# **Rural Politicization: The Farmers' Sun**

## **Introduction: The Politics of Rural Ontario**

"The people need a new party, wrote George Wrigley in The Canada Farmers' Sun in May 1895, "not united for pelf and plunder... but a party made up of independent men from among the farmers and industrial interests of this country." With expanding industrialism decreasing market prices and increasing agricultural debt, an American agrarian political organization appeared in rural Ontario. Originating from Michigan, the Patrons of Industry appeared in Sarnia in 1889 and spread quickly throughout the province.<sup>2</sup> By February 1892, 1,400 lodges had been established in Ontario and Quebec, boasting a paid membership of 30,000.3 Drawing on this strength, the Patrons elected seventeen members to the Ontario Legislature in 1894. However, beset by financial difficulties the Patrons had all but disappeared by 1898.<sup>5</sup>

In order to fill the void left by the Patrons, British historian and publicist Goldwin Smith organized as a new vehicle for agrarian protest the Farmers' Association of Ontario (FAO). Much like the Patrons this group enjoyed an auspicious start. Nevertheless, while it ultimately became a moderately effective pressure group, the FAO never experienced the widespread popularity or political success of the Patrons of Industry and vanished in 1907, leaving the farmers of Ontario without visible political representation until the establishment of the United Farmers of Ontario (UFO) in 1914. While the Patrons of Industry and the FAO would ultimately fail, one aspect of these organizations remained: The Farmers' Sun. Existing under various names until 1934, The Farmers' Sun served as the organ of the Patrons, the FAO and the UFO. Although biased, the newspaper is an important source for historians in assessing the ideology of rural political movements, trends in rural Ontario, and what issues were important to rural

Ontarians. The evolving composition of the Sun also reveals, and provides reasons for, the growing politicization in rural Ontario.

#### **Evolution**

Marketed as "the official organ of the Patrons of Industry of Ontario and Quebec," The Canada Farmers' Sun was founded in London in May 1892 by George W. Wrigley. A one-time editor of many labour newspapers in Southwestern Ontario and a practicing member of the Church of England, Wrigley was a staunch advocate of Christian reform (applying Christian doctrine to daily life). As producers who were increasingly exploited by the new capitalist order, Wrigley saw labourers and farmers possessing similar grievances. He, in fact, believed like the leaders of the Patrons



Figure 1: In its Early Stages, The Canada Farmers' Sun Served as the Political Organ of the Patrons of Industry (The Canada Farmers' Sun November 28, 1893, p.1). of Industry that only an alliance between the two groups could eliminate monopolies. greed, and the forces of privilege: "I was convinced that the toilers in the factories could

gain little by organization for any other purpose but to take political action, and that this procedure on their part could not be successful unless they were joined in such a movement by the toilers in the fields, who are their natural allies everywhere." To achieve this end, Wrigley founded The Canada Farmers' Sun in May 1892. Recognizing the need for a printed voice, the Patrons of Industry adopted The Canada Farmers' Sun as their organ, acquiring fifty percent of the newspaper in 1894 (see figures 1 and 2).<sup>11</sup>

The Canada Farmers' Sun was an eight page weekly with a subscription cost of one dollar per annum or three cents per issue. 12 Print ads appeared in the newspaper



Figure 2: The Patrons of Industry Acquired Fifty Percent of The Canada Farmers' Sun in 1894 (The Canada Farmers' Sun, December 19, 1894, p.1).

beginning in June 1892 and in May 1894 Wrigley moved the Sun's operations to

Toronto. 13 A year after the move, the newspaper's circulation reached its height of 35,000 subscribers. 14 In Toronto, Wrigley also introduced the Brotherhood Era as a supplement to the Sun. Appearing as an insert in the newspaper in 1895 and 1896, the Brotherhood

Era was geared towards attracting an urban audience by focusing on the perceived social injustice of industrial capitalism (see figure 3). Tied to the Patrons of Industry, however, the Sun fell into financial trouble as the Patrons movement declined. Faced with impending bankruptcy the newspaper was sold to Goldwin Smith in April 1896 for a reported \$30,000.16

Smith did not share Wrigley's belief in the importance of a farmer/labour political alliance. 17 Determined to "shore up" the rural community's image of itself, Smith's goal was to turn the Sun into "the voice of rural Ontario." Consequently the newspaper was reformatted. It was expanded to ten pages, Wrigley was replaced as editor by W.L. Smith (former editor of the Toronto News and Orange Sentinel), and the newspaper was renamed The Weekly Sun, bearing the slogan "An Independent Journal For Farm and Home." <sup>19</sup> English liberal Goldwin Smith contributed weekly columns to the newspaper



