In a lecture commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of Confederation, historian George M. Wrong underlined the major obstacle facing national party leaders attempting to communicate with a mass electorate:

The very vastness of the Canadian union has created one of its chief difficulties. In Victoria one can rarely secure a newspaper published in Toronto that is less than a week old. Distance is a great handicap in the building up of national life. In Britain a political leader can make a speech in the south of England in the morning and repeat it in the capital of Scotland on the same day. In Canada it takes about six days and nights to pass from one end of the country to the other.1

If this "penalty of vastness", to which Wrong referred, hindered politicians in the year 1917, it was no less a disadvantage in the immediate post-Confederation era.2 Transportation and communication methods were at a relatively primitive stage preventing politicians from having regular contact with voters. The political leaders facing the electorate, in these years, were truly campaign pioneers who were continually scanning the horizon for any possible advantage. They were forced to look long and hard for new campaign techniques, because the social conditions, in which campaigns were conducted, were as great an enemy or greater than their political opponents. Undaunted and when the time seemed appropriate, the party leaders took to the hustings by horse-drawn carriage, steamship and train in an effort to gain a consensus from the electorate. Towards the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century radio made its appearance. However, the rudimentary nature of broadcast networks, at that time, prevented politicians from making large scale appeals at election time. Hence creating a common public opinion in the country and making it effective at Ottawa was
almost as difficult in the early twentieth century as it was in the horse and buggy era after Confederation.

Still the fifteen federal elections that occurred between 1867 and 1925 not only set the formats for modern day campaigns but also saw party organizations slowly begin to form and to undertake the various aspects of campaign management. To reach the electorate, political leaders relied on five principal campaign weapons, the newspaper, the public meetings, the political picnic, the campaign train and radio. It was not so much these vehicles themselves but the manner in which they were used which suggests that politicians, in this earlier period, were as single-minded at election time as their contemporary counterparts in the electronic age. They wanted public exposure to communicate their political message, but more importantly, control over their campaign environment was a matter of the highest priority to them. The following study attempts to show how this control was exercised at election time by examining the impact of the early growth of party organizations and advances in communications on campaign styles.

Sir John and the Party Press

Politicians in the mid-nineteenth century were without the benefit of national party organizations at election time. In fact, national political parties, as we know them today, did not exist at the time of Confederation. This fact coupled with the legal framework governing the elections in the immediate post-Confederation era had a significant bearing on their outcome. Since voters wanted to end up on the winning side in general elections, there was little eagerness for political parties. Partisanship was discouraged because many “loose fish”, to use Macdonald’s terminology, or “ministerialists” among the electorate wished to support not a party but a ministry. Naturally governments worked this reluctance toward party allegiance among the voters to their advantage. Delayed voting gave the government of the day a decided edge, because the safe seats could be contested first and thus create the impression that the government side was the winning one. As Escott Reid explained, “illusion of victory would create victory.”

In their efforts to communicate with the electorate at this time political leaders relied heavily on party newspapers. Unlike the bland, mass circulation dailies of today, newspapers in the half century after Confederation were highly partisan journals of opinion which received financial support from politicians. As Khayyam Paltiel has observed:

Thus at the very outset of the Dominion, Sir John A. Macdonald felt impelled in 1869 to stimulate the foundation of a friendly paper in Toronto (The Mail) and
was periodically called upon to come to its assistance. A generation later, a group of Liberals put up the funds to purchase the *Toronto Evening Star*. *Le Soleil*, its predecessor *L'Electeur*, and *Le Cultivateur* were subsidized while *Le Soir* was established with Liberal party funds. Money from party sources kept the *Globe* in the Liberal camp in the eighteen eighties and won control of *La Patrie* in 1897.

This collaboration between newspaper editors and politicians was hardly surprising since the press was the central and most influential medium of communication in Canadian society during which much of the nineteenth and for the first quarter of the twentieth century. Clearly, the emergency of the party press had a significant impact on political behavior. Attention was shifted from the assembly to the lead editorial with its intensely partisan tone. By the 1870s, the leading issues of the day were debated firstly, in the press and secondly in parliament. The politicians had begun to use the newspaper as a barometer of public opinion and seemed content to follow rather than to lead. As Goldwin Smith put it, “the power of journalism, great as it is, is still on the increase. The real debate has been transferred from assemblies, deliberative no longer, to the press, and the assembly does little more than record the conclusion.”

