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VOTING IN A SINGLE CONSTITUENCY, 1874-1963

THE YEAR 1874 was the last in which a Federal election was carried out by open voting, by show of hands, rather than by ballot. The administrative organization set up to arrange for and record the vote affords an interesting contrast to the challenge of organization in a large modern constituency. Essex County on the south-western tip of Ontario had a total population in 1874 of 27,000. To record the vote, 37 polling divisions and sub-divisions were provided across the county, in which there were 5,695 eligible voters.

The main source of information in the examination of the 1874 election is the *Essex Record*, a Windsor weekly and the only paper published in Essex County at this time (January 16-27, February 23, August 28, 1874). Its reporting is markedly local, and in order to relate the local to the general political issues of the time a description of the wider issues involved will be followed by significant local events as they are reported in the *Record*. A comparison with a modern election in Essex West will then be included at the end of the paper, using the present *Windsor Star*, government election reports, and interviews with election officials as sources of research material.

Following Confederation in 1867, the Liberal-Conservative party led by Sir John A. Macdonald was successful in winning the elections of both 1867 and 1872. They undoubtedly would have remained in office for a full term after 1872 if a member of the opposition, L. S. Huntingdon of Shefford, Quebec, had not raised in the House, in March, 1873, against Macdonald and his party the charge of corruption involved in the granting of a charter for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railroad in return for campaign funds during the election of 1872. The charges and countercharges that arose over the "Pacific Scandal", and the ensuing investigation, served at least the one purpose of temporarily dividing the young country over a political issue of first-rate importance. The political consequence of the charges was the resignation of Macdonald in November of 1873, and the formation of a gov-

ernment by Alexander Mackenzie. Mackenzie promptly dissolved Parliament in January, 1874, calling for an election in the same month.

Apart from the issue of corruption, there was a basic divergence in outlook between Mackenzie's Reform Party and the Conservatives on the manner by which a candidate should be nominated and elected to the federal legislature. The policy of expediency in providing for elections with no coherent method authorized by Federal legislation had been used advantageously by Macdonald while he was in office, although it had been bitterly opposed by Mackenzie, as Leader of the Opposition. The Reformers therefore campaigned vigorously for changes in the electoral laws. Their platform contained provisions for simultaneous voting, taking of votes by secret ballot, widening of the franchise, abolition of the real-estate qualification for members, and an orderly procedure for the punishment of candidates guilty of improper practices at elections. All of these recommended changes had long been in the arsenal of the Reformers and the changes appealed most to those with Reform propensities among the electorate. Macdonald's efforts in legislating for electoral reform are well described in Norman Ward, *The Canadian House of Commons* (University of Toronto Press, 1950), pp. 172, 190, 212.

With corruption and electoral law reform as the two main issues, this particular election provided a temporary advantage for the Reformers, discounting heavily the former appeal of Macdonald to nation building (railroad construction) and the "glorious-Empire" tie. As the last Federal election where open voting and open nominations stimulated corruption in electoral procedure, it highlights the drastic changes that have taken place in the government's approach to regulating elections.

The election was officially proclaimed under the authority of a Federal Writ issued by the Governor-General in Council to the Returning Officer under the authority of Section 42 of the British North America Act. The Returning Officer, who was also the Registrar for the county, informed the electorate by public notice in the *Record* that the official nomination of candidates would take place in the town hall of the county capital, the small town of Sandwich, just west of Windsor, on Thursday, January 22, and that for the purpose of electing a person to the House of Commons a poll would be opened on January 29, with 37 polling places, with an average of 160 electors each, provided across the county. The time between the issuance of the writ and the actual election was less than three weeks, indicating the relative ease in compiling voters lists and undertaking other administrative procedures

for which the Returning Officers were responsible. Although the proclamation provided for official nominations, candidates had already been chosen by both parties. The method of choosing candidates was by a convention of electors which was similar to a modern party convention but more exclusive because of the restricted franchise and the general preponderance of rural conditions, Essex County being at the time 79% rural and 21% urban. At this time the franchise (actually the old provincial franchise) was restricted to males who owned property which they occupied, or who rented real property which was assessed at $300 or more or had a yearly value of $30. In rural areas the qualifications were $200 and $20. The voters lists were compiled from municipal assessment rolls by the Returning Officer.

