

# The Orange and the Blue: The Orange Order and the Conservative-Protestant Connection, 1896-1917

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**Abstract.** For most of Canada's history, Catholics – both francophones and anglophones – tended to vote disproportionately for the Liberal Party and Protestants – largely anglophones – tended to vote disproportionately for the Conservative Party. This pattern was not inevitable. Indeed, many Catholics, particularly francophones, supported the Conservatives during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. How did this linguistic and religious polarization develop? I examine one possible explanation – the political influence of Protestant supremacist organizations – with an in-depth study of New Brunswick, the most informative province for the federal party system. I combine two methodological approaches to conduct the analysis. First, I trace the relationship between the Orange Order and the Conservative Party using archival records from the New Brunswick Grand Orange Lodge. Second, I construct an original dataset that combines records of the location of Orange lodges from 1897 to 1918; parish, town and city electoral results from provincial elections from 1899 to 1917 taken from newspaper coverage of provincial elections; and Census data on national origin and religious denomination at the Census sub-division level from 1891 to 1911. Archival materials suggest that the Orange Order only sided with the Conservatives explicitly after the formation of the Union Government in late 1917. Quantitative results suggest that there is no relationship between Orange lodges and the Conservative vote in *provincial* elections from 1899 to 1917, but Catholics swung away from the Conservatives in the February 1917 provincial election. Future work should examine federal electoral results, particularly the 1911 and December 1917 federal elections.

*Note: This paper presents preliminary analyses of the historical material and quantitative dataset. For a list of work in progress, see Appendix D. Any comments or suggestions are welcome.*

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One of the defining themes of Canadian political development is conflict over language and religion (Siegfried, 1906). Indeed, one of the early findings of political behaviour research in Canada is that Catholics tended to vote for the Liberal Party and Protestants tended to vote for the Conservative Party – albeit not in the same numbers. From 1917 to 1958, Catholics – including both anglophones and francophones – voted in large numbers for the Liberals. This pattern was a major part of the dominance of the Liberals over the party system (Blais, 2005; Johnston, 2017). However, in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, Catholics, particularly francophone Catholics, typically gave much of their support to the Conservatives. How did the linguistic and religious bases of the Canadian party system develop?

I propose that an account of this realignment must take into account the efforts of Protestant supremacist organizations, particularly the Orange Order. Protestant supremacist organizations were very active throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Century in Canada, and they sought to make Canada a British and Protestant nation. However, past Canadian political science scholarship largely neglects the influence of the Orange Order on politics, despite its prominence in historical scholarship. My attention to the Orange Order draws on this body of historical work, political development scholarship that makes inequality central to the analysis (for example, Frymer, 1999) and recent work suggesting that organizations are important for explaining party position change, polarization or realignment (for example, Baylor, 2017; Schlozman, 2016; Schickler, 2016).

I conducted a study of language and religion in New Brunswick elections from 1896 to 1917. New Brunswick serves as a microcosm of Canada that has substantial populations of francophone Catholics, anglophone Catholics and anglophone Protestants, along with active interest groups and social movements organized on linguistic and/or denominational grounds. I combine qualitative analyses of archival material from the New Brunswick Grand Orange Lodge (NBGOL), particularly from 1897-1917, with quantitative analyses of an original dataset on New Brunswick provincial elections. In the dataset, I combine records of the location of Orange lodges from 1897 to 1918 from the annual reports of the NBGOL; parish, town and city electoral results from provincial elections from 1899 to 1917 taken from newspaper coverage of provincial elections; and Census data on national origin and religious denomination at the Census sub-division level from 1891 to 1911.<sup>2</sup>

The archival material suggests that (1) the NBGOL focused much of its political attention on federal politics; (2) the Conservatives developed informal links to the Orange Order, particularly by the 1911 federal election campaign despite the Order’s formally non-partisan stance; and (3) the Orange Order abandoned its non-partisan organizational stance in 1917 and explicitly supported the Union Government that introduced Conscription. The preliminary analysis of provincial elections suggests that there is little relationship between Orange lodges and votes cast for the Conservative Party until the 1917 provincial election, even though the provincial party system was realigning – or polarizing – in a secular fashion on language and religion between 1899 and 1917. Even in the 1917 provincial election, any community-level relationship between Orange lodges and the Conservative vote disappears when taking into account Catholic population share.

### **Re-Examining the Development of the ‘Liberal-Catholic Connection’**

I argue that it is important to re-examine scholarship on the relationship between language and religion and support for Canada’s political parties by making inequality central to the analysis. This perspective offers three main benefits. First, it suggests a need to focus the analysis on the processes taking place within the higher-status group – anglophone Protestants – despite the tendency of much of the past work to focus on the strength of francophone or Catholic bloc voting for the Liberals. Second, it allows Canadian scholarship to draw more explicitly on work on race in American political development, which has many. Third, it highlights the potential of Protestant supremacist

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<sup>2</sup> In future iterations of this paper, I plan to include federal electoral results in New Brunswick, as well.

organizations as an explanation for the denominational and linguistic divide in voting behaviour, which fits with a recent shift in scholarship toward re-centering interest groups and social movements in studies of electoral and party politics.

When Canadian political scientists speak about the relationship between religion and voting behaviour, the tendency focus is on the overwhelming support of the Liberal Party among Catholics, famously called the “Liberal-Catholic connection” (Blais, 2005). This type of discussion treats Catholics as the “marked” category and Protestants as the “reference” category. When dealing with groups of unequal power and status, it is common for the more dominant (or higher-status) group to be unmarked and for the more marginalized (or lower-status) group to be marked. Of course, in a regression analysis, when two groups are mutually exclusive, it is mathematically equivalent to treat one as the reference category and the other as a marked category. However, the framing of the issue as a “Liberal-Catholic connection” suggests that the explanation for this link lies with Liberals and Catholics, not Conservatives or Protestants. Gidengil et al. (2005) provide a useful discussion of how focusing only on the “marked” group can limit theoretical explanations, drawing on gender gaps in support for the Reform Party. Ultimately, any explanation of the denominational divide in voting behaviour needs to look not only at the processes within Catholic communities that lead them to vote for the Liberals but also the processes within Protestant communities that lead them to vote for the Conservatives.<sup>3</sup> The Orange Order, given its long history of involvement in militant Protestant politics, is likely

To date, Canadian political science has remained relatively disconnected from work on American political development, particularly race in American political development. However, as I have argued elsewhere, this perspective is valuable for understanding the operation of electoral laws and party politics (Albaugh, 2019). In some key respects, the efforts of Protestant supremacists to build an ethnic majority coalition in Canada is reminiscent of – albeit one that was far less successful as building a white majority coalition for the Democrats in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries in the South (Key, 1949). Perhaps most importantly, scholarship on race and American political development points to how political parties can come to take for granted the marginalized groups that for them *en masse* when there is a sizable group of voters from the dominant group who are unwilling to vote for a party that courts the marginalized group – a phenomenon Frymer (1999) and Frymer and Skrentny (1998) call “electoral capture.” In many respects, the case of francophone – and possibly even anglophone Catholic – bloc voting for the Liberals in Canada may be a case of electoral capture. If so, it is important to establish that there was a group of anti-francophone, anti-Catholic voters. Orangemen are the obvious place to look.

Ultimately, if we take inequality on language and religion seriously, then we must look more closely at Protestant supremacist organizations, including the Orange Order. Protestant supremacist organizations, such as the Orange Order, Ku Klux Klan, played a major role in opposing demands for inclusion from francophone and anglophone Catholics and in supporting efforts to make Canadian institutions and policies British and Protestant in orientation. They also at times became involved in electoral politics. My emphasis on the role of organizations other than political parties in electoral and party politics fits with a recent trend toward bringing interest groups and social movements back into analyses of the development of electoral and party politics (for example, Baylor, 2017; Schickler, 2016; Scholzman, 2016). This turn in the scholarship has much to offer scholars of electoral and party politics, particularly in Canada.<sup>4</sup> While organizations other than political parties, including churches,

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3 From the perspective of comparative ethnic politics, the question is perhaps less why Catholics vote so overwhelmingly for the Liberals but why British Protestants did not vote overwhelmingly for an ethnic majority party (for a discussion, see Chandra, 2007; Horowitz, 1985).

