Historical Papers
Communications historiques

"Smashers" and "Rummies": Voters and the Rise of Parties in Charlotte County, New Brunswick, 1846-1857

Gail Campbell

Volume 21, Number 1, 1986

Winnipeg 1986

URI: https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/030948ar
DOI: https://doi.org/10.7202/030948ar

See table of contents

Publisher(s)

The Canadian Historical Association/La Société historique du Canada

ISSN

0068-8878 (print)
1712-9109 (digital)

Explore this journal

Cite this article

Campbell, G. (1986). "Smashers" and "Rummies": Voters and the Rise of Parties in Charlotte County, New Brunswick, 1846-1857. *Historical Papers / Communications historiques*, *21*(1), 86–116. https://doi.org/10.7202/030948ar

Article abstract

A case study of a single county helps to explain the rise of political parties in midnineteenth-century New Brunswick. While Charlotte County was not a microcosm of New Brunswick as a whole, fully 10 per cent of the province's population lived there at midcentury. More important, the voting patterns that emerged in Charlotte County did typify the province-wide election results.

Three distinct components are necessary to the evolution of a political party: the "organization proper," composed of party officials and active members; the "party in office," composed of elected members (caucuses, floor leaders, and whips); and the "party-in-the-electorate," composed of the individual voters who attached themselves unofficially to the party by regularly supporting it at the polls. The first two components have received a good deal of attention from political historians. The role of the voter, however, has been virtually ignored. This paper seeks to fill that gap in the literature by examining the voting patterns of individual electors during the crucial decade (1846-57) that saw the rise of New Brunswick's first party system. The survival of a run of poll books made possible analysis of patterns of individual participation and response over a series of five elections during the period.

The electoral patterns which emerged in Charlotte County during the decade between 1846 and 1857 clearly illustrate the evolution of a party-within-the-electorate. At the beginning of the period, voter response was mainly candidate-oriented. By the end of the period, however, the majority of electors were voting for "slates" of candidates, or parties. The issue which precipitated the transition from a pattern of candidate-based voting to one of party-based voting was temperance. Yet the transition was gradual, extending over a period of three elections, and party-based voting emerged as an outgrowth and extension of candidate-based voting. Throughout the period, voters tended to favour candidates with whom they shared a common identity of interests-people who were, in fact, very like themselves. As politicians formed factions, and then parties, they too formed alliances with others like themselves. Thus, while voters continued to favour candidates with whom they shared a common identity of interests, by 1857 those candidates were running as members of slates representing parties. Voters chose the slate of candidates, or party, whose outlook seemed most in tune with their own. For voters, then, the emergence of party-in-the-electorate represented a conscious shift in orientation, but it required no significant ideological reorientation. For historians, the emergence of party-in-the-electorate, however gradual or imperceptible, is significant, for until parties develop solid support bases among groups of voters, their evolution is incomplete.

"Smashers" and "Rummies": Voters and the Rise of Parties in Charlotte County, New Brunswick, 1846–1857

GAIL CAMPBELL

Résumé

A case study of a single county helps to explain the rise of political parties in midnineteenth-century New Brunswick. While Charlotte County was not a microcosm of New Brunswick as a whole, fully 10 per cent of the province's population lived there at midcentury. More important, the voting patterns that emerged in Charlotte County did typify the province-wide election results.

Three distinct components are necessary to the evolution of a political party: the "organization proper," composed of party officials and active members; the "party in office," composed of elected members (caucuses, floor leaders, and whips); and the "party-in-the-electorate," composed of the individual voters who attached themselves unofficially to the party by regularly supporting it at the polls. The first two components have received a good deal of attention from political historians. The role of the voter, however, has been virtually ignored. This paper seeks to fill that gap in the literature by examining the voting patterns of individual electors during the crucial decade (1846–57) that saw the rise of New Brunswick's first party system. The survival of a run of poll books made possible analysis of patterns of individual participation and response over a series of five elections during the period.

The electoral patterns which emerged in Charlotte County during the decade between 1846 and 1857 clearly illustrate the evolution of a party-within-the-electorate. At the beginning of the period, voter response was mainly candidate-oriented. By the end of the period, however, the majority of electors were voting for "slates" of candidates, or parties. The issue which precipitated the transition from a pattern of candidate-based voting to one of party-based voting was temperance. Yet the transition was gradual, extending over a period of three elections, and party-based voting emerged as an outgrowth and extension of candidate-based voting. Throughout the period, voters tended to favour candidates with whom they shared a common identity of interests — people who were, in fact, very like themselves. As politicians formed factions, and then parties, they too formed alliances with others like themselves. Thus, while voters continued to favour candidates with whom they shared a common identity of interests, by 1857 those candidates were running as members of slates representing parties. Voters chose the slate of candidates, or

This article is based on an analysis of one part of the computerized database established when I held a University of New Brunswick postdoctoral fellowship.

party, whose outlook seemed most in tune with their own. For voters, then, the emergence of party-in-the-electorate represented a conscious shift in orientation, but it required no significant ideological reorientation. For historians, the emergence of party-in-the-electorate, however gradual or imperceptible, is significant, for until parties develop solid support bases among groups of voters, their evolution is incomplete.

★ ★ ★ ★

Une étude de cas d'un comté aide à expliquer l'ascension des partis politiques au Nouveau-Brunswick au mileau de 19ième siècle. Même si le comté de Charlotte n'était pas un microcosme de l'ensemble du Nouveau-Brunswick, dix pour cent de la population totale de la province vivait dans ce comté à cette époque. Ce qui est encore plus important, c'est que les habitudes de vote qui émergèrent dans le comté de Charlotte étaient typiques des résultats d'élection dans l'ensemble de la province.

Trois éléments distincts sont essentiels à l'évolution de tout parti politique: l' "organisation proprement dite", composée des dirigeants du parti et de membres actifs; le "parti au pouvoirs" composé du caucus des membres élus, des leaders en chambre et des whips; et finalement le "parti au sein de l'electorat", composé des votants qui se sont attachés officieusement au parti en l'appuyant régulièrement lors des élections. Les deux premiers éléments ont beaucoup attiré l'attention des historiens de la politique. Mais le rôle du votant a été presqu' entièrement délaissé. Cet article tente de combler cette lacune dans la recherche en examinant les habitudes de vote des particuliers pendant cette décennie cruciale (1846–1857) qui a vu l'émergence du première système de parti au Nouveau-Brunswick. La préservation d'une série de registres de bureaux de scrutin a rendu possible une analyse des habitudes de participation et vote des particuliers pour cinq élections consécutives tenues pendant cette période.

Les habitudes électorales observables dans le comté de Charlotte entre 1846 et 1857 illustrent clairement l'évolution du parti au sein de l'électorat. Au début de la période, les votants manifestaient surtout leur préférence pour un candidat. Par comparaison, à la fin de cette période la majorité des électeurs votait pour des groupes de candidats, ou pour des partis. La tempérance fut la grande question qui accéléra la transition d'un vote axé sur le candidat vers un vote axé sur le parti. Et pourtant cette transition se fit graduellement, couvrant trois élections, et le vote axé sur le parti fut une extension ou un prolongement du vote axé sur un candidat. Tout au cours de la période, les votants eurent tendance à préférer des candidats avec lesquels ils partageaient une communauté d'intérêts; en définition des candidats qui leur ressemblaient beaucoup. Au fur et à mesure que les politiciens formèrent des factions, puis des partis, eux aussi formèrent avec des hommes qui leur ressemblaient. Donc, même si les votants continuaient de préférer des candidats avec lesquels ils partageaient une communauté d'intérêts, en 1857 ces candidats se présentaient désormais comme membres de groupes représentant un parti et les votants choisissaient le groupe de candidats ou le parti dont l'orientation semblait se

rapprocher le plus de la leur. On peut donc affirmer que, pour les votants, l'émergence du parti au sein de l'électorat a représenté un changement d'orientation délibéré, mais un changement n'ayant pas nécessité un virage idéologique important. Même si elle fut graduelle ou imperceptible, l'émergence du parti au sein de l'électorat est important pour les historiens car l'évolution des partis demeure incomplète tant qu'ils n'ont pas acquis un appui solide au sein des groupes de votants.

In 1846 there were no "Smashers" and no "Rummies" in New Brunswick. In fact, there were no parties of any kind, although there were a few men who believed in the principle of responsible government. But responsible government was not an issue that aroused much interest even inside the legislature. Charles Fisher, the junior member for York County, explained to Joseph Howe of Nova Scotia that New Brunswickers were "too loyal and too ignorant" to support the principle of responsible government. [1]

While in the Canadas and in Nova Scotia, responsible government was an issue around which "parties" had already begun to polarize, New Brunswick politicians continued to eschew partyism, which they associated with corruption and loss of individual freedom of action. Despite their wariness, partyism did come to New Brunswick, however, just as it had come to the other colonies. "Smashers" and "Rummies" first made their appearance in the election of 1856, though "parties" had emerged in the legislature somewhat earlier. In the election of 1857 candidates identified themselves as "Conservative" or "Liberal." By their votes, the electors did the same, choosing either the "Conservative" or the "Liberal" slate instead of splitting their tickets.

The rise of parties in New Brunswick during this period has been discussed elsewhere. [2] In the past, however, historians have viewed the evolution of party from the perspective of politicians and colonial administrators. The role of the voter, except in the aggregate, has not been examined. Yet voters were critical to the evolution of party. Politicians and party leaders form only the nucleus of a political party; without much broader support that nucleus cannot evolve and grow. A political party may be considered as an organization composed of three elements: the organization proper, the party in office, and the party-in-the-electorate. The "organization proper" is the "political party of the party officials, the activists, and the members; it is the purposeful, organized, initiating vanguard of the party." The "party in office" refers to the "legislative party organizations" — caucuses, floor leaders, and whips. Finally, the "party-in-the-electorate" is "composed of those partisans who attach themselves to the party either by regular support at the polls or

1. W.S. MacNutt, *New Brunswick, A History: 1784–1867* (Toronto, 1963, 1984), 290.
2. See, for example, W.S. MacNutt, *New Brunswick*, especially ch. 14, and P.B. Waite, "The Fall and Rise of the Smashers, 1856–1857: Some Private Letters of Manners-Sutton," *Acadiensis* 2:1 (Autumn 1972).

through self-identification with it."[3] Unless all three elements are present, the evolution remains incomplete. Before a party can claim any permanent identity, it must establish that identity clearly and firmly within the electorate and develop a consistent base of support among voters.

