

THE ELECTION OF 1861 IN CANADA WEST

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ABSTRACT

Prior to dissolution in 1861, the Conservative ministry was a minority government insofar as Canada West was concerned. The election campaign that followed was a bitter, hard-fought affair that gave the government a small majority in the West. This majority was obtained only through the support of candidates who contested their ridings as Coalition Reformers, as Independent candidates, or as Conservatives advocating a number of Liberal policies. These members were not always reliable. Indecisive and humiliating as it turned out to be, the election helped point out the need for some very serious co-operation between the province's political leaders, if the crisis that developed during the early 1860's were to be overcome.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

On Saturday, the eighteenth day of May 1861, the last session of Canada's sixth parliament was prorogued.¹ The politically-minded press of Canada West, as the former province of Upper Canada was sometimes referred to, had already been speculating as to a likely date of prorogation and the probability of a dissolution and an election. "It is announced, but not officially, that Parliament will be prorogued on Wednesday next," wrote the St. Catharines Journal on May 16.² The Toronto Daily Leader and the Carleton Place Herald were more accurate, both choosing the eighteenth as the date.³ On May 23 the Toronto Globe warned its readers of an impending dissolution followed by an election.⁴ The London Free Press hoped that there would be no summer election. Because of the "backwardness of the season," it felt that it was best that the "husbandman devote every hour to his agricultural tasks."⁵ It was not till the twelfth of June that the Leader was able to publish the official proclamation.⁶ Then, finally, the word was out, dissolution on the tenth, elections before the twelfth of July, and the writs back by the fifteenth.

¹P.A.C., The Daily Leader, 20 May, 1861. Henceforth Daily Leader will be cited only as Leader.

²P.A.C., The St. Catharines Journal, 16 May, 1861.

³Leader, 17 May, 1861.
P.A.O., The Carleton Place Herald, 16 May, 1861.

⁴P.A.C., The Globe, 23 May, 1861.

⁵P.A.O., The London Free Press, 30 May, 1861.

⁶Leader, 12 June, 1861.

It is this much anticipated election that will be discussed in the pages to follow. Developments in Canada West only will be the concern in this study although from time to time it might be necessary to refer to proceedings in Canada East. An attempt will be made to outline the political situation as it developed in the years prior to the election. This will be followed by an account of the election campaign and that in turn by the election itself, its outcome, and some of its effects.

The political situation of 1861 had its beginnings in the previous decade. As early as 1850 it was becoming evident that the Reform party of Baldwin and La Fontaine was experiencing stress from within. The achievement of responsible government in 1849 had removed the one great goal that had held the party's ranks together.¹ Almost immediately it became apparent that there was, within the party, a group of ultra-reformers to whom responsible government and the British parliamentary system were not satisfactory. This group, dubbed the "Clear Grits" by George Brown, worked for a restriction of ministerial powers, and demanded that the legislative council and the judiciary be made elective, in fact advocated a system of government similar to that of the United States of America. They pressed also for the secularization of the Clergy Reserves and the establishment of a non-sectarian school system.² Eventually, and especially after the party leadership had passed into the hands of Francis Hincks, there emerged from within its ranks another

¹Skelton, O.D., The Life and Times of A. T. Galt.
(Toronto, 1920), p. 165.

²Ibid., p. 165.

faction, this one led by George Brown. The Brownites stood somewhere between the conservatism of the majority in the party that still supported the Hincks-Morin ministry, and the radicalism of the Grits, supporting the latter in issues involving the Clergy Reserves and education but opposing the demand for an elected judiciary and legislative council.¹

The official opposition in the early 1850's was the Conservative party or the Tories, the successors to the Family Compact group that had so rigidly stood in opposition to responsible government and, later, to the secularization of the Clergy Reserves. The party, like that of the Reformers, was also undergoing change and division. Many of its younger members had changed their views on the issues of responsible government and the Clergy Reserves.² By 1854 even some of the "Grit" proposals no longer sounded as sacrilegious and objectionable as they did a few years earlier. Thus, there were in the party the rigid rightest elements as well as the more realistic, more moderate and adaptable members who were as much reform minded as the government was.

The year 1854 marks what has been said to be a "well-recognized watershed in the alignment of political groups in this era."³ Discontent within the Reform party had so eroded it that the Hincks-Morin ministry was obliged to resign in June of that year. Then came a rather astounding coalition of former opponents to form the Liberal-Conservative party which held almost uninterrupted office until 1862.

¹J.M.S. Careless, Brown of the Globe, Vol. I, (Toronto, 1963), pp. 111 and 161.

²Skelton, op. cit., p. 163.

³Paul G. Cornell, The Alignment of Political Groups in Canada, 1841-1867 (Toronto, 1962), p. 36.

The press of the era often referred to the group by that name, but just as often they were called the Ministerial party, the government party, or just the Conservatives and even the Tories.

Although the coalition dismayed some people, it was not really an unnatural one. MacNab, one of the old guard Tories, was asked to form the new ministry. The assignment apparently was not a difficult one for within three days the personnel of the new government was announced.¹ MacNab had not only won over the French Reformers or Blues, but had also got the support of the followers of Hincks, retaining John Ross in the cabinet and bringing in Robert Spence, another of their members. The Conservative ministers were Allan MacNab, John A. Macdonald, and William Cayley. Together with Spence these were the only new members in the council for the Lower Canada segment remained unchanged.² Thus, the new Liberal-Conservative ministry was actually three-fifths the old Hincks-Morin ministry.

The three groups party to the coalition had much in common. MacNab, the Tory; Ross, the Hincksite; and Cartier, the French Blue, were each deeply involved in the railroad industry.³ The Tories, as previously stated, had already become less reactionary and were thus more compatible with the Hincks-Morin people who, if anything, were tending to become quite static in recent years. Then, too, each group had reason to fear the ministry falling into the hands of the Grits or

¹Careless, op. cit., p. 193.

²J. O. Coté, Political Appointments and Elections in the Province of Canada from 1841 to 1865, (Ottawa, 1865), p. 29.

³Careless, op. cit., p. 194.

the Brownites, some of whom were radically republican in their views, while others were strongly anti-clerical and others still quite outspokenly anti-French.¹

In the meantime the groups that had fallen into the opposition were drawing together in Upper Canada. The main difference between the Grits and the Brownites was the latter's objection to elective institutions other than the Assembly. However, the question almost ceased to be an issue in 1856 with the passage of a bill establishing the principle of an elected Legislative Council. On the other hand there were issues that bound the two groups. One of these was their mutual struggle against the bill authorizing the setting up of state-supported sectarian schools in Upper Canada.² The rapprochement was further strengthened by their joint objection to government grants in aid to the Grand Trunk Railroad.³

The great force that tended to unify the opposition factions was George Brown. Through his newspaper, the Toronto Globe, which had already absorbed such Grit publications as the North American, and The Examiner⁴, Brown was able to wield considerable influence in the province, especially amongst the western farmers. Already he had persuaded them to accept the principle of Representation by Population as the solution to their grievances which had flared up in angered reaction to the passage of the schools bill to the point of their demanding

¹R.S. Longley, Sir Francis Hincks, (Toronto, 1943), pp. 306-7.

²Careless, op. cit., p. 220.

³Ibid., p. 227.

⁴Ibid., p. 201.

a disruption of the union¹, In 1857 Brown effectively used the Globe to organize a convention of the Brownites and the Grits. This resulted in the organization of the Reform Alliance embracing almost all the opposition members of Upper Canada.²

The results of Brown's efforts were becoming evident in the election of 1857 in which the opposition Reformers, or Liberals, as the press was beginning to call them,³ gained a majority of the seats in Upper Canada, defeating three ministers in the process.⁴ The campaign was for the most part a two party affair, the contests being largely two-way fights as described in the following passage from Cornell:

The contests in both sections of the province were for the most part two-sided fights between a candidate who supported or would support the ministry and a partisan of the left. But there remained traces of the older affiliations. Generally the Conservatives and the Coalition Reformers of Canada West agreed on a single candidate and avoided dividing the ministerial vote.⁵

It might be concluded that there was a two party system in the years just prior to the election of 1861. It is true that these parties were in some respects rather nebulous, that they lacked strong organization or even well-established leadership, and, in their day, had no definite and universally accepted name. Yet there was a remarkable consistency and stability about their policies, their members and their supporters.

¹Ibid., p.206.

²Careless, op. cit., p. 227.

³Cornell, op. cit., p. 90.

⁴Donald Creighton, John A. Macdonald, The Young Politician, (Toronto, 1952), p. 257.

⁵Cornell, op. cit., p. 44.

A study of the results of the eight elections held during the Union period shows that almost a third of the ridings hardly changed their affiliation at all. In many cases the change was gradual. A formerly Reform riding if it did swing to the Conservative camp did so by first supporting a Coalition Reformer in 1854, gradually to drift with him to the Conservative side. In the period 1854 to 1863, which includes four elections, about two dozen ridings remained constant in their party support, and nearly forty backed the same party in at least three of the elections.¹ The elected members themselves for the greater part were quite consistent. "Loose fish" were neither as numerous nor as loose as is often supposed.

Ambitious or unusually independent men did "cross the House" from time to time, but the cases of a second crossing to return to the original loyalty are very few in number. The term "loose fish" was most useful in political journalism in the heat of election campaigns but does not appear as a pattern of behaviour for any noticeable number of members.²

Most consistently Liberal were the counties in the west bordering on the lakes and stretching back of Hamilton and Toronto. In the east the party drew support from the counties of Glengarry, Stormont and Prescott. Conservative strength lay in the ridings along the Ottawa River, along the Rideau Canal as far as Kingston, and in the larger urban ridings.³

So there they were, two parties that were not yet certain what

¹This information based on data obtained from Cornell, op. cit., figure VI.

²Ibid., p. 83.

³Ibid., p. 79.

they would adopt as their party names, but both "largely consistent in membership, viewpoint and policy."¹ There were the Liberals, mostly farm people and Anglo-Saxon, proud, prudent and Protestant, incensed by the Conservatives who, in order to stay in power, allowed the French to dictate to them, appalled by what they felt to be the extravagance of the government in its support of the railroads, and insulted by the Separate Schools Act which forced Catholic schools in their midst, and, above all, resentful of the injustice that limited their parliamentary representation to that of Canada East although their population, they had no doubt, was much greater. These were issues that prodded deeply, that rankled constantly and just could not allow them to change their party loyalty.

On the other side were the Conservatives, also Anglo-Saxon and also Protestant, but more conciliatory than the Liberals, also more enterprising in a business sense, and more zealous in their attachment to the British tradition which they were ready to protect even at the cost of having to accommodate the French, but which they were not prepared to jeopardize by entrusting the country to the Liberals with their radical views, with their outrageously intemperate leader, and their supposed talk of union with the United States.

It was this rigidity, this stability in party affiliation that was in part responsible for the political instability of the pre-confederation period. If the voter did not shift his support and the politician

¹Ibid., p. 83.

remained constant, it was impossible for an election to produce a great enough swing in strength to give one group a comfortable working majority.

CHAPTER II

EARLY PREPARATIONS

Preparations by both sides were under way quite some time before the actual announcement of the election. Back in 1859 the Opposition members of the Legislature met to discuss revision of the Liberal platform.

The upshot of this meeting was a general Reform convention, held 9 November, at St. Lawrence Hall, Toronto. "The Union in its present form," the convention resolved, "can no longer be continued with advantage to the people." The principle of "Double Majority" was also rejected as a permanent solution. Limiting the powers of the Executive and legislative councils to borrow funds was not considered a sufficient remedy for the country's ills. On the other hand, Representation by Population was deemed necessary. Also deemed necessary was a constitutional change providing for "two or more local governments for local affairs and some joint authority charged with such matters as are necessarily common to both sections of the province." Accounts of these proceedings the convention published on huge broadsheets in the form of an "Address of the Reform Association to the People of Upper Canada." John A. Macdonald, who was a collector of all and any material that might be used to win elections, carefully folded up a copy and put it away amongst his papers for future use if the need should arise.¹

The Liberals did not stop with the convention. In September of next year their leader, George Brown, embarked on a speaking tour com-

¹P.A.C. John A. Macdonald Papers, V.2.

mencing with a flag-bedecked affair at Galt. He then moved east to Napanee and, in November, even invaded Macdonald's stronghold of Kingston. Grit activities for the year ended in Norfolk County on Lake Erie with a large rally designed to repair any damage that might have been done to the cause by Macdonald who himself had just concluded a circuit of the West.¹

In the winter of 1861, Brown was forced to give up most of his political activities. Illness compelled his absence from the parliamentary session, and for a while he had left Toronto to recuperate at a health resort.² But, even in poor health, he still kept in touch with the party leaders and, by correspondence, helped plan strategy for a by-election in which J. C. Morrison, a newly appointed minister, sought election. The following extracts from a letter written to Brown would indicate that the struggle against the ministry was unceasing:

I received yours this morning to the effect that Gowan has no chance in Grey — that Purdy is the only man that can defeat Morrison and that he needs help from the party to enable him to do it — I have just received one from Gowan in answer to one I wrote him strongly advising his taking whatever course would secure Morrison's defeat.

.....
I learn that he [Gowan] is going to get the almost undivided support of the Orange body - but the accounts are so conflicting about his and Purdy's chances that I have determined to take a run up to the Sound tomorrow and see for myself.³

Brown's assessment of the situation in Grey County was correct.

Purdy did defeat Morrison, winning the seat for the Liberals and making

¹Careless, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 41.

²*Ibid.*, p. 41.

³P.A.C., George Brown Papers, V.4, p. 581, Boulton to Brown, Feb. 13, 1861.

it possible for them to accuse Macdonald of unconstitutional procedure in maintaining a seatless minister in the executive.¹

Macdonald's speaking tour, referred to earlier, was an unusual campaign practice as far as the Conservatives were concerned. Speaking tours "they had previously regarded as rather low and Liberal, if not downright radical and republican."² The Tory leader's itinerary took him first to Brantford on Friday, November 9, followed by dinners and addresses at St. Thomas, London, and Guelph, the very heart of Gritland. That done, Macdonald then ventured into Toronto, Brown's riding.³

As co-premier, Macdonald did not have to speculate as to the date of the election. As early as May 24, he was able to divulge it to Ryerson. "The elections will come off in June, so no time is to be lost in rousing the Wesleyan in our favour."⁴ By the end of May he was already fighting the election that was not yet proclaimed. "Get your voter's list ready as soon as possible and begin your canvass," he wrote to a supporter. "Act as if the polling was to come next week. Keep all this dark."⁵ On the first day of June he was more explicit:

For your private information I desire to inform you that the Writs for the General Election will be issued on the 10th instant and returnable on the 14th July. I need not say that

¹See Chapter IV, "Issues".

²Dale C. Thomson, Alexander Mackenzie, Clear Grit, (Toronto, 1960), p. 32

³Creighton, op. cit., p. 305-6.

⁴P.A.C., Ryerson Papers, M.G.24, K.15, Macdonald to Ryerson, May 27, 1861.

⁵P.A.C., Amsden Papers, M.G.24, B.65, Macdonald to Samuel Amsden, May 31, 1861.

this early intimation is to be acted on, but not mentioned.¹

The newspapers, of course, were constantly campaigning. According to Macdonald's count there were 134 of them in Upper Canada in this period. Macdonald had prepared detailed lists of them, naming the county in which each was published, giving the name of the sitting member in the ridings, and indicating the political affiliation of each publication. He counted sixty-one ministerial papers and sixty-two that supported the opposition. There were ten independent papers and one French language journal whose affiliation was not given.²

There was some doubt as to the independence of the "independent" papers. An editorial in the Hamilton Times refers to a newly founded newspaper named The Wentworth Times, originally independent but now ministerial. The editorial claims that it was just an old ministerial trick to give the impression of "gaining converts." "Have we not already shown that your 'no party', 'independent', 'neutral', politicians always leaned against those who had pence and patronage to dispense?"³

Macdonald's list was not very complete. Neither of the above-mentioned publications is included. Of course, a complete list was rather impossible when newspapers appeared with such ease and frequency. For example, The Press, a tri-weekly, founded in Kingston to support Oliver Mowat, Macdonald's opponent in the election, is not in the list having been founded too late to appear in it.⁴ Kingston, by the way,

¹Idem, Macdonald to Amsden, June 1, 1861.

²John A. Macdonald Papers, V. 298, p.136552.

³P.A.O., Hamilton Times, May 30, 1861.

⁴Globe, June 4 and 11, 1861.

had four newspapers placed in Macdonald's list. London had three, Toronto and Ottawa had six each. There were two German papers in the list, both in Waterloo North, and both Liberal.

Compared to those of a century later, the newspapers of 1861 were relatively simple and inexpensive to publish. Most of the editions were four-page efforts, done on a single sheet the size of a table top. This, folded down, provided four pages. The first page contained advertising occupying well over half the space. There were usually two or three columns along the right side given to reporting of foreign news or proceedings in the Legislative Assembly if it were in session. Page two featured editorial comment plus local news. The third page contained more foreign news, together with a considerable area of advertising. Advertising also occupied the last page. In that page the arrivals and departures of ocean vessels were announced; there also the professional people and craftsmen advertised their services, the merchants their goods, the hawksters their patent medicines or trinkets, the institutions their meetings and other functions. The publications were quite dull in appearance. There were no photographs, no large headlines, and whatever illustrations appeared were very small pen and ink designs, reinforcing ads such as those vending cephalic pills or the ubiquitous sarsaparilla.

The news reported ranged from the trivial to the catastrophic. The readers were informed that at Queen's, students fired two Russian guns in the park "after having passed their examinations for degrees."¹

¹Globe, April 26, 1861.

Near Hamilton a little girl fell off a rock sixty feet high while watching a balloon ascent by a Professor Lowe.¹ In Haldimand, oil was discovered² and, somewhat earlier, Montreal was inconvenienced by a flood, the "Great Inundation" producing the spectacle of "boats navigating St. Paul Street."³ In the west the Red River, not to be outdone by the St. Lawrence, also spread over its banks.⁴ Of considerable interest was the appearance of a comet, the second in three years.⁵ It was reported as early as June 30 and was still visible July 13,⁶ showing "a little north of the upper star in Ursa Major."⁷

Amongst the more serious news was a murder trial. The victim was a member of the Legislative Assembly. He was robbed in Toronto and his body was flung into a creek.⁸ It was his decease that necessitated the Grey County by-election in which Purdy defeated Morrison. Of great interest, also, was the wreck of the S.S. Canadian due to ice off Belle Isle, with the loss of nine of its 181 occupants.⁹

¹P.A.O., Hamilton Times, May 30, 1861.

²P.A.O., London Free Press, June 11, 1861.

³P.A.C., Montreal Witness, April 17, 1861.

⁴Ibid., June 15, 1861.

⁵P.A.O., Sarnia Observer, July 12, 1861.

⁶Globe, June 30 and July 13, 1861.

⁷P.A.O., Gunn Diary, July 9, 1861.

⁸Sarnia Observer, August 2, 1861.

⁹Hamilton Times, June 17, 1861.

There was of course great preoccupation with the American Civil War. The action at Sumpter, Harper's Ferry, and on the Potomac was covered in much detail.¹ The reaction of some Canadian citizens was given space as witness the following: "Some of the young men of Galt have gone to fight Jefferson Davies ^[sic] and his Friends."² There was considerable attention given to the death of Count Cavour of Italy. Some papers merely reported the statesman's death objectively,³ others extolled his achievements,⁴ and some actually appeared to rejoice in the man's death.⁵

The newspapers thrived on politics. When parliament was in session they published detailed accounts of proceedings. At all times, be it before, during, or after elections, they were actively campaigning. As early as March 22 the Chatham Planet, [▷]tri-weekly ministerial paper in the County of Kent, warned a certain Mr. Dougall not to oppose Sir Allan MacNab who was certain to get elected "by over 100 votes."⁶ The warning must have been heeded for there is no record of the gentleman opposing the knight that year. Nor is there record of MacNab standing for election.

The strongest press ally that the Conservatives had was the Daily Leader. It liked to deal with the "disloyalty" charge against the

¹Globe, May 15, 1861.

²Globe, May 13, 1861.

³Sarnia Observer, August 2, 1861.

⁴Hamilton Times, June 17, 1861.

⁵P.A.O., True Witness and Catholic Chronicle, July 12, 1861.

⁶P.A.C., Chatham Planet, March 22, 1861.

Liberals, a charge about which more will be said in a future chapter.¹ It also liked to point out that the opposition groups were completely disunited, and accused them of being "reduced to demoralization", of having no cohesion or recognized leader, of lacking principles, and of being riddled by desertions.² Disunity between the opposition forces of Upper Canada and those of Lower Canada was just as great. "It is not on one question merely that the Rouges and the Grits are on opposite sides", the Leader argued. "On all vital questions, social and political, they take different sides, hold different views, and aim at different ends."³

Later in May the Leader was at it again. This time it took pleasure in ridiculing a Liberal nomination meeting. Apparently only six electors and fifteen or sixteen boys were present. The secretary, it turned out, had forgotten to bring pen and ink.⁴

The Toronto Globe was equally active for the opposition party. Speaking of the riding of Toronto East, it wrote, in April, "Mr. Brown can get elected for this constituency without difficulty. Mr. John Crawford and Mr. Manning are mentioned as his opponents."⁵ As it turned out, Brown had considerable difficulty in Toronto East and went down to defeat. Many of the Globe announcements were merely hopeful conjectures.

¹Leader, May 10, 1861.

²Ibid., May 17, 1861.

³Ibid., May 22, 1861.

⁴Ibid., May 24, 1861.

⁵Globe, April 25, 1861.

In the same issue, it carried the following notices: "Kingston.... John A. Macdonald may retire from politics before the election", and later in the issue, "Hamilton.... It is supposed that Mr. Buchanan will not candidate again". Both of these gentlemen stood for election and both were returned by goodly majorities.¹

The newspapers were not always wrong in their prognostications. The Globe, for instance, correctly predicted the defeat of Mr. Cayley in Huron and Bruce County.² The St. Catharines Journal was quite right when it published the following on May 16: "Our little M.P.P. will come back to us O.K., and will probably be sent back, as he has been a pretty good boy, and redeemed his promises."³ The Journal was equally correct on May 16 in its prediction concerning another candidate. "We have little, if any, confidence in Mr. Rykert, but we feel persuaded (sic) that there is not a man in Lincoln that can defeat him."⁴

At times, instead of making bold predictions, the papers came forth with some fairly sound advice, such as the following: ".... it is useless for us to say more than merely to urge Reformers to sign no documents or give pledges to anyone."⁵ Even more pertinent to the occasion was the following: "We cannot afford division. We must have no divi-

¹All statistical detail regarding election results is taken from the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada. See Photostats in appendix.

²Globe, May 31, 1861.

³St. Catharines Journal, May 16, 1861.

⁴Ibid., June 15, 1861.

⁵P.A.O., The Newmarket Era, May 31, 1861.

in our ranks - no secession from the Reform standard. Come what will, by one candidate we must stand or fall."¹

Thus even before the old parliament was dissolved, and in some cases even before the commencement of its last session, the two parties were busy with their conventions, their speaking tours, their nomination meetings and their private correspondence, both planning and actually fighting the battle for the control of the new parliament. Some of the more general practices and regulations that accompanied the campaign and the election itself will be treated in the next chapter.

¹Globe, May 20, 1861. Quoted from Elora Observer.

CHAPTER III
CAMPAIGN AND ELECTION PRACTICES

The first tangible evidence of candidature for election was usually the appearance in a number of newspapers of a "requisition" asking a designated person to stand for election. The requisition would extoll the person's virtues and list his accomplishments. It would end with long columns of names of persons endorsing or making the requisition. John A. Macdonald's requisition contained 150 names, including those of nine aldermen and four councillors.¹ Name lists supporting a requisition were not always to be relied upon. The requisition of candidate McConkey in South Simcoe was bolstered by some 900 names² but in the actual election he polled only 750 votes. It would appear that some of the names were fictitious or that their owners had changed their minds during the campaign or else were not consulted when the list was drawn up.

The requisition procedure was not always followed. In North York, for example, a certain N. Y. Beachall declared on nomination day that he had no idea of becoming a candidate till he arrived at the place of nominations.³

The appearance of a requisition was followed by the candidate publishing an address of acceptance. This was done in the form of a notice

¹Queen's University Library, The British Whig, June 11, 1861.

²P.A.O., The Northern Advance, June 5, 1861.

³Newmarket Era, July 5, 1861.

to the electors of the riding as can be seen from the reproduction of such an address on page twenty-two.¹ With an attempt at modesty and some indication of reluctance the politician announced acceptance of the call to serve and went on to outline his views on the various issues of the day.

Dates of official nomination days varied from riding to riding. Some came as early as June 21² and others as late as July 2.³ It was permissible for a candidate to stand for election in more than one riding and a number did so. Oliver Mowat, for instance, campaigned in both Ontario South and Kingston. Since the selection of nomination and election dates was determined by the ministry, its candidates enjoyed an advantage here. Thus the following complaint in the Globe: "With their usual meanness the ministry had fixed the same day for the nominations in Kingston and Ontario South."⁴ Although he was nominated in both constituencies, it was impossible for Mowat to be present and make addresses at both nomination gatherings.

Nomination activities were usually held outdoors and were attended by large numbers of people as each candidate tried to have as many supporters as possible present on the occasion. At the Welland nominations there were 1400 people attending, over fifty percent as many as were listed for voting purposes.⁵ After each nominee had delivered his

¹The print from which the reproduction was obtained can be found in the Public Archives of Canada.

²Hamilton Times, June 21, 1861.

³Leader, June 27, 1861.

⁴Globe, June 24, 1861.

⁵Leader, June 29, 1861.

TO THE ELECTORS OF THE South Riding OF Oxford.

GENTLEMEN,—

I have been induced to offer myself as a Candidate for your suffrages at the approaching election. It is not without hesitation that I have decided to take this step—there has been no desire on my part to force myself on your notice, or to interfere in any way with your free choice of a resident in the Riding to represent you in the Legislative Assembly. Had a local candidate been selected, I would most willingly have retired from the contest; but as all efforts for that purpose seem unfortunately to have failed, and as I have been nominated as a candidate by a committee of gentlemen from various parts of the Riding, I have concluded to accept the nomination, and I shall prosecute the canvass as vigorously as time and circumstances will permit.

I am in favor of maintaining the Union between Upper and Lower Canada—believing it to be necessary to our prosperity.

A Federal Union of all the Provinces has been proposed and advocated in various quarters, but the subject has not yet been sufficiently discussed to enable us to decide upon its merits—if such a Union can be shown to be advantageous to us, it would of course receive my support.

I am favorable to the principle of Representation based upon Population, irrespective of any dividing line between Upper and Lower Canada, and if elected, I will support any well digested measure for carrying out that principle as regards representation in the Legislative Assembly.

I am opposed to the Government appropriating the public monies without the sanction of Parliament.

I am also opposed to further aid being granted by the Province to the Grand Trunk Railway.

The expenses of the Government and Legislature should not exceed the public income, and if elected, I will advocate the strictest economy in every Department, consistent with the efficiency of public service.

It has been industriously reported by my opponents, that I am a supporter of the present government, and that I came here to represent their interests—I deny the truth of this statement—while I admit that I have approved and do still approve of their policy as to the maintenance of the Union. I have never hesitated to condemn their management of the Finances of the country—our annual expenditure is too large—advances have been made of public money that are unwarranted and afford dangerous precedents; and there has been wanting that wise economy which should regulate the conduct of all good governments.

I am in favor of a Bankrupt Law, which, while affording relief to the unfortunate debtors, will become a cheap and efficient administration of his estate for the benefit of his creditors.

Having been always connected with the Liberal party, I need hardly add that I would at all times give my support to any sound measure of Reform that may be brought before the Legislature.

It is my intention to address the Electors at meetings to be held in the various municipalities of the Riding, when I shall be able to explain more fully my views on the various questions before the country.

I shall also call on as many of the Electors as time will allow.

Your Obedient Servant,

S. RICHARDS, Jr.

INGERSOLL, June 21, 1861.

Herald Cheap Job Press.

address, the chairman, usually a sheriff or mayor, asked for an informal vote by show of hands. Although the loser of such a straw vote invariably challenged the count, the results as announced were remarkably good indications of how the polling would go. Out of some thirty-four such votes recorded in the Globe between June 28 and July 2, about 23 correctly predicted the election results.

For the most part campaigns were two men contests. There were very few three way efforts. Campaign costs were probably too high as the following quotation would suggest:

Taking it for granted that the party will furnish no funds, who will? Who stands ready to launch out from \$2000 to \$4000 for the glory of being the people's candidate for Parliament?¹

Just as nomination dates varied from riding to riding, so did the polling times, in spite of some editorial effort urging that elections be held on the same days throughout the province.² The earliest dates appear to be those for Northumberland West where elections were held June 27 and 28. Quite a number of ridings, including South Ontario and Kingston, went to the polls July 1 and 2. Toronto voted on the fifth and sixth as did also Stormont. Lambton, where Alexander Mackenzie was campaigning, polled on the fourth and fifth. The latest dates appear to be the ninth and tenth of July when over half a dozen constituencies held their vote.³ There was always the probability of

¹P.A.O., Northern Advance, June 5 1861, quoted from Port Hope Guide.

²Leader, May 29, 1861.

³Leader, June 27, 1861. Kingston date from Montreal Gazette, June 27, 1861.

an incident between the Irish Catholics and the Orange Association when the latter conducted its usual July ceremonies. This could prove embarrassing to the government. Macdonald, thus, saw to it that there be no polling "on or after the 12th of July as the Orange and the Green", as he put it, "will be hard at it."¹

If the dates of nominations and elections varied greatly from riding to riding, so did the population sizes of the constituencies. Niagara Town had 4,470 inhabitants while the district of Huron and Bruce had a population of 79,453.²

The franchise was extended to all males over twenty-one who were British subjects and owned or occupied property of \$300 assessed value or \$30 assessed yearly value in rural areas, these figures being reduced in urban districts to \$200 and \$20 respectively. Excluded from the franchise were judges, sheriffs, customs officers, recorders in cities, and election officials. Property worth 500 pounds was required of candidates seeking election.³

Voting was public. It was thus possible for Macdonald to prepare a booklet containing complete lists of electors in Kingston, ward by ward, showing exactly how each elector voted.⁴ Results of polling were always public, even results of the first day's voting. Problems con-

¹P.A.C., Sidney Smith Papers, Macdonald to Smith, May 28, 1861. M.G. 24, B.63.

²For official statistics on election results, see photostats in appendix.

³Globe, June 14, 1861.

⁴P.A.C., John A. Macdonald Papers, V. 298, pp. 136560-

cerning doubtful, tied, or disputed elections took considerable time to resolve. Some results were not declared final until 1863.¹

¹Coté, op. cit., p. 119.

CHAPTER IV

THE ISSUES

The address of S. Richards, shown on page twenty-two, refers to most of the greater issues of the election. The need of maintaining the union, the question of federation, the principle of representation by population, unauthorized government expenditures, aid to the Grand Trunk Railway, government extravagance, the bankruptcy law, all these were mentioned by Richards and were used by others. The Leader in its editorial of June 18 listed them and went on to argue that upon the election depended whether Canada would enjoy the British form of representative government or the American system.¹

The Stratford Beacon, an opposition paper, carried the issues each boxed separately and interspersed amongst the paragraphs of its editorials and news items. After every few inches of print the boxes screamed out slogans like the following:

VOTE FOR FOLEY - JUSTICE FOR UPPER CANADA.
 VOTE FOR FOLEY AND NO LOANS TO THE GRAND TRUNK.
 VOTE FOR FOLEY AND RETRENCHMENT.
 VOTE FOR FOLEY AND REPRESENTATION BY POPULATION
 VOTE FOR FOLEY and no expenditure of public money without
 the consent of Parliament.²

Representation by population was the most debated topic of the year. During the session of 1861 it was first discussed as an amendment to the Throne Speech. Having been voted down at that time, it was re-introduced by T. R. Ferguson in the form of a bill, which would have allowed one representative to ridings with populations between

¹Leader, June 18, 1861.

²P.A.O., Stratford Beacon, July 10, 1861.

fifteen and thirty thousand; two representatives to ridings with populations of thirty to sixty thousand; three to those reaching one hundred thousand, and four to all with even greater populations.¹ Although this would have withdrawn separate representation from some half dozen urban ridings in Canada West,² it would have given the region a majority in the assembly.

In the course of the lengthy debate on Ferguson's bill, the usual grievances and apprehensions were expressed. Members from Canada West complained of being dictated to by the French, and the French in turn showed their fear of likely British domination, should the bill pass. Voting for the bill would be consenting to suicide, said one of the French spokesmen.³

During the debate there were utterances made that the speakers later regretted. Cartier made the inference that natural resources as well as population should be a factor in considering representation, in which case the Cod fish in Gaspé made up for Lower Canada's population deficiency. The statement was immediately picked up by the English press as an insult to their readers.⁴ Macdonald himself got carried away during the debate and provided the opposition with material to use against him during the forthcoming campaign. Irritated by remarks made by Oliver Mowat, he called him a "damned pup" and

¹British Whig, April 18, 1861.

²Ibid. London, Niagara and Kingston would have lost separate representation.

³P.A.C., Morning Chronicle, Quebec, April 5, 1861.

⁴P.A.C., Montreal Witness, April 20, 1861.

threatened to slap his "chops".¹ The most regretted statement was made by William McDougall when he argued for the opposition that the people of Upper Canada, if denied justice in the matter of representation, might be driven to "look to Washington" for redress.² As will be shown later, this statement was seized upon as a sign of disloyalty on the part of the Liberals and was used extensively during the campaign.

The debate, ^{which} lasted for twenty days, ~~was~~ terminated by a motion giving the bill the "six months hoist."³ Feelings regarding the issue were so intense that the vote cut across party lines and split regional loyalties. Most of the Conservatives from Canada West opposed the motion. In fact only eight members from Upper Canada supported the "hoist", and five of the eight came from ridings east of Kingston.⁴

Opposed to the principle of representation by population during the actual campaign were a number of candidates in the eastern part of Upper Canada, the area east of Kingston, often referred to as Central Canada. In the county of Russel, both contestants placed themselves on record as opponents of the principle, and the riding rewarded them almost equally. R. Bell, who won the seat by two votes, argued that representation by population was not good for the Ottawa Valley.⁵

¹Globe, May 4, 1861.

²Globe, April 26, 1861.

³Morning Chronicle, April 26, 1861.

⁴Globe, April 27, 1861. Also see appendix p.

⁵P.A.C., Ottawa Citizen, July 5, 1861.

There was a feeling in the "valley" that its economic well-being was influenced by its relations with Lower Canada and that support of the representation proposal would estrange the French to the detriment of the valley and, in fact, all of Central Canada.

These sentiments were best expressed by John Sandfield Macdonald, member from Cornwall. "To Montreal we send our grain, our timber, our ashes," he said in a campaign speech. "From Montreal we obtain our money. From Upper Canada we only get bad law and worse chancery. No, our interests are with the East, and perhaps the best solution of the difficulty, if it were expressed much further, would be found in carrying the Province line to the Trent."¹ Although his arguments were made in support of maintaining the union, they do reveal the conviction that the future of Central Canada lay with the east.

On the question of representation John Sandfield Macdonald was equally outspoken. Representation by population, he was reported to have argued, was wrong because it caused a split between the English and French Liberals, making the existing coalition government possible.

The policy of Mr. Brown and his friends in regard to this question has been the very life of the government. He [Macdonald] could not forget the time when they [the French] stood shoulder to shoulder with Upper Canadian reformers in contending for principles and institutions now dear to all. They were treated honestly and they showed themselves worthy of confidence and respect. But Upper Canada by agitation for Rep. by Pop. has bullied, threatened and insulted them, and we see the result -- total estrangement from the Liberal party.²

¹W. L. Morton, The Critical Years (Toronto, 1964), p. 95.
Quoted from Leader, July 3, 1861.

²P.A.O., Barrie Northern Advance, July 3, 1861.

John A. Macdonald was as opposed to representation by population as was his kinsman from Cornwall. He was, of course, keenly aware that supporting the principle would be tantamount to dissolving the coalition government headed by him and Cartier. Representation by population was wrong, argued John A. Macdonald, because it implied universal suffrage, and because it did not take property into account. Furthermore, it was not used in England where things were going well, and it was used in the United States where it did not work well.¹

The Globe, in its June 25 issue, referred to Macdonald's stand on the question. First, it praised him faintly by commending him "for boldness in the promulgation of his policy on the hustings". It then went on to state that "at Kingston he again declared that he would oppose Rep. by Pop. to the last; that he would not grant Representation to Loafers. He also boasted that no constituency east of Kingston would return a member pledged to Representation by population."²

In Canada West, Isaac Buchanan, successful candidate for Hamilton, was accused of not favouring the representation proposal. He had one of his own. He would disenfranchise every person not resident in Canada at least ten years. "The rebellion in the United States had arisen entirely from the foreign population having been allowed to vote," he was quoted by the Hamilton Times,³ which later took him to task for his stand. "Today, he is conspiring with John A. Macdonald

¹Morning Chronicle, April 5, 1861.

²Globe, June 25, 1861.

³Hamilton Times, June 3, 1861.

and the little rebel, Cartier, against the principles and liberties of Upper Canada."¹

When the issue was debated in the last parliament, John Sandfield Macdonald sought to postpone action until after the publication of the findings of the census that was being taken that spring.² Although everybody was certain that the west's population was greater than that of the east, there was considerable interest as to just what the majority was. In May, the Leader estimated the total population at 2,700,000, with an English majority over the French of 180,000, a figure not larger, the paper stated, than the French majority in 1841.³ A few days later the Globe, using incomplete returns, reported a figure of 1,391,912 for Upper Canada as compared to 1,000,538 for Lower Canada.⁴ These reports continued as the results came in pointing out repeatedly the electoral injustice to Upper Canada which, with a much larger population, was limited to the same representation in parliament as that given to Lower Canada.

