DENOMINATIONALISM IN A LOYALIST COUNTY: A SOCIAL HISTORY OF CHARLOTTE 1783 - 1940

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of changing conditions and the factors that produced them in a segment of New Brunswick colonial society, Charlotte County, over a period of more than a century and a half. The purpose has been twofold, to demonstrate the social, economic and political changes which occurred within the period and to analyze the reasons for these changes. This examination of the social structure and ideas of the county has been accomplished through the medium of the religious denominations of the area. These denominations are generally the earliest and frequently the only social organizations in the communities under study and thus provide the most complete picture of the changes occurring over a period of time.

Four major social movements may be observed throughout the period under study. The first of these was the arrival of the diverse Loyalist groups in the county in 1783-84, and their settlement, in many cases with the pre-Loyalist Americans. The second was a period of social and economic depression, extending to the end of the Napoleonic Wars, during which there was little growth but during which a distinctive colonial culture began to emerge among the county's inhabitants. The third movement was one of buoyant expansion engendered both by economic prosperity and a prolonged influx of British immigrants.

This movement created a conflict between the traditions of the earlier colonial and later British settlers. By 1865 fully half the population of the county was of Irish, mostly Ulster, descent, and it is doubtful if one-quarter of the population could show male descent from a Loyalist. The principal reason for Charlotte's affirmative Confederation vote in 1866 probably stems from the antipathy between the county's Ulster Irish population and the American Fenian group. Finally, particularly after 1870, county society entered a period of economic regression. Increasingly the population became homogeneous in composition and parochial in outlook. This period also is marked by the triumph of the colonial American tradition within Charlotte.

Throughout the entire period, two dominant themes can be traced, one economic and one social. Practically the whole economic history of Charlotte was shaped by the market demand for its rather specialized products: timber and fish. Prior to 1830, the principal market was primarily the British West Indies; from 1830 to 1860, it was primarily the British market; and from 1860 to 1875, the American. When the timber markets largely disappeared after 1875, the mainland economy split. Under the aegis of the National Policy, the middle St. Croix Valley developed an industrial manufacturing economy to provide for an internal Maritime market. The South Shore areas of the county reverted to a fishing economy similar to the islands with its major market in the United States. Thus, with the exception of brief periods, the county produced for market in which New Brunswick products

were protected: the West Indies prior to 1830; the United Kingdom 1809-1860; the Canadian market after 1879.

The social theme prevalent throughout the pre-1900 period is the conflict between the British and colonial American traditions. The conflict is discernible even within the early Loyalist Establishment. Its resolution in favour of the colonial tradition was complicated and delayed for at least a generation by the arrival of the British immigrants between 1816 and 1849. Only in the generation after 1870 did a value system, based upon the early puritan ethic of poverty with strong evangelical overtones, became generally accepted throughout the county.

Over a period of time, every denomination in the county, regardless of its origins, has tended to become more staid and rational. Consequently there developed in almost every generation a radical Arminian sect to meet the social and emotional needs of a large segment of the population which deserted a real or nominal allegiance to the older denomination in which it felt a dissatisfaction.

Of particular significance in the social development of Charlotte were the demographic patterns of settlement and the population movements within the county. In periods of depression, emigration from the county generally occurred in a two generation

cycle. The first generation moved from rural to village areas within the county, the second migrated from the county itself. Thus in each succeeding generation after 1860 it was the offspring of the rural inhabitants of the previous generation who came to dominate the county.

PREFACE

For the purposes of this study, Charlotte County has been divided into four community areas. With the exception of the islands, each community area consists of an urban centre and the surrounding rural parishes which look to it for commercial purposes. The community area of St. Stephen thus includes the towns of St. Stephen and Milltown and the parishes of St. Stephen, Dufferin, St. James, and St. David. The community area of St. Andrews contains, in addition to the town of St. Andrews, the parishes of St. Andrews, St. Croix, St. Patrick, and Dumbarton. The St. George area contains the town of St. George and the rural parishes of St. George, Pennfield, and Lepreau. The community area of the islands contains the three island parishes: West Isles, Campobello, and Grand Manan.

A great deal of difficulty has been encountered in the preparation of this thesis due to the almost complete absence of any specialized studies in the economic and social history of New Brunswick particularly in such areas as agricultural, fishing, industrial development, population and

social organization. Consequently a great reliance has been placed upon a number of diverse primary sources. The attempt to organize these into a comprehensive framework has resulted in the thesis raising more questions than it has answered. It is to be hoped that these questions will stimulate further historical studies in these areas.

In the immense task of organizing and preparing this work I am most grateful to my supervisor, Dr. Murray Young, for his careful consideration and minute examination of the details and conclusions contained within this thesis. Special thanks are also due Dr. Thomas Condon for his suggestions and encouragement in the organization of the material.