Between elections, Sir John A. Macdonald controlled both the flow of patronage to prominent individuals in society and the flow of information to the public at large through newspapers friendly to the Liberal-Conservative party. If this potent combination were not enough to ensure lengthy political survival, Sir John had in the various constituencies, at election time, a network of followers described by D.G.G. Kerr as “able and sometimes rather unscrupulous supporters.” In his orchestration of elections, Macdonald was the supreme strategist. With his hands on all the levers he ensured the election machinery was oiled and greased to his liking.

**The Public Meeting**

In the first three federal campaigns, those of 1867, 1872 and 1874, Macdonald seldom varied his strategy. To score an early psychological victory, he would arrange for his own election in Kingston to be brought on as soon as possible. He would then travel to Toronto where he would oversee the entire Ontario campaign and arrange for the elections in a favourable order with the safe seats first and the most dangerous left to the last. Prior to 1878, election campaigns were actually constituency by constituency rather than contests between national party organizations. As Khayyam Z. Paltiel and Jean Brown Van Loon have concluded, the organization of supporters and
mobilization of voters took precedence over the communication of party platforms. These campaigns were frequently highlighted by spirited debates among notable opponents. An example of the latter was the joint public meeting held on August fourth in the Southern Ontario town of Wyoming, the stronghold of Alexander Mackenzie during the 1867 campaign. A favourite campaign technique at this time, such meetings were as much for the entertainment of voters as they were for public information. William McDougall, a Reform minister who had remained in the coalition government at the time, was sent into Mackenzie's territory by MacDonald to campaign against the prominent stonemason. When Mackenzie learned McDougall would be visiting his area on behalf of local candidates, he organized a group of his supporters by sending telegrams to inform them of the time and place of the Wyoming meeting. After Mackenzie and his supporters arrived at the public meeting, McDougall, although somewhat surprised, agreed to a debate which lasted for several hours. The format for these meetings allowed for a great deal of audience participation and, on more than one occasion, were the principal speakers greeted with loud roars of approval or hisses and boos of disdain. McDougall frequently tried to raise the level of combat above party politics by portraying the British North America Act as a sacred document. "We had determined," he said, "that under the new constitution there should be no question of Tory or Reform. Those issues which brought out those party names have been settled." He told the five hundred people in attendance that Sir John A. MacDonald needed "the assistance of all political parties in order to settle these questions in a fair and honest manner." McDougall and Mackenzie held similar debates at public meetings through the 1867 campaign at several other centres including Sarnia and Arkona. These joint or contradictory meetings proved to be a suitable vehicle for the politicians to get their message to hundreds of voters at a time. Indeed platform speeches were probably the most important means of direct communication for politicians at election time. The joint meeting was made necessary by the fact that there were few public halls and those that were available had a limited seating accommodation. Hence the modern day practice of the parties holding rallies in separate locations was not always possible at the time of Confederation. Besides public meetings, personal canvass was another electioneering method many local candidates adopted.

The Political Picnic

Within two years of the 1874 election, a major advance in communications occurred. Alexander Graham Bell made the first telephone communication in history between Paris, Ontario and
Brantford in 1876 thus opening the way for instantaneous, long-range information exchange. Just as the first Canadian telegraph service had done in 1847, this revolutionary breakthrough meant that communication over a distance was no longer restricted by the perceptive capacity of the human eye or ear. Moreover message transmission was separated from transportation. Both of these inventions, the telephone and the telegraph, which could send messages with the speed of light, had a social impact comparable to that of television a century later. In addition, train travel was improving and the population becoming more mobile. All of these advances had serious implications for the politicians of the day.

Since the 1878 election saw the introduction of the secret ballot and simultaneous elections, Macdonald realized that a different form of campaign would now have to be waged. Whereas the first three federal elections had been held over a two month period, the 1878 campaign was concentrated during the month between dissolution on August 17th and the September 17th voting day. This campaign had to have more structure and coherence, than those in the past, both on the organizational and presentational sides with the party leaders hoping to gain momentum early and carry it through with an eleventh hour surge before the polls opened. Macdonald had experimented successfully with a new campaign technique in the inter election period and by 1878 he had created a new Canadian institution — the political picnic. Gordon Donaldson captured the flavour of these campaign events:

The first meeting of the Fathers of Confederation had been upstaged by a travelling circus. John A. had learned something there. Politics was entertainment. It should not be reserved for the jaded pros and apathetic loggers of Ottawa or doled out to the constituents at election time. Put on a good show—a brass band, a hefty cold chicken and ham meal in a park, provide handshakes for the faithful and jokes for the rustics—and the town would remember for years. MacDonald’s picnics were solid satisfying affairs, unlike the whistle-stop train tours and jet-hopping campaigns of our time. They had the same purpose—to present the leader to the people, not as a distant tile-hatted symbol but as a warm, touchable man. The picnics did not blot out the image of John A., villain of the CPR scandal but, in Ontario at least, they made him a pleasant, folksy villain. Mackenzie, square, honest, and humorless as his tombstones, could not compete.

Both MacDonald and Mackenzie confined their campaigning to Ontario, the main battleground in 1878, attending political picnic after political picnic in the hot months of August and September.
The adoption by the Liberals of this campaign technique is indicative of its success in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The political picnic was probably Macdonald's major campaign innovation.

In 1880, two events had important consequences for the development of Canadian telecommunications which could not help but change the relationship between political leaders and their constituents and campaign styles. The incorporation of the Bell Telephone Company of Canada and the beginning of telegraphy construction by the Canadian Pacific Railway represented a dramatic leap forward. Bell Telephone quickly extended its operations into every province and the first all-Canadian telegraph route from coast to coast was just six years away. These improvements in mass communications meant that political leaders and their constituents were beginning to receive information at the same time whereas before political information had been restricted to the highest levels of leadership. As Ben Bagdikian has observed, this sharing of information had serious implications for political leaders:

First, social reaction time is accelerated, speeding the pace of developments for both leadership and electorate. Second, the dependence of lower echelons on higher ones is decreased and power based exclusively on initial possession of information is destroyed. Third, leadership may find itself at a disadvantage in responding to demands for action. Where incoming messages stimulate fast reactions, and both leadership and constituencies get the information at the same time, large institutions are by nature less volatile than small organizations, and will usually react more slowly. For these and other reasons, authorities will always attempt to control information for the public good as they see it.

Canada was about to enter a new age of political campaigning.

The Campaign Train

During the Laurier period, there were dramatic changes in the campaign style of the Liberal party. These included greater reliance on newspapers, pamphlets and printed material, better organized tours and public meetings and, in general, a faster paced election campaign. At this time, the emphasis in campaigning appears to have started to shift from the mobilization of voters to the communication of the party platform and the projection of the leader's personal qualities. Laurier, who had been chosen Liberal leader in 1887, favored a heavy round of tours and meetings as vehicles for reaching the larger number of voters who could now cast ballots in federal elections. Israel Tarte, his leading campaign strategist,
estimated that between 1895 and 1896 he and Laurier attended between two and three hundred meetings and had contact with nearly 200,000 prospective voters.\textsuperscript{39} Tarte also used articles and pamphlets often in campaigns, a technique he found particularly useful at the constituency level.\textsuperscript{40} In Laurier, the Liberals had a leader of immense personal charm with a style and elan that gave him the appearance of being the architect of twentieth century Canada. A new vehicle, organizers felt, was required to maximize the leadership advantage the Liberals now held with their fluently bilingual party head. They found the campaign train whistle-stop to be a suitable weapon for the changing social conditions which saw improved railway service and news and information reaching people much faster than in Macdonald’s era.\textsuperscript{41}

Before examining the skillful use of the train by the Liberal party in the 1900 election, it is worth considering a similar campaign conducted in the United States to illustrate how the whistle-stop enabled political leaders to manage the news coverage of their tours. A beholden reporter aboard Theodore Roosevelt’s campaign train once wrote:

He made our work tons lighter. Whenever he returned to the car after a speech he would round us up and say, “Now, the next stop will be Bankville. You don’t have to bother about that; I’m going to get off the usual thing.” Or, “At Dashtown, where we stop next, you’d better be on the job. I’ll have some new stuff there.” Sometimes he would even tell us in the rough what the new stuff was to be...In this way he not only saved us useless physical and mental work, but economized our time and systematized our schedules. It also aided the editors at home to plan out their work without uncertainty.\textsuperscript{42}