When and why did parties emerge within the nineteenth-century New Brunswick electorate? To answer this question requires an examination of individual-level voting results. Such data, in the form of poll books, are available for the period prior to the introduction of the secret ballot.[4] The survival of a run of poll books for the critical ten-year period 1846–57 makes possible this analysis of the initial rise of parties within the electorate in Charlotte County.

Charlotte is a very large and mixed county. Bordered on the west by the St. Croix River which separates it from the state of Maine and on the south by the Bay of Fundy, it is an extremely hilly region rising sharply inland from Passamaquoddy Bay. Across the bay, three islands — Deer Island, Campobello, and Grand Manan — shelter and separate it from the Bay of Fundy. With the exception of St. James, all the mainland parishes bordered the bay, and the majority of the county's residents clustered around its edges. The parishes of St. Andrews, St. David, and St. Stephen were small but already densely settled by 1840. St. Andrews and St. Stephen contained sizable commercial towns. There were some large farms along the rivers in the back regions of the mainland parishes — and especially along the fertile ridges of St. James [5] — but agriculture was clearly secondary to the economy of the county. Less than 2 per cent of the total area of the region has a soil consistency which could be considered conducive to agriculture. The rich forests of the county provided the inhabitants with their major resource and, while softwood predominated, the region also contained some major stands of hardwood in the western interior. Thus, sawmilling and lumbering proved highly profitable. Indeed, lumbering became the cornerstone of the region's economy. The industry was concentrated in St. Stephen, but St. George also had a sizable lumbering community, and virtually every parish was engaged in the industry to a greater or lesser degree. In the island parishes of West Isles (comprising Deer Island and several smaller islands), Campobello, and Grand Manan, the fishing industry held

3. This typology is derived from Frank J. Sorauf, "Political Parties and Political Analysis," *The American Party System: Stages of Political Development*, eds. William Nisbet Chambers and Walter Dean Burnham (New York, 1967, 1975), 37–38.
4. Poll books are the records of the local returning officers, filled out on election day, when each individual elector would come forward and publicly declare his vote. In New Brunswick, the returning officer recorded the voter's name, his place of residence, his place of freehold, and the candidates for whom he voted. Poll books for Charlotte County are available at the Public Archives of New Brunswick (henceforth PANB).
5. Originally settled by a group of Scots who landed in Charlotte County quite by accident, the northern part of St. Stephen was long referred to as Scotch Ridge. In 1812, Scotch Ridge was separated from St. Stephen, and St. James, the only inland parish, was created.

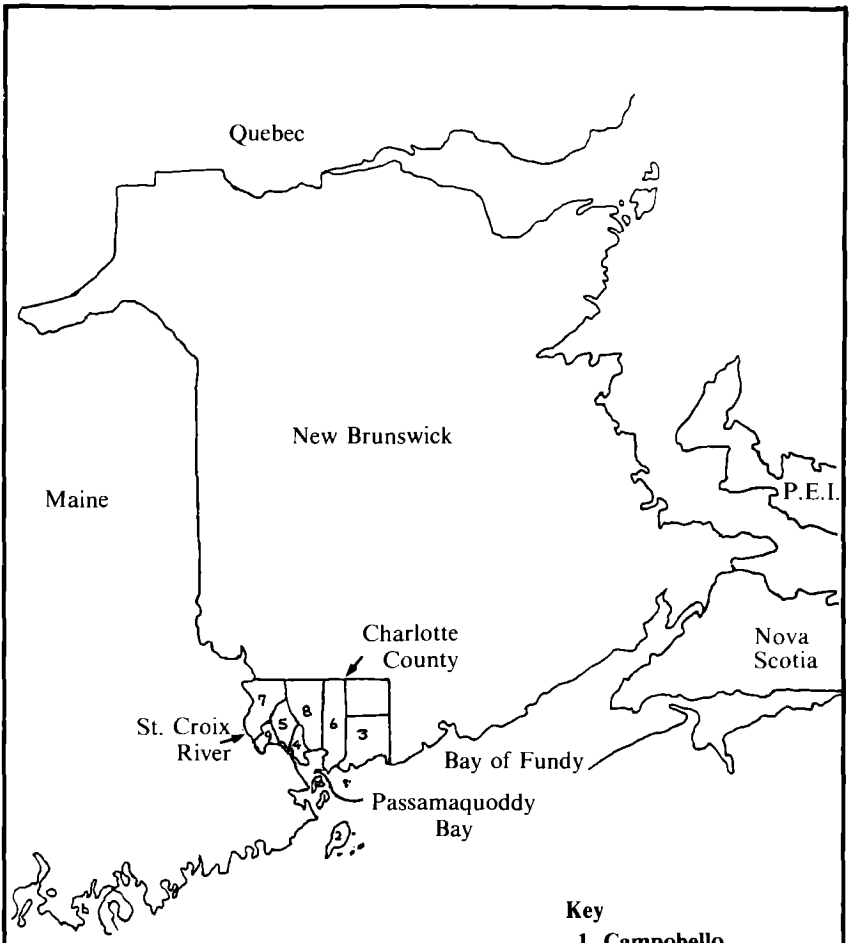

Figure 1

Map of New Brunswick, 1846–57, Showing Charlotte County Parishes

sway. Fishing also represented an important component in the economy of the mainland parishes of Pennfield and St. George. Charlotte, then, contained fishing, lumbering, and farming communities. It contained rural areas, fishing villages, and sizable commercial towns. It even contained a port of entry for immigrants (St. Andrews).[6] By 1840, 18,176 souls lived within its boundaries, making Charlotte second only to Saint John (county and city) in population.[7] By midcentury the county was characterized by an important degree of ethnic and denominational diversity — with pre-Loyalist, Loyalist, Scottish, English, and Irish immigrant groups as well as a goodly proportion of native New Brunswickers. It was the home of Anglicans, Methodists, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, Baptists, Universalists, and Congregationalists.

While Charlotte County can scarcely be considered a surrogate for all of New Brunswick, it is, nonetheless, true that the voting patterns in Charlotte typified the province-wide election results. In all, 4,305 electors participated in at least one of the five general elections held during the period. Voting profiles, supplemented where possible with demographic information gleaned from the 1851 and 1861 manuscript censuses,[8] have been developed for each of these electors. Of course, the 4,305 electors did not all vote at the same time. The minimum number of voters at any single election was 1,782 in 1850, the maximum 2,298 in 1856.[9] Thus, the number voting in any single election was certainly large enough to provide the basis for a consideration of patterns of voter response. Moreover, because Charlotte County electors had the option of voting for up to four candidates, the emergence of "party" or "slate" voting was readily discernible.

The electoral patterns which emerged in Charlotte County during the decade between 1846 and 1857 clearly illustrate the development of party-within-the-electorate. At the beginning of the period, voter response was mainly candidate-oriented and relatively individualistic. By the end of the period, in contrast, the

6. St. Andrews was a port as opposed to an "outport." So designated by the British customs service, it was one of only three ports in the province.
7. For a more detailed description of the county and its people, see T.W. Acheson, "A Study in the Historical Demography of a Loyalist County," *Social History-Histoire Sociale* (1968): 53–65.
8. Manuscript census information for the period includes name, relationship to head of household, age, occupation, place of birth, date of entry into New Brunswick (1851 only), and, for 1861, religion. Some data on income, agricultural output, manufactures, and yearly catches of fish are also included. See PANB, New Brunswick manuscript censuses on microfilm, 1851 and 1861.
9. Linking voters to the manuscript censuses, the process necessary in developing a demographic profile for use in analysis, has proved quite successful. Seventy-nine per cent of the voters in 1846 were successfully linked to at least one of the two censuses used; 87 per cent of the voters in 1850 were successfully linked, as were 88 per cent of the voters in 1854, 89.9 per cent of the voters in 1856 and 89 per cent of the voters in 1857.

majority of electors were voting for "slates" of candidates, or "parties." How and why did this shift occur?

In 1846, the eight candidates for election in Charlotte County ran as individuals, not as representatives of any political organization or "party." James Brown, an incumbent and a local farmer, topped the polls. A Scottish immigrant, Brown had farmed in St. David Parish for over twenty years and had represented Charlotte in the legislature since 1830. A Universalist by faith and self-educated, he was passionately concerned with improving the lot of the common man. In his home parish of St. David, 94 per cent of those who went to the polls voted for him. As well, 79 per cent of all Scottish-born electors supported this fellow Scot. The man who placed second was Dr. Robert Thomson, an Irish-born physician from St. George Parish. The Thomson family, which had emigrated to Charlotte in the early 1820s, had soon become prominent in the county. Robert's brother Samuel was the Anglican rector of St. George while another brother, Skeffington, was the rector of St. Stephen. Thomson was supported by fully 93 per cent of St. George's 283 voters. Like Brown, he received the support of his fellow immigrants: 77 per cent of Irish-born electors, be they Protestant or Catholic, voted for him. William Porter, a newcomer to politics, was also elected in 1846. Born and raised in St. Stephen, where his family had established a major mercantile lumber firm, Porter topped the polls in that parish, garnering the support of 76 per cent of the voters. The fourth candidate elected was James Boyd, a prominent merchant in St. Andrews Parish. He had represented the county since 1839 and, like the other three candidates elected in 1846, he topped the polls in his home parish: 70 per cent of the voters in St. Andrews supported him. A native of Scotland, Boyd also did well among Scots voters, placing second among that group. [10]

Candidates, whether they won election or not, tended to do exceptionally well in their home parishes. A local candidate would, after all, serve the interests of his community in the legislature. In 1846, seven of the eight candidates polled at the minimum among the top four in their home parishes, in a county which elected four members. Five of the eight placed either first or second. This tendency to support a local candidate continued throughout the period, but it declined significantly as parties and party labels began to emerge.

At the beginning of the period, then, men tended to vote for individual candidates with whom they felt they shared an identity of interests, and the concept of identity of interests went beyond simple support for a fellow community member. Scots tended to support fellow Scots and Irishmen tended to support fellow Irishmen. Bartholomew R. Fitzgerald, the only Roman Catholic candidate, was supported by no less than 96 per cent of the county's Roman Catholic voters. Farmers voted for James Brown, the only farmer on the ticket, and the only candidate to receive more than 60 per cent of the farm vote.