In the face of this information it became quite difficult to put oneself on record in Upper Canada as being opposed to representation by population. Very few candidates did. West of Kingston, candidates from both parties became supporters of the principle. John Crawford, who defeated Brown in Toronto, favoured it, and so did Jackson from Grey

¹Ibid., June 11, 1861.

²Morning Chronicle, April 5, 1861.

³Leader, May 13, 1861.

⁴Globe, May 17, 1861.

County, and Speaker Smith from Frontenac, the County in which John A. Macdonald's seat of Kingston was located. All these candidates were government supporters. Although the principle was mentioned in almost every published address and discussed in every speech, it was not really an issue of contention between the two parties, with one supporting and one opposing it. Probably the Liberals brought it up more frequently. Macdonald tended to ignore it, and does not appear to have alluded to it in his London speech in June.¹ The issue was more contentious in a regional rather than a partisan sense. There were members of both parties in Central Canada who opposed it and there were members of both parties in the west who favoured it.

The representation debate in the assembly produced a side issue of which Macdonald and his supporters made extensive use. It arose out of the notorious "look to Washington" statement made by McDougall on April 17. The Globe quoted him as follows:

The people of Upper Canada will never submit to such injustice as they now suffer, and are still threatened with for ten years longer. If their own efforts fail -- if the Imperial Parliament declines to interfere, then, Sir, they will look across the border for relief.²

The Montreal Gazette reported him as having said "that the people having been denied justice, they would have no alternative but to look to Washington."³ Two days after having made the statement, McDougall attempted to clarify it. "My argument was," he explained, "that if

¹Leader, June 15, 1861.

²Globe, April 26, 1861.

³P.A.C., Montreal Gazette, September 20, 1861.

this course of policy was [sic] pursued, the people of Upper Canada might be driven to look to Washington."¹ During the election campaign he felt constrained to give further interpretation to the statement. "I did not speak of it as a good to be desired, but an evil to be avoided."²

McDougall's explanation did not stop the ministerialists from continuing the disloyalty cry against the Liberals. It was, therefore, necessary to continue the defence. In June, Brown "explained the manner in which Washington was mentioned by Macdougall [sic] showing it to have been alluded to, not as the ministerialists have distorted it, as a desirable place to look to, but exactly the contrary."³ Later Brown was reported as having "distinctly denied" that McDougall had "ever used the words attributed to him about looking to Washington."⁴

Opposition newspapers rushed into the defence effort. "When he [McDougall] gave utterance to the sentiment which had been so warmly canvassed," wrote the London Free Press, "Mr. Foley and others at once called out, 'no, no!' Now Mr. Foley is the acknowledged pro tem mouth-piece of the opposition and his prompt and decided negative should be regarded as decisive as to the position of the main body of the Opposition."⁵ The Sarnia Observer pointed out that McDougall only stated

¹Morning Chronicle, April 19, 1861.

²Stratford Beacon, June 14, 1861.

³P.A.O., Oshawa Vindicator, June 26, 1861.

⁴Leader, July 2, 1861.

⁵P.A.O., London Free Press, April 24, 1861.

this as a last resort after all other measures had failed.¹

The disloyalty cry, however, continued unabated. Even the London Free Press, which had disassociated the Liberal party from any responsibility for the Washington statement, would not absolve McDougall of any guilt. The utterance was not merely an indiscreet remark, its editor claimed. "When a man is in passion, he often allows his secret desires and prejudices to escape him."² The Leader denounced both the author of the remark and his party. "It reveals the under-current of the Clear Grit party," the journal contended, and went on at some length:

We are quite willing that the coming general election shall be made to hinge upon the new Opposition preference as revealed by the North Oxford's representative. The lesson taught by the fate of the Great Republic is not thrown away upon the Canadian people. Now more warmly than ever they appreciate the excellence of British institutions; and something more potent than Opposition eloquence will be needed to persuade them to share the misfortunes of a country whose government has tumbled to pieces like a castle of cards whose future is hidden behind anarchy and ruin.³

The same sentiment was expressed with considerable oratorical skill by John Crawford in his campaign against Brown. "Are we, warm and loyal British subjects to look and see the glorious standard of our country -- are we, I say, to see that flag substituted for the shattered stripes of the neighboring Republic?"⁴

¹Sarnia Observer, April 25, 1861.

²London Free Press, June 28, 1861.

³Leader, April 23, 1861.

⁴Ibid., June 29, 1861.

The Civil War in the United States produced amongst Canadians a smug conviction of the superiority of all their institutions. Change resembling anything practised in the Republic was considered undesirable and dangerous. It was, therefore, a simple matter for the Conservatives to make "Preservation of the Union" one of their planks and to condemn the Grits for their stand taken at the 1859 convention, asking for division of Canada into two sections. This smacked of the system in the United States, the system that obviously was responsible for the horrible civil war. By the spring of 1861, even Grit clamour for political separation from Lower Canada was subsiding. "I think," wrote McDougall to Brown in April, "there is complete abandonment of the secession movement -- its failure is foreseen by all."¹ During the campaign, the Liberals tended to ignore their pronouncements of 1859. This was noted by the government press. "As a general thing," wrote the Leader in June, "the Grits are fully occupied in trying to bury their unfortunate platform. They find the people devoted to the Union that has given them so much of importance, and they [the Grits] wish it to be forgotten that they adopted a Disunion policy."² A few days later the charge was resumed: "Nor has their platform of 1859 adopted at the Toronto Convention fared ^[sic] better. Not a single candidate has declared his adherence to it during the contest."³

¹P.A.C., George Brown Papers, V.4, p. 587, McDougall to Brown, April 1, 1861.

²Leader, June 21, 1861.

³Ibid., July 6, 1861.

The issue held too much potential for the ministerialists to allow it to die just because the opposition wished it to. The Leader, chief ministerial mouthpiece in Upper Canada, was determined to keep it alive. It wrote about a "Grit conspiracy" to destroy the union and went on to point out the dire effects of the break-up of the union in the United States.¹ "The platform which the Grits erected in 1859 and on which they go to the country in 1861 is Dissolution of the Union."² The attack was continued in the July 1 issue: "The Union must be maintained and every man affected with an inclination to 'look to Washington' for relief, must be driven from the polls. Let 'The Union of the Canadas', and 'The Union with Great Britain' be the issue on which the battle is fought."³

The Leader was not alone in the attack. The Northern Advance followed the same vein in its June 17 issue.

What, then, are the principles of the great Conservative Party, as defined by their leaders, and written in letters that none can mistake? They are,
 British Connection,
 The British Constitution,
 Canada United.

They are in danger because one of the ablest of that party to which we now call all to present a united front, has told us that, under certain circumstances, he is prepared to look to Washington for aid.⁴

¹Leader, June 10, 1861.

²Ibid., June 12, 1861.

³Ibid., July 1, 1861.

⁴Northern Advance, June 17, 1861.

Right alongside the Northern Advance was the Chatham Planet. "The Clear Grit party in favour of a revolution," screamed the headline in one of its June issues. The paper quoted an old Globe editorial which stated that, "the sub-division of territory for local legislation, has undoubtedly secured to the United States the stability they at present enjoy." Having delivered the quotation, the Planet then continued:

From this, then, we are to take it for granted, that if the territory of Canada were divided, and "Joint Authority" set up for local purposes as the Grits desire, this fine country would undoubtedly secure stability which the United States at present enjoy. If Canadians really desire that stability -- which is no other than civil war, rebellion, bloodshed, assassination, anarchy -- they can obtain their ends by adopting the Globe's advice -- "sub-divide the territory."¹

Government candidates in the election, of course, took advantage of the issue so created and magnified. Robinson, in Toronto West, announced his opposition to dissolving the union. "He considered the great issues before the country at present were whether the existing Union between Upper and Lower Canada was any longer to have existence and whether Canada should be annexed to the United States."² In Toronto East, Crawford also went on record as opposing division.³ In fact, a government candidate's speech was not complete unless it had expression of loyalty to the Union, and the British connection.

It was John A. Macdonald who used the issue with greatest oratorical effect. "Whatever you do, adhere to the Union," he pleaded at

¹Chatham Planet, June 17, 1861.

²Leader, June 29, 1861.

³Ibid., June 20, 1861.

Hamilton in 1860. "We are a great country, and shall become one of the greatest if we preserve it; we shall sink into insignificance and adversity if we suffer it to be broken."¹ In a campaign speech in London next year, he was more forceful if somewhat less statesmanlike. "Our watchwords should be, union with England under Her Majesty, and the Union of the Canadas. Now that we hear people talking of 'looking to Washington' is the time to throw away petty differences, and say, 'we will not allow you.' Let these people not look to Washington, but let them go thither."²

The Globe launched a counter-attack almost as soon as the disloyalty charge was laid:

We perceive that Mr. J. A. Macdonald endeavoured last night to raise the cry of disloyalty against the Opposition. He should have paused and reflected that his premier ^[sic] [Cartier] carried a musket against the Crown at St. Dennis in 1837: that his Commissioner of Public Works and Finance Minister were chief advocates of annexation in the country, and that Mr. Sydney Smith and Mr. John Ross have frequently advocated connection with the United States in private. Compared with these gentlemen, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Macdougall [sic] are miracles of loyalty and devotion, and did no more than their duty in pointing out to the Imperial Government the danger of driving Upper Canada into a position, the sole outlet from which would be union with the States.³

At times the Liberal group lent credence to the disloyalty charge by the very utterances of its members. Mowat complained to Brown about this in a letter written in May. "Foley made me wrathful yesterday by expressing an emphatic approval of the Rebellion."⁴ Later an

¹Chatham Planet, July 4, 1861.

²Leader, June 15, 1861.

³Globe, April 20, 1861.

⁴P.A.C., George Brown Papers, V.4, p. 597, Mowat to Brown, May 7, 1861.

opposition newspaper stated that, "If nothing less than Revolution could rid us of the present system, it might be seriously debated whether revolution would not be justified."¹ At about the same time McDougall was quoted as having said: "The people had risen in the country once before and would surely rise again if the ministry were not ousted."²

Another issue producing frequent contention during the campaign was the Bankruptcy Bill, introduced during the last session by Macdonald. Consisting of over 86 pages and 370 sections, the Bill proposed to clear the debtor upon his surrender of all his property.³ The opposition immediately attacked it for a variety of reasons. The Bill was merely a copy of British legislation which was now looked upon as a failure and would soon be abolished.⁴ It was introduced too late in the session for proper study.⁵ It was too cumbersome, too unwieldy, complicated and expensive. Bankrupt estates would be "eaten up in Court costs, leaving very little for the creditors."⁶

On May 15, immediately after the defeat of a motion to give the Bill the "six months hoist," Macdonald addressed the House:

There was a vote taken the other day on the second reading of the Bill and an Upper Canada majority was found recorded against it. I looked upon that as a party vote. We had

¹Chatham Planet, June 20, 1861, quoting the Huron Signal.

²British Whig, June 24, 1861.

³P.A.C., Perth Courier, May 3, 1861.

⁴Sarnia Observer, May 3, 1861, quoting Mowat.

⁵London Free Press, April 27, 1861.

⁶Perth Courier, May 3, 1861.

another vote today with the same result. There is a majority from Upper Canada, although of only one or two against the passing of the Bill, and I must therefore take time to consider whether I ought to go on with the Bill or not.¹

The Bill was withdrawn by Macdonald, giving the opposition occasion to charge that it "was a mere sham from the beginning, and never intended to become law."² The Globe refused to accept Macdonald's announced reason for its withdrawal. "The pretence that the Ministry withdrew the Bill because it did not command an Upper Canada majority is rendered perfectly absurd by the passage, only a few nights before, of Mr. Sidney Smith's Jury Bill in spite of the vote in opposition of a very large Upper Canada Majority."³

Ministerial supporters denounced the Liberals for their stand since it was the Liberals who had first demanded such legislation.⁴ Macdonald charged that the bill was opposed by members who had not even read it. In defence of the bill he stated that it was patterned after a revised version of British legislation on bankruptcy. He promised to re-introduce it after the election.⁵

In addition to criticising the government for its handling of the bankruptcy legislation, the opposition attacked it for certain unconstitutional practices. The ministry was accused of violating

¹Globe, May 16, 1861.

²Perth Courier, May 23, 1861.

³Globe, May 15, 1861.

⁴Leader, June 17, 1861.

⁵London Free Press, June 14, 1861.

the constitution by keeping in the Executive Council a minister who was not duly elected to the Assembly, and by the spending of public funds without the consent of parliament.¹ The minister referred to was J. Morrison who served in council as solicitor-general. The accusation regarding the expenditure of funds involved, along with others, the Grand Trunk Railway.

The railway affair was practically an issue in itself. It started with an advance to the Grand Trunk of some one and a quarter million dollars. The money was not voted in supply. The Perth Courier was indignant, as would appear from the following:

After all the assertions of the government that no advances had been made to the Grand Trunk Railway, or to the Bank of Upper Canada, it is now satisfactorily proved that, during the last twelve months, large sums of the public money have been loaned to both corporations. Bad as these transactions are in every way, their worst feature is the fraud and falsehood by which they were attempted to be concealed.²

In the opposition camp there was confidence that the government's financial dealings would be the cause of the defeat of many ministerialist candidates.³ A concentrated effort was made to exploit the advantage. Over twenty newspapers in Upper Canada criticized the government's actions.⁴ It was accused of delaying the issuance of the report on the Grand Trunk till after the elections.⁵

¹Perth Courier, May 23, 1861.

²Perth Courier, May 17, 1861.

³P.A.C., George Brown Papers, V.4, E.P. Mackie to Brown, May 18, 1861.

⁴Globe, June 11, 1861.

⁵Hamilton Times, June 5, 1861.



Names were published of members who supported the ministry when the advance was made.¹ In the Globe were featured lengthy four and five column articles condemning the loan. "The Country Robbed of Twenty Million!" read a headline introducing one of these.²

In an address at Kingston (and on other occasions), Macdonald defended the government. Part of the grant, he said, was simply payment to the company for carriage of mail, part was made to keep the trains moving during a period of heavy snowfall, part to prevent a strike of company employees, and part to avert the railway's insolvency during the visit of the Prince of Wales. Some of the grant, he explained, was a loan against either the company's own bonds or its holdings in Toronto City bonds. Almost a quarter of a million dollars, he added, had already been repaid.³

The government was attacked also for its handling or bungling of other financial matters. "They [the government] have increased the public debt from \$30,000,000 to \$70,000,000 in less than four years," wrote the Sarnia Observer. "They have trebled the taxation of the people! They have given \$5,000,000 out of the Provincial Chest to pay the estates of Lower Canada farmers! They have saddled Upper Canada with seventy percent of the contributions to the public."⁴ The government was also accused of operating under a deficit of four million dollars. The public debt had increased from 29 to over 30 million dollars, just 1½ less than total net revenue.⁵

¹Globe, May 9, 1861.

²Ibid., June 11, 1861.

³Leader, June 14, 1861.

⁴Sarnia Observer, July 5, 1861.

⁵Globe, June 10, 1861.

All this was caused by plain extravagance, the Globe claimed, extravagance in the form of "wholesale increase in salaries" and "scandalous pensions".¹ Expenditures on the Ottawa building already largely exceeded estimates, and enormous additional funds would be necessary.² Cases were cited of port revenue collectors receiving salaries that exceeded collections for those ports.³ The loss at Port Collingwood, for example, was over nine hundred dollars.⁴ Even though Macdonald might argue that increased population demanded increased expenditures, the cry for "retrenchment" in financial matters was quite general and there were few candidates that did not favour it.

There were also issues of a religious nature. The Catholic press was concerned about the rights of its Church. To the Mount Forest Express there was the question of "whether the principle of Religious Equality or that of Protestant Ascendency, shall rule Canada."⁵ There were also complaints of Catholics being overlooked in the handing out of government patronage. This brought out the following rejoinder^d from the British Herald: "Are offices to be distributed in proportion to population? So many to the Church of England, so many to the Presbyterians, Methodists, Roman Catholics ... without reference to fitness, or claims on the public?"⁶

¹Globe, June 14, 1861.

²Ibid., May 11, 1861.

³Hamilton Times, June 1, 1861.

⁴P.A.O., Newmarket Era, June 7, 1861.

⁵P.A.O., Mount Forest Express, June 14, 1861.

⁶P.A.O., British Herald, June 5, 1861.

To the Catholics the great menace to their rights was George Brown. They, therefore, put up "vigorous and combined action" against him in Toronto and his supporters elsewhere.¹ In fact they seemed to prefer the Orange people to the Grits, noting more humour than menace in the following sally from the British Whig: "There is an Orangeman residing near Young [sic] Street so prejudiced against Catholic ceremonies that he cannot bear to see two streets crossing one another."²

If the Catholics had their fears so did the Methodists. Theirs was the concern about government aid to colleges. They demanded that each college be "treated alike irrespective of religion."³ The Wesleyan Conference, held during the campaign, urged the election of "candidates in favour of University reform and equal rights of colleges according to their work".⁴ Methodists were advised by the conference "not to vote for any man or any party who opposed this all-important reform."⁵

Another religious issue that seemed to be causing some vexation was the age-old one of clergy reserves. This prompted Macdonald, in his Kingston address, to promise a final settlement in the matter.⁶

¹P.A.O., True Witness and Catholic Chronicle, July 12, 1861.

²British Whig, April 18, 1861.

³P.A.O., Christian Guardian, June 12, 1861.

⁴Ibid., June 19, 1861.

⁵Ibid., July 3, 1861.

⁶Leader, June 14, 1861.

The issues of the election, as can be seen, were rather numerous. Macdonald seemed to play down the representation question and preferred to dwell on the need of preserving the union and the British connection. He seemed to delight in his accusations of disloyalty on the part of the opposition, linking it with revolution and the horrors of civil war.

There were, however, candidates that either did not understand the great questions of the day, or just would not commit themselves. One of these was Cyrus Sumner, candidate for East Middlesex. The following is his address to the electors:

Being called upon by a large number of the most influential electors of the riding, I consider it only my duty to declare the course I am to take in Parliament to which I, through your influence and kindness, am about to be elected.

In the first place, one of the great questions by which the country is now agitated is the Bankruptcy Law. On this question I am sound.

On Rep. by Pop. I am also sound. I do not consider a French Canadian should be allowed to open his mouth.

On Separate Schools, I am an advocate for everyone in the country giving his child or children whatever kind of education he may think proper.

On the question of a Homestead Law, I consider that every man has the right to keep and retain to his own use whatever he may have the good luck to get his hands on.

I may well say that I am a Conservative and all the traditions of my house are Conservative, my grandfather having been a United Empire Loyalist.¹

Mr. Cyrus Sumner did not get elected.

The main feature of the opposition campaign was criticism of the government record. This is probably best illustrated by the following extract from Foley's address in Perth County:

¹London Free Press, June 11, 1861.

The present administration by their daring and unscrupulous usurpation of powers vested in them by the constitution -- by their reckless attempts to govern the people of this section of the country in defiance of their well-understood wishes and feelings, by means of a minority of their representatives in Parliament and by the instrumentality of a subserviant majority from the other section -- by their reckless and wanton extravagance and misappropriation in the management and distribution of public funds -- have justly forfeited the confidence and respect of every man who really values the institutions and the liberties inherited by us from our forefathers.¹

It was the purpose of this chapter to discuss the more outstanding and universal issues of the election. There were others, but these were of a purely local and municipal nature dealing with canals, ports, drainage and other public works.

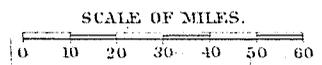
The next three chapters shall deal with some of the events occurring during the campaign. The first of these will be devoted to the campaign in Central Canada. The next chapter will deal with the ridings bordering on, or lying north, of the north shore of Lake Ontario. The third will concern itself with the western ridings which lie largely between Lakes Ontario and Huron.

¹Stratford Beacon, July 5, 1861.

MAP OF CANADA WEST IN COUNTIES,
a photostatic copy of a print
in the Public Archives of Canada
dated 1861.



MAP OF 8.
CANADA WEST
IN
COUNTIES.



8.

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CHAPTER V

THE CAMPAIGN IN CENTRAL CANADA

The district known as Central Canada was a somewhat triangular area with the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence Rivers forming two of its sides. Filling in the third side, and separating the district from the more westerly settlements was the Frontenac Axis, a narrow projection of the Pre-Cambrian Shield running southward to cut across the St. Lawrence a little below Kingston. Isolated from the west, the region found its economic interests to lie in the opposite direction, as pointed out by the flow of its two great rivers as they rushed toward Montreal and the open sea. In a sense, Central Canada had its back turned to the rest of the English-speaking province.

Politically, the district was the most placid in the province. The campaign here was the most orderly, and the contests the least turbulent. Three members were returned by acclamation.¹ Since at least nine of the area's sixteen ridings had rather solid Conservative traditions,² it is hardly surprising that eleven ministerial candidates were elected.

¹Manitoba Provincial Library, Sessional Papers of the First Session of the Seventh Parliament of the Province of Canada, 1862, V. xx, No. 4, Sessional Papers No. 24.

Note: Unless otherwise cited, all statistical information concerning the election should be deemed to have been taken from the above source. See appendix for photostatic copies.

²Cornell, op. cit., Figure VI. Unless otherwise cited, all information regarding political traditions of constituencies should be deemed to have been derived from this source.

Amongst the ridings that declared for the government was Frontenac, the borderland constituency touching partly on Lake Ontario and partly on the St. Lawrence. In the past, Frontenac had been unswervingly Conservative. Its sitting member was Henry Smith, speaker of the last House. At one time he had served the Conservatives in the capacity of solicitor-general, but in 1861 he ran as an opponent of the ministry, demanding representation by population and condemning the government for its financial policies and its unconstitutional practices.¹ Although his campaign meetings appear to have been well attended,² he lost by seventy-five votes to a novice in politics, a local Justice of the Peace and brewer by the name of James Morton.³ Like many another Canadian riding, Frontenac was not ready to change its political affiliation and, in fact, did not throughout the union era.

In the neighboring constituency of Leeds South, a government supporter was also elected. He was Mr. B. Tett, a lumber dealer and Justice of the Peace, who had campaigned unsuccessfully in 1838 and 1854, and was elected for the first time in 1857⁴. Tett was opposed by Albert Richards, a Liberal rated by the Leader as "the weakest candidate the Liberal-Conservatives could have to encounter".⁵ However, Richards was underestimated for he lost by only seventeen votes.

¹Globe, June 19, 1861. Also Carleton Place Herald, June 26, 1861.

²British Whig, June 21, 1861.

³P.A.C., Henry J. Morgan, Canadian Parliamentary Companion, First Year, 1862, p. 35.

⁴Morgan, op. cit., p. 41.

⁵Leader, June 13, 1861.

The town of Brockville also elected a government supporter, this one in the person of George Sherwood, Q.C. Sherwood was no novice in politics, having been elected in 1841 and in 1857. He had on occasion served as receiver-general and member of the railroad commission.¹ In the past, his electoral victories had come rather easily, but in 1861 he must have undergone some anxious moments for, on nomination day, when the show of hands was called for, the count went in favor of his opponent.² This was brought about by the energy of the local Reform Association which was in the field as early as mid-May.³ Sherwood, however, need not have worried for at the polls his majority turned out to be quite substantial.

The only other riding to return a government supporter from the St. Lawrence River front was Dundas where J. S. Ross, a merchant, was successful in his first attempt at the polls.⁴ Grenville South, Cornwall, Stormont and Glengarry all elected opposition candidates.

Grenville first elected W. Patrick in 1851 as a supporter of the Reform government then in power. In 1854 he was re-elected and soon became a supporter of the new Morin-MacNab government thus becoming a Coalition-Reformer. In May, 1856, he crossed into the opposition and in the election that took place the next year was returned by Grenville, now as a Liberal.⁵ In 1861 he was again returned as such with a majority of ninety-four over Jessup, his opponent.

¹Morgan, op. cit., p. 39.

²British Whig, June 25, 1861.

³Globe, May 10, 1861.

⁴Morgan, op. cit. p. 38.

⁵Cornell, op. cit., pp. 103-108.

Seeking re-election in Cornwall was John Sandfield Macdonald, a Liberal who had represented Glengarry in the first five parliaments. He was returned from Cornwall to the next parliament and, no doubt, claimed the honour of being the most senior member in the House, there being no one else to have served as long as he had.¹ In 1861 he defeated his opponent, Elliot, by 114 votes, and in the election of 1863 was returned by acclamation. He thus has the distinction of being the only person to have served in all of the parliaments of the union period.² He had other claims to distinction for he served as speaker in the fourth parliament, as member of the Executive Council in the sixth, and Premier in the seventh and eighth.³

However, in 1861, as an opposition member, he was of doubtful value to the Liberals. As already pointed out, he would not support their demands for representation by population. During the last session when Brown was absent because of illness and the opposition floundered, ^{Sandfield} ~~he~~ took pains to disclaim leadership of the group. "I am not the leader of the Opposition;" he announced to an amused Assembly, "I don't ask to be, I don't claim to be, and I don't want to be".⁴ The Leader classified him as one of the "Central Canada Balancers". It went on to say that "three years ago, Mr. Sandfield Macdonald was in close union with the Grits. He joined in the Two

¹Coté, op. cit., pp. 63-83.

²Ibid.,

³Cornell, op. cit., pp. 103-111.

⁴Morning Chronicle, Mar. 18, 1861.

Days Government of 1858. Now he is neither with them nor of them."¹

Confident of election in Cornwall, Sandfield Macdonald decided to contest Stormont as well. This none-too-wise course of action pitted him against Samuel Ault, also an opposition candidate, and might have aided the ministerialists by splitting the Liberal vote. An attempt was made to have both contestants withdraw in favour of a third. Ault agreed to the proposal but Macdonald would not.² Even on nomination day after the show of hands definitely favoured Ault, Macdonald refused to withdraw his name.³ "We hope that the show of hands affords a good indication of the state of the constituency," wrote the Globe. It did. No government candidate was put forth, and Ault won the seat by a substantial majority.

The Conservatives did not contest Glengarry, the most easterly of the St. Lawrence ridings. Glengarry had consistently voted Reform or Liberal since the first days of the union. Donald A. Macdonald, a railroad contractor⁴ and sitting member for the riding, was returned by acclamation as he was to be again in 1863.

Since both parties won four seats each from the St. Lawrence River ridings, it might be said that strength was fairly evenly divided in this area.

The same cannot be said of the Ottawa Valley. In some respects the seven Ottawa constituencies were like one riding. They all but one returned Conservative candidates. While others were pre-occupied with a number of issues pertaining to the province at large, the

¹Leader, May 9, 1861.

²Globe, June 25, 1861.

³Ibid., June 28, 1861.

⁴Morgan, op. cit. p. 32.

candidates of the Ottawa Valley had only one great concern in mind - - the welfare of the Ottawa Valley. This particularism was encouraged by the Ottawa Citizen when it predicted or warned that few members who had neglected Ottawa interests would be re-elected.¹ Candidates took heed and hastened to proclaim their intention to work in the interests of the Valley.

Prescott returned H. W. McCann, an opponent of representation by population and a Justice of the Peace² whom the riding had been re-electing since 1854.

In Russell constituency the contest lay between Dr. Hunter and Robert Bell, a large land owner and President of the Ottawa-Prescott Railroad.³ The candidates placed the electorate in somewhat of a quandary. Both were expressly solicitous of the Valley's interests, both favoured "retrenchment", both promised to support the union and both agreed that representation by population was "not good for the Valley".⁴ The perplexed riding gave both an almost equal number of votes, favouring Bell by two.

Carleton County and Ottawa City were more decisive in choosing their representatives. The former gave a native son, and a ministerial member of long standing, an overwhelming majority. In Ottawa it was an acclamation for R. W. Scott, a barrister and attorney at

¹P.A.C., Ottawa Citizen, June 18, 1861.

²Morgan, op. cit., p. 33

³Ibid., p. 20, 1861.

⁴Ottawa Citizen, June 28, 1861.

law.¹ This was his second electoral success, but the acclamation was a bit surprising, as in 1857 he had been strongly opposed.²

In Renfrew, the most northerly of the counties in Canada West, it appeared that the struggle would ^{be}waged between W. N. Reid and D. McLachlin. Both men had published addresses in which they promised to support the government and to look after the interests of the county.³ Somewhere during the campaign Reid dropped out for the records show that it was a candidate by the name of Smith that opposed the winner, Mr. McLachlin, a Justice of the Peace and lumber dealer⁴ who, in his address, offered land and buildings at Arnprior for use as the county seat.⁵

Most of the Lanark County lies remote from Ottawa River. In fact some of its southern reaches are actually closer to the St. Lawrence. It was Lanark North that broke the political unanimity of the Valley. The riding maintained its Liberal tradition by returning Robert Bell, a namesake of the member from Russell. It was an acclamation for Bell, in fact his second. Like so many other successful candidates in this election, Bell was a Justice of the Peace.⁶

¹Morgan, op. cit., p. 38.

²Leader, June 24, 1861.

³Ottawa Citizen, July 2, 1861.

⁴Morgan, op. cit., p. 34.

⁵Ottawa Citizen, June 21, 1861.

⁶Morgan, op. cit., p. 20

In Lanark South nominations were held July 1. Although four nominations were made accompanied by the usual speeches and show of hands, the event was a sedate, unexciting affair.¹ The show of hands went for John Doran, a Grit candidate who regretted the rising public debt, favoured both the maintenance of the union and the institution of representation by population, opposed financial aid to the Grand Trunk, and supported strongly the choice of Ottawa as the seat of government.² By election time the contest had narrowed down to Doran and Alexander Morris, who, like his opponent, regretted the debt, favoured maintenance of the union, opposed aid to the Grand Trunk, and supported Ottawa as the seat of government. But he did not advocate representation by population, he opposed separate schools, and he was not a Grit.³ That apparently was enough to bring him a majority of over four hundred.

The riding of Leeds and Grenville lay to the south of Lanark. It was created in 1854 out of the northern portions of the counties after which it was named. It started as a Reform riding but was led into the Conservative camp when its representative chose to support the coalition in 1854. In 1861, it was contested by a Mr. Jones and a Mr. Smith. Apparently there was so little to choose between Mr. Jones and Mr. Smith that the electorate appeared hard put to make a selection. An eleven vote majority was finally given Francis Jones, a civil engineer and also a Justice of the Peace.⁴

¹Perth Courier, July 5, 1861.

²P.A.C., Carleton Place Herald, June 6, 1861.

³Ibid., July 3, 1861.

⁴Morgan, op. cit., p. 31.

Dates of polling varied from riding to riding. In Cornwall voting took place on the first and second of July; in Glengarry on the third and fourth; in Frontenac, and in Leeds and Grenville, on the eighth and ninth. In all, eleven Conservatives and five Liberal members were returned. There were three acclamations, one Conservative and two Liberal.

It was originally planned to include Kingston in this study of the campaign in Central Canada, since the city lies within the bounds of the County of Frontenac which is treated in this chapter. However, unlike Frontenac which lies mainly on the shore of the St. Lawrence, Kingston is located completely on the lake. Moreover, the campaign in Kingston differed so much from the campaigns in the ridings to the east, and resembled so greatly those to the west that it was decided to deal with it in the next chapter in which the constituencies to the north of Lake Ontario will be examined.

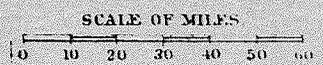
MAP SHOWING REGIONS DISCUSSED,
AND AREAS WON BY EACH PARTY.

Regions are marked off with solid lines running in a general north to south direction. The numerals 1, 2, and 3 stand for Central Canada, the Lake Ontario Region, and the Western Ridings respectively.

Ridings won by the Liberals are shaded with horizontal lines.



MAP OF 8.
CANADA WEST
IN
COUNTIES.



CHAPTER VI

THE LAKE ONTARIO REGION

There were twenty-two ridings in the Lake Ontario region. These ridings lay in counties that, but for three exceptions, ranged along the Lake. The exceptions were the counties of Peterborough, Victoria, and Simcoe, the last-named actually bordering on Georgian Bay. Here, as in Central Canada, the Conservatives elected the greater number of members. Here, however, the campaigns were more aggressive, the majorities more pronounced. There were no acclamations here as compared to three in Central Canada. Four of the elections in the lake area were controverted while only one was in Central Canada.¹

The most easterly riding was Kingston, John A. Macdonald's seat since 1854. In the past it had been considered a safe riding insofar as Macdonald was concerned, but in 1861 the campaign gave him moments of anxiety, for his opponent turned out to be Oliver Mowat, the man he had once called a "damned pup" and might have slapped across the "chops" had others not intervened.²

Mowat, motivated partly by revenge,³ arranged a most energetic campaign. On June 4, he won the official Grit nomination and immediately a "requisition" supported by a goodly number of signatures appeared in the press requesting that he run for election. The campaign continued

¹Manitoba Provincial Library, Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada, 1862, V. 20, pp. xxvii - xxx (Index)

²Creighton, op. cit., p. 310.

³Ibid.

with the organization of a mass meeting in the park,¹ the procurement of musical bands,² and the founding of a newspaper to support Mowat.³ On the tenth, Mowat made an auspicious entry into Kingston, his arrival thus described by the Globe:

Mr. Mowat was received by the Opposition of that city in the most enthusiastic manner. A procession was formed nearly a mile in length which escorted him from the station. A vast crowd assembled in the City Hall, and addresses were delivered by Mr. Mowat and Mayor Gildersleeve.⁴

All this, if one were to go by Globe reports, was quite in contrast to Macdonald's arrival a day earlier. There was no reception and poor Macdonald was obliged to resort to personal soliciting from house to house.⁵ Actually he had no want of supporters, for he had started organizing his committees as early as May 30⁶ and had succeeded in getting the services of some of the most influential citizens to conduct his campaign.⁷ His requisition alone was signed by 150 people, including four councillors and nine aldermen.⁸

But the campaign was full of unpleasant experience. Mowat supporters constantly badgered and disrupted his meetings. The very first, held on the day of Mowat's arrival was hacked by hoots, hisses,

¹Globe, June 6, 1861.

²Montreal Gazette, June 12, 1861.

³Globe, June 11, 1861.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., June 13, 1861.

⁶Ibid., June 5, 1861.

⁷Montreal Gazette, June 11, 1861.

⁸British Whig, (Kingston), June 11, 1861.

heckling, and calls for Mowat.¹ There appeared to be a reluctance on the part of a large segment of the audience to pledge support to him, and eventually a fight broke out in the town hall. A western newspaper carried a detailed account of the commencement of the fracas:

No sooner did Mr. Macdonald and the chairman vacate their seats, then Mr. Thomas Robinson and another man mounted the table. Thomas Robinson was addressing the meeting when the table on which he stood was pitched from off the platform five feet down and he fell headlong among the dense mass close to the railing.²

The next day went just as badly for Macdonald. His second meeting of the day, held in a school house, was interrupted by stones hurled through the windows.³ This was followed by an unsuccessful bodily assault by the Mowat people.⁴

That Macdonald and his friends suffered some misgivings during the campaign, there is little doubt. "We are all broken up," he wrote the day after the Liberal nomination of Mowat as candidate, "and it is out of question for us to consider anything but our own Elections for some time."⁵ Faced by the unfriendly elements in the audience at his meeting at the town hall, he again expressed some apprehension: "Gentlemen, I am on my trial -- I feel that I am on my trial."⁶

¹Globe, June 13, 1861. Also British Whig, June 13, 1861.

²Hamilton Times, June 14, 1861.

³Leader, June 24, 1861.

⁴Creighton, op cit., p. 312.

⁵Ryerson Papers, Macdonald to Ryerson, June ,5 1861.

⁶Creighton, op. cit., p. 312.

Even his supporters were worried. "Some of our contemporaries, friendly to the good cause", wrote the British Whig, "are expressing a little anxiety as to the result of the contest between Hon. J. A. Macdonald and the Hon. Oliver Mowat."¹

Both candidates were busy with commitments elsewhere. Since Mowat was also contesting Ontario South, it was necessary for him to spend some time there. Macdonald, as party leader, was often asked to assist his colleagues in other ridings. Thus, in its issue of June 13, the British Whig reported that "the Hon. John A. McDonald [sic] and the Hon. Oliver Mowat have both gone west, the former to London and the latter to Toronto."²

Nomination day came on Saturday, June 22, the same day that was selected as nomination day in Ontario South. Mowat got George Brown to represent him there and attended in person at Kingston.³ In Kingston the occasion was a noisy, colorful, circus-like spectacle according to Donald Creighton:

....each side struggled desperately to provide its candidates with the larger escort to the hustings. Macdonald's procession, headed by two bands and by a long string of decorated wagons and carriages, was apparently the more numerous. But both sides were strong; there were continual interruptions and noisy exchanges; and Mowat, who gave the longer of the two speeches, seemed exhausted after his great effort in the hot sun.⁴

There was considerable rowdiness during Macdonald's speech in which he "attacked Rep. by Pop. once more, insisting that the interests

¹British Whig, June 2, 1861.

²Ibid., June 13, 1861.

³Montreal Gazette, June 24, 1861.