If Theodore Roosevelt was the first American politician to rationalize the handing out of news, Wilfrid Laurier was the first Canadian Prime Minister to do likewise. He could not help but be influenced by the communications advances in the United States where public relations was beginning to play an important role in government. As Frederick Whitney has written:

The first decade of the twentieth century was a time of emerging mass media, increasing literacy, proliferating newspapers, urban growth, development of the huge newspaper chains, stepped-up wire services, national magazines and an embryonic movie industry. This particular conspiracy of communications breathed new life into public relations and its organized practice stemmed from this decade.\textsuperscript{43}
Moreover there were communications changes peculiar to British North America. During the 1880s, a new form of journalism began to challenge the party press. The people's journals with their more extensive formats which played down political and business news and highlighted entertainment news items for a mass readership, had gained a steadily increasing circulation. With the power of the party press now somewhat eroded, political leaders ran the risk of losing a vital link with the voters. The mass circulation daily was fast becoming the newest and most influential medium. As Wilfred Kesterton observed, "a factor immediately favourable to increased circulation of the dailies was the steadily growing urbanization of the dominion. Between 1901 and 1911, urban population rose from 2,014,222 to 3,272,947. In terms of total population of the country, the change was from 37.5 per cent to 45.42 per cent." Laurier was heir to all of this and, in opting for whistle-stop train tours of large and small centres, he moved the Liberal party beyond the age of the rural political picnic to a form of campaigning more synchronized with the forces of urbanization at work in the early twentieth century.

In 1900, Laurier spent nearly the entire campaign period travelling by train through Ontario, Quebec and the Maritimes. Early in the campaign he visited Western Ontario, travelled to Quebec and New Brunswick during the middle stages, and towards the end concentrated his efforts on the central and southern portions of Ontario with a whirl-wind trip by train just before polling day. Clearly election campaigns had grown to be more strenuous on the party leader. The state of the parties' organizations became increasingly relevant at election time and Laurier's style reflected a new professionalism now shaping the character of political campaigning. On his first visit to Western Ontario in the campaign, he travelled with half a dozen press reporters and seldom departed from the pre-arranged format. When the train arrived at its destination, Laurier would hold an informal reception on the platform of the station where he would meet local dignitaries and the citizenry. No major policy speeches were delivered on these occasions. Rather organizers emphasized the man in preference to the party hoping to capitalize on Laurier's political savoir faire. After hand-shaking his way through the crowd for approximately twenty minutes, Laurier would climb back onto the train and was on his next stop. During his visit to London on October 21st, a crowd of people swarmed around him on the platform of the Grand Trunk station impeding his movements as he grasped and heartily shook scores of outstretched hands. To those he could not reach, he gave a kindly nod of the head or smiled his best political smile. Appropriately, on this occasion anyway, sunny weather greeted the statesman with the sunny smiles. As they had planned Laurier and party organizers throughout the campaign received the kind of news coverage they wanted. The very momentum of the
leader's tour reduced the reporters travelling with him to passive observers rather than active interpreters of his campaign. Himself a former journalist with the newspaper Le Defricheur from 1862 to 1867, Laurier would likely have realized that competition among journalists covering elections tended to produce conformity in news coverage. No journalist wanted to miss a campaign highlight which another might manage to report. This fact and the speed of the campaign allowed reporters to relate only three simply elements to their readers, how Laurier was received at his various stops, the size of the crowds and the weather. Laurier thus had capitalized on the changing role of the press which saw increased competition among newspapers in the early twentieth century. Moreover he had neutralized, through the print medium, any risks that might have been involved for him with this method of campaigning.

The Advent of Radio and the Canadian Press

In 1901, Newfoundland was the scene of an historic occasion when radio signals transmitted from Poldhu in England were received at Signal Hill in St. John's by Guglielmo Marconi in person. This first long-distance use of radiocommunication was the forerunner of a technological revolution in communications which was to change the face of the world. Moreover a significant change in the dissemination of news which would not help but influence politicians and their campaign methods occurred in 1911, the year of Canada’s twelfth federal election.

A national news agency, which was initially started in that same year, marked the first attempt at the pooling of news on a nationwide basis from coast to coast. In 1907, the Western Associated Press had been formed by Western newspapers to serve regional interests and Maritime Publishers in 1909 had established the Eastern Press Association. Two years later the West, the Maritimes, Quebec and Ontario through the facilities of a new wire service were able to exchange news of their territories on a limited basis. Initially there were three outstanding gaps in the news system. Without leased wires from St. John to Montreal, Toronto to Winnipeg and Calgary to Vancouver, no truly united association was possible, the cost being prohibitive for the newspaper publishers.