4 See, for example, Elizabeth Baisley’s work on social conservative organizations’ efforts to influence party politics.

railway companies and others, were central to early work on the development of the Canadian party system (Underhill, 1935), other analyses that focused primarily on voters (Johnston, 2017) and parties (Carty, 2015; Carty et al., 2000) became more prominent. Indeed, the central concept of Canadian parties research – “brokerage parties” – relies on the idea that the parties are autonomous from social groups and not very distinct from one another (Carty, 2015), which was untrue even when the idea of “brokerage” first emerged in the 1940s (for a discussion of the development of “brokerage” theories, see Thorburn, 1991).

### **The Orange Order in Politics**

While the Orange Order was not the only active Anglo-Protestant supremacist organization in Canada, it was both longstanding and particularly influential in politics. As a result, it is worth examining its development from a local organization in Ulster to a major interest group in Canadian politics.

The Orange Order (formally, the “Loyal Orange Institution”) formed in Loughgall, Armagh, Ulster in 1795 as a Protestant defence organization during a period of Catholic-Protestant ethnic violence. The Order takes its name from William III (commonly known as William of Orange), who won the Battle of the Boyne, which Orangemen take as critical to the development of the “Protestant ascendancy” in Ireland.

The main organizational unit has always been the local lodge. Initially, these lodges served as violent organizations that orchestrated the burning of Catholics’ homes and property and the assault and killings of Catholics (Houston and Smyth, 1980: 11). The inspiration for this lodge structure appears to have been the Freemasons, since three of the founders of the Orange Order in Ireland were Freemasons (Houston and Smyth, 1980: 10). Within two years, over 150 lodges had formed across the island of Ireland. The lodges eventually took on many activities. From the start, Orange lodges organized active processions. Their anti-Catholic violence played a major role in segregating the population on Catholic-Protestant lines, not only in Ulster but also in Canada (Houston and Smyth, 1980: ch. 3). However, the Orange Order also provided aid to its brethren, including opening an orphanage and operating a life insurance cooperative.

The Orange Order came to Canada as early as 1799 (Houston and Smyth, 1980: ch. 2). Orangemen often joined the British military, and British military bases often had temporary Orange lodges between 1799 and 1830. The first civilian lodges date to 1830. During the 1840s, the Orangemen’s loud public processions on July 12 led to riots (See, 1983, 1993). Although the Orange Order may have started as an Irish Protestant organization, in North America almost immediately began to take in Protestants regardless of their denomination or national origin (Houston and Smyth, 1980: 18-19; See, 1993).

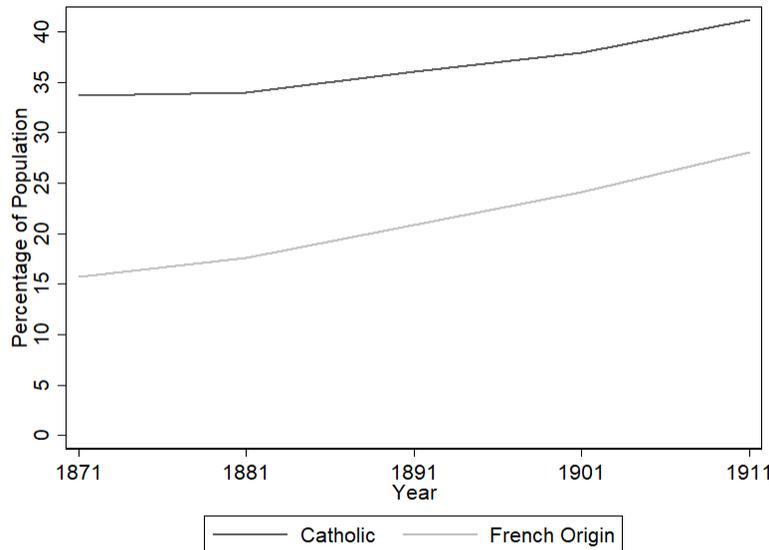
Over time, the Orange Order moved away from its violent roots towards being a secret society for well-connected Protestants – often in politics. Many premiers and prime ministers were Orangemen, including John B. M. Baxter in New Brunswick. Although Orangemen often sat on federal and provincial cabinets from Confederation onward, the Order itself usually stayed out of electoral politics (As Smyth (2015) notes, the City of Toronto is a major exception, since the local Orange organization operated a municipal political machine that dominated city politics for a century.) During the conflict over Manitoba’s decision to abolish Catholic schools and French language rights in 1890, the federal Conservatives sought to manage the conflict by maintaining ties with both sides of the debate. Prime Minister John Thompson, a Catholic, attempted to diffuse the Manitoba Schools crisis in part by appointing Grand Master Clarke Wallace and past Grand Master Mackenzie Bowell to cabinet (Watt, 1969: 50). In the 1890s, disaffected Orangemen who wanted the organization to take a more active stance in politics flocked to the Protestant Protective Association (PPA) which ran candidates in federal, provincial and municipal elections in the 1890s. The PPA even won seats in the 1893 Ontario

provincial by-election in East Lambton and nine seats in the 1894 Ontario provincial election. Ultimately, the Orange Order remained formally non-partisan and supported parties or candidates deemed responsive to its issue concerns. As I show later in this paper, however, the Conservative Party had many informal links to the Order that deepened between 1896 and 1917.

### Case Selection

In this study, I follow a time-honoured practice in studies of political realignments of shifting the geographic unit down from the entire country to a sub-national unit. State-level analyses were central to Key’s pioneering work on critical elections (Key, 1955) and secular realignments (Key, 1959). This approach makes it much more tractable to study broader political realignments, particularly given the challenges of working with historical data. In particular, it is much easier to have a sense of each town or parish in a province like New Brunswick – much more easily than it is to know every town in the country. More to the point, the campaign dynamics in each federal election differ substantially from region to region and even from province to province. As Blake notes, few elections are “critical” in every province at the same time (Blake, 1979: 259-60). Ultimately, the study of elections in Canada must rely on in-depth studies of federal and provincial politics in each province.

**Figure 1: Catholic and French Origin Share of New Brunswick’s Population, 1871-1911**



First, although each province has its own unique regional dynamics, New Brunswick is only province that shares the same linguistic and religious inequalities and conflicts that define the federal party system. While many provinces, including Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Ontario, along with pre-Confederation Newfoundland, have substantial denomination conflicts, only New Brunswick has a francophone linguistic minority that counted more than 10 percent of the population – a defining feature of federal politics. (Although Manitoba was initially roughly equally split between francophones and anglophones, the pace of anglophone settlement from Ontario to Manitoba quickly led to the province becoming overwhelmingly anglophone.) Figure 1 displays the share of the New Brunswick population that is Catholic and the share of the population of French origin based on the Census of Canada from 1871 to 1911. Francophones in New Brunswick often took similar political positions as francophones in Quebec, particularly over language rights, education and Canada’s relationship to the British Empire (Theobald, 2004). Likewise, New Brunswick had a substantial amount of immigration from Ireland, including both pre-Famine Protestant and post-Famine Catholic

immigration (Toner, 1988). No other province has the combination of Irish Protestant, Irish Catholic and francophone group conflicts on the party system. As a result, if one were to pick any province to speak to the federal party system, particularly from 1867 to 1917, it is New Brunswick.

Second, New Brunswick is a “plausibility probe” for the influence of the Orange Order on party politics (George and Bennett 2005). The general consensus of scholars of the Orange Order is that it was most widespread – and influential – in Ontario, New Brunswick and Newfoundland (Houston and Smyth 1980). Scholars of New Brunswick politics likewise attest to the influence of the Orange Order and to its links to the Conservatives after the First World War (Fitzpatrick 1976, Thorburn 1961). As a result, New Brunswick is a more obvious starting point than most other provinces, since past work suggests that Orange Order was particularly influential there. By contrast, if there were relatively little relationship between the organization of the Orange Order and the Conservative vote in New Brunswick, then this study would be a sort of “crucial case” (Eckstein 1975, Gerring 2007). That is, the chances would be less likely that future studies would find a strong relationship across the entire country.