⁴Creighton, op. cit., p. 313.

of Kingston were inseparably bound up with the St. Lawrence and the Central Canadian region, and that it would be outrageous folly for such a constituency to assist in giving the West a numerical preponderance in parliament.¹

When it was announced that the show of hands favoured Macdonald, Mowat's supporters, of course, questioned the accuracy of the count.² But Macdonald had the last word on July 2, the second of the two days fixed as polling days in Kingston. In every one of the seven wards he gained a majority, overwhelming in most cases. In Sydenham ward the count in favour of Macdonald was 110 to 61, in Cataraqui 117 to 61, in Ontario 110 to 91, in St. Lawrence 180 to 56. Only in Rideau ward could the results be said to be close. Macdonald got 118 votes to Mowat's 102.

During the campaign Macdonald took time off to speak at Napanee, in the riding of Lennox and Addington, in favour of D. Roblin who had supported the government since 1854.³ Like Macdonald, Roblin was opposed to Rep. by Pop. To him, as to many of his contemporaries, Rep. by Pop. implied universal suffrage and to that he was opposed. "I am not in favour," he stated in his published address, "of giving the laborer in the city, who is only able to earn sixty cents a day the same representation in the councils of our country as the independent Farmer who owns his own one or two hundred acres."⁴ Notwithstanding Macdonald's support, Roblin was defeated by Augustus Hooper, who put himself on record as favoring Rep. by Pop.⁵

¹Ibid.

²Leader, June 24, 1861.

³British Whig, June 28, 1861.

⁴Ibid., June 27, 1861.

⁵Ibid., June 26, 1861.

It was Hooper's first success at the polls, but his election was protested and it was not till March 1862 that he was declared duly elected and was able to feel secure in his victory.¹ At first there was some doubt as to his party affiliations, but the Leader claimed him for the ministry² and Hooper demonstrated it to be right.³ We have a case here of a candidate who was, in effect, opposed by the party leader getting elected and becoming a supporter of the party. This is just one of several paradoxical results of the election.

In the riding of Prince Edward, a ministerialist was also elected. He was a justice of the peace and past treasurer of the Orange Association.⁴ It was William Anderson's first election, too, but unlike Hooper who had a majority of almost 400, Anderson won by only 32 votes. Anderson's election was not disputed.

The two Hastings ridings split their allegiance. Hastings North returned George Benjamin, the Grand Master of the Orange Association, and somewhat of an author.⁵ He defeated L. Wallbridge, Q.C., a barrister and attorney. Wallbridge was also contesting the south riding and was returned from there for the opposition.

The twin ridings of Northumberland were also divided between the opposing parties. Sydney Smith, the Postmaster General, contested

¹Coté, op. cit., p. 116.

²Leader, July 12, 1861.

³Cornell, op. cit., p. 109.

⁴Morgan, op. cit., p. 14.

⁵Ibid., p. 21.

the west riding against James Cockburn. From Macdonald's letter to him, it would appear that Smith was confident of election. "Alleyre tells me you do not anticipate a contest," the letter read. "I hope not -- for then you can devote yourself to the surrounding constituencies."¹ As it turned out, a contest did develop, making it necessary for Macdonald to come out to Smith's aid "as an effect on the Orangemen."² A Globe report stated that the show of hands on nomination day favoured Cockburn but a partial sheriff-chairman declared for Smith. Even Macdonald, the report claimed, felt that Cockburn "had it."³ The report was probably correct for Cockburn defeated Smith at the polls, thus augmenting Macdonald's post election difficulties in replenishing the cabinet.

Since Cockburn turned out to be a government supporter, this became another instance in which a ministerialist other than the one supported by the party leader was returned. It was rumoured that McDougall would contest the riding.⁴ He visited the riding and made a public address at Cobourg one evening, narrowly escaping bodily injury when the gas was turned off in the building and someone attempted to strike him in the darkness.⁵ McDougall, however, did not contest the seat and there was no Liberal candidate in the field at the conclusion of the campaign.

¹P.A.C., Sydney Smith Papers, John A. Macdonald to Sydney Smith, May 28, 1861.

²Globe, June 27, 1861.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., June 13, 1861.

⁵Globe, June 17, 1861.

The east riding of Northumberland returned a Liberal in J. L. Biggar, a native son, owner of a large merchandising business and member of the senate of Victoria-Cobourg College.¹ Although Biggar's majority was 185, the defeated candidate, A. H. Meyers, petitioned against him, and it was not till February 1863 that Biggar was declared duly elected.²

Immediately back of Northumberland lay the constituency of Peterborough. With a population of 24,651³, it could be classified as one of the larger ridings in the province. Lt. Col. F. W. Haultain beat out W. S. Conger by 36 votes and held the seat in spite of a petition against the return. There was some uncertainty as to Haultain's party affiliation. The Leader placed him with the Liberals, but his record in the Assembly showed him to be a ministerialist.⁴

Durham County returned two opposition members. In the east riding the successful candidate was J. S. Smith, a barrister and attorney,⁵ who nosed out, by five votes, F. H. Burton who had held the seat since 1854. It was a dubious victory and the election was disputed, eventually to be declared void in 1863⁶. In the interim J. S. Smith, brother of Sydney Smith of Northumberland, held on to the seat and voted against the government.⁷ In the general election

¹Morgan, op. cit., p. 21.

²Coté, op. cit., p. 116.

³Census figures per constituency are listed in the appendix along with election statistics.

⁴Cornell, op. cit., p. 109.

⁵Morgan, op. cit., p. 39.

⁶Coté, op. cit., p. 117.

⁷Cornell, op. cit., p. 109.

of 1863 he was again elected, this time by a majority of 46.

The west riding of Durham elected a Liberal in H. Munro, a Justice of the Peace and ~~a~~ two-time winner.¹ His majority was 319, but in 1863 it dwindled to 62.

Just north of Durham, the riding of Victoria turned out its sitting member, J. Cameron, a recognized Tory, and replaced him with J. W. Dunsford whose political allegiance was uncertain. The Leader reported that he was selected as candidate by the local Grit convention and bluntly predicted that at the polls "he will have no chance."² He supported the government in its choice of speaker in the session of 1862, but voted against it by supporting McDougall's amendment to the Throne Speech regretting that there was no "allusion" in it towards the granting of representation by population.³ Cornell places him on the government side as a Coalition Reformer in 1862, as a Liberal in 1863, and as a Liberal supporter of the coalition in 1864.⁴

Lying immediately west of Victoria was the riding of Ontario North, one of the many new constituencies to be established by an act passed in 1853 enlarging the Legislative Assembly from 84 to 130 seats, 65 from each of the earlier Canadas.⁵ Ontario North ousted J. Gould, a Liberal and the only member it had known in its short existence. The man replacing Gould was M. C. Cameron, a Conservative

¹Morgan, op. cit., p. 35.

²Leader, June 18, 1861.

³Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada, 1862, V. 20, pp. 2 and 33.

⁴Cornell, op. cit., pp. 109-111.

⁵Ibid., p. 36.

who lasted until 1863 when he was displaced by McDougall. In 1864 he regained the seat when McDougall unsuccessfully sought re-election after accepting office in the coalition cabinet.¹

Ontario South was also a new constituency. In all its history, right down to 1867, Ontario South sent in a Liberal. In 1854 it was J. M. Lumsden. After that it was Oliver Mowat without exception, and by substantial majorities.² Mowat, it will be remembered, was also contesting Kingston in 1861. His address to the riding took the usual Grit stand on Rep. by Pop., the Grand Trunk aids, and the school question.³ His opponent was Captain Rowes who, in his address, stated that he had been asked to run at the "eleventh hour." "My interests" the address read, "are those of an Upper Canada and an Ontario man; and if elected [sic], I shall go into Parliament pledged to no man or party, but to work and vote for Upper Canada interests."⁴ Mowat's strongest ally in the campaign was George Brown, owner of the Globe. The June 10 issue of the Globe bore an editorial supporting Mowat and urging the electors of the riding to allow him to contest Kingston.⁵ Since nominations for both ridings were fixed for the same day, making it impossible for Mowat to attend both, it was Brown that represented him in his absence at Whitby, South Ontario.⁶

¹Ibid., p. 58.

²Ibid., pp. 109-111.

³British Whig, June 26, 1861.

⁴Oshawa Vindicator, June 28, 1861.

⁵Globe, June 10, 1861.

⁶Montreal Gazette, June 24, 1861.

The three ridings within the county of York were Liberal strongholds, returning their men with very convincing majorities. The contestants in the north riding were James Beachell and Adam Wilson. Beachell, an "import"¹ into the riding, apparently had no idea of becoming a candidate till he arrived at Newmarket on the day of nomination.² His address to the constituency included the following statement:

I shall reserve to myself, if elected, the free and independent right of voting on all measures brought before the Legislature, irrespective of the source from whence they may emanate, as they shall appear to me to be for or against the general interests of the country.³

Beachell went on to say that he favoured Rep. by Pop. and a federal union of all the British North American colonies, and that he opposed unauthorized government spending. The portion of his address quoted above labelled him as an "independent." To the Grit populace an independent candidate was a ministerialist or, as William Lyon Mackenzie put it, "a man upon whom no dependence can be placed."⁴ The district gave him but 142 votes as compared to 1016 for Wilson, the sitting member.

The closest vote took place in the east riding where a majority of only 141 was cast for Amos Wright, a saw-mill owner, member of Victoria College senate and representative of the constituency since 1851.⁵

¹Newmarket Era, July 5, 1861.

²Ibid.

³Globe, July 6, 1861.

⁴Hamilton Times, June 1, 1861.

⁵Morgan, op. cit., p. 43.

In York West a certain measure of sportsmanship was practised by William Howland, the opposition candidate. He invited his opponent to participate in a meeting scheduled by the Liberals. The invitation was accepted and in due course the candidates and other dignitaries assembled upon an improvised stage. The Leader thus describes the occasion:

But lo and behold the folly of Conservatives trusting themselves on a Clear Grit platform, for no sooner had the chairman opened his mouth and said, "Gentlemen," then the whole affair bodily gave way and down came the Conservatives, Clear Grits, and chairman and all pell-mell to the ground.¹

The Conservative candidate was N. L. Denison, although there was little to distinguish him from a Grit. He fought for "justice for Upper Canada", advocated Rep. by Pop., and opposed unauthorized government spending.² It mattered little in that rural community that he was a "farmer's friend", was, indeed, a farmer himself, and served in the executive of the local agricultural society.³ And it did not help him that he was born in the riding.⁴ The great majority preferred Howland who was a Justice of the Peace, a wholesale merchant, president of the board of trade, and was born in the United States of America.⁵

It was within the confines of York County and the lake that Toronto was located. The city was divided into two ridings, the eastern one represented by Brown in the last parliament. For a

¹Leader, July 5, 1861.

²Globe, July 6, 1861.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Morgan, op. cit., p. 30.

while there were rumours that George Brown, who had suffered an ailment that kept him away from the winter session, would not enter the race. The prospect of Brown withdrawing from politics was not relished by the ministerial press. The British Whig was happy to report that he was recovering and would ^{be a} candidate for election.¹ The June issue of the Mount Forest Express carried the following item:

A strange report got into circulation that the two great heads of parties in Upper Canada are about to retire. This we conceive to be improbable and undesirable.²

Brown's decision to ^{be a} candidate was made official after he was selected the party standard-bearer by the Toronto Reform Association at a well-attended meeting held June 7. There, in the presence of prominent Liberals such as Wilson, McDougall, and Howland, he reluctantly accepted the nomination. He was still not completely recovered from his illness, and it was mostly his dedication to the cause that made him enter the fray.³

He departed for the country to convalesce and returned a week later, his health greatly improved.⁴ Within a few days, at a meeting in St. Lawrence Hall, in the company of Mowat and Dr. Connor, he could be heard lashing out at the government in a three-hour speech which the Leader described as a "harangue" rehashing the columns of the Globe.⁵

¹British Whig, July 12, 1861.

²Mount Forest Express, June 5, 1861.

³Careless, op. cit., p. 44.

⁴Ibid., p. 44.

⁵Leader, June 18, 1861.

His opponent was John Crawford, an attorney, apparently a well-liked citizen, for even the Globe wrote of him as "amiable and blameless in life and conversation".¹ Since his wife came from a Roman Catholic family, it was conceded that he would win the majority of the Catholic vote.² His strength lay, as the Globe put it, in "his personal affability and inoffensiveness, and his Roman Catholic connection."³

Crawford's address to Toronto East could well have served any opposition candidate. He was against annual deficits and expenditure of public funds without the authorization of the legislature. He favoured Rep. by Pop. and was not completely averse to a federal union except that he deemed it premature. He did favour maintaining the present union and was desirous of some form of bankruptcy law.⁴

Crawford's reluctance to state his political affiliation appeared to cause some concern amongst his supporters. This the Globe eagerly reported in its pages:

Poor Mr. Crawford is in a tight place. A deputation of his supporters waited upon him Saturday to ask whether he would vote want of confidence in the Ministry or not. Terror-stricken at the directness of the question, he asked time to consider his answer.⁵

The answer was printed in the same issue:

¹Globe, June 8, 1861.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Leader, June 25, 1861.

⁵Globe, June 18, 1861.

I think it unworthy of the intelligence of an enlightened electorate body to require, as it is unworthy of the self-respect of the candidate entering political life to give, an expressed pledge of general opposition to or support of, any particular Government. The crying sin of Canadian politics seems to me to be the constant habit of applauding or condemning measures according to the politics of the men from whom they emanate: the country has suffered much from this sort of party spirit.¹

To the knowledgeable voter all this, of course, meant that Crawford was a ministerialist as, indeed, he showed himself to be during the session of 1863.²

The practice of using a Grit platform and professing independence only to become a ministerialist after the election, was not uncommon during the campaign. Brown made reference to it in the otherwise rather weak speech to the Reform Association when he was chosen the official candidate from the organization. Attacking Crawford's address to Toronto East, he stated that it contained:

measures nearly everyone of which the Ministry have condemned and voted down, and nearly every one of which the Opposition have firmly and zealously maintained.... Not one openly avowed Ministerialist has ventured before the people. (cheers) We have plenty of "moderates" men, "independent" men, "no party" men -- every one of them professing the principles of the Opposition -- but let them only succeed, and the very moment the elections are over every man of them will be found the most subservient of Ministerialists.³

The two candidates had a chance to appear on the same platform in St. Lawrence Hall, at a meeting called by the mayor. This joint meeting, like the one in York West, was an unfortunate affair. Noisy, partisan segments of the audience attacked and counter-attacked the stage completely disrupting the proceedings. The Leader thus

¹Ibid.

²Cornell, op. cit., p. 109.

³Globe, June 10, 1861.

describes part of the action:

In the midst of it, an excited and violent supporter of Mr. Brown struck Mr. Crawford on the back of the ear with a murderous bludgeon, which caused him some, though we trust, no serious injury. Mr. Brown got off more easily with being ejected by pressure from the platform and the loss of his celebrated coat-tails.¹

Actually Brown's perils and losses exceeded those reported by the Leader. During the me^lée, a ruffian named Murphy "swung at Brown's head with a cudgel, but Brown had rammed his hat on in the first attack and the blow smashed a good Victorian hat -- a useful safety helmet for the politics of the day."²

It was expected that Brown would win the seat.³ After all he had represented Toronto in the last parliament, he was one of the better-known Liberal leaders, and he had the backing of the widely circulated Globe. Furthermore, there was a substantial Grit following in the city, the more Protestant elements were expected to support him, and the Negro population, it was claimed, had declared itself "unanimous" for him.⁴ Crawford on the other hand was comparatively unknown, he had yet to win his first election, his Catholic connections could as well be liabilities as assets, and there were rumours that he was tied in with the Grand Trunk.⁵

But Crawford did not foresee defeat for himself. Indeed, in a speech at Kingsbury's Tavern he exhibited great confidence. He

¹Leader, June 20, 1861.

²Careless, op. cit., p. 45.

³Sarnia Observer, June 4, 1861.

⁴Globe, July 2, 1861.

⁵Ibid., June 24, 1861.

promised to stand by Toronto and to strive to make it the seat of government, something, he said, that Brown did not want.¹ He repeated the same charge on nomination day and also accused Brown of modifying or "diluting" his stand on Rep. by Pop., so as to accommodate the French.² It might be said that, as a ministerialist, Crawford actually, if one may coin a phrase, out-gritted the Grits. The Canadian Freeman, a Catholic publication supporting Crawford, noted this and remarked that "Brown ought to have taken him by the hand and said, 'I am delighted to recognize in you so important an acquisition to the cause I am battling for.'³ In fact, after the election Brown conceded that his opponent's program was the same as his.⁴

The Leader, however, did not detect Gritism in Crawford. In spite of his Grit platform, it was able to support him and at the same time condemn Gritism as "a monster which appears as a Disunionist; which assails Responsible Government; in a threat, tells us it will look to Washington for assistance."⁵

The campaign did not go well for Brown. Since Crawford had, as it were, stolen most of his platform, the contest was more one of personalities than issues. Here, Crawford had an advantage for, in his heretofore short political career he had offended no one. By the

¹Ibid., June 21, 1861.

²Leader, June 29, 1861.

³Canadian Freeman, June 13, 1861.

⁴Globe, July 11, 1861.

⁵Leader, July 8, 1861.

Globe's own admission he was considered "amiable and blameless,"¹ Brown, on the other hand, had acquired a great number of enemies, many of them quite emotional. Opposing him were the Catholics smarting from the Globe's harsh attack⁵ on them in the past, the Orangemen offended by equally harsh criticism of their activities, and the Methodists resentful of Brown's opposition to government aid to secular colleges. On nomination day, it was Crawford that won the show of hands.² Meetings went badly too. The one held at Brophy's Tavern was spoiled by jeers and interruptions. The Leader reported that "Mr. Brown had finally to stop speaking and go into the house with about a dozen of his supporters where they gathered themselves around a table and kept 'their spirits up by pouring spirits down.'" ³

After the first day's voting Brown was behind by thirty-four votes. The Globe made a desperate effort to rally a supporting vote for the next day but to no avail.⁴ Brown lost by 191 votes. Regretting the disappointment the result would cause his supporters, he conceded defeat, expressed his personal friendship towards Crawford, and announced his retirement from politics.⁵

The Durham Standard marked the occasion of the defeat of Brown by printing the following verse:

¹Globe, June 8, 1861.

²Globe, June 29, 1861.

³Leader, July 4, 1861.

⁴Globe, July 6, 1861.

⁵Globe, July 11, 1861.

The elections are over and
 I am defeated,
 The Rose and the Shamrock
 have carried the day;
 Hard! hard was the struggle
 maintained against Crawford
 The Grits lost the battle,
 what more can I say.¹

In Toronto West the government had a strong candidate in J. B. Robinson, Jr., a former mayor of the city, a barrister and director of the Northern Railroad, and sitting member for the riding. Robinson did not pose as an independent. He defended government policies, stressing the need of supporting the union and resisting movements towards annexation with the United States. "He felt sure," wrote the Leader, "that the electors of Toronto had no intention of looking to Washington for aid."² Robinson asked for a protective tariff for local industries, and, like Crawford, demanded Rep. by Pop. Like Crawford, also, he held out hope that Toronto might yet be the seat of government "in which event the building in Ottawa would make a good Lunatic Asylum."³

The Liberal candidate was Adam Wilson who, it might be recalled, successfully contested York North. His speech as reported by the Globe showed him to be a man of some vision:

There are a number of loose members from this section of the Province who are ready to sacrifice Upper Canada for the sake of retaining place or for the purpose of keeping their friends in place and power. This class of

¹P.A.O., Durham Standard, July 26, 1861.

²Leader, June 15, 1861.

³Ibid.

people must be got rid of. I urge this strongly upon the attention of all present because I venture to say that the next Parliament will affect the destinies of this province for hundreds of years to come. Federation is spoken of; a division of the province is spoken of, and it is said also that there is to be annexation to New York State. (laughter) Whether or not that be the case, we have a very serious matter to discuss. Whatever be the course we adopt, I trust we shall never go to New York.Upper Canada is not to be confined within her present limits. Her limits must extend to the Pacific Ocean -- that is her natural frontier.¹

Wilson appeared to have the makings of a strong candidate. He was certainly well enough known in the riding, having at one time also served as mayor of the city.² But he was associated with the Liberals of the eastern riding and with all that they stood for. In other words, he was tainted with Brown and that was sufficient to cost him the ultra-loyalist vote, the Catholic vote, the Orange vote, and the Methodist vote; in short, enough votes to give Robinson a majority of 255.

The opposition candidate in Simcoe South was A. Armstrong. His address to the electors took the usual Liberal stand on Rep. by Pop. and aid to the Grand Trunk. He was opposed to grants to sectarian colleges, as he was also to dissolution of the union, although he favoured some sort of federation.³

T. R. Ferguson, the ministerial candidate, did not have to issue an address. His record in the last session was well known. It was he that had introduced an amendment to the Speech from the Throne, regretting that it contained no mention of possible legislation implementing some form of Rep. by Pop.⁴ The amendment

¹Globe, June 10, 1861.

²Morgan, op. cit., p. 43.

³Newmarket Era, June 21, 1861.

⁴Morning Chronicle, March 20, 1861.

having lost, it was Ferguson that introduced a bill requiring the establishment of the representation principle.¹ Later on it was Ferguson again that introduced a bill for the repeal of public maintenance of sectarian schools in Upper Canada.² Pity the poor elector of the age! At times it was difficult to tell a Tory from a Grit. But the people of Simcoe knew their mind. On his return from the session they gratefully presented Ferguson with a watch and buggy,³ and later, at the polls, with a thumping majority.

In Simcoe North there was a three-way contest. The opposition contender was Thos. D. McConkey whose requisition, it might be recalled from an earlier chapter, was supported by more names than the actual number of votes cast for him.⁴ His address to the electors proclaimed the usual Liberal planks. It also expressed an interest in a canal to be constructed to the Georgian Bay. A unique feature of the address was the opposition to the indemnity of \$600 paid the members if the session lasted over thirty days. This encouraged sessions of just over that time span, McConkey argued. He proposed a daily indemnity of four dollars to a maximum of a hundred days.⁵

Apparently McConkey experienced trouble at his meetings. It was reported that "Mr. Angus Morrison, assisted by a bank of officials and others from Collingwood, followed Mr. McConkey to various parts of the neighborhood, trying to create disturbances at his meetings."⁶

¹Ibid., April 5, 1861.

²Ibid., April 20, 1861.

³P.A.O., Bradford Chronicle, June 5, 1861.

⁴P.A.O. Northern Advance, June 5, 1861.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Globe, June 18, 1861.

Angus Morrison was the government candidate running as a Coalition Reformer. He was the sitting member, having held the seat since Simcoe was split into two ridings in 1854. His address also contained a number of Liberal planks, although there was no condemnation of the grants to the Grand Trunk. Morrison claimed that, as past member of the Assembly, he had looked after the personal interests of the electors and went on to state that the union was menaced and that the Grits had threatened to appeal to Washington. "As between the two political parties in the legislature," he concluded, "I could have but one choice."¹

Morrison's chief ally was the Barrie Northern Advance which took pains in its columns to point out McConkey's "connection with the disunion movement."² As for Morrison, it stressed his achievements. These included the surveying of the route of the Georgian Bay canal, the deepening of the Lake Simcoe narrows, the building of a branch asylum at Orillia, the granting of land for a church site, the erection of a swing bridge across the narrows, and the procurement of \$30,000 from the government as an advance to save the Northern Railroad.³ As further aid to Morrison, the paper interspersed its contents with short slogans like the following:

Morrison and British Connection
 McConkey and Revolution
 Boulton and Annexation.⁴

¹Northern Advance, June 12, 1861.

²Ibid., June 19, 1861.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., June 17, 1861.

The Liberals countered the efforts of the ministerial press by issuing posters, one of which bore the following supplication:

Pray! Pray! Let every man and
every woman look to heaven for life!
Vote for the Queen and Mowat,
And not for the Pope and Morrison.¹

John A. Macdonald must have smiled in amusement as he folded one of these posters and tucked it amongst his other election mementos, thus saving it for posterity.

Nomination day in North Simcoe was a noisy event, partly because of the arrival there of a trainload of whiskey and Morrison supporters.² Morrison, McConkey, and Boulton were nominated and asked to make addresses. George Brown attended and was also nominated, but the vociferous crowd would not allow him to speak.³

Polling days fell on July 2 and 3. When the count was over, it was declared that Morrison received 959 votes, McConkey 790, and Boulton, of whom so little is recorded, 298. Since official records bear no mention of Brown, it must be assumed that he had withdrawn from the race prior to the polling.

The successful candidate in the riding of Peel was John Hillyard Cameron who defeated J. C. Atkins, representative of the constituency since 1854. The majority was not significant, amounting to 108 votes out of 3,382 cast. Cameron, in the past, had been one of the giants in the Conservative party, in fact a potent rival of John A. Macdonald for its leadership.⁴ As president of the

¹P.A.C., John A. Macdonald Papers, Vol. 297.

²Globe, June 26, 1861.

³Ibid.

⁴Creighton, op. cit., pp. 238 and 228.

Provincial Insurance Company, treasurer of the law society, and Grand Master of the Orange Association,¹ his victory should have been more emphatic.

In Halton, the last of the Lake Ontario ridings, J. White championed the Liberal cause. A justice of the peace (always an asset in the politics of the age), he had been successful in 1851 and 1858, losing out in the election of 1854.² McCallum, his Conservative opponent was a teacher -- "no fool," according to the Hamilton Times, "but about politics and the great issues of the day he knows as much as he knows about the dog star."³ Opinions were expressed concerning White, also. He belonged to the Grits who were "disunionists in disguise," wrote the Leader. "The association would itself be sufficient to destroy his chances of election, so odious has the platform of the Disunion and Anti-Responsible Government become in the country."⁴

White's majority was 331.

¹Morgan, op. cit., p. 23.

²Ibid., p. 43.

³Hamilton Times, June 22, 1861.

⁴Leader, June 21, 1861.

CHAPTER VII

THE WESTERN RIDINGS

Once more the land, alive to the loud call,
Is moved, from Kamouraska to St. Clair.
God grant that Freedom from the Fowler's thrall,
May soon the verdict of its friends declare.

May Equal Rights be resolutely held,
By salutary Laws Impartial power,
May principle prevail, where pride hath swelled,
And Truth proclaim Corruption's dying hour.

It might well be suspected that Thomas Sutherland, the composer of the above verses, was a Grit. The verses were published in a Grit newspaper¹ which circulated mostly in the western ridings, the one segment of the province where the Liberals elected a majority.

Like Central Canada, the western ridings were a geographic region somewhat apart from the rest of the province. The twenty-seven constituencies of this region were bounded by Georgian Bay to the north, Lake Huron to the west, and Lake Erie to the South. The eastern boundary was the Niagara escarpment which skirted the western projection of Lake Ontario and turned north toward Georgian Bay only to curve gently along its southern shore and disappear into Lake Huron in the general direction of Manitoulin Island.

Most of the region lay a few hundred feet higher than the rest of the province. It was a comparatively level area with clay and sand flats along the lake fronts and gently undulating till plains, interrupted now and then by morainic hills and drumlin formations, in the interior. Then as now the district was predominantly agricultural.

¹Sarnia Observer, July 5, 1861.

The weather in the first part of 1861 was "mostly uncongenial". The late spring was followed by a stretch of wet and cold days.¹ Fall wheat had not wintered well and some had to be ploughed under.² Most of the fruit had been injured by late frosts and seeding in general was delayed.³ But, towards the middle of June conditions began to improve. Crops looked better and prospects were not at all discouraging.⁴

The most easterly ridings of this region were those in the Niagara peninsula, sandwiched between the overlapping tips of Lakes Ontario and Erie. Portions of these ridings spilled over the escarpment to form the fruit bearing plains along Lake Ontario. Here was to be found the first Anglo-Saxon settlement of Ontario, founded by the Butler Rangers of the American Revolution. Of the seven ridings in the peninsula, all but one remained quite rigid in their party affiliation during the period 1854 to 1867.

The one exception was Lincoln in the north-east corner. In a by-election in November 1860, the riding (until then Liberal) elected J. C. Rykert, a Coalition Reformer and, to all intents and purposes, a Conservative. Apparently Rykert had served his constituents well and had "redeemed his promises", and, according to the St. Catharines Journal, there was no one in Lincoln that could defeat him.⁵ The Liberals had called a meeting to find an opponent to him but none was available⁶ and Rykert was returned by acclamation.

¹Sarnia Observer, July 12, 1861.

²Globe, May 23, 1861.

³Sarnia Observer, June 28, 1861.

⁴Globe, June 12, 1861.

⁵St. Catharines Journal, May 16, 1861.

⁶Ibid.

To the south of Lincoln, in the county and riding of Welland, a two-way contest developed. The constituency had had a rather mixed political history until 1858 when G. McMicken, a Conservative, was elected. From then to the end of the union period the riding remained Conservative. T. C. Street, president of one bank and director of another,¹ was elected in 1861 and re-elected in 1863. Although a Conservative, Street favoured Rep. by Pop. more than even Brown did, according to the Leader. Street also demanded "retrenchment" in government expenditures, and let it be known that he was completely without prejudice with regard to race. "I heartily extend the hand of fellowship to every man in this our Canada, no matter what may be his origin".² At a massive gathering on nomination day,³ he won the show of hands,⁴ and went on to defeat Fraser, his opponent by a very comfortable margin.

Niagara town and Hamilton city, like most urban ridings, returned government supporters. In Niagara the government candidate was the incumbent, J. Simpson, a local manufacturer and customs collector.⁵ Simpson's most avid supporter, no doubt, was the Niagara Mail which recorded his accomplishments as follows:

Of Mr. Simpson's substantial parliamentary ability and influence most of our readers are aware: they know too from experience that it is his wish and the wish of the government whom he supports, to see the light of day pouring down, broadly, upon any deliberations having even the slightest bearing upon the interests of this noble province.⁶

¹Morgan, op. cit., p. 40.

²Leader, July 2, 1861.

³Ibid., June 29, 1861.

⁴Globe, June 29, 1861.

⁵Morgan, op. cit., p. 40.

⁶P.A.O., Niagara Mail, June 26, 1861.

Simpson's opponent was McMicken, "a good speaker and a reliable, worthy man", according to the Globe.¹ Whatever the Globe thought of McMicken, he was no match for Simpson. The Niagara Mail described a Liberal meeting at the conclusion of which Simpson was allowed to speak and squelch every election argument put up by McMicken.² On nomination day, before "a very large concourse of electors",³ he lost the show of hands,⁴ and was later defeated by a count of 103 in an election in which only 493 votes were cast.

Hamilton city was a solidly Conservative riding, consistently returning Allan MacNab from 1841 to 1854. In 1858 the riding elected Isaac Buchanan, a Coalition Reformer supporting the MacNab ministry. In 1861 the Leader urged Hamiltonians to continue supporting Buchanan, arguing that, as the "largest and wealthiest merchant in Upper Canada", he would be absolutely free to work for the riding since he had no need of favours from the ministry.⁵ The Hamilton Times interpreted the situation differently. "A man of strong self-will and capricious mind is always to be feared," wrote its editor. "But when you add to these a heavy purse, and a determination to put it in the balance against all opponents, the possessor of it becomes the veriest tyrant."⁶

¹Globe, June 18, 1861.

²Niagara Mail, June 19, 1861.

³Leader, June 29, 1861.

⁴Globe, June 29, 1861.

⁵Leader, quoted by Hamilton Times, June 4, 1861.

⁶Hamilton Times, June 4, 1861.

For quite some time it appeared that no adversary to Buchanan would be found. The Leader speculated on this eventuality and concluded that "it is possible that some Clear Grit may be induced to go on a forlorn hope and encounter certain defeat."¹ To this the Times countered with the following: "Mr. Buchanan is announced as the ministerialist candidate, and his friends would like to see him walk the course, knowing as they do, that he cannot be elected in a contest with a popular opposition candidate."² The official writs had arrived by June 12 requiring nominations on the twenty-first, and polling July 1 and 2. This brought forth the protest that the government was calling an early election in the city so that Buchanan's victory might influence voting in ridings with later election dates.³ By June 14, Hamiltonians heard news of John A. Macdonald travelling in the west, but still there was no word of an opponent for Buchanan.⁴

Buchanan's address had a lofty and patriotic tone:

We live, however, in a momentous period, and looking to the revolutionary changes which twelve months have witnessed in America I now see clearly that my agreeing to come forward again is a duty from which I have no right to flinch.⁵

At length S. B. Freeman was asked to champion the Grit cause.⁶ His refusal delighted the Leader which, at that time, was condemning the practice of multiple candidature by the Grits apparently oblivious

¹Leader, quoted by Hamilton Times, June 4, 1861.

²Hamilton Times, June 4, 1861.

³Ibid., June 12, 1861.

⁴Ibid., June 13 and 14, 1861.

⁵Leader, June 12, 1861.

⁶Hamilton Times, June 17, 1861.

of the fact that Buchanan was guilty of the same practice, having entered the race in North Oxford as well as in Hamilton.¹ But Freeman, who had once represented Wentworth South, changed his mind, and on the twentieth his address appeared in the Hamilton Times.

The address lacked enthusiasm making it evident that Freeman was a reluctant candidate.² He held a public meeting the same day and reiterated the usual Liberal charges against the government. Freeman's entry into the campaign alarmed Buchanan, for immediately on learning that he would be opposed, he began organizing meetings of his own.³ Freeman blundered into one of these meetings one evening while returning home from one of his own. He was invited to speak but was pushed off the table several times and then assaulted by the "Buccaneers". The affair ended with the use of sticks and bludgeons.⁴ Meetings continued to be held nightly by both parties, with Freeman, who publicly expressed regret at having interrupted Buchanan's meeting,⁵ apparently keeping away from his opponent's gatherings.

If Buchanan was alarmed on learning that he would be opposed, he must have been more so on nomination day when the show of hands went for Freeman. But either the count was wrong or the public fickle, for it was Buchanan that got the majority at the polls. He took the lead in the first day's voting because, according to the Hamilton Times, he "employed all the cabs, all the carts, all the

¹Leader, June 17, 1861.

²Hamilton Times, June 20, 1861.

³Ibid., June 21, 1861.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Hamilton Times, June 21, 1861.

omnibuses, and one or two boats with six-horse teams to bring up voters early.¹ By the end of the second day he enjoyed a sizeable lead.

In the riding of South Wentworth, it was the Conservatives who experienced some difficulty in finding a candidate. It took the nomination meeting two hours before it finally settled on Samuel Kearns.² Despite the claim of the Leader that they were suffering from a scarcity of candidate material,³ the Liberals found and put forth the incumbent, J. Rymal. There was no doubt as to Rymal's affiliations. In his address he stated bluntly that he would oppose the ministry, that he felt that the union had failed, and that Rep. by Pop was essential for the protection of the interests of the west.⁴ For a few days there were actually two opposition candidates in the contest, the second in the person of John Heslop whose address appeared June 13.⁵ This brought forth a protest from the Hamilton Times, and eventually Heslop withdrew his name.⁶ Kearns and Rymal held a joint meeting which must have gone off quite peacefully as there is no record of any disturbance.⁷ On nomination day the show of hands favoured Rymal,⁸ as did the polling results by a small majority.

¹Ibid., July 1, 1861.

²Ibid., June 3, 1861.

³Leader, June 4, 1861.

⁴Hamilton Times, June 11, 1861.

⁵Hamilton Times, June 13, 1861.

⁶Ibid., June 17, 1861.

⁷Leader, June 20, 1861.

⁸Globe, July 1, 1861.

The riding of North Wentworth lay at the very point of Lake Ontario stretching somewhat along both the north and south shores. Like its sister riding to the south and Lincoln to the east, it spread out on both sides of the Niagara escarpment. However, the greater part of it lay to the west of the escarpment where it was overlaid by sand plains and morainic hills.

Early in June there was some rumour that the Liberal incumbent would not run again because of an attack of rheumatic fever. The Hamilton Times quickly put an end to this kind of speculation. Mr. Notman had completely recovered from the fever, it stated. "The ridiculous reports about his not offering himself again for his county on account of his health, and other absurd rumors are as false as they are malicious."¹

Notman's opponent was the mayor of Dundas, Thos. H. Mackenzie, who put himself forth as an independent. It is rather indicative of the waning appeal of the Conservative party that so many of its candidates chose to call themselves "independent" rather than Conservative. Aware of public opinion as they were, they must have felt that any revelation of sympathy with the ministry would diminish their chances of success at the polls. On the other hand, it is rather indicative of the popularity of Liberal policies that so many of their opponents at the hustings actually advocated the policies that the Grits had expounded for years. Such was the case with Mackenzie. His address favoured the representation principle and opposed the Grand Trunks grants, as well as any other form of unauthorized spending.²

¹Hamilton Times, June 7, 1861.

²Leader, June 22, 1861.

The Chatham Planet thought that he had a chance of ousting Notman.¹ The Leader spoke with greater confidence, stating that his election hardly admitted of doubt.² The people's verdict, however, was in favour of Notman, preserving for both Wentworths an unbroken Liberal record which extended from 1841 through the years to 1867.

Haldimand, situated to the south of Wentworth and bordering on Lake Erie, also had a perfect Liberal record. On four occasions the riding had elected the once-exiled rebel, William Lyon Mackenzie. After Mackenzie's resignation in 1858, M. Harcourt was elected to the seat.³ In 1861 Harcourt was opposed by Samuel Amsden, a candidate strongly supported by John A. Macdonald. "I am very anxious that Amsden have a clear stage for Haldimand," he wrote to a party worker. "See our mutual friend De Cew and tell him I hope he will take hold with a Will and elect Amsden. Tell him that I will feel personally obliged ... I will feel myself bound to forward his personal views as much as possible."⁴ After the election Macdonald expressed his disappointment in the following letter to Amsden:

You fought a good fight and I bitterly regret your defeat ... Be sure before the House meets to petition against the Return, even if it is not prosecuted.⁵

The county of Norfolk, together with Elgin and part of Kent, lay in the sand plains belt of the north shore of Lake Erie. In 1861 Norfolk riding broke with its past and, for the first time in

¹P.A.C., Chatham Planet, June 13, 1861.