The Reform convention was held on January 10 in the town of Essex, a rural town in the centre of the county. It was attended by two hundred prominent gentlemen from all parts of the county. Several resolutions were passed denouncing corruption, but the only one of any real significance read: "If more than one name was proposed at the convention that five delegates shall be selected from each township or town and that such delegates shall constitute the convention and designate the candidate to be supported." This stress on local approval was in sharp contrast to the methods used later in convention by the Conservatives. The local Reformer attitude toward the corruption charges which had been directed at Macdonald's government is indicated by the circumstances surrounding the nomination of the Reform candidate. The successful nominee, William McGregor, Warden of the county, was nominated by an ex-Conservative, J. C. Iler of Colchester, who carefully explained "that although it was strange for him to be nominating a Reform candidate, the present Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie) was really a Conservative. Mere names like Reform or Conservative meant little and the present government (Mackenzie's) had shown a strong tendency to preserve all that true Conservatives held dear, while at the same time reforming the glaring abuses that existed under the previous regime." Mr. Iler was not the only ex-Conservative who had swung over to the Reformers, since many local Conservatives publicly stated that they could no longer conscientiously follow Sir John A. Macdonald or support his nominee.

The Liberal-Conservatives held their convention on January 14, in Windsor, and nominated the then incumbent Hon. John O'Connor, who had been President of the Council in Macdonald's government. Mr. O'Connor had moved to Ottawa after the election of 1872, and the *Record* describes his candidature as being less by virtue of the convention than by the favour of that

"heaven-born potentate who erstwhile ruled supreme at Ottawa, and was such before the convention was ever dreamed of." The editor of the *Record* doubled as the secretary of the Reform Association, so that the uneven reporting on the two conventions is understandable.

Feverish campaigning filled the short period between the naming of the candidates and the actual election. Mass meetings were held across the county, and partisanship was more in evidence than in the usual fairly comfortable campaigns that are carried out today. McGregor supported electoral law reforms and reciprocity with the United States, and he received a good deal of support wherever he spoke. O'Connor decried his opponent in a political pamphlet: "Do you desire annexation? Then vote for the candidate of the Clear Grit party, who have allied themselves with the republicans of Quebec, and the annexationists of Nova Scotia. Are you firm in your loyalty to England's Queen and British Institutions? Then vote for the Hon. John O'Connor who has been ever faithful to the Liberal-Conservative party, which has for its platform British Institutions and for its battle-cry British Connexion." At a meeting in Harrow, supposedly called in support of O'Connor, a difference arose between O'Connor and the majority at the meeting as to who should occupy the chair. The majority's choice vindicated his claim by brute force, and after O'Connor and his fallen comrade left the premises the meeting was addressed by the sitting member of the Provincial House who was a bitter political opponent of O'Connor.

Nomination day as proclaimed was held on January 22. After reading the Election Writ, the returning officer expressed his readiness to receive nominations. A poll was demanded by the friends of the candidates and the returning officer acceded to this, announcing that he had received and approved the qualifications of five candidates. The qualifications of candidates were simply that they be qualified electors (in effect small-property holders) in the province in which they sought election.