Figure 3: The Brotherhood Era was Introduced as an Urban Supplement to The Canada Farmers' Sun in 1895 (The Canada Farmers' Sun, February 12, 1896).

under the pseudonym "A Bystander" from August 3, 1896 until his death in September 1910 (see figure 4).<sup>20</sup>

The Weekly Sun became a defender of agrarian interests. It championed farmer's issues such as free trade and was active in the creation of the FAO.<sup>21</sup> Smith believed the FAO was essential to the cause of recognition and redress for farmers and as a result operated The Weekly Sun as the group's organ until the FAO dissolved in 1907.<sup>22</sup> A year before Smith's death the newspaper's circulation reached 16,000 subscribers.<sup>23</sup> Following



Figure 4: Goldwin Smith "A Bystander" (The Weekly Sun, February 11, 1897, p.1). Smith's death in September 1910, W.D. Gregory became the director of the Sun.<sup>24</sup> In its later years the newspaper served as the unofficial organ of the UFO until the Board of

Directors of the Sun agreed to sell the newspaper to the UFO in January 1919, believing that as a strong farmer's organization it was "fitting that it should have an organ under its own control."25

"As an antidote to the ill-disposed urban press," the UFO purchased The Weekly Sun with the intent of making it an outlet to "effectively champion the rural point of view."<sup>26</sup> The newspaper was to be operated by the Farmer's Publishing Company, a wing of the UFO, and renamed The Farmers' Sun the "Official Organ of the United Farmers of Ontario."27 J.C. Ross succeeded aging W.L. Smith as managing editor and the transformed newspaper's first president was UFO co-founder Colonel J.Z. Fraser.<sup>28</sup> Although the Sun's editorial policy matched that of the UFO's platform, Fraser stated in the first issue that the newspaper would serve as a "mouthpiece not only to the U.F.O. itself, but all the farmers of Ontario."<sup>29</sup>

Claiming the largest circulation of any "farm weekly newspaper in Canada," The Farmers' Sun originally was a weekly publication.<sup>30</sup> Following the regular introduction of photographs on October 22, 1919, however, the Sun was distributed twice weekly at a cost of one dollar and fifty cents per annum.<sup>31</sup> With the fragmentation of the UFO in the early 1920s, the Sun's circulation began to decrease drastically in the last months of 1922. Attempting to stop this slide, Ross was replaced as editor by John Hamm and the paper adopted a more conservative slant.<sup>32</sup> This did not have the desired effect. Circulation continued to plummet throughout the 1920s and early 1930s and the Sun ceased publication following the UFO's withdrawal from an alliance with the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation in 1934, only to be revived in 1936 under the name Rural Co-operator.<sup>33</sup>

## **Content**

The Canada Farmers' Sun covered a wide range of issues. The newspaper included a sports column entitled "The Sporting World" and included frequent articles on issues such as rural depopulation, monetary reform, women's suffrage, proportional representation and direct democracy.<sup>34</sup> The Sun also devoted a great deal of space to agricultural issues. Weekly columns included "Wide World Wirelets," "Farm and Garden," and "Husbandry." These columns outlined various agricultural techniques and provided "timely pointers," such as: "Sheep sorrel often thrives under varying circumstances and on unlike soils."35 Print ads also dealt with agricultural topics, primarily advertising breeders, seed manufacturers, and agricultural exhibitions.<sup>36</sup>

True to its label as the official organ of the Patrons of Industry, the Sun devoted three of its eight pages each week to the publication of Patron affairs. "Tips from Patron's Pens" and "Conversaziene" appeared as weekly columns and Wrigley's editorials dealt exclusively with various points of the Patrons' platform.<sup>37</sup> He echoed the Patrons' stance on issues such as the elimination of railway subsidies, the abolition of the tariff and championed their campaign for more economy in government and the elimination of capitalism.<sup>38</sup> In an April 25, 1893 editorial Wrigley, in fact, denounced trust and loan companies as "the vampire or devil fish that subsists and riots in luxury and wealth as the expense of the toiling masses."<sup>39</sup>