²Leader, June 10, 1861.

³Coté, op. cit., p. 114

⁴P.A.C., Samuel Amsden Paper, M.G. 24, B. 65, J. A. Macdonald to Roland Macdonald, June 3, 1861.

⁵P.A.C., Samuel Amsden Papers, J. A. Macdonald to Amsden, July 29, 1861.

its history, elected a Conservative. It was the second time that Mr. A. Walsh had contested the seat. In 1858 he was defeated by J. W. Powell, but 1861 was a good year for justices of the peace and Walsh, being one, was able to turn the tables on Powell and win by 242 votes. Just what caused this reversal by the electorate is not explained by available records. In 1863 Walsh was again returned.

The Elgin ridings were new constituencies, having been formed in 1854. In that year the east riding elected a Reformer who later supported the Morin-MacNab coalition government.¹ In 1858, a Grit by the name of L. Burwell was returned. In 1861 Burwell was opposed by John McCausland who, according to his election poster, was making his initial attempt at election. The poster put him on record as favoring retrenchment, the bankruptcy law, and reciprocity. Surplus university funds, McCausland wanted turned over to non-sectarian institutions. He was solidly in favour of maintaining the union.² "The Union for Ever", was the personal slogan he put out at his meeting at St. Thomas.

At the same time he announced that he favoured Rep. by Pop., but opposed universal suffrage and ballot voting. He deplored Grit party tactics of opposing good laws, and put himself forth as one not pledged to support any party.³ He appears to have had quite a following. At Port Stanley his supporters staged a demonstration which all but prevented William McDougall from making an address in

¹Cornell, op. cit., pp. 105-6.

²P.A.O., McIntyre Papers, 1853-71.

³P.A.O., Miscellaneous File, 1861, St. Thomas Weekly Dispatch, undated.

favour of Burwell.¹ But when it came to the polls, the electors decided in favour of Burwell as they did again in 1863.²

The west riding of Elgin was Conservative. In the elections of 1854 and 1858 the constituency had returned George Macbeth, a native of the Red River Settlement.³ The partisan Hamilton Times felt that in 1861 there was a "good prospect of this riding being redeemed, which will be a glorious triumph for the Opposition."⁴ A little later the paper was even more confident:

Mr. Scoble has been nominated as the Reform candidate for this riding. A fearful retribution awaits Macbeth, for no man is better able to dissect his manifold political sins than is Mr. Scoble.⁵

The "fearful retribution" was somewhat delayed, for, after polling was over, it was Macbeth that was declared elected by a majority of thirteen. Scoble petitioned against the return and, in February 1863, was declared duly elected in room of Macbeth.⁶

The counties of Kent, Essex and Lambton, in the Lake St. Clair peninsula, were the most westerly as well as the most southerly in the province. With some 160 frost-free days annually, they had the warmest climate, and in their flat, clay plains the most fertile soils.

¹Ibid.

²Cornell, op. cit., p. 110

³Morgan, op. cit. p. 32.

⁴Hamilton Times, June 4, 1861.

⁵Ibid., June 10, 1861.

⁶Coté, op. cit., p. 117.

The riding of Kent changed its political allegiance with every election and by-election in the years 1841 to 1851. In the election of 1851 George Brown was returned, but in 1854 the seat went back to the Conservatives. Finally, in 1858, Kent decided on A. McKellar, a Grit, and stayed with him for the remainder of the union period. Running against McKellar in 1861 was Albert Prince who pledged himself to uphold the union, to work for Rep. by Pop., and to support the Bankruptcy Bill. He had little to say about aid to the Grand Trunk, but spoke about the county's drainage problems (which were numerous in the lakeshore plains), and dwelt at some length on McDougall's annexation plans (which, in actuality, were non-existent).¹ All this created some impression for the vote by show of hands, taken on nomination day, indicated that the majority favoured Prince.² But the vote proved to be an unreliable public opinion poll. It was too difficult a task to defeat a man like McKellar who was the sitting member, was a justice of the peace, and served in the dual capacity of reeve of both the township and the town of Chatham.³

The name Essex was a misnomer for the most westerly riding in the province. In the ^{first} four parliaments Essex was represented by J. Prince, an "Independent" who really was independent. In 1854, A. Rankin won the riding only to lose it in 1858 to J. MacLeod, a Conservative. In 1861 Rankin again won the seat for the opposition by the slim majority of fifty-one votes. J. O'Connor, the defeated candidate, petitioned

¹Chatham Planet, June 27, 1861.

²Globe, July 1, 1861.

³Morgan, op. cit., p. 34.

against the return. Some time after the opening of the 1862 session, the petition's "recognizance" was declared "unobjectionable" by the speaker. Later, the petition was referred to a general committee on elections. Still later, a day was chosen for the purpose of selecting a special committee to handle the petition. After some time, the names of the committee members were reported to the house. Eventually, the committee was reported to have been sworn in, and the petition was referred to it. In due time the committee met, and later reported that it had appointed a commissioner for the taking of evidence. Then the committee was given leave to adjourn.¹

On March 9, 1863 the 1861 election of Arthur Rankin was declared void.² On April 7, 1863 John O'Connor was elected to represent Essex in room of Rankin.³ On May 16, 1863 the Seventh Parliament was dissolved. By July 3, 1863 Arthur Rankin was declared duly elected to represent Essex in the Eighth Parliament.⁴

Cornered between St. Clair river and the southern tip of Lake Huron, lay the county of Lambton with its clay plains and marshy stretches. In 1854, when the riding was established, Lambton elected George Brown who, at various times during the union period, represented five different ridings.⁵

¹Manitoba Provincial Library, Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada, Vol. XX, pp. 30, 110, 113, 151, 230, 240, 287.

²Cote, op. cit., p. 117.

³Ibid., p. 116.

⁴Ibid., p. 104.

⁵Ibid., p. 65.

In 1858 Malcolm Cameron, a Coalition Reformer, was returned, and two years later, in a by-election made necessary by Cameron's election to the Legislative Council, Hope Mackenzie, a Grit, was elected.¹

Hope Mackenzie refused to run in 1861, and the Grit call went to his brother, Alexander. Alexander Mackenzie, a local contractor and secretary of the Reform Association, accepted the call with some reluctance, but lost no time in organizing his campaign. His address to the electors appeared almost immediately after the nomination. He stated plainly that he was opposed to the ministry. He thought the government was mischievous and shameless, mentioning the grant to the railroad and the "double shuffle" in support of the accusation. Like all Grits, he demanded Rep. by Pop., and asked for a measure of free trade.²

Mackenzie's opponent was Alexander Vidal who put himself forth as an independent candidate. "The electors," a correspondent to the Sarnia Observer reported him to have said, "were to^oenlightened and intelligent to require, and he was too independent to give any definite pledge as to the course he should persue [sic] in the event of his being returned."³ With the usual Grit antipathy to independent candidates, the same correspondent went on to say that Mr. Vidal reminded him of:

a certain nonedescript substance found, -- so tradition tells us, -- by some person in olden times, but which we are informed -- was neither fish, flesh, nor bone, but which, we may depend upon it, when hatched exhibits the usual instincts and proclivities of its kind. Just so the present corruption egg, when it chips the shell, will come forth a full fledged ministerialist of the most servile kind.⁴

¹Thompson, op. cit., pp. 57-8.

²Sarnia Observer, June 14, 1861.

³Ibid., June 21, 1861.

⁴Ibid.

The Observer was most anxious that the public be made aware that Vidal was no "Independent," but, in fact, a ministerialist. It pointed out that he had frequently denounced George Brown, that he had defended Governor Head and Macdonald in the "double shuffle" affair, that he had also denounced Cameron for crossing to the opposition.¹

The truth is, no man who is honest will offer himself as an Independent Candidate; for no man having a particle of self-respect would admit that he went to Parliament to become a nonentity; a thing without influence, without position, without the respect of any party.²

By the election standards of the day, the Lambton campaign was a very gentlemanly affair. The Observer, for example, concluded the editorial just quoted with the following statement:

We wish it to be distinctly understood that for Mr. Vidal, apart from the unfortunate political position in which he is placed, we entertain much respect.³

Mackenzie, himself, started one of his campaign speeches with an expression of respect for his opponent,⁴ and Vidal reciprocated in public with the following sentiments as reported by the Observer:

If he was to be a candidate, he was truly glad he was to have Mr. Mackenzie as an opponent, for though they were the very antipodes of each other on political grounds, and had both personal and political differences, there was not a man in the County for whom he entertained a higher degree of respect.⁵

Basically the two contestants had identical platforms. Vidal, in fact, had made the observation that "he felt somewhat at a loss to know

¹Sarnia Observer, June 28, 1861.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., June 21, 1861.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

Ibid.

wherein they differed except in this that he [Mackenzie] was a representative of the Clear Grits, the endorser of the Toronto Convention Platform."¹ There was one point of difference, however, Vidal came out flatly in support of the Union, whereas Mackenzie announced that he "would go for Dissolution of the Union if Representation by Population could not be obtained. This was only an alternative but one which he would not hesitate to adopt if all other means failed."²

Mackenzie's campaign was an extremely active one. On June 24 he planned to hold two meetings, one at ten o'clock in a village called Dawn, and another at three o'clock at Sombra. In the next two days he was to attend five gatherings at various school houses in the countryside. There were to be four meetings at Moore, held on the twenty-eighth and ninth. On the twenty-ninth he was also scheduled for two at Enniskillen, and five at Plymouth on July 1 and 2. In the evening of July 2 he was also scheduled to speak in Sarnia township, and in the morning of the next day again at Moore.³ "He spoke in churches, schools, town halls, stopping houses, or simply out-of-doors on a wagon or hayrack. As he raced from place to place with his horse and buggy, Hope followed his opponent 'for the purpose of keeping him straight.'"⁴ All this activity paid its dividend, for when polling was over, Mackenzie was ahead by almost 200 votes.

North of Lambton, stretching along the east shore of Lake Huron, lay the counties of Huron and Bruce. Together they formed a single riding, the most northerly in the west, and the largest both in area

¹Sarnia Observer, June 21, 1861.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Thompson, op. cit., p. 60.

and population. Huron and Bruce had a mixed political history. On three occasions it had been represented by William Cayley, a Conservative, ~~council member~~. At one time Malcolm Cameron represented the constituency. In 1858, Cayley having chosen to run in Renfrew, J. Holmes, a Liberal, won the riding. In 1861 Cayley was back as a candidate. The Leader, always given to bold predictions, stated that he would defeat "Mr. Dickson, the Grit candidate, by a very large majority."¹ The Globe, never one to agree with the views of the Leader, had a contrary opinion -- one based on rather convincing statistics:

Mr. Cayley will certainly be defeated. We cannot imagine any sane man in Huron and Bruce voting for one who will insist on these counties with their 80,000 population constantly increasing, continuing for ten years more to have no larger share in the representation than a beggarly county in Lower Canada with ten thousand.²

Unlike Lambton, Huron and Bruce experienced some violence during the campaign. A news report thus described one incident:

Mr. J. McLay, the Editor of the Kincardine Commonwealth was assaulted at the public meeting in that village a few days since.....Mr. McLay was speaking against Mr. Cayley when he was constantly interrupted by noises such as the bleating of sheep etc. Mr. McLay having repeatedly appealed to the chair for order, said that he thought that it was a meeting of ratepayers of the village, but it seemed from the noise kept up behind him, that some sheep had found their way into the meeting. If he had known that such animals were to be admitted he might probably have brought some of his own flock from home, to augment the number and add to the noise. Mr. McLay had scarcely completed the sentence when he was sprung upon from behind in the most cowardly, ruffianly manner and dragged to the ground.³

¹Leader, June 13, 1861.

²Globe, May 31, 1861.

³Sarnia Observer, June 21, 1861.

On nomination day the show of hands was declared to be a tie,¹ but there was no doubt about the winner after polling was over. James Dickson drew a majority of 755 in a contest in which 9421 out of 13062 eligible electors cast their votes.

Grey, the last of the waterfront counties, had about half the population of Huron and Bruce. Facing north into Georgian Bay, it was one of the backwoods ridings established in 1854 when George Jackson, a Coalition Reformer, was elected. Four years later J. S. Hogan, a Liberal won the riding. In a by-election made necessary by the murder of Hogan, J. T. Purdy was returned. The campaign of 1861 started with four men in the field² but narrowed down to three. Jackson, now styled a Liberal Independent³ but still a supporter of the ministry, was elected, edging out Purdy by 27 votes.

The Liberals won eight of the fifteen lakeshore ridings. They did better in the interior, winning eight out of twelve. The interior ridings consisted mostly of rolling till plains with morainic hills along the east and west edges. They were the upland areas of the west, ranging in altitude from 1000 to 1700 feet as compared to 700 to 900 feet for the lakeshore ridings.

The most south-easterly of the interior counties was Brant which was divided into two ridings, both created in 1854. The eastern riding had a consistently Liberal record and maintained it in 1861 by electing a medical doctor,⁴ J. Y. Bown who defeated his opponent by a

¹Globe, July 1, 1861.

²Montreal Gazette, June 28, 1861.

³Leader, June 25, 1861.

⁴Morgan, op. cit., p. 22.

slim 31 votes in a contest in which only 1429 were cast. Brant East had a possible vote of only 1855 compared to 13,062 possible for Huron and Bruce. The province was certainly in great need of electoral reform.

In the west riding, the government candidate was the aging Methodist, William Ryerson. In a speech at Brantford, he warned that there were influences in the country that:

would, if not checked and promptly, result in consequences as dangerous as those insane and fatal influences that actuated the participators of the troubles of 1837-----And in this country we are in danger when in the Halls of our Legislature we hear men, carried away with a false idea of reform, stating that they would "Look to Washington" to heal diseases of this country.¹

He went on to assert his own loyalty, and to claim that he was the oldest reformer of the Baldwin school but that "he was not ashamed of the Tories for he could not dispell from his mind the fact, that if there is a body of men whose hearts are purely loyal, it is the Conservatives."²

On nomination day the show of hands went for Ryerson as against Biggar, the Grit nominee. The polls bore out the preference shown by the show of hands and seated the old Reformer by the rather slight majority of fifty-seven.

In the neighboring riding of South Oxford, another old reformer was active. He was no other than William Lyon Mackenzie, the rebel leader and, to quote Ryerson, one of those "fatal influences that actuated the participators of the troubles of 1837." In the 1861

¹Barrie Northern Advance, July 3, 1861.

²Ibid.

campaign, Mackenzie was supporting Richards against Dr. Connor, the Grit candidate. Richards political affiliation was thus described by the Oxford Herald:

Certainly no better man could have been selected than Mr. Richards.....He is not a supporter of the present administration, nor of any other, unless they are favorable to certain questions and measures which he regards as most important to the country.¹

In other words, Richards was an Independent. In spite of a pronounced dislike for independent members, Mackenzie in this, his last campaign effort, supported Richards. Apparently his antipathy towards Connor was greater than his aversion to independent candidates. Early in July he published a broadsheet entitled, A Plea of the People of Oxford Against Skeffington Connor, by W. L. Mackenzie. In it he condemned Connor for participating in the sale of public office. The following is an excerpt from the plea:

In more plain language, Connor, Q.C., Barrister, Bencher, Oracle in the Law, tells his victim, "you're right, Mercer, go a-head [sic], the judges will uphold you in buying sheriffships." But they didn't -- they condemned and reversed the wicked appointment -- nor are you, voters of South Oxford, blameable for the last election, you did not know. Now you know! and Dr. Connor knew then that the Statues of England for keeping the shrievalty pure are clearly in force here.²

The exact circumstances of the case are not made clear, but Mackenzie claimed that some \$20,000 was involved in the whole affair.

Mackenzie's aid was highly prized by the supporters of Richards, especially aid in a more private fashion. In June one of them wrote Mackenzie as follows:

¹P.A.O., Oxford Herald, June 13, 1861.

²P.A.C., Miscellaneous Documents.

Will you do Mr. S. Richard's friends the favour to send a few more letters to South Oxford.

P.S. Please send a letter to Jacob Shell, East Oxford, Woodstock P.O. He paid \$8.00 for the Homestead fund.¹

Two days later the same correspondent begged for "two more letters as soon as you can," stating that as few as "two lines" from Mackenzie would bear great weight in the campaign.²

Nomination procedures were thus described by the highly partial

Oxford Herald:

Dr. Connor then came to address the electors, and was received with a very slight manifestation of applause.

Mr. Richards then advanced, and his appearance was a signal for a perfect storm of cheering -- such cheers as can only emanate from the throats of free born Britons desirous of showing appreciation of an honest, consistent and upright man.³

In the course of proceedings Connor accused Richards of being a ministerialist and an Orangeman. Richards denied being a ministerialist.⁴ The Herald reported that the show of hands was tied,⁵ but the Globe announced that the vote favoured Connor.⁶ Probably neither was greatly in error, for, at the polls, Connor received only a slight majority, despite the efforts of Mackenzie.

As for the old reformer and rebel, this was the last political campaign that he was to witness. Since his return from exile, he had

¹P.A.O., Mackenzie-Lindsay Papers, Mackenzie Section, M. Smith to Mackenzie, June 24, 1861.

²Ibid., June 29, 1861.

³Oxford Herald, July 4, 1861.

⁴Ibid., July 4, 1861.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Globe, July 1, 1861.

represented the constituency of Haldimand in the last four parliaments, resigning his seat in August, 1858.¹ During the 1861 campaign there was talk of his looking for a riding and even of being asked to contest a few, but according to his own admission no one had actually approached him. "In the forward condition of Upper Canada canvassing," he wrote to the Leader, "and at my advanced age of 67 years next March, it is unlikely that any more will be heard about my return to public life this year."² That was probably the most prophetic statement of his life, for before the summer was over, death had ended his turbulent and eventful career.³

The most maligned and the most embarrassed candidate of the whole campaign was, no doubt, the author of the "look to Washington" statement, William McDougall, the Liberal who was contesting Oxford North. He had tried to explain that what he meant was that there was a danger that the people might, as a last resort, turn to Washington for justice in the matter of representation by population. "I did not speak of it as a good to be desired, but an evil to be avoided."⁴

McDougall's explanation did not prevent accusations of disloyalty being hurled at him by his opponent, Isaac Buchanan, who had won Hamilton so handily. Buchanan, who was somewhat of an author,⁵ published a rather lofty address decorated with numerous prose and verse quotations from Burke, Cromwell, Tennyson, and Cowper. He had no

¹Coté, op. cit., pp. 76 and 115.

²Hamilton Times, June 5, 1861, quoting the Leader.

³Coté, op. cit., p. 115.

⁴Stratford Beacon, June 14, 1861.

⁵Morgan, op. cit., p. 22.

personal platform to propose, but did have the following advice to the undecided voter; "The question for each of you is -- am I for or against annexation?"¹

Since polling in the Oxford ridings did not take place till July 8 and 9, Buchanan had a week of campaigning time after his election in Hamilton. He planned to make the utmost use of this time. At a meeting in Lappin's Hotel, he promised to sit for North Oxford if elected. This meant that he would resign his Hamilton seat. He arranged numerous meetings, but, according to the Embro Review, he experienced considerable trouble at the hands of his opponents. At McIntosh's School House, for example, it would seem that the Grits "succeeded in collecting the very scum of the township, and to the annoyance of the intelligent electors residing in that locality, did all they could to disturb and break up the meeting."² The Review reported even more villainy at a meeting held later that day.

The crowning rascality ... was perpetrated under the marshalling of Mr. Oliver after the meeting was closed. As Mr. Buchanan and his friends were returning to Embro, these friends were arranged on each side of the road, some distance from the school house, and when the carriages were passing they jumped to the middle of the road to frighten the horses and endanger the lives of those in the carriages. Such conduct will not do the cause of Mr. McDougall any good in that intelligent neighborhood.³

It could not have helped McDougall, but neither did it seem to harm him very much. He won the poll (West Zorra) 346 votes to 65.

¹London Free Press, July 2, 1861.

²P.A.C., Embro Review, July 8, 1861.

³Ibid.

MR. MACDOUGALL AND HIS FELLOW-CONSPIRATORS

FOR OFFICE.

Who is Mr. Wm. Macdougall, who is now seeking the suffrages of the electors of North Oxford? And who were his political associates.

Mr. Macdougall has all his life been an office-seeker. He first begged for the Collectorship of Customs at Toronto, in 1859, and met a refusal; whereupon he set up for patriot, his grievance being that he had not been quartered on the public revenue for life.

Upon a matter of this kind the *Globe*—a paper of which he is now an editor—will be admitted to be good authority. We appeal to its columns for proof of Mr. Macdougall's office-seeking propensities.

Mr. Macdougall gets \$6 a day of Executive gold and strikes the hand that feeds him.

HE GOES ON HIS KNEES TO BEG THE COLLECTORSHIP OF TORONTO FROM A GOVERNMENT HE ABUSES.

(From the *Globe*, Dec. 11, 1849.)
We know that when this same brother-in-law [of the proprietor of the *Examiner*] left the country a well-known writer in the *Examiner* [Macdougall], stepped into his shoes and the \$6 a day of "Executive Gold," and we have heard it blurted that WHILE THE SAME GENTLEMAN WAS FIRING AWAY IN THE EXAMINER AND ELSEWHERE AT OTHERS, AS PLACE-HUNTERS, HE WAS HIMSELF AN APPLICANT FOR THE COLLECTORSHIP OF TORONTO, and did not hesitate bring the "sapping and mining argument" to aid his claims. We say we believe all these things.

Our contemporary's present campaign is but a last grand effort at some desired goal before a final merging of his editorial existence in the coming *North American*.

MACDOUGALL A BRILLIANT CHISELLER FOR OFFICE.

(From the *Globe*, Dec. 13, 1849.)
We must only repeat our statement as to the "well-known writer" in the *Examiner* [Macdougall]. He does get \$6 a day of Executive gold just now, and HE WAS AN APPLICANT FOR THE TORONTO CUSTOM HOUSE, and if we are not greatly mistaken "onisselled" for it in a way which deserved success if far nothing but the brilliancy of the conception.

WHEN AND WHY MACDOUGALL FIRST TURNED HIS EYES TOWARDS WASHINGTON.

(From the *Globe*, October 17, 1850.)
The *Globe* has no intention of deserting the ship, and if it had the term *rat* would in no shape be applicable to it. Political rats don't usually desert their party while it has a majority in the House of Assembly of nearly 3 to 1. True, cases of the kind do occur when some hungry hanger-on to a party applies for a Collectorship of Customs or so and does not get it.

THE COLLECTORSHIP REMINISCENCE.

(From the *Globe*, October 17, 1850.)
The *North American* is frightfully alarmed at the thought of the reorganization of the Constitutional party, wisely seeing death to its *Republican* agitation in such an event. It storms at the bare idea and hurls "traitors" and "tyrants" and "deserters" and all sorts of pretty names at the Ministry and all who have supported them, and did not leave them at the precise moment they were refused a Collectorship or such like.

MACDOUGALL'S VIOLENCE FRIGHTENS AWAY IMMIGRATION.

(From the *Globe*, Nov. 29, 1849.)
We may now be allowed to take a glance at the future prospects of *United Canada* in population. Her total number in 1849, is now about 1,875,000, allowing 35,000 for natural increase and 40,000 for immigration. We might calculate on a much larger immigration than 40,000 if the Province were allowed to pursue her destiny in peace from agitation of any kind.

Macdougall presents a humble petition to the Government for \$2,000.

After Malcolm Cameron became head of the Bureau of Agriculture, Macdougall petitioned the Government for the sum of \$2,000 for old *Cultivators*—more waste paper far less valuable than old Almanacs—and being refused so unreasonable a request he went into opposition as he had to smother government when refused the Toronto collectorship.

MR. MACDOUGALL'S POLITICAL FRIENDS.

Show me a man's friends and I will tell you who he is—*Old Proverb*.

MR. BROWN, M. P., IMPORTED FROM NEW YORK BY THE TORIES.

It will be recalled that the Tories of Toronto, discovered George Brown the first in New York.

THE EDITOR OF THE GLOBE A TORY, AND A LEVIER OF BLACK MAIL.

By William Macdougall.

(From the *North American*, March 11, 1853.)
The editors of the *Globe* told the writer (Mr. Macdougall) more than once, that it was not of much consequence if the Tories did succeed. "If like the *Globe* we had loved black mail upon our political friends in directions, if a purse of five hundred pounds had been made up for us, as was made up for him, by men he is now vilifying—if jobs had been thrown in our way to the tune of \$10,000 a year, we might think it becoming our position to say as little as possible about bribes."

MR. MACDOUGALL PROVES THAT MR. GEORGE BROWN IS A PROSTITUTE.

(From the *North American*, Oct. 30, 1851.)
While contending that Mr. Hincks has not changed, and admitting that Rip and Cameron, as the representatives of progressive principles will have to battle with him, the editor of the *Globe* declares from the bottom of a heart that he wishes Hincks may want to sell his Reform alliance riots and bloodshed, by the pretences of this political prostitute.

MR. MACDOUGALL REFERS TO MR. BROWN'S ANCESTORS AS A YANKEE EDITOR.

(From the *North American*, Nov. 16, 1851.)
Those aware of the fate that the editor of the *Globe* had spent some time in conducting a newspaper in the City of New York, might doubt that he had completely adopted the vile practice of the *American Press*. But he was in harness as a Yankee Editor long enough to learn all the vices of the *American Press*.

THE BROWNS CAUSE BLOODSHED.

(From the *North American*, June 29, 1852.)
By William Macdougall, present Editor of the *Globe*.

The Browns of the *GU*—he who has at last succeeded in stirring up between Protestants and Catholics the religious animosities of past generations, who at last succeeded in producing riots and bloodshed, which have already launched into eternity eight or ten human beings, and cast upon beds of pain and anguish twenty or thirty others, many of whom will doubtless soon follow, seeing the blood on their shirts they make a desperate effort to shake off the evil and turn the public eye in some other direction. They have kindled the fire—they have lighted the conflagration that will soon sweep over the Province—a conflagration that will convert our Churches and our temples into heaps of smoking ruins, and everywhere leave in its track, bleeding and mangled human forms. Who has introduced the *coron* into Lower Canada where all was peace before? Who has constantly held out the threat of robbery of Catholic Church property? And who are they that with the spirit of FRIENDS—renew these threats while the blood of fifty of their victims is yet warm in the streets of Montreal? We shall do the best to prevent the success of such Protestantism; because it is the Protestantism of the Devil.

A DASTARDLY TRAITOR—A BRAZEN-FACED VIOLATOR OF TRUTH AND HONESTY—THE GLOBE A "LYING RAG."

(From the *North American*, Nov. 18, 1851.)
We would hardly believe that the dastardly traitor who conducts the *Globe* would dare to print extra numbers of his lying and scandalous sheet for the use of the Tories. But such is undoubtedly the fact, and it speaks volumes. What Reformers will allow the lying rag to pollute his dwelling after this? If the Reformers of Kent and Labton will really pick up such a degraded tool, such a brazen-faced violator of truth and decency—with the means of knowing his character, they deserve to be disfranchised.

THE PRESENT EDITOR OF THE GLOBE ON PHARISIAICAL BRAWLEYS.

(From the *North American*, Sept. 16, 1851.)
The Pharisaical Brawlers who manage the *Anti-Clergy Reserve Association* in this city, show no disposition to give the slightest assistance towards the diffusion of sound information. They bluster and speak in their Committee Room. But if anything is to be done, especially if it costs money, they have something else to attend to.

THE PRESENT EDITOR OF THE GLOBE ON "PROTESTANT REFORM."

(From the *North American*, Oct. 8, 1851.)
If any man assumes to speak on behalf of the Reform party, and asserts that he takes Protestant ground, we proclaim him an impostor and an enemy.

MR. MACDOUGALL CALLS HIS PRESENT MASTER NAMES.

(From the *North American*, Oct. 8, 1851.)
The *Globe's* statements are the invention of a notorious

THE PRESENT EDITOR OF THE GLOBE PROVES THAT IT IS A TORY PAPER AND ITS EDITOR A TORY.

(From the *North American*, Oct. 24, 1851.)
The Tory papers among which we class the *Globe*, has the impertinence to ask us questions as to the formation of the Cabinet. The *Globe*, the infamous editor of which came to Canada a Tory—worked into the hands of a Tory faction, defended the Court of Chancery and all the institutions in which his friends interested themselves, has put himself at the head of this faction to execute its infamous designs.

(From the *North American*, March 8, 1854.)
The real danger is, that "Tories" will, with the aid of the *Globe* and its clique, slip in under false pretences. That journal is not a Reform journal its Editor is not, and never was a Reformer. The only question on which he even pretends to be with the Reform party, as opposed to the Tory party, is that of Church and State, and its adjuncts. And this we all know was taken up in *extremis*, not from honest principle. For four years he supported with might and main a Government that to the last ignored the whole subject and deliberately riveted the links of the unholy connection whenever it was asked to do so. A death-bed repentance is not, we believe, much relied on among Christians, nor will protestations and promises *ex-necessitate*, or in *articulo mortis*, politically speaking, go for much among intelligent electors.

MR. MACDOUGALL PROVES HIS PRESENT MASTER TO BE A HORRIBLE LIAR.

(From the *North American*, Nov. 18, 1851.)
The *Globe* has the audacity to represent that all the Reform candidates have declared their sentiments, while ministers have not. What a horrible liar has been let loose on society!

BROWN'S DEBUT IN PARLIAMENT.

By William Macdougall.
QUEBEC, 27th Aug, 1852
The member for a minority of the electors of Kent, has delivered himself of a strange jumble of extracts from newspapers, platforms, dinners, contradictory statements and conflicting arguments. He meant to be terribly severe on the Ministry

But although he was cheered by the Tories to the very echo, he met no response from the House. Even Macdougall looked black at him. He is despised by all parties. Indeed, SO INTENSE IS THE DISGUST OF SEVERAL OF THE LIBERAL MEMBERS AT HIS FALSEHOODS THAT THEY WILL NOT SPEAK TO HIM.—*North American*.

THE GUY FAWKES OF THE COUNTRY.

By William Macdougall.
QUEBEC, Sept. 9, 1852.
The unprincipled and treacherous Editor of the *Globe*, who being within the citadel of the Reform party, is industriously plotting with the enemy outside—STANDS CONVICTED AS THE GUY FAWKES OF THE COUNTRY, and if lies and calumnies and Tory intrigues were as explosive as Guy Fawkes's gunpowder, the present Reform Parliament would be blown over the ramparts.—*North American*.

MR. BROWN SHOWN TO BE A PROFLIGATE AND THE GLOBE A MASS OF PUTRIDITY.

By the present Editor of the *Globe*
(From the *North American*, Feb. 28, 1852.)

If we did not know that there are persons of some pretensions to respectability amongst us who still countenance the moral profligate whose shameful falsehoods are poured forth upon society through that polluted channel, we *Globe*, we should not feel justified in occupying our space with their refutation. There have been states of society where the moral debasement of the mass has sunk so low that vice and crime would stamp their imprint on the browns of the votaries, and send them abroad upon the community without punishment and without remorse. Listen ye doped, we diddle electors of Kent, and rejoice that you have such a worthy representative. The task of dissecting such a mass of putridity is disgusting. We feel as if we had been cutting up a dead dog. * * * * * We repeat that you are a most unblushing, a most incorrigible — We leave our readers to fill up the blank.

MR. BROWN'S CONSISTENCY.

By William Macdougall, March 18th, 1852.
George Brown, M. P., should never talk of consistency, until he can get a Bill through Parliament to change his name and come out in a new character.—*North American*.

A MEAN QUIBBLING, DEGRADED TRAITOR.

(From the *North American*, Oct. 31, 1851.)
Mr. Brown stands confessed A MEAN, QUIBBLING, DEGRADED TRAITOR. "The dog has returned to his vomit, and the sow that was washed to her wallow in the mire."

A PICKPOCKET.

(From the *North American*, May 2nd, 1854.)
A pickpocket, arranged for judgment, can hardly be expected to entertain feelings of love towards his prosecutors; and the *Globe*, having been convicted of wholesale literary larceny, may well be pardoned for denouncing the motives of the witnesses against it.

A BROWN JOBBER.

(From the *North American*, March 17, 1854.)
\$15,000 JOB—THE BROWN JOB—ONE THAT CANNOT BE EXPLAINED.
Our readers are sufficiently familiar with the outcry about \$10,000 Jobs, Point Levi Jobs, &c., which the Brownite journals, both in Upper and Lower Canada, have raised against certain members of the Administration from Upper Canada. We have been furnished with information in respect to a Job of the immaculate George himself, from a quarter we have every reason to suppose is well-informed, and we therefore give our readers the benefit of it.

Mr. A. P. Ross, of Kingston, formerly of Auburn, New York, had a contract to have 50 men from the Penitentiary, to work as shoemakers, at the rate of 18 per day, Penitentiary to furnish firewood, benches, and a messenger, and contract to commence on the 15th June, 1854, and to run for five years, that is to June, 1859. But mark what follows—Mr. Commissioner George Brown, at his last sitting as Commissioner, 26th April, 1853, increased the number of men from 50 to 100 men, and directed the Warden to execute a new contract to the same party for 160 men, at 19 a day, for five years! to commence from the 16th July, 1854! being exactly 3 years 2 months and 20 days before it was to come into operation, and this also without advertising, or consulting the Government!!! There are several other advantages secured to the contractor, of great value, one of which provided that he should have the first choice of 50 men confirmed to him. The trade of shoemaking is the most advantageous of any to the contractor, and is fully sixpence a day better than any other. The same man, Mr. Ross, is paying \$3 31 a day for shoemakers at Auburn, which Brown knew when he made the arrangement. The present Commissioners have given out a contract at Kingston for cabinet work at 2s 1d and 2s 4d, and shoemakers are worth 3s 1d and 3s 3d which shows a dead loss to the Province on Mr. Brown's operation of \$15,000—fifteen thousand pounds. Mr. Ross could doubtless explain in Chancery how much bonus was paid to Mr. Brown.

Such is the character of Macdougall and Brown gave of one another before they joined in a conspiracy to obtain office. Such is Wm. Macdougall, who now seeks the confidence of North Oxford that he may betray it.

THE GRITS THREATEN REBELLION.

LOOKING TO WASHINGTON FOR ASSISTANCE.

THERE is abundant evidence to show that Mr. Macdougall's threatened appeal to Washington was the result of a deliberate and deep laid plot. Traitorous projects are generally shrouded in secrecy; and only occasional glimpses of them can be obtained. In this case the evidence rests entirely upon the indiscreet utterances of the parties to the plot; and it is of a nature that they cannot object to. There is no secret about Mr. Macdougall's connection with the *Globe*. He is one of the writers for that paper; and is admitted to all the editorial consultations upon matters of policy.

The evidence shows that the plot was formed early in the Spring of 1850. "At some times, in some countries, this state of things would be the precursor of revolution. We speak advisedly, after much observation and inquiry, when we say that the feeling which, at this moment, predominates in the West, has had no parallel since 1837."

On the 16th May 1859, the *Globe*, the recognised organ of the Grits and owned by the leader of that faction, and having Mr. Macdougall, for one of its editors, threatened annexation to the United States, if a dissolution of the Union were refused.

"Should a demand for annexation ever be renewed, it will be in consequence of a continuance of the Union—not as a result of its dissolution. Let the system now in operation be continued, and no step will be too extravagant, provided it relieve us from sectional domination, with all its insults, with all its injuries, all its ruinous effects upon the trade, taxes, and Balance of Upper Canada."

On the 18th Sept., 1859, the *Globe* denounced British connection as the greatest of evils:

"The first step is to get rid of him (the Governor); but, unfortunately, that depends not upon the people of Canada, but upon an Imperial Minister. In this matter the people feel themselves powerless, and it is the worst feature in the present state of our affairs. There can be nothing worse than a great community depending for the removal of the direct evils on a distant power, and feeling that that power has neither knowledge of, nor sympathy with, that condition."

Mr. Macdougall's brother-in-law, Mr. Rzesor, appears to have been in the secret. He is now a member of the Legislative Council, and in his paper, the *Markham Economist*, approvingly quoted in the *Globe*, Oct. 25, 1859, wishes it to be understood that he and his fellow Grits are loyal—very loyal—but that nevertheless if they fail to break up the Union, they will go for annexation to the United States:

"The people of Upper Canada are loyal, and do not desire annexation to the United States. But some of the most loyal have declared that, if they cannot be separated from Lower Canada, they will go for annexation. It would be well therefore, for those who oppose a dissolution of the Union, to consider well the responsibility of such a position. Scarcely one man in a hundred in Upper Canada is in favor of the Union."

McQUEEN of the *Huron Signal*, quoted by the *Globe* Oct. 25, appears to have been in the secret; for he urged that revolutionary means might fairly be adopted to give success to the designs of the Grits:

"If nothing less than revolution could rid us of the present system, it might be seriously debated whether revolution would be justified."

The presence of the PRINCE OF WALES in the Province did not restrain these insane threats.

On the 18th Sept., 1860, the *Globe* said:—"Let times, that the Duke of Newcastle and his colleagues be assured that we have reached a crisis in this country which must end and that speedily, in one of two ways; either in a change of the Union Act, with the aid and assent of the Imperial Parliament that will secure equal rights and immunities to the people of Upper Canada in proportion to their numbers or in a VIOLENT DISRUPTION OF THE PRESENT POLITICAL RELATIONS OF THE PROVINCE TOWARDS EACH OTHER, AND POSSIBLY TOWARDS GREAT BRITAIN."

