanism and the old political parties emerged as even shrewder organizations. Given this outcome, how could it be seen as anything but a failure?

Although one can easily interpret the above in a pessimistic light, in many important ways the movement can be seen just as readily as a success story.⁷ The UFO had a

⁷ Although not within the purview of this thesis, it bears noting that, politically, during the period in which it held power, the UFO introduced some important legislation that attempted to come to the defence of the weak and powerless. However much one wishes to characterize the legislative accomplishments of the UFO as mildly social democratic or as accommodating to the advancement of modern capitalism, it remains that many of the laws the UFO Government passed were ahead of most North American jurisdictions at the time. See Charles M. Johnston, E.C. Drury: Agrarian Idealist (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), pp. 150-65.

profound impact at the local level. It came into being at a time when farmers' organizations, except for state-directed ones, were in disarray. Assuming responsibility, previously undertaken by the government, for uniting and educating farmers, the UFO played a vital social role, breaking down some of the isolation that farmers may have felt through the various events that it staged. Activities such as picnics, community entertainments, meals, sporting events, debates and readings undoubtedly brought people together so that ideas could be exchanged and considered. The UFO went beyond the state, however, in its direction of such events. It added a political dimension, and provided the venue for the expression and application of idealistic perspectives. UFO clubs enabled farmers to experiment with democratic forms and to join together to formulate probing critiques of their society and alternative ways of conducting social, political, and economic affairs. As seen throughout this thesis, local members, under the auspices of the UFO, exhibited striking energy, thought, and creativity.

If all this is so, then what happened? Why were members unable or unwilling to push the movement further so that a more democratic and equitable society could be attained? Why were they unable to advance their ideas to their logical conclusions? To be sure, the movement's progress was held back by internal struggles, by its uneasy relationship with labour, by a central organization that was more moderate

than the periphery, by the impatience of youth within the movement for change and, in some cases, by ineptitude. All these factors played a part in the decline of the UFO. That said, another factor impeded the movement even more severely.

To find a satisfactory answer to the question of why the movement failed to fulfil its promise, one must appreciate the pervasiveness and influence of the old order in Ontario at that time. As seen throughout this thesis, those who held sway over public opinion had many tools at their disposal. The mass circulation newspapers, themselves corporations, presented readers with messages that encouraged them to support the status quo. Politicians from the old parties stressed the 'naturalness' of the British parliamentary tradition, insisting that there was no better system of government in the world. At the same time, they emphasized the need to protect Canadian industries, lest the country go bankrupt, be faced with massive unemployment and poverty, or be overrun by the Americans. In addition, those with an interest in preserving the status quo sought to discredit the UFO at every turn, arguing that it was a disloyal group containing seditious elements, or that it was intent on installing a dictatorship of a minority over all Canadians. Given this context, it is remarkable that UFO members were able to break free to the extent that they did.

Of course, the movement met such vehement opposition

with good reason. UFO members mocked a parliamentary tradition thought by many to be sacred; looked irreverently at industrialists who supposedly represented the pinnacle of social and patriotic achievement; sneered at politicians representing parties that had legitimacy only because of their longevity; and derided a press that not only fabricated lies and distortions on behalf of the 'Big Interests' but was also, in fact, owned by them. These societal elements had the benefit of 'rightful status'; they existed, it was argued, because they represented the best that human beings could attain. The UFO was perceived as a significant threat because it presented a substantial challenge to all that was 'legitimate'. It has, therefore, to be countered and, ultimately, crushed.

In light of what has been written about agrarian movements in particular and about rural society in general, one can speculate on the question of how UFO members perceived themselves. Did they see themselves as cranky Liberals in a hurry? Did they consider themselves to be independent commodity producers jealously guarding their petit bourgeois class position? Did they see their actions through the prism of family dynamics? What does this account of the UFO tell us about its members' self-perceptions?

It is misleading and far too simplistic to state that members of the UFO were merely impatient Liberals, or that they were petit bourgeois independent commodity producers

who, ipso facto, were incapable of positing an alternative to the existing capitalist structure. It is inaccurate, as well, to suggest that they were paranoid cranks who saw a 'Big Interests' conspiracy in every public policy and business decision. Moreover, it is too patronizing to argue that UFO members were mild reformers who merely wished to tinker with the system in the hopes of obtaining a 'proper' balance. All these elements found expression in the movement, to be sure, but there was something more, much more. UFO members, if only momentarily, glimpsed an alternative way of conducting human affairs and they strove to implement their vision. If radicalism was not completely realized in the movement, then at least the potential for radicalism existed.

It is evident that UFO members saw themselves as an exploited group. They cast a critical eye upon the society in which they lived and were not only frustrated and disgusted with much of what they saw, but also dissatisfied with how they were perceived and treated. They witnessed legislative bodies composed of lawyers and businessmen, who had no understanding of the concerns of common people, making laws on their behalf. Indeed, they believed that these legislators had nothing but contempt for the rank and file. As such, the democracy that was so often boasted about was, in their view, a myth. They saw a media that routinely lied in the interests of economic and political power, and

often distorted the UFO's platform. They witnessed an urban culture that treated them as if they were illiterate rubes. They observed an economic system in which they had little, if any, agency in determining the price they received for their labour. Urban-based manufacturers, propped up with tariff protection, gouged farmers for their implements and for the necessities of life, while they also stole from the public treasury. Finally, they saw a society that did not consider over half of its population -- women -- to be persons in the legal (or even the figurative) sense of the word. These same non-persons were a vitally important part of farm operations, yet they had to struggle merely to obtain the vote.

In seeing all of this, UFO members were, in effect, announcing that they discerned the reality of the situation. In a society that incessantly boasted about the superiority of its democratic structures, they took a contrary position, arguing that the existing structures were not democratic, or at least that they were not as democratic as they should be. And beyond discerning this reality, they were willing to assume responsibility and take action to effect change. Farmers did not indifferently turn their backs on the problem and let 'great men' lead them to 'liberation', nor did they trumpet the capacity of the free market to set things right. They spontaneously determined to act for themselves. Thus, UFO members fielded candidates who were

pledged to legislate in the interests of 'the People', an abstraction used to describe the mass of humanity that did not enjoy political or economic power to any real extent. In addition, they formed new co-operatives and built upon existing ones, not only to maximize returns but also to demonstrate that there was an alternative way to conduct commercial affairs. In sum, they saw things differently from mainstream society and, more importantly, attempted to build institutions designed to remedy many of the wrongs they perceived.

The question of whether rank and file UFO members saw the movement as all-inclusive or as purely an agrarian force is a difficult one to answer definitively. From the evidence presented here, it appears that the issue was never successfully resolved at the local level. In fact, it seems that, aside from the occasional reference to the Drury/Morrison split, it was not seen as an important concern by the rank and file. At times, UFO members jealously guarded their organization from encroachment by outside groups, such as labour; on other occasions, they made sincere and exhaustive efforts to align themselves with urban forces in order to contest elections. The question of whether or not they should formally join with these groups was, however, a strategic concern rather than a matter of principle. As has been seen, it is clear that many UFO members conceptualized society as consisting of two broad groups -- the 'Big

Interests' and the 'People'. Their goal was to wrest power away from the former group so that the quality of life for the latter would be more meaningful and enjoyable. Although it would seem that this would necessitate formal or informal alliances among groups that perceived themselves to be oppressed, agrarians, for the most part, did not conceive of the formation of such interrelationships as a critical issue. The primary focus of UFO members was to address concerns that pertained directly to farmers.

An inequitable system functions without blatant coercion only when the people who do not share in societal power still believe that the system is fair. If individuals become cognizant of the contradictions that surround them, and form organizations to challenge inequities, then efforts must be made to bring these people back into the fold. Attempts to bring the UFO back into the mainstream were not overt, and certainly there was no conscious conspiracy in this regard. Even so, such efforts existed, most often in the form of bolstering and promoting the assumptions that served as the pivotal underpinning for the maintenance of the status quo.

When they elected MPPs and MPs to Toronto and Ottawa, farmers discovered exactly how powerful the old order was. As demonstrated above, UFO politicians soon found themselves arguing for calm, pragmatic solutions to problems rather than fundamental change. Even the alliance with the most

natural ally, the Independent Labor Party, broke down. Compounding the situation was the rather ambiguous position co-operatives came to occupy, due in part to the businesslike attitude of some of the movement's leaders and in part to the actions of the state. It is small wonder, then, that the movement lost much of its drive and enthusiasm in such a relatively short period of time. Seeing that it did not matter much that they had built a political force capable of capturing power at Queen's Park, many farmers became disillusioned and gave up. The expectations of UFO members were simply not met.

This thesis has focused on the democratic tendencies evidenced in UFO members' behaviour. In current usage, democracy has lost much of its meaning. It is chiefly employed as a catch-word by those in positions of power who wish to score political points. A related word, 'populist', has been all but appropriated by the political right, and is now used to describe anyone from Ronald Reagan to Ross Perot to Preston Manning to Mike Harris to a host of others who do not talk so much about common people as they do about the need to unfetter the private sector. UFO members, however, interpreted democracy differently; they saw it as a mechanism that allowed all people to participate in the collective decisions that shape a society.

Implicit in this interpretation of the UFO and of UFO rank and file are many of the attributes found in anarchist

theory. In her recent work on anarchism and feminism, L. Susan Brown portrays anarchists as those who "affirm a commitment to the primacy of individual freedom" in conjunction with the belief that

human individuals...are best suited to decide for themselves how to run the affairs of their own lives; they are best served when left unconstrained by authority and unhampered by relationships of domination. The ontological basis for these beliefs is an understanding that individuals are free and responsible agents who are fit to determine their own development.⁸

In the preceding chapters one witnesses these traits -- often unconscious -- in many who comprised the UFO. One sees a faith in the inherent value of all human beings; a belief that all people are, by nature, creative and competent enough to participate in decision-making processes; a suspicion of power; a commitment to co-operation; a realization that collective action is not possible until individuals break free from coercive power structures and join together to eliminate these structures; a conviction that democratic forms work most effectively when broken down into small units, which may then federate through free association. This is not to suggest that UFO members marched into meeting halls with the collected works of Michael Bakunin under their arms. It is to suggest, however, that in the UFO one sees the historical tendency towards freedom

⁸ L. Susan Brown, "Anarchism, Feminism, Liberalism and Individualism," Our Generation Vol. 24, No. 1, Spring 1993, p. 23.

about which anarchists still expound.

Raising questions and critically assessing one's society is an arduous task. The exercise is made all the more difficult because human beings are exposed to countless messages (mostly reinforcing the status quo) on a daily basis. This difficultly notwithstanding, UFO members developed a probing critique of their society and formulated various means to attain a better quality of life for everyone. To be sure, the vision they devised contained mixed and contradictory elements, but to demand consistency in such a large project is unrealistic.