Much like its predecessor. The Weekly Sun combined agricultural news with politics (see figure 5). A typical issue of the newspaper combined weekly columns and articles on agricultural issues such as "News and Views from the Farm," "Live Stock Market Reviews," and "Bumper Wheat Crop Due Next Year," with political articles such as "The Bye-Elections." The newspaper's advertisements also continued to be geared

towards rural consumers. Ads in a typical issue outlined new farming implements and basic personal hygiene items such as soap. 41 Under Goldwin Smith The Weekly Sun pursued a different editorial policy. Smith shifted the Sun's editorial policy to issues directly affecting farmers. Editorials championed the farmer's campaign for higher market prices and free trade. 42 In fact, an editorial in January 1919 went as far as to state that free trade would prevent war. 43



Figure 5: The Weekly Sun moved away from The Canada Farmers' Sun's Preoccupation with Uniting Farmers and Labourers. It Combined Agricultural News with Politics (The Weekly Sun, January 21, 1897, p.1).

The Sun also publicized farmer's interests by serving as the organ for the FAO and later the UFO. In accordance with the FAO's agenda, the newspaper published articles on transportation problems for farmers and taxation of public services: "Taxes imposed on the people wholly and solely for the support of Government."44 The UFO's agenda was also publicized by The Weekly Sun. Future UFO leader E.C. Drury wrote

weekly articles on social and economic problems facing farmers such as industrialism and grants to iron and steel manufacturers. 45 In it last year of publication the newspaper finally added a women's section entitled "The Sun Sister's Page," which contained a column on the United Farm Women of Ontario (UFWO) written by provincial secretary "Miss" Emma Griesbach (see figure 6). 46



Figure 6: The Weekly Sun, added a Women's Page in 1919. Among the Columns Appearing on the Page was "The U.F.WO. Corner" (The Weekly Sun, January 1, 1919, p.6).

The content of The Farmers' Sun reflects the increasing politicization of early twentieth century rural Ontario. Agricultural columns that had characterized The Canada Farmers' Sun and The Weekly Sun were replaced increasingly with political columns such as the "News from the U.F.O. Firing Line," that outlined the policies of the UFO.<sup>47</sup> The newspaper's content dealt almost exclusively with UFO issues such as increased

economy in government, temperance, and tariffs. Frequent articles by UFO officials such as E.C. Drury and secretary J.J. Morrison offered solutions to these problems by calling for the removal of tariff walls, the abolition of radials, and the curbing of salaries of provincial cabinet ministers. Eurther articles in the Sun defended the UFO's policies against charges by urban publications such as the Toronto Telegram that they were radical. One article cited a twelve percent drop in immorality in New York during the First World War as evidence of the validity of the UFO's stance on "temperance principles," while another cited unequal distribution of wealth under tariff conditions as a prime reason for a free trade economy. On a side note, while The Farmers' Sun adopted a singular focus, advertisements in the newspaper became increasingly diversified and commercialized. Ads appeared not only from fertilizer and seed manufacturers, but also from the Imperial Bank of Canada and the Ford Motor Company.

#### **Provenance**

The Farmers' Sun collection in the University of Guelph Archives contains issues of the newspaper dating from 1909-1934 (volumes 17-44 lacking volumes 25, 30, 31, 32, 36, 38, 39, 43, 44). This collection was compiled from issues purchased by the Ontario Agricultural College which were housed in the College's library. In 1995 the collection was microfilmed with funds from the University of Guelph Alma Mater Fund. Although not part of the archival collection, the University of Guelph's library possesses a more complete collection of the newspaper microfilmed in 1960 from the collection at the Ontario Archives. With the exception on volumes five, seven, and eight, this microfilmed collection contains every issue from the <u>Sun</u> including the <u>Brotherhood Era</u>.

# Significance as a Source for Rural History: What the Sun Reveals

Beyond the important information that the newspaper's print ads, articles, and circulation provide for historians assessing late nineteenth century and early twentieth century agricultural techniques and technology as well as literacy rates in rural Ontario, the Sun provides a wealth of information that historians can use to assess the ideology of rural political movements such as the UFO and the Patrons of Industry. In its three phases, the Sun carried reports of meetings, published platforms, manifestos, and news from local and provincial branches of the Patrons, FAO, and the UFO.<sup>52</sup> For instance, the column "Tips From Patron's Pens" supplies potential researchers with information on Patrons' organizations in Hanover, Bruce Township, Essex County, and Brantford. 53 The Canada Farmers' Sun also provides invaluable information on early rural protest movements. At special subscription rates, Wrigley provided small rural organizations with the opportunity to publish their cause. 54 Consequently, The Canada Farmers' Sun carried articles and editorials detailing the activities of groups such as the Patron Traders of Hamilton and the Knights of Pythias.<sup>55</sup> Wrigley even published the platform of the 1892 St. Louis branch of the People's Party (see figure 7).<sup>56</sup>

People's Party Platform.