10. See Table I for a comparison of the electoral support accorded each candidate.

TABLE 1: Election of 1846: Percentage of Voters in Each Group Voting for Each Candidate

	J. Boyd[1]	J. Brown[2]	J. Chandler	B. Fitzgerald[2]	G. Hill	W. Porter[2]	J. Robinson	R. Thomson[2]	TOTALS
A) PARISH OF RESIDENCE									
Campobello	21.9	3.1	6.2	31.2	0	53.1	96.9	3.1	32
Grand Manan	72.4	2.6	14.5	13.2	7.9	9.2	94.7	9.2	76
Pennfield	16.3	37.6	41.1	49.6	5.0	34.8	46.8	72.3	141
St. Andrews	70.3	46.6	53.0	35.6	24.7	35.6	61.2	26.0	219
St. David	47.9	93.5	20.7	31.9	16.0	85.8	23.1	56.2	169
St. George	15.9	45.6	55.8	36.7	21.2	21.2	31.5	93.3	283
St. James	39.0	76.1	18.8	32.1	59.2	77.1	8.7	47.7	218
St. Patrick	76.7	72.1	45.9	35.6	33.6	22.9	13.9	58.2	244
St. Stephen	17.0	54.6	40.3	64.4	61.8	75.7	20.8	47.1	346
West Isles	56.3	1.4	26.8	33.8	19.7	49.3	92.9	15.5	71
B) PLACE OF BIRTH									
Ireland	39.9	42.4	25.5	68.9	26.1	31.3	14.6	76.7	486
Scotland	63.0	79.0	47.0	9.0	38.0	52.0	30.0	42.0	100
England	48.9	18.5	26.1	22.8	22.8	47.8	80.4	20.6	92
United States	43.2	69.1	38.3	19.7	42.0	50.6	37.0	37.0	81
Nova Scotia	69.2	38.5	15.4	7.7	15.4	30.8	61.5	38.5	13
New Brunswick	41.2	62.6	39.8	26.9	34.9	57.7	42.4	41.8	679
C) RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION									
Baptists	43.5	59.7	51.3	19.5	27.3	36.4	44.1	53.2	154
Anglicans	47.0	44.4	33.7	29.4	26.2	40.1	49.2	50.3	187
Presbyterians	66.4	55.7	49.7	35.6	31.5	32.2	31.5	59.7	149
Methodists	38.0	71.8	35.2	38.0	49.3	67.6	39.4	29.6	71
Roman Catholics	16.9	21.7	18.1	96.4	24.1	16.9	10.8	75.9	83
Universalists	31.2	56.2	6.2	81.2	81.2	50.0	12.5	43.7	16
Congregationalists	30.0	70.0	30.0	30.0	90.0	40.0	10.0	10.0	10
Disciples	53.8	0	15.4	38.5	7.7	53.8	100.0	23.1	13

1. Replaced Fitzgerald after scrutiny.
2. Elected to Legislative Assembly.

The fishermen of Campobello, Deer Island, and Grand Manan strongly supported John J. Robinson, a commander in the Royal Navy and a resident on Campobello Island. Robinson had promised to fight for improvements to navigation including better harbour facilities and protection and more lighthouses. Ninety-five per cent of the voters of Campobello, Deer Island, and Grand Manan supported him in his bid for office in 1846. Something more than identity of interests was involved here, however. Robinson was the son-in-law of William Owen, whose father had been the original proprietor of Campobello Island. The former's remarkable electoral strength in West Isles and Campobello undoubtedly reflected the inhabitants' lingering deferential attitudes towards the island's founding family (still the wealthiest and most powerful family at midcentury). A similar mingling of deferential attitudes and identity of interests may be found in the support the electors of St. James Parish gave to William Porter. Porter's father had welcomed the original Scottish immigrants when they arrived at the turn of the century and had arranged for their settlement on the fertile ridges behind St. Stephen on land to which he had a prior claim. He had then employed many of the immigrants in his extensive woods operations. The grateful Scots of St. James had supported Joseph Porter during his tenure in the assembly in the early nineteenth century and their sons supported his son at midcentury. Whether motivated by deference, loyalty, or identity of interests, men in 1846 were voting for individuals rather than for "slates" of candidates.

By 1847 some men in the New Brunswick legislature were beginning to identify themselves as either Liberals or Conservatives. The Liberals were not numerous. On the whole, they accepted the leadership of Lemuel Allen Wilmot, the senior member for York County. Among the most prominent Liberals were Charles Fisher, the junior member for York; William Ritchie, a young lawyer from Saint John; David Hanington of Westmorland, and James Brown of Charlotte County. Following the example set by Nova Scotia and the Canadas, the New Brunswick Liberals, objecting to the power of a group they termed a "ruling compact," called for responsible government. There were no Liberals on the governor's council. [11]

As Liberals began to band together in the legislature, New Brunswick's rapidly changing economic situation brought the colony and the government to the verge of crisis. In 1846 the economy had appeared healthy indeed. Timber shipments from New Brunswick to Great Britain had risen sharply during the early 1840s, reaching a peak in 1846. Exports of deal and plank lumber had also increased significantly. [12] Yet the British decision to move toward a policy of free trade brought drastic reductions in preferential duties after 1846. In New Brunswick, the British decision created consternation and even panic. During 1848 the panic seemed justified as

11. MacNutt, 291.
12. Graeme Wynn, *Timber Colony: A Historical Geography of Early Nineteenth Century New Brunswick* (Toronto, 1981), 52. Plank imports into Liverpool from the "lower provinces" in 1843 were purported to be the largest ever; in 1844 they rose by half as much again.

trade levels fell by 75 per cent.[13] A series of poor harvests between 1845 and 1848 exacerbated the situation. As the editor of the *New Brunswick Courier* observed, there was "no opening for profitable employment of any kind and... no prospect of... any improvement for a long time to come."[14] Emigration from the province soared as an estimated 5,000 people sought a better life elsewhere. Good harvests in 1849 and 1850 stemmed but did not halt the flow.[15]

W.S. MacNutt has, however, argued that Charlotte County, which shared a border with Maine, did not suffer as much as other regions of the province. There, people moved back and forth across the border freely and so did lumber.[16] Unquestionably, the lumber economy of the county was integrally connected to that of Maine. Dams, which had been built across the St. Croix River, provided power for both Maine and Charlotte County mills. Mills occupied adjacent areas of the bank and the millponds immediately upriver were sometimes so jammed with logs that it was possible to walk across them.[17] Although trade with the United States remained unimpaired, trade with Britain was drastically reduced. While large entrepreneurs were able to sustain themselves during these less prosperous times, the recession, coupled with technological improvements in machinery which made possible the development of economies of scale, acted to push many small-scale lumbermen out of the market altogether during this period.[18] According to T.W. Acheson, the commercial depression of the late 1840s proved devastating to the county. "In St. Stephen an exodus of perhaps 1,200 people brought a decline in parish population from 3,400 in 1840 to 2,800 eleven years later. In St. Andrews perhaps as much as 1/3 of the native-born population emigrated in this period." Yet people reacted quite differently to their changing circumstances. The county's immigrant population tended to turn to subsistence agriculture in the face of depression while the native-born proved more likely to seek relief in emigration.[19]

The panic of the late 1840s had proved justified but the prophets of doom had none the less exaggerated. New Brunswick lumber traders soon found they could compete in world markets even without the aid of British preferences. Moreover, new markets for lumber were found in the United States. As early as 1851 prices for both deals and logs had risen to previous levels. Of course, the negotiation of the reciprocity treaty with the United States in 1854 served to give the New Brunswick lumber trade a further boost.

---

13. MacNutt, 323.
14. *New Brunswick Courier* (Saint John), 9 Sept. 1848, cited in Wynn, 52.
15. MacNutt, 323.
16. MacNutt, 323. Lieutenant-Governor Head estimated that in a single year $600,000 worth of sawn lumber made its way into the United States from Charlotte County.
17. Wynn, 162.
18. Wynn, 108–110.
19. Acheson, 59. The extent of this emigration was somewhat masked by a new wave of immigration during the period. The new immigrants, mostly Irish Catholics, brought no resources. The majority became railroad labourers and dock workers in the port of St. Andrews.

In Charlotte County sixteen hundred hands were working the ninety-seven sawmills in the mainland parishes by 1851. In St. Stephen Parish alone, thirty-one sawmills employed an average of almost forty men each.[20] Yet the recovery from depression was far from complete. Only those parishes along the American border experienced any significant growth. Stimulated by a rapidly expanding timber trade, the population of St. Stephen Parish rose from twenty-eight hundred in 1851 to fifty-one hundred by 1861. Most of this increase was the result of intracounty migration. Hundreds of workers from St. Andrews and St. George moved into the middle St. Croix, seeking employment. Recovery therefore came to St. Stephen; in contrast, St. Andrews had begun a decline which would continue without interruption until well into the twentieth century.[21]

Had an election been held in 1848, at the height of panic and the nadir of depression, the campaign may well have taken a very different turn. In the Canadas, for example, the midwinter elections of 1847–48 resulted in the defeat of the government of the day.[22] By 1850, the year of the next New Brunswick election, the province's economy was on the upswing and the panic was over. Moreover, by 1850, Sir Edmund Head, the colony's new lieutenant-governor, had succeeded in defusing the issue of responsible government.

Shortly after his arrival in the colony in 1848, Head set about strengthening the government he had inherited, adding new talent and extending his government's base of support. From Charlotte County he chose George S. Hill, a St. Stephen barrister, highly respected for his honesty and liberal views. Hill was not a strong partisan, a fact which made him a good choice as far as Head was concerned. For the Liberals, on the other hand, his appointment was scarcely a victory.[23] None the less, by broadening his government's base of support, the lieutenant-governor had created something of a "coalition" government. Thus, during the election campaign the Liberals could not blame the government of the day for the depressed state of the economy without repudiating their own representatives on council.

As a result, few candidates identified themselves as either Liberal or Conservative during the 1850 election campaign. On the contrary, voters were asked to choose from among candidates whose campaign promises sounded remarkably similar. According to the *New Brunswick Courier*, for example, the candidates for election in Saint John were "pretty much all agreed on the most important

20. Wynn, 163.
21. Acheson, 61.
22. J.M.S. Careless, *The Union of the Canadas: The Growth of Canadian Institutions, 1841–1857* (Toronto, 1967), 118. According to Careless, "stagnant commerce, deepening depression, and fears of British free trade had stimulated a desire for change — a desire illustrated by the fact that fifteen of thirty-four sitting western members lost in their attempts at re-election."
23. MacNutt, 318.

points."[24] The situation was not much different in Charlotte County. There, no fewer than twelve candidates ran for election in 1850. All twelve ran as individuals rather than as the representatives of any faction or party. Three of the twelve — James Boyd, William Porter, and Robert Thomson — were sitting members. Thomson and Porter both won reelection. James Boyd placed fifth but was seated in place of Bartholomew Fitzgerald following a scrutiny of the results. Yet the election of these incumbents should not necessarily be interpreted as an indication of voter satisfaction with their government.