The central thrust of this thesis has been to demonstrate the extent to which rank and file UFO members were able to posit an alternative vision. Lambton, Simcoe and Lanark UFO members struggled to advance a model of society that was quite different from what existed. Although the ability to posit an alternative vision evaporated in fairly short order, the UFO stands as an example of what 'common people' can accomplish when the effort is made.

If one concedes that there is continuity between the past and present, then the experience of the UFO has relevance beyond its lifespan. The movement cannot serve as an exact blueprint for action on the part of contemporary and future citizens of the province. Yet if people can draw upon its experience and build upon its strategies for contending with inequitable power structures, then UFO

members' efforts were not without meaning beyond their generation. At the very least, their accomplishments should be perpetuated in the minds of Ontarians as a reminder that, in the event change is desired, there are ways to accomplish this goal other than to give the free market unrestricted reign, or to adopt Marxist principles, or to grant political leaders even greater power. By referring to the experience of the UFO, populists may learn what traps to avoid, and they may discern that the values they esteem were once held by people equally committed to transforming Ontario into a more democratic society.

In the early part of the twentieth century, there were many people who were not content with the prevailing state of affairs, and who tried to effect change. As UFO members discovered, the chances of success were slim, but they persisted nonetheless. Whether or not a populist movement with similar values will ever again emerge in Ontario is an unknown. One thing, however, can be stated with relative certainty: a mass democratic movement with the creativity, humanity and democratic spirit of the United Farmers of Ontario will arise only when people muster the same capacity and courage evidenced by UFO rank and file to see things differently.

Appendix A
UFO Members Identified in Plympton Township -- Lambton County

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Cleared</u>	<u>Nonprod¹</u>	<u>\$Land</u>	<u>\$Buildings</u>	<u>\$Total</u>
Dawson, Alex	61	50	40	10	1,450	600	2,050
Stonehouse, Joseph	47	70	60	10	1,900	400	2,300
Stonehouse, Roy	32	100	100		2,900	700	3,600
Smale, Silas C.	54	100	80	20	2,900	900	3,800
Smith, Charles	38	100	80	20	2,900	700	3,600
Jackson, James	45	100	80	20	2,900	800	3,700
Capes, Jonathan ²	23	100	80	20	2,700	750	3,450
Park, Robert	65	97	97		2,700	500	3,200
Simpson, Thomas	51	98	83	15	2,850	800	3,650
Dewar, James		98	83	15	2,850		2,850
McPhedran, Roy ³	37	98	83	15	2,850	900	3,750
McNeil, John C.	63	98	83	15	2,200	400	2,600
Ellwood, Joseph	48	199	174	25	5,600	800	6,400
Brownlee, David ⁴	52	150	120	30	4,100	800	4,900
Thompson, Albert ⁵	35	75	65	10	2,150	500	2,650
Ramsay, Orville ⁶	33	100	80	20	2,900	900	3,800
McPhedran, Peter ⁷	49	100	95	5	2,900	550	3,450
Forbes, William		50	40	10	1,450	300	1,750
Kerrigan, Dennis	38	50	50		1,400	500	1,900
McLean, James W.	50	100	95	5	2,900	750	3,650
Sanders, Fred	53	60	50	10	1,700	400	2,100
Williamson, Arch.	49	50	50		1,450	600	2,050
Bryson, Joseph ⁸	58	150	120	30	4,100	400	4,500
Dewar, George A.	39	100	80	20	2,900	900	3,800
Hodgins, John	47	100	80	20	2,900	500	3,400
Hodgins, Calvin ⁹	52	200	180	20	5,800	800	6,600
Hillier, John	61	175	155	20	5,050	850	5,900
Hillier, William	28	100	90	10	2,900	700	3,600
McLean, John G.		100	85	15	2,900	750	3,650
Ferguson, Duncan	36	150	125	25	4,300	1,250	5,550
Shea, Robert J.	31	50	40	10	1,450	500	1,950
Watson, Gordon ¹⁰	24	150	120	30	4,350	800	5,150
Watson, David	66	50	40	10	1,450	600	1,850
Pascoe, Roy	34	100	95	5	2,900	650	3,550
Smith, William B. ¹¹	31	100	90	10	2,900	600	3,500
Scoffin, William ¹²	46	106	96	10	3,050	650	3,700
Dewar, Arch.	43	50	40	10	1,450	500	1,950
Burnley, Thomas ¹³	58	173	138	35	4,900	800	5,700
Jardine, Wm.	41	150	130	20	4,350	800	5,150
Simpson, Kate ¹⁴	27	104	84	20	3,000	700	3,700
Hoskins, Marshall ¹⁵	30	147	137	10	3,900	400	4,300
Abell, Joseph ¹⁶	59	150	130	20	4,300	700	5,000
Smith, Fren ¹⁷	32	70	50	20	1,700		1,700
Galbraith, Dan W. ¹⁸	31	150	135	15	4,000	850	4,850
Vanderburg, Earl ¹⁹	21	100	90	10	2,600	600	3,200
McMillan, Arch.	55	90	80	10	2,600	800	3,400
Greenless, David	45	100	90	10	2,900	600	3,500

Sparling, John ²⁰	23	100	90	10	2,900	800	3,700
Wilkinson, Alex ²¹	43	300	170	30	8,700	700	9,500
Tremaine, John ²²	47	150	120	30	4,150	700	4,850
Smith, Jonathan		100	100		2,900		2,900
Douglas, Herbert	47	200	180	20	5,800	500	6,300
McLaren, Angus	55	100	90	10	2,900	750	3,650
McLaren, Robert	57	97	97		2,800	500	3,300
Stogdill, Albin	36	100	90	10	2,900	700	3,600
Smith, Duncan ²³	54	399	319	80	11,100	1,200	12,300
Cairns, William H.	38	145	125	20	4,000	500	4,500
Scott, William		100	90	10	2,850	250	3,100
Fawcett, Henry		50	50		1,350		1,350
Campbell, Fred	36	80	70	10	2,300	700	3,000
Skinner, Richard ²⁴	49	70	70		2,450		2,450
Elliott, Huron	31	100	90	10	2,800	400	3,200

Source: Lambton County Archives, Assessment Rolls -- Plympton Township, 1922.

UFO Members -- Plympton Township

Total No. UFO members identified:	62
Average age:	43.46
Average acres owned:	115.41
Average acres cleared:	98.46
Average acres waste:	15.25
Average value, land:	\$3,273.73
Average value, buildings:	\$633.05
Average total value:	\$3,906.78

Plympton Township -- General

Total of sample surveyed:	231
Average age:	48.29
Average acres owned:	103.42
Average acres cleared:	89.56
Average acres waste:	13.85
Average value, land:	\$2,909.31
Average value, buildings:	\$603.07
Average total value:	\$3,512.38

1. Includes the categories woodland, slash, and swamp; marsh; and wasteland.

2. Listed under James Capes, his father, who was 65 and at that time, and was considered to be in control of the land.

3. Also listed is Mary R. McPhedran, age 29 and apparently Roy's sister, given their respective ages.

4. Includes 50 acres (value, \$1,200) listed as belonging to his wife, Susie.

5. Includes 700 acres (value \$700) listed as belonging to his wife, Lena.
6. Listed, as well, is his wife, Mary, also a UFO member.
7. Listed with his wife, Catharine, also a UFO member.
8. Includes 50 acres (value \$1,200) listed as belonging to his wife, Isabelle.
9. Includes 100 acres (value \$2,900) listed as belonging to his wife, Agnes.
10. Property is listed under William Watson, his father. Gordon Watson also had two brothers listed on the assessment roll, one aged 31 and the other 22. If all three stood to inherit some of the land, Gordon's share may have been 1/3 or 1/2 of the total holding. Figure also includes 50 acres of land (value \$1,450) listed as belonging to William Watson's wife, Emily.
11. Smith was a tenant.
12. Includes 6 acres of land (value \$150) listed as belonging to his wife, Gertrude.
13. Includes 75 acres (value \$2,100) listed as belonging to his wife, Margaret.
14. Kate Simpson was listed as owning 4 acres (value \$100) and was married to Jonathan Simpson. The figures presented in the chart represent their combined holdings.
15. Hoskins lived on property (47 acres -- value \$1,200) which adjoined his widowed parents' holdings. For the purposes of assessment, these properties were combined. The figures presented here are also a composite.
16. Includes 50 acres (value \$1,400) listed as belonging to his wife, Dinah.
17. Smith was a tenant. According to some newspaper accounts, his first name was spelled "Friend".
18. No property was listed as belonging to Dan W. Galbraith. He and his wife lived with his father, Jonathan. The figures presented here represent his holdings.
19. Earl Vanderburg had no property listed as belonging to him. The figures presented here represent the total holdings of his parents, Joseph and Ida.

20. Although John Sparling is listed, it is not as a property-owner. He lived with his widowed mother, Ellen. The figures presented here represent her holdings.

21. Includes 200 acres (value \$5,800) listed as belonging to his wife, Harriett.

22. Includes 50 acres (value \$1,250) listed as belonging to his wife, Eunice.

23. Includes 199 acres (value \$5,600) listed as belonging to his wife, Lillie.

24. Skinner was a tenant.

Appendix B
UFO Members Identified in Bosanquet Township -- Lambton County

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Cleared</u>	<u>Nonprod¹</u>	<u>\$Land</u>	<u>\$Buildings</u>	<u>\$Total</u>
Richardson, Cliff	28	68	64	4	2,300	700	3,000
Stonehouse, George	62	86	80	6	3,250	850	4,100
Isaac, Ardeau	56	59	59		2,225	750	3,225
Smith, George	38	100	95	5	3,400	1,100	4,500
Wight, Roland	25	100	85	15	3,400	550	4,250
Finnie, William ²	71	62	62		1,700	150	1,850
Zavitz, James	53	50	45	5	1,400	450	1,850
Murray, Andrew	50	2.5	2.5		100	250	350
Moloy, Earl ³	25	154	37	117	2,300	175	2,475
Wilson, John	30	60	60		2,050	1,150	3,200
Hamilton, John ⁴	24	40	30	10	800		800
Marrison, Preston	49	112.5	82.5	30	2,900	775	3,675
Tetzell, Roy ⁵	36	100	85	15	3,400	1,200	4,600
Powell, John H.	56	105	105		3,700	300	4,000
Jamieson, Archie	49	50	25	25	1,400		1,400
Moloy, Thomas	62	66.5	60.5	6	2,250		2,250
Moloy, Fred	28	50	50		1,500		1,500
Sitter, Nicholas ⁶	47	292	237	55	10,150	2,000	12,150
Clark, John	46	10	10		350	25	375
McIntyre, John ⁷	39	100	95	5	3,400	1,100	4,500
Carmichael, Adam	43	150	146	4	5,100	1,150	6,250
Wilsie, Jacob	63	113	113		3,500	1,400	4,900
Carrothers, Isaac	63	201	186	15	4,875	950	5,825
Shepherd, Fred	44	150	150		5,700	900	6,600
Elliott, Moses	59	50	50		1,900	975	2,875
Gilliard, James	48	100	95	5	3,400	1,050	4,450
French, William	40	150	150		5,400	1,350	6,750
Lawrie, James A.	51	99	90	9	3,150	1,000	4,150
Wells, Burton	44	72	47	5	2,675	1,000	3,675
Lithgow, Robert ⁸	32	100	90	10	3,400	1,350	4,750
Stewart, David ⁹	44	100	100		3,400	50	3,450
Tidball, Robert	52	100	100		3,400	1,350	4,750
Hare, Albert	63	141	131	10	4,640	1,350	5,990
Frayne, Isaac	60	100	100		3,600	1,000	4,600
Frayne, Earl	25	100	100		3,700	800	4,500
Valentine, Ebenezer	29	200	190	10	7,000	850	7,850
Rawlings, Fred	52	89.5	89.5		3,800	900	4,700
Stutt, Richard	54	200	185	15	6,800	1,150	7,950
Dew, John	51	200	192	8	7,200	1,050	8,250
Wellington, Garner	36	100	100		3,800	1,000	4,800
Dew, Frederick	37	100	95	5	3,800	1,050	4,850
McIntyre, Duncan	62	50	50		1,900	900	2,800
Blundon, Sanford	59	50	50		1,900		1,900
Whyte, Duncan	54	100	80	20	3,800	1,200	5,000
Dew, Frank	33	106	80	28	4,100	950	5,050
Taylor, David	54	125	80	45	3,550	1,300	4,900
Vivian, John	69	117.5	117.5		4,450	1,000	5,450

