

**Populism and Democracy?
The Northern Plains States and Prairie Provinces, 1915-1945
A Political Development Research Agenda**

Gerard W. Boychuk
Department of Political Science
University of Waterloo
gboychuk@uwaterloo.ca

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The term “populism” has returned to popular and academic discourse with a vengeance. The US presidential election of 2016 has precipitated the return of the term and, not surprisingly, it is currently receiving considerable attention in political science.¹ There continues to be, as there was in the 1950s and 1960s and again in the mid-1990s, “an active debate over the central thrust of the populist message: Was it essentially reactionary and nativist (Hofstadter 1955) or progressive and economic (Pollack 1962; Schwartz 1976)?” (William and Alexander, 1994: 1; see also McMath, 1995.) Most broadly, is populism a threat to democracy?

The contemporary recurrence of debates over its meaning and significance raises an obvious question: “...how might the story of early...populism and the contemporary story inform each other?” (McMath, 1995: 544) This broad question generates a number of component questions. What do we understand better or appreciate more fully about the contemporary political moment by understanding it as a variant of populism? Does the contemporary ‘populist’ moment have parallel historical antecedents or, put differently, “...is there a theme running through American experience for which populism is the right name?” (McMath, 1995: 518) If there are parallels, is there a “usable past” from which we can learn? Is there, at some more abstract level, a “dynamics of populism” which can be meaningfully understood? What have been the long-term consequences of previous waves of populism and have they tended to lead to durable shifts in patterns of political development? Can historical parallels and cross-national comparisons help answer these questions?

This paper begins to develop a framework for a research program for delving into such questions. The paper argues that the emergence of populism in the northern plains states (Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota and Minnesota) and Canadian prairie provinces (Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba) in the first half of the 20th century presents a promising focus for a comparative-historical analysis of populism. As of 1914, all four northern plains states had governments controlled by or governments divided between one of the two traditional parties. In Canada, all three prairie provinces were governed by Liberal party majorities. However, in the period between the outbreak of the First World War and conclusion of the Second, this traditional pattern of party competition would break down on both sides of the border with the capture of the North Dakota governorship by the Non-Partisan League (NPL) in 1916, the election of NPL members to the legislature in Alberta in 1917, the election of the United Farmers of Alberta (UFA) in 1921, the election of the United Farmers of Manitoba government (later to become the Progressive Party of Manitoba) the following year, the capture of the governorship of the Farmer-Labour Party in Minnesota in 1932, the stunning electoral success of Social Credit in Alberta in 1936, and the electoral success of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) in 1944 both in Saskatchewan and Manitoba (winning a plurality of the popular vote but not the election.) By 1945, control of all state governorships and houses had been returned to traditional parties (Republican trifectas in all four northern plains states as of 1944) while the legislature in Manitoba was controlled by a Liberal-dominated coalition and, in Alberta and Saskatchewan, the Social Credit party and CCF had come to govern as mainstream parties even if not under traditional party labels. The explosion of populism in the northern plains states and prairie provinces was over. Three decades after its initial igniting, the flames of this populist “political prairie fire” would die down with its last flare up being marked by the 1944 CCF victory in Saskatchewan which arguably represented “the last really important event in prairie populist politics.” (Laycock, 1990: 5; see also Brown, 1997: xxv)

At the broadest level, the fate of populism in the northern plains states and prairie provinces presents a contrast: populist politics collapsing in the plains states and succeeding electorally in the prairie provinces. (McMath, 1995) However, while populist political appeals generally enjoyed considerable initial success in some northern plains states and then decline, there is also considerable variation among them in this regard – being earliest and most successful in North Dakota and Minnesota while ultimately never really gaining traction in Montana or South Dakota. At an even more fine-grained level, while populist political appeals were more uniformly successful across the prairie provinces, the latter provide a rich array of variation in the type of populist politics that emerged in each province ranging from co-operativist participatory and social democratic variants through to plebiscitarian populism.

The paper starts by conceptually outlining and defining populism arguing that its fundamental conceptual contribution is to highlight the tension between two dynamic elements of populist political appeals – the imperative to define (even if implicitly) ‘the people’ and the imperative to specify the means for extending the influence of ‘the people’ over political outcomes and public policy. The paper then turns to a consideration of democratization arguing that the latter be viewed as an ongoing process which may be variable across these jurisdictions rather than as a fixed characteristic of them. In doing so, the paper argues in favour of a political development approach to its examination of populism -- asking how and with what consequences populist politics intersected with the unfolding process of democratization in each jurisdiction. The paper then considers three realms in which significant political development was occurring contemporaneously with the emergence of populism across the northern plains states and prairie provinces – political inclusion/exclusion of women, indigenous people, and immigrants. By way of conclusion, the paper posits that it seems highly likely that the possibilities for the emergence of populist politics in different states and provinces were shaped by these related and variable processes of political development. In turn, the relative degree of success of populism and the its particular variant likely contributed to shaping the politics of, and potential for, these processes of democratization.

What is ‘Populism’? Label, Empirical Generalization, Concept?

Virtually every discussion of ‘populism’ wrestles with the thorny issue of defining the term. Originally, the term was used to denote the political program of the People’s Party in the United States in the 1890s -- in its “most literal meaning” referring to “the democratic movement of farmers and workers who swore allegiance to the Omaha Platform of 1892.” (McMath, 1995: 518, 517) Subsequent applications of the label of ‘populist’ are sometimes based on establishing direct connections between subsequent parties or movements and the People’s Party. At other times, they are so more in the form of a conceptual rendering which distilled the ostensible essence of ‘populism’ rather than an empirical generalization or short-hand direct reference to the Populism of the People’s Party of the 1890s. Part of the challenge stems from the breadth of the phenomenon to which the generalization of ‘populist’ has been applied.²

Use of the label has generated highly charged debates about the nature and consequence of populist political appeals. The subsequent re-emergence of populism as a political label in the 1950s was primarily in the form of “shrill attacks” such as those launched by Hofstadter in which populism would be portrayed as “fundamentally a conspiratorial, xenophobic, and reactionary movement.” (McMath, 1995: 545) Revisionist reinterpretations of populism which emerged through the 1960s sought to rehabilitate populism. Again, in the 1990s, these debates

would re-emerge and McMath would note that “...revulsion against the excesses of the the New Right and personal distaste for the culture from which it springs have evoked a denunciation of populism that is reminiscent of the shrill attacks of the 1950s.” (McMath, 1995: 517) For his part, McMath would caution that we should not “lose sight of the populist promise of alternative futures shaped by equal rights.” (McMath, 1995: 546) Following the 2016 election, the term has re-emerged – predominantly in its pejorative cast. Undoubtedly, this too will generate a counter-reaction.