Voter turnout in Charlotte County dipped to its lowest levels in that election.[25] Each of the three incumbents saw his support significantly decline. The man who topped the polls in Charlotte was John J. Robinson, a candidate who had been unsuccessful in his bid for election in 1846. While support for incumbents fell by 17 per cent to 21 per cent, Robinson's support rose by more than 50 per cent. An analysis of the behaviour of the 1,062 men who voted in both 1846 and 1850 indicates that 81 per cent of Robinson's supporters remained loyal. In contrast, only between 58 per cent and 67 per cent of the incumbents' supporters voted for them again in 1850.

Voters, then, had some misgivings about their representatives, but they returned them to the legislature none the less. Why was this the case? On what criteria did voters base their electoral decisions? In 1850, men continued to vote for individual candidates with whom they felt they shared an identity of interests. Voters continued to demonstrate a consistent tendency to support a member of their own parish in a quest for political office. Eleven of the twelve candidates who hoped to gain one of Charlotte's four seats in 1850 could be identified with certainty as residents of a particular parish. Ten of those eleven polled at least fourth while seven placed as least second in their home parishes.

John J. Robinson, the man who topped the polls, had been supported by fully 95 per cent of the voters of Campobello (his home parish), Deer Island, and Grand Manan in his unsuccessful bid for office in 1846. Failing to elect their preferred candidate in 1846, the voters of the island parishes took measures to ensure his election in 1850. Fully 240 of the 241 voters in Charlotte's three island communities voted for Robinson. Eighty-seven of those did not vote for any other candidate. A further eighty-two men voted for Robinson along with one other candidate. This represented 70 per cent of the electorate in those three fishing communities. The staunch loyalty of the island fishermen was, perhaps, as much the result of deference as it was a recognition of a common identity of interests. Yet their decision to

24. "The Elections," *New Brunswick Courier* (Saint John), 22 June 1850.

25. Moreover, the incidence of "repeat" voting proved lowest in 1850. Only 58 per cent of those who voted in 1846 voted again in 1850 whereas 68 per cent of those who voted in 1850 would vote again in 1854, 71 per cent of those who voted in 1854 voted in 1856, and 77 per cent of those who voted in 1856 would vote in 1857 as well.

"plump" on Robinson's behalf suggests a loyalty based on more than mere deference — a loyalty that ran very deep indeed.[26]

Dr. Robert Thomson topped the polls in his home parish of St. George. William Porter placed first in his home parish of St. Stephen and, as was the case in 1846, he also led the polls in St. James. James Boyd, in contrast, managed to place only third in his home parish of St. Andrews, even though in 1846 he had topped the polls there. The depression was not over for St. Andrews and the voters of the parish looked to new men in 1850. Thus, George Dixon Street, a prominent local lawyer, won decisively, garnering over twice as many votes as either James Boyd or Bartholomew Fitzgerald, the St. Andrews' residents who proved most successful in the county as a whole. As in 1846, Fitzgerald's greatest success was among his fellow Catholics: 95 per cent of those electors who could be identified as Roman Catholic voted for him.

Parties had begun to emerge within the legislature by 1850, but the emergence of party-in-the-electorate was still in the future. Indeed, only twenty-one of Charlotte's 1,782 electors voted for all four of the winning candidates (Boyd, Porter, Thomson, and Robinson). No "slate" of four candidates received more than fifty-one votes (2.9 per cent of the electorate). Yet the issue which would eventually serve to polarize the electorate had first surfaced in New Brunswick long before 1850.

Two decades earlier, in 1830, the first temperance society had been established in the province.[27] At first, temperance groups had little impact. In a society in which lumbering was the major industry, drinking was very much a part of everyday life. Moreover, the legislative assembly depended mainly on customs duties for its disposable revenue: duties on rum alone represented over one third of that revenue.[28] It therefore seemed highly unlikely that politicians would ever take up the temperance cause. Just the same, the movement steadily gained ground throughout the 1830s and 1840s: temperance societies were established in Fredericton, Dorchester, Chatham, St. Stephen, and St. Andrews, and temperance soirées and teas were very popular.[29] During this early period, the movement tended to be British in inspiration, and the goal was temperance, not prohibition. As the depression of the late 1840s began, temperance advocates, following the lead of their more strident contemporaries in Maine, increasingly associated drinking with the problems of crime and poverty. In 1847, the major American temperance group, the Sons of Temperance, established its first division in British North America, at St. Stephen, New Brunswick. Their first meeting was held in the Methodist chapel. Organized along the lines of a fraternal order, this new group combined secret symbols with secret oaths. These, along with the required initiation

26. See Table 2 for a comparison of the electoral support accorded each candidate.
27. J.K. Chapman, "The Mid-Nineteenth Century Temperance Movement in New Brunswick and Maine," *Canadian Historical Review* (1954): 43.
28. Ibid., 44.
29. Ibid., 48.

TABLE 2: Election of 1850: Percentage of Voters in Each Group Voting for Each Candidate

	J. Boyd[1]	H. Eastman	W. Eills	B. Fitzgerald[2]	I. Knight	J. Nesbit	W. Porter[2]	J. Robinson[2]	G. Street	R. Thomson[2]	J. Wetmore	TOTALS
A) PARISH OF RESIDENCE												
Campobello	1.7	0	0	54.4	0	0	0	100.0	19.3	1.8	0	57
Grand Manan	23.1	2.2	0	11.0	6.6	0	4.4	100.0	5.5	9.9	0	91
Pennfield	10.2	1.4	12.9	37.4	46.9	9.5	9.5	46.3	10.9	66.0	74.8	147
St. Andrews	37.7	10.8	18.1	35.8	11.8	2.9	18.6	79.4	84.3	30.9	20.6	204
St. David	35.0	56.8	8.7	39.3	20.2	70.5	47.5	33.3	24.6	38.8	1.6	183
St. George	20.1	.4	8.7	36.2	31.4	5.2	21.0	23.1	21.4	92.1	65.5	229
St. James	73.6	23.6	25.4	19.1	42.3	37.7	87.3	37.3	4.6	32.7	.5	220
St. Patrick	57.6	4.7	22.4	26.3	13.1	22.4	40.7	54.2	55.9	47.4	13.1	236
St. Stephen	22.4	51.4	10.5	44.4	44.4	27.9	69.2	46.0	13.2	23.3	.7	286
West Isles	16.0	3.7	0	64.2	14.8	0	17.3	98.8	23.4	11.1	3.7	81
B) PLACE OF BIRTH												
Ireland	35.6	16.5	27.1	55.3	12.2	20.0	36.4	33.0	29.1	57.1	18.7	539
Scotland	59.3	11.1	5.6	11.1	31.5	14.8	63.0	66.7	32.4	43.5	20.4	108
England	17.4	13.8	1.8	46.8	11.9	2.7	22.0	90.8	34.9	23.8	9.2	109
United States	31.4	24.3	8.6	28.6	41.4	34.3	34.3	51.4	18.6	31.4	22.9	70
Nova Scotia	13.0	13.0	0	8.7	13.0	21.7	26.1	78.3	13.0	13.0	0	23
New Brunswick	34.7	21.9	7.0	20.4	37.1	24.4	41.5	61.9	30.1	33.2	23.3	704
C) RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION												
Baptists	36.1	6.5	7.7	20.1	36.1	8.3	25.4	58.6	27.2	43.8	29.0	169
Anglicans	27.1	20.0	3.8	28.1	19.0	8.1	32.4	66.2	35.2	38.6	15.2	210
Presbyterians	50.3	8.3	21.0	27.4	14.0	15.3	36.9	54.8	49.0	42.7	24.2	157
Methodists	43.1	38.9	4.2	5.6	41.7	30.6	62.5	62.5	31.9	20.8	6.9	72
Roman Catholics	2.2	19.8	25.3	94.5	9.9	4.4	22.0	46.1	47.2	56.0	18.7	91
Universalists	15.4	23.1	38.5	53.8	46.1	69.2	46.1	53.8	30.8	0	7.7	13
Congregationalists	33.3	33.3	0	0	66.7	33.3	100.0	66.7	33.3	0	0	3
Disciples	7.1	0	0	71.4	7.1	0	21.4	100.0	35.7	28.6	0	14

1. Replaced Fitzgerald after scrutiny.
2. Elected to Legislative Assembly.

rites, produced an aura of mystery and stimulated interest in the new organization. The Sons of Temperance and its affiliates, the Daughters of Temperance and the Cadets of Temperance, had widespread appeal. Teas, picnics, and steamer excursions provided family diversions and attracted many to the great crusade.[30] By 1850 there were branches all over the southern part of the province,[31] and their goal was not temperance, but prohibition.

For many years temperance advocates had sought to achieve their goals by moral suasion but, by 1850, some had become convinced that moral suasion alone was not enough. In Maine, the temperance crusade had already entered the political arena. By 1851 it had gained enough support in the legislature to achieve an effective prohibition law. The "Maine Law," which was the first prohibitory liquor law in North America, had a significant effect on the New Brunswick temperance movement. In 1852, a monster petition, calling for the prohibition of importation of alcoholic beverages, was presented to the House of Assembly.[32] The nine thousand signatures on the petition so impressed the province's legislators that they were persuaded to pass "An Act to Prevent the Traffic in Intoxicating Liquors." This act "forbade the manufacture within New Brunswick of any alcoholic or intoxicating liquors except for religious, medicinal, or chemical purposes. Beer, ale, porter, and cider were excepted." The new law was to come into force on 1 June 1853.[33]

The lieutenant-governor was opposed to the new law on principle and very much wanted to refuse his assent. However, as the leader of a government he termed "responsible," he could not refuse assent except on the advice of his Executive Council. His council refused so to advise him. Head then appealed to Britain to disallow the act but British officials refused. The problem was solved when the new law turned out to be both unenforceable and unpopular. The government, ever attuned to wavering public opinion, quietly repealed the act before the 1854 election.[34]

During the election campaign of 1854 the editor of the *New Brunswick Courier* of Saint John urged voters to "come out against the really disorganizing party organizations which are now springing up around us, whether they be Temperance, Orange, or Ribbon Associations." Such groups were, in his view, "out for their own sectarianisms" and they served only to "sap the foundations of good government." According to the *Courier*, there were "properly no political parties in this province."[35] Not all newspaper editors agreed with the editor of the *Courier*, however. The editor of the *St. Andrews' Standard*, for example, supported those

30. T.W. Acheson, *Saint John: The Making of a Colonial Urban Community* (Toronto, 1985), 149; Chapman, 50.
31. MacNutt, 350.
32. Ibid.
33. Chapman, 53.
34. MacNutt, 351.
35. "Editorial," *New Brunswick Courier* (Saint John), 13 May 1854.

candidates he classified as "true liberals." Five of the twelve candidates who ran for election in Charlotte County in 1854 professed to be Liberals. Not one characterized himself as a Conservative although only two of the remaining seven claimed to be independent of party ties.