Third, there is a practical reason for studying New Brunswick separately from the other provinces: the NBGOL issued its own warrants for Orange lodges (Houston and Smyth 1980: 69-70). Effectively, the NBGOL was able to set up its own lodges without interference from the country-wide organization. This practice is a legacy of the NBGOL’s separate historical development from the Grand Orange Lodge of British North America in the 1830s. As a result, information on orange lodges in New Brunswick do not exist in the records of the Loyal Orange Association of British North America, held in Toronto – and are missing from Houston and Smyth’s (1980) large-scale geographic study of the spread of Orange lodges from 1830 to 1960. To my knowledge, this paper would be the first to make use of the NBGOL’s records of Orange lodges in New Brunswick.

### **Research Design, Data and Methodology**

In this paper, I employ a multi-method design with both qualitative and quantitative components. In the qualitative component of the paper, I draw on archival research conducted the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick and the University of New Brunswick Harriett Irving Library in Fredericton, NB. Unfortunately, many important documents related to the Orange Order’s involvement in politics, such as the Grand Master’s correspondence, are not available. However, the extant records include the proceedings (or report) of the annual meeting of the New Brunswick Grand Orange Lodge (NBGOL), including every year from 1897 to 1918, which include the yearly reports of the Grand Master, the Grand Secretary, the Grand Treasurer and the County Masters, along with financial and organizational records of the NBGOL, particularly its interactions with the primary lodges. A list of historical sources consulted is available in Appendix A.

In the quantitative component of the paper, I combine a number of historical data sources to examine the relationship between Orange lodges and the Conservative vote in federal and provincial elections from 1896 to 1917. These sources include (1) the yearly directories of Orange lodges and annual reports from the Grand Secretary about the establishment of new lodges from the reports of the annual meeting of the NBGOL; (2) lists of Orange Halls and reports from the Grand Secretary about the inauguration of new Halls from the annual reports of the NBGOL; (3) poll-level provincial electoral results collected from newspaper coverage of provincial elections from 1899-1917; and (4) sub-division level Census data on national origin and religious denomination from the 1891, 1901 and 1911 Census of Canada. A list of newspaper sources used to construct the poll-level data of provincial elections is available in Appendix B.

Since these different data sources rely on different geographic units, I aggregate the data to the parish, town or city level of analysis ( $N = 154$ ).<sup>5</sup> Until Louis Robichaud's Programme of Equal Opportunity in 1967, the parish was the relevant local government unit below the county level. Since the Orange lodges usually reported the city, town or parish and county in the address, it is possible to identify the appropriate unit for each lodge. Federal poll boundaries at this time did not cross parish boundaries. Provincial poll boundary descriptions are often unavailable, but in the extant poll descriptions in the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, they likewise appear not to include parts of multiple parishes. However, in newspaper coverage, it was common to see the poll-level results reported by parish. Furthermore, in the limited cases in which poll boundary descriptions are available before 1967, they never crossed parish boundary lines. Finally, during this time period, Census sub-divisions were parishes, urban municipalities in Fredericton or Moncton or wards of the City of Saint John.

I generally follow the Census sub-division boundaries wherever possible. Since Census sub-divisions change from one Census to another, I use the 1891 Census sub-division boundaries for consistency. This decision means incorporating some parishes established after 1891 into their original units and combining some towns and cities that became their own Census sub-divisions into their parishes. (A list of parish boundary changes is available in Appendix C.) Unfortunately, it is unclear where the Orange lodges within the City of Saint John actually met. As a result, it is not possible to link the ward-level Census and electoral data with material on Orange lodges. However, this approach still yields far more geographic units ( $N = 142$ ) than ridings ( $N = 16$ ).

### **The Orange Order and Conservative Politics in New Brunswick, 1896-1917**

In this section, I trace the Orange Order in New Brunswick's relationship to the Conservative Party from 1896 to 1917. I focus particularly on three major themes. First, I focus on the issues of concern to the NBGOL, including Canada and Ireland's respective places within the British Empire, "non-sectarian" education and minimizing the use of French. Second, I detail the formal relationship between the Orange Order and the Conservative Party. Contrary to Houston and Smyth (1980), who argue that the Orange Order did not have formal links with the Conservatives, I find that the NBGOL did take an explicitly partisan position in the 1917 federal election. Third, I highlight the informal links between the NBGOL and the Conservative Party that developed from 1896 to 1917, which suggest that the Conservative-Orange connection.

The Orange Order had a broad set of issue concerns in politics. Of course, a central concern was promoting the British Empire, and maintaining Ireland and Canada's positions within it. Johnston (2017) notably argued that the basis of Catholic support for the Liberals was primarily Canada's place within the British Empire. The Orange Order strongly supported both the Boer War and the First World War. However, the NBGOL took positions on other issues, as well. The NBGOL supported Confederation (NBGOL, 1867: 8).<sup>6</sup> For much of the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century and the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century, the NBGOL focused primarily on ending education in French and in state-funded Catholic schools. The NBGOL mobilized against the introduction of bilingual postcards, which were introduced by the Borden Government (NBGOL, 1915: 17). The NBGOL supported prohibition, which passed in New Brunswick in 1917 (NBGOL, 1916: 73; NBGOL, 1917: 12).

The NBGOL remained formally neutral in partisan politics until the 1917 federal election. Its annual report would routinely have statements that reiterated its neutrality in politics. After the

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5 Of course, using aggregate electoral results can risk problems of ecological inference. Aggregating geographical units to facilitate matching may introduce additional problems, as well, as suggested in statistical work on the Modifiable Areal Unit Problem (MAUP). However, it is usually best to link results at the same geographic unit of analysis rather than interpolating them. For a discussion, see Goplerud (2016).

6 In this section, I cite annual reports of the New Brunswick Grand Orange Lodge (NBGOL) in this fashion.

execution of Louis Riel in 1885, the Grand Master spoke approvingly of the decision but the Committee on Correspondence made certain to reiterate the organization's non-partisan stance: "[w]hile we agree with the R. W. G. M. [the Grand Master] that it is the duty of every member of the Association, in common with all loyal subjects, to interest himself in the discussion of all matters which appertain to the welfare of the country, we are strongly of the opinion that the Institution should not be permitted to be used or employed as an agency for serving the selfish ends of any person or party" (NGGOL, 1886: 61). After the 1896 general election, the Grand Master of the NBGOL complained about the tendency for electoral politics to interfere with "the progress of the Order":

During the year the Dominion general election took place, an event which had been looked forward to for many months by members of the Orange Association. The tendency of a general election, whether in the local [provincial] or federal arena, has always been to detract [sic] the thoughts of many of our members from our regular lodge work, and to retard, to a certain extent, the progress of our Order for a time. This effect is felt for months, both before and after the event comes off (NBGOL 1897: 16).

These complaints re-emerged every few years. Particularly after the 1911 federal election, the Orange Order began to express sympathy for the federal Conservatives. In 1912, the NBGOL passed a resolution that praised the way that Prime Minister Borden handled the dispute over Manitoba's border, in which he continued to prohibit separate Catholic schools (NBGOL, 1912: 52). In 1914, however, the NBGOL resolved to threaten Premier James Kidd Flemming that the organization would not support his government's re-election unless he agreed "to establish for all time the supremacy of the English language in this province" (NBGOL, 1914: 55). As late as 1915, the Grand Master decried the unreliability of party politicians in his address to the annual meeting:

In the past we have been adopting a number of resolutions on this subject ["non-sectarian" schools] which both political parties have either pigeon-holed or given evasive answers to, and I am constrained to admit that it appears a party politician is a very uncertain commodity as far as our Association is concerned. His delight appears to be in making a political football of us and kicking us into the goal and when he wins he kicks us out into the green for the other party to play with (NBGOL 1915: 17).

This non-partisan position ended with the Conscription Crisis of 1916-17. During the First World War, a broad-based anglophone social movement pressured the Borden Conservatives to adopt Conscription (English 1977). This social movement included the Orange Order. The NBGOL passed a resolution endorsing Conscription at its annual meeting in 1916 (NBGOL 1916: 74). This movement, along with the anglophone press, often preyed upon anti-francophone prejudices. Many Conscriptionists, including the Orangemen, endorsed the idea that francophones were insufficiently loyal to the empire, based on their lower rates of enlistment. For them, Conscription was necessary to make francophones fight on behalf of the Empire.