However, as Laycock argues: “Populism is a notoriously ambiguous concept. [...] Its typological status is solely an analytical one. ...populism is a social-scientific imposition on a disorderly social reality... The problem is to decide which political phenomena we wish the concept to illuminate.” (Laycock, 1991: 14) Thus, defining populism as a concept must address the question of what we understand better or appreciate more fully about a particular political moment by understanding that moment as being characterized by some variant of ‘populism’?³ In making appeals to “the people,” populist political appeals must necessarily, even if only implicitly, define ‘the people.’ In turn, this process of defining and constituting the people is also necessarily simultaneously exclusionary – it must also identify those elements of a society which do not comprise ‘the people.’ Thought of this way, the politics of populism are precisely the opposite of conventional interest aggregation which is the function typically attributed to political parties.

At the same time, populist political appeals typically propose reform to existing democratic practices as an extension of the logic that what government does should be an extension of the will of the people. Such appeals have varied historically from attempts to reduce the role of money in politics through to efforts to remove party influence from politics (such as under the Non-Partisan League) through to the democratization of various dimensions of the economic system (such as through producer, consumer and financial cooperatives) and extension of the range of dimensions of regular life considered ‘political’.

The central contribution of this conceptualization of populism lies in the recognition of the implications of the fundamental tension between these two discrete dimensions of populist political appeals – between the exclusionary politics of constituting and defining the people and the expansionary politics of extending democratic practices to a broader range of issues and broader range of the population. First, these tensions can be managed and ameliorated but they are never essentially resolved. Secondly, the specific historical and social context will contribute to determining how great a challenge it will be to manage and ameliorate these challenges. Thirdly, various political actors and movements face a range of political choices regarding the manner in which and the degree to which these tensions are to be ameliorated and managed. ‘Populist’ moments occur not as the automatic extension of exogenous circumstances which generate ‘populist’ politics but, rather, as a result of populist actors, parties, or movements recognizing social circumstances which make populist political appeals politically feasible and then are able to fashion reasonably successful political appeals on those basis. Populist moments pass as either the context changes so that it becomes increasingly difficult to maintain the balance between these two factors required to make successful ‘populist’ political appeals or because the political actors fashioning those appeals fail to balance the two dimensions successfully.

Some patterns may be more or less typical. For example, for populist parties successful in attaining power, the longer their tenure in power the less able they may be able to make political appeals to the people and the less credible may be their proposals for further reform and

expansion of the democratic process. This does not necessarily entail the loss of power as erstwhile ‘populist’ parties may, later in their tenure, eschew populist political appeals having successfully navigated the transition from populist politics to a more conventional politics.

The discussion above implies three points worth noting. First, the focus is on the type of political appeal (rather than on proposed policy, actual policy implemented while in government, or actual intent.) Secondly, the focus tends towards political moments more broadly rather than individual political actors, parties, movements or policies. An ostensibly ‘populist’ political actor may catalyze or precipitate a populist political moment and may play a key role in this process. However, to the extent that an otherwise populist political actor fails to do so, it is unclear what the conceptual benefit is of characterizing that actor as ‘populist’. Thirdly, the political success of populist appeals may refer to the actual electoral success of a populist party or actor. However, the criteria for success may be extended to include the ability of proponents of populist appeals to force countervailing established political forces to reframe their political appeals in populist terms thus, as in the point above, precipitating a populist moment.

What Do We Want to Know about Populism? – A Political Development/Democratization Approach

The populist dynamic of identifying and appealing to “the people” and proposing extensions of political participation by ‘the people’ cannot help, in the context of the early 20th century, but call to mind the fact that processes of democratization were dynamically unfolding. Rather than seeing these jurisdictions as “democracies” or “democratic,” it may be more appropriate and more useful to view them as *democratizing* – to varying degrees, at varying rates, and in varying respects.

In this conceptualization, “[r]ather than taking a self-fulfilling teleological approach to American democracy, this perspectives promises a more dynamic view in which democracy is not merely a background condition for the working out of political struggles over other goods but also itself the object and outcome of political struggle, of contests over power and principle, whose ebb and flow can in turn, over time, help to illuminate some of the most important questions at the forefront of...political development scholarship today, about stability and change in governing arrangements, conflict and consensus among political traditions and the evolution of public policies.” (King and Lieberman, 2009: 5) As King and Lieberman note, “[i]n this view, democratization is an open-ended process that can move along multiple possible paths toward (or away from) more democracy on multiple dimensions – broader suffrage, stronger protection of voting or other rights, higher levels of political contestation, or increasing susceptibility of policymaking to public scrutiny and control...” (King and Lieberman, 2009: 8-9) Thus, “[i]n contrast to democracy as a type of political regime (however defined), democratization is a continuing process of reform and modification of institutions and practices, from fewer to more degrees of free and fair contestation and participation.” (King and Lieberman, 2009: 14) In this rendering, there is nothing teleological about the democratization process and democratization can, over time, reverse as well as progress.

To the extent that democratization is seen as a variable rather than a constant, this view raises the question of whether the existing degree of democratization in a given jurisdiction conditions the potential for the success of populist political appeals. The relationship is not necessarily straightforward as Lieberman powerfully notes in describing what he terms the “democracy trap”: “In the United States, democratic norms and patterns of governance were established early (although frequently and consistently violated for a long time), and would-be

democratizers had to operate from within an already democratic frame, in which some citizens already endowed with democratic rights and benefiting from the uneven distribution of rights objected to the dilution of their own power that would follow from the extension of rights to others – what we might call the “democratization trap”...” (King and Lieberman, 2009: 7; see also Lieberman, 2009: 212)

Related questions arise regarding the role of the state in fostering or restricting the process of democratization which is seen as open, contingent, and ambiguous: “...the state has fluctuated in this role, sometimes appearing to be captive to democracy-inhibiting societal attitudes – or worse, complicit in promoting segregation and ascriptive inequality – and at other times acting more or less decisively to protect civil rights and democratic inclusion for previously marginal and powerless groups.” (King and Lieberman, 2009: 21) In this formulation, the “key question” becomes the following: “does the state enable or prevent democratization or does its role oscillate between the two over time, and if it does oscillate, what factors account for this dynamic?” (King and Lieberman, 2009: 21) A parallel can be drawn between this view of the role of the state in fostering or impeding democracy and the role of populist politics. As Ritter crisply asserts, -“...constitutional development in the United States should be understood as an ongoing struggle over the terms of membership in “We, the People.” (2009: 108) In making political appeals to “the people”, populist political approaches cannot avoid implicating the very same questions relating to the terms of membership in “we, the people...” whether on the part of excluded groups for whom populist appeals may lead them to question their own exclusion or included groups who may be concerned about the dilution of the power already granted to them through democratic mechanisms. Thus, many of the same questions which animate the political development approach focusing on democratization as outlined by King et al. also appear particularly well-suited to examinations of populism. To parallel King and Lieberman’s formulation, the “key question” becomes the following: does populism tend to enable or prevent democratization, does its role oscillate between the two over time, and if it does oscillate, what factors account for this dynamic? It seems reasonable to hypothesize that populism has fluctuated in this role -- sometimes appearing to inhibit the extension of democratic practice and, at other times, acting more or less decisively to promote democratic inclusion for previously marginal and powerless groups.