When so much had been confessed of the designs of the conspirators, we cannot be surprised at Mr. Macdougall's subsequent threat to appeal to Washington. The whole thing had, as the evidence shows, been long decided upon. In his speech on Mr. Ferguson's Bill, on Representation based on Population, Mr. Macdougall, on the 17th of April last, in addressing the House of Assembly said:—

"If this source of relief should fail, the Anglo-Saxon race would not rest quiet. They would resort to some other plan. There were relations of an intimate kind with the people on the other side of the line; and it was natural to suppose that they would look in that direction for the remedy which they were unable to obtain elsewhere. At one time, some of the people of Canada thought the commercial policy of England, was injurious to their interests, and they looked in the direction he was speaking of."

Suppose that, in addition to our political grievances and present commercial difficulties, there was a bad harvest, and consequently great distress, then the people having been denied justice, THEY WOULD HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO LOOK TO WASHINGTON!"

A minority desires to be invested with the powers and prerogatives which, under a constitutional system belong to a majority. They do not feel equal to the accomplishment of a revolution by arms; and they threaten to invoke the sword of a foreign power to cut the knot of the difficulty. ARE THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY PREPARED TO SUSTAIN A PARTY WHICH PUBLISHES SUCH A PROGRAMME TO THE WORLD?

BROWN VOTES FOR FRENCH DOMINATION.

The sincerity of the Grits in raising a cry against "French domination" may be tested by their action in the Legislature. On the 10th of August, 1858, upon a motion being made for the issue of a writ for the election of a member to supply the place of Mr. Sherwood, who had just taken his seat in the Cabinet the following proceedings occurred. Several Grit candidates who are now before the electors affirmed by their vote that the French Canadians, of whose domination they are always complaining, were not sufficiently represented in the Cabinet and condemned the Government on that account.

"M. PIERRE moved in amendment to the motion, seconded by M. BURNABY, that the words 'and this House, without wishing to retard the issuing of a writ for the election of a member for the town of Brockville, regret that the French population is not sufficiently represented in the Administration, the formation of which has caused the seat to become vacant,' be added at the end thereof."

Among those who voted for the amendment were BELL, CHRISTIE, GOULD, DONALD MACDONALD, MCDONOUGH, MCKELLAR, MUNRO, NOTMAN, PATRICK, ROSS, RYMAL, SMOOR, STRATON, WALLBRIDGE and WRIGHT.

It seems that "a horde of political fanatics banded together to follow Mr. Buchanan from one meeting to another to produce riot and disturbance."¹ Events at a meeting at Kauffman's Hotel prompted the Review to print the following account:

The Grit hornet nest from the rear of Blandford swarmed in great numbers headed by Oliver and Johnny Burns, the Tory blood-sucker, and the latter, in a most discourteous and ungentlemanly manner sought every opportunity to insult and annoy Mr. Buchanan.²

The Review was determined to do all it could for Buchanan. "East Zorra," it predicted, "will give a good account of itself on the side of Order and Loyalty to the British Crown. Mo [sic] looking to Washington under any circumstances."³ But, alas, East Zorra went the way of her western sister, and proved unfaithful.

The same issue contained an even more sweeping prediction:

Mr. Buchanan is on the side of Order, Progress and Loyalty -- Mr. McDougall is on the side of theoretical changes and an ill disguised disposition to look to Washington.....North Oxford will show in this election that the electors have no sympathy for Mr. McDougall's revolutionary sentiments...⁴

Again the Review was betrayed, for North Oxford, like her Zorras, went for McDougall instead of for "Order, Progress and Loyalty." In spite of the ministerial press "flooding the riding with handbooks, batteries, pamphlets and blue-books" all villifying McDougall and extolling Buchanan,⁵ McDougall won the seat by more votes than George Brown got when he won the seat in 1858. McDougall's majority of 735,

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Newmarket Era, July 26, 1861.

one of the largest in the province, would indicate that the "disloyalty" and "look to Washington" charge did not have much effect.

It might be said that if the city of London did not return J. Wilson, it elected a Conservative. It was, indeed, said that in the last parliament John Carling "misrepresented that city."¹ In 1861 Carling was again the government candidate. He got some first hand support from John A. Macdonald who came out to deliver a speech at a dinner given in Carling's honor. The speech defended the government's record and urged all ministerialists not to divide their vote by fielding more than one candidate in a riding.² As intimated earlier, there was some dissatisfaction with Carling's services. Even the friendly London Free Press chided him for not being independent enough in the last house.³ A requisition was published asking Wilson to run against Carling. The requisition bore 806 signatures, and seemed to guarantee a majority for Wilson since only 1236 votes had been cast in the last election.⁴ But Wilson declined the requisition "for personal reasons,"⁵ and Carling won the seat by acclamation.

In East Middlesex the conservative organization was running into difficulties. Despite Macdonald's advice, there was a possibility of two ministerial candidates, and a division of the Tory vote.⁶

¹Sarnia Observer, June 21, 1861.

²London Free Press, June 14, 1861.

³Ibid., June 10, 1861.

⁴Sarnia Observer, June 14, 1861.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Leader, June 18, 1861.

The Conservative nomination meeting had selected M. B. Portman as the official candidate, but he refused to run when Becher, the runner-up to the choice, refused to withdraw his name from the contest.¹ Becher was quite vehement about his stand:

I am not to be jostled off the track by such men of yesterday as Portman and Johnson. I will not leave the way clear when they retire, nor unless the people select a candidate of which I approve. If I cannot win the race, I can make a respectable show and prevent them from winning. I am Mr. Becher.²

At a somewhat disorderly Conservative convention held a week later, Becher was still intransigent. He would, he promised, abide by the convention's decision only if it did not settle on Portman.³ Since the gathering still favoured Portman, Becher at length proposed a jury of conciliation to be composed of three of his own men and three of Portman's, but Portman rejected the proposal.⁴ It seemed that only the hand of an adroit master would heal the Conservative rift in East Middlesex. By nomination day it was healed. Portman was nominated, seconded by Becher.

The Liberals nominated a candidate named R. Craik who had already been given the following warning by the Leader:

No one needs to be told that the east riding of Middlesex is a thoroughly Conservative constituency, and that any member of that party, whoever he may be can win it single-handed against Craik.⁵

Even for the Leader, that was a bold prognostication, considering that

¹London Free Press, May 31, 1861.

²Ibid., June 8, 1861.

³Ibid., June 15, 1861.

⁴Ibid., July 2, 1861.

⁵Leader, June 10, 1861.

Craik was the incumbent, having been elected in a by-election in 1860.¹

There was a bit of a shower in East Middlesex on the first day of polling, but otherwise the weather was "delightful" and everywhere there was "sunshine" as an elector named Gun went forth to exercise his franchise.² He was one of 1200 electors who voted for Craik, but there were 1503 who preferred Portman.

A few days later Portman wrote Macdonald a letter in which the following sentence held prominence:

I must thank you for inducing Becher to retire and so securing my return.³

Using the standards of the Leader, it might be said that West Middlesex was a thoroughly Liberal riding. When the east riding elected Conservatives in the last two general elections, the west riding elected and re-elected J. Scatcherd, a Liberal. Then in by-elections both ridings switched, the east electing Craik, the Liberal, and the west A. P. Macdonald, a Conservative. In 1861 both of these men ran for re-election and both lost.

The Sarnia Observer, with its dislike for candidates that were not Liberal, noted pointedly that A. P. Macdonald was running as an "independent."⁴ The London Free Press saw nothing wrong in that, and argued that "were the example of Mr. Macdonald more generally followed in this respect, we should have much more useful legislation and much less party strife."⁵ Macdonald's address, carried in the same paper, stated that

¹Coté, op. cit., p. 114.

²P.A.O., Gun Diary, July 8, 1861, p. 260.

³P.A.C., John A. Macdonald Papers, V. 337, p. 153448, Portman to Macdonald, July 12, 1861.

⁴Sarnia Observer, June 21, 1861.

⁵London Free Press, June 4, 1861.

he had given unqualified support to Rep. By Pop., that he condemned the Grand Trunk advance, and that he had supported both the Jury and the Bankruptcy bills. The address went on to claim that Macdonald helped abolish imprisonment for debt, and was responsible for the Exemption Act which put an end to seizure, for ^{debt} settlement, of essential chattels and food.¹

1342 electors of West Middlesex expressed a preference for Macdonald, his achievements, and what he stood for, but 1532 preferred the name Scatcherd and what the Grits stood for. The riding, therefore, returned the Reform Convention nominee, Thos. Scatcherd, a successor to the deceased J. Scatcherd mentioned in an earlier paragraph.

Thos. Scatcherd was a barrister like so many of the men that were elected in agrarian Upper Canada. According to the Canadian Parliamentary Companion, the only riding to elect a farmer was Waterloo South where James Cowan was given a majority of 145 votes over Hespler, who believed that universal suffrage could be a national curse.² Cowan's victory was a Liberal gain from the Conservatives. William Scott, who had held the seat for the Tories in the last parliament, refused to candidate.³

Waterloo North and the neighboring county of Perth both elected the same man, a barrister by the name of M. H. Foley. Foley, who was generally regarded as the Liberal leader in the last session,⁴ had little trouble winning Waterloo against Hoffman. Waterloo, which had been electing and re-electing Foley since the riding was established in 1854, gave him a majority of 421.

¹ Ibid.

² Leader, June 20, 1861.

³ Hamilton Times, June 7, 1861.

⁴ Creighton, op. cit., p. 307.

In the riding of Perth, Foley met stiff competition from T. M. Daly who had represented the constituency in the last two parliaments. Foley held numerous well organized and publicised meetings which were attended by great numbers of farmers who gathered for the occasions. These meetings, like those of most candidates, were held in school houses, in hotels, farmyards, and village squares.¹ At Mitchell, Foley spoke from a balcony and ran into Daly at the conclusion of the speech. Foley accused him of having resorted to false statements during the campaign "whereupon Daly jumped at Mr. Foley, and caught him by the collar and struck him in the face."²

Foley won the seat by thirty-six votes, but had to give it up to hold Waterloo. In the by-election Daly was elected.³

The Wellington ridings were both established in 1854. In 1861 they each returned a justice of the peace, but there the similarity ended. The south riding consistently elected a Liberal throughout the union period. In 1861 David Stirton was chosen to represent the district for the second time. Stirton's return was an acclamation.

In 1854 North Wellington elected a Conservative in the person of W. Clarke, a medical doctor. In the next election the seat was won by a Liberal, as it was again in 1859 when J. Ross was the successful candidate.⁴ In 1861 Clarke again contested the riding against Ross. Religion apparently was a factor in the campaign, for Clarke found it

¹Stratford Beacon, June 21, 1861.

²London Free Press, June 27, 1861.

³Coté, op. cit., p. 116.

⁴Coté, op. cit., p. 115.

necessary to defend himself against a charge of being a Catholic and wishing the seat of government to be Quebec City. Clarke won by a majority of seventy-one.

The charges against Clarke were probably unfounded, but unfounded or grossly exaggerated accusations were not uncommon in the election. The candidates and their supporters barred very few holds when they wrestled with their opponents. Certain that the newspaper requisition and the published address were insufficient in the struggle, they carried on with the use of handbills, broadsheets, placards, pamphlets, and letters. Sometimes they exercised great courtesy and sportsmanship, but more often than not they plagued each other's meetings with organized rowdyism and harassment which frequently developed into violence and sometimes led to the exchange of blows by the candidates themselves. The propagation of malicious rumours and the hurling of charges and counter-charges were but the milder aspects of the battle.

North Wellington, the last of the western ridings to be dealt with in this chapter, was one of the last to go to the polls. When voting ceased in the riding on the tenth of July,¹ results of elections in constituencies with earlier dates were already known and the general campaign was pretty well over. All that remained after that was the task of compiling and assessing the results.

¹Globe, June 27, 1861.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RESULTS

A complete and definite compilation of the election results was quite impossible in 1861. There were twelve controverted elections, and final rulings on these took considerable time. Some were not made till a year or even two years later.

Elections in the following ridings were petitioned against: Durham, Elgin, Essex, Leeds South, Lennox and Addington; Northumberland East, Oxford North, Peel, Perth, Peterborough, Wellington North, and South Wentworth.¹ Grounds for protest of returns included charges of bribery, undue influence on electors, illegal or incomplete lists of voters, voting by unqualified persons, and forceful prevention of electors from voting.²

It was equally difficult to determine party strengths brought about by the election. Here again, it was necessary to wait till the first session began, and the first few divisions were recorded before it could be determined how independent the "Independent" members really were.

The newspapers did not lose time in assessing party strengths. The Perth Courier, believed by Macdonald to be ministerial, gave the government twenty-six supporters as compared to thirty-six for the opposition. It listed Ryerson, McLachlin, and Bell as members of uncertain political affiliation.³ The Globe, which had come to much the same conclusion,

¹Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada, 1862, Vol. XX., pp. xxvii-xxx.

²John A. Macdonald Papers, V. 337, p. 153463.
Globe, July 16, 1861.

³Perth Courier, July 19, 1861.

chided the Leader for claiming the above-mentioned members along with Hooper, Rykert, and Dunsford as ministerialists.¹ This brought a rebuttal from the Leader which published its own list of ministerial and opposition members elected, counting thirty-two of the former and twenty-eight of the latter, and setting three down as "ant-Grit."²

Individuals all over the province were working out lists of their own. O. R. Gowan, the defeated Conservative candidate in Grey, sent Macdonald a list in which he gave the premier thirty-three supporters. "This gives you a clear majority in Upper Canada," he wrote, "but you will require to handle Rykert, Alex Morris, Jackson, Dunsford, Hooper and the two Camerons delicately. I think White may be got through Ferguson, by your agreeing to give him the patronage of his own county."³

George Brown attempted his own evaluation of the results in a letter to his erstwhile colleague, A. Dorion. The election, he stated, had provided:

twenty-nine reliable members of our party; one double return from which another reliable man will be secured; one member who professes to be of our party and will probably vote no confidence in the Administration, but will strive to hurt the Opposition as much as possible; one member who is a radical of the strongest kind, and though returned in opposition to our Candidate, can hardly vote with the present Government. One member of Conservative education very much in the same position as the last; four members returned as our party candidates, and so far as we know likely to go generally with us but who from their Conservative Antecedents are claimed by the Ministerialists; two Ottawa men: and twenty-six reliable Ministerialists. There seems every reason to believe that at least 34 members of the assembly from Upper Canada will vote from the start no confidence -- being a majority of 4 on the division.⁴

¹Globe, July 13, 1861.

²Leader, July 12, 1861.

³John A. Macdonald Papers, V. 337, p. 153468, Gowan to Macdonald, July 16, 1861.

⁴George Brown Papers, p. 622, Brown to Dorion, July 19, 1861.

Brown's over-optimistic letter, would indicate that there existed a certain liaison between the Grits and the Rouges. It also illustrates how difficult it was in the summer of 1861 to ascertain party strength accurately to the last member. That, only time would reveal.

Cornell, basing his findings on a study of how the members divided during the next session, came to the following conclusions as to party strengths: "The Conservatives and Liberals of Canada West had each returned twenty-nine members while a little group of Coalition Reformers gave a margin of six to the government."¹ The six Coalition Reformers were Buchanan, Dunsford, Jackson, McLachlin, Morrison, and Rykert. Ryerson, Hooper, Morris, and Bell (of Russell) turned out to be Conservatives.²

In all, sixteen ridings changed allegiance during the election. Eleven of these were Conservative gains from the Liberals. In this count the Coalition Reformers are considered as Conservatives. The five Liberal gains were reduced to four when Foley resigned one of the two seats that he had won. In the by-election that followed Perth reverted to the Conservatives. Conservative strength was increased from twenty-nine held before dissolution to thirty-five after the election, while Liberal strength was cut from thirty-six to twenty-nine.

It will be noted from the table that follows that Conservative strength was quite evenly distributed among the three zones examined in previous chapters. Their greatest strength and greatest gains were in the Lake Ontario area. Liberal strength was concentrated in the Western region where over fifty per cent of their power lay. They were weakest in Central Canada. They suffered losses in each of the divisions, the greatest being in the Lake Ontario area.

¹Cornell, op. cit., p. 49.

²Ibid., p. 109.

TABLE I

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF PARTY STRENGTH
BEFORE DISSOLUTION 1861 AND AFTER
THE ELECTION of 1861

	Western Ridings		Lake Ontario Region		Central Canada	
	<u>Before</u>	<u>After</u>	<u>Before</u>	<u>After</u>	<u>Before</u>	<u>After</u>
Liberal	17	16	13	9	6	5
Conservative	10	11	9	13	10	11
Total	27		22		16	

It will be noted from Table 2 that in nine of the sixteen cases where a riding passed from one party to another the margin of victory was below one hundred. In the Lake Ontario region the lone Liberal gain from the Conservatives was obtained by a majority of only five votes.

TABLE II
POLITICAL AFFILIATION OF RIDINGS
AFTER THE ELECTION OF 1861

Western Ridings	Lake Ontario Region	Central Canada
Brant, E. L. ^a	Durham, E. L.(5)	Brockville..... C.
Brant, W. C.(53) ^b	Durham, W. L.	Carleton .....C.
Elgin, E. L.	Halton L.	Cornwall L.
Elgin, W. C.	Hastings, N. C.	Dundas C.(131)
Essex L.(51)	Hastings, S. L.	Frontenac C.
Grey C.(27)	Kingston C.	Glengarry L.
Haldimand L.	Lennox & Addington. C.	Grenville L.
Hamilton C.	Northumberland, E.. L.	Lanark, N. L.
Huron & Bruce. L.	Northumberland, W.. C.	Lanark, S. C.
Kent L.	Ontario, N. C.(98)	Leeds & Grenville.C.
Lambton L.	Ontario, W. L.	Leeds, S. C.
Lincoln C.	Peel C.(108)	Ottawa City C.
London C.	Peterborough C.(36)	Prescott C.
Middlesex, E.. C.(303)	Prince Edward C.(32)	Renfrew C.
Middlesex, W.. L.(190)	Simcoe, N. C.	Russell C.
Niagara C.	Simcoe, S. C.	Stormont L.
Norfolk C.(242)	Toronto, W. C.	
Oxford, N. ... L.	Toronto, E. C.(191)	
Oxford, S. ... L.	Victoria C.	
Perth L.(36)	York, N. L.	
Waterloo, S. . L.	York, E. L.	
Waterloo, N. . L.(421)	York, W. L.	
Welland C.		
Wellington, N. C.(71)		
Wellington, S. L.		
Wentworth, N.. L.		
Wentworth, S.. L.		

A Letters L and C stand for Liberal and Conservative respectively.

b. Figures in parenthesis denote majorities obtained in ridings that changed their affiliation.

The total number of votes cast in the election was 131,673. Even after allowing for acclamations in both elections, this is some 20,000 fewer than the number polled in 1858. In 1863 the turnout was even smaller, indicating that the electorate was tending to lose interest in politics as the elections followed each other in the pre-confederation days (See Table 4, Appendix A). Another indication of this trend was the growing number of acclamations with each succeeding election, there being four in 1858, six in 1861, and ten in 1863. The number of eligible voters in 1861 was 179,864 in ridings where voting was required. It would appear, then, that the percentage turnout was over seventy-six.

Of the six acclamations, three went to the Liberals. Assuming that all votes cast for candidates defeated by the Conservatives were Liberal, and adding the sum of these to that polled by successful Liberal candidates, the figure of 67,403 is arrived at. This would indicate that 51.1% of the total votes were cast for the opposition.

All the urban ridings but Cornwall elected government supporters. Of the sixty-four members elected, 24 were justices of the peace, 20 were lawyers, and 16 were businessmen. There were 3 present of past Grand Masters of the Orange Association. One member held a Master of Arts degree. Also elected were one farmer, one Wesleyan minister and one newspaper editor.¹

Table 3, (page 119), lists the names of the members by ridings and indicates their party affiliation as well as the majority by which they won their seats.

¹Morgan, op. cit.

TABLE III

LIST OF MEMBERS ELECTED BY RIDINGS

Riding	Member	Party ^a	Majority
Brant, E.	J. Y. Bown	L.	31
Brant, W.	W. Ryerson	C.	53
Brockville	G. Sherwood	C.	159
Carleton	W. F. Powell	C.	534
Cornwall	J. S. Macdonald	L.	114
Dundas	J. S. Ross	C.	131
Durham, E.	J. S. Smith	L.	5
Durham, W.	H. Munro	L.	319
Elgin, E.	L. Burwell	L.	281
Elgin, W.	G. Macbeth	C.	13
Essex	A. Rankin	L.	51
Frontenac	J. Morton	C.	75
Glengary	D. A. Macdonald	L.	acc
Grenville	W. Patrick	L.	94
Grey	G. Jackson	CR.	27
Haldimand	M. Harcourt	L.	80
Halton	J. White	L.	331
Hamilton	I. Buchanan	CR.	325
Hastings, N.	G. Benjamin	C.	105
Hastings, S.	L. Wallbridge	L.	126
Huron & Bruce	J. Dickson	L.	755
Kent	A. McKeller	L.	260
Kingston	J. A. Macdonald	C.	311
Lambton	A. Mackenzie	L.	196
Lanark, N.	R. Bell	L.	acc
Lanark, S.	A. Morris	C.	437
Leeds & Grenville	F. Jones	C.	11
Leeds, S.	B. Tett	C.	17
Lennox & Addington	A. F. Hooper	C.	384
Lincoln	J. C. Rykert	CR.	acc
London	J. Carling	C.	acc
Middlesex, E.	M. B. Portman	C.	303
Middlesex, W.	T. Scatcherd	L.	190
Niagara	J. Simpson	C.	103
Norfolk	A. Walsh	C.	242
Northumberland, E.	J. L. Biggar	L.	185
Northumberland, W.	J. Cockburn	C.	27
Ontario, N.	M. C. Cameron	C.	98
Ontario, S.	O. Mowat	L.	659
Ottawa City	R. W. Scott	C.	acc
Oxford, N.	W. McDougall	L.	735
Oxford, S.	S. Connor	L.	70

TABLE III (cont.)

LIST OF MEMBERS ELECTED BY RIDINGS

Riding	Member	Party	Majority
Peel	J. H. Cameron	C.	108
Perth	M. H. Foley	L.	36
Peterborough	F. W. Haultain	C.	36
Prescott	H. W. McCann	C.	115
Prince Edward	W. Anderson	C.	32
Renfrew	D. McLachlin	CR.	340
Russell	R. Bell	C.	2
Simcoe, N.	A. Morrison	CR.	298
Simcoe, S.	T. R. Ferguson	C.	480
Stormant	S. Ault	L.	155
Toronto, E.	J. Crawford	C.	191
Toronto, W.	J. B. Robinson	C.	255
Victoria	J. W. Dunsford	CR.	251
Waterloo, S.	M. H. Foley	L.	145
Waterloo, N.	J. Cowan	L.	421
Welland	T. C. Street	C.	378
Wellington N.	W. Clarke	C.	71
Wellington, S.	D. Stirton	L.	acc
Wentworth, N.	W. Notman	L.	112
Wentworth, S.	J. Rymal	L.	34
York, N.	A. Wilson	L.	874
York, E.	A. Wright	L.	141
York, W.	W. P. Howland	L.	440

2 The letters C, L, and CR stand for Conservative, Liberal, and Coalition Reformer respectively.

CHAPTER IX

THE AFTERMATH

"We are free to admit that the verdict of the electors has been different from what we expected, and as we think had a right to expect."¹ The Globe certainly spoke for the Liberals when it published those words. The Liberals had reason to be disappointed. They had not defeated the government, and had not gained a single urban seat, having, indeed, lost one. Brown, their most dynamic leader, was defeated, and "several older reliable Brownites had not been re-elected."²

The defeat of Brown and his subsequent decision to withdraw from politics was the hardest blow to the Liberals. Regret at this turn of events was expressed from various quarters. "I regret very much your return to private life as far as the country is concerned," wrote one of his correspondents.³ Holton wrote him from Montreal as soon as he heard the news of his defeat. "From the character of the returns last night and at noon today, I take for granted you are defeated I presume by a combination of Orange and Green."⁴ A few days later he wrote again, "It is quite impossible that you can be allowed to stay out of parliament a single session. The party will be quite helpless without you."⁵

¹Globe, July 13, 1861.

²Careless, op. cit., p. 46.

³George Brown Papers, V.4, p. 620, Dr. Mair to Brown, July 13, 1861.

⁴Ibid., p. 613, Holton to Brown, July 6, 1861.

⁵Ibid., p. 618, Holton to Brown, July 12, 1861.

Dorion, the defeated Rouge Leader in Lower Canada, wrote Brown a sympathetic letter in which he announced his own retirement from politics, and predicted a short life for the government. Continuing the prophetic note, he foresaw a complete re-organization of political parties.¹

Numerous papers published editorials regretting the loss to the assembly of Brown. The Globe printed excerpts from over twenty-five.² Amongst these was the following quoted from the Kingston British Whig, a ministerial paper:

The Hon. George Brown, the leader of the Opposition, has no seat in Parliament and cannot have one until fourteen days after Parliament meets, when one of his supporters can resign and allow Mr. Brown to be elected in his place. Unless, indeed, an appointment under the Crown be made in favour of such supporter, when his seat becomes immediately vacant and Mr. Brown can be elected instead. Now the Hon. John A. Macdonald has declared his willingness, and sufficiently public for us to repeat it, that he will appoint to office any gentleman of the Opposition whom Mr. Brown will recommend and will do this in order that Mr. Brown may meet him face to face and hand to hand in the House of Assembly.³

It is doubtful whether Brown's pride would permit him to ask such a favour of his political and personal foe. Brown did eventually gain a seat by way of an appointment under the Crown, after Connor, the man accused by William Lyon Mackenzie of contaminating the "Shrievalty," was appointed judge. The appointment, however, was made in 1863 by the John Sandfield Macdonald ministry.⁴

¹George Brown Papers, p. 609, Dorion to Brown, July, 1861.

²Globe, July 17, 1861.

³Ibid., July 15, 1861.

⁴Cote, op. cit., p. 116.

Of course, in many quarters, the defeat of Brown was a signal for rejoicing. In Grimsby, wrote the Leader, "when the news arrived that George Brown and Adam Wilson were both ignominiously routed, there arose from Moderate and Union loving men a counter excitement. They got powder, and paid for it, they fired off numerous salutes and made a great bonfire on the point."¹ Similar scenes took place elsewhere. At Markham there were guns, band music, and a procession to the spot where the fires were to be lit.²

At Whitby there was a similar demonstration against McDougall. A night procession of some six hundred people marched to a hill where McDougall was burned in effigy along with placards bearing inscriptions such as, "Traitor McDougall," "Annexation," and "Look to Washington."³

The Niagara Mail commemorated Brown's defeat with the following effort:

The Toronto papers give alarming accounts of a Ghost that has appeared in the streets about midnight in the shape of a shadowy human figure riding on a headless horse! The general conclusion is, however, that it is the Ghost of Clear Gritism in the shape of George Brown defunct, riding the headless Protestant horse, re-visiting the pale glimpses of moon, and the scene of his former glory! Alas! poor Brown, we knew him well!⁴

¹Leader, July 9, 1861.

²Ibid.

³John A. Macdonald Papers, V. 337, Pt. 1, p. 153431, T. Moody to Macdonald, July 7, 1861.

⁴P.A.O., Niagara Mail, July 17, 1861.

The Hamilton Spectator might be said to have believed itself to have known Brown well, also. "No man has done the country a tithe of the harm that Mr. Brown has done it: he has in fact, been its curse, and we rejoice that the incubus is removed."¹

There was considerable newspaper discussion of the reasons for Brown's defeat, and the poor showing of the Liberals in general. After the first day's polling in Toronto, the Globe had this to say about the results: "By unlimited use of money and Whiskey the friend's of Mr. Crawford succeeded in bringing to the polls a sufficient number of voters to obtain a majority of thirty-four."² Two days later the paper had a more detailed analysis of the causes of Brown's defeat:

Mr. Crawford was exceedingly acceptable as a candidate to the Roman Catholic clergy, and they exercised all their powerful influence on his behalf. The other influence used in the election was that of money. Mr. Crawford has frequently stated during the contest that he would adhere to the law and spend no money in bribing the electors. We presume that he adhered to his resolution but his friends must have supplied that which he declined to give. Certain it is that during the election days very large sums of money were freely spent. The whole strength of the Government was brought to bear upon the electors. Every official was compelled to vote at the risk of losing position. The Grand Trunk influence was, of course, employed, and the poverty which prevails among working classes aided in the work of corruption and intimidation.³

That was how the Globe explained Brown's defeat, but there were those that saw other reasons:

There can be no doubt but that Mr. Brown owes his defeat principally to the indiscretions of the Globe newspaper. At one time under the control of Mr. Brown himself, at another conducted by Mr. Shepherd, and consequently by Mr. Washington

¹Leader, July 9, 1861, quoting from Hamilton Spectator.

²Globe, July 6, 1861.

³Ibid., July 8, 1861.

McDougall, the Globe had adopted a system of political warfare unprecedented in the annals of journalism. The Globe has in turn villified and traduced the Bench of Judges -- insulted the Governor-General -- abused the Lower Canadians -- spoken lightly of the Catholic religion and its attendant ceremonies -- ridiculed and traduced the Orangemen, until at length it has destroyed the morals of the entire Opposition. How is it that the Catholics and the Orangemen of Toronto consented to work hand in hand to defeat Brown?¹

The Globe, no doubt, had good basis for its attacks on the Crawford camp, but it is equally probable that the London Free Press, in the passage quoted above, came just as close to the truth. The last sentence is reminiscent of Holton's letter, quoted earlier, in which he attributes Brown's defeat to a "combination of Orange and Green."

It was Brown's unfortunate talent for acquiring bitter foes, and John A. Macdonald's happy knack for winning the support of various, often incompatible, if not warring, groups that contributed in turning the balance in favour of the Conservatives.

There can be no doubt that religion was a potent factor in bringing about Liberal losses. As early as June 14, the Hamilton Times had complained against the activities of the clergy in the campaign.² Ten days later, it reported a sermon by the Bishop of Hamilton in which Catholics were told that they were obliged to vote for candidates most likely to promote the welfare of the Roman Catholic church.³ The Bishop of Sandwich, in a letter to the Diocese, was most emphatic on the subject.

Let every citizen who is qualified by law to assist in giving Legislators to his country, consider well that he is called upon to perform a moral act for which he will have to render one day a severe and strict account to the All-Seeing Judge

¹Northern Advance, July 10, 1861, quoting London Free Press.

²Hamilton Times, June 14, 1861.

³Ibid., June 24, 1861.

of men's consciences. Let them unanimously renounce for ever all political connection with every party or candidate known as unwilling to guarantee to their Catholic fellow-citizens, the rights of full liberty of Conscience, which are wantonly trampled upon, so long as freedom of education and religious equality are not practically granted them.¹

Preservation of separate schools was the great Catholic concern during the campaign. The Canadian Freeman, under the headline, "Separate Schools -- The Test For Catholic Voters," published the following convictions:

We cannot lend our support to men who openly profess their determination to destroy our Separate Schools, to oppose Freedom of Education, and who omit no opportunity of declaring their hostility to our religious and charitable institutions.

All other topics which regard even the most temporal concerns, dwindle into insignificance when viewed in comparison with moral Catholic training of our youth.²

The True Witness and Catholic Chronicle wrote in the same vein. The struggle as to who would get the "distribution of patronage and the fingering of public monies," said the Chronicle, might leave the Catholic "very indifferent as to the result." It went on to state that there were "some very important questions in which the interests of religion are immediately at stake." It considered the defeat of Brown a very important victory for the Catholic cause and attributed it to "the vigorous combined action of the Catholics" in Toronto.³

That the Catholic papers did their share in bringing about the defeat, was clearly recognized by the parishoners of Trent Mission. They passed a resolution of thanks to the journals for their endeavors to

¹True Witness and Catholic Chronicle, June 28, 1861.

²P.A.C., Canadian Freeman, June 28, 1861.

³True Witness and Catholic Chronicle, July 12, 1861.

unite the Roman Catholics during the late struggle. They also passed a resolution thanking their pastor for "his indefatigable^[sic] and successful exertions in uniting the Catholics under his watchful guidance at the late elections ..."¹

Apparently the Catholics preferred the Orange to the Brown organization. In Peel County, J. H. Cameron was elected, according to the Globe, because he was the Grand Master of the Orange Association, and "managed to obtain the support of a very large portion of the Catholic supporters."²

Anti-Grit sentiment was, of course, greatly encouraged by the Conservatives who, late in June, put out a campaign sheet called The Voter's Guide directed especially to the loyal Britisher, the Catholic, and the Orangeman. To turn the Britisher from the Liberals, the sheet made profuse reference to the "Look to Washington" speech made by McDougall, and accused the party of condemning the "British Connection" as the "Worst Feature" in the Canadian system. For the Catholics, the guide featured the following headline: "Grits raise the 'No Popery' Howl." It went on to quote various anti-Catholic references made by Brown and the Globe, finishing up by accusing the Liberals of demanding Rep. by Pop. in order to abolish separate schools and to strike against the Catholics. The sheet reminded Orangemen that Brown had called "the Orangemen a baleful malignant faction" and predicted that their days were numbered in Canada.³

¹Globe, July 22, 1861, quoting True Witness and Catholic Chronicle.

²Ibid., July 8, 1861.

³John A. Macdonald Papers, Vol. 297, The Voter's Guide, A Campaign Sheet.

If the Globe helped alienate the Catholics from the Liberal cause, it also helped estrange the Churches of England and Scotland. The Chatham Planet was of that opinion.

The country is told in large, black type, how the Church of Scotland has robbed the municipalities of Upper Canada of half a million of dollars; and how the Church of England received a million more than she had a right to. Yes, one, to read the Globe, would believe that the Churches of Scotland and England . . . were but a corporation of robbers and swindlers which had grown powerful solely upon stealings from the public purse.¹

There were Methodists, also, that were offended by the Globe. The following is a letter published by the Barrie Northern Advance:

The Globe's leading editorial of last Monday has done more to confirm me, as well as several others, in the opinion that we, as Wesleyans, have more to fear and more to dread from Mr. George Brown and his party, than from any other party in the province. Mr. Brown's attack on Dr. Ryerson and also his venerable brother, Wm. Ryerson, is in keeping with his proceedings for years past.²

Macdonald did not need the Globe's help to win the Wesleyans away from the Grits. Between him and Egerton Ryerson there was an understanding that dates back to at least March of 1861. On the eighteenth of that month he had written Ryerson, advising him of the impending election "which may determine the future of Canada, and whether it will be a limited Constitutional Monarchy or a Yankee democracy." Even then he hinted that he thought that the question of university grants could be contrived to be made into "a lever to move Upper Canada from its depths."³ Towards the end of May he wrote Ryerson again, this time with more specific information to divulge.

¹Chatham Planet, June 11, 1861.

²Barrie Northern Advance, July 3, 1861.

³P.A.C. Ryerson Papers, M.G. 24, k. 15, Macdonald to Ryerson, March 18, 1861.

The elections will come off in June, so no time is to be lost in rousing the Wesleyan feeling in our favour.

The reasons for hurrying the Elections are 1st that Brown is hors de combat and the Grits disorganized, 2nd Unless the Elections come off before 12 July, the Orangemen and the R.C's will be breaking each others Heads. At present we have both these bodies all right and we only want the Wesleyans to carry Upper Canada. I think you might embrace the occasion, or rather find an opportunity of giving the country one or two slashing letters.

I propose getting an O.C. passed recommending an application to Parl't next year for a grant out of the U.C. Building fund to each of the Denominational Colleges in U.C. This you can mention in Secret conclave at the Conference, but it is for you to consider well, whether it can be mentioned openly. Would it not look too much like a Bid for your support? The clergymen would be informed of it quietly, and might well say on their circuits that it was for the interests of the Church to support the powers that be. J. C. Morrison and I have a cypher so that if you wish to communicate by telegram he will do it for you.¹

Later Macdonald wrote to specify that he intended "to propose 10,000 for Victoria, Queen's and Trinity," and an equal sum for the Catholic seminaries.² That this correspondence had its effect, was indicated to Ryerson when Macdonald wrote him in connection with another matter:

When I requested your influence in his behalf I only expected that it would be exercised in the same manner as you exercised it during the general Election, quietly and unobtrusively, but not the less effectual for all that.²

These letters to Ryerson indicate that Macdonald, himself, knew how to exercise influence "quietly and unobtrusively." Previous chapters bear evidence of this. Correspondence to him is also revealing. A letter from C. J. Brydges is noteworthy because it was written on the

¹Ibid., Macdonald to Ryerson, May 29, 1861.

²Ibid., Macdonald to Ryerson, September 19, 1861.

stationery of the managing director's office of the Great Western Railway. "I have your note of yesterday," the letter began, "and assure you that I am heartily with you in your present contest and will do everything I can to aid your friends."¹ This, together with the Globe's charge of the Grand Trunk influence in the Toronto campaign, shows where the support of the railroad interests went.

It is doubtful whether the capital made by Macdonald and the Conservatives of the "Look to Washington" utterance harmed the Liberal cause greatly. It does not appear to have harmed McDougall in North Oxford where he obtained a majority of 735, a figure topped in the western ridings only by a 755 obtained by a fellow Liberal. It did not harm Foley, either, for he won two seats in the West, one by 400 votes, a much better than average majority. Even in the Lake Ontario region, where Liberal losses were heaviest, and where the disloyalty charge might have turned the balance in a few cases, the Liberal leaders garnered huge majorities. Mowat got a majority of 659, and Wilson topped everybody with 874. Only Brown was defeated, but his defeat can be attributed to reasons already discussed rather than to the "Look to Washington" issue. Of all the Liberal leaders, he was the least guilty of connection with the statement, since he had not even attended the session during which it was made.