Vance, Arthur	45	133	100	33	4,700	750	5,450
Lester, George	69	121	80	41	3,500	1,100	4,600

Source: Lambton County Archives, Assessment Rolls -- Bosanquet Township, 1922

UFO Members -- Bosanquet Township

Total No. UFO members identified:	49
Average age:	47.12
Average acres owned:	105.26 ¹⁰
Average acres cleared:	95.40
Average acres waste:	9.41
Average value, land:	\$3,602.61
Average value, buildings:	\$865.34
Average total value:	\$4,467.95

Bosanquet Township -- General

Total of sample surveyed:	168
Average age:	47.06
Average acres owned:	108.34
Average acres cleared:	93.80
Average acres waste:	14.53
Average value, land:	\$3,505.36
Average value, buildings:	\$906.69
Average total value:	\$4,412.05

1. Includes the categories woodland, slash, and swamp; marsh; and wasteland.
2. Finnie is listed as a tenant.
3. Moloy is listed as a tenant.
4. Hamilton is listed as a tenant.
5. Tetzell is listed as a tenant.
6. Includes 152 acres listed as owned by his wife Ellen (value \$4,400 with \$800 worth of buildings).
7. McIntyre is listed as a tenant.
8. Lithgow apparently co-owned the property with his father, Thomas.
9. Stewart's property adjoined that of his widowed mother, Margaret. The total value of his mother's holdings was \$4,700.
10. Figures related to tenant farmers were not used in determining this average.

Appendix C
UFO Members Identified in Enniskillen Township -- Lambton County

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Cleared</u>	<u>Nonprod¹</u>	<u>\$Land</u>	<u>\$Buildings</u>	<u>\$Total</u>
Munro, Jonathan	60	100	80	20	2,800	850	3,650
Doolan, William		200	100	100	4,100		4,100
Simpson, Thomas		75	60	15	2,250		2,250
Wilkinson, George	40	131	111	20	2,800	600	3,400
Hall, Franklin	27	100	40	60	2,300	300	2,600
Shortt, George	44	200	180	20	3,500	600	4,100
Thompson, Harvey	35	150	140	10	4,300	800	5,100
Annett, George	49	150	130	20	3,800	800	4,600
Napper, Russell		42.5	30	12.5	1,150		1,150
Anderson, Ernest	32	100	80	20	2,400	600	3,000
Mackesy, Jonathan		50	20	30	900		900
Simpson, Thomas	70	100	50	50	2,700		2,700
Wilson, Wilfred	23	98	60	38	2,400	300	2,700
Leith, William		67	50	17	1,800	500	2,300
Sharp, William D.	56	100	30	70	2,400	200	2,600
Farrow, Isaac	61	40	40		1,150	300	1,450
Lecocq, William J.	57	200	150	50	6,000	1,200	7,200
McLennan, James		100	90	10	1,700		1,700
Park, Robert J. ²		100	80	20	3,000	800	3,800
Welch, James E. ³	70	200	160	40	5,800	800	6,600
Brock, W. Albert	54	100	80	20	2,000	600	2,600
Watt, William	52	75	70	5	2,300	600	2,900
Hackett, Joseph	47	100	90	10	3,200	1,000	4,200
Williams, James	51	100	90	10	2,900	900	3,800
Brock, Thomas		100	90	10	3,100	400	3,500
Wright, Daniel	51	100	90	10	3,100	800	3,900
Currah, Joesph	48	100	80	20	2,900	600	3,500
Currah, James	50	100	70	30	2,800	800	3,600
Smith, Charles		100	80	20	2,200		2,200
Stonehouse, Angus	44	100	90	10	3,100	700	3,800
Anderson, Harvey	30	100	90	10	3,100	800	3,900

Source: Lambton County Archives, Assessment Rolls -- Enniskillen Township, 1922.

UFO Members -- Enniskillen Township

Total No. UFO members identified:	31
Average age:	47.77
Average acres owned:	108.98
Average acres cleared:	83.90
Average acres waste:	25.08
Average value, land:	\$2,837.10
Average value, buildings:	\$511.29
Average total value:	\$3,348.39

Enniskillen Township -- General

Total of sample surveyed:	108
Average age:	48.13
Average acres owned:	101.98
Average acres cleared:	78.77
Average acres waste:	23.21
Average value, land:	\$2,762.04
Average value, buildings:	\$594.44
Average total value:	\$3,356.48

1. Includes the categories woodland, slash, and swamp; marsh; and wasteland.

2. Listed as co-owner with Arthur Park (relationship to Robert unknown).

3. Listed as co-owner with Harold Brock (relationship to Welch unknown).

Appendix D
UFO Members Identified in Warwick Township -- Lambton County

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Cleared</u>	<u>Nonprod¹</u>	<u>\$Land</u>	<u>\$Buildings</u>	<u>\$Total</u>
McPherson, Vaughn ²	25	50	50		2,000		2,000
Cates, Jacob	56	140	135	5	5,900	800	6,700
Curts, Gordon	22	100	95	5	4,200	800	5,000
Farrell, John	60	150	135	15	6,200	400	6,600
Kernohan, Basil ³	21	100	95	5	4,000		4,000
Ellerker, Fred	27	50	50		2,100	500	2,600
Karr, Ernest	44	100	85	15	4,200	600	4,800
Brandon, James	44	100	90	10	4,200	700	4,900
Brandon, William	42	100	90	10	4,200	400	4,600
Brandon, Robert	39	100	85	15	4,200	500	4,700
Brent, George	49	150	140	10	6,300	700	7,000
Brent, Stanley	39	200	190	10	8,400	700	9,100
Lester, George	42	100	100		4,200	300	4,500
Tomlinson, Arthur	45	50	50		2,100	200	2,300
Luckham, W.H.	64	130	120	10	5,950	800	6,750
Vance, William J.	45	150	140	10	6,200	800	7,000
Vance, Gordon ⁴	27	2	2		150	500	650
Hall, Robert A.	38	150	140	10	6,200	1,050	7,250
Luckham, Macklin	55	100	90	10	4,200	700	4,900
Scoffin, John	50	100	85	15	4,000	500	4,500
Graham, Fred	24	100	80	20	4,200	800	5,000
Thompson, Allan	37	100	90	10	4,000	700	4,700
Hall, Lloyd	23	100	100		4,100		4,100
Auld, Andrew	50	305	265	40	11,800	950	12,750
Janes, C.E.	32	150	130	20	6,300		6,300
Yorke, Basil	41	150	130	20	6,300	800	7,100
Wilkinson, John C.	50	250	205	45	10,500	1,600	12,100
Young, George	34	75	75		3,000	600	3,600

Source: Lambton County Archives, Assessment Rolls -- Warwick Township, 1922

UFO Members -- Warwick Township

Total No. UFO members identified:	28
Average age:	40.18
Average acres owned:	124.07
Average acres cleared:	112.60
Average acres waste:	11.48
Average value, land:	\$5,146.30
Average value, buildings:	\$588.89
Average total value:	\$5,735.19

Warwick Township -- General

Total of sample surveyed:	120
Average age:	48.29
Average acres owned:	117.95
Average acres cleared:	107.46
Average acres waste:	10.49
Average value, land:	\$4,779.17
Average value, buildings:	\$644.17
Average total value:	\$5,423.33

1. Includes the categories woodland, slash, and swamp; marsh; and wasteland.
2. Listed as living on land adjacent to the holdings of his brother, Charlie, who owned property and buildings valued at \$9,400.
3. Listed as co-owner with brother, Stanley. Father, David, lived on adjoining lot, with property and buildings assessed at \$7,000.
4. Listed as co-owner with father, Ezekiel, whose occupation is listed as merchant. Property value is not included in total calculations.

Appendix E
UFO Members Identified in Brooke Township -- Lambton County

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Cleared</u>	<u>Nonprod¹</u>	<u>\$Land</u>	<u>\$Buildings</u>	<u>\$Total</u>
Fisher, Duncan	63	100	90	10	2,800	500	3,300
Campbell, Arch. ²	24	100	90	10	2,900	700	3,600
Darvill, John	60	50	50		1,700	300	2,000
Oke, Leslie W. ³	43	50	50		1,700	700	2,400
Gilroy, Henry A.	53	228	200	28	6,900	600	7,500
McIntyre, Arch.	46	100	80	20	2,500	500	3,000
Clark, John	55	50	40	10	1,600	400	2,000

Source: Lambton County Archives, Assessment Rolls -- Brooke Township, 1921.

UFO Members -- Brooke Township

Total No. UFO members identified:	7
Average age:	49.14
Average acres owned:	96.86
Average acres cleared:	85.71
Average acres waste:	11.14
Average value, land:	\$2,871.43
Average value, buildings:	\$528.57
Average total value:	\$3,400.00

1. Includes the categories woodland, slash, and swamp; marsh; and wasteland.
2. Listed as co-owner with father, George.
3. Served as UFO MPP, 1919 to 1929.

Appendix F
UFO Members Identified in Moore Township -- Lambton County

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Cleared</u>	<u>Nonprod¹</u>	<u>\$Land</u>	<u>\$Buildings</u>	<u>\$Total</u>
Young, Byron	28	100	80	20	3,800	1,000	4,800
Curran, Edward	57	100	90	10	3,900	1,500	5,400
White, Robert J.	41	75	60	15	3,000	1,100	4,100
Johnson, Andrew	52	100	80	20	4,000	1,100	5,100
McMahon, Fred J. ²	63	100	90	10	4,200	1,400	5,600

Source: Lambton County Archives, Assessment Rolls -- Moore Township, 1922.