Of the five nominees provided by the unrestricted open-nomination process, only two were genuine candidates, the others being partisan supporters who took advantage of the looseness in procedure (Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 155). Open nominations placed few encumbrances on candidates and the practice of nominating men who simply supported the genuine candidate was common. Ward gives an excellent account of the chicanery practised under the open system which was changed by the first Federal Electoral Law passed by Mackenzie's government in 1874. As soon as nominations were closed the Sandwich Court House provided accommodation for an animated political meet-

ing. This was the final week of the campaign, and the reporting of the *Record* makes it difficult to assess objectively the relative merits of the parties or candidates. An example of the imbalance in the *Record*'s reporting is this comment on Mr. Huntingdon's appointment as president of the council: "All honest men will rejoice to know that the man who single-handed, braved the power of the whole Government strongly entrenched through the agency of twenty years corruption—who braved the power of a united party—who unearthed and publicly exposed the darkest deed of modern times—whose noble stand in behalf of purity led directly to the arrest of the perpetrators of that crime just in time to save our fair country from endless ruin—whose patriotic devotion placed Canada under an obligation that all honours in her gift could not repay—all honest men, we say will rejoice to learn that Louis Seth Huntingdon has been given a seat in the cabinet."

The election was carried out in the thirty-seven polling divisions. Voting was by show of hand and recorded in the polling books provided for each Deputy Returning Officer. The whole system was open to many abuses, perhaps the most flagrant being the buying of votes with a visual guarantee of satisfaction. On election day at 1 p.m. O'Connor circulated a pamphlet printed in Detroit the night before, stating he would win the election by 175 votes. McGregor gained a majority of 280 (with most of his support coming from outside the Windsor area). O'Connor was beaten but unbowed, and he vowed to unseat McGregor within six weeks on charges of bribery.

O'Connor was as good as his word. In the February 27 issue of the *Record* is an advertisement signed by O'Connor in the form of a petition accusing McGregor of indirectly employing means of corruption at the election of January 23, 1874, by hiring teams, carriages, etc., as well as giving sums of money to electors. The advertisement appeared under the authority of the Controverted Elections Act of 1873 which assigned election petitions to the court of those provinces whose Lieutenant Governor, with the consent of the Executive Council, authorized such procedure. In other provinces, barristers of ten years standing could be appointed judges, *ad hoc* (Ward, *op. cit.,* p. 243). These, as Ward describes them, are unusual proceedings; but they retained the trial of contested elections under the Federal Government's control, and evidently Macdonald doubted that the Dominion government had the jurisdiction to impose the necessary duties on courts which were administered by the Province. In the case in Essex, the petition would be heard in a special election court and public advertisements preceded the court's sitting on August 24, 1874. Three lawyers represented the respondent before

His Lordship, Chief Justice Hagerty of the Ontario Provincial Supreme Court. The Hon. Mr. O'Connor, the petitioner, was represented by the Hon. M. C. Cameron.

In the preliminary skirmishes in the trial, objections were registered against the petitioner, as O'Connor was charged with being an alien, without the requisite property qualification for a candidate. It was hoped that these charges would disqualify the petitioner, but His Lordship ruled that the trial proceed forthwith. After a spate of witnesses and considerable evidence, the Court ruled that the election be vacated on the grounds of bribery by agents, without the knowledge or consent of the candidate.

This particular case is one of the last heard under the 1873 legislation. New procedure was established by federal legislation in 1874, and it remains the basis for existing practice. Under the later Act the trial is held before a single judge, and he is required not only to report his decision to the House of Commons, but also, if circumstances warrant it, to make a specific report on corrupt practices naming the parties concerned. Petitions have to be presented within thirty days after publication of election returns in the *Canada Gazette*, and petitioners have to deposit $1000 as security. "Saw Offs", or an arrangement between two opposing parties whereby they agree to withdraw petitions against each other are avoided since, once presented, a petition cannot be withdrawn except by leave of the court (Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 243). The findings of the Judge in the case under discussion were final and the decision rested entirely with him. Ward has statistics on the effectiveness of the Reform Act of 1874. From 1875-78 inclusive, out of sixty-five petitions, forty-nine members were unseated. This compares to the unseating of only one member in the first parliament from 1867-72 when twenty-one petitions were forwarded.