The platform adopted by the great industrial conference at St. Louis, Mo., on Feb. 22.24, 1892, is as below:

FINANCE.

We demand a national currency, safe, sound and flexible, issued by the General Government only, a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, and that without the use of banking corporations, a just, equitable and efficient means of distribution, direct to the people, at a tax not to exceed 2 per cent., to be provided as set forth in the sub-treasury plan of the Farmers' Alliance, or some better system; also by payments in discharge of its obligations for public improvements.

We demand the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

We demand that the amount of the circulating medium be speedily increased to not less than \$50 per capita.

We demand a graduated income tax.

We believe that the money of the country should be kept as much as possible in the hands of the people, and hence we demand that all national and state revenues

KNIGHTS OF PYTHIAS.

Clesing Session of the Grand Lodge—
Officers Elected—Petrolea the
Next Meeting Place.

St. Thomas, June 16.—The Grand Lodge of the Knights of Pythias closed its sessions yesterday. The committee on the state of the order recommended the granting of charters to Damon Lodge, No. 6, Toronto, and to Petrolea Lodge, No. 17, Petrolea.

A proposal to admit ladies to membership in the order was almost unanimously voted down.

Petrolea was chosen as the next place of meeting of the Grand Lodge. The following grand officers were elected for the ensuing year. Grand prelate, J. B. Davidson, St. Thomas, was selected by acclamation to be grand chancellor; J. H. Rispin, of Chatham, grand-vice-chancellor; Dr. English, of London, grand-prelate; W. J. Karkeak, Toronto, grand-master of exchequer; G. H. Mitchell, Toronto, grand keeper of records and seals (reclected); W. C. Mapiodorain, Fort-William, inner guard; E. W. Pyke, Toronto, outer

Figure 7: The Platform of the St. Louis Branch of the People's Party and the Activities of the Knight of Pythias are just two examples of Information <u>The Canadian Farmers' Sun</u> Provides on Early Rural Protest Movements (<u>The Weekly Sun</u>, June 21, 1892, pp.1, 8).

The <u>Sun</u> can also serve as an important source for historians in assessing trends in rural Ontario. Issues of the newspaper can help challenge commonly held assumptions about rural Ontario, such as that all rural Ontarians were conservative-minded or that they supported the Boer War. Historically viewed as a "contest of wills between English-Canada and French-Canada," Carman Miller has used <u>The Weekly Sun</u> extensively to prove that there was a small but well-defined opposition to the South African War among English speaking farmers in Ontario.<sup>57</sup> While urban English-Canadian newspapers like <u>The Globe</u> joined the imperial chorus by abusing the Boers and labelling them "primitive," letters to the editor that appeared in the <u>Sun</u> dismissed the war as a capitalist endeavour, labelling it a "waste" and "one of the strange freaks of human nature."

Tied to its significance as a source for rural history, issues from the <u>Sun</u> reveal what issues were important to rural Ontarians. While Kenneth Sylvester states that urban editors "made little effort to understand what mattered to rural readers," Ramsay Cook states that the <u>Sun's</u> editors and writers not only shared "assumptions that were dear to the agricultural community" but accepted the ideology of agrarianism. The newspaper reflected rural discontent on the rising costs of the Chippawa hydro-electric development, their concern with rural depopulation, and their demand for reciprocity and economic reform. While the Manitoba Schools Question dominated the front pages of urban newspapers such as the <u>Toronto Daily Star</u> and <u>The Globe</u> in 1896, the <u>Sun</u> made almost no mention of this issue, focusing on issues facing farmers. In fact, one letter to the editor in April 1896 stated that farmers were focused on economic issues such as the tariff and refused to be distracted by the Manitoba Schools Question.

More importantly, and as stated previously, the changing composition of the <u>Sun</u> reveals the growing politicization in rural Ontario. While originally devoting a great deal of space to agricultural issues through columns such as "Husbandry" and "Farm and Garden," the <u>Sun</u> focused greater attention on politics as farmers became increasing displaced by industrialization and frustrated by an unresponsive government. Practical advice columns were gradually replaced by weekly political columns such as "The Farmer's Platform" that outlined political issues facing farmers (see figure 8). As Russell Hann suggests, letters to the editor in the <u>Sun</u> also reveal "the extent to which men of humble intellectual resources were able to discuss problems of political economy with real sophistication."