The polarization on Conscription nearly annihilated the existing Canadian party system in late 1917. In May, Prime Minister Borden announced that he would introduce legislation in favour of Conscription and invited Liberal Opposition lead Laurier to join a wartime coalition that would introduce Conscription. Laurier refused. In August 1917, the Borden Conservatives passed the *Military Service Act* despite overwhelming opposition in francophone communities. In October 1917, Borden invited pro-Conscription Liberals to join his "Union Government." Many Liberal-Unionists crossed the floor to join Borden's Government before the election, which left Laurier leading a rump Liberal party.

The Unionists won the 1917 overwhelmingly. Part of their overwhelming victory was a series of institutional manoeuvres that made the election more favourable. First, the Conservatives delayed the election from 1916 to 1917 for national security concerns. Second, the Conservatives conducted early

in its mandate a redistribution of electoral boundaries that favoured the Conservatives. Third, the Union Government passed the *Military Voters Act*, which enabled voting for overseas soldiers. It also notoriously allowed the Government to assign the soldier's vote to whichever ridings it deemed appropriate (Morton, 1975). Liberal MP Charles "Chubby" Power noted that the Unionists assigned the soldier vote to a number of Quebec ridings that the Unionists thought they could plausibly win (Power 1966). Finally, the Union Government passed the *Wartime Elections Act*, which allowed the female relatives of soldiers serving overseas to vote and barred immigrants from "enemy countries" who naturalized after 1903 from voting. Both of these groups had partisan associations – the Liberals did well with recent immigrants particularly on the Prairies, and the Unionists thought they would benefit from their pro-Conscription stance among the female relatives of soldiers serving overseas. While it is unclear exactly how much these attempts to rig the election affected the final outcome, they did contribute to the magnitude of the Unionist victory.

In New Brunswick, the federal and provincial elections of 1917 played out very differently. In February, the Liberals managed to win the provincial election by sweeping the predominantly francophone ridings and a handful of predominantly anglophone ridings. However, in late 1917, many Liberals joined the Union Government. Liberal MP Frank Carvell (Carleton) organized Liberal-Unionists in New Brunswick to support the Union Government in the December 17 federal election (English, 1977), and the Unionists swept the predominantly anglophone ridings.

During the 1917 election, the Orange Order offered explicit support to the Union Government, and many Orangemen followed through in supporting the Union Government. At its 1917 annual meeting, the NBGOL established a special committee to study the support of its members for the Union Government. In 1918, the Special Committee re: Conscription found overwhelming support for Union Government:

The Grand Orange Lodge expresses its highest gratification that at the federal election held in December last, the great majority of Orangemen throughout the Dominion loyally set aside all party distinctions and voted for those great principles for which our order stands. We feel that to their action is due in large measure the splendid results (NBGOL 1918: 66).

At this meeting, several other individuals within the NBGOL leadership expressed their pride in the support for the Union Government. The Committee on Correspondence called this support "almost unanimous" (NBGOL, 1918) and the Grand Master estimated that the election "resulted to the satisfaction of ninety-five percent of our membership" (NBGOL, 1918: 20). This position of supporting the Union Government was not unique to New Brunswick, nor was it only limited to the 1917 election. In 1919, the Supreme Grand Lodge of the Orange Order in British North America, which held jurisdiction over the entire country, passed a resolution committing itself to the Unionist Party (Olsen, 1946: 97-8).

The NBGOL went further to exclude individuals who had supported the Laurier Liberals. The Special Committee re: Conscription decided to recommend the expulsion of individuals who had supported the Laurier Liberals for being "untrue to their obligation" (a reason for expulsion under the NBGOL Constitution):

While we must thus express our satisfaction, we must at the same time express deep regret and displeasure that some of our members failed to stand firm for the holy principles to which we are solemnly pledged. We feel that such members were untrue to their obligation, and while we wish to regard their actions with charity we earnestly admonish each brother in every lodge under our jurisdiction to remember that neither party politics nor personal safety nor convenience in any case be suffered to effect [sic] our loyalty to our principles, which must always be reckoned as dearer than life.

The sanctions were particularly serious for individuals in leadership positions who did not support the Union Government. Eleven days before the 1917 federal election, the York County Orange lodge removed their County Master from his position due to his views on the election:

Because of the stand taken by our County Master in the last dominion [sic] election, in that he opposed the election of the Union Government candidate, and in doing so, in our opinion, worked against the principles of our grand association has always stood for, we on December 6th last, at a quarterly meeting of the County Lodge, deprived him of his office as County Master.

If the support for the Union Government was not unanimous before the 1917 federal election, these sanctions helped establish the norm that Orangemen support the Conservative Party, which lasted until the 1970s (Fitzpatrick, 1976).

That said, although the Orange Order was formally non-partisan before 1917 federal election, it had growing informal ties with the Conservatives for years before it acknowledged any alliance with the Conservatives. Several prime ministers and provincial premiers were members of the Orange Order. Orangemen were prominent members of federal and provincial cabinets, particularly Conservative cabinets. For example, under Conservative Premier of New Brunswick Douglas Hazen (1908-1911), four of the seven members of the provincial cabinet were members in good standing of the Orange Order (NBGOL, 1909: 16). Likewise, the *Sentinel*, the press wing of the Orange Order published in Toronto, took an editorial line in favour of the Conservatives during much of the period between 1896 and 1917, including publishing a pamphlet called “The Duty of the Hour” that incited Orangemen to support the Conservatives in the 1908 election (Olsen, 1946: 14). The *Sentinel*’s leaning toward the Conservatives had origins well before the 1896 election (Thompson, 1983). Finally the Orange Order maintained a good relationship with a number of Conservative politicians, such as federal cabinet minister Douglas Hazen, to whom the Grand Master attributed the re-introduction of English-only postcards (NBGOL, 1915: 17). These links became even stronger after the Conscription crisis. By 1925, Peter Veniot, the first Acadian Premier of New Brunswick, led the Liberals, and John B. M. Baxter, who served as master of primary lodge no. 11 “True Blue” (NBGOL, 1904: 125) and provided legal aid to the NBGOL, led the Conservatives in a virulently anti-Catholic campaign (Doyle, 1976; Thorburn, 1961). Indeed, in the 1920s and 1930s, Conservative politicians even maintained informal links with the New Brunswick Ku Klux Klan (Kline, 2019: 103-106).

### **Orange Lodges and the Conservative Vote, 1896-1917**

Although the NBGOL had developed links with the Conservative Party before the 1917 election, it is unclear which party benefited the most from the “Orange vote” over this time period. In this section, I present a series of preliminary descriptive findings on the Orange vote in provincial elections. These descriptive findings will serve as the starting point for building models of the propagation of Orange lodges over 1897-1918 and the relationship between the Orange Order and Conservative vote share.

I begin by examining the Conservative vote over time. Figure 2 (over) displays the Conservative share of the two-party vote in New Brunswick provincial elections from 1899 to 1917. At the time, New Brunswick used a multi-member plurality electoral system, in which counties were generally the ridings. (The exceptions are the city of Saint John and the city of Moncton from 1912 onward.) As a result, the Conservative share of the two-party vote is the sum of all the votes cast for candidates on the Conservative ticket divided by the sum of all votes cast for candidates on Liberal or Conservative tickets, excluding independents from the analysis. The figure displays the results separately for Gloucester, Kent and Madawaska counties and for the rest of New Brunswick. Past work on electoral politics in New Brunswick typically divides the counties into francophone, anglophone and mixed counties (Cross and Stewart, 2002; Thorburn, 1961). The francophone counties behave

substantially differently from the rest of New Brunswick – and from one another – over this time period. As a result, it is important to examine the results in those counties separately. It is also important to separate these counties because only one candidate ran in Gloucester in 1899 and 1912 and in Madawaska in 1903.