Thus, two related but distinct sets of questions arise. To what degree does the extent and character of democratization condition the potential for the emergence of populist political appeals? In turn, to what degree and in what ways does the emergence of populist political appeals condition – enhancing, retarding, or shifting -- the process of further democratization?

Populism in the Northern Plains States and Prairie Provinces

There are a number of historical antecedents to which one might turn in examining these questions. The ‘populist’ label can and has been aptly applied to historical antecedents of the actual movement from which it took its name such as, among others, the Know-Nothing movement of the 1850s, the Greenback movement of the 1870s and 1880s, and the Grange movement -- all of which preceded the national Populist movement of the 1890s. These precursors would be eclipsed in understandings of populism by the association of the term with the People’s Party in the 1890s. Not only its predecessors but successors would be similarly eclipsed by this association. As McMath notes, the American farmer and farmer-labour movements of the 1920s and 1930s at the state level are “well-nigh invisible in the published genealogies of present day American populism.” (McMath, 1995: 522) In works such as

Hofstadter's and Kazin's, "...the northern great plains seem almost to disappear over the horizon." (McMath, 1995: 522) Despite this lacunae or perhaps because of it, the potential utility of a focus on state-level populist moments on the northern plains and Canadian prairie provinces is suggested by three primary characteristics marking those movements: the significant degree and duration of their success in certain instances, the variation among them in terms of the degree of success, and the variation in the relative degree of success of populist politics in highly comparable jurisdictions – the prairie provinces – allowing for a cross-national comparative-historical methodology.

The early 20th saw the emergence of significant radical political movements at the state level in at least eight states including Minnesota, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Washington, Idaho, South Dakota, Montana and Texas.⁴ However, there was, as Vallyely outlines, significant variation in the degree of political success of these movements ranging from examples like North Dakota where the Non-Partisan League first emerged at the state level in 1915 and would come to control all three branches of government. The Farm-Labour Party in Minnesota would have an arguably even greater degree of success: "...of all the cases of state-level radicalism in the 1920s the Minnesota Farmer-Labor party was easily the most successful." (Vallyely, 1989: 50) In Oklahoma, Washington and Idaho, the success of radical state parties were "more impressive" than the grouping in which the movements were ephemeral but, nevertheless, "...they too resemble flash-in-the-pan movements." (1989: 50) The final three examples including South Dakota, Montana and Texas, according to Vallyely, "...must be classed as nearly ephemeral." (1989:50) Thus, within the group of states providing examples of state-level populist radicalism, there is a significant variety in terms of the degree of their success.

While political control of the governorships, state senates and senate houses in Montana and South Dakota have rotated between the Republican and Democratic parties, the Non-Partisan League in North Dakota has, at various times, controlled the governorship, state senate and house and, for three two-year periods, it controlled all three simultaneously. In Minnesota, the Farmer-Labour Party held the governorship for eight uninterrupted years as well as controlling the state house for four of those years. Figure 1 which outlines the level of electoral support for parties other than the two mainstream parties in gubernatorial elections in the first half of the 20th century. Figure 1 and Appendix 1 highlight the marked differences between the two states in which populist politics would emerge as a powerful political force and the two states in which these dynamics would be more ephemeral using Vallyely's term.

Despite the fact that "Canadian populism is seldom called to mind when we think about American farmer and farmer-labor movements of the 1920s and 1930s" (McMath, 1995: 522) and vice versa, comparison of the four northern plains states with the prairie provinces has three important advantages. First, the prairie provinces share numerous broad similarities with the northern great plains states. Conversely, the differences between these jurisdictions are limited. As Warner noted in 1949, "...the similarities, generally observed throughout the two countries, are most marked of all in the region the upper Middle West and the Canadian prairies across the border. Here there physiographic provinces of North America trend north and south making the 49th parallel a supreme example...of artificial political lines which bisect geographic and economic unities..." (Warner, 1949: 9) The prairie provinces offer additional examples of success of populist parties and movements in the first half of the 20th century – highlighting their comparability with northern great plains states in which such movements were also of consequence.

However, they also offer a useful contrast. The historical outcome, as it would develop, was that "...political insurgency would collapse in the northern plains states and succeed, at least momentarily, in the prairie provinces." (McMath, 1995: 540) These distinct patterns are evident in a comparison of the general trend across northern plains states evident in Figure 1 in comparison with the general trend across prairie provinces evident in Figure 2.⁵ These patterns raise the possibility that consideration of success in the prairie provinces in contrast to the initial success and ultimate failure of populist initiatives in the northern plains states may be helpful in more fully appreciating the conditions for success and failure of populist initiatives.

Thirdly, prairie provinces, it has been argued, have also differed significantly in the type of populism which emerged in each. Laycock argues that "...each variant of prairie populist thought was decisively structured by a distinctive and coherent understanding of democratic goals and practices."⁶ (Laycock, 1991: 4) Participatory cooperativism,⁷ which found expression in the United Farmers of Alberta and the Non-Partisan League among other places, combined a voluntary 'co-operativist' and anti-capitalist economic perspective with support for delegate-style democracy based primarily on occupational groups -- sometimes referred to as "group government." (Laycock, 1991: 21)

Social democratic populism was, according to Laycock, given "almost paradigmatic expression" by the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF.) The latter came to govern in Saskatchewan after the 1944 election but also garnered significant electoral support in Alberta (just under 25% of the votes in the 1944 election) and Manitoba (winning a plurality of votes in 1944 but not the election.) The central features of social democratic populism were support for state ownership of major industries coupled with support for the extension of democratic rights and practices within the broader parameters of the parliamentary system -- albeit with a rejection of the two mainstream parties in Canada which it shared with all other variants of populism. That is, participation was to be enriched through the extension of democratic practice within a parliamentary party. (Laycock, 1991: 20)

For plebiscitarian populism, evident in the Alberta Social Credit movement, extended democratic participation was essentially in the form of a non-partisan rejection of traditional political parties in favour of expression of a general will in regard to the goals of government policy expressed through elections as plebiscites which would then be translated into specific programs by technocratic experts. (Laycock, 1991: 22) The participatory element of this formulation was clear in the inclusion of procedures for voters to recall legislative representatives should voters feel that they were not effectively producing the results demanded by the popular electorate.⁸ With the insistence that elections focus on the desired ends (rather than policy means), the 1935 Social Credit platform promised "...dividends, just prices, state-controlled credit, protection from foreclosures, and expanded social services..."⁹ (Laycock, 1991: 209) Thus, it appeared to be more pragmatic in regard to the role of the state than both participatory cooperativism (which left little role for the state after producer, consumer and financial cooperatives were voluntarily established) and social democratic populism (which was more insistent on a specific role for the state through state ownership of industry in specific sectors of the economy.)