### **Limitations/ Reliability**

The first limitation of the <u>Sun</u> is that the newspaper is not indexed.<sup>64</sup> This makes research with the newspaper time consuming. A more important point to consider when utilizing the newspaper for primary research, however, is that it is biased. Whether it be the Patrons of Industry, the FAO, or the UFO, the editorial policy of the <u>Sun</u> was biased towards the organization it represented and therefore, not reflective of all rural Ontarians.<sup>65</sup> As previously stated, <u>The Canada Farmers' Sun</u> and <u>The Farmers' Sun</u> were funded by the Patrons of Industry and the UFO and, thus, sympathetic towards these organizations because they were dependent on them for their existence.<sup>66</sup> Wrigley merely echoed the views of the Patrons' president Caleb Mallory on issues such as economic reform, while J.C. Ross reported sympathetically on the UFO in The Farmers' Sun.



Figure 8: <u>The Farmers' Sun</u> took a more Political focus than its Predecessors (<u>The Farmers' Sun</u>, January 31, 1920, p.1).

In his dedication to unifying the farmer's movement, Ross provided no insight into the split of the UFO into factions led by Drury and Morrison and refused to criticize any policies of the UFO led government.<sup>67</sup> For instance, despite opposition by UFO members, the United Dairymen Co-operative, and independent milk producers to a proposed bill introduced by UFO Minister of Agriculture Manning Doherty to establish a provincially owned dairy company, Ross failed to assess the merits of Doherty's proposed bill (which would later be withdrawn), writing a supportive front page and editorial on the bill.<sup>68</sup> Party members like Drury and UFO President R.W.E. Burnaby became so overtly critical of Ross' editorial policy that he was replaced as editor of the newspaper.<sup>69</sup>

## **Conclusion**

The establishment of <u>The Farmer's Sun</u> must be placed in the context of the growing politicization of rural Ontario in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As farmers turned increasingly to direct political action, the <u>Sun</u>, much like smaller farm weeklies such as the <u>Bobcaygeon Independent</u> and the <u>Canadian Gleaner</u>, devoted more attention to politics at the expense of practical advice columns on agricultural techniques and technology. This political focus makes the <u>Sun</u> a valuable source for rural historians. It provides information on established and early agrarian political movements and allows researchers to assess the reasons for rural Ontario's increasing shift to direct political action.

## **Endnotes**

<sup>1</sup> "Patronism A Necessity," The Canada Farmers' Sun, May 22, 1895, p.1.

<sup>2</sup> J. Schulz, Rise and Fall of Canadian Farm Organizations (Winnipeg: Evans Printing &

Stationary Ltd., 1950), p.33.

<sup>3</sup> Lois Aubrey Wood. A History of Farmer's Movements in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), p.115; and Russell G. Hann, Some Historical Perspectives on Canadian Agrarian Political Movements: the Ontario origins of agrarian criticism of Canadian industrial society (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1973), p.4.

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

- <sup>5</sup> J. Schulz, Rise and Fall of Canadian Farm Organizations (Winnipeg: Evans Printing & Stationary Ltd., 1950), p.39.
- <sup>6</sup> Lois Aubrey Wood. A History of Farmer's Movements in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), p.148-149.
- <sup>7</sup> J. Schulz, Rise and Fall of Canadian Farm Organizations (Winnipeg: Evans Printing & Stationary Ltd., 1950), p.43.

The Canada Farmers' Sun, May 10, 1892, p.1.

Russell G. Hann, Some Historical Perspectives on Canadian Agrarian Political Movements: the Ontario origins of agrarian criticism of Canadian industrial society (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1973), p.5; and Lois Aubrey Wood. A History of Farmer's Movements in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), p.114. Wrigley had written for the London Advertiser, had edited the Wallaceburg Valley Record, the Drumbo Record and the Canada Labour Courier, which he founded in 1886 in St. Thomas. The Canada Labour Courier became tied with the Knights of Labor; and Ramsay Cook, "Tillers and Toilers: The Rise and Fall: of Populism in Canada in the 1890s," in Dana Johnson and Louise Ouellette eds., Historical Papers: A Selection from the Papers Presented at the Annual Meeting Held At Guelph 1984 (Ottawa, Campbell Corp., 1984), p.1.