Of the numerous individuals who have in one way or another assisted in making available the sources used in this thesis, I wish to express my appreciation to the staff of the Bonar-Law Bennett Library, especially to Mrs. Boone, and to the staffs of the Public Archives of Canada, the New Brunswick Museum, the Calais Free Public Library, the Crown Lands Office, Fredericton, the libraries of Mount Allison University, Acadia University, and Pine Hill Divinity Hall. I especially owe a great debt to the many clergymen of Charlotte County who so willingly co-operated in this project.

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CHAPTER I

The First Period 1785-1815

A - Prologue

In the history of any community the first period is especially significant. In the small scattered communities of Charlotte County, the population, not much over three thousand throughout the greater part of the period, was small enough to be moulded by the ideas of one or two individuals. These ideas, combined with the common pioneer experience, were to create in the new environment that nebulous depository of myths, ideas, and habits called tradition.

The motives of the people settling any frontier area are diverse. Certainly Charlotte was no exception. Four groups may be distinguished in the settlements, each with its peculiar set of circumstances and motives: the pre-Loyalist Americans pursuing their small-scale lumbering and fishing operations; the more prosperous American Loyalist commercialists settling in the centre of the supposed triangular trade; the British 'loyalists' representing a variety of disbanded military regiments and civil staffs whose members received free land grants as a protective measure in a border area; the American Loyalists of noblest motive, who sought refuge in a frontier wilderness after suffering, justly or unjustly, for Crown and belief.

The new settlements pandered to commerce rather than to

agriculture. Subsequently whether on coast, river, or island, settlement took the form of a narrow band never progressing more than a few miles from a sea access. The pioneer situation was too harsh and the lumber market too unstable to permit a complete neglect of agriculture. Thus tradition of a mixed economy developed: subsistence summer farming and winter lumbering on the mainland; farming and fishing on the islands.

Wealth and power in the county meant control of commerce. Control of commerce early rested in the hands of an upper middle-class Loyalist merchant group. Centered in St. Andrews, with small groups of families scattered among the other major settlements, this group represented the early social and economic and political ruling clique. Among the commercial class in the village areas developed an ethic of opulence which displayed an attitude toward life entirely different from that of the bulk of the settlers. The motive of the commercialists was not one of survival but rather one of accretion. Among this group there was leisure, and the harsher aspects of pioneer life were softened. Value was placed upon business, leisure, frugality, education, and such qualities as order, good government, and loyalty to the Monarch. These were the professional Loyalists.

In contrast to this privileged group stood the great body of Loyalist settlers. Arriving in poverty and dependent upon subsistence agriculture, they owed their economic salvation to a good

lumber market. In the generally depressed conditions prior to 1809, poverty remained the hallmark of county society and emigration was heavy.

In the pioneer situation certain virtues became absolutely necessary in the struggle for survival. From the pioneer experience developed an ethic of poverty in which dependence, cooperation, industry, frugality, honesty, and sobriety were the basic values. The ethic was not primarily puritan but utilitarian; failure to observe it would mean physical as well as spiritual destruction.

These two ethics, poverty and opulence, were reflected in the two religious institutions of the period: Methodism and the Church of England.

The Church of England in Charlotte remained a continuation of the Anglican tradition of the American colonies. It became the basic social symbol of the Establishment in New Brunswick, and reflected the ideas of a dominant group intent upon maintaining the social and economic status quo. It received a nominal widespread acceptance, although outside of the port of St. Andrews it represented only a small dominant minority. Members of the Church of England, in the true colonial tradition, never accepted Episcopal authority, and supremacy was vested in the local vestries.

Methodism represented the embodiment of the utilitarian values of the ethic of poverty. Strongly emotional and highly moralistic, it exuded self-righteousness and gave religious approbation to those qualities which were essential under the conditions of pioneer settlement. Above all it taught acceptance of the environment as it was and urged upon its members a spiritual regeneration and a preparation for the hereafter. The distinction between the Church of England and Methodism is perhaps best illustrated by the Presbyterians of the county: the merchant Presbyterians of St. Andrews attended the Church of England; the farmer Presbyterians of Scotch Ridge received communion with the Methodists.

B - The County

On the eve of the American Revolution, the Fundy shore of New Brunswick was demographically a frontier region of the province of Massachusetts. Energetic residents of the seaboard were looking for opportunities to establish themselves and their commercial mores in the coves and harbours of this northeastern area, so recently freed from the menace of Indian and French raids. By 1766, a few fishing-lumbering families were settled on the Passamaquoddy Bay and in the following decade lumbermen-farmers moved up the valley of the St. Croix River.