**Figure 2: Conservative Share of the Two-Party Vote, New Brunswick Provincial Elections, 1899-1917**

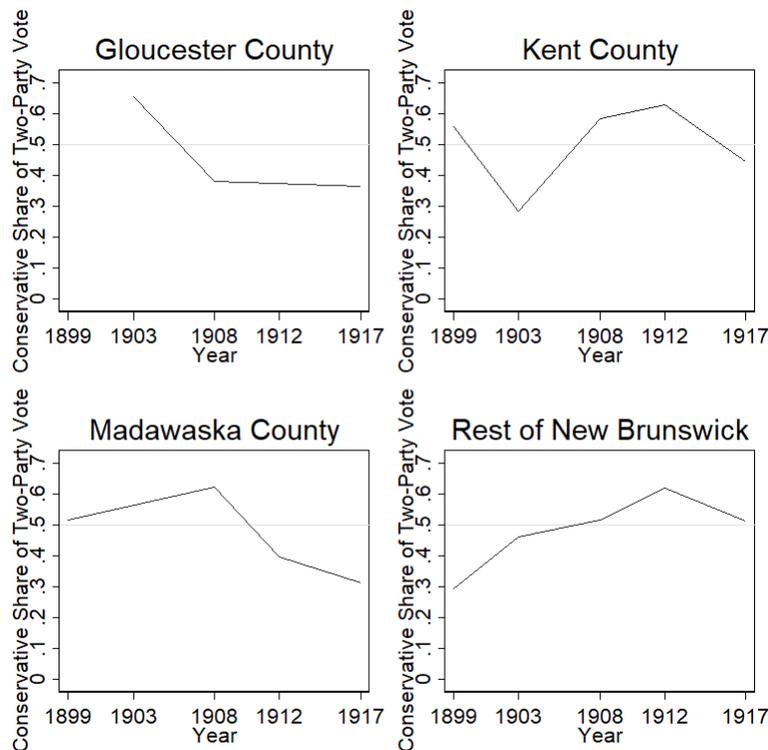


Figure 2 shows the realignment on language in the New Brunswick party system between 1899 and 1917. The bottom right panel shows the general trend in New Brunswick toward an increasing Conservative vote share from 1899 to 1912 and a decline in 1917. The Liberals won the 1899 and 1903 elections. After a generation out of power, Douglas Hazen re-organized the Conservative Party and won the 1908 provincial election. Premier Hazen left after the 1911 federal election to become a minister in Borden Government. The Conservatives won 42 of 46 seats in the 1912 provincial under Premier James Kidd Flemming. However, Flemming resigned in a scandal in 1914, and the revelations about the scandal kept emerging years after it took place (Doyle 1976). The three overwhelmingly francophone counties switched to the Liberals at different times –1908 for Gloucester, 1912 for Madawaska and 1917 for Kent. These results are consistent with past work on francophone voting behaviour in New Brunswick at the riding level (Finn). This finding suggest that New Brunswick francophones moved to the Liberals later (1908 or later) than Quebec francophones did at the federal level (Johnston, 2017: 78). Ultimately, in 1917, the Liberals managed to win by sweeping the predominantly francophone and Catholic areas of the province and winning enough votes in anglophone Protestant areas to win seats in southwestern New Brunswick, which was their winning coalition for many of the subsequent elections (Thorburn 1961, 1965).

**Figure 3: Election-to-Election Shift in Conservative Share of the Two-Party Vote, Anglophone and Mixed Counties, 1899 to 1917**

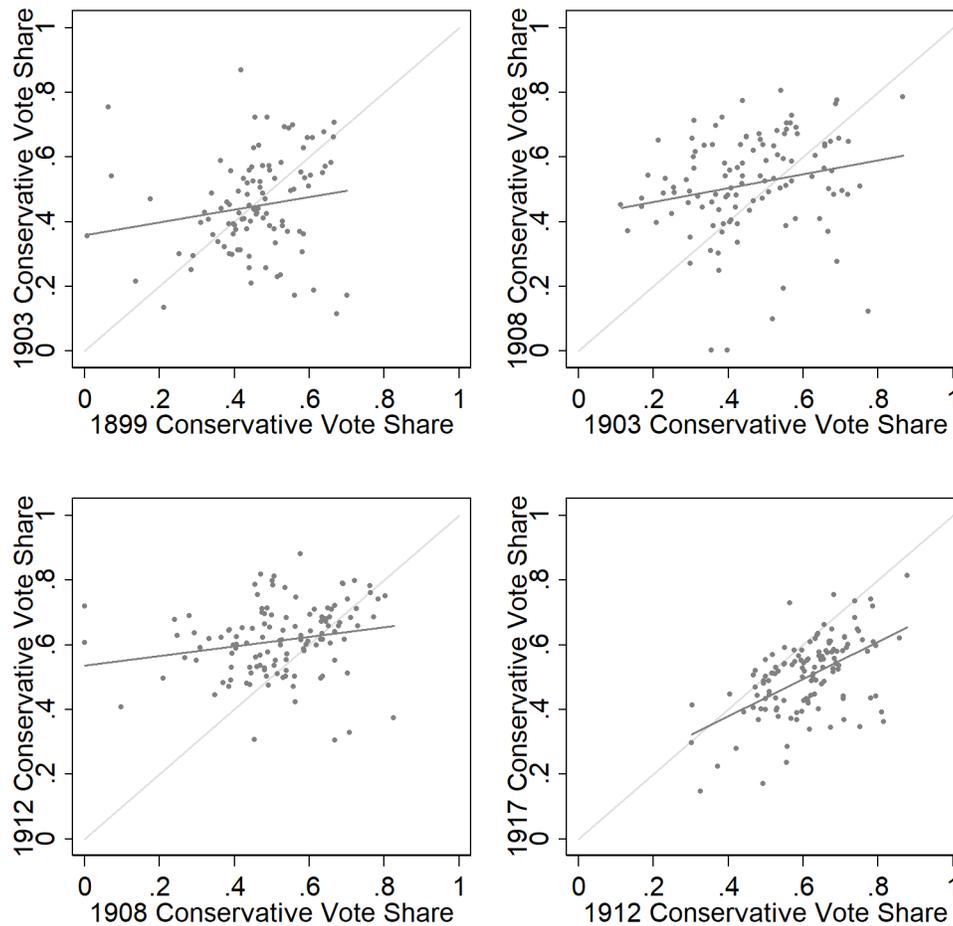


Figure 3 displays a scatter plot of the shift in Conservative vote from each election to the next (1899 to 1903, 1903 to 1908, 1908 to 1912 and 1912 to 1917). Each plot includes a fitted regression line in dark gray and a 45-degree reference line in light gray. This 45-degree reference line represents what the results would look like if each place behaved exactly the same in both elections. Early in this period, it is common to find many outliers. In general, the results tend to follow a “disproportionate swing” in which the Conservatives tend to make the largest relative gains the most in their vote shares in each election in the areas where they performed worse in the previous election (and to lost the most votes in areas where they performed best in the previous election). This type of noisy pattern suggests that the party system was not very stable from one election to the next over this time period. The main exception is 1912 to 1917, in which the pattern is relatively stable.

**Figure 4: Religion and Conservative Share of the Two-Party Vote in New Brunswick, Anglophone and Mixed Counties, 1899-1917**