<sup>10</sup> George Wrigley, "Leaving the Sanctum," The Canada Farmers' Sun July 29, 1896, p.1.

11 Ramsay Cook, "Wrigley, George Weston," <u>Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online</u>, http://www.biographi.ca/EN/ShowBio.asp?BioId=41275&query=george%20AND%20wrigley. Wrigley became a member of the Patrons of Industry in 1894.

The Canada Farmers' Sun, May 3, 1892, p.1.

- <sup>13</sup> The Canada Farmers' Sun, June 7, 1892, p.5; and Ramsay Cook, "Wrigley, George Weston," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online, http://www.biographi.ca/EN/ShowBio.asp?BioId=41275&query =george%20AND%20wrigley.
- <sup>14</sup> The Canada Farmers' Sun, May 1, 1895, p.1; and Ramsay Cook, "Tillers and Toilers: The Rise and Fall: of Populism in Canada in the 1890s," in Dana Johnson and Louise Ouellette eds., Historical Papers: A Selection from the Papers Presented at the Annual Meeting Held At Guelph 1984 (Ottawa, Campbell Corp., 1984), p.9. Cook states that although subscription numbers were provided by the newspaper itself "they are probably not greatly inflated since the Patrons had a membership of some 35,000 in 1894.'
- <sup>15</sup> Ramsay Cook, "Wrigley, George Weston," <u>Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online</u>, http://www.biographi.ca/EN/ShowBio.asp?BioId=41275&guery=george%20AND%20wrigley. <sup>16</sup> W.D. Gregory, "A Word of Farewell," The Farmers' Sun, April 2, 1919, p.1; and Lois Aubrey Wood. A History of Farmer's Movements in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), p.147. By 1896 The Canada Farmers' Sun's circulation had declined to only 4,000; and H.H. Hannam, Pulling Together For Twenty Five Years (Toronto: The United Farmers of Ontario, 1940), p.30.
- D.R. Farrell, "The Canada First Movement and Canadian Political Thought," Journal of Canadian Studies V.4(4) (1968), p.21; and Ramsay Cook, "Smith, Goldwin," Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online, http://www.biographi.ca/EN/ShowBio.asp?BioId=41197&query=goldwin%20AND%20 smith. Smith began his journalism career in 1859 contributing to the Morning Chronicle in London, England. He subsequently wrote for the Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art (1855), London Daily News (1863-1863), Canadian Monthly and National Review, The Globe, the Nation (1874), the Evening Telegram (1876), and the Bystander (1879). The Weekly Sun would be his last venture in journalism.

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Charles M. Johnston, E.C. Drury: Agrarian Idealist (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), p.16.
 The Weekly Sun, January 1, 1919, p.1; and Lois Aubrey Wood. A History of Farmer's Movements in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), p. 147; and Carman Miller, Painting the Map Red: Canada and the South African War, 1899-1902 (Montreal: Canadian War Museum and McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), p.23. After being dismissed as editor of The Weekly Sun, Wrigley became the Christian Socialist editor of the Citizen and Country.

<sup>20</sup> W.D. Gregory, "A Word of Farewell," <u>The Farmers' Sun</u>, April 2, 1919, p.1. "A Bystander" appeared until September 8, 1910, and was discontinued after his death on September 9, 1910; and Ramsay Cook, "Smith, Goldwin," <u>Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online</u>, http://www.biographi.ca/EN/Show Bio.asp?BioId=41197&query=goldwin%20AND%20smith. It was writing for the <u>Canadian Monthly Review</u> in February 1872 that Smith first used the alias "A Bystander;" and Elisabeth Wallace, <u>Goldwin Smith, Victorian Liberal</u> (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p.122-123.

<sup>21</sup>Lois Aubrey Wood. <u>A History of Farmer's Movements in Canada</u> (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), p. 148. It was a suggestion by Smith in <u>The Weekly Sun</u> to form a new farmer's organization that eventually led to the creation of the FAO.

<sup>22</sup> Charles M. Johnston, E.C. Drury: Agrarian Idealist (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), p.25.

<sup>23</sup> The Canadian Newspaper Directory. 6<sup>th</sup> Edition (Montreal: A. McKim Limited, 1909), p.48.