Thus, the three versions of prairie populism shared a number of characteristics. They were all, to some degree, anti-capitalist and radical -- proposing fundamental changes to either the political or economic system or both. Economically, each rejected existing economic arrangements. However, they differed in the means proposed for rebalancing economic relationships -- ranging from voluntary cooperativism in which the state played a very minimalist

role, broad state-led management of the financial system which implied some role for the state (but did not necessarily require state intervention beyond that), and state interventionism in which state ownership would provide an alternative to private ownership and ensure the competitiveness of markets by forcing private sector actors to compete with state-owned enterprises. Politically, each also rejected traditional political parties. However, they varied in terms of what would replace traditional party politics -- proposing either non-partisanship (through voluntary group-based representation or plebiscitarianism) or new third parties which would operate on a fundamentally different and more democratic basis than traditional parties.

The patterns presented by the northern plains states and prairie provinces are thus three-fold. First, there are, indeed, some broad national level differences. Populist political movements south of the border ultimately, as McMath notes, collapsed while it was only north of the border that such politics were so successful that the parties initially based on populist political appeals would become dominant parties and, arguably, by the end of WWII became mainstream “governing” parties – no longer populist except in the mildest rhetorical sense. However, this broad national pattern is conditioned by interesting patterns at the state/provincial level. Most notably, populist political appeals were highly successful in some states (especially North Dakota and Minnesota) and not others (Montana and South Dakota.) Similarly, they were more highly successful across this period in Alberta (with two waves of populism emerging in the 1920s and again in the mid-1930s) and emerging on a somewhat more limited basis and later in Saskatchewan and, even more so, Manitoba. Finally, where successful, populist political appeals took on a different hue – participatory cooperativism in Alberta in the early 1920s, plebiscitarian populism in Alberta in the 1930s, and social democratic populism in Saskatchewan and Manitoba in the early 1940s., and plebiscitarian populism in Alberta in the 1930s. Thus, the northern plains states and prairie provinces are marked by three distinct patterns in the development of populism each requiring explanation.

Populism and Democratization on the Northern Plains and Prairies

While literature on cross-state political variation among the northern plains states is relatively underdeveloped and the literature on cross-national comparison between northern plains states and prairie provinces focuses primarily on parallels rather than differences, the literature on variation across prairie provinces is highly-developed. It presents a number of candidate explanations that may provide the basis for explanation of differences in the development of populism across states and provinces.

In his examination of Alberta’s distinctiveness vis-à-vis other prairie provinces (and other Canadian provinces more generally), Banack provides a good overview of the conventional explanations in the existing literature: “Classic explanations of this phenomenon tend to point to the initial socio-economic conditions of the province, including its so-called homogenous class composition and quasi-colonial status, its unique inheritance of American agrarian settlers, its early religious makeup, and its economic reliance on specific resource staples and the conservative economic pressure such reliance placed upon governments.” (Banack, 2016: 19) As Banack notes, “Surely the impact of political and economic conditions related to the province’s initial quasi-colonial status within Confederation, its distinct immigration patterns, and its economic reliance on particular natural resources (and the immense wealth these resources have generated) are critical to understanding Alberta’s political development.” (Banack, 2016: 4) To this, Banack adds the influence of religious interpretation by political leaders who, he argues, “possess a significant degree of agency with respect to shaping the

political trajectories of their communities...” (Banack, 2016: 5) Each of these provides a basis for potential explanations of variation both across and among states and provinces. To these, one might add institutional differences.¹⁰ Undoubtedly, each of these factors has had some influence in shaping similarities and differences within and between American states and Canadian provinces.

In addition to these more conventional explanations, the period in which populist politics emerged at the state and provincial level coincided with the politics of actual or potential expansion of democratic participation and extension of other rights to women, immigrant and minority-language groups, and native people. The landscape comprised by the literature on populism in the northern plains states and prairies provinces and related literature on the similarities and differences among the prairie provinces is well-populated with interests and classes, waves of immigration, great men and big ideas both political and religious. It is noticeably more scarcely populated with women and suffragettes, patriarchs and patriarchy; colonizers, colonized peoples, and colonialism; racially, ethnically, and linguistically defined groups, racists, and racial/ethno-linguistic tensions. And yet, often in contrast to conventional accounts, the history of the broader region in this period is a rich stew of these latter elements of political life. As Perry notes, “In the last half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth structures of patriarchy, colonialism, and racism were simultaneously and sometimes contradictorily challenged, reaffirmed, and reincorporated in...Canada.” (Perry, 2009: 291) The same can be said for the northern plains region south of the border.

In these contexts, it is difficult, if not impossible, to see how the politics of populist attempts to define “the people” and populist proposals to extend and deepen effective democratic involvement by “the people” could avoid becoming bound up in the politics of gender, race and religion, and colonialism – populism, itself, necessarily being a politics of an “ongoing struggle over the terms of membership in ‘We, the People.’” (Ritter, 2009: 108) In some cases, the linkage may have contributed to furthering the expansion of democratic practice. In others, the result of this linkage may have been a conflict between these processes of democratization and the democratic expansionism inherent in populism such that one, the other, or both fell prey to Lieberman’s ‘democracy trap.’

Female Suffrage

Concurrent with the emergence of state/provincial level populism, women were just winning the right to vote. While they would successfully demand the franchise nationally at both the federal and state level in the US in 1920 and the federal franchise in Canada in 1918, they would not successfully secure voting rights across all Canadian provinces until the end of the WW I/II period. Yet, it would be here on the plains and prairies that women would make the earliest gains. The first election of a woman to the US House of Representatives would be in Montana in 1916. The first election of a woman to a legislature *in the history of the British Empire* would be in Alberta in 1917. Although there are debates about the degree to which variants of populism were radical, there is no doubt that these changes were radical. These historical milestones would occur at the dawn of the period of populism at the state/province level and, yet, there appears to be relatively little attention in the literature paid to this confluence.