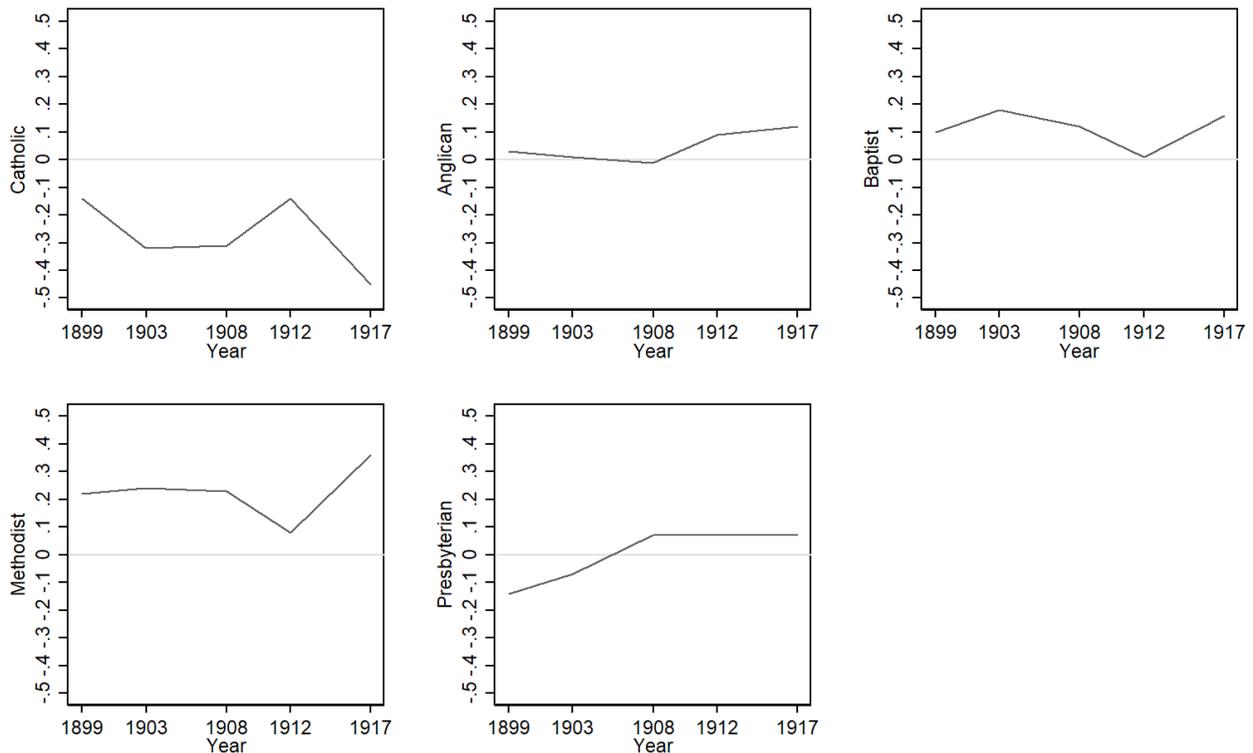
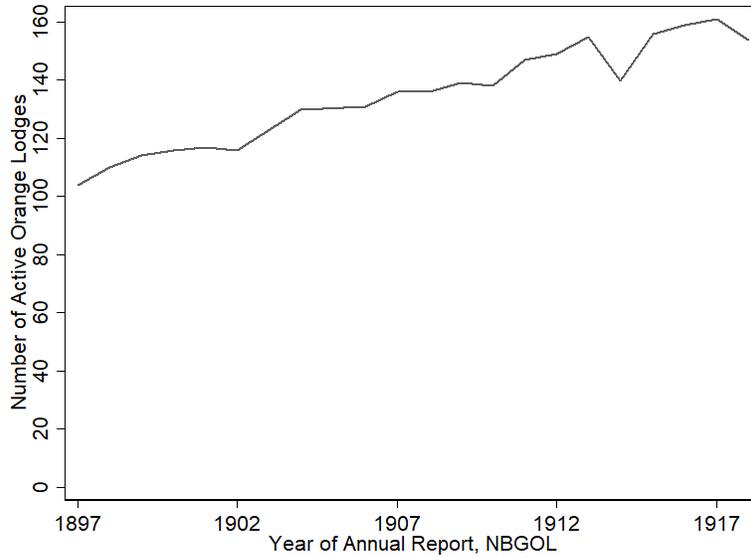


Figure 4 displays the correlations between the proportion of a Census sub-division from the five largest religious groups in New Brunswick and the Conservative share of the two-party vote from 1899 to 1917 in the twelve counties that are not overwhelmingly francophone. The five largest religious groups are Catholics, Anglicans, Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians. In Figure 3, Census sub-divisions include the wards of Saint John, which will be unavailable for analyses with the Orange Order data. In New Brunswick, Catholics and Presbyterians leaned to the Liberals in 1899, while the three other groups leaned to Conservatives. Over this period, Catholics became more strongly Liberal, while all four of the other groups became more Conservative.<sup>7</sup> Many of these correlations weakened in 1912, when the Conservatives won a landslide victory.<sup>8</sup> As a result, New Brunswick anglophone Catholics appear to have moved to the Liberals before the 1900 federal election, the year in which Johnston first reports a shift to the Conservatives (Johnston, 2017: 111).

<sup>7</sup> These results hold even when excluding Census sub-divisions with French origin shares of the population greater than 0.1.

<sup>8</sup> It is likely that Prohibition explains some of the shifts within Protestant groups in the 1908 and 1912 elections.

**Figure 5: Number of Active Orange Lodges in New Brunswick, 1897-1918**



Over this time period, the Orange Order expanded substantially. Figure 5 displays the expansion of primary lodges of the NBGOL from 1897 to 1918. In 1897, the NBGOL received returns from 104 active primary lodges. The number of lodges increased fairly steadily from 104 in 1897 to 161 in 1917. In 1914, the outbreak of the First World War disrupted the activity of many of the Orange lodges, which temporarily caused a decline in the number of active lodges.

**Figure 6: Correlations Between Orange Lodges and Conservative Vote, 1899-1917**

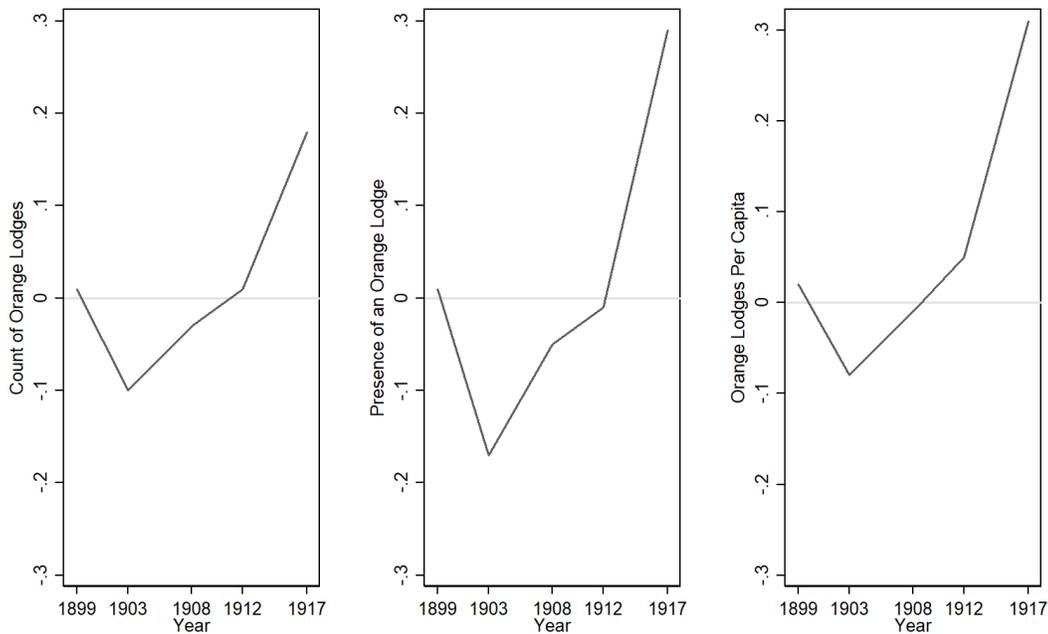
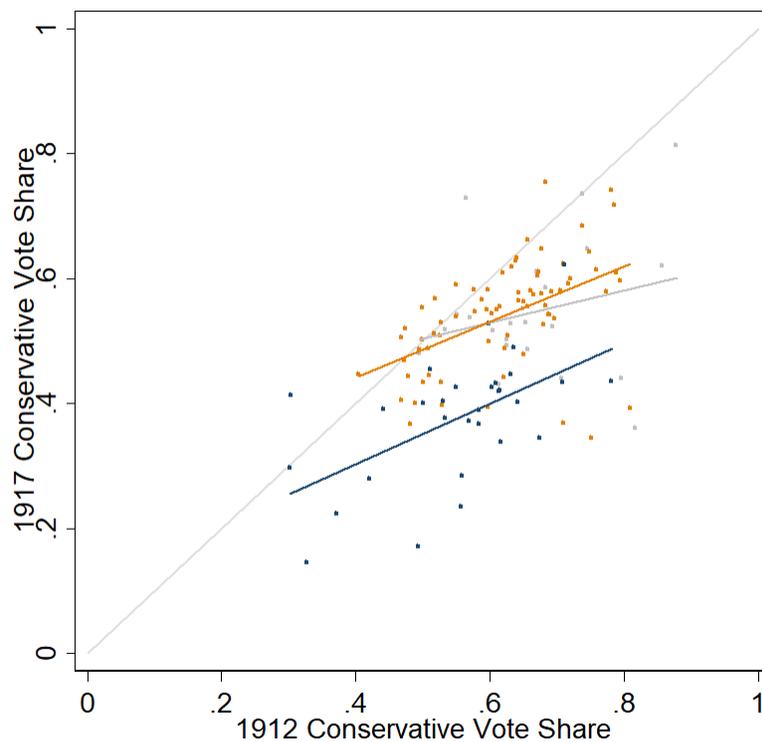