The outcome of the decision against McGregor was a by-election called by proclamation for October 22, 1874, with nominations set for October 15. Voting in this election was to be by secret ballot, the result of legislation passed by the Reformers in 1874. This first attempt at ballot voting was less an inducement to the uplifting of electoral practice than might be imagined.

The ballot is described by Ward as a poor but honest waif, devoid of counterfoil or official stamp, and printed by local printers on any paper available. The voter made his mark and inserted the paper in an envelope; the presiding officer then dropped the envelope into the ballot box. The potentialities for "abuse of this trusting enactment were almost as great as those of open voting—illiterate voters at that time were allowed to obtain the assistance

of others in the polling booth in making their cross in the proper place, and this provision was exploited not merely by the illiterate, but also with those who did not enjoy this disadvantage" (Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 158, 159).

The *Record* is not nearly as dubious as Ward about the improvement in the electoral process. In the actual contest which took place between McGregor and Jeremiah O'Connor, John O'Connor's brother, the *Record* considered that the ballot came through with "flying colours and honours heaped thickly upon it." The *Record's* opinion was undoubtedly enthusiastic, since McGregor won the by-election with a greater majority (1013) than before, when—with a much larger turn-out—it had been only 280.

An important difference between the general election in January, 1874, and the by-election of October was the change in nominating procedure provided by the 1874 Elections Act. (The Chief Electoral Officer [holder of an office created in 1920] considers this change in nominating procedure as a landmark in abolishing many of the old abuses. Of course the efficacy of the new legislation depended upon the way the Returning Officer interpreted his duty. Ward's section on elections is an interesting compilation of conflicting attitudes, mainly of the politicians most intimately concerned prior to the creation of the office of the Chief Electoral Officer.) In the October, 1874, by-election, nomination, rather than being open, required the written nomination of twenty-five qualified electors and a deposit of $50 by the candidate, which was not returnable. This restricted frivolous candidatures and made the official nomination a perfunctory legal proceeding. Simultaneous and one-man-one-vote procedures also restricted the former flexibility, which had invariably favoured the party in power.

In a rural county with little communication but newspapers and social gatherings, the local divergence in political outlook was usually wide. Newspapers such as the *Essex Record* were extremely partisan, and as this was the principal medium of political information, its editorial columns were avidly read with consequent violent opposition or strong support. The change in the electoral process towards formalization took a good deal of the spice out of politicking. Much of the strong individualism of a rural self-sufficient economy was attenuated by formal organization and objective law.

A brief description of the procedure followed in the Federal election in April 1963 provides an interesting contrast with the procedure of 1874. In 1963 Essex County contained three constituencies, Essex East, Essex South, and Essex West. Whereas the population was 27,000 in 1874, by 1963

it was approximately 258,000, with nearly 200,000 in the Metropolitan Windsor Area. The population is overwhelmingly urban and for purpose of comparison the constituency of Essex West will be used to show how a modern election is undertaken and administered. By 1963 the number of eligible voters in Essex County totalled 138,000, as compared to 5,700 in 1874 (*Windsor Star*, April 6, Feb. 7, 27, March 7, 16, 1963).

Eighty-nine years of political development had drastically affected both the general issues in federal electoral campaigns and the legislation which established the formal procedures for individual constituency electoral contests. Where the issues of 1874 had been fairly clear-cut and comprehensible to a small rural electorate, they had become by 1963 both technical and obscure to a large urban electorate. Corruption, annexation, and electoral reform, the issues of 1874, had changed to a highly complicated debate on nuclear defence policy. Legislation covering all federal electoral contests in 1963 was precise, and the Chief Electoral Officer is directed by the Canada Elections Act (8-9 Elizabeth II, Chap. 39) to

(a) exercise general direction and supervision over the administrative conditions of elections and enforce on the part of all election officers fairness, impartiality and compliance with the provisions of this Act.

(b) issue to election officers such instructions as from time to time he may deem necessary to ensure effective execution of the provisions of this Act . . . .