UFO Members -- Moore Township

Total No. UFO members identified:	5
Average age:	48.20
Average acres owned:	95.00
Average acres cleared:	80
Average acres waste:	15
Average value, land:	\$3,870.00
Average value, buildings:	\$1,220.00
Average total value:	\$5,000.00

1. Includes the categories woodland, slash, and swamp; marsh; and wasteland.
2. Listed as co-owner with son, James F.

Appendix G
UFO Members Identified in Euphemia Township -- Lambton County

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Cleared</u>	<u>Nonprod¹</u>	<u>\$Land</u>	<u>\$Buildings</u>	<u>\$Total</u>
Annett, Harvey ²	29	150	145	5	2,800	700	3,500
Bailey, John R. ³	42	77	77		1,950	350	2,300
Fansher, Bert W. ⁴	41	225	180	45	5,025	450	5,475

Source: Lambton County Archives, Assessment Rolls, Euphemia Township 1922.

UFO Members -- Euphemia Township

Total No. UFO members identified:	3
Average age:	37.33
Average acres owned:	150.67
Average acres cleared:	134.00
Average acres waste:	16.67
Average value, land:	\$3,258.33
Average value, buildings:	\$500.00
Average total value:	\$3,758.33

1. Includes the categories woodland, slash, and swamp; marsh; and wasteland.
2. Listed as co-owner with wife, Sarah.
3. Listed as co-owner with wife, Margaret.
4. Served as MP for East Lambton, 1921 to 1925, and 1926 to 1930.

Appendix H
UFO Members Identified in Oro Township -- Simcoe County
Oro Station UFO Club

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Cleared</u>	<u>Nonprod¹</u>	<u>\$Land</u>	<u>\$Buildings</u>	<u>\$Total</u>
McArthur, Alex	45	102	77	25	1,800	800	2,600
Ross, Hugh	43	100	90	10	1,800	700	2,500
Kirkpatrick, Geo. ²	47	221	171	50	3,700	1,300	5,000
Ross, Alexander ³	26	220	205	15	3,400	1,300	4,700
Ross, Victor	22						
Bell, Allan	38	100	90	10	1,900	700	2,600
Bell, Thomas ⁴	32	111.5	96.5	15	2,100	1,500	3,600
Currie, Alex	31	100	90	10	1,800	800	2,600
Luck, Thomas	52	163	153	10	3,000	1,800	4,800
Fletcher, Alex J.	44	150	125	25	2,300	800	3,100
McArthur, William	63	50	20	30	500	300	800
Livingston, John ⁵	38	100	80	20	700	400	1,100
Strachan, Geo. ⁶	24	372	280	92	4,000	1,400	5,400
McArthur, John A. ⁷	58	150	100	50	2,000	900	2,900
McArthur, Archibald	48						
Crawford, Albert ⁸	28	125	115	10	2,900	1,200	3,100
Pearsall, Ben ⁹		150	150		2,900	1,200	4,100
Crawford, George ¹⁰	67	119.5	110.5	9	2,300	1,300	3,600
Crawford, Ernest	26						
Crawford, Fred ¹¹	38	162.5	107.5	55	2,550	1,000	3,550
Crawford, Wesley	45	162.5	107.5	55	2,550	1,000	3,550
McArthur, James ¹²	21	100	80	20	1,300	600	1,900
Coates, Ernest ¹³	23	150	100	50	1,900	800	2,700
Hickling, Ralph ¹⁴	26	50	50		750	400	1,150
McArthur, William ¹⁵		5	5		100	500	600
Reid, John	30	175	145	30	2,300	1,000	3,300
Walker, John W.	46	183	115	68	2,500	900	3,400
Emms, Joseph ¹⁶	24	176	150	26	2,600	400	3,000
Wiggins, John	54	100	90	10	1,800	1,000	2,800
Ross, Thomas E. ¹⁷	45	200	140	60	3,300	1,300	4,600
Kissock, Samuel	58	150	140	10	2,600	1,000	3,600
McArthur, Archibald	39	70	70		1,200	600	1,800
Gilchrist, George	50	125	80	45	1,150	550	1,700
Miller, Wilson	48	117	97	20	2,100	900	3,000

Source: Simcoe County Archives, Assessment Rolls -- Oro Township, 1922.

UFO Members -- Oro Station UFO Club, Oro Township

Total No. UFO members identified:	34
Average age:	34.24
Average acres owned:	139.53
Average acres cleared:	83.33
Average acres waste:	56.19
Average value, land:	\$2,299.72
Average value, buildings:	\$657.78
Average total value:	\$2,957.50

Oro Township -- General

Total of sample surveyed:	114
Average age:	49.90
Average acres owned:	159.38
Average acres cleared:	97.59
Average acres waste:	59.42
Average value, land:	\$2,575.18
Average value, buildings:	\$794.82
Average total value:	\$3,370.00

1. Includes the categories woodland, slash, and swamp; marsh; and wasteland.
2. Listed as co-owner with father, Guy.
3. Alexander Ross and his brother, Victor (see below), are listed as co-owners with father, Thomas, who was, evidently, not a member of the UFO. For the purposes of this table, all property value has been ascribed to Alexander. Other than for his age, Victor does not figure into the calculations.
4. Listed as co-owner with father, Arthur.
5. Listed as co-owner with a widow named Flora Revie.
6. Listed as co-owner with father, Robert.
7. Listed as co-owner with Archibald A. McArthur, who apparently was his brother and who was also an Oro Station UFO member (see below).
8. Listed as co-owner with father, Robert.
9. Listed as co-owner with Arthur Bell.
10. Listed as co-owner with son, Ernest, also an Oro Station UFO Club member (see below).
11. Listed as co-owner with father, Richard, and brothers, Albert (age 32), Charles (age 27) and Wesley (age 45). For the purposes of this table, the total value of the property is divided between Fred and Wesley.
12. Listed as co-owner with father, John J.
13. Listed as co-owner with father, James.
14. Listed as co-owner with Mary McLarty, who is referred to only as a "spinster." Since Hickling is listed as a farmer and co-owner of the property, his statistics have been included in the total calculations.

15. Listed as a trustee in the assessment roll. Statistics associated with William McArthur are not included in the final calculations.

16. Listed as co-owner with father, William.

17. Although Ross was not a member of the Oro Station UFO, he served as Progressive MP for the riding of North Simcoe, 1921-5.

Appendix I
UFO Members Identified in Oro Township -- Simcoe County
Rugby UFO Club

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Cleared</u>	<u>Nonprod¹</u>	<u>\$Land</u>	<u>\$Buildings</u>	<u>\$Total</u>
Anderson, David C.	31	225	190	35	3,300	1,200	4,500
Langman, Arthur ²		136	136		2,100	1,200	3,300
Langman, Harry							
Ratcliff, Edward	50	150	140	10	2,100	900	3,000
Leigh, Jebez ³	60	400	300	100	5,900	1,700	7,600
Leigh, Montgomery	25						
McLeod, Keith	25	100	80	20	1,000	500	1,500
Hoover, Wm. Jr. ⁴	42	148	148		2,200	1,000	3,200
Hoover, Wm. Sr.							
Scott, George	48	100	100		1,200	500	1,700
Locke, William J.	30	250	180	70	3,400	1,300	4,700
Horne, Benjamin ⁵	50	200	180	20	3,100	1,000	4,100
Horne, James E.	53						
Buchanan, Donald	64	216	80	136	2,600	1,000	3,600
Johnstone, Elwood ⁶	29	34	11	23	300	350	650
Horne, James H. ⁷	42	248	198	50	3,800	1,300	5,100
Horne, William F.	38						
Fell, Eldred ⁸	32	125	109	16	1,900	800	2,700
Jeremy, Thomas	40	166	126	40	2,450	900	3,350
Langman, Herbert	33	150	100	50	2,100	700	2,800
Johnstone, Edgar	36	98	70	28	1,400	700	2,100
Johnstone, Robert ⁹	62	176	131	45	2,300	1,000	3,300
Johnstone, Wilfred	24						
Langman, George	45	100	100		1,800	1,200	3,000
Robertson, William	39	200	130	70	2,700	800	3,500
Anderson, Charles	36	125	75	50	1,225	875	2,100
Tudhope, Wesley		245	180	65	3,000	1,200	4,200
Anderson, Andrew	25	215	195	20	2,200	700	2,900
Horne, Leonard	36	150	125	25	2,400	1,200	3,600
Moore, William	40	100	75	25	1,700	800	2,500

Source: Simcoe County Archives, Assessment Rolls -- Oro Township, 1922.

UFO Members -- Rugby UFO Club, Oro Township

Total No. UFO members identified:	30
Average age:	39.81
Average acres owned:	174.91
Average acres cleared:	136.87
Average acres waste:	38.04
Average value, land:	\$2,429.35
Average value, buildings:	\$977.17
Average total value:	\$3,406.52

Oro Township -- General

Total of sample surveyed:	114
Average age:	49.90
Average acres owned:	159.38
Average acres cleared:	97.59
Average acres waste:	59.42
Average value, land:	\$2,575.18
Average value, buildings:	\$794.82
Average total value:	\$3,370.00

1. Includes the categories woodland, slash, and swamp; marsh; and wasteland.
2. Listed as co-owner with son, Harry, also a Rugby UFO Club member (see below).
3. Listed as co-owner with sons, Perry and Montgomery. Montgomery was also a member of the Rugby UFO Club (see below).
4. Listed as co-owner with father William Sr., also a member of the Rugby UFO Club (see below).
5. Listed as co-owner with James E. Horne, presumably his brother. James was also a member of the Rugby UFO Club (see below).
6. Johnstone owned the property listed here, but "labourer" was used to denote his occupation. His property is not included in the members' averages.
7. Listed as co-owner with William F. Horne (age 38), presumably his brother. William was also a member of the Rugby UFO Club (see below).
8. Listed as co-owner with father, James.
9. Listed as co-owner with son, Wilfred, also a Rugby UFO Club member (see below).

Appendix J
UFO Members Identified in Flos Township -- Simcoe County
Edenvale UFO Club

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Cleared</u>	<u>Nonprod¹</u>	<u>\$Land</u>	<u>\$Buildings</u>	<u>\$Total</u>
Ward, William	29	100	100		3,600	1,000	4,600
Giffen, Newman	35	185	185		9,400	1,200	10,600
Giffen, Henry	31	150	150		7,100	1,200	8,300
McDonald, Donald ²	34	1	1		50	350	400
McNabb, Duncan	67	100	10	90	300	400	700
Culham, Wesley	52	100	90	10	4,100	1,300	5,400
Bowser, George	41	100	70	30	1,900	800	2,700
Rupert, James ³	77						
Rupert, Zeeman	56	76	76		1,500	1,200	2,700
Rupert, Roy	28	78	70	8	1,900	500	2,400
Pearson, Horatus	59	70	40	30	1,700	200	1,900
Maw, William ⁴	29	7	7		200	200	400
Maw, Albert	35	100	100		4,300	500	4,800
Maw, Wilfred	24	100	100		4,500	1,000	5,500
McNabb, John	72	135	50	85	1,500		1,500
Richardson, Abraham	47	176	85	91	1,800	1,000	2,800

Source: Simcoe County Archives, Assessment Rolls -- Flos Township, 1922.