James Brown was a well-known Liberal, although he did not specifically identify himself as such. A member of the Legislative Council, he had not run for election in 1850. In 1854, however, he chose to vacate his seat on the council in order to run for the assembly. Brown supported measures which would place the resources of the colony and the government in the hands of the people. In his published address to the electors, he reminded the voters that he had been elected five times in succession by "your fathers and yourselves."[36] Arthur Hill Gillmor professed to be a Liberal but he assured electors that he would not give the majority the power to deprive the rich of their wealth.[37] John McAdam of St. Stephen also claimed to be in favour of "Liberal measures and rational progress." The *St. Andrews' Standard* supported the candidacies of Brown, Gillmor, and McAdam. Brown was universally popular and deserved reelection. Gillmor and McAdam were untried as legislators, but both were "honest men" and "true liberals." Gillmor was, according to the *Standard*'s editor, a high-minded, moral man who had the advantage of a sound English education. McAdam was praised for his extensive knowledge of lumbering and commercial questions.[38] Two other men identified themselves as Liberals in 1854: James Chandler, a St. Andrews lawyer, and William Meloney, a sea captain from the same parish.

Some candidates refused to be identified as party men. William Porter, the sitting member from St. Stephen, ran on his record. He had served Charlotte County in the General Assembly for the past eight years and he had sought to remain free and unfettered of all parties.[39] Similarly, James Stevens, a lawyer, also from St. Stephen and a newcomer to provincial politics, asserted that he had formed no league or combination.[40]

Some candidates did not specifically identify themselves as party men but were, by history and inclination, Conservative. James Boyd, a moderate Conservative, had served his county faithfully in the legislature for many years. George Thomson, a St. Stephen lawyer and a nephew of Dr. Robert Thomson, made his first bid for election in 1854. His family was part of a well-entrenched Anglican establishment in Charlotte County. Similarly, A. Justus Wetmore of St. George was the son of an old Loyalist family.

36. *St. Andrews' Standard*, 31 May 1854.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid., 28 June 1854.
40. Ibid., 24 May 1854.

Of the remaining two candidates, Isaac Knight's stated views tended to place him well within the Liberal camp, while John Carson, the only candidate who favoured protection, might well be classified as an ultra-Conservative. His views found little favour in a county whose economy depended on the export of staple products: he garnered a mere seventeen votes.

By 1854, then, Liberals were attempting to distinguish themselves from the "old guard" candidates for the benefit of the electorate. Yet whether or not they identified themselves as Liberals, candidates' platforms sounded remarkably similar. Conservative, Liberal or Independent, virtually all candidates promised to encourage the fisheries and to promote agriculture. Three Liberals and one Conservative favoured the introduction of the secret ballot, while James Stevens, an Independent, opposed the "silent vote." Conservatives and Liberals did differ on some issues, however. James Boyd and George Thomson, both representatives of the "old guard," called for the surrender of initiation of money grants to the executive. Liberal candidates promised to extend and improve the school system. George Thomson articulated the Conservative position on this question: while he favoured educational improvements, he was, nonetheless, opposed to taxation for the purpose of education. Finally, three of the five Liberal candidates admitted to being temperance men.[41] In the end, this last distinction proved the most important. Across the province temperance men were associating themselves with the Liberal cause.[42] Furthermore, although there was little discussion of either temperance or prohibition during the campaign, the temperance men elected in 1854 would, within two years, combine to pass another prohibitory liquor law.

Voter reaction to their first taste of "party politics" was mixed. No single "Conservative slate" emerged in 1854. Men who supported Conservatives at the polls continued to vote for those candidates as individuals. The Liberals, in contrast, were developing a small but significant support base within the electorate. Although there was no formally specified "Liberal slate," an informal grouping of four leading Liberals did emerge. This informal slate included Arthur Hill Gillmor, John McAdam, James Brown, and James Chandler. In 1854 the Liberal support base was small: just 13 per cent of the electorate voted for the "Liberal slate." At the same time, it should be noted that no other slate of four candidates received more than 3 per cent of the total vote.

Most voters continued their traditional pattern of selecting candidates on the basis of their individual merits. By 1854, however, voters were increasingly looking beyond the bounds of parish community in their evaluation of candidates. James Brown did top the polls in St. David, just as he had done in 1846. While incumbent James Boyd placed a healthy second in his home parish of St. Andrews, the man who topped the polls there was Arthur Hill Gillmor, a resident of St. George. St.

41. Ibid. for May and June 1854.
42. See Acheson, *Saint John*, 155–6.

Andrews voters were still looking for new men. James Chandler also made his home in St. Andrews: he placed third. In St. Stephen, John McAdam led the field, but two other parish residents, George Thomson and William Porter, lagged far behind, placing fifth and sixth respectively, even though Porter was an incumbent. James Stevens' showing was poorer still: he placed eighth. Similarly, while Arthur Hill Gillmor won handily in his home parish of St. George, the other two candidates from that parish — Isaac Knight and Justus Wetmore — placed only fourth and fifth.[43]

In attempting to select as their representatives men with whom they shared a common value system, voters often turned to candidates who were very like themselves. James Boyd, the Scottish-born Presbyterian merchant who had represented Charlotte in the legislature since 1839, was supported by a majority of Scots as well as by a majority of Presbyterians. James Stevens also received strong support among his fellow Scots. Stevens, an elder in the Presbyterian church and the brother of the Presbyterian minister in St. Stephen, also received the support of a majority of Presbyterians. James Brown, yet another Scot, did not fare so well among his fellow countrymen: less than half of the Scottish-born electors voted for him. Brown's strong advocacy of the temperance cause hurt him among Scottish-born Presbyterians who did not share his views: he won the support of less than 20 per cent of all Presbyterians. Brown himself was a member of the small Universalist congregation in Charlotte County and he received solid support from his coreligionists.[44]

Fully one third of the electors in 1854 were Irish-born. Of these, 62 per cent were Protestant and 38 per cent Roman Catholic. Only one candidate was Irish-born: John McAdam, the St. Stephen lumber merchant, had emigrated to New Brunswick as a young man. Two other candidates, George Thomson and Arthur Hill Gillmor, were the New-Brunswick-born sons of Irish immigrants. All three men were Protestants. The Irish electors as a whole acknowledged the background of these men by according them more support than they gave to any other candidate. Yet only one of the three, George Thomson, did well among the Irish Protestants. Thomson, the son of the Anglican rector of St. Stephen, did not prove popular among the Roman Catholic Irish, however. In contrast, Gillmor (a Baptist) and McAdam (a Congregationalist) both received solid support among the Catholic Irish, capturing well over 70 per cent of the vote. Indeed, the entire "Liberal slate" was supported by over 70 per cent of the Irish Catholic voters, who opposed the power of an entrenched Anglican and Presbyterian establishment in the new world just as they had in the old. Gillmor and McAdam were also supported by their fellow coreligionists. McAdam, usually listed as a Methodist, identified himself as a Congregationalist in the 1861 census. He won strong support among both these

43. See Table 3 for a comparison of the electoral support accorded each candidate.

44. It must be noted that this represents only a very small number of electors (eighteen of the twenty four voters who could be identified as Universalists in that election).

TABLE 3: Election of 1854: Percentage of Voters in Each Group Voting for Each Candidate

	J. Boyd[1]	J. Brown[1]	J. Chandler	A.H. Gillmor[1]	I. Knight	J. McAdam[1]	W. Porter	J. Stevens	G. Thomson	J. Wetmore	TOTALS
A) PARISH OF RESIDENCE											
Campobello	62.7	74.6	72.9	1.7	0	0.	0	98.3	13.6	23.7	59
Grand Manan	88.5	44.9	37.2	55.1	3.8	15.4	0	18.0	39.7	56.4	78
Pennfield	23.7	23.8	41.4	56.9	68.0	29.3	2.2	8.8	51.9	48.6	181
St. Andrews	64.1	33.2	51.0	62.5	4.7	40.9	3.9	38.6	41.7	29.2	259
St. David	39.4	83.0	42.7	22.5	3.7	59.2	29.8	49.5	36.2	6.4	218
St. George	32.2	33.2	35.9	78.5	40.6	48.0	3.0	7.7	47.0	39.3	298
St. James	63.6	47.6	7.7	30.3	0	55.9	35.5	56.9	47.3	8.6	313
St. Patrick	60.6	28.8	49.7	59.3	11.5	47.1	14.1	43.9	35.9	18.9	312
St. Stephen	24.8	61.6	34.4	55.4	.6	76.2	25.9	20.4	27.6	7.0	471
West Isles	79.0	29.0	53.2	61.3	19.3	48.4	16.1	12.9	9.7	17.7	62
B) PLACE OF BIRTH											
Ireland	42.7	38.3	38.9	46.9	11.5	48.4	21.3	28.1	57.5	24.0	661
Scotland	68.3	40.0	20.0	54.2	19.2	31.7	25.0	71.7	20.8	15.8	120
England	67.6	29.6	42.6	52.8	12.0	35.2	8.3	29.6	32.4	28.7	108
United States	35.2	56.8	40.9	62.5	19.3	59.1	9.1	34.1	30.7	25.0	88
Nova Scotia	72.0	64.0	48.0	28.0	4.0	40.0	8.0	32.0	24.0	36.0	25
New Brunswick	47.9	49.4	37.4	55.5	15.8	54.6	15.2	31.7	30.2	20.2	1028
C) RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION											
Baptists	53.0	45.7	45.7	74.5	19.8	48.6	5.7	27.9	24.3	17.8	247
Anglicans	59.7	31.9	34.4	42.1	14.6	29.3	17.6	25.3	50.5	40.6	273
Presbyterians	68.1	18.5	28.7	46.8	14.8	41.2	16.7	55.6	42.1	27.8	216
Methodists	42.6	57.4	33.9	59.1	1.7	76.5	15.6	27.8	23.5	8.7	115
Roman Catholics	1.5	74.4	77.5	77.5	4.6	72.9	10.8	6.2	32.6	12.4	129
Universalists	16.7	75.0	58.3	87.5	4.2	75.0	8.3	16.7	4.2	4.2	24
Congregationalists	10.0	80.0	60.0	80.0	0	90.0	10.0	10.0	0	0	10
Disciples	64.3	14.3	85.7	85.7	21.4	71.4	14.3	14.3	0	0	14

1. Elected to Legislative Assembly.

groups in 1854. Gillmor, the Baptist, was supported by 75 per cent of his coreligionists, who shared his strong protemperance views.