Not only are the duties of the Chief Electoral Officer closely defined but the Act also contains explicit instructions for Returning Officers, Polling Clerks, and Enumerators. Returning Officers are appointed by the Governor in Council and their appointment is permanent until the age of sixty-five. Their duties include compiling *de novo* a voters list for the constituency. With no property requirement for the franchise, assessment rolls cannot be used, as they were in 1874, to compile voter lists.

To set in motion the federal election of 1963, the Governor in Council on the advice of the Prime Minister, issued an Election Writ in the name of the Queen. Writs are issued normally about two months before the date set for the general election. With the election of 1963 planned for April 8, the writ was issued on February 6. As compared to 1874, a modern election therefore provides over twice as much time between the issuing of the writ and the actual election. In the 1963 election in Essex West, the Returning Officer was responsible for the appointment of hundreds of enumerators, Deputy Returning Officers, polling clerks, and revising officers. Enumerators

canvass the constituency in pairs (one representing each of the two most successful parties in the last election). After the voters lists are compiled they must be publicly displayed at least twenty-six days before the election. Revision of voters lists is the final responsibility of the appointed Revising Judge (usually a County Court Judge), and revision is based on the advice of the various Revising Officers appointed in each constituency. Final revision of the list must be completed sixteen days before the election.

Nomination of candidates follows much the same pattern as in the by-election of 1874. Unofficial nominations are provided by the political parties and official nominations come under the terms of the Canada Elections Act, 1960.

Party nominating conventions within constituencies are not regulated in any way by law. Usually the executive of the party within the constituency establishes the ground rules; and admittance, speeches, and voting in the convention are carried out as the executive decides. In most cases the sitting member is perfunctorily re-nominated by the party, but where the death of a member provides political opportunity, vicious infighting between groups within the local party organization may develop. One long established rule in Canadian Federal politics is that the central organization does not interfere to any marked extent in constituency differences. Regional constituencies want regional or local representatives so that if there is a difference between the central and local executive of the party the central executive is always under pressure to handle the local problem gingerly. (See Hugh G. Thorburn, ed., *Party Politics in Canada,* [Toronto: Prentice-Hall, 1963]. See also J. R. Mallory "The Structure of Canadian Politics", pp. 22-30).

In 1963, Essex West held party conventions to nominate four candidates. The nominations were all orderly affairs, with the Liberals re-nominating the sitting member, Mr. H. Gray, on Feb. 27, the Conservatives nominating Mr. T. Brophy on March 7, the N.D.P. nominating Mr. T. Price on March 7, and the Social Credit Party nominating Mr. Roy Gagnier on March 16. Nominations were reported objectively in the local paper. Each party and candidate was given his share of publicity, but there was little political interest generated by the factual reporting of the events. To compare reporting in the *Essex Record* to that of the present *Windsor Star* is hardly possible. The development of broader communication through national and international press services to local newspapers dampens the modern editor's ability to strongly influence local opinion. Regional reports and trends, and opinion poll surveys, are generally outside the immediate interest and concern of local electors. Modern

campaigns may be partisan, but the partisanship is provided by the parties themselves backed by public relations experts. Reporting in the 1963 election in the *Windsor Star* was therefore factually balanced and generally insipid.

Rather than providing a rough-and-tumble social event as in 1874, the election of 1963 was slick and well organized, reflecting V. O. Key's description in *Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups* (New York: Crowell, 1958):

> In more than a poetic sense, political parties are lineal descendants of two sorts of groups that recur in the annals of governance: those that conspire to overthrow the regime and those that rally around to defend and maintain the government . . . political parties in combination with other institutions and procedures . . . provide means for handling the problem of succession to authority more or less peacefully.