UFO Members -- Edenvale UFO Club, Flos Township

Total No. UFO members identified:	16
Average age:	44.75
Average acres owned:	113.08
Average acres cleared:	86.62
Average acres waste:	26.46
Average value, land:	\$3,353.85
Average value, buildings:	\$792.31)
Average total value:	\$4,146.15

Flos Township -- General

Total of sample surveyed:	102
Average age:	44.61
Average acres owned:	111.21
Average acres cleared:	90.17
Average acres waste:	21.04
Average value, land:	\$3,113.24
Average value, buildings:	\$806.86
Average total value:	\$3,920.10

1. Includes the categories woodland, slash, and swamp; marsh; and wasteland.

2. Since McDonald's occupation is listed as blacksmith, his property statistics are not included in the calculations.

3. Listed as retired, and as co-owner of property with son, Zeeman, also an Edenvale UFO Club member (see below).

4. Since Maw's occupation is listed as bricklayer, his property statistics are not included in the calculations.

Appendix K
UFO Members Identified in Ramsay Township -- Lanark County

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Cleared</u>	<u>Nonprod¹</u>	<u>\$Land</u>	<u>\$Buildings</u>	<u>\$Total</u>
Dezell, William	60	250	180	70	2,900	1,000	4,000
Robertson, William ²	58	163	72	91	1,725	1,100	2,825
Robertson, George	38	100	90	10	2,500	1,600	4,000
Dunlop, W.G. ³	40	149.5	148.5	1	2,900	800	3,700
Burgess, George A.	100		80	20	1,000		1,000
Bowland, Byron	198		160	38	4,000	1,500	5,500
McCreary, Hiram	400		290	110	5,600	2,200	7,800
Turner, James ⁴	100		75	25	1,000	500	1,500
Hilliard, Robert	100		80	20	1,500	600	2,100
Black, Robert ⁵	200		135	65	1,200	600	1,800
Sutherland, Peter	260		228	32	4,000	1,200	5,200
Reid, J.R.	100		80	20	2,100	1,100	3,200
Sadler, T.J.	100		98	2	2,000	1,500	3,500
McArton, John	100		60	40	1,800	1,000	2,800
McArton, J.A.	100		100		2,000	800	2,800
Paul, W.J.	100		90	10	3,000	1,800	4,800
Kenny, James	100		85	15	2,500	1,500	4,000
Yuill, Robert ⁶	125		101	24	2,700	1,200	3,900
Sutherland, Angus	100		75	25	1,000	1,000	2,000
Paterson, James ⁷	250		125	125	3,400	600	4,000
Cochrane, Peter	100		85	15	3,500	1,300	4,800
Cochrane, Wilbert	100		80	20	2,000		2,000
Chapman, Joe	144		120	24	2,525	1,300	3,825
Doherty, George ⁸	100		86	14	2,200	800	3,000
Wylie, J.B. ⁹	206.5		105.5	101	3,750	3,400	7,150
Barker, Robert	100		88	12	3,550	1,000	4,550
Steele, John	100		70	30	4,750	1,500	6,250
Cochrane, Andrew ¹⁰	100		96	4	5,000	1,600	6,600
Gardner, William	132		80	52	2,000	1,000	3,000
Young, Mrs. C.W. ¹¹	200		180	20	3,200	1,300	4,500
Matthews, Alton	100		90	10	3,500	700	4,200
Forde, Andrew	100		80	20	4,000	1,000	5,000
Snedden, W.A. ¹²	158		98	60	3,300	1,500	4,800
Barker, Alex	117		117		3,900	600	4,500
Robertson, W.H.	75		75		1,700	600	2,300
Wright, James	100		60	40	3,300		3,300
McGill, John ¹³	80		70	10	2,000	500	2,500
Ryan, John	100		100		5,000	2,000	7,000
McPhail, Dan	100		80	20	1,400	100	1,500
Syme, Peter	190		140	50	4,000	1,500	5,500
Stewart, Donald	175		125	50	5,225	800	6,025
Neilson, W.H.	200		120	80	5,500	1,500	7,000
Ryan, Michael	600		347	253	2,900	1,200	4,100
Drummond, Sam	100		71	29	3,500	1,500	5,000
Ross, Fred A.	100		85	15	3,000	1,000	4,000

Curtin, Lawrence ¹⁴	100	60	40	400		400
Jamieson, R.	100	70	30	500	200	700

Source: Archives of Ontario, Assessment Rolls -- Ramsay Township, 1914

UFO Members -- Ramsay Township

Total No. UFO members identified:	47
Average acres owned:	147.24
Average acres cleared:	109.67
Average acres waste:	37.56
Average value, land:	\$2,874.46
Average value, buildings:	\$1,058.87
Average total value:	\$3,933.15

Ramsay Township -- General

Total of sample surveyed:	114
Average acres owned:	158.53
Average acres cleared:	112.91
Average acres waste:	44.73
Average value, land:	\$2,787.68
Average value, buildings:	\$876.54
Average total value:	\$3,664.21

1. Includes the categories woodland, slash, and swamp; marsh; and wasteland.
2. Listed as sharing the property with son, Roy.
3. Listed as co-owner of property with father, John (age 70).
4. John and John S. Turner owned adjoining land with a total value of \$4,000.
5. Listed as co-owner with Darrill Black. Because neither of these individuals' ages are listed, it is impossible to know what their relationship was. Even so, Darrill is listed as owning land and buildings worth \$1,600, while Robert's share is a mere \$200.
6. 25 acres of land listed as belonging to R.M. Yuill, presumably his son, are also included in the assessment figures.
7. Listed as Patterson in most newspaper accounts.
8. Listed under property belonging to the estate of A. McIntyre. For the purposes of this table, Doherty is considered a tenant. Property figures are not included in total calculations.
9. Listed as a cheese manufacturer in the assessment roll, which explains the high value of buildings on his property.

10. Listed with Andrew Cochrane are Alex, Wilson, Robert and Milton Cochrane. Alex and Milton were also members of the UFO.
11. Young was a widow.
12. Listed as co-owner with David Snedden, presumably his father. According to the assessment roll, W.A. Snedden owned 60 acres of land (none of which was cleared) worth \$300. David Snedden owned 98 acres, valued at \$3,000 with buildings worth \$1,500.
13. Listed as co-owner with Alex, Victor and William McGill.
14. Listed as Curtain in most newspaper accounts.

Appendix L
UFO Members Identified in Drummond Township -- Lanark County

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Cleared</u>	<u>Nonprod¹</u>	<u>\$Land</u>	<u>\$Buildings</u>	<u>\$Total</u>
Cullen, Cecil ²	27	100	60	40	2,100	900	3,000
McPhail, Donald ³	21	250	115	135	3,400	700	4,100
Tetlock, Howard ⁴	21	225	65	160	2,000	700	2,700
Shaw, Bland	29	100	80	20	2,200	500	2,700
Russell, W.J. ⁵	21	100	50	50	1,800	650	2,450
Lewis, Ernest	21	100	50	50	1,600	500	2,100
Pennett, James ⁶	24	100	80	20	2,400	700	3,100
Walsh, Patrick ⁷	30	150	100	50	3,070	770	3,840
Dowdall, Richard	55	100	75	25	1,800	600	2,400
Dowdall, Lorne	28	100	50	50	1,600	190	1,790
Peters, George		100	60	40	1,400	350	1,750
Devlin, William	27	100	90	10	2,000	600	2,600
McTavish, Robert	44	136.5	100	36.5	3,950	900	4,850
McGregor, Peter	46	150	105	45	4,000	700	4,700
Ebbs, James	43	100	50	50	1,280	800	2,080
Somerville, James	63	100	80	20	1,700	650	2,350
Armstrong, Thomas ⁸	25	200	100	100	1,500	500	2,000
Poole, Jonathan	57	300	190	110	3,595	1,130	4,725

Source: Archives of Ontario, Assessment Rolls -- Drummond Township, 1920.

UFO Members -- Drummond Township

Total No. UFO members identified:	18
Average age:	31.24
Average acres owned:	139.53
Average acres cleared:	83.33
Average acres waste:	56.19
Average value, land:	\$2,299.72
Average value, buildings:	\$657.78
Average total value:	\$2,957.50

Drummond Township -- General

Total of sample surveyed:	114
Average age:	49.90
Average acres owned:	159.38
Average acres cleared:	97.59
Average acres waste:	59.42
Average value, land:	\$2,575.18
Average value, buildings:	\$794.82
Average total value:	\$3,370.00

1. Includes the categories woodland, slash, and swamp; marsh; and wasteland.

2. Listed as co-owner with father, Henry, and brother, Meryl. Figures presented here represent total holdings.
3. Includes 200 acres owned by father, Peter (value of Peter's holding listed as \$3,200).
4. Includes 175 acres owned by father, Gilbert (total value of Gilbert's holding is \$2,540).
5. Listed as co-owner with father, Thomas.
6. Listed as co-owner with father, Louis.
7. Includes 100 acres owned by father, Daniel.
8. Listed as co-owner of property with father, James.

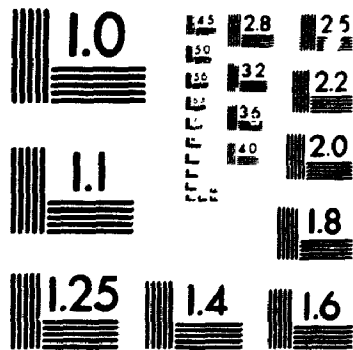
3. Figures for Melville Ferguson include property owned by his father, John H. Ferguson. Melville's share of the property amounted to 50 acres worth \$600.
4. Figures include 80 acres owned by his widowed mother, Janet (value \$300).
5. Co-owned property with his father, William.
6. Burgess was also mayor of Carleton Place. Although he owned 20 acres of land worth \$125, his total assessment came to \$5,950, suggesting that he owned property or buildings elsewhere. The figures for Burgess are not included in the township averages.