Obviously many voters thought of themselves as members of ethnic or religious groups. Yet ethnicity and religion did not provide the only bases for group identification. The farmers of St. George and the neighbouring parish of Pennfield gave their support to Isaac Knight, a fellow farmer. The farmers of St. David threw their support behind James Brown, a prominent local farmer, whenever he ran for office. The lumbering community, irrespective of parish, accorded John McAdam and Arthur Hill Gillmor strong support. Born and educated in St. George Parish, Gillmor had established an extensive and successful lumbering, milling, and mercantile business there.[45] He received county-wide support from those involved in the lumbering industry. Eight of the nine men who identified themselves as lumber merchants voted for Gillmor. Seventy-eight per cent of the county's lumbermen and 49 per cent of the millmen also supported him, as did 67 per cent of those voters who classified themselves as farmers and lumbermen. John McAdam, an Irish orphan, had risen from modest circumstances to become a highly successful local lumber merchant. His success was, no doubt, enhanced by a socially advantageous marriage, for his brother-in-law, James Murchie, was the most important timber baron and entrepreneur in the St. Croix valley. Like Gillmor, McAdam received the support of eight of the nine voters listed as lumber merchants. Sixty-six per cent of the lumbermen and 64 per cent of the millmen also voted for him, as did 71 per cent of the group calling themselves farmers and lumbermen. Unquestionably, there was an element of deference involved in the support the lumbering community accorded these two candidates. After all, as early as 1846, McAdam had held timber licences for approximately sixty square miles.[46] Yet power and wealth alone could not guarantee support. The Porter family had held 132 square miles in timber licences in 1847,[47] but William Porter, an incumbent who had served the county for eight years in the legislature, could muster the support of only 14 per cent of the lumbermen, 7 per cent of the millmen and 9 per cent of the farmers involved in the lumbering industry. Indeed, Porter lost support everywhere. Scarcely more than one-quarter of the voters in his home parish of St. Stephen voted for him. Not even St. James remained loyal. William Porter ran on his record in 1854, but apparently the voters of Charlotte were not satisfied with that record.

The election of 1854 marked the beginning of a transition from candidate-based to party-based voting. A minority of voters in every parish chose the same four-member slate of Liberal candidates. These voters represented but a small percentage of the total electorate, however, comprising less than 30 per cent of the

45. PANB, Graves Papers.
46. Wynn, 107–108. By 1861, McAdam would hold clear title to 10,690 acres in Charlotte County.
47. Ibid. By 1861, William and George Porter had gained title to some 10,255 acres of land in the county.

voters in any single parish.[48] The majority of electors continued to vote for individuals rather than "slates" of candidates. Yet even these electors proved less likely to support a candidate merely because he was a fellow community member. Increasingly men were choosing the candidates whose outlook and value system most closely approximated their own.

The results of the election clearly demonstrated that the winds of change had touched Charlotte County. The two men who led the polls, Arthur Hill Gillmor and John McAdam, were both newcomers to politics. They were both representatives of a now clearly emerging Liberal "party." The man who placed third was James Boyd, an incumbent and a member of the "old guard." A St. Andrews merchant, Boyd had lived in the county for well over forty years. He had been a representative in the Legislative Assembly since 1839 and he had made many friends. The final member from Charlotte would be James Brown, the sixty-three-year-old farmer from St. David who had first been elected in 1830. Between 1850 and 1854 he had served as a member of the province's Legislative Council. Brown, with his great concern for the common man, had early emerged as one of the leaders of the incipient Liberal "party." Thus, the four men Charlotte County elected to the Legislative Assembly in 1854 represented a mixture of the old and the new. In selecting the new, however, the county's voters had made their preference for Liberals decidedly clear. In this, their response echoed the response of thousands of other voters across the province.

The election of 1854 saw the return of sixteen new members to the House of Assembly. An extraordinary number of those new members were talking of liberalism and liberal principles. For the first time the Liberal group in the legislature was large enough to be considered a party. There was no immediate change in the Executive Council: there the "old guard" retained their majority. Early in November, however, a vote in the House of Assembly went against the government and, true to the principles of responsible government, the government of the day resigned. Lieutenant-Governor John Manners-Sutton, who had replaced Edmund Head earlier that year, called upon the Liberal opposition to form a government. Among the leaders of this new government were Charles Fisher, one of those who had fought for responsible government; Samuel Leonard Tilley, a man who had recently been chosen Most Worthy Patriarch of the Sons of Temperance in North America;[49] William Ritchie, a tireless promoter of railways from Saint John; William Henry Steeves, a lumberman from Albert County; and James Brown, the longtime Liberal from Charlotte County.

Shortly thereafter, in the parliamentary session of 1855, Samuel Leonard Tilley put forward, as a private member, a new prohibitory liquor bill. The bill passed

48. See Figure 2 for a graphic representation of the rise of slate voting over time.

49. Chapman, 53. As Chapman notes, the choice of Tilley for this position was a mark of the importance with which the Sons of Temperance throughout North America regarded the movement in New Brunswick.

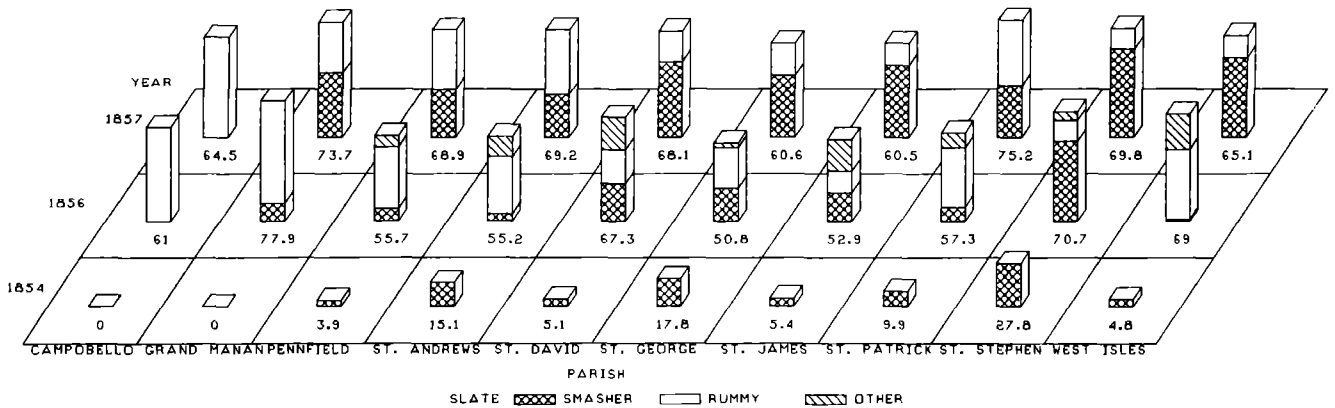

Figure 2
Slate Voting in Charlotte County Parishes, 1846–1857*
(shown in percentage of votes cost in each parish)

* For the purposes of this analysis a "slate" was defined as any combination of three or more candidates receiving more than 10 per cent of the votes cast.

narrowly in the House of Assembly and in the Legislative Council and, despite personal reservations, Manners-Sutton gave his assent on the advice of his Executive Council. The act was scheduled to become law on 1 January 1856.

The new law did not gain substantial popular support and the government was loath to begin enforcing it. Manners-Sutton wanted his Executive Council to repeal the law. There was good reason for doing so, for the loss of some £ 25,000 in import duties on spirits and wines would endanger the financial stability of a province whose revenues were steadily declining.[50] None the less, the council refused to act. By May, the lieutenant-governor was becoming impatient with his government. He informed them that the act must either be enforced or repealed. The government could make up its mind to do neither and on 21 May Manners-Sutton called for dissolution.[51] When his government refused to comply, Manners-Sutton himself took the initiative, scheduling new elections for June. His government resigned in reponse to this action which, they claimed, contravened the principles of responsible government.

As the campaign commenced, the newspaper editors of the province articulated the major issue for the voters: "the Government versus the Governor and Repeal of the Liquor Law." The Liberals disparagingly referred to the governor's supporters as "Rummies."[52] In response, the "Rummies" dubbed Fisher and his Liberals "Smashers" on the grounds that these men "had destroyed the good old way of doing public business and were the apostles of radical change."[53] According to the editor of the *St. Andrews' Standard*, the province was "now divided into two parties — one in support of His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor in the step he has taken" and the other "opposed to His Excellency."[54]

In Charlotte County, George Street, a man who had, in the past, been an unsuccessful candidate, came out in support of the lieutenant-governor. Incumbent James Boyd asserted that the government should never have legislated on the question of prohibition. Dr. Robert Thomson and his nephew George also supported the governor and the repeal of the liquor law. The *Standard*, which had backed the Liberals in 1854, came out in favour of the lieutenant-governor in 1856, referring to his supporters as the "true liberals." Three candidates, John McAdam, Arthur Hill Gillmor, and James Stevens, were "opposed to His Excellency and supporters of Prohibition." Labelling these men "radicals," the *Standard* called for their defeat.[55]

50. Ibid., 54.
51. MacNutt, 359.
52. Just the same, it must be noted that it was not at all clear that the Liberals, if returned to office, would not also repeal the troublesome liquor law.
53. MacNutt, 362.
54. *St. Andrews' Standard*, 6 June 1856.
55. Ibid., 11 June 1856. An eighth candidate, John Carson, was virtually ignored by the *Standard* and by the voters as well. He received only sixty-three votes in that election.