Figure 6 displays the relationship between the Orange lodges and the Conservative share of the two party vote over time outside of the predominantly francophone counties. Each panel uses a different measurement of the Orange presence in each geographic area. The first presents the correlation between a raw count of the number of active Orange lodges in the year preceding the provincial election and the Conservative share of the two-party vote in the provincial election. The second and third panels are similar but use a binary variable indicating the presence of an Orange lodge in the parish and a variable that represents the number of Orange lodges per capita in the year before the provincial election, respectively. All three measures show the same basic pattern. First, there is essentially no correlation in 1899. Second, in the 1917 provincial election, the correlation is negative, which suggests that the Liberals – if anyone – were the beneficiaries of the Orange vote. Third, correlation increased between the 1903 and 1917 provincial elections, but the lion’s share of the increase took place between the 1912 and 1917 provincial elections. However, apart from the 1917 election, these correlations are very weak.

**Figure 7: Scatterplot of 1917 Conservative Vote Share Against 1912 Conservative Vote Share, by Religious Demographics and Presence of the Orange Lodge**



Note: The forty-five degree line indicates the counterfactual of whether the Conservatives received the exact same vote share in 1917 that they did in 1912. Blue dots indicate majority-Catholic areas. Orange dots indicate majority-Protestant areas that had active Orange lodges in 1916. Gray dots indicate majority-Protestant areas that did not have active Orange lodges in 1916.

Even this correlation in the 1917 provincial election does not stand up to incorporating religious demographics into the analysis. Figure 7 provides a scatterplot of the 1917 Conservative share of the two-party vote against the 1912 Conservative share of the two-party vote separately for three types of areas. The first type is majority-Catholic areas (in blue). The second type is majority-Protestant areas

with active Orange lodges (in orange). The third is majority-Protestant areas that did not have active Orange lodges (in gray). It is clear from Figure 7 that majority-Catholic areas voted substantially more for the Liberals in the 1917 provincial election than in the 1912 provincial election, and majority-Catholic areas voted substantially more for the Liberals in 1917 than majority-Protestant areas did. Across majority-Catholic and majority-Protestant areas, the swing from the Conservatives to the Liberals was larger in areas that vote more for the Conservatives in 1912. However, there is no clear difference between the majority-Protestant areas that did and did not have Orange lodges.<sup>9</sup>

Since the 1917 provincial election took place ten months before the 1917 federal election, it is possible that there was an Orange vote in the December 1917 federal election but not the February 1917 provincial election. If so, it would suggest that, while Catholics moved to the Liberals in the 1917 provincial election, the “Orange vote” did not move to the Conservatives until the formation of the Union Government. If not, it would suggest that there may not have been an Orange vote at all.

### **Discussion**

This paper represents a work in progress. The next step is to examine whether there is any relationship at all between Orange activity and the Conservative vote in federal elections. While there appears to have been no consistent evidence of a distinct Orange vote (as opposed to a Protestant vote) in *provincial* elections, the Orange Order concentrated its efforts on *federal* politics. Furthermore, the archival evidence makes it clear that the Orange Order did not become partisan until the Conscription crisis in late 1917 – after the February 1917 provincial election. For a more complete list of next steps, see Appendix D.

That said, this analysis provides some preliminary conclusions. The archival material suggests that while the Orange Order in New Brunswick had informal ties with the Conservatives before the 1917 election, the main development that led to a “Tory-Orange” alliance was the Conscription crisis in late 1917. While the realignment on language and religion among voters began at different places and times before the 1917 election, the developments during the Borden Government and the First World War – even before the formal introduction of Conscription – appear to be what drove Catholics to support the Liberals as a voting bloc. The remaining question is whether the Orange Order can explain differences among Protestants.

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<sup>9</sup> As suggested by Figure 4, the Methodist share of the population is a much better predictor of Conservative vote in 1917 than the presence of an Orange lodge, since it distinguishes among the majority-Protestant areas.

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## **Appendix A: Archival Sources Consulted**

### *Provincial Archives of New Brunswick:*

#### MC1051 The Loyal Orange Association of New Brunswick fonds

- MS1 Membership lists
- MS4 Correspondence of Grand Master (1915-1917)
- MS5 Correspondence of Grand Secretary (1903-1917)
- MS11 Proceedings or reports of the annual meeting of the New Brunswick Grand Orange Lodge (1867, 1870, 1878, 1879, 1882, 1883, 1885, 1886, 1897-1918)
- MS23 List of Orange Lodges, 1880

### *University of New Brunswick Harriet Irving Library:*

#### MG H13 Douglas Hazen fonds

- |        |            |  |
|--------|------------|--|
| Box 1  | Folder 7   | New Brunswick Elections, 1911              |
| Box 7  | Folder 60a | St. John Orders—Patronage                  |
|        | Folder 79  | York County. Nomination and Campaign, 1915 |
| Box 8  | Folder 80B | N.B. Elections 1914-1916                   |
|        | Folder 80E | N.B. Elections 1917                        |
| Box 22 |            | N.B. Election results 1917                 |

## Appendix B: Construction of Provincial Electoral Results Dataset, 1899-1917

I gathered the electoral results primarily from five newspapers: The *Telegraph* (Saint John, 1899-1917), The *Standard* (Saint John, 1917), *Le Courrier des Provinces Maritimes* (Bathurst, 1899-1903), *Le Moniteur Acadien* (Shediac, 1899-1917), *L'Évangeline* (Moncton, 1908-1917). I collected the material from the French-language publications from microfilm collections at the University of New Brunswick (Fredericton) library and the English-language publications from the Brunswick News online archive. I selected these newspapers for balance across language, region and partisanship. There are three French-language newspaper and two English-language newspapers. The papers cover the internal variation among Acadian areas between the southeast and the northeast. Before the First World War, the press was partisan, so the five main papers include both Liberal (*Telegraph*, *L'Évangeline*, *Le Courrier des Provinces Maritimes*) and Conservative (*Standard*, *Le Moniteur Acadien*) papers. Examining electoral results across these papers counteracts the potential biases of each paper.

The *Telegraph* has historically published nearly all the poll or parish election results across all fifteen counties. The other papers were more inconsistent. The francophone papers have typically published results from francophone areas, particularly their local areas. Table A1 shows the coverage of each county by newspapers, with the years covered indicated after the newspaper name in parentheses.

**Table B1: Newspapers Providing Coverage of Poll- or Parish-Level Results, by County and Year**

County	Newspapers
Albert	<i>Telegraph</i> (1899, 1908, 1912, 1917) <i>Standard</i> (1917) <i>Moncton Times</i> (1903)
Carleton	<i>Telegraph</i> (1899, 1903, 1908, 1912, 1917) <i>Standard</i> (1917)
Charlotte	<i>Telegraph</i> (1899, 1903, 1908, 1912, 1917) <i>Standard</i> (1917)  Substantial missing data in 1899 and 1903
Gloucester	<i>Le Courrier des Provinces Maritimes</i> (1903) <i>Le Moniteur Acadien</i> (1908) <i>Telegraph</i> (1917) <i>Standard</i> (1917)  No poll or parish results available for 1912. All the candidates were acclaimed in 1899.
Kent	<i>Le Moniteur Acadien</i> (1899, 1903, 1908, 1912, 1917) <i>Telegraph</i> (1899, 1903, 1912, 1917)  Substantial results missing for the <i>Telegraph</i> in 1899 1903.
Kings	<i>Telegraph</i> (1899, 1903, 1908, 1912, 1917)