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PM-1 3½"x4" PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
NBS 1010a ANSI/ISO #2 EQUIVALENT



Appendix M
UFO Members Identified in Montague Township -- Lanark County

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Cleared</u>	<u>Nonprod¹</u>	<u>\$Land</u>	<u>\$Buildings</u>	<u>\$Total</u>
Bunting, Elias		94.5	94.5		2,600	600	2,600
Chalmers, Harry ²		75	45	30	1,380	400	1,780
Condie, George	60	110	80	30	1,400	1,300	2,700
Condie, Robert	53	60	60		1,200	1,000	2,200
Condie, H.A. ³	24	199	199		3,200	700	3,900
Shaw, Clarence ⁴	23	50	25	25	600		600
Condie, Daniel	50	54.5	54.5		810		810
Carroll, Luke	77	67.5	50	17.5	900	200	1,100
Condie, E.R.	56	50	50		800	400	1,200
Code, William ⁵	71	100	75	25	1,700	700	2,400
Edmunds, James E. ⁶	58	81	81		2,200	800	3,000
Ferguson, J.D.	56	100	50	50	400		400
Farrell, James	62	100	90	10	1,400	400	1,800
McLenaghan, A.C.	53	127.5	125	2.5	4,300	1,100	5,400
McKenna, Chris	51	128	118	10	1,700	300	2,000
McPherson, Norman	35	100	80	20	600	200	800

Source: Archives of Ontario, Assessment Rolls -- Montague Township, 1920.

UFO Members -- Montague Township

Total No. UFO members identified:	16
Average age:	52.79
Average acres owned:	96.47
Average acres cleared:	83.47
Average acres waste:	13.00
Average value, land:	\$1,639.33
Average value, buildings:	\$540.00
Average total value:	\$2,179.33

Montague Township -- General

Total of sample surveyed:	67
Average age:	47.07
Average acres owned:	188.46
Average acres cleared:	118.06
Average acres waste:	70.40
Average value, land:	\$2,010.22
Average value, buildings:	\$604.48
Average total value:	\$2,614.70

1. Includes the categories woodland, slash, and swamp; marsh; and wasteland.

2. Chalmers is listed with what appears to be his father, Edmond. Since Harry's holdings are of such little value (\$80), the total family holdings are included here.

3. Listed as holding adjoining land with George Condie Jr. (age 29), and presumably his brother. The figure presented here is for the total holding, given the relative small value of the holdings of H.A.
4. Listed as a tenant. Property holdings are not included in total calculations.
5. Listed as co-owner of property with Thomas (age 65) and John (age 39) Code.
6. Includes 10 acres owned by his wife, who was a member of the UFWO.

Appendix N
UFO Members Identified in Beckwith Township -- Lanark County

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Cleared</u>	<u>Nonprod¹</u>	<u>\$Land</u>	<u>\$Buildings</u>	<u>\$Total</u>
Henderson, Daniel	68	100	80	20	1,175	650	1,525
McEwen, R.J. ²	37	150	110	40	1,800	650	2,450
McDiarmid, John	57	300	140	160	2,175	450	2,625
Scott, Robert A.	49	400	125	275	2,600	750	3,350
McTavish, Alex	52	200	80	120	1,700	750	2,450
Kettles, R.W.	31	100	80	20	1,400	350	1,750
Ferguson, Aberdeen	24	200	100	100	1,800	600	2,400
Ferguson, Mel. ³	27	150	110	40	1,900	700	2,600
Carmichael, Norm ⁴	38	180	80	100	1,700	500	2,200
McCuan, Thomas	47	175	155	20	2,750	1,000	3,750
McNeely, W.E. ⁵	39	123	98	25	1,400	525	1,925
Timmons, Patrick	60	98	90	8	1,700	900	2,600
Simpson, Homer K.	42	136	98	38	1,450	700	2,150
Burgess, G.A. ⁶		20	20		125		125
Cram, Willard	41	99	90	9	1,500	700	2,200

Source: Archives of Ontario, Assessment Rolls -- Beckwith Township, 1917.

UFO Members -- Beckwith Township

Total No. UFO members identified:	15
Average age:	43.71
Average acres owned:	172.21
Average acres cleared:	102.57
Average acres waste:	69.64
Average value, land:	\$1,789.29
Average value, buildings:	\$658.93
Average total value:	\$2,448.21

Beckwith Township -- General

Total of sample surveyed:	72
Average age:	50.52
Average acres owned:	213.13
Average acres cleared:	128.92
Average acres waste:	84.21
Average value, land:	\$1,635.07
Average value, buildings:	\$496.53
Average total value:	\$2,131.60

1. Includes the categories woodland, slash, and swamp; marsh; and wasteland.

2. Listed as co-owner of property with father, Dan.

3. Figures for Melville Ferguson include property owned by his father, John H. Ferguson. Melville's share of the property amounted to 50 acres worth \$600.
4. Figures include 80 acres owned by his widowed mother, Janet (value \$300).
5. Co-owned property with his father, William.
6. Burgess was also mayor of Carleton Place. Although he owned 20 acres of land worth \$125, his total assessment came to \$5,950, suggesting that he owned property or buildings elsewhere. The figures for Burgess are not included in the township averages.

Appendix O
UFO Members Identified in North Elmsley Township -- Lanark County

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Cleared</u>	<u>Nonprod¹</u>	<u>\$Land</u>	<u>\$Buildings</u>	<u>\$Total</u>
Bowen, Robert ²		150	140	10	2,200	500	2,700
Cullen, Mowat ³		200	130	70	5,000	1,200	6,200
Frizzell, J.H.		50	50		750	500	1,250
Campbell, James A.		100	87	13	2,600	700	3,300
Jackson, Ben		184	94	90	2,400	400	2,800
Lyle, Robert		100	98	2	2,200	600	2,800
McKay, George H.		70	50	20	1,600	1,000	2,600
McLean, Thomas		525	325	200	6,000	1,000	7,000
McGregor, William		185	160	25	3,850	1,150	5,000
Oliver, George		100	80	20	2,400	800	3,200
Poole, T.A. ⁴		300	215	85	4,200	1,000	5,200
Poole, Norman		200	100	100	4,200	1,000	5,200

Source: Archives of Ontario, Assessment Rolls -- North Elmsley Township, 1920

UFO Members -- North Elmsley Township

Total No. UFO members identified:	12
Average acres owned:	183.09
Average acres cleared:	126.27
Average acres waste:	56.82
Average value, land:	\$3,200.00
Average value, buildings:	\$850.00
Average total value:	\$4,050.00

North Elmsley Township -- General

Total of sample surveyed:	51
Average acres owned:	166.31
Average acres cleared:	125.49
Average acres waste:	40.82
Average value, land:	\$3,146.08
Average value, buildings:	\$316.27
Average total value:	\$3,462.35

1. Includes the categories woodland, slash, and swamp; marsh; and wasteland.

2. Listed as a tenant. Property statistics are not used in total calculations.

3. Listed as co-owner with William Cullen.

4. Listed as co-owner with A.H. Poole.

Appendix P
UFO Members Identified in Lanark Township -- Lanark County

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Cleared</u>	<u>Nonprod¹</u>	<u>\$Land</u>	<u>\$Buildings</u>	<u>\$Total</u>
Boyd, Hayes ²	53	150	98	52	3,600	1,000	4,600
McKay, Alex ³	61	550	362	188	2,300	1,100	3,400
Somerville, J.T. ⁴	62	290	180	110	3,200	1,800	5,000
Campbell, Arch.	56	200	150	50	4,000	1,000	5,000
Thompson, George		100	80	20	900	1,000	1,900
McIlraith, George	65	100	45	55	1,400	600	2,000
Stewart, Robert ⁵	28	367	205	162	3,700	1,000	4,700
Somerville, Wm. ⁶	32	846	150	696	3,000	1,000	4,000
McCull, Duncan ⁷	52	0.5	0.5		200	700	900
Townend, J.B. ⁸	37	0.5	0.5		200	800	1,000
Walters, William ⁹	63	100	75	25	1,550	550	2,100

Source: Archives of Ontario, Assessment Rolls -- Lanark Township, 1922.

UFO Members -- Lanark Township

Total No. UFO members identified:	11
Average age:	50.90
Average acres owned:	300.33
Average acres cleared:	149.44
Average acres waste:	150.89
Average value, land:	\$2,627.78
Average value, buildings:	\$1,005.56
Average total value:	\$3,633.34

Lanark Township -- General

Total of sample surveyed:	60
Average age:	47.03
Average acres owned:	228.85
Average acres cleared:	123.10
Average acres waste:	105.75
Average value, land:	\$2,352.75
Average value, buildings:	\$861.67
Average total value:	\$3,214.42

1. Includes the categories woodland, slash, and swamp; marsh; and wasteland.
2. Listed as co-owner with son, Franklin.
3. Listed as co-owner with son, Arthur.
4. Listed as co-owner with son, Roger.
5. Listed as co-owner with father, Arnold (age 60), and brothers, Charles (age 26) and Thomas J. (age 24).

6. Listed as co-owner with father, David.
7. Occupation listed as Congregationalist clergyman. Was a supporter of the movement and quite possibly a member. Property statistics have not been included in final calculations.
8. Occupation listed as Presbyterian clergyman. Was a supporter of the movement and quite possibly a member. Property figures have not been included in final calculations.
9. Listed as co-owner with son, William Jr.

Appendix Q
UFO Members Identified in Pakenham Township -- Lanark County

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Cleared</u>	<u>Nonprod¹</u>	<u>\$Land</u>	<u>\$Buildings</u>	<u>\$Total</u>
McGregor, G.A.	50	150	75	75	1,000	250	1,250
Doyle, William ²	53	250	145	105	1,150	450	1,600
Stanton, Joseph	50	100	50	50	1,000	500	1,500
Noonan, Peter	62	95	95		1,250	1,100	2,350
Ross, Thomas A.	47	96	90	6	2,000	1,000	3,000
Smith, M.J. ³	30	100	70	30	2,500	700	3,200
Noonan, William	36	100	70	30	2,000	600	2,600
McCreary, R.N.	52	104	84	20	2,600	900	3,500
Farquharson, Duncan	42	146	80	66	2,800	700	3,500

Source: Archives of Ontario, Assessment Rolls -- Pakenham Township, 1920

UFO Members -- Pakenham Township

Total No. UFO members identified:	9
Average Age:	46.89
Average acres owned:	126.78
Average acres cleared:	84.33
Average acres waste:	42.45
Average value, land:	\$1,811.11
Average value, buildings:	\$688.89
Average total value:	\$2,500.00

Pakenham Township -- General

Total of sample surveyed:	63
Average Age:	47.15
Average acres owned:	216.10
Average acres cleared:	108.25
Average acres waste:	107.85
Average value, land:	\$2,171.35
Average value, buildings:	\$669.44
Average total value:	\$2,840.79

1. Includes the categories woodland, slash, and swamp; marsh; and other waste land.
2. Listed as co-owner with brother, John.
3. Listed as co-owner with brothers, R.J. and Irwin.

Appendix R
UFO Members Identified in Dalhousie and North Sherbrooke Townships --
Lanark County

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Cleared</u>	<u>Nonprod¹</u>	<u>\$Land</u>	<u>\$Buildings</u>	<u>\$Total</u>
Park, James ²	40	348	28	320	1,000	200	1,200
Cameron, Thomas ³	85	406	116	290	1,160	400	1,560
Stewart, Robert ⁴	36	591	224	367	1,455	700	2,155
Currie, James C. ⁵	56	100	60	40	300		300
Skiffington, A.J. ⁶	56	400	200	200	1,400	600	2,000

Source: Archives of Ontario, Assessment Rolls -- Dalhousie and North Sherbrooke Townships, 1920.