In the prairie provinces, the timing of the successful achievement of female suffrage appears relatively uniform. Thus, among Canadian provinces, female suffrage was first extended in Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1916 before the federal franchise was extended in

1918 on a national basis and well before the last province (Québec) extended female suffrage in 1940. As Strong-Boag notes, “Opposition to feminism seemed strongest in central and eastern Canada, while the western provinces appeared more receptive.” (Strong-Boag, 2016) Strong-Boag provides an explanation based on an instrumentalist approach to the extension of suffrage in the prairie provinces: “The West’s greater openness to women’s suffrage can be interpreted as strategic: newly colonized regions relied on White settler women to guarantee the displacement of Indigenous peoples. The vote might both attract and reward White newcomers.” (Strong-Boag, 2016) While this argument awaits further empirical support, it points to the intersection of different dimensions of democratization and the necessity of looking for linkages between different modes of democratic expansion.

In both comparison and contrast, suffrage campaigns began early in the northern plains states with proposals going before the Dakota territory legislature in 1872 and a second unsuccessful attempt being launched in South Dakota in 1890.¹¹ At the same time, there appears to have been somewhat more variation among northern plains states in this regard than existed among Canadian province. Women would successfully claim full voting rights in Montana in 1914 – six years before the 19th Amendment would be ratified extending female suffrage on a national basis including in North Dakota and Minnesota where such rights had not yet been entrenched.¹² One suggestion, reminiscent of the instrumentalism that Strong-Boag argues underpinned the earlier extension of the franchise in prairie provinces, is that frontier territories moved earlier on female suffrage in the hopes of attracting more female settlers to redress demographic gender imbalances. (Klein, 2015)

That female suffrage would be extended earliest among those Canadian provinces in which populist political appeals were strongest seems intuitive. The political viability of populist appeals to ‘the people’ to ‘extend the effective right to participate’ seems likely to have been limited by and complicated by the denial of demands of suffragist campaigns for voting rights for women. Thus, it is not surprising that, as Strong-Boag argues, “Western suffragists found powerful supporters in the farm, labour and social gospel movements.” (Strong-Boag, 2016) The pattern among northern plains states appears more complicated as the states in which populist appeals would be made most weakly (South Dakota and Montana) are those in which suffrage was extended earliest. This contrast between the northern plains states and prairie provinces and the variation among northern plains states themselves raise interesting questions for further investigation.

Racism, Xenophobia, and Religious Intolerance

Various observers have linked populism – as it existed historically as well as in the contemporary period -- with racism, xenophobia, and religious intolerance. (Pratt, 1998: xi) Should racism, xenophobia and religious intolerance go hand in hand with populism, a rise in the latter may through that linkage impede the process of democratization in at least two distinct ways: first, by encouraging the disenfranchisement or limitations of the extension of participatory and other rights to particular elements of the citizenry but, secondly, by limiting the political tenability of populist proposals for the effective expansion of democratic expansion where the ‘undesirable’ elements of the population excluded from the populist definition of “the people” were not or could not be formally excluded from political participation – a racially/ethnically/linguistically defined version of the democracy trap.

In his examination of agrarian protest movements in the northern plains states and prairie provinces, Sharp writing in the late 1940s includes a consideration of the role of the Ku

Klux Klan in Canada – an inclusion which later observers would find somewhat surprising at first. (See Pratt, 1998: xi) However, as Pratt would note, “In Saskatchewan...the Klan had a significant following...in the 1920s, and there are other hints of seamier side of prairie insurgency than the prevailing historiography has maintained.” (Pratt, 1998: xi) By 1929, the Ku Klux Klan would claim to have 40,000 members in Saskatchewan. McMath, for his part, refers to the “dark side of populism.” (McMath, 1995: 545) These allusions which draw linkages between agrarian populist protest and racist sentiments seem to be at odds with contrary expectations generated by claims, such as Valelly’s assertion, that “...throughout the Southwest the Klan precluded possibilities for state-level radicalism.” (Valelly, 1989: 50; see also Green, 1978)

Resolution of this puzzle on the Canadian side of the border depends very much on the chronological ordering of the development of and measurement of both the extent of populist support across provinces as well as the strength of racist, xenophobic and anti-minority language sentiment. Initial work on the latter (such as Pitsula, 2013) fits with renderings elsewhere in the literature which portray these sentiments to be strongest in Saskatchewan. This interpretation, in combination with a reading of support for populist parties which emphasizes that populism was successful much earlier and to a much greater extent in Alberta than Saskatchewan, provides provisional support for a hypothesis consistent with Valelly’s contention that racist and xenophobic sentiment as expressed through support for the Klan undermined prospects for successful populist political appeals. To some degree in contrast, as McMath notes, “The Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan, though not directly linked to the CCF, fished in the same waters.” (McMath, 1995: 545) What is an open empirical question is the degree to which this was mutually beneficial versus the degree to which it forestalled the political success of the CCF and helped to ensure Liberal Party electoral dominance in that province through to 1944.

At the cross-national level, having drawing a relatively stark contrast between the two countries in terms of populism’s collapse in the American states and success in the Canadian provinces, McMath turns to broad national differences as the explanation for these divergent outcomes. As one of the central explanations, he posits the following: “The anti-enemy alien and anti-socialist hysteria of the World War I and post-war era proved damaging to popular movements in both countries, but it was devastating in the United States.” (McMath, 1995: 540) The predominantly “British flavor” of those popular movements in Canada combined with “...the anglophone credentials of many of the most radical leaders made the movement *relatively safe* from attacks” while “in the United States, by contrast, a Nonpartisan League or a farmer-labor party led by men with names like Lemke and Lindbergh and heavily supported by radical Scandinavians and central Europeans was bound to be in trouble.” (McMath, 1995: 541)

This characterization may be correct but might also overstate differences between the two countries as well as understate differences between states and between provinces on this score. The anti-immigrant hysteria of World War I which ultimately culminated in the internment of thousands of “enemy aliens” by the Canadian government, also resulted in measures such as the disenfranchisement of “all citizens born in enemy countries and naturalized after 1902.” (Martynowych and Kazymyra, 1982: 88) At the provincial level, similar activities occurred such as the establishment in 1919, for example, of Manitoba’s Alien Investigation Board to determine whether individuals of ‘enemy-alien’ background had been loyal. Further research is needed to help ascertain the degree to which these activities differed in their intensity across prairie provinces.