<sup>24</sup> W.D. Gregory, "A Word of Farewell," The Farmers' Sun, April 2, 1919, p.1.

<sup>25</sup> Ib<u>id</u>., p.1.

<sup>26</sup> Charles M. Johnston, E.C. Drury: Agrarian Idealist (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), p.53.

<sup>27</sup> <u>The Farmers' Sun</u>, April 2, 1919, p.1; and Lois Aubrey Wood. <u>A History of Farmer's Movements in Canada</u> (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), p.282. Wood states that UFO executives wanted to name the newspaper the <u>United Farmer</u>, but finding that name copyrighted they settled on <u>The Farmers' Sun</u>.

<sup>28</sup> Colonel J.Z. Fraser, "A Word of Greeting," The Weekly Sun, April 2, 1919, p.1.

<sup>29</sup> <u>Ibid</u>., p.1.

The Canadian Newspaper Directory. 6<sup>th</sup> Edition (Montreal: A. McKim Limited, 1909), p. 245. There is no doubt that this claim was true. With a circulation of 72,800, Montreal's <u>Journal d'Agriculture et d'Horticulture</u> was the largest agriculture publication. However, this was a monthly publication.

<sup>31</sup> The Farmers' Sun, October 22, 1919, p.1; and "Twice-a-week," The Farmers' Sun, January 7, 1920, p.1. <sup>32</sup> Charles M. Johnston, E.C. Drury: Agrarian Idealist (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), p.113.

- <sup>33</sup> Jim Anderson et al., A Political History of Agrarian Organizations in Ontario, 1914-1940: with special reference to Grey and Bruce Counties (Toronto: Chase Press, 1974), p.53. Anderson states that by 1934 the "UFO was totally unrepresentative of the farmers of Ontario; its membership constituted only about 5 per cent of the rural population."
- <sup>34</sup> The Canada Farmers' Sun, January 14, 1893, p.3.

35 "Husbandry," The Canada Farmers' Sun, June 21, 1892, p.4.

<sup>36</sup> The Canada Farmers' Sun, June 7, 1892, p.5. This particular page of the newspaper advertised a hog breeder.

<sup>37</sup> <u>The Canada Farmers' Sun</u>, June 14, 1892, p.1.

<sup>38</sup> "A Patron Manifesto," <u>The Canada Farmers' Sun</u>, May 22, 1895, p.1. This article called for the abolition of the Senate and the Government House at Ottawa.

<sup>39</sup> The Canada Farmers' Sun, April 25, 1893, p.3.

- The Weekly Sun, February 19, 1919, p.1.
- The Weekly Sun, January 16, 1901.
- <sup>42</sup> The Weekly Sun, January 7, 1911, p.3; and The Weekly Sun, November 22, 1910, p.3.
- <sup>43</sup> "Universal Free Trade Can Only Prevent War," <u>The Weekly Sun</u>, January 1, 1919, p.1.
- <sup>44</sup> "Farmers Association Meeting At Picton," <u>The Weekly Sun</u>, October 22, 1902, p.3.
- <sup>45</sup> Charles M. Johnston, E.C. Drury: Agrarian Idealist (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), p.16.
- <sup>46</sup> Miss Griesbach, "UFWO: The Corner," <u>The Weekly Sun</u>, January 1, 1919, p.6.
- <sup>47</sup> The Farmers' Sun, April 2, 1919, p.1.

48 J.J. Morrison, "Talks on the Tariff," <u>The Farmers' Sun</u>, April 3, 1920, p.1; and "The Profitable Industrial Maze," <u>The Farmers' Sun</u>, May 28, 1919, p.11; and "Needless Duplication of Radial Railways in Ontario," <u>The Farmers' Sun</u>, April 3, 1920, p.1; and "Provincial Expenditure Has Gone Up Like A Balloon," The Farmers' Sun, October 8, 1919, p.11.

<sup>49</sup> "Toronto Telegram Has it all Doped, Out," <u>The Farmers' Sun</u>, December 3, 1919, p.9.

<sup>50</sup> "Testimony for the Prohibitionists," The Farmers' Sun, May 7, 1919, p.3; and "Temperance Campaign is Not By Fanatics- Drury's Great Reception," The Farmers' Sun, April 16, 1921, pp.1,7; and "Farmer's Short-Handed while Industries Thrive," The Farmers' Sun, June 4, 1919, p.11. <sup>51</sup> The Farmers' Sun, January 7, 1921.