The statement did not harm McDougall's career, either. The very next year he was elevated to the executive council by John Sandfield Macdonald, and in 1864 he served in the coalition council. Six years later John A. Macdonald, the man who made the notorious statement into such an issue, appointed its author to the post of the queen's representative in ~~the province of Manitoba,~~ Rupert's Land and the North West Territories.

¹John A. Macdonald Papers, MG, 26, Vol. 191, p. 79407, Bridges to Macdonald, June 25, 1861.

With the Civil War raging to the south, the disloyalty charge against the Liberals harmed them in an indirect way. It prevented them from using, as an issue, the federal union scheme that they had adopted as part of their platform at the Reform Convention of 1859. Although, during the campaign, there did not appear to be any strong expression of anti-Americanism in the sense of charges being laid against, or invectives being hurled at the United States of America, there was definitely a smug disdain and contempt frequently expressed for that country's political institutions. To advocate a change away from British towards American practices was tantamount to admitting oneself to be "looking to Washington" and to be a "disloyal annexationist," in other words all the things that the Conservatives were accusing the Liberals of being. To advocate, for Canada, a federal union suggestive of the one in the United States to the south, when the civil war was proof that such a union was nothing short of tragedy, was, to say the least, most inadvisable. The Liberals therefore did not press the federal scheme during the campaign.

That was quite a large plank taken out of their platform. Their platform suffered in another way. Planks such as Rep. by Pop., opposition to railroad grants, and the insistence on "retrenchment," which used to be considered exclusively theirs, had now become public domain by virtue of the Ministerial candidates adopting them. This left the Grits with very little that was uniquely their own.

The Conservatives found themselves in the position where they could avail themselves of these Grit planks selectively, using them in localities where they would do them good and discarding them elsewhere. Thus, Conservatives got elected in Central Canada because they opposed Rep. by Pop., and Conservatives got elected in the Lake Ontario region because

they favoured the principle. The Liberals, on the other hand, lost in Central Canada because they were associated with the principle, and did not gain in the lake area because they had little to offer the public as an alternative to what Conservative candidates were offering.

Nor was their performance in the last session such as would make them appear to be the desirable alternative to the existing government. With Brown absent due to illness, there was no one with the "vigour and skill" to lead them into the fight against the Conservatives.¹ There was "no man of commercial training combined with political knowledge and speaking talent" who could effectively criticise the government's financial policies.² They could not even decide on a temporary leader, were not even certain whether they wanted one.³ Foley, who came closest to claiming the post, was not completely trusted by them.⁴ Leaderless, they floundered, failed to take advantage of opportunities,⁵ allowed Ferguson, a Conservative, to take the initiative in the struggle for Rep. by Pop., allowed him to renew the battle against separate schools, and, at length, exposed themselves to the disloyalty charge brought about by McDougall's "Look to Washington" statement.

The reasons, then, for Liberal losses in Canada West were many; the excesses of Brown and the Globe; the alienation of the Catholics, the Anglicans and the Orangemen; the loss of the Methodist vote; the undercover activities of Macdonald and the railroad interests; the

¹Careless, op. cit., p. 42.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

disintegration of the Liberal platform; and the poor showing during the last session. One might wonder that they managed as well as they did, garnering half of the total votes cast.

The fact is that they lost mostly by the shifting vote, the vote that was with them in one election and against them in another. It was stated that in Toronto, in 1858, the Catholics helped elect Brown, not out of sympathy for him, but in opposition to John Hillyard Cameron "who had become an Orangeman for the express purpose of electing himself into power."¹ In 1861 the same vote swung back to the Conservatives because, in Crawford, they found a candidate acceptable to the Catholics. Similarly, in Peel riding, the Orange vote that might have supported a Liberal in the last election now swung to the Conservatives in support of Cameron, now become Grand Master of the Association. Probably a similar swing occurred in Prince Edward where a Liberal was defeated by a former Grand Treasurer of the same organization.

But there was that stable and unyielding fifty per cent of the electorate that had always remained unswervingly Liberal. They were largely the frugal farmfolk of the West, mostly the proud, protestant people of Anglo-Saxon descent, who saw little likelihood of John A. Macdonald forsaking the French, abolishing the separate schools, and establishing the principle of representation by population. They discounted the disloyalty charge against the Grits and voted as they always did -- Liberal.

To Brown the election was a great blow. Suffering personal defeat, he retired from politics for two years. The interval gave him time for reflection, constructive reflection apparently, for by the time he was

¹Canadian Freeman, July 11, 1861.

returned to the Assembly in a by-election, in which even the Conservatives voted for him, it was becoming evident that Brown had changed. The "new Brown was a broader, more mellowed, less demanding individual,"¹ one who, although still critical of his opponents, was now capable of practising restraint, who could support J. S. Macdonald's government even though he disliked it, indeed, one who could, if the situation demanded it, even join in coalition with his arch-enemy, John A. Macdonald.

As for Macdonald, the election results were only a little pleasanter than they were for Brown. He had won his seat, and his party had scored gains in Upper Canada. Nevertheless, the results were disappointing to him. His gains in Canada West were offset by losses in Canada East. When Brown was able to withdraw in relaxed retirement, Macdonald was beset by a host of anxieties and problems. He must have been painfully aware that very many of his supporters from Upper Canada had campaigned either as Coalition Reform or as Independent candidates, and that quite a number of those that had come out as ministerialists had to advocate Grit policies to get elected. There were also cases where government supporters other than those endorsed by him were elected. All this did not bode well for the Conservative party.

His most immediate problem was that of reconstructing the Ministry. The election left two of his ministers without seats in the Assembly. J. C. Morrison had not even sought re-election, and Post-Master General Sydney Smith was defeated, much to Macdonald's regret. "I am sorry, very sorry for S. Smith," he wrote to Ryerson. "He was in every way reliable, and I must find him a seat."¹

¹Ryerson Papers, M.G. 24, K. 15, Macdonald to Ryerson, July 4, 1861.

It was rumoured that John Ross was anxious to retire,¹ and there were others who wished to resign in order to accept more permanent and lucrative posts.² Replacements were hard to find. Men of ability there might have been, but they were committed to Rep. by Pop. and other Liberal policies. Negotiations were not going well and he was getting a little crusty as the following letter would indicate:

It must be obvious to you that we cannot at this present juncture -- with a new Government and a new session -- attend political dinners. It will be time enough to give a dinner to Amsden after he has unseated Harcourt. If he does not do so -- what is the use of a dinner. It will have been forgotten by election 4 years hence.³

His problems were augmented by personal ones during the session next year. "The strain of keeping the Ministry together and mustering enough support to squeeze by divisions was telling more and more . . . Often he seemed to have been drinking; sometimes he did not appear at all"⁴ The unkindly suggestion was made that a committee be set up to investigate his "long and frequent 'illnesses.'"⁵

The first blow came as a delayed aftermath of the election. So many of his supporters had committed themselves to Rep. by Pop. that when the question came up in a form tantamount to a want of confidence vote, the majority of his Western followers deserted him.

¹Globe, July 17, 1861.

²Creighton, op. cit., p. 317.

³P.A.C., Amsden Papers, M.G. 24, B. 65, Macdonald to Rolland, October 24, 1861.

⁴Thomson, op. cit., p. 67

⁵Ibid.

"They had voted exactly as they wanted to do with utter indifference for the interests of the party. He was furious and that night everybody was aware of his fury."¹

The coup de grace came on Friday, May 20, 1862 when a vote was taken on his Militia Bill. Earlier it had been the French followers that had saved his government when the Western members defected. This time it was the French that deserted him. The bill was defeated, forcing the resignation of his government, and leading to the formation of John Sandfield Macdonald's Liberal government.

Sitting in the opposition, relieved of the responsibilities of office, Macdonald found himself somewhat in the position that Brown was in after the election. He was able to take a more relaxed and objective approach towards the political situation. By now, like Brown, he too had learned something of the practice of forbearance. Now, instead of rushing to oust the new government as he had done in 1858 in the case of Brown's administration, he decided to "let the Ministry have every chance to propose their measures."² There was to be "no factious opposition," and there was to be, at least for the while, an attempt "to prevent any vote of confidence."³

The election of 1861, then, was a link in a chain of events that brought about a greater degree of moderation in both the political leaders of Canada West. It was one of several indications that the province would remain indefinitely handicapped by political instability if the problems caused by sectional grievances and fears were not solved. Itself producing inconclusive and frustrating results, the

¹Creighton, op. cit., p. 327.

²Ibid., op. cit., p. 335.

³Ibid., p. 339.

election was a link between two others whose results were equally disappointing. It helped build the conviction, aroused by the 1858 election and strengthened by the one held in 1863, that elections alone would not remove the political difficulties of Canada.

Thus in 1864, after the fall of the Taché-Macdonald ministry, the fourth in two years, the voice of moderation amongst the opposition ranks was that of George Brown. The government, he counselled the House, "should be allowed every fair opportunity to consider what course they should pursue."¹ He later let it be known that he would cooperate with any government committed to resolving the deadlock.² Two days later Macdonald approached him personally. Would Brown have any objection to talking the matter over?

"Certainly not," was the laconic reply.³

And so the first step was taken to bring about the Great Coalition which, in turn, led to Canadian Confederation, something that Brown tended to ignore and Macdonald to oppose during the campaign of the election of 1861, and yet something that the election helped make both desirable and possible.

¹Creighton, op. cit., p. 354.

²Careless, op. cit., p. 131.

³Creighton, op. cit., p. 355.

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APPENDIX A

TABLE 4

TOTAL NUMBER OF VOTES CAST PER RIDING
IN THE ELECTIONS OF 1858, 1861, 1863

Riding	1858	1861	1863
Brant, E.	1337	1429	1069
Brant, W.	1842	2101	1861
Brockville.	1028	1053	1079
Carleton.	2011	1522	1867
Cornwall.	664	634	
Dundas.	2076	2137	2018
Durham, E	2403	2367	2450
" W	2681	2061	2206
Elgin, E.	2267	2391	2422
" W.	1269	1439	1524
Essex	3754	2257	(a)
Frontenac		2529	2594
Glengary.	1802		
Grenville	1405	1370	1511
Grey.	2840	3574	974
Haldimand	2552	2703	2969
Halton.	2389	1917	1402
Hamilton.	2512	1657	
Hastings, N	1864	1669	1777
" S	2652	2568	
Huron & Bruce	5463	9421	
Kent.	2878	3506	3577
Kingston.	1199	1259	1258
Lambton	3132	3232	
Lanark, N			1028
Lanark, S	2190	2093	2063
Leeds & Grenville	1318	1563	1793
Leeds, S.	2294	2491	2557
Lennox & Addington.	3055	3104	3639
Lincoln	2152		2256
London.	1236	2703	1335
Middlesex, E.	2863	2703	2915
Middlesex, W.	3211	2874	2174
Niagara	619	493	489
Norfolk	3142	3198	3896
Northumberland, E	2324	2269	2397
" W	1960	2339	
Ontario, N.	2170	2102	2467
Ontario, S.	2238	1407	1557
Ottawa City	1181		1329
Oxford, N.	2420	2429	2549
Oxford, S.	<u>2745</u>	<u>2502</u>	<u>1229</u>
	89138	86363	68231

(a) Blank spaces denote acclamations for that year.

Riding	1858	1861	1863
Brought forward	89138	86363	68231
Peel	2922	3382	3555
Perth	3664	4354	5652
Peterborough	2576	2558	
Prescott	1495	1341	1323
Prince Edward	2459	2598	2940
Renfrew	2088	1382	1696
Russell	1714	1286	1389
Simcoe, N.		2047	2301
" S.	2691	2202	
Stormont	1568	1077	1177
Toronto, W	3601	2027	2088
Toronto, E	3267	2079	1939
Victoria	2107	2471	2303
Waterloo, S.	2455	2179	2234
Waterloo, N.		1051	930
Welland	2754	2578	2968
Wellington, N.	2262	3467	3624
" S.	2025		
Wentworth, N	2097	1694	1727
" S	1723	1370	1410
York, N.	2133	1158	1123
" E.	2001	1851	808
" W.	1713	1158	1141
	<u>138453</u>	<u>131673</u>	<u>110559</u>

APPENDIX B

A DIVISION IN THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
ON THE QUESTION OF REPRESENTATION BY POPULATION

(A photostatic copy taken from the pages of the
Journals of the Legislative Assembly
of the Province of Canada, 1861)

24 Victoria.

25th & 26th April.

173

And also, The Legislative Council have passed a Bill, intituled: "An Act to amend "the Assessment Act," to which they desire the concurrence of this House.
And then he withdrew.

And the House having continued to sit after twelve of the clock, on Friday morning;

Friday, 26th April, 1861.

And the Question being then put on the amendment, the House divided: and the names being called for they were taken down as follow:

YEAS:

Messieurs

<i>Abbott,</i>	<i>Désaulniers,</i>	<i>Laframboise,</i>	<i>Piché,</i>
<i>Alleyn,</i>	<i>Dionne,</i>	<i>Langevin,</i>	<i>Playfair,</i>
<i>Archambeault,</i>	<i>Dorion,</i>	<i>Laporte,</i>	<i>William F. Powell,</i>
<i>Baby,</i>	<i>Dufresne,</i>	<i>Le Boutillier,</i>	<i>Price,</i>
<i>Beaubien,</i>	<i>Dunkin,</i>	<i>Lemieux,</i>	<i>Roblin,</i>
<i>Bourassa,</i>	<i>Ferres,</i>	<i>Loranger,</i>	<i>Rose,</i>
<i>Buchanan,</i>	<i>Fortier,</i>	<i>Loux,</i>	<i>Richard W. Scott,</i>
<i>Bureau,</i>	<i>Fournier,</i>	<i>Atty. Gen. Macdonald,</i>	<i>Scotte,</i>
<i>Campbell,</i>	<i>Galt,</i>	<i>J. S. Macdonald,</i>	<i>Simard,</i>
<i>Caron,</i>	<i>Gaudet,</i>	<i>Mc Cann,</i>	<i>Simpson,</i>
<i>Atty. Gen. Cartier,</i>	<i>Gill,</i>	<i>Mc Gee,</i>	<i>Sincennes,</i>
<i>Cauchon,</i>	<i>Heath,</i>	<i>Meagher,</i>	<i>Starnes,</i>
<i>Chapais,</i>	<i>Hébert,</i>	<i>Mongenais,</i>	<i>Tassé,</i>
<i>Cimon,</i>	<i>Huot,</i>	<i>Sol. Gen. Morin,</i>	<i>Thibaudeau,</i>
<i>Coullée,</i>	<i>Jobin,</i>	<i>Ouimet,</i>	<i>Turcotte, and</i>
<i>Duoust,</i>	<i>Labelle,</i>	<i>Panet,</i>	<i>Webb.—67.</i>
<i>Dawson,</i>	<i>Lacoste,</i>	<i>Papineau,</i>	

NAYS:

Messieurs

<i>Aikins,</i>	<i>Ferguson,</i>	<i>McDougall</i>	<i>Rymal,</i>
<i>Bell,</i>	<i>Finlayson,</i>	<i>McMicken,</i>	<i>William Scott,</i>
<i>Benjamin,</i>	<i>Foley,</i>	<i>Morrison,</i>	<i>Sherwood,</i>
<i>Biggar,</i>	<i>Gould,</i>	<i>Mowat,</i>	<i>Short,</i>
<i>Burton,</i>	<i>Gowan,</i>	<i>Munro,</i>	<i>Sidney Smith,</i>
<i>Burwell,</i>	<i>Harcourt,</i>	<i>Notman,</i>	<i>Somerville,</i>
<i>Cameron,</i>	<i>Holmes,</i>	<i>Patrick,</i>	<i>Stirton,</i>
<i>Carling,</i>	<i>Macbeth,</i>	<i>Walker Powell,</i>	<i>Tett,</i>
<i>Clark,</i>	<i>D. A. Macdonald,</i>	<i>Purdy,</i>	<i>Wallbridge,</i>
<i>Connor,</i>	<i>Mackenzie,</i>	<i>Robinson,</i>	<i>White,</i>
<i>Cook,</i>	<i>McLeod,</i>	<i>James Ross,</i>	<i>Wilson, and</i>
<i>Craik,</i>	<i>A. P. Macdonald,</i>	<i>Rykert,</i>	<i>Wright.—49.</i>
<i>Dorland,</i>			

So it was resolved in the Affirmative.

Then, the main Question, so amended, being put, That the Bill to provide for the Representation of the People in the Legislative Assembly, by readjusting and equalizing the same, be read for the first time, this day six months,

The House divided: and the names being called for, they were taken down, as in the last preceding division.

So it was resolved in the Affirmative.

APPENDIX C

OFFICIAL STATISTICS AND OTHER DATA ON THE ELECTION OF 1861.

(Photostats taken from the pages of the Sessional Papers of the First Session of the Seventh Parliament of the Province of Canada, 1862, vol. XX., No. 4.)

25 Victoria.

Sessional Papers (No. 24):

A. 1862

LIST OF MEMBERS ELECTED

AT THE

LAST GENERAL ELECTION,

1861.

COUNTIES.	MEMBERS ELECTED.
Argenteuil.....	John J. C. Abbott.
Bagot.....	Maurice Laframboise,
Beauce.....	Henri Elzear Taschereau,
Beauharnois.....	Paul Denis,
Bellechasse.....	Ed. Rémillard,
Berthier.....	Pierre Eustache Dostaler,
Bonaventure.....	Théodore Robitaille,
Brant, (East Riding).....	John Young Bown,
Brant, (West Riding).....	William Ryerson,
Brockville, (Town).....	Hon. George Sherwood,
Brome.....	C. Dunkin.
Carleton.....	William Frederick Powell,
Chambly.....	Chas. Boucher de Boucherville,
Champlain.....	John Jones Ross,
Charlevoix.....	Adolphe Gagnon,
Chateauguay.....	Henry Starnes,
Chicoutimi and Saguenay.....	David Edward Price,
Compton.....	John Henry Pope,
Cornwall, (Town).....	Hon. John S. Macdonald.
Dorchester.....	Hector Louis Langevin,
Drummond and Arthabaska.....	Jean Baptiste Eric Dorion,
Dundas.....	John Sylvester Ross,
Durham, (East Riding).....	John Shuter Smith,
Durham, (West Riding).....	Henry Munro.
Elgin, (East Riding).....	Leonidas Burwell,
Elgin, (West Riding).....	George Macbeth,
Essex.....	Arthur Rankin.
Frontenac.....	James Morton.
Gaspé.....	John LeBoutillier,
Glengarry.....	Donald Alexander McDonald,
Grenville, (South Riding).....	William Patrick,
Grey.....	George Jackson.
Haldimand.....	Michael Harcourt,
Halton.....	John White,
Hamilton, (City).....	Isaac Buchanan,
Hastings, (North Riding).....	George Benjamin,
Hastings, (South Riding).....	Lewis Wallbridge,
Hochelaga.....	Joseph Paschal Falkner.

LIST OF MEMBERS, &c.—(Continued.)

COUNTIES.	MEMBERS ELECTED.
Huntingdon	Robert Brown Somerville, James Dickson.
Huron and Bruce	
Iberville	Alexandre Dufresne.
Jacques Cartier.....	François Zéphirin Tassé, Joseph Hilarion Jobin.
Joliette	
Kamouraska.....	Jean Charles Chapais, Archibald McKellar, Hon. J. A. Macdonald.
Kent.....	
Kingston.....	
Lambton	Alexander Mackenzie, Robert Bell.
Lanark, (North Riding)	Alexander Morris, Hon. Thomas J. J. Loranger,
Lanark, (South Riding)	Alexandre Archambault, Hon. L. S. Morin,
Laprairie.....	A. F. Hooper, Francis Jones, Benjamin Tett,
L'Assomption.....	John Charles Rykert, Charles François Fournier, Joseph Goderick Blanchet,
Laval.....	John Carling, Henri Gustave Joly.
Lennox and Addington.....	
Leeds and Grenville, (North Riding).....	
Leeds, (South Riding).....	
Lincoln.....	
L'Islet.....	
Lévis.....	
London, (City).....	
Lotbinière	
Maskinongé.....	George Caron, Noël Hébert,
Megantic.....	Hon. Maurice Berkeley Portman, Thomas Scatterd, James O'Halloran, Joseph Dufresne,
Middlesex, (East Riding).....	Joseph Octave Beaubien, Hon. Joseph Cauchon, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, Hon. John Rose, Hon. George Etienne Cartier.
Middlesex, (West Riding).....	
Missisquoi.....	
Montcalm.....	
Montmagny.....	
Montmorency.....	
Montreal (City) West.....	
“ “ Centre.....	
“ “ East.....	
Napierville.....	Jacques Olivier Bureau, John Simpson, Joseph Gaudet, Aquila Walsh, James Lyons Biggar, James Cockburn.
Niagara, (Town).....	
Nicolet.....	
Norfolk.....	
Northumberland, (East Riding).....	
Northumberland, (West Riding).....	
Ontario, (North Riding).....	Matthew Crooks Cameron, Hon. Oliver Mowat, Richard William Scott, William McDonell Dawson, William McDougall, Skeffington Connor.
Ontario, (South Riding).....	
Ottawa, (City).....	
Ottawa, (County).....	
Oxford, (North Riding).....	
Oxford, (South Riding).....	
Peel.....	Hon. John Hillyard Cameron, Hon. Michael Hamilton Foley,
Perth.....	Frederick Wm. Haultain, John Poupore, Jean Tarcide Brousseau, Henry Wellesley McCann, William Anderson, Junr.
Peterborough.....	
Pontiac.....	
Portneuf.....	
Prescott.....	
Prince Edward.....	
Quebec, (East).....	Pierre Gabriel Hout, George Honoré Simard, Hon. Charles Alleyne, François Evanturel.
Quebec, (Centre).....	
Quebec, (West).....	
Quebec, (County).....	

LIST OF MEMBERS, &c.—(Concluded.)

COUNTIES.	MEMBERS ELECTED.
Renfrew.....	Daniel McLachlin, Charles de Cazes, Joseph Beaudreau, George Sylvain, Hon. Lewis Thomas Drummond, Robert Bell.
Richmond and Wolfe	
Richelieu	
Rimouski	
Rouville.....	
Russell.....	
St. Hyacinthe.....	Hon. L. V. Sicotte, François Bourassa, Junr., Louis Léon Lesieur Desaulniers, Lucius Seth Huntington, Hon. Alexander Tilloch Galt, Angus Morrison, Thomas Roberts Ferguson, Jean Baptiste Jules Prévost, Albert Knight, Samuel Ault.
St. John's.....	
St. Maurice.....	
Shefford.....	
Sherbrooke, (Town).....	
Simcoe, (North Riding).....	
Simcoe, (South Riding).....	
Soulanges.....	
Stanstead.....	
Stormont.....	
Temiscouata.....	Michel Wm. Baby, Ls. Labreche-Viger, Joseph Edouard Turcotte, John Bevercy Robinson, John Crawford, Jean Bte. Daoust.
Terrebonne.....	
Three Rivers, (City).....	
Toronto, (West).....	
Toronto, (East).....	
Two Mountains.....	
Vaudreuil.....	J. Bte. Mongenais, Alexandre Edouard Kierzkowski, James Wicks Dunsford.
Verchères.....	
Victoria.....	
Waterloo, (North Riding).....	Hon. Michael Hamilton Foley, James Cowan, Thomas Clarke Street, William Clark, David Stirton, William Notman, Joseph Rymal.
Waterloo, (South Riding).....	
Welland.....	
Wellington, (North Riding).....	
Wellington, (South Riding).....	
Wentworth, (North Riding).....	
Wentworth, (South Riding).....	
Yamaska.....	Moyse Fortier, Adam Wilson, Amos Wright, Wm. Pearce Howland.
York, (North Riding).....	
York, (East Riding).....	
York, (West Riding).....	

RETURN from the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, prepared from the Records of the for each Candidate in each County, Riding, Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, Division, and the number of Voters on the Voters' Lists of the same respectively; and the number of Voters on the Voters' Lists of the same respectively; and the total Election of 1858, and the population in each Constituency, according to the 8th April, 1862.

Mem.—The Returns for the uncontested Elections are included.

County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.	
ARGENTEUIL.....		JOHN J. C. ABBOTT, Esq.,.....	

BAGOT	St. Liboire..... St. Dominique..... St. Pie..... St. Rosalie..... St. Simon..... St. Hugues..... St. Helène..... St. Ephrem d'Upton..... St. Theodore d'Upton... St. André d'Acton and Acton Vale.....	LAFRAMBOISE.	PERRAULT.
		65 90 234 70 70 97 37 110 98 203	30 103 176 81 101 124 49 7 12
Majority for M.	LAFRAMBOISE, Esq.,...389	1,072	683

BEAUCE.....	St. François... St. Frederic..... St. Joseph..... Ste. Marie..... St. George... St. Evariste de Forsyth... St. Vital de Lambton....	TASCHEREAU.	ROSS.	BERTRAND.
		153 79 194 358 44 16 17	1 1 25 26 54	
Majority for H. E.	TASCHEREAU, Esq.,...798	861	54	63

BEAUHARNOIS.....	St. Clement..... St. Timothée..... St. Louis de Gonzague... Sta. Cecile..... St. Stanislas de Kotska..	DENIS.	DAoust.	QUINET.
		121 162 125 111 108	130 10 182 35 33	16 61 77 61 2
Majority for PAUL	DENIS, Esq.,.....237.	627	300	387

Elections to the present Legislative Assembly, shewing the aggregate number of Votes polled or Division in which there has been a contest, with the total number polled in each such also, shewing in contrast the number polled at each of the said Polling places, at the General Census, as called for by an order of the Honorable the Legislative Assembly of the

Total number of Votes polled in each Division.	Number of Voters on the Voters' Lists in each Division.	Number of Votes polled at the last Election in 1858.	Pop'n in each Constituency according to the last Census of 1861.	REMARKS.
By acclamation.....		2,000	12,897	

95	188	99	960	} No Return for these places, 1861.
193	346	354	2,393	
410	561	688	4,254	
151	282	286	2,064	
171	230	239	2,062	
221	327	353	2,563	
86	176	160	906	
110	154	94	931	
103	284	189	2,703	
215	282			
1,755	2,825	2,467	18,841	

154	294	383	3,302	} No Return for these places, 1861.
80	148	113	1,051	
194	365	315	3,079	
358	409	429	3,395	
69	180	206	1,770	
52	83	86	677	
71	93	324	880	
		Elzear, 244	2,305	
		Aylmer, 311	865	
		Tring, ... 251	2,077	
		Linière, 73	394	
			58	
978	1,572	2,735	8	
			70	
			164	
			29	
			50	
			242	
			20,416	

	188		1,641	} Beauharnois.
437	542	517	3,563	
233	324	343	2,959	
384	610	504	4,184	
207	400	248	2,220	
143	217	145	1,175	
1,404	2,190	1,757	15,742	

RETURN from the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, prepared from

County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.		
		FORTIER.	REMILLARD.	
BELLECHASSE	St. Vallier.....	31	93	
	Beaumont.....	20	69	
	Armagh.....	21	63	
	St. Lazare.....	60	39	
	Buckland.....	36	78	
	St. Michel.....	134	56	
	St. Raphael.....	69	95	
	St. Charles.....	51	161	
	St. Gervais.....	130	131	
	Majority for Ed. REMILLARD, Esq.....	283.	552	835

BERTHIER	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	DOSTALER.	PICHE.
		Berthier.....	339	26
Isle du Pads.....	72	15	
Lanoraie.....	104	125	
Lavaltrie.....	74	62	
St. Norbert.....	69	19	
St. Gabriel.....	232	182	
St. Cuthbert.....	49	193	
St. Barthelemi.....	92	150	
Majority for P. E. DOSTALER, Esq.....	253.	1031	778

BONAVENTURE	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	ROBITAILLE.	MEYNER.
		Metapediac.....	16	9
Restigouche.....	51	11	
Mann.....	18	5	
Nouvelle and Shoobred.	28	56	
Carleton.....	45	43	
Maria.....	66	89	
New Richmond.....	87	85	
Hamilton.....	94	19	
Cox.....	95	12	
Hope.....	72	2	
Port Daniel.....	74	3	
Majority for T. ROBITAILLE, Esq.....	328.	666	338

BRANT, EAST RIDING	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	O'REILLY.	BOWN.
		East Brantford.....	189	208
Onondaga.....	173	88	
South Dumfries.....	156	269	
Paris (Town), King's Ward.....	53	58	
North do.....	37	39	
Queen's do.....	50	36	
South do.....	41	36	
Majority for JOHN Y. BOWN, Esq.....	31.	699	730

the Records of the Elections in each County, &c.—(Continued).

Total number of Votes polled in each Division.	No. of Voters on the Voters' Lists in each Division.	Number of Votes polled at the last Election in 1858.	Pop'n in each Constituency according to the last Census of 1861.	REMARKS.
124	202	89	1,409	
89	142	102	1,229	
84	129	23	648	
149	175	319	2,083	
114	193		800	
190	248	232	2,369	
164	252	221	2,631	
212	255	183	2,176	
261	295	309	2,717	
1,387	1,891	1,478	16,062	

			Parish	
365	537	455	2581	Village and Convent.
87	131	83	1581	
229	315	213	1081	Brandon.
136	193	167	2057	
88	119	180	1307	
415 St. Gabriel	563	426	1500	
	St. Felix de Valois	70	3350	
247	328	369	612	
242	347	210	3110	
1809	2603	2103	2429	
			19608	

		No Contesta- in 1858.....	
24	27		310
62	77		521
23	38		792
84	116		1561
93	124		958
175	235		1823
172	246		1510
113	194		1309
107	216		2161
74	130		992
77	111		1155
1004	1514	Polled in 1854 } 1004	13092

397	473	393		Included in return of population for West Brantford in the West Riding.
259	282	240	2064	
425	527	401	3916	
109	173	85	2373	
76	142	66		
86	134	76		
77	124	76		
1429	1855	1337			8353

RETURN from the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, prepared from

County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.	
		RYERSON.	BIGGAR.
BRANT, WEST RIDING.....	Brantford (Town),		
	Queen's Ward.....	106	82
	North do	86	127
	Brant do	96	87
	East do	107	61
	King's do	67	38
	Burford (Township).....	352	338
	Oakland do	23	101
	West Brantford.....	240	100
	Majority for Wm. RYERSON, Esq...53.	1077	1024

County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.	
		SHERWOOD.	Row.
BROCKVILLE, (Town of.)	Elizabethtown.....	339	293
	Brockville, West Ward.....	89	54
	Centre do	85	62
	East do	93	38
	Majority for Hon. GEO. SHERWOOD...159.	606	447

County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.	
		DUNKIN.	AUSTIN.
BROME.	East Farnham.....	149	74
	Brome.....	290	124
	Sutton.....	369	44
	Potton.....	169	73
	Bolton.....	97	229
	Majority for C. DUNKIN, Esq.....530	1074	544

County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.	
		POWELL.	LYON.
CARLETON	Nepean.....	217	82
	March.....	79	10
	Goulburn.....	152	101
	Huntley.....	142	30
	Fitzroy.....	178	58
	Marlborough.....	116	87
	North Gower.....	113	80
	Torbolton.....	20	18
	Richmond (Village).....	11	28
Majority for W. F. POWELL, Esq.....534	1028	494	

CHAMBLY

CHS. BOUCHER DE BOUCHERVILLE, Esq.

the Records of the Election in each County, &c.—(Continued.)

Total number of Votes polled in each Division.	No. of Voters on the Voters' Lists in each Division.	Number of Votes polled at the last Election in 1858.	Pop'n in each Constituency according to the last Census of 1861.	REMARKS.
188	311	143	6251	Including the Township of East Brantford and Tuscarora.
213	344	181		
183	313	109		
168	264	128		
105	168	99		
690	942	678	5599	
124	165	116	1087	
430	538	388	9048	
2101	3065	1842	21985	
632	737	633	6101	
143	307	122	4112	
147	368	132		
131	313	141		
1053	1725	1028	10213	
223	327	253	1925	
414	557	385	3136	
413	598	362	3151	
242	333	210	1994	
326	420	273	2526	
1618	2235	1483	12732	
299	415	345	4410	
89	115	158	1454	
253	341	348	2914	
172	261	241	2651	
286	310	323	3239	
203	253	216	2331	
193	238	235	2576	
38	54	87	675	
39	53	53	516	
1522	2040	2011	20766	

By Acclamation|No Contestation| 1504 | 13132 |

RETURN from the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, prepared from

County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.			
		ROSS.	PACAUD.	PHILLIPS.	ROCHELEAU.
CHAMPLAIN.....	Cap de la Magdelaine...	8	1	92	3
	ChAMPLAIN	37	96	3	3
	St. Luc.....	1	73	.....	.....
	St. Geneviève.....	20	77	76	2
	St. Prosper.....	106	.....	.....	3
	Mt. Carmel.....	10	29	.....	.....
	St. François Xavier.....	72	3	10	.....
	St. Narcisse.....	.....	48	66	1
	St. Maurice.....	28	256	1	1
	St. Flore.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	Fermont Village.....	42	1	.....	1
	St. Anne.....	254	.....	1	1
	St. Stanislas	35	5	119	1
St. Tite.....	23	2	27	.....
Majority for J. J. Ross, Esq.....45.		636	591	303	104

County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.	
		CIMON.	GAGNON.
CHARLEVOIX.....	St. Agnès.....	142	41
	St. Urbain.....	31	53
	St. Etienne de la Malbaie	183	136
	Baie St. Paul.....	17	438
	St. Hilarion.....	31	35
	Les Eboulemens.....	106	110
	St. François Xavier.....	1	71
	Isle aux Coudres.....	10	69
	St. Irénée.....	54	25
	St. Fidèle.....	75	26
	Majority for A. GAGNON, Esq.....251		650	1004

CHATEAUGUAY. |.....|| H. STARNES, Esquire. ||

CHICOUTIMI and }|| D. E. PRICE, Esquire. ||
SAGUENAY..... }

COMPTON..... |.....|| J. H. POPE, Esquire. ||

County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.	
		J. S. MACDONALD.	ELLIOTT.
CORNWALL.....	Cornwall—Township of	281	152
	Cornwall—Town of	.....	22
	East Ward.....	18	47
	Centre do	48	29
	West do	27	.....
Majority for Hon. J. S. MACDONALD...114.		374	260

DORCHESTER |.....|| H. L. LANGEVIN, Esquire. ||

the Records of the Elections in each County, &c.—(Continued.)

Total number of Votes polled in each Division.	No. of Voters on the Voters' Lists in each Division.	Number of Votes polled at the last Election in 1858.	Popl'n in each Constituency according to the last Census of 1861.	REMARKS.
101	127	113	1027	St. Justin.
139	293	195	2177	
74	88			
175	228	202	2171	
109	139	100	1023	
39	63	.....	492
85	121	83	1004	
115	171	141	979	
286	405	480	3300	
.....	.....	.....	365
43	44	.....	.....
256	293	377	2903	
160	240	278	2378	
52	65	.....	2179
			91	
1634	2262	2060	20008	

183	289	375	1324	Stettrington. } De Sales.
84	132	92	761	
319	417	499	2766	
455	563	397	3664	
66	99	423	540	
116	326	291	2335	
.....	.....	.....	398
72	91	70	728	
79	116	107	700	
79	114	107	998	
101	182	144	536	} Callières.
.....	.....	.....	273
1654	2329	2505	15223	

By Acclamation..... |.....| 2133 | 17837 |

By acclamation. | 708. | } 10478 | Chicoutimi.
6101 | Saguenay.

By acclamation. { No Contesta- } 10210 |
{ (1854—910.) }

433	584	471	5000
50	75	52	} 1915
95	142	86	
56	83	55	
634	884	664	6915

By acclamation. | 1834 | 16195 |

RETURN from the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, prepared from

County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.	
		DUNKIN.	DORION.
DRUMMOND	Durham	161	192
	Grantham	93	21
	Simpson		
	Wendover		
	Kingsey	132	65
	Upton, St. Guillaume, and St. Bonaventure..	32	229
	Wickham	43	35
	St. Germain	29	73
	Total of Drummond.....	490	615
	ARTHABASKA	St. Norbert.....	27	63
St. Christophe.....		69	82
Warwick, Tsp		79	26
Arthabaskaville		26	24
Chester West.....		35	38
Chester East.....		49	73
Stanford		20	116
Princeville		39	11
Bulstrode, and Horton		43	1
Blandford, and Maddington.....		22	33
Aston			
Tingwick			
Total of Arthabaska.....		509	518
Total of both Drummond & Arthabaska		999	1133

Majority for J. B. E. DORION, Esq.....134.

DUNDAS.....	Iroquois Village.....	Cook.	J. S. Ross.
Matilda do	250	282	
Morrisburgh Village.....	262	297	
Mountain Township.....	83	29	
Winchester do	164	218	
	211	285	
Majority for J. S. Ross, Esq.....131.	1003	1134	

DURHAM, EAST RIDING.....	Port Hope,	BURTON.	SMITH.
do No. 2.....	64	102	
do No. 3.....	71	140	
Township of Hope.....	200	476	
do Cavan	416	257	
do Manvers....	338	117	
Majority for J. S. SAIZU, Esq., .....5.	1181	1186	

the Records of the Elections in each County, &c.—(Continued.)