UFO Members -- Dalhousie and North Sherbrooke Townships

Total No. UFO members identified:	5
Average age:	54.60
Average acres owned:	436.25
Average acres cleared:	142.00
Average acres waste:	294.25
Average value, land:	\$1,253.75
Average value, buildings:	\$475.00
Average total value:	\$1,728.75

1. Includes the categories woodland, slash, and swamp; marsh; and wasteland.
2. Listed as co-owner with father, Joseph.
3. Listed as co-owner with son, John.
4. Listed as co-owner with father, William, and brother, Allan.
5. Listed as non-resident. Property statistics are not included in total calculations.
6. Listed as co-owner with son, Bert.

Appendix 9
UFO Members Identified in North Burgess Township -- Lanark County

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Cleared</u>	<u>Nonprod¹</u>	<u>\$Land</u>	<u>\$Buildings</u>	<u>\$Total</u>
Irvin, John	48	121	111	10	2,600	800	3,400
Palmer, Robert	44	88	75	13	3,700	900	4,600
Quigley, Lorne		75	50	25	1,800		1,800
Smith, James J.		430	140	290	3,300	1,200	4,500

Source: Archives of Ontario, Assessment Rolls -- North Burgess Township, 1920

UFO Members -- North Burgess Township

Total No. UFO members identified:	4
Average age:	46
Average acres owned:	178.5
Average acres cleared:	94
Average acres waste:	84.5
Average value, land:	\$2,850.00
Average value, buildings:	\$725.00
Average total value:	\$3,575.00

1. Includes the categories woodland, slash, and swamp; marsh; and other waste land.

Appendix T

Platform of the Lanark Progressive Committee

Preamble

We have in view a complete change in our present economic and social system. In this we recognize our solidarity the world over. As a means to this end and in order to meet the present pressing needs, we recommend the following platform:

1. Unemployment -- State Insurance against Unemployment chargeable to Industry.
2. Public Ownership and Democratic Control of Public Utilities.
3. Electoral Reform -- Proportional Representation. Names instead of Election Deposit. Extension of Voting Facilities.
4. Old Age Pensions and Health Disability Insurance.
5. Abolition of Non-elective Legislative Bodies.
6. International Disarmament.
7. Direct Legislation -- Initiative, Referendum, Recall.
8. Enactment of Recommendations of Washington Labor Conference.
9. Repeal of Amendment to Immigration providing for Deportation of British Subjects.
10. Removal of Taxation on the Necessities of Life, Taxation of Land Values, and Abolition of Fiscal Legislation that Leads to Class Privileges.
11. Nationalization of the Banking System.
12. Capital Levy for Reduction of War Debt.
13. Full Publicity of all Election Expenses.

Appendix U

Federal and Provincial Election Results --
Lambton, Simcoe and Lambton Counties

Lambton East -- Federal Results

Candidate	Party	Votes	% Votes
1921			
Fansher, Burt W.	Prog.	6,747	54.0
Armstrong, Joseph E.	Cons.	5,752	46.0
1925			
Armstrong, Joseph E.	Cons.	5,611	46.0
Fansher, Burt W.	Prog.	5,522	45.3
Stirrett, John R.	Lib.	1,061	8.7
1926			
Fansher, Burt W.	Prog.	6,891	52.1
Armstrong, Joseph E.	Cons.	6,340	47.9
1930			
Sproule, John T.	Cons.	6,209	49.4
Fansher, Burt W.	Prog.	6,196	49.3
Dunlop, Charles G.	Lib.	153	1.3

Lambton West -- Federal Results

Candidate	Party	Votes	% Vote
1921			
LeSueur, Richard V.	Cons.	5,715	37.4
White, Robert J.	Prog.	4,958	32.5
Pardee, Frederick F.	Lib.	4,602	30.1
1925			
Goodison, William T.	Lib.	6,704	50.6
LeSueur, Richard V.	Cons.	6,535	49.4
1926			
Goodison, William T.	Lib.	7,551	50.5
LeSueur, Richard V.	Cons.	7,413	49.5
1930			
Gray, Ross W.	Lib.	7,869	51.8
Haney, Wilfred S.	Cons.	7,314	48.2

Lambton East -- Provincial Results

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Votes</u>	<u>% Vote</u>
1919			
Oke, Leslie W.	UFO	4,575	53.1
Martyn, John B.	Cons.	2,161	25.1
McEachren, Duncan J.	Lib.	1,882	21.8
1923			
Oke, Leslie W.	UFO	3,224	44.3
Dawson, William R.	Cons.	2,766	38.0
Connelly, William G.	Lib.	1,291	17.7
1926			
Oke, Leslie W.	UFO	6,075	57.9
Sproule, John T.	Cons.	4,421	42.1
1929			
Fraleigh Thomas H.	Cons.	4,632	43.9
Oke, Leslie W.	UFO	3,857	36.6
Eastman, Fred C.	Lib.	2,056	19.5
1934			
McVicar, Milton D.	Lib.	7,835	56.8
Fraleigh, Thomas H.	Cons.	5,429	39.4
Oke, Leslie W.	UFO	347	2.5
Fitzgerald, W.Y.	Ind.	183	1.3

Labton West -- Provincial Results

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Votes</u>	<u>% Vote</u>
1919			
Webster, Jonah M.	UFO	6,081	40.4
Crawford, James S.	ILP	4,782	31.8
Gardiner, Peter	Cons.	4,180	27.8
1923			
Haney, Wilfred S.	Cons.	6,022	46.0
Webster, Jonah M.	UFO	3,903	29.8
Cook, Thomas H.	Lib.	3,179	24.2
1926			
Haney, Wilfred S.	Cons.	7,092	60.7
White, Robert J.	UFO	4,588	39.3
1929			
McMillen, Andrew R.	Cons.	5,724	55.0
Miller, William W.	Lib.	4,689	45.0

Simcoe East -- Federal Results

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Votes</u>	<u>% Vote</u>
1921			
Chew, Manley	Lib.	7,414	47.4
Raikes, Richard	Cons.	4,810	30.8
Swindle, Thomas F.	Prog.	3,414	21.8
1925			
Thompson, Alfred B.	Cons.	7,658	52.5
Chew, Manley	Lib.	6,929	47.5
1926			
Thompson, Alfred B.	Cons.	7,994	51.0
Grant, Fred W.	Lib.	7,669	49.0
1930			
Thompson, Alfred B.	Cons.	7,974	51.1
McLean, George A.	Lib.	7,629	48.9

Simcoe North -- Federal Results

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Votes</u>	<u>% Votes</u>
1921			
Ross, Thomas E.	Prog.	5,298	51.4
Currie, John A.	Cons.	4,489	43.5
Holden, William J.	Ind.	527	5.1
1925			
Boys, William A.	Cons.	6,885	52.2
Drury, Ernest C.	Prog.	6,295	47.8
1926			
Boys, William A.	Cons.	7,058	50.7
Drury, Ernest C.	Prog.	6,865	49.3
1930			
Simpson, John T.	Cons.	7,295	53.0
Drury, Ernest C.	Prog.	6,459	47.0

Simcoe South -- Federal Results

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Votes</u>	<u>% Votes</u>
1921			
Boys, William A.	Cons.	6,509	57.8
Jeffs, Compton B.	Prog.	4,758	42.2

Riding abolished 1924

Simcoe Centre -- Provincial Results

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Votes</u>	<u>% Votes</u>
1919			
Murdoch, Gilbert H.	UFO	5,234	57.9
Simpson, J.T.	Cons.	3,808	42.1
1923			
Wright, Charles E.	Cons.	3,535	39.8
Murdoch, Gilbert H.	UFO	3,006	33.9
Simpson, Leonard J.	Lib.	2,332	26.3
1926			
Wright, Charles E.	Cons.	5,315	50.9
Todd, Ebenezer	Lib.	5,120	49.1
1929			
Simpson, Leonard J.	Lib.	5,199	51.1
Forgie, John	Cons.	4,979	48.9

Simcoe East -- Provincial Results

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Votes</u>	<u>% Votes</u>
1919			
Johnston, John B.	UFO/ILP	5,063	40.8
Hartt, James I.	Cons.	4,580	36.9
Anderson, Duncan C.	Ind.	2,773	22.3
1923			
Finlayson, William	Cons.	5,692	57.6
Johnston, John B.	UFO	4,194	42.4
1926			
Finlayson, William	Cons.	7,312	55.8
Ross, Thomas E.	Lib./Prog.	5,782	44.2
1929			
Finlayson, William	Cons.	7,980	61.6
Harvey, James G.	Lib.	4,969	38.4

Simcoe South -- Provincial Results

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Votes</u>	<u>% Votes</u>
1919			
Evans, Edgar J.	UFO	2,927	53.7
Ferguson, Alexander	Cons.	2,526	46.3
1923			
Rowe, William E.	Cons.	3,016	55.9
Evans, Edgar J.	UFO	2,381	44.1

Riding abolished 1926.

Simcoe Southwest -- Provincial Results

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Votes</u>	<u>% Votes</u>
1926			
Mitchell, John. H.	Lib./Prog.	5,779	52.0
Jamieson, James E.	Cons.	5,327	48.0
1929			
Jamieson, James E.	Cons.	6,213	54.4
Mitchell, John H.	Lib.	5,200	45.6

Simcoe West -- Provincial Results

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Votes</u>	<u>% Votes</u>
1919			
Allan, William T.	Cons.	4,491	55.5
Baker, Richard	UFO	3,606	44.5
1923			
Jamieson, James E.	Cons.	3,610	56.8
Baker, Richard	UFO	2,030	31.9
Currie, Hugh A.	Lib.	634	10.0
Carmichael, William	Ind.	84	1.3

Riding abolished 1926.