	<i>Standard</i> (1917)
Madawaska	<i>Telegraph</i> (1899, 1908, 1912, 1917) <i>Standard</i> (1917)
Northumberland	<i>Telegraph</i> (1899, 1903, 1908, 1912, 1917) <i>Standard</i> (1917) Substantial missing data in 1903.
Queens	<i>Telegraph</i> (1899, 1903, 1908, 1912, 1917) <i>Standard</i> (1917)
Restigouche	<i>Moniteur Acadien</i> (1899) <i>Telegraph</i> (1899, 1903, 1908, 1912, 1917) <i>Standard</i> (1917) Substantial missing data in 1903.
Saint John	<i>Telegraph</i> (1899, 1903, 1908, 1912, 1917) <i>Standard</i> (1917)
Sunbury	<i>Telegraph</i> (1899, 1903, 1908, 1912, 1917) <i>Standard</i> (1917) Substantial missing data (Blissville and Northfield) in 1903
Victoria	<i>Telegraph</i> (1899, 1903, 1908, 1912, 1917) <i>Standard</i> (1917)
Westmorland	<i>Telegraph</i> (1899, 1903, 1908, 1912, 1917) <i>Le Moniteur Acadien</i> (1903, 1908, 1912, 1917) <i>Moncton Times</i> (1903)
York	<i>Telegraph</i> (1899, 1903, 1908, 1912, 1917) <i>Standard</i> (1917) Substantial missing data in 1899

I collected the results by searching from the issue of the newspaper immediately after a provincial general election until the issue immediately after “declaration day.” If I have the officially declared results, I use those over the preliminary results from election night.

In relatively rare cases, different newspapers reported different results for particular polls. I looked for potential typos or other reporting errors. I have noted any disputes among newspapers and the decision rules for picking one newspaper over another in Table A2. If there is no clear reason to prefer another paper’s results, I use the results in the *Telegraph* because it is the most reliable in disputed cases and typically publishes the fullest set of electoral results.

**Table B2: Resolution of Disputes between Newspapers**

Year	County	Potential Errors	Resolution
1917	Carleton	Dispute between the <i>Standard</i> and <i>Telegraph</i> on the results in Victoria Corner	Likely typo in the <i>Standard</i> due to inconsistency in vote totals and repetition of the offending number across two lines of print; using the results for the <i>Telegraph</i> because its poll numbers for Carleton add up to the reported vote totals for the county in both newspapers
1917	Madawaska	Dispute between <i>Standard</i> and <i>Telegraph</i> on results in Clairs	I used <i>Telegraph</i> results because its poll numbers for Madawaska add up to the reported totals for the county in both newspapers
1917	Saint John County	Dispute over the count for Carson in Lancaster by 1 vote	I used the <i>Telegraph</i> results because they added up to the reported totals in both newspapers
1917	Westmorland	Sizeable gaps in numbers of votes reported between <i>Moniteur Acadien</i> and the <i>Telegraph</i> in Dorchester Parish	I use the <i>Telegraph's</i> results because they appear to be complete
1917	Kent	Slight inconsistencies of a few votes across several polls between the <i>Telegraph</i> and <i>Le Moniteur Acadien</i>	I use the <i>Telegraph's</i> results because they appear to be complete
1917	Gloucester	Partially damaged newspaper for <i>Telegraph</i>	I use the <i>Standard's</i> results when the <i>Telegraph's</i> results are missing
1908	Gloucester	Some differences in poll level results between <i>Moniteur Acadien</i> and <i>Évangeline</i>	I use the <i>Moniteur Acadien's</i> results because <i>Évangeline</i> is not internally consistent
1903	Westmorland	Some differences between <i>Le Moniteur Acadien</i> and the <i>Telegraph</i>	I use the <i>Moniteur Acadien's</i> results because they appear to be complete
1899	Westmorland	Substantial differences around Moncton City by about 200 votes - likely a missing poll in the <i>Telegraph</i> ; minor differences of a few votes here and there for some of the remaining polls	I use the <i>Telegraph</i> results for consistency; in terms of differences in mean support between the parties the two results should make relatively little difference

Overall, this search yielded the vast majority of the poll or parish results. Table A3 shows the number of missing polls and polls unmatched to subdivisions (which are unusable for Census analyses). The most egregious of the years is 1903, which is missing all of the Madawaska County results and 25 polls besides.

**Table B3: Missing Subdivision-Level Electoral Results, by Year**

Year	Missing Poll Results	Polls Unmatched to Subdivisions	“Problem” Counties
1899	10	2	Gloucester, York
1903	25, plus Madawaska	0	Charlotte, Madawaska Northumberland, Restigouche
1908	8	2	York
1912	8, plus Gloucester	1	Gloucester
1917	6	5	Victoria County

In some cases, the electoral results from particular parishes were incomplete or missing across all the newspapers, even after checking days after the election. Very commonly, the missing results were from only one poll, often indicated with the majority given to a given party in that poll. In these cases, it may be possible to develop an approach to approximating the poll level results. If one assumes the main difference between the preliminary results and the Legislative Library (1984) results, then it is possible to infer the result of the missing poll by subtracting the the total results for the available polls in the newspapers from the “official” results from the Legislative Library’s results. Table A4 (over) provides a list of the possible cases, by riding and year.

**Table B4: Cases of One Missing Poll or Parish in a County**

Year	Riding	Poll or Parish
1917	Queens	Wickham
1917	Carleton	Johnsville
1917	Saint John County	East St. John
1912	Kings	Kingston 2
1912	Carleton	Kent
1912	Victoria	Dow Flat
1912	York	Nortondale
1912	Madawaska	Clair

1908	Northumberland	
1908	Restigouche	
1899	Kings	Kars
1899	Queens	Canning
1903	Kings	Kars
1903	Queens	Brunswick
1903	Victoria	Lorne
1908	Sunbury	Northfield
1908	Queens	Brunswick

## Appendix C: Parish Boundary Changes, 1899-1917

Table C1: Parish Boundary Changes and Codings

Parish	County	Date Created	Predecessor Parish(es)	Coding for Analysis
McAdam	Charlotte	1894	Prince William, Dumfries, Manners Sutton	Treated as a completely new parish as of the 1901 Census due to the population boom around the rail station
Pacquetville	Gloucester	1897	Caraquet, Inkerman	Treated as a completely new parish as of the 1901 Census; no negative consequences due to acclamations in Gloucester County in 1899
Saint-Charles	Kent	1908	Richibucto	Treated as part of Richibucto parish for 1899-1917 for comparability
Clair	Madawaska	1900	Saint-François	Treated as part of Saint-Francois Parish for comparability
Lac-Baker	Madawaska	1935	Saint-François	Treated as a new parish as of the 1911 Census year, since it became a subdivision in that year
Saint-André	Madawaska	1913	Saint-Léonard	Treated as part of Saint-Léonard over the entire time period
Grimmer	Restigouche	1916	Eldon	Treated as part of Eldon over the entire period

Source: Provincial Archives of New Brunswick online database of place names (<https://archives.gnb.ca/Exhibits/Communities/Home.aspx?culture=en-CA>)

Note: Balmoral Parish only became a separate Census subdivision in 1901 despite having existed as a separate parish from Dalhousie since the 1870s. Prior to that year, I include it with Dalhousie.

## Appendix D: Work in Progress

### Data Cleaning:

- Finish linking federal electoral results from 1896-1917 to parishes (completed 10 of 15 counties)
- Add in dues paid by primary lodges to NBGOL (as a proxy for the membership of Orange lodges, since dues are assessed based on membership) from the NBGOL annual reports
- Add in variables on whether Orange lodges have their own Orange halls and the assessed property values of those Halls from the NBGOL annual reports

### Analysis:

- Finish multiple-imputation of missing data for provincial elections
- Create a graph of the share of Orange Lodges that have Orange Halls over time
- Model propagation of Orange lodges to parishes over time as a function of population size and demographics (and Conservative vote)
- Check to see whether there is a relationship between Orange lodges and Unionist vote in the 1917 federal election (vs. Conservative vote in the 1911 federal election)

### Historical Material:

- Consult the *Sentinel's* election coverage in the archives in Toronto

### GIS:

- Generate appropriate uniform IDs to link the data with a shapefile of the units used in this study created from the 1911 Census subdivision shapefiles
- Create maps for each year for Orange lodges and each election for Conservative vote share