Total Number of Votes polled in each Division.	No. of Voters on the Voters' Lists in each Division.	Number of Votes polled at the last Election in 1858.	Popl'n in each Constituency according to the last Census of 1861.	REMARKS.
353	482	380	3152	
114	251	170	2395	
			271	
			337	
197	270	341	2403	
261	470	401	2942	
78	124	102	856	
102	200		*	*Included in Grantham.
1105	1797	1394	12356	
95	135	166	2319	
151	309	236	1380	
105	184	668	608	
50	65		1876	
73	133	150	1524	
122	213		2150	
136	231	263	510	
50	72		191	
44	158	81	310	
	52			
35		243		
41	145	114	359	
125	266	205	2227	
1027	1963	2126	13473	
2132	3760	3520	25829	
56	72	55	618	
532	679	583	4675	
559	608	584	4855	
112	144		855	
382	428	349	3688	
496	567	505	4091	
2137	2498	2076	18777	
	*61	159		*Non Resident.
186	209	168	4162	
160	239	195		
211	771	743	5883	
676	777	694	4901	
673	522	444	4205	
455				
2367	2775	2403	19151	

RETURN from the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, prepared from

County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.		
DURHAM, WEST RIDING.....		MUNRO.	WILMOT.	
	Clarke.....	336	301	
	Cartwright	44	283	
	Newcastle.....	61	94	
	Bowmanville, W. Ward	90	13	
	do North do	87	19	
	do South do	73	15	
	Darlington.....	499	146	
	Majority for H. MUNRO, Esq.....	319.	1190	871

ELGIN, EAST RIDING.....	Vienna Village..... Bayham <th>BURWELL.</th> <th>McCAUSLAND.</th>	BURWELL.	McCAUSLAND.	
		60	34	
		375	165	
		374	243	
		146	121	
		337	309	
		St. Thomas,		
		St. Patrick's Ward.....	13	47
		St. George's do	29	80
		St. Andrew's do	2	56
Majority for L. BURWELL, Esq.....	2St.	1336	1055	

ELGIN, WEST RIDING.....	Aldbrough <th>MACBETH.</th> <th>SCOTT.</th>	MACBETH.	SCOTT.
		153	188
		187	190
		386	335
Majority for GEORGE MACBETH, Esq...13.		726	713

ESSEX.....	Amherstburg, Town..... Anderdon, Township Colchester do Gosfield do Malden do Mersea do Maidstone do Rochester do Town of Sandwich..... West..... East..... Tilbury West..... Town of Windsor, 1..... 2..... 3.....	O'CONNOR, JR.	RANKIN.		
		176	82		
		94	20		
		112	88		
		55	200		
		118	29		
		4	215		
		91	60		
		76	44		
		30	75		
		48	98		
		126	106		
		49	58		
		18	37		
		88	41		
		18	1		
		Majority for A. RANKIN, Esq.....	51.	1103	1154

the Records of the Elections in each County, &c.—(Continued.)

Total number of Votes polled in each Division.	No. of Voters on the Voters' Lists in each Division.	Number of Votes polled at the last Election in 1858.	Popl'n in each Constituency according to the last Census of 1861.	REMARKS.
637	838	777	6575	
327	414	324	2727	
155	210	145	1029	
103	176	.....	} 2721	
106	198	505		
88	183	.....	
645	880	932	6912	
2061	2899	2681	19964	

94	116	123	908
540	658	487	5141
617	728	559	5320
267	525	232	2204
616	873	642	6166
60	85	} 224	1631
109	147		
58	74		
2391	3006	2267	21370

841	494	250	2325
377	526	337	2388
721	819	682	5467
1439	1779	1269	10680

258	393	407	2360
114	153	191	1505
200	295	522	2656
255	327	294	2353
147	200	212	1563
219	271	285	2143
251	203	398	1652
120	155	207	1349
105	152	.....	} 988
146	536	842		1816
232	75	.....	} 3133
107	124	196		1190
55	94	} 200	3501
129	232		
19	21		
2257	8099	3754	5211

RETURN from the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, prepared from

County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.				
		MORTON.		SMITH.		
FRONTENAC.....	Township Wolfe Island..	172		122		
	do Portland	174		143		
	Do. United	Bedford.....	26		42	
		Olden.....				
		Oso.....				
	Palmerston		137		123	
		Township Loughborough				
	do Pittsburgh and		289		265	
	Howe Island					
	do Kingston	257				322
	do Storrington ...	114				150
	Do. Barrie & Clarendon	15			27	
Village of Portsmouth...	112					
Township Hitchinbrook..				35		
and Kennebec.....	26					
Majority for JAMES MORTON, Esq.....75.		1302		1227		
GASPÉ,.....		JOHN LE BOUTILLIER, Esquire.				
GLENGARRY		D. A. MACDONALD, Esquire.				
GRENVILLE, SOUTH RIDING.....	Township Edwardsburg.	PATRICK.		JESSUP.		
	do Augusta	306		210		
	Prescott, Town,	294		262		
	East Ward.....	34		55		
	West do	60		57		
South do	38		54			
Majority for WILLIAM PATRICK, Esq...94.		732		638		
GREY.....	Owen Sound--	GOWAN.	JACKSON.	PURDY.		
	Bay Ward.....	15	48	22		
	Centre do	18	30	40		
	River do	11	14	52		
	Derby	50	27	72		
	Holland	110	58	67		
	Sydenham	42	96	179		
	Sullivan	56	30	85		
	St. Vincent.....	41	54	170		
	Euphrasia	39	18	50		
	Collingwood.....	80	5	38		
	Koppel, Sarawak, and					
	Brooke	1	4	7		
	Bentinck.....	11	235	78		
	Glennelg.....	21	245	70		
	Egremont	53	82	156		
	Normanby	81	191	102		
	Proton.....	9	35	37		
	Melancthon	23	19	21		
	Osprey	99	24	41		
	Artemisia	91	71	61		
Majority for GEORGE JACKSON, Esq.....37.		941	1375	1349		

the Records of the Elections in each County, &c.—(Continued.)

Total number of Votes polled in each Division.	No. of Voters on the Voters' Lists in each Division.	Number of Votes polled at the last Election in 1858.	Pop'n in each Constituency according to the last Census of 1861.	REMARKS.
294	348	No Contesta- tion.	3601	Miller and Canonto. Forts Henry, Frederik Penitentiary; and Lunatic Asylum.
317	383		2836	
	80		1691	
	3		435	
68	5		349	
	1		127	
260	298		2452	
	628		4394	
534			4587	
579	697		2894	
241	296		463	
15	19		892	
129	175		760	
	82		429	
			63	
			1369	
2529	3015		27247	
By acclamation.		No Contesta- tion. (1854—1876)	14077	
By acclamation.		1802	21187	
516	639	573	5545	
556	678	566	5562	
89	120	84	2391	
117	157	113		
92	114	69		
1370	1708	1405	13698	
55	126	102	2216	Included, in 1858, with Keppel and Sarawak.
88	123	83		
77	107	89		
149	235			
265	387	233		
317	433	301		
		85		
180	274			
265	310	258		
107	229	175		
123	206	79		
12	25	122		
374	532	286		
336	489	221		
291	446	140		
374	678	146		
81	253	102		
63	147	185		
164	368	38		
223	378	195		
3574	5726	2840	37750	Township of Derby included in 1868.

RETURN from the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, prepared from

County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.		
		HARCOURT	AMSDEN.	
HALDIMAND	Canborough.....	101	51	
	Cayuga, North.....	175	76	
	do Village.....	42	33	
	do South.....	50	50	
	Caledonia, Village.....	44	106	
	Dunn.....	17	91	
	Mouitten and Sherbrooke	95	108	
	Dunnville, Village.....	50	130	
	Oncida.....	183	102	
	Rainham	125	98	
	Walpole	253	329	
	Seneca	233	140	
	Majority for M. HARCOURT, Esq.....80.		1394	1214

County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.		
		WHITE.	McCALLUM.	
HALTON.....	Esquesing	356	200	
	Nassagaweya.....	209	63	
	Nelson.....	170	233	
	Wafalgan	249	142	
	Dakville—Ward 1.....	14	32	
	do 2.....	18	40	
	do 3.....	20	40	
	Milton—North Ward.....	34	8	
	East do	31	9	
	South do	23	17	
	Majority for JOHN WHITE, Esq.....321.		1124	793

City of	Ward.	CANDIDATES.	
		BUCHANAN.	FREEMAN.
HAMILTON.....	St. George's Ward.....	166	105
	St. Patrick's do	203	72
	St. Mary's do	212	212
	St. Lawrence do	202	160
	St. Andrew's do	208	117
Majority for ISAAC BUCHANAN, Esq...325.		991	666

County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.		
		BENJAMIN.	WALLERIDGE.	
HALSTINGS, North Riding	Wirling, Village.....	29	24	
	Waldon Township.....	126	31	
	Waddington do	54	204	
	Mungerford do	278	18	
	Wince do	254	62	
	Wizevir do	41	14	
	Tudor	23	4	
	Marmora and Lake.....	82	5	
	Majority for GEORGE BENJAMIN, Esq...105.		567	782

the Records of the Elections in each County, &c.—(Continued.)

Total number of Votes polled in each Division.	No. of Voters on the Voters' Lists in each Division.	Number of Votes polled at the last Election in 1858.	Pop'n in each Constituency according to the last Census of 1861.	REMARKS.
152	183	182	1262	† Population included in Seneca.
251	331	238	2919	
75	100	115	933	
106	140	127	†	
150	218	133	955	
108	149	1791	1263	
203	263	224	2050	
180	245	239	2116	
290	314	608	4842	
223	257	270	4577	
597	726			
573	444			
2708	3375	2552	23708	

Total number of Votes polled in each Division.	No. of Voters on the Voters' Lists in each Division.	Number of Votes polled at the last Election in 1858.	Pop'n in each Constituency according to the last Census of 1861.	REMARKS.
556	927	656	6076	Georgetown Village.
272	325	314	1153	
403	531	492	2800	
391	528	580	4559	
45	91	48	5846	
58	149	92	1450	
69	133	77		
42	78	29	905	
40	70	49		
40	71	52		
1917	2803	2389	22794	

Total number of Votes polled in each Division.	No. of Voters on the Voters' Lists in each Division.	Number of Votes polled at the last Election in 1858.	Pop'n in each Constituency according to the last Census of 1861.	REMARKS.
271	608	437	3345	
275	550	423	3089	
424	825	545	5056	
302	728	616	4243	
325	759	491	3363	
1657	2470	2512	19098	

Total number of Votes polled in each Division.	No. of Voters on the Voters' Lists in each Division.	Number of Votes polled at the last Election in 1858.	Pop'n in each Constituency according to the last Census of 1861.	REMARKS.
63	148	489	753	Tudor and Lake.
427	623	333	3591	
258	303	333	2917	
406	503	333	4354	
346	388	546	3590	
55	102	1300		
27	31	848		
67	108	153	1499	
1669	2211	1834	18361	

RETURN from the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, prepared from

County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.		
		WALLBRIDGE.	BROWN.	
HASTINGS, South Riding...	Belleville—			
	Samson Ward	96	86	
	Ketcheson do	59	80	
	Baldwin do	58	118	
	Coleman do	128	170	
	Trenton, Village.....	61	83	
	Thurlow, Township.....	326	123	
	Tyendinaga do	331	347	
	Sidney	283	204	
	Majority for L. WALLBRIDGE, Esq....126.		1347	1221

County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	FALKNER.	LAPORTE.	HUBERT.
		HOCHELAGA	Sault au Recollet	129	87	18
	Pointe aux Trembles.....	2	109	33
	Longue Pointe.....	36	60	5
	Rivière des Prairies.....		99	24
	Montreal Parish.....	314	81	275
Majority for J. P. FALKNER, Esq.....45.		481	436	380

HUNTINGDON..... R. B. SOMERVILLE, Esquire.

County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CAYLEY.	DICKSON.
		HURON.....	Ashfield .....	193	160
	Biddulph	269	38
	Colborne.....	108	117
	Tuckersmith	47	284
	Clinton	61	75
	Goderich — Township	281	104
	Goderich — Town,		
	St. Andrew's Ward...	53	50
	St. David's do	59	62
	St. Patrick's do	32	65
	St. George's do	39	43
	Grey	64	246
	Hay	83	239
	Hullett	107	226
	Howick	214	121
	McGillivray.....	184	273
	McKillop	75	125
	Morris.....	193	145
	Stanley	197	218
	Stephen	114	85
	Turnberry.....	60	94
	Usborne	149	229
	Wawanosh	196	194
Carried forward....		2761	3194

the Records of the Elections in each County, &c.—(Continued.)

Total number of Votes polled in each Division.	No. of Voters on the Voters' Lists in each Division.	Number of Votes polled at the last Election in 1858.	Pop'n in each Constituency according to the last Census of 1861.	REMARKS.
182	313	142	} 6277	
139	245	97		
178	362	106		
298	481	222		
149	225	176		
454	591	565	1398	Thurlow and Belleville Seminary.
678	713	675	4864	
492	592	669	7812	
			5082	Hastings Road.
			676	
2568	3522	2652	20109	

234	295	289	2601	} 6385	Montreal Parish.
149	177	163	1362		
101	131	140	1055		
123	158	150	1056		
670	1067	817			
	Côte St. Louis...484		1746	} 2269	Côte St. Louis. St. Jean Baptiste.
1277	2312	1559	16474		

By acclamation. | 1791 | 17491 |

353	469	194	2617
307	438	437	3401
225	290	207	1868
331	350	} 375	} 3226
139	179		
385	503	490	3582
103	159	72	} 3227
122	210	81	
97	168	57	
82	133	52	
310	558	19	
302	372	176	2461
333	452	274	3054
335	423	44	2704
457	590	368	2252
200	263	221	3921
338	403	55	2425
415	505	450	2333
199	322	254	3423
154	225	3	2826
378	423	346	1264
390	566	168	3219
5955	8061	4383	31954

RETURN from the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, prepared from

County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.		
		CAYLEY.		DICKSON.
BRUCE	<i>Brought forward</i>	2761		3194
	Amabel and Albemarle.....			15
	Arran.....	195		123
	Brant.....	323		111
	Bruce.....	21		237
	Carriek.....	160		143
	Calross.....	146		124
	Elderslie.....	67		171
	Greenock.....	143		58
	Huron.....	138		183
	Kincairdine—Township.....	128		285
	Kincairdine—Village.....	45		79
	Kinloss.....	99		172
	Sangeen.....	53		160
Southampton.....	54		28	
Majority for JAMES DICKSON, Esq...755.		4333		5088
IBERVILLE	St. Athanase.....	DUPRESNE. 446	DEMERS. 40	CHEVALIER. 6
	St. Alexandre.....	123	65	77
	St. George de Henryville.....	28	533	
	St. Gregoire.....	157	31	71
	St. Bridget.....	36	104	49
Majority for ALEX. DUPRESNE, Esq...12.		790	778	203
JACQUES CARTIER	F. Z. TASSE, Esquire.			
JOLIETTE	St. Jean de Matha.....	JOBIN. 93		DE LANAUDIÈRE. 30
	Ste. Elizabeth.....	123		67
	St. Charles Borromée.....	81		125
	St. Paul.....	176		17
	Ste. Melanie.....	13		39
	St. Felix de Valois.....	128		57
	St. Thomas.....	108		51
	St. Alphonse.....	8		3
	St. Ambroise.....	91		68
	Majority for J. H. JOBIN, Esq...361.		818		437
KAMOURASKA	Ste. Anne.....	CHAPAIS. 205		DESSAINT. 18
	St. Onésime.....	110		1
	St. Pacôme.....	119		47
	Rivière Ouelle.....	54		103
	St. Louis de Kamouraska.....	116		112
	St. Denis.....	195		4
	Mont Carmel.....	85		
	St. Paschal.....	98		258
	St. André.....	119		86
	Ste. Helène.....	32		132
	St. Alexandre.....	114		30
Majority for J. C. CHAPAIS, Esq...635.		1345		810

the Records of the Elections in each County, &c.—(Continued.)

Total number of Votes polled in each Division.	No. of Voters on the Voters' Lists in each Division.	Number of Votes polled at the last Election in 1858.	Pop'n in each Constituency according to the last Census of 1861.	REMARKS.
5955	8061	4363	51954	
15	55		236	}
318	386	138	2531	
439	610	210	3125	
268	497	39	2250	
308	477	3	3163	
270	360	24	2266	
238	358	62	1774	
206	350	51	1847	
321	454	15	2429	
413	535		2906	
124	150	309	981	}
271	330	26	1842	
213	261	193	1520	
62	148		609	
9421	13062	5463	79453	
492	425 } Iberville 272	511	2602 1590	} St. Athanase. Iberville.
265	384	262	2890	
566	740	567	5389	
259	388	270	2581	
189	353	218	1839	
1771	2562	1828	16891	
By acclamation.		1091	11218	
123	187	157	1346	} Convent. } College and Convent.
192	248	364	2936	
			73	
206	315	356	3651	
			321	
193	268	301	2073	
62	69	239	2293	
185	293	265	2086	
159	246	200	2003	
			1260	
6	7	135	647	} Township Cathcart. } Joliette.
159		252	305 2189	
1275	1626	2269	18655	
323	479	547	3406	} Kamouraska Village. } Woodbridge Township.
111	236	120	784	
166	284	352	1821	
157	276	267	2081	
228	273	318	1697	
	104		842	
199	257	294	1732	
85	111	124	598	
364	462	407	2882	
		68	500	
205	280	284	1659	}
164	213	222	1270	
153	280	297	1735	
2155	3255	3300	21058	
	4°			

RETURN from the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, prepared from

County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.	
		MCKELLAR.	PRINCE.
KENT.....	Chatham—(Town)		76
	Chrysler Ward.....	77	77
	Ebert's do.....	67	81
	Northwood do.....	77	207
	Chatham.....	199	183
	Camden.....	167	208
	Harwich.....	316	240
	Howard.....	314	162
	Raleigh.....	182	23
	Romney.....	83	78
	Tilbury East.....	90	79
	Orford.....	199	82
	Zone.....	78	117
	Dover, East and West...	84	
	Majority for A. MCKELLAR, Esq...260.		1883	1623

KINGSTON, (CITY)	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.	
		J. A. MACDONALD.	MOWAT.
KINGSTON, (CITY)	St. Lawrence Ward.....	78	56
	Cataraqui do.....	117	01
	Ontario do.....	110	42
	Victoria do.....	122	61
	Sydenham do.....	110	102
	Rideau do.....	118	91
	Frontenac do.....	130	
	Majority for Hon. J. A. MACDONALD...311.		785	474

LAMBTON.....	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.	
		MACKENZIE.	VIDAL.
LAMBTON.....	Bosanquet.....	231	107
	Brooke.....	145	109
	Dawn.....	53	56
	Enniskillen.....	59	78
	Euphemia.....	135	185
	Moore.....	208	229
	Plympton.....	276	202
	Sarnia.....	112	86
	Sombra.....	130	113
	Warwick.....	234	216
	Sarnia—(Town).....		40
	North Ward.....	33	62
	Middle do.....	55	35
	South do.....	43	
	Majority for ALEX. MACKENZIE, Esq...196.		1714	1518

LANARK,
NORTH RIDING.....

R. BELL, Esquire.

the Records of the Elections in each County, &c.—(Continued.)

Total number of Votes polled in each Division.	No. of Voters on the Voters' Lists in each Division.	Number of Votes polled at the last Election in 1858.	Popl'n in each Constituency according to the last Census of 1861.	REMARKS.
153	265	109	} 4466	
144	298	128		
158	245	106		
406	508	231		3585
300	382	212	2744	
584	722	464	4556	
554	641	498	3976	
344	491	366	3750	
56	70	58	470	
168	195	133	1267	
278	336	226	2554	
160	200	89	1159	
201	270	238	2656	
3506	4621	2878	31183	

134	242	102	1035	
178	306	219	2812	
152	271	146	1553	
183	280	143	1669	
171	282	137	1874	
220	353	218	2213	
221	362	234	2298	
			289	Asylum, Nunneries, &c.
1259	2096	1199	13743	

338	445	338	3097	
254	315	185	1600	
100	136	156	726	
137	190	94	1069	
320	387	319	2109	
437	484	414	2873	
478	578	450	3287	
198	267	201	1560	
243	278	311	3116	
450	541	458	3388	
73	119	} 206	2091	
117	181			
78	122			
3232	4043	3132	24916	

By acclamation. { No Contes-
tation. } 12667
1854—618

RETURN from the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, prepared from

County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.	
		MORRIS.	DORAN.
LANARK. South Riding.....	Montague.....	170	105
	Beckwith.....	316	23
	Smith's Falls, Village.....	70	56
	Elmsley, North.....	133	34
	Drummond.....	211	140
	Perth—East Ward.....	52	73
	Centre do.....	45	62
	West do.....	65	44
	Burgess, North.....	36	46
	Bathurst.....	146	226
	Sherbrooke, South.....	21	17
	Majority for ALEX. MORRIS, Esq.....	1265	828

County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.	
		LORANGER.	GAGNON.
LAPRAIRIE.....	St. Isidore.....	162	15
	St. Constant.....	106	148
	St. Philippe.....	99	88
	St. Jacques.....	89	160
	Laprairie.....	276	28
Majority for Hon. T. J. J. LORANGER.....	752	439	

County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.	
		LOUIS ARCHAMBAULT.	ALEX. ARCHAMBAULT.
L'ASSOMPTION.....	St. Sulpice.....	24	86
	Repentigny.....	22	69
	St. Paul L'Ermite.....	38	35
	L'Assomption.....	102	258
	St. Roch.....	151	98
	L'Epiphanie.....	130	30
	St. Henri Mascouche.....	128	73
	Lachenaie.....	72	25
	St. Lin.....	74	115
	Majority for ALEX. ARCHAMBAULT, Esq.....	741	784

County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.	
		MORIN.	BELLEROSE.
LAVAL.....	St. François de Sales.....	33	83
	Ste. Rose.....	297	52
	St. Martin.....	197	217
	St. Vincent de Paul.....	144	154
Majority for Hon. Ls. S. MORIN.....	671	506	

the Records of the Elections in each County, &c.—(Continued.)

Total Number of Votes polled in each Division.	No. of Voters on the Voters' Lists in each Division.	Number of Votes polled at the last Election in 1858.	Popl'n in each Constituency according to the last Census of 1861.	REMARKS.
275	352	391	3478	
339	380	355	2551	
126	174	92	1137	
167	218	174	1399	
351	450	316	2637	
125	201	(South) 97		
107	170	73	2465	
109	169	80		
84	99	147	1312	
372	424	465	3273	
38	-62		731	
2093	2699	2190	18972	

177	267	247	1992	
254	389	357	2388	Sault St. Louis.
			1664	
187	274	288	2344	
249	342	320	2930	
304	328	439	2234	Laprairie Village.
	228		1523	
1171	1828	1651	14475	

110	149	141	1015	
91	114	103	773	
73	95	120	1006	
355	280	422	2031	College.
	Village 151		1279	
			193	
249	314	412	2784	
160	198	191	1486	
201	256	544	2843	
97	144	127	945	
189	260	432	3000	
1525	1961	2492	17355	

116	133	105	1027	
349	340	254	2849	Village.
	107			
411	513	402	4093	
298	341	292	2422	Convent. College.
			88	
			28	
1177	1434	1053	10507	

RETURN from the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, prepared from

County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.		
		HOOPER.	ROBLIN.	
LENNOX and AD-DINGTON.	Kaladar and Anglesea...	7	19	
	Sheffield	110	163	
	Ernestown	362	244	
	Bath Village.....	31	44	
	Camden.....	525	273	
	Newburgh	112	18	
	South Fredericksburgh...	110	59	
	North Fredericksburgh...	101	105	
	Amherst Island	112	27	
	Richmond.....	159	238	
	Adolphustown.....	54	43	
	Napanee Village.....	61	127	
	Majority for A. F. HOOPER, Esq...384.		1744	1360
	LEEDS and GREN-VILLE— NORTH RIDING...	Merrickville.....	59	17
Kemptville.....		33	52	
Wolford		184	120	
Oxford.....		175	265	
South Gower		66	61	
Kitley		176	203	
Elmsley		83	69	
Majority for F. JONES, Esq.....11.		776	787	
LEEDS— SOUTH RIDING.....		North Crosby.....	137	53
	South Crosby.....	119	94	
	Front of Yonge.....	56	171	
	Front of Escott.....	91	121	
	Rear of Yonge and Escott	115	188	
	Front of Leeds and Lansdowne.....	322	229	
	Rear of Leeds and Lansdowne.....	169	101	
	Bastard and Burgess.....	245	280	
	Majority for B. TETT, Esq.....17.		1254	1237
	LINCOLN.....	J. C. RYKERT, Esquire.		
L'ISLET.....	St. Cyrille.....	FOURNIER.	CARON.	
	L'Islet.....	14	63	
	St. Jean	66	260	
	St. Roch.....	225	18	
	Ste. Louise.....	76	130	
	St. Aubert.....	105	60	
	Chemin Elgin.....	129	11	
Majority for Cus. F. FOURNIER, Esq...73.		615	542	

the Records of the Elections in each County, &c.—(Continued.)

Total number of Votes polled in each Division.	No. of Voters on the Voters' Lists in each Division.	Number of Votes polled at the last Election in 1858.	Popl'n in each Constituency according to the last Census of 1861.	REMARKS.
26	35	266	186 1080 2925	Anglesea. Kaladar. Sheffield.
273	333	711	5450	Denbigh and Abinger.
606	919			
75	117	848	7516	
798	1016	175	175	
130	193	416	3376	
169	238	117	1270	
208	271	389	3450	
139	173	133	801	
397	516	175	1773	
97	119			
188	283			
3104	4213	3055	28002	
76	96	99	908	
85	116	329	1068	
304	369	273	2961	
440	551	86	4467	
127	165	388	1089	
379	458	133	3448	
152	187		1400	
1563	1942	1318	15341	
190	219	195	2121	
213	245	225	2117	
227	259	231	Escott.....1755 Yonge.....3984	
212	248			
303	343	495	Lansdown3105 Leeds.....3709 Bastard3655 Burgess 341	
551	639	225		
270	312	520		
525	580			
2491	2845	2294	20689	
By acclamation.		2152	27625	
77	111	1497	652	
326	470	514	4093	
243	319	351	2975	
208	304	211	2158	
165	318	186	.....
140	288	160	1325	
		† 62	† 1097	Township of Ashford.
1157	1810	2981	12300	

RETURN from the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, prepared from

County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.			
		BLANCHET.		LEMIEUX.	
LÉVIS.....	St. Etienne.....				
	St. Joseph, Pointe Levy.	168		147	
	Notre Dame de la Vic- toire.....	360		218	
	St. Romuald.....	110		57	
	St. Lambert.....	114		68	
	St. Nicholas.....	106		142	
	St. Jean Chrisostome.....	21		126	
	St. Henri.....	108		151	
Majority for J. G. BLANCHET, Esq....77.		957		910	
LONDON—City.....	J. CARLING, Esquire.				
LOTBINIERE.....	Lotbinière.....	JOLY.		MULLEN.	
	St. Antoine.....	416		1	
	St. Flavien.....	43		129	
	St. Apollinaire.....	61		61	
	St. Jean.....	9		134	
	St. Croix.....	145		1	
	St. Giles.....	123		20	
	St. Sylvestre.....	No return for these Townships			
	St. Agathe.....				
	Majority for H. G. JOLY, Esq.... 441.		797		356
MASKINONGE.....	Maskinongé.....	CARON.	BOUCHER.	HOUDÉ.	
	Rivière du Loup.....	23	130		
	St. Leon.....	94	5	129	
	St. Justin.....	187	5	18	
	Ste. Ursule.....	4	122		
		72	33	29	
	St. Paulin.....	33	1	6	
	St. Didace.....	40	12		
Majority for GEO. CARON, Esq..... 145.		458	313	182	
MEGANTIC.....	Somerset—North.....	HEBERT.	POUDRIER.	ROSS.	O'NEILL.
	Inverness.....	107	7	3	
	Ireland.....	30	25	120	12
	Somerset—South.....	33		52	3
		76	168		
	Halifax—North.....	199	86	6	1
	Halifax—South.....	130	6	13	22
	Nelson.....	37	14	2	6
Majority for NOEL HEBERT, Esq..... 300.		612	306	196	44
MIDDLESEX— EAST RIDING.....	West Nissouri.....	PORTMAN.		CRAIK.	
	London.....	234		149	
	North Dorchester.....	734		359	
	Westminster.....	238		204	
		297		488	
Majority for Hon. M. B. PORTMAN...303.		1503		1200	

the Records of the Elections in each County, &c.—(Continued.)

Total number of Votes polled in each Division.	No. of Voters on the Voters' Lists in each Division.	Number of Votes polled at the last Election in 1858.	Pop'n in each Constituency according to the last Census of 1861.	REMARKS.
315	424	439	762 3914	A Poll was opened at St. Etienne, but as no Electoral List had been delivered to the Returning Officer, it was at once closed.
573	951	811	6694	
167	227	187	2600	
182	293	209	1846	
249	361	321	2219	
147	278	217	2500	
259	330	356	2656	
1897	2883	2540	22091	
By acclamation.		1236	11553	
417	476	551	3980	
172	281	741	2000	
122	211	112	1025	
143	307	217	1559	
146	275	500	2423	
153	219	259	2212	
		121	1203	
		2255	4107	
		177	1509	
1153	1799	4933	20018	
158	221	315	2325	
228	341	328	2980	
210	281	58	2218	
126	154		1646	
139	215	178	2191	
49	49		711	Hunterstown.
			1065	
52	70	232		St. Paulie.
		131	1654	
953	1331	1142	14790	
117	148	454	1398	
187	392	288	2481	
88	165	360	690	
244	106	120	2598	
292	245	423	Thetford 282	
		Brought'n 109	2470	
171	242	565	1689	
59	167	Leeds.... 311	2353	
		178	2550	
			1078	
1158	1165	2808	17889	
383	452	407	3117	
1093	1412	1269	9666	
442	522	418	4027	
785	949	730	6285	
2703	3365	2863	23125	

RETURN from the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, prepared from

County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.		
		SCATCBERD.	MACDONALD.	
MIDDLESEX— WEST RIDING	Adeiaide	177	147	
	Caradoc	219	199	
	Delaware	127	91	
	Ekfrid	181	180	
	Lobo	311	78	
	Metcalfe	60	175	
	Mosa	161	187	
	East Williams	165	109	
	West Williams	160	145	
	Strathroy (Village)	28	31	
	Majority for THOMAS SCATCBERD, Esq., 190.		1332	1342

MISSISSQUOI	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.	
		O'HALLORAN.	WOOD.
	Stanbridge	268	166
	Notre Dame Des Anges	15	34
	Dunham	258	228
	St. Armand, East	102	71
	do West	149	46
	Phillipsburgh Village	33	10
	Clarenceville	81	94
	St. Thomas	45	88
	Farrham West	216	49
	Majority for JAMES O'HALLORAN, Esq., 381.		1167	786

MONTCALM	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.		
		DUPRESSE.	DUGAS.	
	St. Julien	125	41	
	St. Esprit	25	104	
	St. Alexis	208	11	
	St. Jacques	74	285	
	St. Liguori	19	146	
	Rawdon	133	64	
	Chertsey	46	47	
	Kilkenny	186	58	
	Wexford	37	14	
	Majority for JOSEPH DUPRESSE, Esq., 77.		847	770

MONTMAGNY	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.		
		BEAUBIEN.	GENDREAU.	
	St. Thomas	349		
	Montmagny Village			
	Cap. St. Ignace	214	1	
	St. Antoine	48		
	St. Pierre	59		
	St. Francois		2	
	L'Assomption de Berthier	9		
	Montmagny Township			
	Majority for J. O. BEAUBIEN, Esq., 447.		550	3

MONTMORENCY Hon. JOSEPH CATERON.

the Records of the Elections in each County, &c.—(Continued.)

Total number of Votes polled in each Division.	No. of Voters on the Voters' Lists in each Division.	Number of Votes polled at the last Election in 1858.	Pop'n in each Constituency according to the last Census of 1861.	REMARKS.
324	375	385	2509	
418	472	466	4422	
218	275	225	2324	
361	437	321	2574	
392	456	486	3556	
235	257	238	1746	
348	472	431	3633	
274	327	659	2475	
245	293			2221
59	76		751	
2874	3440	3211	25611	
434	704	366	5277	
49	82	304	780	
486	691	569	3903	
173	255	280	1825	
195	261	243	1323	
43	67		393	
175	260	252	1761	
133	157	149	811	
265	373	270	2530	
1953	2850	2430	18608	
166	218	174	1389	
129	153	146	1826	
219	243	178	1500	
359	473	381	3254	
165	231	156	1523	
197	260		1979	
87	110	73	919	
244	355	213	1320	
51	88		34	Doneaster.
			707	
			103	Convent of Ste. Anne.
1617	2155	1514	14758	
240	470	580	3020	
	217		1650	
214	399	403	2939	
49	87	71	483	
			158	Small Islands.
29	145	182	1425	
		281	1890	St. Francois.
11	150	161	1221	
		32	600	
553	1498	1710	13386	
By acclamation.	1264	11136		

RETURN from the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, prepared from

County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.		
MONTREAL CITY— EAST	St. Mary's No. 1	CARTIER. 188	DORTON. 195	
	do 2	197	137	
	do 3	150	6	
	St. Lewis, No. 1	231	149	
	do 2	78	240	
	do 3	188	195	
	St. James, No. 1	123	214	
	do 2	147	103	
	do 3	242	163	
	Majority for Hon. Geo. E. CARTIER...25.		1527	1502
MONTREAL— CENTRE	East Ward	ROSE. 178	HOLMES. 118	
	Centre do	188	146	
	West do	268	186	
	Majority for Hon. JOHN ROSE...181.		634	450
MONTREAL— WEST	T. D'ARCY MCGEL, Esquire.			
NAPIERVILLE	J. O. BUREAU, Esquire.			
NIAGARA— TOWNSHIP	Western Ward	SIMPSON. 91	McMURKIN. 21	
	Centre do	57	12	
	Eastern do	77	13	
	Niagara—Township of	73	113	
	Majority for JOHN SIMPSON, Esq...102.		298	195
NICOLET	JOSEPH GAUDET, Esquire.			
NORFOLK	Walsingham	WALSH. 297	POWELL. 210	
	Charlottetown	261	176	
	Windham	237	190	
	Woodhouse	171	232	
	Middleton	199	115	
	Simcoe—(Town)	174	64	
	Houghton	146	86	
	Townsend	235	495	
	Majority for A. WALSH, Esq...212.		1720	1478
	NORTHUMBER- LAND— EAST RIDING	Cranabe	BIGGAR. 272	MEYERS. 151
Colborne Village		51	39	
Seymour		111	203	
Brighton Township		217	163	
Brighton Village		122	31	
Murray		229	175	
Percy		159	277	
Majority for J. L. BIGGAR, Esq...185.		1227	1042	

the Records of the Elections in each County, &c.—(Continued.)

Total Number of Votes polled in each Division.	No. of Voters on the Voters' Lists in each Division.	Number of Votes polled at the last Election in 1858.	Pop'n in each Constituency according to the last Census of 1861.	REMARKS.
383	1085		10196	
244				
156				
383				
418	1632		12667	
383				
407		Cartier 3967		
250			13104	
405	1450	Rose... 4163		
3029				
		Starnes 4337	35967	
		Dorion 4565		
296	517	Holton 4389	2495	
334			1424	
454		McGee 4402	2831	
1084				
	1812		3318	Religious Institutions.
By acclamation.			16200	St. Anne's Ward.
			15190	St. Antoine's do
			12898	St. Lawrence do
			90323	
By acclamation.	No Contestation. 1854—1201.		11513	
112	170	285	2079	
69	129			
90	142			
222	298		334	2400
493	739	619	4170	
By acclamation.		2653	21563	
507	656	479	4855	
437	507	409	3475	
427	516	478	4095	
403	499	418	3703	
314	384	315	2903	
238	318	188	1358	
232	298	174	1959	
640	717	681	5742	
3198	3895	3142	28590	
123	337	561	3841	
93	139		806	
347	497		3842	
410	501		3713	
156	211		1182	
404	180		3612	
436	567		3515	
2269	2962		2324	20511

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County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.		
		COCKBURN.	SMITH.	
NORTHUMBERLAND— WEST RIDING...	Cobourg—(Town)			
	East Ward.....	59	99	
	South do	72	124	
	West do	126	180	
	Alwick Township...	77	61	
	South Monaghan do ...	51	106	
	Haldimand do ...	428	318	
	Hamilton do ...	337	255	
	Majority for JAMES COCKBURN, Esq.....	27	1183	1156
ONTARIO— NORTH RIDING...	Reach	312	329	
	Scugog	11	57	
	Uxbridge	115	292	
	Scott	195	191	
	Brock	291	114	
	Thorah	123	69	
	Mara, and			
	Rama	130	46	
	Majority for M. C. CAMERON, Esq.....	98.	1100	1002
ONTARIO— SOUTH RIDING...	Pickering	382	98	
	Whitby, East.....	190	47	
	Whitby, West	195	17	
	Oshawa Village.....	182	38	
	Whitby, Town—			
	North Ward.....	47	73	
	Centre do	23	43	
	South do	8	38	
Majority for Hon. O. MOWAT.....	659.	1033	374	
OTTAWA CITY.....	R. W. Scott, Esquire.			
OTTAWA.....	Templeton	YOUNG.	DAWSON.	
	Eardley	15	69	
	St. Angélique.....	104	2	
	Lochaber and Gore.....	17	112	
	Hull	44	179	
	Aylmer	182	164	
	Wakefield		23	
	Low	62	79	
	Ripon and Hartwell.....	2	23	
	St. André Avellan.....	1	97	
	Notre Dame de Bonsecours.....		98	
	Buckingham.....	35	177	
	Portland			
	Masham	127	67	
	Majority for W. McDONNELL DAWSON, Esq. 541.	549	1030	

the Records of the Elections in each County, &c.—(Continued.)