The emergence of these dynamics raise the question of whether anti-immigrant attitudes helped provide the basis for populist mobilizations versus the degree to which such sentiments complicated the populist politics of fashioning appeals to “the people” and successfully promoting proposals to extend the effective political participation of “the people.” Clearly, as Pratt concludes, “Much more research needs to be done on this theme in twentieth-century agrarian movements on both sides of the forty-ninth parallel.” (Pratt, 1998: xi)

*Native People and Political Rights*¹³

A common touchstone of comparisons between the United States and Canada is the relationship between settler society and native people. As early as 1950, in outlining a research program for studying the northern plains using on a ‘regional’ rather than ‘national’ approach emphasizing the interdependence of the region, the comparative study of parallel developments in the two societies on the northern great plains as well as the differences between them, the first example to which Sharp turns and develops most fully is the issue of relations between settlers and Native Amerindians. (Sharp, 1952)¹⁴ Broad cross-national characterizations risk understating the differences between and among northern plains states and prairie provinces in their experience of native people/settler relations. Most obviously, the territories which were to become the various states and provinces had distinctive experiences of colonial history which, in turn, generated differences which persisted into the period of state/provincial populism.¹⁵

Native people gained citizenship in the United States and some limited rights to vote in the period from 1914 to 1945 but would remain excluded by practice in some jurisdictions such as Montana into the 1940s. The 1924 Indian Citizenship Act had the consequence of granting voting rights to Native Americans in those states where the latter had been barred from voting through citizenship requirements – as had originally been the case in South Dakota and Montana. (McCool et al., 2007: 10) However, North Dakota and Minnesota also required native Americans to have “severed their tribal relations” while the latter required native Americans to have had “adopted the language, customs and habits of civilization.” (McCool et al., 2007: 10) In these states, the extension of citizenship did not translate in the extension of the right to vote.¹⁶

In the case of Montana, the sole requirement for male suffrage was to be a citizen of the United States. As a result, the extension of citizenship through the Indian Citizenship Act (1924) had the effect of automatically enfranchising native American males. Thus, the 1924 federal act energized the native suffrage issue in the state in the years following its passage: “Shortly after the passage of the Citizenship Act...[newspaper coverage] focused on newly-won Indian voting rights. News accounts and editorials drew front-page attention to Indian voting potential, considered its impact on upcoming elections.” (Svingen, 1987: 278) More than a decade later, efforts to effectively disenfranchise native American voters were still underway.¹⁷ Similarly, “South Dakota officially excluded Indians from voting and holding office until the 1940s.” (US Court of Appeals, 1985)

In those states where the 1924 act automatically thrust the issue of native people’s voting rights into contention, discussions of democratic exclusion could not be avoided. As discussed above, the focus of public discussion on rescinding or restricting voting rights which had already been granted (even if automatically) would likely have fit uneasily with the successful construction of populist appeals to the people and proposals to extend the range of effective democratic participation by “the people.” In contrast, in states where the restriction on voting was framed in terms of severing tribal relations, the 1924 change would not necessarily have resulted in native enfranchisement becoming a public issue and may have provided more

political room for the construction of populist appeals to “the people” and proposals to extend democratic participation – even if this was implicitly understood to not include native people.

In Canada, somewhat surprisingly given the relative power of the federal government, the issue of the native voting franchise would come to parallel that in the United States as the Canadian federal government would essentially delegate control over the federal franchise to the provinces – a situation that existed constitutionally in the United States. Native people in Canada had lost the only avenue to vote in 1898 when the federal Liberal Party repealed the 1885 legislation granting the option of enfranchisement to native people and returned the power to grant the franchise in *federal* elections to the provinces. While the general approach in the eastern Canadian provinces was to extend the franchise to native people living off- reserve, this approach was never contemplated in the prairie provinces. Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba (as well as British Columbia), although establishing unrestricted universal male suffrage early relative to other provinces, banned all native people from exercising the franchise irrespective of residence and property. Bartlett alludes to the operation of the ‘democracy trap’ dynamic in the latter cases: “The local provincial legislatures, “homesteading” upon Indian lands, were unlikely to be more sympathetic to the demands for an Indian franchise than the Dominion Parliament in Ottawa.” (Bartlett, 1980: 184) The shift of responsibility for the determination of the franchise from the federal government back to the provincial governments virtually ensured the formal political exclusion of native people in the prairie provinces.

There were, however, some hints of differences in this regard among the prairie provinces. Manitoba would be the only prairie province to grant voting eligibility to native people (and then only to native veteran’s of WWI) in 1931. Despite the narrowness and lateness of this provision, it suggests that the native voting franchise was indeed an issue in Manitoba in this period. Differences between prairie provinces in the establishment of the native voting franchise after WWII also hint at differences among them in the political dynamics relating to this issue. Manitoba would again take the lead among prairie provinces (and second among all provinces after British Columbia) in recognizing native people’s right to vote in provincial elections in 1952 – almost a decade before the Canadian government would make a parallel recognition at the federal level. Saskatchewan would make a similar recognition in 1960 but only in the face of intense pressure from the federal government. In contrast, Alberta would hold out until 1965 – more than 13 years after Manitoba – as the last province in English Canada to do so.

Thus, there was significant variation in the experience of colonial history between and among the northern plains states and prairie provinces which carried over into differences persisting in the populist period in those states and provinces. Voting rights for native people arose as issues of varying prominence and at varying times in these jurisdictions in ways that likely intersected differently with the populist politics of democratic expansionism. In none of these examples, does it appear that populist proposals to extend democratic participation increased the salience of the extension of voting rights to native people as a political issue. However, where the issue of voting rights for natives did become publicly salient, it seems plausible that they contributed to undermining the potential for successfully fashioning populist political appeals.

Conclusion

None of this is to presume that the current moment in American national politics is necessarily appropriately understood as ‘populist.’ As argued above, the ontological status of

'populism' is not such that a given political phenomenon in a specific historical context can simply be 'rightly' or 'wrongly' categorized as populist. Rather, the question is whether there is something that we can understand or appreciate about a specific political moment that is enhanced by understandings of historical antecedents for which 'populism' is a recognized shorthand? The paper argues that a potentially promising starting point for examining such questions is a comparative-historical analysis of the northern plains states and prairie provinces in the first half of 20th century and the light that such comparisons might shed on the prospects for the success of populism and, in turn, the long-term effects and implications of such success. As McMath argues, "The rich period of prairie protest in the 1930s...deserves and full and rigorous comparison, for here is where a variety of populisms succeeded in Canada while...finally coming to an end in the United States." (McMath, 1995: 542)

A comparative-historical analysis considering, in addition to more conventional explanations of variation, the linkage between populism and the political-developmental process of democratization including the extension of participatory and other rights to women, immigrants and minority-language groups, and native people provides a promising avenue for doing so. In this endeavour, the relationship between populism and democratization is approached as open and contingent – a matter for empirical investigation.