As always, the politicians were watching this new development among print owners and saw in it a new force for moulding a national consensus. The government of Sir Robert Borden offered the newspapers an annual grant of fifty thousand dollars to help bridge the gaps in the system by leased wires. The regional news bodies immediately accepted the offer and amalgamated into the national entity in 1917 now known as The Canadian Press. The insistent need for Canadian unity in the Great War had fused the separated news units into one with some financial prodding from the
government. However Borden still wanted to go further with his generosity. “There was some talk by Borden,” wrote I. Norman Smith, “that the Government might defray costs of war news cables, but the publishers shied away from getting too deep into the subsidy trough.” This cozy arrangement between the government and newspaper publishers lasted until 1924 when Canadian Press executives decided that never again would the news agency accept financial assistance from any government. The formation of the Canadian Press meant that the power of the traditional party newspapers was still further diluted and that a new newspaper age had fully arrived. Great metropolitan dailies not only looked to politically neutral wire services for news but strove to trade on “impartiality” in return for more advertising revenue and expanded readership. Political leaders no longer able to rely on one or a group of party newspapers at election time would now have to campaign in every province nation-wide. The rapid exchange of information among newspapers through the Canadian Press meant that public statements on the campaign trail would have to attempt to eschew regional differences. As well as the content of his remarks, the style of the politician’s oratory was about to undergo a profound change.

In September, 1918, North America’s first broadcasting station was established by Canadian Marconi in Montreal. This operated first under the call letters XWA; later these call letters were changed to CFCF, the designation the station retains to this day. The exigencies of platform oratory and the printed word would hardly any longer be able to dictate the behaviour of Canadian politicians on the hustings. Moreover party organizations were becoming somewhat more decentralized and slowly developing campaign specialists, the latter no doubt prompted by radio, the new electronic weapon now at their disposal. After the 1921 election, the first to feature non-partisan reporting of a political campaign, Mackenzie King said that he “had no knowledge whatever of how that campaign was managed. I went where I was told to go to speak by those who had direction of the campaign.” Clearly the party caucus no longer held the prominent position it once had in federal campaigns. As King explained, parties had now expanded their organizations thus separating their parliamentary and campaign functions:

There must be a division of labour in a political party...it is the duty of the political head of the party to see to matters of policy, to be able to discuss questions on the floor of parliament, and throughout the country; but...it is not his business to get out the literature of the party, nor is it his business to organize political campaigns. Such work belongs to the rank and file of the party and to those who will act on their behalf.
King's remarks reflected the extensive changes that had taken place in party organization and structure since the days of the Pacific Scandal. Sir John A. Macdonald had been parliamentary leader, fund raiser, campaign manager and campaigner. King, on the other hand, claimed to have no responsibility for raising campaign finances and planning election strategy thus underscoring the effects of the longterm evolution of specialization that had taken place in the structures of the parties.  

The advent of radio to electioneering both in Canada and the United States again altered the relationship of politician to voter. With prophetic insight, Bruce Barton, an advertising specialist and adviser to Franklin Roosevelt, stated in 1924:

"In other words the radio has made possible an entirely new type of campaign. It enables the President to sit by every fireside and talk in terms of that home's interest and prosperity. La Follette will roar and the Democrat will pound his stuffed shirt. But if the President will only talk to the folks (not address them) he will re-elect himself."  

Canadian federal politicians were often reluctant users of the new medium and initially saw it as an extension of the platform. They seemed to prefer the conventional public meeting or rally with the presence of microphones in front of them seeming but an additional prop in an ancient ritual. For probably the first time in Canada, radio was used in a 1924 federal byelection in the Montreal riding of St. Antoine where the Liberal government held its seat in the face of determined opposition. However, as in the general election the following year, political speeches, for the most part, were transmitted via telephone lines from the public hall by the remote control system. In a sense the politician's speech was not on the air at all. This campaign practice foreshadowed the skillful use of radio made by William Aberhart in Alberta ten years later. Aberhart, led the Social Credit party to power in 1935, was in the forefront of a trend in Canadian politics which saw regional politicians grasp the implications of radio faster than their federal counterparts. Clearly radio had introduced a new element in campaigns. But perhaps a greater break with tradition was the Globe's refusal in 1925 to endorse the Liberal party after seventy-five years of support. The era of party journalism in Canada had truly ended and the mass circulation daily was triumphant.