Not only was the election of 1963 peaceful but the "other institutions and procedures"—the Chief Electoral Officer and the Canada Elections Act—did provide a means for handling the problem of succession to authority with as little public violence as possible. Television, telephones, and telecommunications have sublimated the individual's role so that he reacts, not from subjective emotions but towards the external symbols that the parties build and maintain. It is, as Theodore H. White remarks,

> . . . to reach instinct and emotion that the great election campaigns are organized. Whatever issues are discussed, are discussed only secondarily, in an attempt to reach the emotions. Logic has been dismissed . . . other matters must be organized . . . citizens must be fired with enthusiasm; the explosive mechanisms of T.V. are wheeled into action . . . and always, forever, at whatever level, the central exercise is the same. . . . Every election summons the individual voter to weigh the past against the future. (*The Making of the President* [New York: Atheneum, 1960]. [See also Lawrence LeDuc Jr., *The 1963 Canadian Federal Election: A Study of Canadian Politics,* (Detroit: M.A. Thesis, Wayne State University, 1964)].

No charges of corruption or malfeasance resulted from the 1963 Essex West election; and if they had, the Dominion Controverted Elections Act of 1952 (c. 334, s. 10) covers every imaginable electoral sin which any politician could possibly contemplate. After a dignified campaign Gray polled 23,165, Brophy 10,946, Price 6,267 and Gagnier 884.

It is impossible to catalogue all the changes that may have affected Canadian voters in the time between the two elections described. In the earlier 1874 election the brokerage function of political parties—bringing the voters in organized groups to support the party platform—was overshadowed by the revulsion of the electorate against Macdonald and his party over the substantial charge of corruption. The Reformers, therefore, needed little national appeal to attract as the Liberal-Conservative repulsion drove the voters into the Reformers' arms. Voters in 1963 were mainly urban, enjoyed a wider variety of social activities, and had their choice between newspaper, radio, and television to keep informed of the election. Although there was a far greater number of voters in 1963 their political attitudes were tempered by the changes in media of communication, and the articulation of political platforms by national parties which attempted to persuade rather than to convince. Once parties entered the market with a packaged political commodity, real political issues tended to be circumvented and each party tried to make its package of political goodies as attractive as possible. Very few constituents were personally acquainted with their candidates, since the candidates or their supporters, as pointed out by J. M. Beck and D. J. Dooley in "Party Images in Canada" (*Queen's Quarterly*, Vol. LXVII, no. 3, 1960), were now "television personalities" or "radio voices" competing for the commercial time slots with cigarettes, soaps, deodorants, and breakfast foods.

Another change was obvious. Federalism and extreme lateral regionalism had gradually forced the central governments to codify wide-ranging laws regulating electoral procedure. The vast administrative resources which are alerted and activated in a modern election are in stark contrast to the uneven application of haphazard legislation evident in the earlier 1874 election. The army of electoral workers which the Chief Electoral Officer mobilizes during contemporary elections may be somewhat splintered by partisanship, but it is well ordered and subject to stringent control.

Lateral regionalism has also produced over the last thirty years a consistent multi-party rather than two-party system. As Mr. LeDuc observes (p. 23), ". . . it would seem that the long endurance of the two minor parties (both dating from depression days) and their strong showing in recent elections have earned them the right of treatment as an integral part of the Canadian party system. . . ." The persistence of minor parties in the Canadian party system is to some extent due to agrarian and regional discontent with the two old-line parties. In areas of Canada where voters have not accepted the general objectivity which has entered into modern election campaigns, constituents have

established provincial parties, which by outward appearance, try to retain the personal party-voter relationship that existed in the nineteenth century. [Seymour Lipset in *Agrarian Socialism* (Berkley: Univ. of California Press, 1950) says in his preface on XV: "Saskatchewan is a unique and rewarding place for a social scientist to do research, for the province contains a larger proportion of lay social scientists than any other area I have visited". See also C. B. MacPherson, *Democracy in Alberta,* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1953), W. L. Morton, *The Progressive Party in Alberta,* (*ibid.*, 1950) and J. A. Irving, *The Social Credit Movement in Alberta,* (*ibid.*, 1959).]