To return to the debate outlined at the outset, as McMath argues, "To acknowledge a connection between the old populisms and contemporary movements is to affirm the need to re-examine the mixed heritage of the populist tradition, to look again at its dark side while reaffirming the dimly visible markings of the quest for the cooperative commonwealth. Movements of the 'the people' against 'the special interests' take many forms. It will no longer do for us to dismiss as 'false consciousness' or 'shadow movements' those aspects of populism that fail to meet our expectation for the populist legacy. Nor should we lose sight of the populist promise of alternative futures shaped by equal rights." (McMath, 1995: 546) This is all the more pressing to the degree that he is correct in his prognostication that "Populism in [the] two countries is still a legacy waiting to be fulfilled." (McMath, 1995: 546)

¹ The Canadian Political Science 2017 annual conference has two plenary sessions devoted to topics related to ‘populism’. One such panel “...looks at the recent rise of populism in...North America and examines some of the historical parallels as well as the consequences. Why do we see the rise of populism right now? Is this a completely new phenomenon or are there similarities to earlier occurrences?” This panel, in examining the consequences of the rise of populism, poses the question “Is democracy threatened?” Another panel “...looks at the possibility of the rise of...populist politics in Canada. [...] Do attitudes toward trade, foreign policy, and immigration provide a basis for a populist mobilization?”

² In regard to the characterization of, among other things, the Reform Party in Canada as populist, Laycock notes the “superficiality of this characterization” arguing that “[i]f the populist agenda for extending popular democracy had been more successful, such mischaracterizations would not be taken seriously.” (Laycock, 1991: 299)

³ Laycock argues that the term ‘populism’ may be usefully applied to “popular movements whose appeal transcends class boundaries and challenges prevailing paradigms of democratic political life.” (Laycock, 1991: 14)

⁴ These movements, Valelly argues, gathered together ideological strands from populism, socialism and middle-class progressivism. Valelly, 1989: 1.

⁵ With unicameral parliaments in the Canadian provinces, the percentage of the electoral vote for non-mainstream parties has been used for reasons of comparability rather than executive/house control as presented in Appendix A which is more appropriate for bicameral separation of powers systems.

⁶ He identifies six distinct dimensions along which variants of prairie populism may be differentiated: the concept of ‘the people,’ ideas about the role and degree of ‘participatory democracy’, conceptions of co-operation, views on the appropriate role of the state, visions of the good society, and approaches to technocratic decision-making. According to Laycock, populist politics in the prairie provinces differed substantially on these dimensions. (Laycock, 1991: 7) Laycock outlines four types of populism (crypto-Liberalism, radical democratic, social democratic and plebiscitarian. As the former was essentially accommodationist, it is not discussed here as a conceptually meaningful variant of populism. Moreover, Laycock’s use of a proper party name (Liberal) makes the term inappropriate for cross-national comparison. In contrast to all three of the remaining variants of populism, this essentially rhetorical populism was comprised of a mild reformism which “marshalled and re-presented prairie symbols and traditions” of opposition to regional domination in a “rurally-oriented hinterland regionalism” (Laycock, 1991: 21)

⁷ Laycock uses the term “radical democratic” populism; however, given the discussion above, it may be argued that, if one rejects the use of the term “crypto-Liberal populism,” all variants of populism are both radical and democratic.

⁸ The legislation embodying this commitment would be rescinded in 1937 – after which it is questionable as to whether Social Credit retained any commitment to expanding democratic engagement.

⁹ Laycock argues that the Social Credit anti-statism developed only after 1937. Laycock, 1991: 209. Its radical anti-socialism developed most clearly after Aberhart’s tenure in 1943 – a period which coincided with an electoral challenge from the CCF in 1944 in which Social Credit attempted to distinguish itself from the CCF.

¹⁰ The most obvious of these exist on a cross-national basis: the fusion of powers system in the Canadian provinces versus the separation of executive and legislative powers in the American states as well as the bicameralism of the state legislatures in contrast with the unicameralism of Canadian provincial legislatures. The former difference is related to another significant difference between American states and Canadian provinces – the existence of primary elections in the American states. A second potentially compelling explanation lies in the cross-national difference in the operation of the federal system. In Canada, with a strong federal government, federal policy was typically the target of agrarian protest while “in the United States, where the federal government was still weaker than in Canada relative to the states...farmers were more inclined to blame state officials...” McMath, 1995: 532. In this formulation, one might reasonably expect a more wholesale adoption of anti-statism in the American states as opposed to Canada where the dynamics of agrarian protest could reasonably play out in regional terms -- support for the provincial arm of the state versus the federal arm of the state.

¹¹ In the United States, until the 19th Amendment, states had the power to grant or restrict both the state and federal level franchise. The Wyoming territory was the first to grant unrestricted suffrage to women in 1869. The suffrage proposal put before the Dakota territory legislature in 1872 would lose by one vote. In Minnesota, women had won voting rights in school board elections in 1875.

¹² South Dakota implemented female suffrage in 1917.

¹³ King provides a discussion of the difficulties in finding appropriate terminology to refer to all native people in the United States and Canada noting the preference in the United States for “Native Americans” and, in Canada, for “First Nations.” Given these cross-national differences, he argues that “‘Indian,’ as a general designation, remains for me, at least, the North American default.” (2012: xiii) Rather than add the corrective adjective “native” to Indian in which the latter appears redundant, the paper uses, with respectful intent, the term “native people.” Recognizing that for some of the historical period under discussion, some native people were not technically citizens or, more importantly, may not have viewed themselves as citizens/subjects of the jurisdictional territory in which they resided, the paper avoids ascribing national affiliation though the use of the term Native Americans or Native Canadians.

¹⁴ More recently, in outlining an “agenda...for scholarship on American political development,” Whitehead et al. note that “one...case for which comparative democratization studies might cast familiar US history in a new light concerns the relationship between the prevailing constitutional order and North America’s Aboriginal people. Here comparison with Canada is instructive...” Whitehead, King and Ritter, 2009: 261.

¹⁵ In Minnesota, the relationship between the Sioux and settler society was highly antagonistic resulting in armed conflict and the expulsion of the Sioux largely to South Dakota in the 1860s. (Atkins, 1988: 18) That antagonism would replicate itself in South Dakota a generation later (becoming the site of the largest massacre of native people in US history) albeit without their expulsion. Montana would prove to be the site of largest defeat of US forces on US soil post civil-war triggering the self imposed exile of over three thousand natives to Canada for a five year period before they would surrender and return. North Dakota would not face antagonistic relations between settlers and native people to the same degree as these other states although, in part, this can be at least partially attributed to the lower concentration of native people in that state. For example, in 1920, South Dakota had a concentration of Native Amerindians that was fully three times that of North Dakota. These different colonial histories resulted in different

patterns that persisted over time. For example, it would result in South Dakota having a significant indigenous population living on reserve which “provide[s] much of South Dakota’s distinctiveness” and contrast significantly with the North Dakota experience. (Atkins, 1988: 18) In contrast, despite having one of the lowest native American populations proportionally, Minnesota would have “one of the largest urban Indian populations in the country...” (Atkins, 1988: 21) The significance of these differences – which were more significant than the differences across prairie provinces -- would come into sharp relief in the politics of the extension of voting rights to native people in these states.