Lanark -- Federal Results

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Votes</u>	<u>% Votes</u>
1921			
Stewart, John A.	Cons.	9,250	57.7
Anderson, Robert M.	Prog.	6,615	41.3
Ferguson, William G.	Lab.	158	1.0
1922			
Preston, Richard F.	Cons.	8,497	54.7
Findlay, Devid	Lib.	7,048	45.3
1925			
Preston, Richard F.	Cons.	7,620	63.3
Gemmell, Duncan H.	Ind.	4,416	36.7
1926			
Preston, Richard F.	Cons.	8,122	62.3
Buchanan, George W.	Prog.	4,908	37.7
1929			
Murphy, William S.	Ind. Cons.	7,174	55.8
Thompson, Thomas A.	Cons.	5,682	44.2

1930

Thompson, Thomas A.	Cons.	7,064	42.1
Soper, Bert H.	Lib.	5,699	34.0
Murphy, William S.	Ind. Cons.	3,937	23.5
Low, Mildred A.	Ind.	75	0.4

Lanark North -- Provincial Results

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Votes</u>	<u>% Votes</u>
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1919

McCreary, Hiram	UFO	2,881	40.9
Preston, Richard F.	Cons.	2,798	39.7
Forbes, Christopher	Lib.	1,272	19.4

1923

Thompson, Thomas A.	Cons.	3,339	54.3
McCreary, Hiram	UFO	2,808	45.7

1926

Thompson, Thomas A.	Cons.	3,589	51.7
Caldwell, William R.	Lib./Prog.	3,353	48.3

1929

Craig, John A.	Cons.	4,038	56.6
Downing, Albert	Lib.	3,091	43.4

Lanark South -- Provincial Results

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Votes</u>	<u>% Votes</u>
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1919

Johnson, William I.	UFO	3,872	48.2
Gould, James S.	Cons.	3,069	38.2
Grant, Richard	ILP	1,096	13.6

1923

Stedman, Egerton R.	Cons.	3,874	57.3
Johnson, William I.	UFO	2,891	42.8

1926

Stedman, Egerton R.	Cons.	3,874	56.8
Wickware, Ernest H.	Lib.	2,947	43.2

1929

Anderson, James A.	Cons.	4,308	57.4
Anderson, James E.	Lib.	3,197	42.6

Source: Centennial Edition of a History of the Electoral Districts, Legislatures and Ministries of the Province of Ontario 1867-1967,
History of the Federal Electoral Ridings 1867-1992

Appendix V

The Farmers' Platform

Drafted by the Canadian Council of Agriculture, November 29, 1918, and accepted by the member organizations, 1919.

1. A League of Nations as an international organization to give permanence to the world's peace by removing old causes of conflict (sic).

2. We believe that the further development of the British Empire should be sought along the lines of partnership between nations free and equal, under the present governmental system of British constitutional authority. We are strongly opposed to any attempt to centralize imperial control. Any attempt to set up an independent authority with power to bind the Dominions, whether this authority be termed parliament, council or cabinet, would hamper the growth of responsible and informed democracy in the Dominions.

The Tariff

3. Whereas Canada is now confronted with a huge national war debt and other greatly increased financial obligations, which can be most readily and effectively reduced by the development of our natural resources, chief of which is agricultural lands;

And whereas it is desirable that an agricultural career should be made attractive to our returned soldiers and the large anticipated immigration, and owing to the fact that this can best be accomplished by the development of a national policy which will reduce to a minimum the cost of living and the cost of production;

And whereas the war has revealed the amazing financial strength of Great Britain, which has enabled her to finance, not only her own part in the struggle, but also to assist in financing her Allies to the extent of hundreds of millions of pounds, this enviable position being due to the free trade policy which has enabled her to draw her supplies freely from every quarter of the globe and consequently to undersell her competitors on the world's market, and because this policy has not only been profitable to Great Britain, but has greatly strengthened the bonds of Empire by facilitating trade between the Motherland and her overseas Dominions -- we believe that the best interests of the Empire and of Canada would be served by reciprocal action on the part of Canada through gradual reduction of the tariff on British imports, having for its objects closer union and

a better understanding between Canada and the Motherland and at the same time bring about a greater reduction in the cost of living to our Canadian people;

Fosters Combines

And whereas the Protective Tariff has fostered combines, trusts and 'gentlemen's agreements' in almost every line of Canadian industrial enterprise, by means of which the people of Canada -- both urban and rural -- have been shamefully exploited through the elimination of competition, the ruination of many of our smaller industries and the advancement of prices on practically all manufactured goods to the full extent permitted by the tariff;

And whereas agriculture -- the basic industry upon which the success of all our other industries primarily depends -- is unduly handicapped throughout Canada as shown by the declining rural population in both Eastern and Western Canada, due largely to the greatly increased cost of agricultural implements and machinery, clothing, boots and shoes, building material and practically everything the farmer has to buy, caused by the Protective Tariff, so that it is becoming impossible for farmers generally, under normal conditions, to carry on farming operations profitably;

And whereas the Protective Tariff is the most wasteful and costly method ever designed for raising national revenue, because for every dollar obtained thereby for the public treasury at least three dollars pass into the pockets of the protected interests thereby building up a privileged class at the expense of the masses, thus making the rich richer and the poor poorer;

And whereas the Protective Tariff has been and is a chief corrupting influence in our national life because the protected interests, in order to maintain their unjust privileges, have contributed lavishly to political and campaign funds, thus encouraging both political parties to look to them for support, thereby lowering the standard of public morality;

Definite Tariff Demands

Therefore be it resolved that the Canadian Council of Agriculture, representing the organized farmers of Canada, urges that, as a means of remedying these evils and bringing about much-needed social and economic reforms, our tariff laws should be amended as follows:

(a) By an immediate and substantial all-round reduction of the customs tariff.

(b) By reducing the customs duty on goods imported from Great Britain to one-half the rates charged under the general tariff, and that further gradual, uniform reductions be made in the remaining tariff on British imports that will ensure complete Free Trade between Great Britain and Canada in five years.

(c) By endeavoring to secure unrestricted trade in natural products with the United States along the lines of the Reciprocity Agreement of 1911.

(d) By placing all foodstuffs on the free list.

(e) That agricultural implements, farm and household machinery, vehicles, fertilizers, coal, lumber, cement, gasoline, illuminating, fuel and lubricating oils be placed on the free list, and that all raw materials and machinery used in their manufacture also be placed on the free list.

(f) That all tariff concessions granted to other countries be immediately extended to Great Britain.

(g) That all corporations engaged in the manufacture of products protected by the customs tariff be obliged to publish annually comprehensive and accurate statements of their earnings.

(h) That every claim for tariff protection by any industry should be heard publicly before a special committee of parliament.

Taxation Proposals

4. As these tariff reductions may very considerably reduce the national revenue from that source, the Canadian Council of Agriculture would recommend that, in order to provide the necessary additional revenue for carrying on the government of the country and for the bearing of the cost of the war, direct taxation be imposed in the following manner:

(a) By a direct tax on unimproved land values, including all natural resources.

(b) By a graduated personal income tax.

(c) By a graduated inheritance tax on large estates.

(d) By a graduated income tax on the profits of corporations.

(e) That in levying and collecting the business profits tax the Dominion Government should insist that it be absolutely upon the basis of the actual cash invested in the business and that no considerations be allowed for what is popularly known as watered stock.

(f) That no more natural resources be alienated from the crown, but brought into use only under short-term leases, in which the interests of the public shall be properly safeguarded, such leases to be granted only by public auction.

The Returned Soldiers

5. With regard to the returned soldier we urge:

- (a) That it is the recognized duty of Canada to exercise all due diligence for the future well-being of the returned soldier and his dependents.
- (b) That demobilization should take place only after return to Canada.
- (c) That first selection for return and demobilization should be made in the order of length of service of those who have definite occupation awaiting them or have assumed other means of support, preference being given first to married men and then to the relative need of industries, with care to insure so far as possible the discharge of farmers in time for the opening of spring work upon the land.
- (d) That general demobilization should be gradual, aiming at the discharge of men only as it is found possible to secure steady employment.
- (e) It is highly desirable that if physically fit discharged men should endeavor to return to their former occupations, all employers should be urged to reinstate such men in their former positions wherever possible.
- (f) That vocational training should be provided for those who while in the service have become unfitted for their former occupation.
- (g) That provision should be made for insurance at the public expense of unpensioned men who have become undesirable insurance risks while in the service.
- (h) The facilities should be provided at the public expense that will enable returned soldiers to settle upon farming land when by training or experience they are qualified to do so.

6. We recognize the very serious problem confronting labor in urban industry resulting from the cessation of war, and we urge that every means, economically feasible and practicable, should be used by federal, provincial and municipal authorities in relieving unemployment in the cities and towns; and, further, recommend the adoption of the principle of co-operation as the guiding spirit in the future relations between employer and employees -- between capital and labor.

Land Settlement

7. A land settlement scheme on a regulating influence in the selling price of land. Owners of idle areas should be obliged to file a selling price on their lands, that price also to be regarded as an assessable value for purposes of taxation.

8. Extension of co-operative agencies in agriculture to cover the whole field of marketing, including arrangements with consumers' societies for the supplying of foodstuffs at the lowest rates and with the minimum of middleman handling.

9. Public ownership and control of railway, water and aerial transportation, telephone, telegraph and express systems, all projects in the development of natural power, and of the coal mining industry.

Other Democratic Reforms

10. To bring about a greater measure of democracy in government, we recommend:

(a) That the new Dominion Election Act shall be based upon the principle of establishing the federal electorate on the provincial franchise.

(b) The discontinuance of the practice of conferring titles upon citizens of Canada.

(c) The reform of the federal senate.

(d) An immediate check upon the growth of government by order-in-council, and increased responsibility of individual members of parliament in all legislation.

(e) The complete abolition of the patronage system.

(f) The publication of contributions and expenditures both before and after electoral campaigns.

(g) The removal of press censorship upon the restoration of peace and the immediate restoration of the rights of free speech.

(h) The setting forth by daily newspapers and periodical publications, of the facts of their ownership and control.

(i) Proportional representation.

(j) The establishment of measures of direct legislation through the initiative, referendum and recall.

(k) The opening of seats in parliament to women on the same terms as men.

(l) Prohibition of the manufacture, importation and sale of intoxicating liquors as beverages in Canada.

Appendix W
Central UFWO Suggested Fall Meeting Programme -- 1925

September

Community singing; prayer

Business - Minutes, treasurer's report, business arising out of minutes, reports from convenors on the various departments of work, correspondence, new business

Roll call - "A plant or shrub I'd like to have"

Current events; instrumental; paper, "Civics"; solo; paper, "A well-balanced meal; closing remarks.

October

Community singing; opening exercises; business; study of resolutions to be submitted to Head Office

Roll call - "A favorite book"

Current events; solo; paper, "How we can help ourselves in agriculture; instrumental; paper, Importance of rest and recreation for women"

Closing remarks

November

Community singing; opening exercises; business; study of resolutions for annual meeting

Roll call - "Hints for club improvement"

Current events; music; paper, "World peace"; reports from officers and convenors on year's work

Election of officers

Closing remarks

December

Community singing; opening exercises; business; study of remaining resolutions for annual meeting

Roll call - "Christmas suggestions"

Current events; music; paper, "Royal Winter Fair in Toronto"; instrumental; paper, "Christmas"

Closing remarks

Source: Sun, 27 August 1925, p. 8.

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RG 4 (Attorney General)

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Simcoe County Archives

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Minute Book of the Rugby UFO
Minute Book of the Edenvale UFO

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Lanark County

Almonte Gazette
Carleton Place Herald
Lanark Era
Perth Courier
Perth Expositor
Rideau Record (Smiths Falls)
Smiths Falls Record-News

Lambton County

Forest Free Press
Forest Standard
Oil Springs Advance
Petrolia Advertiser-Topic
Petrolia Topic
Sarnia Canadian Observer

Simcoe County

Barrie Examiner
Collingwood Bulletin
Collingwood Enterprise
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