<sup>52</sup> "Provincial Platform of the U.F.O.," <u>The Farmers' Sun</u>, September 10, 1919, p.12; and "At the Grand," The Canada Farmers' Sun, March 14, 1893, p.1.

<sup>3</sup> "Tips From Patron's Pens," The Canada Farmers' Sun, June 28, 1892, p.1; and "A Patron

Manifesto," <u>The Canada Farmers' Sun, May 22, 1895, p.1.</u>

54 "Advertising Rates," <u>The Canada Farmers' Sun, June 7, 1892, p.4.</u> Wrigley charged fifteen cents per line for each individual article or a three month contract of thirteen articles for \$1.60. <sup>55</sup> The Canada Farmers' Sun, June 21, 1892, p.8; and The Canada Farmers' Sun, June 28, 1892, p.1. <sup>56</sup> "People's Party Platform," The Canada Farmers' Sun, June 21, 1892, p.1.

<sup>57</sup> Carman Miller, Painting the Map Red: Canada and the South African War, 1899-1902 (Montreal: Canadian War Museum and McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), p.22. Miller states that

farmers opposed the Boer War for financial, liberal, pacifist, and practical reasons.

"Boers and Britain," The Globe, October 12, 1899, p.4; and "The Waste of War," The Weekly Sun, January 28, 1901, p.8; and "Jingoism and DCapitalism," The Weekly Sun, March 13, 1901, p.10.; and The Weekly Sun, January 28, 1901, p.10. In a letter to the editor, W.M. Fairweather stated that he wished "the South African war were forgotten."

<sup>59</sup> Kenneth M. Sylvester, The Limits of Rural Capitalism: family, culture, and markets in Montcalm, Manitoba 1870-1940 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), p. 115.

60 "The Next Step Regarding Hydro Policy," The Farmers' Sun, March 13, 1920, p.1; and "Appalling Decline in Rural Ontario Shown by Official Figures," The Farmers' Sun, October 8, 1919, p.13. The Globe, April 15, 1896, p.1; and The Globe, April 28, 1896, p.1; and The Globe, April 27, 1896, p.1.

<sup>62</sup> The Canada Farmers' Sun, April 22, 1896, p.2; and The Toronto Daily Star, May 19, 1896, p.1;

and The Toronto Daily Star, June 8, 1896, p.1; and The Toronto Daily Star, June 15, 1896, p.1.

Russell G. Hann, Some Historical Perspectives on Canadian Agrarian Political Movements: the Ontario origins of agrarian criticism of Canadian industrial society (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1973), p.5; and Ramsay Cook, "Tillers and Toilers; The Rise and Fall: of Populism in Canada in the 1890s," in Dana Johnson and Louise Ouellette eds., Historical Papers: A Selection from the Papers Presented at the Annual Meeting Held At Guelph 1984 (Ottawa, Campbell Corp., 1984), p.13.

<sup>64</sup> Edwinna Von Baeyer, Ontario Rural Society 1867-1830: A Thematic Index of Selected Ontario Agricultural Periodicals (Ottawa: Bhakti Press, 1985), pp.6-7. Von Baeyer did not index The Farmers' Sun. She has however indexed agricultural periodicals such as The Farmer's Advocate, Canadian Farm, Canada Farmer, Ontario Farmer, Rural Canada, and Canadian Countryman.

<sup>65</sup> Kenneth M. Sylvester, The Limits of Rural Capitalism: family, culture, and markets in Montcalm, Manitoba 1870-1940 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), p. 115. Sylvester states that this was "an age when newspapers were thoroughly partisan organs."

66 "The Canada Farmers' Sun Officially Recognized by the Grand Executive Board," The Canada Farmers' Sun, May 10, 1892, p.1.

<sup>67</sup> The Farmers' Sun, July 20, 1921, p.6. Ross stated that cooperation was the solution to the "army of middlemen forcing the poor customer to pay the maximum;" and Terry Crowley, "J. Morrison and the Transition in Canadian Farm Movements during the Early Twentieth Century," Agricultural History V.71 (Summer 1997), pp..330-331.Crowley states that Morrison contributed to the defeat of Drury's farmer/labour government in 1923.

<sup>68</sup> Charles M. Johnston, E.C. Drury: Agrarian Idealist (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), pp.182 183.

<sup>69</sup> <u>Ibid.</u>, pp.182-183. Johnston notes that Drury said that "Ross had been demoted" for being one sided in his treatment of the government.

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