Not only was the number of voters greater in 1963 but a far larger proportion of the population was eligible to vote. In 1874 in Essex County, out of a population of 27,000 there were about 5,700 voters. This means about 21% of the population of Essex County were eligible to vote. Using this 21% as a general percentage and applying it to the rest of Canada, it would mean that out of a total population of 3,895,000 there would be approximately 818,000 voters. In 1963 in Essex West there were approximately 102,000 people and of these there were 55,689 eligible voters or 54.6% of the total population. This last figure, as given in the Chief Electoral Officer's Report, 1963, compares with a national percentage of 52.6 — 18,846,000 people, with 9,910,757 eligible voters.

In 1874 there was not a population mosaic as there was in 1963. In 1871, of the 3,485,761 people in Canada, 2,110,502 were originally from Great Britain with the majority (846,414) from Ireland, and 1,082,940 were French. Approximately 8% of the population was neither British nor French, the largest single group among the others being German, who numbered 203,000. The ethnic distribution in the 1961 census was: 8 million British, 5.5 million French, 1.05 million German, 3.07 million of other European background, 122 thousand Asians, 220 thousand Indians and Eskimos, and 243 thousand "others". With such a broad spectrum of ethnic groups, political parties tended in 1963 to have a little of something for everyone. Another feature of modern Canadian politics which has narrowed the cleavage between parties is the wide area of bi-partisanship between the two old-line parties. This was scarcely evident in the earlier election. Issues such as democracy, social welfare, annexation to the United States, or electoral procedure no longer excite the imagination of the voters; and the parties have long ago come to a tenuous basic agreement on most of the fundamental issues which faced the young colony in 1874.

Changing from a simple rural society to a complex urban society has increased the social and psychological pressures which are exerted on voters.

Political man in 1963 was therefore motivated in a far more complex way than was his 1874 counterpart. Social scientists are aware of the changing patterns associated with voter motivation and research has accelerated, particularly in the last decade. In the United States, where voting at all levels of government tends to be a continual process, research on voter motivation [see especially Angus Campbell (et. al.), *The American Voter,* (Ann Arbor, Survey Research Center, Univ. of Michigan, 1960)] is well ahead of similar research in Canada.

Two other factors in Canada have also affected the political reaction of voters. By the mid 1950s the government of Canada was described in the House of Commons (Hansard, Session 1956, Vol. II, p. 1645) as "an administration with a political front". This statement points out a relevant characteristic of Canadian politics in the twentieth century. Since 1896, governments in Canada have had long tenures in office. This stimulates within the ruling party an attitude of "permanency of tenure" using its own principles of parliamentary government rather than objective principles in both maintaining power and carrying out its policies. This was clearly evident within the Liberal party during the 1950s. Senior ministers assumed they had the "right to rule", riding roughshod over an opposition, which since 1935 was never more in number than a corporal's guard. See the Public Accounts Committee Reports of the House of Commons 1950, especially the discussions on The Financial Administration Act. See also N. Ward's *The Public Purse,* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1962). Related to the long tenure of government has been the marked increase in fixed expenditures since World War II. As the fixed cost of government has increased, the variable cost—which tends to allow room for changes in policy and development of issues—has sharply declined. In 1957, for example, after a long awaited victory at the polls, the Conservatives were caught in the trap of miscalculating the lack of flexibility they would have after fulfilling their electoral promises. Record deficits in the late 1950s increased the tension between various ministers. The final result was the explosive split within the cabinet in February, 1963. Voters are therefore faced more and more with fringe issues—issues which tend to be manufactured, not from the raw materials of politics, but from the synthetic components of emotional appeal. Political parties concentrate on projecting the proper image, phasing their campaigns, and saying nothing to alienate the diverse groups within the political community. To cut through the jargon to the evasive core of party policy is a time-consuming, and to the average voter, an unrewarding undertaking.