¹⁶ South Dakota would pass a law in 1903 prohibiting native Americans from voting or holding office while “maintaining tribal relations.” (McCool et al., 2007: 11) However, in contrast to North Dakota and Minnesota, the provision in South Dakota came much later than in the two latter states and was regular legislation rather than a constitutional provision. As such, South Dakota probably bore more resemblance to Montana in this regard than to the other two northern plains states.

¹⁷ As Svingen notes, “Ten years later, more state actions crippled Indian voting in Montana. In 1937, the state mandated that all deputy voter registrars must be qualified taxpaying residents of their respective precincts. Because American Indians were exempt from certain local taxes, the state’s action excluded Indian people from serving as voter registrars, thereby undermining Indian voter registration on the reservation. In the same year, Montana cancelled all voter registration and required the re-registration of all voters. Indian registration had risen steadily, but after the 1937 cancellation process, Indian voting numbers remained depressed, not returning to the pre-1937 levels until the 1980s.” (Svingen, 1987: 279)

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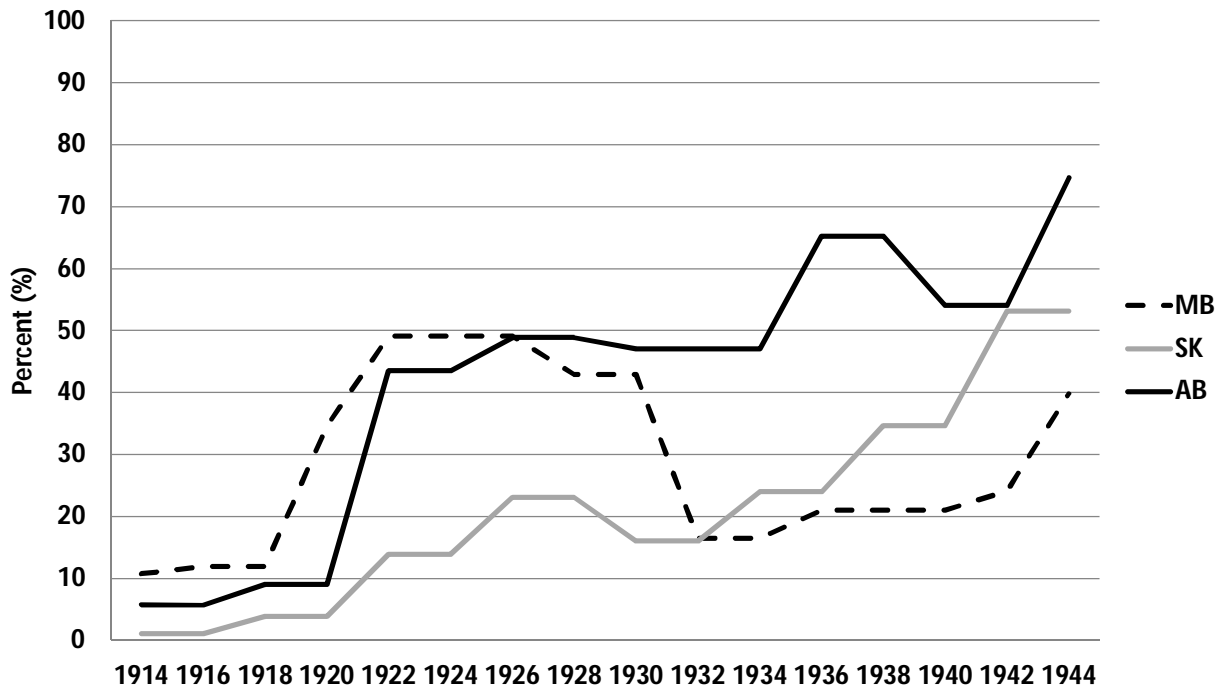
Figure 1

PERCENTAGE VOTE FOR NON-MAINSTREAM PARTIES
Gubernatorial Elections, Northern Plains States, 1914-1944



Figure 2

PERCENTAGE VOTE FOR NON-MAINSTREAM PARTIES
Provincial Elections, Prairie Provinces, 1914-1944



APPENDIX A – CONTROL OF GOV'T, Northern Plains States, By Party, 1914-44

	North Dakota			Minnesota*			South Dakota			Montana		
	<i>Governor</i>	<i>Senate</i>	<i>House</i>	<i>Governor</i>	<i>Senate</i>	<i>House</i>	<i>Governor</i>	<i>Senate</i>	<i>House</i>	<i>Governor</i>	<i>Senate</i>	<i>House</i>
1914	Rep	Rep	Rep	Dem	Cons	Cons	Rep	Rep	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem
1916	NPL	Rep	Rep	Rep	Cons	Cons	Rep	Rep	Rep	Dem	Rep	Dem
1918	NPL	NPL	NPL	Rep	Cons	Cons	Rep	Rep	Rep	Dem	Rep	Rep
1920	Rep	NPL	Rep	Rep	Cons	Cons	Rep	Rep	Rep	Rep	Rep	Rep
1922	Rep	Rep	Rep	Rep	Cons	Cons	Rep	Rep	Rep	Rep	Rep	Rep
1924	NPL	Rep	NPL	Rep	Cons	Cons	Rep	Rep	Rep	Dem	Rep	Rep
1926	NPL	Rep	Rep	Rep	Cons	Cons	Dem	Rep	Rep	Dem	Rep	Rep
1928	Rep	NPL	Rep	Rep	Cons	Cons	Dem	Rep	Rep	Dem	Rep	Rep
1930	Rep	Rep	Rep	F-L	Cons	Cons	Rep	Rep	Rep	Dem	Rep	Rep
1932	NPL	NPL	NPL	F-L	Cons	Lib	Dem	Dem	Dem	Dem	Rep	Dem
1934	Dem	NPL	NPL	F-L	Cons	Cons	Dem	Dem	Dem	Dem	Bi	Dem
1936	NPL	NPL	NPL	F-L	Cons	Lib	Rep	Rep	Rep	Dem	Dem	Dem
1938	Dem	NPL	NPL	Rep	Cons	Cons	Rep	Rep	Rep	Dem	Dem	Dem
1940	Dem	Rep	Rep	Rep	Cons	Cons	Rep	Rep	Rep	Rep	Rep	Dem
1942	Dem	Rep	Rep	Rep	Cons	Cons	Rep	Rep	Rep	Rep	Rep	Rep
1944	Rep	Rep	Rep	Rep	Cons	Cons	Rep	Rep	Rep	Rep	Rep	Rep

*Non-partisan legislative houses (as of 1915) with conservative (Republican) and liberal (Democrat, Farm-Labour) caucuses.