The lieutenant-governor and the newspaper editors combined to push the temperance issue to the forefront in 1856. By identifying slates of candidates for the voters, they encouraged the extension and development of parties-within-the-electorate. At the same time, it should be remembered that temperance was not a true party issue. Tilley had introduced the liquor law as a private member's bill. It had barely passed in the assembly and had been opposed by at least three members of the Executive Council. Thus, while the strongest protemperance men were to be found among the Liberal ranks, a vote for Liberals did not necessarily mean a vote for temperance. In Charlotte County, only one member of the three-member Liberal slate admitted to being a temperance man.[56]

In 1854 voters who wished to support a particular party or faction had to identify party slates for themselves. In 1856, because of the temperance issue, candidates rather than voters identified the slates by identifying themselves as progovernor or progovernment[57] supporters. This facilitated the rise of party voting. In Charlotte County the people took sides in a way they had never done before: party voting in the county ranged from a low of 33 per cent in St. James to a high of 78 per cent in the tiny island parish of Grand Manan.[58] Who voted for the Smashers and who preferred the Rummies? English-born voters showed a decided preference for Rummies and for the royal prerogative. Irish-born Protestants — especially Anglicans and Presbyterians — also favoured Conservatives. American-born voters, in contrast, showed a preference for the Smashers. Scottish-born voters, along with native-born voters, were divided in their allegiance.[59]

In 1856, a man's religion proved more important than his ethnicity in predicting his behaviour at the polls. This is scarcely surprising in view of the preeminence of the temperance issue. While voters could not be sure that the Smashers would retain the temperance legislation, they knew that the Rummies would most certainly repeal it. The lieutenant-governor held the Baptists responsible for the province's troublesome liquor law. Quoting Lord Metcalfe's view of the Baptists, in his private correspondence Manners-Sutton wrote that "all the good which they have done would have been done without them, and. . . all the evil which they have committed is exclusively their own."[60] The Baptists of Charlotte County did demonstrate a preference for Smashers: 58 per cent of them voted for Stevens, 64 per cent voted for McAdam, and fully 74 per cent supported Gillmor, a fellow Baptist. Nevertheless, the Smashers proved even more attractive

56. That man was A.H. Gillmor. James Brown, who had stood with Tilley in support of the liquor law, did not run for reelection in 1856.
57. Progovernment, in this case, referred to Smasher support, even though the Rummies had formed an interim government after the resignation of the Smashers and were, therefore, the "official" government at the time of the election.
58. See Figure 2. A further 20 per cent of the voters in St. James supported the three-member Smasher slate but remained loyal to long-time member James Boyd as well.
59. See Table 4 for a comparison of the electoral support accorded each candidate.
60. Cited in P.B. Waite, "The Fall and Rise," 69.

TABLE 4: Election of 1856: Percentage of Voters in Each Group Voting for Each Candidate

	J. Boyd[1]	A.H. Gillmor[1]	J. McAdam[1]	J. Stevens	G. Street[1]	G. Thomson	R. Thomson	TOTALS
A) PARISH OF RESIDENCE								
Campobello	85.4	12.2	12.2	7.3	100.0	80.5	63.4	41
Grand Manan	84.4	20.8	14.3	13.0	84.4	79.2	74.0	77
Pennfield	64.4	43.1	26.4	29.3	56.9	56.9	75.9	174
St. Andrews	83.6	52.7	37.4	25.3	78.7	55.9	44.8	281
St. David	64.5	58.9	68.7	56.1	40.2	42.5	24.8	214
St. George	42.5	62.2	41.8	41.5	40.8	42.1	68.2	299
St. James	69.3	48.9	67.5	58.0	35.0	49.6	17.5	274
St. Patrick	69.6	48.9	40.9	34.4	69.6	48.6	58.8	323
St. Stephen	30.1	66.4	80.9	67.1	21.2	27.4	17.8	471
West Isles	89.7	41.4	32.8	25.9	63.8	55.2	51.7	58
B) PLACE OF BIRTH								
Ireland	68.9	37.4	37.6	28.2	64.3	61.2	51.7	673
Scotland	59.2	61.2	52.0	58.2	49.0	41.8	42.9	98
England	84.5	35.9	30.1	23.3	69.9	67.0	52.4	103
United States	54.9	68.3	65.8	61.0	31.7	30.5	29.3	82
Nova Scotia	80.0	44.0	40.0	32.0	68.0	52.0	36.0	25
New Brunswick	53.2	62.8	60.7	52.4	40.6	37.0	35.9	1082
C) RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION								
Baptists	43.8	74.3	63.4	57.7	36.2	26.4	36.2	265
Anglicans	79.3	30.4	23.9	18.4	76.1	72.2	67.4	310
Presbyterians	75.4	43.1	35.5	31.8	67.3	58.1	59.7	248
Methodists	37.3	70.9	75.4	70.1	23.9	31.3	20.1	134
Roman Catholics	37.1	60.7	53.6	35.7	62.9	30.7	45.7	140
Universalists	20.0	96.0	96.0	88.0	12.0	4.7	0	25
Congregationalists	6.7	93.3	100.0	93.3	0	6.7	0	15
Disciples	78.6	57.1	42.9	21.4	64.3	50.0	50.0	14

1. Elected to Legislative Assembly.

to other strongly protemperance religious denominations. Over 70 per cent of all Methodist voters supported Charlotte's three Smashers. Similarly, although they were few in number, Universalist and Congregationalist voters stood solidly behind the Smashers. On the other hand, Anglicans and Presbyterians preferred Rummies to Smashers. Over 67 per cent of the county's 310 Anglican voters supported Conservative candidates. As a group the Presbyterians proved somewhat less certain in their preference. Conservative candidates received between 58 per cent and 75 per cent of the Presbyterian vote while between 32 per cent and 40 per cent supported Liberals. The Roman Catholics proved even more divided. Eighty-five per cent of Charlotte's Roman Catholic voters were Irish-born. In 1854 they had supported the Liberal "slate" but the issue of prohibition drove many of them away from the Liberal party. As a result, in the election of 1856, Roman Catholic voters tended to make their electoral decisions on the basis of individual candidates rather than on the basis of party preference.

Party preferences among occupational groups proved more difficult to discern. Only among the lumbering interests did a consistent tendency emerge. Lumber merchants, lumbermen, millmen, and men who divided their time between farming and lumbering demonstrated a clear preference for the Smashers. It seems doubtful that their support represented a protemperance vote. Reciprocity with the United States, favoured by members of all parties, had been negotiated in 1854. The lumbering industry had benefited more than any other sector of the economy as a result of that agreement. Thus, the lumbering community, well satisfied with the Smasher administration, voiced their satisfaction at the polls. Lumbermen supported Smashers in spite of, rather than because of, the unenforced, and perhaps unenforceable, temperance legislation.

Candidate-based voting did not disappear in Charlotte County in 1856. The transition to party-based voting remained far from complete. Men continued to support their fellow community members at the polls. James Boyd and George Street both received very strong support from the voters in their home parish of St. Andrews. Of course, Boyd and Street were both members of the same slate — a slate that was particularly popular in the parish of St. Andrews where the county's only brewery had been closed down as a result of the liquor law. In St. George, one of the community's candidates was a Smasher and the other a Rummie. Robert Thomson, the Rummie, placed first, but the Smasher, Arthur Hill Gillmor, was a close second. In St. Stephen, the major lumbering district, the story proved somewhat different. There, John McAdam, a local lumberman, placed first. James Stevens, a local lawyer who was also a Smasher, placed second, though his support base proved significantly smaller than McAdam's. George Thomson, also a St. Stephen lawyer, could do no better than fifth in his home parish. Rummies were not popular in St. Stephen: only 27 per cent of the parish's voters supported Thomson at the polls.

Support of individual candidates on the basis of ethnic group identification was rapidly fading. Thus, Arthur Hill Gillmor, a native-born New Brunswicker of Irish ancestry, was preferred by a majority of Scottish voters, while James Boyd, a

Scot, proved very popular among English voters. Similarly, members of various religious denominations evinced a growing tendency to identify their group interests with a party rather than with an individual candidate. None the less, individual candidates generally proved slightly more popular than other members of their slate among their own religious group.

A sense of loyalty to individual candidates persisted. The extent of that loyalty can be demonstrated by an analysis of the voting response of the 1,649 electors who went to the polls in 1854 and again in 1856. Among this group, James Boyd was able to retain fully 81 per cent of his 1854 supporters. Seventy-five per cent of John McAdam's former supporters remained loyal, while 71 per cent of Arthur Hill Gillmor's 1854 supporters voted for him a second time. Even George Thomson, defeated in 1854, managed to maintain a substantial proportion of his support. Seventy-seven per cent of his former supporters demonstrated their continuing loyalty by voting for him a second time. This loyalty to individual candidates during a period of party formation suggests that loyalty to candidates and loyalty to parties were integrally connected.

The results of the election of 1856 proved inconclusive. It is true that the prohibitionists (including Samuel Leonard Tilley himself) were roundly defeated: only two prohibition Liberals were returned to the assembly. But fourteen antiprohibition Liberals were also returned, and four anti-Tory, antiprohibitionist Independents were elected. The Conservatives, with twenty-one members, had a majority in the new house, but it was a majority of only one.[61] The results in Charlotte mirrored the results in the province as a whole: two Rummies and two Smashers were elected (James Boyd, George Dixon Street, John McAdam, and Arthur Hill Gillmor). Yet things in Charlotte were not much changed. Three of the county's four sitting members returned to the legislature. The fourth had not been defeated; rather, he had chosen not to run in that election. James Brown's decision was, perhaps, providential in light of the fate of his fellow prohibitionists. None the less, he would run in the next election and would, once more, be returned to office. The election of 1856 saw the emergence of party-within-the-electorate. However, party identification was not yet extensive enough or strong enough to effect significant changes in election results.

The repeal of the prohibitory act by a vote of thirty-eight to two was a mere formality. After they had accomplished this, however, the new government could accomplish little else. The people had, by their votes, voiced their views regarding the prohibitory liquor law. Beyond this, however, voters had displayed an amazing ambivalence. The two parties were almost evenly balanced within the house. The government lamented the rise of partyism which brought deadlock and inaction. That deadlock was broken and the precarious balance in the house upset by the defection of a member from the government side. That single defection brought a dissolution of the house and yet another election.