While the national campaigns of the parties in 1925 reflected modern day methods of electioneering, the joint public meeting, a throwback to the immediate post Confederation era, still suited local candidates. Because only one public hall was available in Lundar, Manitoba, Arthur Meighen agreed to a joint meeting with Harry
Leader, his Liberal opponent in the riding of Portage. Similarly in the Quebec riding of Gaspe, Grattan O'Leary, the Conservative candidate, and the Honourable Rodolphe Lemieux, his Liberal opponent, engaged in "l'assemblee contradictoire," the form of combat which was, as O'Leary later explained, "the classical encounter dear to Quebec hearts." It was "an endurance contest, the place packed to the rafters, wreathed in smoke from hand-rolled "Alouette" cigarettes, a situation in which the man with the loudest voice had all the advantage." Indeed federal elections in the second half of the nineteenth and first quarter of the twentieth centuries, which featured a range of campaign weapons from the party press to radio, had remained war in a very real sense. Without any national medium such as television through which politicians could practise consensus politics, as is done today, and make broad appeals to the electorate, party leaders generally found themselves on a much narrower field of battle. This grass roots form of combat, even as late as 1925, tended to give these earlier campaigns a much higher level of partisanship than the voter of today experiences. Goldwin Smith captured this campaign spirit when he observed, with a touch of contempt, "the smaller the pit, the fiercer the rats."

Conclusion

The early history of the impact of the growth of party organizations and advances in communications on campaign styles can roughly be divided into two periods. From Confederation until 1896, the age of Macdonald, political parties gradually grew from loosely organized entities at the constituency level to national cohesive bodies. In this period with its considerable restrictions on travel and transportation, campaign events, for the most part, were local and regional in nature. The age of Laurier ushered in a new era in campaigning, the effects of which are still felt today. As well, the evolution of the party system continued with the strengthening of disciplined, mass parties into the twentieth century. After 1896, the campaign setting was altered dramatically to meet the changes dictated by faster travel, better communications and a growing urban population. Campaigns became more skillfully organized as the party leader was eventually relieved of earlier election-time burdens beyond that of actual campaigner. In the process, party organizations outside of their parliamentary wings developed campaign specialists to oversee the leader's tour and the various intricacies of campaign strategy. In short, the organizational structure for mid-twentieth century election campaigns had been laid when the advertising agent would replace the newspaper editor as a principle party strategist at election time. Subsequent federal election campaigns, would see radio play an increasingly important
role even though the 1936 Broadcasting Act, in the wake of the Mr. Sage controversy, clamped tight restrictions on the medium for almost a quarter of a century. Eventually these strictures would be relaxed thus affording the parties and their advertising specialists greater scope for innovation.

Chroniclers of Canadian politics have grown fond of characterizing today’s pseudo-election campaigns, with their heavy emphasis on the party leader’s personal qualities, as phenomena of the television age where image is substituted for reality. However in this earlier period also, as this study suggests, election campaigns had a celluloid reality about them. Macdonald’s political picnic and Laurier’s campaign whistle stop were designed deliberately to tantalize the electorate by providing them with a quick glimpse of these remarkably adaptable politicians. The political content of Macdonald’s remarks at a picnic or rally were not what mattered. Rather, as W.K. Thomas has written, Macdonald “would hold his audience by his personality: he was one of them but at the same time he was their leader-in-short, he was primus inter pares. Similarly it was not what Sir Wilfrid said when he disembarked from the campaign train that appears to have brought him electoral success. What really counted was his getting off the train and leaving a favorable impression before journeying on to his next stop. Macdonald, Laurier and others demanded that they set their own campaign agenda and refused to digress from it unless forced to do so by unforeseen political circumstances. They were as cautious in their approach to the electorate as the electronic media politicians of today. Style had truly triumphed over content in election campaigns up to 1925 and the projection of the leader’s personality was as important then as it is now. As is still true today, successful politicians in early federal campaigns had to be able to, in Kipling’s phrase, “walk with Kings nor lose the common touch.”

Footnotes

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