Total number of Votes polled in each Division.	No. of Voters on the Voters' Lists in each Division.	Number of Votes polled at the last Election in 1855.	Pop'n in each Constituency according to the last Census of 1861.	REMARKS.
158	247	120	4975	
206	353	175		
306	450	229		
141	157	116		1388
160	173	143		1229
756	968	669		6164
612	791	508		6315
2339	3124	1960	20081	
641	826	673	6214	
68	110	69	782	
467	490	469	3933	
206	280	223	2169	
418	516	436	4625	
192	229	177	1625	
170	260	123	1965	
2102	2651	2170	21685	
480	971	854	8002	
237	483	776	3665	
212	.....	.....	3546	
220	368	210	2909	
120	243	145	3697	
72	183	130		
66	144	123		
1407	2392	2238		19919
By acclamation.		1181	14669	
84	284	213	2646	} 609...Ripon. } 290 Hartwell.
106	151	68	1005	
129	255	206	1553	
193	285	191	2099	
346	829	417	3711	
	228	.....	1586	
75	98	48	927	
81	122	124	822	
24	63	.....	890	
97	173	250	.....
98	133	111	2151	
212	Village... 125 Township 253	363	3603	
194	255	71	429	
			1764	
			4262	
1639	3252	2062	27757	Population of twenty-three places mentioned in Census other than in Poll Books.

RETURN from the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, prepared from

County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.	
		McDUGALL.	BUCHANAN.
OXFORD.	North Riding.....		
	East Nisouri.....	227	184
	East Zorra.....	256	136
	West Zorra.....	246	65
	Embros.....	27	20
	Blandford.....	166	61
	Blenheim.....	422	150
	Woodstock,		
	St. Patrick's Ward.....	27	30
	St. Andrew's do.....	92	64
	St. George's do.....	37	45
	St. John's do.....	11	63
	St. David's do.....	4	29
	Majority for W. McDUGALL, Esq.....	735	847
SOUTH OXFORD.	East Oxford.....	Dr. CONNER.	RICHARDS.
	North Norwich.....	146	186
	South Norwich.....	189	244
	Dereham.....	112	203
	Ingersoll Village.....	286	235
	West Oxford.....	217	93
	North Oxford.....	217	59
	North Oxford.....	119	96
Majority for Dr. S. CONNER.....	70	1286	1216
PEEL.....	Caledon.....	J. H. CAMERON.	AIKENS.
	Toronto.....	311	315
	Steetsville.....	326	415
	Chinguacousy.....	68	47
	Albion.....	420	375
	Gore of Toronto.....	342	297
	Drampton Town.....	85	130
	Drampton Town.....	193	58
Majority for Hon. J. H. CAMERON.....	138	1745	1637
PERTH.....	Bianehard.....	DALY.	FOLLY.
	Downie.....	249	188
	Lasthope, North.....	212	260
	do South.....	58	206
	Ellice.....	66	136
	Elms.....	161	138
	Fullerton.....	163	122
	Hibbert.....	190	175
	Mitchell Village.....	115	265
	Mornington.....	75	55
	St. Mary's Village.....	197	163
	Stratford (Town of)	68	118
	Avon Ward.....	42	25
	Romeo do.....	50	15
	Shakespear do.....	37	14
	Hamlet do.....	32	17
	Falstaff do.....	51	17
	Wallace.....	229	34
	Logan.....	184	147
	Majority for Hon. M. H. FOLLY.....	36	2159	2195

the Records of the Elections in each County, &c.—(Continued.)

Total number of Votes polled in each Division.	No. of Voters on the Voters' Lists in each Division.	Number of Votes polled at the last Election in 1858.	Pop'n in each Constituency according to the last Census of 1861.	REMARKS.
411	487	356	3184	
322	616	409	4503	
411	545	471	3691	
57	62		551	
167	241	162	1395	
329	315	326	3365	
57	132			
156	158			
82	203	205	3333	
74	167			
33	78			
2426	3553	2420	24551	
332	405	391	2731	
433	500	493	3431	
315	391	361	2949	
621	787	652	3476	
519	431	564	3377	
276	355	307	2735	
215	281	222	1773	
2502	3150	2745	21675	
676	686	537	4588	
741	826	709	6592	
115	147		730	
795	949	730	6897	
329	738	530	5078	
215	248	224	1728	
251	375	192	1627	
3382	3999	3222	27240	
437	523	459	3174	
472	523	463	3610	
354	404	393	3129	
202	235	297	2322	
299	357	293	2616	
285	376	48	2392	
325	397	335	3890	
369	411	351	2843	
130	159	131	1218	
360	412	76	3040	
196	261	242	2773	
77	112			
45	79			
53	71	207	2809	
49	72			
68	96			
283	379	290	3400	
331	371		2259	
4354	5341	3664	38083	

RETURN from the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, prepared from

County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.		
		CONGER.	HAULTAIN.	
PETERBOROUGH	Ashburnham Village.....	67	45	
	Asphodel Township.....	184	122	
	Belmont do	18	49	
	and			
	Methuen.....	220	43	
	Douro.....			
	Dummer.....	44	128	
	and			
	Burleigh.....	128	8	
	Ennismore.....			
	Galway.....	106	52	
	Minden and.....			
	Snowden.....	27	97	
	Monaghan.....			
	Town of Peterborough,	60	75	
	North Ward.....			
	South do.....	69	55	
	East do.....			
Centre Ward.....	51	283		
Township Otonabee.....				
do Smith and } Harvey..... }	102	268		
Majority for F. W. HAULTAIN, Esq...36.		1261	1297	
PONTIAC	Sheen.....	21	10	
	Chichester.....	33	2	
	Waltham.....	41		
	Mansfield.....	33	44	
	Thorn.....	15		
	Leslie.....	148	13	
	Allanettes.....			
	Calumet.....	40	46	
	Litchfield.....	66	109	
	Portage du Fort.....	79	288	
	Clarendon.....			
	Bristol.....	116	92	
	Onslow.....	48	76	
	Majority for JOHN POEPORE, Esq...8.		685	677
GRINEUF	Cap. Santé.....	56	71	
	Deschambault.....	58	131	
	Beauveillé.....	12	31	
	N. D. de Sept Douleurs.....	66	44	
	Grondines.....	53	47	
	Pointe aux Trembles.....	35	154	
	St. Alban—Alton—Montauban.....	5	75	
	St. Augustin.....	25	155	
	St. Bazile.....	70	75	
	St. Casimir.....	44	152	
	St. Catherine.....	13	160	
	St. Raymond.....	85	200	
	Township Rocquemont.....			
	do Gosford.....			
	do Colbert.....			
	Majority for J. T. BROUSSEAU, Esq...720.		516	1236

the Records of the Elections in each County, &c.—(Continued.)

Total number of Votes polled in each Division.	No. of Voters on the Voters' Lists in each Division.	Number of Votes polled at the last Election in 1858.	Pop'n in each Constituency according to the last Census of 1861.	REMARKS.
112	150		993	
306	355	314	2911	
67	83	68	689	
263	288	326	2519	
174	192	206	2105	
131	153	192	863	
138	59		430	Minden, Stanhope and Dysart.
			274	
124	193	148	191	Monaghan North.
			1281	
165	177			
116	169			
134	221	398	3979	
86	136			
402	462	588	4261	
370	466	336	3795	
			360	
2558	3291	2576	24651	
31	45	45	389	
85	89	63	539	
41	44	37	400	
33	44	61	502	
59	84	84	450	
	10		286	
160	178	169	1518	
86	103	89	1050	
175	245	150	1044	
			742	
365	439	363	2330	
208	250	233	2021	
119	172	193	1645	
			65	Aberdeen.
			150	Aldfield.
			127	Pontefract.
			146	Stanhope.
			191	Aberford.
			87	Clapham.
			200	Cawood.
			244	Huddersfield.
1362	1703	1427	14125	
121	426	332	3315	
139	276	186	2334	
43	59	44	618	
110	219			
100	157	181	1562	*Included in Cap Santé and Deschambault.
189	285	252	2198	
80	151	144	1303	
180	322	175	1722	
146	252	127	2000	
196	257	199	1667	
113	248	218	1870	
285	455	360	2902	
1752	3108	2218	21291	

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Country.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.		REMARKS.
		McCANN.	HERSEY.	
PRESCOTT.....	South Plantagenet.....	28	88	
	North Plantagenet.....	103	37	
	East Hawkesbury.....	100	181	
	West Hawkesbury.....	66	123	
	Hawkesbury--Village.....	100	38	
	Alfred.....	135	10	
	Caledonia.....	39	99	
	Longueuil.....	72	37	
Majority for H. W. McCANN, Esq.....115.		728	613	
PRINCE EDWARD	Pictou--	DORLAND.	ANDERSON.	
	Tecumseth Ward.....	4	81	
	Brock do.....	34	62	
	Hallowell do.....	50	51	
	Twp. Hallowell.....	269	146	
	" Athol.....	89	112	
	" Marysburgh.....	165	299	
	" Sophiasburgh.....	251	127	
	" Ameliasburgh.....	231	229	
	" Hillier.....	190	208	
Majority for Wm. ANDERSON, Jr., Esq.....32.		1283	1315	
QUEBEC City-- EAST.	St. Roch. No. 1.....	HUGG.	ROUSSEAU.	
	" " 2.....	138	49	
	" " 3.....	180	35	
	" " 4.....	116	19	
	Jacques Cartier.....	275	55	
	" " 6.....	101	45	
	Banlieu. " 6.....	132	24	
	" " 7.....	37	8	
Majority for P. G. HUGG, Esq.....710.		1025	315	
QUEBEC City-- CENTRE.	Banlieu, No. 1.....	SEWARD.	MALOUIN.	
	do " 2.....	7	8	
	St. Lewis Ward, No. 1.....	25	4	
	do do " 2.....	105	3	
	do do " 1.....	28	3	
	Montcalm do " 1.....	71	40	
	do do " 2.....	126	27	
	Palace do " 1.....	120	5	
	do do " 2.....	56	3	
	St. John's do " 1.....	32	56	
do do " 2.....	136	60		
do do " 3.....	99	82		
Majority for G. H. SEWARD, Esq.....397.		885	283	
QUEBEC City-- WEST.....	Honorable CHARLES ATLEYN.			

the Records of the Elections in each County, &c.—(Continued.)

Total number of Votes polled in each Division.	No. of Voters on the Lists in each Division.	Number of Votes polled at the last Election in 1858.	Pop'n in each Constituency according to the last Census of 1861.	REMARKS.
116	88	126	1238	
140	131	189	2539	
371	495	495	4226	
191	235	279	2186	
141	180		1259	
145	236	147	1359	
128	146	135	1031	
109	154	204	1611	
1341	1734	1495	15499	
85	101			
96	147	184	2007	
101	139			
415	535	458	3629	
201	204	195	1823	
464	620	487	3853	
378	491	357	2837	
460	560	432	3487	
398	476	366	3155	
2598	3264	2459	20869	
187				
215	1201		9698	
135				
340	1288		9672	
146				
292				
25	816			For Population—see County.
1340	3335		18770	
7				
33	749			For Population—see County.
109				
31	456		5530	
111				
153	506		7733	
125				
39	337		3020	
138				
246	1056		7603	
181				
1173	2511		23026	
By acclamation.			4968	Champlain Ward.
			3435	St. Peter's do.

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County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.		
		EVANTUREL.	DEBLOIS.	FREEMAN.
QUEBEC	Charlesbourg	197	82	
	Lorotte	137	126	
	St. Ambroise	133	109	34
	Ste. Foye	108	15	12
	St. Columban (Sillery)	112	248	4
	Beauport	200	95	
	St. Dunstan, Lake Beauport	6	6	26
	St. Gabriel (Valcartier)	13	22	51
	Stoneham & Tewkesbury			
Majority for P. EVANTUREL, Esq. 228.		911	683	127
DUNFREM	Buchanan, Pettawawa	McLACHLIN.	R. R. SMITH.	REID.
	Wylie, McKay, Rolph			
	Ross	17	1	
	Grattan and Algona	63	65	
	Westmeath	23	39	
	Renfrew—(Village)	80	77	
	Stafford	25	30	
		13	22	
	Wilberforce	23	73	
	Bromley	31	68	
	Sebastopol and Griffith	23	1	
	Bradenell	16		
	Admaston	72	47	
	McNab	38		
		2		
Horton	54	43		
Pembroke	50	8		
Pembroke—(Village)	40	19		
Alice	40	17		
Bagot, Blithfield, and Brougham	32	1		
Majority for DANIEL McLACHLIN, Esq. 340.		861	521	
RICHMOND and WOLFE	Melbourne—(Village)	WEBB.	McKENZIE.	DE CAZES.
	Wolfestown			
	Windsor and Stoke	19	11	4
	Weedon	25		70
	Cleveland	65	11	
	Melbourne and Brompton Gore	6	1	51
	St. Camille	78	70	33
	Dudswell	139	25	7
	Ham, and South Ham	1		64
	St. George de Windsor	49	21	9
	Brompton	11		11
	Wotton	7		84
	Danville	30	7	2
	Shipton	3	3	182
	Garthby and Stratford	30	2	4
		131	16	49
				60
Majority for CHS. DE CAZES, Esq. 65.		585	107	650

the Records of the Elections in each County, &c.—(Continued.)

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259	371	322	2447	
253	342	303	2203	
281	466	492	3152	
135	237	394	1509	
304	581	481	3580	
295	411	900	3260	
			689	St. Edmond.
38	59	89	503	
36	141	201	1667	
		63	1181	Notre Dame de Quebec.
			6936	St. Roch.
			274	G. Hospital.
			490	Lunatic Asylum.
1721	2608	3245	27893	
18	36		353	Buchanan, Pettawawa and McKay.
128	178	146	256	Rolph and Wylie.
62	Grattan 78		1511	
157	Algona 15		1253	
55	223	289	424	
45	86		2001	
	60	With Alice.	700	
			550	
26	113	Wilberforce... Grattan Fraser..	141	1258
99	125		138	1275
24	Sebas'l 24			500
16	Griffith 17			1023
120	21			1713
238	81		302	2000
	283		252	670
97	127		214	1192
58	83		124	604
59	90			637
57	85	Stafford & Alice	215	727
52	61		267	Bagot & Brougham 1550 Blithfield 178
1362	1746	2088	20325	
25	38		243	
95	152	150	1472	
76	172	108	1264	
58	83	86	809	
201	280	208	1916	
171	261	304	2789	
65	98		486	
79	142	118	727	
22	45	43	533	
91	140			Included in Windsor.
39	79	69		Included in Melbourne and Brompton and Gore.
188	255	288	1533	
36	60		540	
196	323	318	2132	
60	102	136	688	
1402	2213	1938	15432	

RETURN from the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, prepared from

County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.		
		BEAUDREAU.	GELINAS.	DORION.
RICHELIEU.....	St. Pierre.....	249	302	2
	St. Ours.....	9	27	212
	St. Roch.....	1	19	34
	Ste. Victoire.....	99	21	1
	St. Robert.....	100	9	
	St. Aimé.....	150	126	
	St. Marcel.....	28	50	
	Majority for J. BEAUDREAU, Esq., St.		635	554	278
RIMOUSKI.....	St. Mathieu.....	9		39
	St. Simon.....	75		11
	St. Fabien.....	137		15
	Ste. Cecile.....	189		25
	St. Germain.....	226		49
	St. Anselme.....	42		52
	Ste. Lucie.....	118		93
	Ste. Flavie.....	69		112
	Notre.....	27		4
	St. Octave.....	27		64
	McNider, Township.....	36		18
	Matane, do.....	26		22
	Matane, Parish.....			
	St. Jerome.....	121		18
Denis.....	20		1	
Majority for GEORGE SYLVAIN, Esq., Esq.		1127		517
ROUVILLE.....	St. Oesaire.....	26		438
	do Village.....			86
	St. Paul d'Abbotsford.....	31		225
	L'Ange Gardien.....	51		16
	St. Hilaire.....	145		51
	St. Jean Baptiste.....	234		101
	Ste. Marie.....	263		93
	Ste. Marieville.....			
	St. Mathias.....	183		
Majority for Hon. L. T. DEUMOND, Esq.		906		1014
RUSSELL.....	Cambridge.....	39		40
	Clarence.....	60		65
	Cumberland.....	49		151
	Russell.....	35		75
	Osgoode.....	263		208
	Gloucester.....	205		169
	Majority for R. BELL, Esq., Esq.		644		612
ST. HYACINTHE.....	St. Hyacinthe.....	110		187
	St. Damase.....	226		50
	St. Denis.....	115		32
	St. Hyacinthe, Parish.....	103		105
	St. Jude.....	164		18
	St. Barnabé.....	33		110
	St. Charles.....	88		27
La Presentation.....	36		34	
Majority for Hon. L. V. ST-ORGE, Esq.		998		603

the Records of the Elections in each County, &c.—(Continued.)

Total number of Votes polled in each Division.	No. of Voters on the Voters' Lists in each Division.	Number of Votes polled at the last Election in 1858.	Pop'n in each Constituency according to the last Census of 1861.	REMARKS.	
553	{ 420 } { 689 }	994	{ 3550 } { 4778 }	Parish. Town, College, and Convent. Village. Parish.	
242	{ 87 } { 313 }	726	{ 528 } { 1731 }		
74	104		1005		
124	242	202	1528		
114	182	227	1369		
276	385	400	3368		
78	200	152	1213		
1461	2622	2701	19070		
39	{ 196 }	245	1931		
84	{ 210 }	190	1309		
153	291	288	2297		
205	401	450	3550		
285	142		1093		
95	328	267	2145		
211	268	233	2203		
182	213	{ 48 }	{ 2135 }		
31	184	109	1235		
91	60	41	1761		
84			549		
48			540		
139	193	160	540		
27	39	25	86		
1674	2525	2232	20854		
464	509	790	4728		
	74				
120	176	232	1550		
247	400	235	1948		
161	207	220	1589		
288	380	299	2106		
364	458	528	3721		
	71		761		
276	332	237	1829		
1920	2607	2541	18227		
79	113	390	669	In the County of Carleton, united with Russell for Electoral purposes.	
125	146	153	1732		
196	221	253	2609		
110	134	149	1814		
471	521	460	4332		
305	362	309	4522		
1286	1497	1714	15678		
302	521	No Contes- tation.	3695		Seminary and Convent.
286	426	do	2469		
165	323	do	2674		
268	422	do	3636		
182	317	do	1845		
143	205	do	1316		
115	254	do	1341		
140	235	do	1901		
1601	2703		19877		

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County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.		
		BOURASSA.		DOZOIS.
ST. JOHNS.....	St. Bernard de Lacolle...	127		1
	St. Valentine.....	171		
	St. Jean, Parish.....	199		
	do Town.....			
	St. Marguerite de Blandford.....	152		
	St. Luc.....			
Majority for F. BOURASSA, Jr., Esq., 648.		649		1
ST. MAURICE.....	St. Boniface (Shawenegan).....	DESAULNIERS.		MACAULAY.
		82		1
		63		55
		73		37
		228		4
	58		3	
	St. Anne (Yamachiche).....			
	St. Sevère.....			
	St. Maurice (Pointe du Lac).....	66		5
	Trois Rivières.....	32		11
Majority for L. I. L. DESAULNIERS, Esq., 486.		602		116
SHEFFORD.....	Township Shefford.....	HUNTINGTON.		BLANCHARD.
		421		75
		226		47
		82		12
		80		240
	Township of Milton.....	290		191
	do Roxton.....	83		207
	do Ely.....	59		272
	Mun. North Stukeley.....	59		20
	Mun. South Stukeley.....			
Majority for L. S. HUNTINGTON, Esq., 216.		1280		1064
SHERBROOKE.....	Ascot.....	GALT.		FELTON.
		144		146
		86		29
		214		96
Majority for Hon. A. T. GALT, Esq., 172.		444		271
NORTH SIMCOE.....	Flos.....	MORRISON.	McCONKEY.	BOLTON.
		49	46	8
		91	83	22
		220	104	133
		37	88	5
		19	49	14
		58	284	33
		123	10	20
		115	3	26
		Barrie.....	73	103	19
	Collingwood—			
	East Ward.....	39	5	1
	West do.....	30	5	2
	Centre do.....	58	10	13
	Majority for A. MORRISON, Esq., 169.		959	790	293

the Records of the Elections in each County, &c.—(Continued.)

Total number of Votes polled in each Division.	No. of Voters on the Voters' Lists in each Division.	Number of Votes polled at the last Election in 1858.	Pop'n in each Constituency according to the last Census of 1861.	REMARKS.
128	407	No Contestation.	3628	Parish. Town.
171	261	do	2915	
199	202	do	1291	
	411	do	3317	
152	261	do	2425	
			1058	Prison, Isle aux Noix.
			128	
650	1542	918 polled in 1861.	14853	
83	188	36	1010	
118	218	83	2054	
110	89	94	1631	
	73			
232	309	531	3213	
61	130	85	936	
71	123	144	1649	
43	100	76	607	
718	1220	1049	11100	
496	573	No Contestation.	3712	
273	344	do	2571	
74	91	do	700	
220	459	do	2790	
481	642	do	3438	
290	366	do	1748	
331	377	do	2820	
79	112	do		
2344	2967		17779	
290	428	No Contestation.	2260	
115	193	do	725	
310	425	do	2974	
715	1046		5899	
103	135	No Contestation.	953	Reformatory Prison. Morrison and Muskoka Townships.
199	234	do	1638	
466	350	do	3890	
130	161	do	1096	
82	104	do	985	
377	429	do	3036	
158	194	do	1394	
174	197	do	1901	
			146	
195	379	do	2134	
			297	
45	65			
37	68	do	1408	
81	129			
2047	2645		18873	

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County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.			
		FERGUSON.		ARMSTRONG.	
SIMCOE— SOUTH RIDING.....	Adjala, Township.....	100		137	
	Essa do	244		25	
	Gwillimbury West.....	164		173	
	Bradford Village.....	29		58	
	Innisfil	252		104	
	Mono.....	102		85	
	Mulmer	141		11	
	Tecumseth.....	180		243	
	Tossorontio.....	39		25	
	Majority for T. R. FERGUSON, Esq...480.		1341		861
	SOULANGES.....	St. Polycarp.....	PREVOST. 376	COUPLÉE. 6	MASSON. 42
St. Zotique.....			71	169	
Coteau Landing.....					
St. Ignace.....		32	47	123	
St. Clot.....		23	75	18	
St. Joseph.....			210	14	
Village des Cèdres.....					
Majority for J. B. J. PREVOST, Esq...22.		431	409	366	
STANSTEAD.....	Barford.....	KNIGHT. 77		GILBERT. 4	
	Barnston.....	225		66	
	Hatley	131		131	
	Magog.....	83		25	
	Stanstead	243		128	
Majority for A. KNIGHT, Esq...495.		859		364	
STORMONT.....	Roxborough.....	MCDONALD. 160		AULT. 110	
	Finch	142		112	
	Osnabruck	159		394	
Majority for S. AULT, Esq...155.		461		616	
TEMISCOUATA ...	Notre D. du Portage.....	BABY. 44		TETU. 2	
	Rivière du Loup.....	253		8	
	St. Antoine	105		1	
	St. George de Kakouna...	112		27	
	St. Arsene.....	99		18	
	St. Modeste, Township Whitworth.....	92			
	Viger Township... ..	126		6	
	St. Jean Baptiste de L' Isle Verte.....	163		149	
	Trois Pistoles.....	124		249	
	Begon.....				
	St. Eloi.....	47		60	
	Majority for M. Wm. BABY, Esq...645.		1165		620

the Records of the Elections in each County, &c.—(Continued.)

Total number of Votes polled in each Division.	No. of Voters on the Voters' Lists in each Division.	Number of Votes polled at the last Election in 1858.	Pop'n in each Constituency according to the last Census of 1861.	REMARKS.
237	334	306	2742	
269	352	360	2004	
337	415	469	3603	
87	122	961	961	
856	463	482	4373	
277	425	360	3626	
152	231	123	1814	
423	569	475	4546	
64	140	89	1073	
2202	3051	2691	25842	
424	601	602	3178	St. Telesphore.
243	243	261	1413	
	83		1611	
202	272	243	488	
116	142	175	2116	
224	256	586	1121	
	25		2035	
1206	1622	1670	259	12221
81	103		700	Academies.
291	461	501	3098	
262	382	324	2274	
118	159	141	1059	
471	Stanstead Plain..109 } 713 }	676	4847	
			280	
1223	1927	1642	12258	
276	325	422	3176	
254	341	329	2399	
253	690	817	5639	
1077	1356	1568	11214	
46	90	263	660	Fraserville. Temiscouata Road.
261	131	171	1164	
			1210	
			941	
106	136	205	891	
139	202	95	1782	
117	193	182	1680	
		L'Etang du Lac.. 23		
92	160	91	620	
132	169	142	1097	
		Temis- couata.....		
312	442	395	3302	
373	432	345	3451	
		31	206	
			159	
107	149	145	1397	
1635	2104	2301	18561	Begon. Denonville.

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County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.			
		MORIN.	LABRECHE VIGER.		
TERREBONNE E.	St. Jerome.....	179	185		
	St. Janvier.....	112	61		
	St. Thérèse.....	157	87		
	St. Anne.....	85	122		
	Terrebonne.....	71	151		
	Lacorne.....	34	53		
	Abercrombie.....	46	6		
	St. Sauveur.....	51	112		
	St. Adèle.....	24	20		
	Morin.....	54	64		
	Majority for Ls. LABRECHE VIGER, Esq.....83		813	896	
CITY OF THREE RIVERS.	Ward St. Philippe.....	TURCOTTE. 66	DAWSON. 3		
	Banlieue.....				
	do St. Louis.....			197	2
	do Notre Dame.....			29	
	do St. Ursule.....			25	3
Majority for J. E. TURCOTTE, Esq.....219.		227	8		
CITY OF TORONTO, (WEST DIVISION.)	St. George's Ward.....	ROBINSON. 125	WILSON. 119		
	St. Andrew's do.....			314	252
	St. Patrick's do.....			299	175
	St. John's do.....			402	340
	Majority for JOHN B. ROBINSON, Esq.....255			1141	886
CITY OF TORONTO, (EAST DIVISION.)	St. James' Ward.....	CRAWFORD. 350	BROWN. 419		
	St. David's do.....			475	254
	St. Lawrence do.....			300	211
	Majority for JOHN CRAWFORD, Esq.....191.			1125	944
TWO MOUNTAINS	St. Scholastique.....	DAUEST. 162	DUCHESNEAU. 218		
	St. Marie.....				
	St. Scholastique Village.				
	St. Hermas.....			85	24
	St. Benoit.....			116	26
	St. Augustin.....			151	22
	St. Placide.....			103	4
	St. Canut.....			24	20
	St. Jerome.....				
	St. Colomban.....			72	19
	St. Joseph.....			63	7
	St. Eustache.....			168	46
	do Village.....				
	Mission du Lac.....				
Majority for J. B. DAUEST, Esq.....588.		974	386		

the Records of the Elections in each County, &c.—(Continued.)

Total number of Votes polled in each Division.	No. of Voters on the Voters' Lists in each Division.	Number of Votes polled at the last Election in 1858.	Pop'n in each Constituency according to the last Census of 1861.	REMARKS.
364	525	No Contestation.	4236	
173	212		1569	
244	341		2989	
207	258		1994	
222	287		3154	
92	95		1684	
52	70		580	
193	275		1821	
44	253		1633	
1709	2296		19460	
69	117	247	165	
	43		289	
109	203	196	3369	
29	60	126	1271	
28	53	98	744	
			220	Christian Brothers' College, &c.
235	478	667	6058	
244	489	351	2823	The City of Toronto was not divided into East and West Division in 1858, and there were three Candidates for Election in that year.
566	1116	1052	6252	
474	991	953	5809	
743	1436	1245	8034	
			1912	Religious, Collegiate and other Public Institutions in East and West Toronto.
2027	4062	3601	21830	
803	1414	1291	8466	The City of Toronto was not divided into East and West Divisions in 1858, and there were three Candidates for Election in that year.
759	1302	1230	7904	
511	864	746	3681	
2079	3580	3267	19991	
380	404	No Contestation.	3201	Parish.
	32			
	103		766	Village and Convent.
109	188		1583	
142	245		1988	
203	290		2228	
107	168		1479	
44	74		825	
			244	St. Jerome.
91	139		396	
70	180		1346	
214	302		2372	Parish.
	117		915	Village.
			562	
1360	2242		18408	

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County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.			
		MONGENAIS.		BRASSEUR.	
VAUDREUIL.....	St. Michel.....	43		342	
	Vaudreuil Village.....				
	St. Jean de L'Isle Perret	21		67	
	Newton.....	37		88	
	Ste. Marthe.....	172		111	
	St. Madeleine de Rigaud	406		26	
Majority for J. Bte. MONGENAIS, Esq....45.		679		634	
VERCHIERES.....		KIERZKOWSKI.	PAINCHAUD.	FRASER.	PREFONTAINE
	Verchères.....	212	92		
	Varenes.....	167	206		
	St. Julie.....	98	77		
	Beceil.....	89	156		
	St. Marc.....	62	73	1	1
	St. Antoine.....	80	152		
	Contrecoeur.....	150	100		
Majority for A. E. KIERZKOWSKI, Esq....2.		858	856	1	1
VICTORIA.....		DUNSFORD.		CAMERON.	
	Lindsay.....	175		51	
	Ops.....	255		124	
	Mariposa.....	370		208	
	Emily.....	247		222	
	Eldon.....	97		167	
	Fenelon.....	114		135	
	Verulam and Somerville	97		49	
	Carden.....	2		7	
	Bexley and Saxton.....	2		70	
	Lutterworth and Auson.	2		77	
	Majority for JAS. W. DUNSFORD, Esq....251.		1361		1110
WATERLOO, (NORTH RIDING)..		FOLEY.		HOFFMAN.	
	Waterloo (North).....	131		56	
	Woolwich.....	231		9	
	Wellesley.....	241		185	
	Berlin (Town).....	86		28	
	Waterloo (Village).....	47		57	
Majority for Hon. M. H. FOLEY.....421.		736		315	
WATERLOO, (SOUTH RIDING).		HESPELER.		COWAN.	
	Wilnot.....	360		160	
	Waterloo (South).....	123		228	
	North Dumfries.....	78		460	
	N. Hamburg (Village)...	50		13	
	Preston do.....	163		23	
	Hespeler do.....	62		6	
	Galt (Town.).....				
	1st Ward.....	47		55	
	2nd do.....	69		63	
	3rd do.....	20		49	
	4th do.....	17		5	
	5th do.....	28		90	
Majority for J. Cowan, Esq.....145.		1017		1162	

the Records of the Elections in each County, &c.—(Continued.)

Total Number of Votes polled in each Division.	No. of Voters on the Voters' Lists in each Division.	Number of Votes polled at the last Election in 1858.	Pop'n in each Constituency according to the last Census of 1861.	REMARKS.	
385	416	508	3239	Parish. Village.	
88	73		544		
123	121	135	940		
282	176	169	1029		
432	372	413	2659		
1313	359	373	3871		
304	368	340	3210	Institutions.	
373	340	377	3153		
175	227	370	1433		
245	287	319	1980		
137	167	155	1364		
232	272	332	1821		
250	308	297	2141		
1716	1964	2190	15485		
		DALTON.....	61		With Bexley.
		DIGBY.....	88		
		HINDON.....	11		
		MACAULAY & DRAPER.....	23		
226	344		166		
379	430		335		
373	686		554		
469	543		469		
264	310		212		
249	351		210		
146	182		161		
9	30				
72	127				
79	113				
2471	3126	2107	23039		
187	157	No Contestation.	3969		
240	530		3256		
126	731		5888		
114	282		1956		
84	147		1273		
1051	2147		18342		
520	653	694	6173		
351	490	518	3995		
538	651	522	4161		
63	137	118	868		
196	248	223	1538		
68	88		694		
102	133	81	3069		
132	172	117			
69	102	68			
22	28	20			
118	139	94			
2179	2841	2455		20408	

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County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.	
		STREET.	FRAZER.
WELLAND.....	Bertie Township.....	137	111
	Crowland do	70	101
	Humberstone do	179	78
	Pelham do	35	260
	Stamford do	227	101
	Thorold, do	134	139
	Wainfleet do	139	98
	Willoughby do	39	30
	Chippewa do	111	31
	Clifton, North Ward.....	40	12
	South do	30	2
	Centre do	60	12
	Fort Erie.....	34	21
	Thorold Village.....	160	61
	Welland	32	43
	Majority for T. C. STREET, Esq.....	1178	1100
WELLINGTON, (N. RIDING).....	Amaranthe.....	Ross. 18	CLARKE. 144
	Arthur.....	169	310
	Garrafraxa.....	246	336
	Luther.....	31	47
	Maryborough	137	199
	Minto	201	96
	Nichol.....	199	129
	Fergus	85	58
	Peel.....	283	288
	Pilkington	183	92
	Elora Village.....	141	29
	Majority for WM. CLARKE, Esq.....	1698	1769
	WELLINGTON, (SOUTH RIDING).....	D. STURTON, Esq.....	
WENTWORTH, (NORTH RIDING).....	Beverley Township.....	NOTMAN. 331	McKENZIE. 212
	Flamborough West do	139	179
	Flamborough East do	222	164
	Dundas.		
	Valley Ward.....	55	47
	Canal do	22	62
	Foundry do	34	67
	Mountain do	40	60
	Majority for WM. NOTMAN, Esq.....	903	791
WENTWORTH, (SOUTH RIDING).....	Ancaster.....	RYMAL. 310	KERS. 147
	Barton.....	88	158
	Dinbrook	89	111
	Glanford.....	102	106
	Saltfleet	113	146
	Majority for J. RYMAL, Esq.....	702	668

the Records of the Elections in each County, &c.—(Continued.)

Total number of Votes polled in each Division.	No. of Voters on the Voters' Lists in each Division.	Number of Votes polled at the last Election in 1858.	Popl'n in each Constituency according to the last Census of 1861.	REMARKS.
248	328	268	2673	
171	227	225	1457	
257	410	305	3039	
295	394	347	2645	
328	483	334	3041	
273	386	352	2837	
228	336	271	2316	
129	195	146	1539	
142	196	108	1095	
52	66	158	1292	
32	48			
72	94			
55	109	42	706	
221	295	198	1616	
75	126		731	
2578	3693	2754	24988	
162	198	123	1196	
479	660	303	3597	
632	762	551	4866	
78	182	Included in Arthur.	689	
336	432		162	3134
297	421	14	2341	
328	449	448	2395	
143	187		1117	
576	730	255	5008	
275	343	106	2397	
161	224		1043	
3467	4608	2262	27783	
By Acclamation.		2025	21417	
533	703	786	6339	
318	396	545	3933	
396	477	450	3815	
102	138	75		
84	118	83	2832	
101	123	82		
100	131	76		
1694	2084	2097	16939	
457	622	333	3043	
246	310	381	2811	
200	217	230	2100	
208	243	321	3199	
259	343	258	2740	
1370	1735	1723	14893	

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County.	Township, City, Town, Parish, Precinct, or Division.	CANDIDATES.		
		FORTIER.	GILL.	HART.
YAMASKA	St. David.....	408	13	.....
	St. Michel.....	173	6	.....
	St. François.....	29	187	.....
	St. Thomas de Pierreville.....	16	217	1
	St. Antoine de la Baie.....	159	18	5
	St. Zephirin.....	2	.....	253
	Majority for M. FORTIER, Esq.....348.	789	441	259
YORK. (NORTH RIDING).	King.....	343	.....	BEACHALL. 12
	East Gwillimbury.....	204	.....	13
	Whitchurch.....	226	.....	4
	Georgina.....	59	.....	47
	North Gwillimbury.....	72	.....	29
	Holland Landing.....	19	.....	16
	Newmarket.....	93	.....	21
	Majority for ADAM WILSON, Esq.....874.	1016	.....	142
YORK. (EAST RIDING).	Yorkville.....	145	.....	MILNE. 73
	East York.....	210	.....	144
	Markham.....	451	.....	373
	Scarborough.....	190	.....	265
	Majority for AMOS WRIGHT, Esq.....141.	996	.....	855
YORK, (WEST RIDING).	Vaughan.....	283	.....	DENISON. 142
	York.....	250	.....	130
	Etobicoke.....	166	.....	87
	Majority for WM. P. HOWLAND, Esq.....440.	799	.....	359

Office of the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery,
QUEBEC, May 12, 1862.

the Records of the Elections in each County, &c.—(Continued.)

Total number of Votes polled in each Division.	No. of Voters on the Voters' Lists in each Division.	Number of Votes polled at the last Election in 1858.	Pop'n in each Constituency according to the last Census of 1861.	REMARKS.
421	638	536	3925	
181	261	281	2440	
216	333	146	2312	
234	321	384	2743	
182	299	415	2982	
255	405	207	1641	
1480	2262	2269	16045	
355	1119	727	8063	
217	553	459	3862	
230	778	646	6795	
106	167	152	1494	
101	226	149	1842	
33	97	.....	741	Included in Township of Whitchurch.
114	254	.....	.....
1158	3194	2133	22797	
218	387	208	1570	
354	548	420	.....	Included in population of West York.
824	1041	917	8658	
455	818	456	4854	
1851	2594	2001	15082	
525	865	569	7953	
380	716	707	10337	With East York.
253	413	437	3503	
1158	1994	1713	21795	

L. R. FORTIER,
Clerk of the Crown in Chancery.