61. Chapman, 57.

The new election was held in May of 1857. This time parties themselves chose their slates and identified them for the electorate. Both Conservatives and Liberals held meetings and conducted organized campaigns. In Charlotte County, the candidates for the government (the Conservative ticket) were James Boyd, George Street, George Thomson, and Douglas Wetmore. The candidates advocating Liberal principles were John McAdam, Arthur Hill Gillmor, James Brown, and James Chandler.

Recognizing that, whichever slate were elected, the new government would be a party government, the electors chose their party of preference and voted for the appropriate slate. Over 60 per cent of the voters in every parish chose one of the two slates. Conservative support ranged from a low of 13 per cent in St. Stephen to a high of 42 per sent in St. Andrews. On the whole, the Conservatives maintained the levels of support they had achieved the previous year. The Liberals, in contrast, substantially improved their position in virtually every parish.[62] Their support ranged from a low of 28 per cent in St. Andrews to a high of 57 per cent in St. Stephen. The temperance issue had, for the moment at least, been decisively removed from the realm of party politics and the Smashers' fortunes improved as a result. Men no longer feared that the Smashers, if elected, would introduce temperance legislation. Thus, men who agreed with the Liberal philosophy, but who had opposed the prohibitory liquor law, now felt free to move into the Liberal camp.

The men who moved into the Liberal camp in 1857 proved to be very like the men who were already there. One of the best expressions of a man's world view or personal value system is his religion. As was the case in 1856, religious affiliation proved to be the best predictor of a man's party preference. Baptists continued to show a clear preference for Smashers over Rummies. Twenty-four of the twenty-six Universalist voters and eleven of the thirteen Congregationalists also supported the Smashers. Among the small group of twenty-three Disciples, Liberal support was somewhat lower, ranging from fifteen for James Brown to nineteen for James Chandler. On the surface, Methodist support for the Smashers appeared to have declined somewhat. Yet a more specific analysis revealed that North-American-born Methodists (107 in all) strongly supported Liberal candidates. Over 75 per cent of the members of this group voted for the Smashers in 1857. Anglicans and Presbyterians, in contrast, tended to support the Conservative slate. Finally, as in 1856, the county's Roman Catholic voters proved the most divided. Thirty-two per cent of them voted for the Liberal slate while 19 per cent opted for the Conservative slate; almost half continued to choose their candidates on the basis of individual rather than party preference.[63]

62. See Figure 2. The major exception was Campobello Island. There, 70 per cent of the electors supported the Conservative slate, and, since none of the island's thirty-one electors voted for James Chandler, the Liberal slate received no votes at all. However, since Campobello comprised such a small proportion of the total electorate, it is not included in this discussion of parish patterns.

63. See Table 5 for a comparison of the electoral support accorded each candidate.

TABLE 5: Election of 1857: Percentage of Voters in Each Group Voting for Each Candidate

	J. Boyd	J. Brown[1]	J. Chandler[1]	A.H. Gillmor[1]	J. McAdam[1]	G. Street	G. Thomson	D. Wetmore	TOTALS
A) PARISH OF RESIDENCE									
Campobello	71.0	19.3	0	19.3	16.1	90.3	71.0	71.0	31
Grand Manan	48.3	55.1	45.8	55.9	50.0	50.9	43.2	33.1	118
Pennfield	48.6	41.9	37.8	52.7	41.2	47.3	60.8	58.1	148
St. Andrews	57.8	33.2	44.3	42.2	34.9	67.5	53.6	47.4	289
St. David	35.6	66.5	57.6	56.5	66.0	37.2	39.3	22.0	191
St. George	26.9	54.3	45.1	71.3	52.8	34.0	40.9	48.7	335
St. James	31.8	63.2	51.4	63.6	74.7	27.3	45.0	14.5	220
St. Patrick	57.1	41.2	43.2	48.2	42.2	57.7	56.4	47.5	303
St. Stephen	20.8	72.2	61.5	66.1	81.1	21.0	29.1	14.2	457
West Isles	36.0	67.4	72.1	74.4	61.6	30.2	30.2	18.6	86
B) PLACE OF BIRTH									
Ireland	53.2	38.8	33.6	42.9	41.2	56.4	61.7	46.4	645
Scotland	29.5	65.3	56.8	67.4	64.2	35.8	38.9	28.4	95
England	43.6	48.9	51.1	57.9	48.1	44.4	46.6	32.3	133
United States	23.1	70.8	66.1	72.3	70.8	26.1	27.7	21.5	65
Nova Scotia	47.1	52.9	55.9	55.9	52.9	52.9	44.1	29.4	34
New Brunswick	32.8	61.2	57.4	65.0	64.5	33.5	34.7	29.1	1058
C) RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION									
Baptists	19.7	74.3	72.5	82.0	74.6	21.8	19.4	18.3	284
Anglicans	63.7	30.8	27.5	36.8	31.7	65.5	65.2	58.3	331
Presbyterians	60.0	32.0	32.0	44.4	40.0	62.7	62.2	52.4	225
Methodists	25.2	67.9	66.4	69.5	77.1	25.2	32.1	19.8	131
Roman Catholics	29.2	59.2	49.0	57.8	49.7	46.3	39.5	36.0	147
Universalists	3.8	96.1	96.1	96.1	96.1	3.8	3.8	0	26
Congregationalists	7.7	92.5	92.3	92.3	84.6	7.7	7.7	7.7	13
Disciples	34.8	65.2	82.6	74.0	69.6	30.4	30.4	13.0	23

1. Elected to Legislative Assembly.

By 1857 ethnic group identification had minimal impact on voting behaviour. European-born Anglicans, Presbyterians, and, to a lesser extent, Methodists were the groups more likely to support the Conservatives. Other European-born groups proved more likely to support Liberals. Smashers retained the strong support of the county's dwindling contingent of American-born voters but, more important, the Smashers had, by 1857, also gained a significant advantage among native-born New Brunswickers. Over half of Charlotte's 1,058 New-Brunswick-born electors voted the Liberal ticket while only 23 per cent chose the Conservative slate. The Liberals were clearly on the rise in Charlotte County.

On the economic level, the Smashers tended to do better among groups whose fortunes were on the rise rather than among those whose fortunes were declining. Under the stimulus of reciprocity, the lumber economy of St. Stephen Parish was booming during the mid-1850s. The people of St. Stephen remembered the commercial depression of the late 1840s, however, and they did not wish to return to the rule of the "old guard." They supported the Smashers — the men who had destroyed the "good old way of doing public business." Among the prosperous lumbering community in St. Stephen — indeed, among the lumbering community throughout Charlotte County — support for the Smashers proved especially strong. In 1857, as in 1856, more than 60 per cent of all lumber merchants, lumbermen, millmen, and farmers who were also engaged in lumbering voted the Liberal ticket. In contrast, St. Andrews, onetime commercial rival of St. Stephen, had entered into a period of decline. At the beginning of the decade, railway promoters in St. Andrews had high hopes for the future of the St. Andrews–Woodstock railway. They had imported Irish labourers to help carry out their scheme, envisioning, ultimately, a railway which would link New Brunswick with Quebec. But in 1857 the St. Andrews–Quebec railway was nothing more than an impossible dream. The fact that the Smashers seemed more interested in the Saint John–Shediac scheme did not endear them to the voters of St. Andrews. St. Andrews looked backward to a more prosperous era and forward to an uncertain future. The Conservatives' strongest support was to be found in that parish.

The old pattern of candidate voting was less in evidence in 1857, but it had not entirely disappeared. Three of the four Liberal candidates topped the polls in their home parishes. James Chandler placed only fifth, but then, his home parish was St. Andrews where the Conservatives had their greatest strength. Two of the four Conservative candidates — George Street and James Boyd — were also St. Andrews residents. They placed first and second respectively. Douglas Wetmore managed to place fourth in his home parish of St. George, but George Thomson could do no better than a very distant fifth in his home parish, the Liberal bastion of St. Stephen. The advantage individual candidates had had within their own particular religious and ethnic identity groups tended to meld with the emerging party identification. Just as Methodists and Baptists tended to vote for Smashers, so, too, Methodist and Baptist candidates tended to be Smashers. Similarly, Anglican and Presbyterian candidates, like Anglican and Presbyterian voters, were more attracted to the Conservative party. Party-based voting, then, was an outgrowth and extension of candidate-based voting.

By 1857 the transition to party-based voting was complete. Across the province candidates declared themselves as Conservatives or Liberals. By their votes the electors did the same. Once again the results in Charlotte County typified the results in the colony as a whole. The two Conservative incumbents went down to defeat as the full slate of Smashers was elected. The reults were clear. The Conservative government resigned and the Smashers once more returned to power. The Smashers had entered a period of ascendancy which would carry them through, virtually unchallenged, to Confederation. Partyism, aided by prosperity and the polarizing issue of temperance, had won. Having attained the security of power, the Liberals did not bring sweeping changes. They did, however, bring in the secret ballot, and thus the growth and development of party-in-the-electorate can be followed no further.

The story of the rise of party in Charlotte County is very much the story of the rise of party in New Brunswick. While temperance was not truly a party issue, it did, none the less, provide the catalyst for the rise of party-within-the-electorate in New Brunswick. The importance of this cultural issue was demonstrated by the clear polarization of voters along religious lines. Although the temperance issue provided the immediate impetus for change, the transition from a pattern of candidate-based to party-based voting was gradual, extending over a period of three elections. Such a gradual transition allowed for the stability of continuity in the midst of change. The rise of party can be clearly discerned in the rise of a pattern of slate voting in Charlotte County. Yet the actual change in election results was relatively minimal. Men had always tended to vote for candidates with whom they shared a common identity of interests — men who were, in fact, very like themselves. As politicians formed factions and then parties, they, too, formed alliances with men who were like themselves. Because of the networks parties used as building blocks, the transition from candidate-based to party-based voting required no major ideological shift for the individual voter. Men continued to vote for candidates with whom they shared a common identity of interests, but now those candidates were running as members of slates representing parties. Voters chose the slate of candidates or "party" whose outlook, or world view, seemed most in tune with their own. This transition from candidate-based to party-based voting was so gradual and so logical as to appear insignificant. Yet the rise of party-based voting was indeed significant, for until they establish a solid and permanent base of support within the electorate, parties do not exist.