The two principal settlements were at Wilson's Beach on Campobello Island, and at Calais on the St. Croix. The Wilson's Beach settlement developed gradually from the accretion of transient fishing families.[1] In 1779, St. Stephen was founded by seven families who moved from Calais to the eastern side of the St. Croix to utilize a small river, Porter's Stream, as a centre for their lumbering operations.[2] Several tiny settlements of two or three families each existed on the Passamaquoddy shore at St. Andrews, on the island of Grand Manan and at Chocolate Cove on Deer Island, and at the mouth of the Digdeguash River. These early settlers had recognized and seized upon the most economically advantageous

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1. Guy Murchie, St. Croix: The Sentinel River (New York: 1947), p. 131.
2. I. C. Knowlton, Annals of Calais, Me., and St. Stephen, N. B. (Calais:1875), p. 23.

points, and had thus established the settlement pattern which was to prevail until the middle of the nineteenth century.

The advent of nearly two thousand United Empire Loyalists between 1783 and 1785 both provided the area with rapid settlement and destroyed American hopes of any easy acquisition. The Loyalists, for the most part, settled in six Associations: the Penobscot and 74th Regiment (Argyll Highlanders) at St. Andrews; the Port Mouton at St. Stephen; the Cape Ann at St. David; the Quakers at Pennfield; and the 71st Regiment (American Fencibles) at St. George.

The term Loyalist was a general designation used by the British government to indicate all British subjects who had left the American colonies at the conclusion of the American Revolution. This general designation thus made little distinction among Americans who openly espoused the imperial cause on the basis of principle, refugees and even vagrants caught up in the toils of the conflict, land-hungry American settlers who had taken no active part in the war, British settlers who had migrated to the colonies only a few years before the conflict, soldiers of British regiments which had fought for several years in the New World, and British civilians attached to the civil staffs at the various military and naval headquarters. Since all were lumped together as Loyalists, it becomes necessary to consider the actual background of the new settlers before assuming that their strong imperial patriotic sentiments would admit of a political and social organization

largely duplicating that of the Motherland.

In 1785, approximately one-fifth of the Loyalists in the colony of New Brunswick were resident in Charlotte County.[3] Despite the presence of a handful of college graduates among these Loyalists, their most distinctive social feature was the lack of persons of quality among them. Probably not much more than one-half of the Loyalists in the St. Croix Valley were even native Americans. Of these, the great bulk of the St. Stephen group were artisans and unskilled labourers while those of St. Andrews were small businessmen and farmers. A more genuine Loyalist element was to be found on the South Shore among the military settlers at St. George and the pietists at Pennfield where the social pattern seems to have been that of typical agrarian communities.

The various economic motives of the several communities were best illustrated in the types of land grants issued in each Association. Of the 430 original grants made in St. Andrews parish, more than eighty per cent consisted only of a town lot,[4] clearly indicating the commercial intent of most of the members of the community. The farm grants were given at Oak Bay, Bayside, and Chamcook. In St. Stephen, each of the 108 grants consisted of a town lot stretching along King Street and, in most cases, a hundred-acre farm lot along the Old Ridge Road, an extension of

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3. E. C. Wright, Loyalists of New Brunswick (Fredericton:1955), p. 250.
4. New Brunswick Crown Lands Office, Fredericton, Consolidated Land Grants 1784-1850 (typescript).

King Street. The St. David settlers received hundred-acre grants along St. David's Ridge. In St. George the pattern was quite varied, some grantees receiving only town lots, some both town and farm grants and the remainder only farm grants. As lumbering rapidly developed into the principal economic activity, many settlers between 1785 and 1820 took grants from 283 to 1,000 acres along the Magaguadavic River and the coastline until some grantees accumulated several thousand acres in these areas. The settlement in Pennfield was conspicuous because of the small number of grantees. Of eight hundred settlers at Beaver Harbour in 1786, scarcely a dozen finally emerged at Pennfield in 1790.[5]

There was considerable movement from settlement to settlement within the county in the period prior to 1800. This was particularly noticeable among the St. Andrews Loyalists many of whom, apparently doing less well than they had anticipated in business, moved into agricultural areas. At least twenty families took up grants in the Cape Ann Association settlement, while another fourteen made the initial settlement at The Ledge in St. Stephen parish. The daybook of Joseph Porter, the principal merchant in the St. Stephen area, in the period 1788-91, lists 139 family names of which at least one-fifth were among the original grantees of St. Andrews.[6]

The economic origins of the county were commercial rather

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5. N. B. Crown Lands Office, Consolidated Land Grants 1784-1850.
6. Knowlton, op. cit., pp. 29-30.

than agricultural. The great commercial prize was the British West Indies market and it was generally felt that, "the Passamaquoddy Bay region alone was capable of supplying the British West Indies with all wood articles except oak staves, and on equal terms with any other part of the continent".[7] Within the first year of the Loyalist arrival, four prominent St. Andrews Loyalists wrote,

> "Altho' the first of our settlers arrived here in October yet we have already sent a number of cargoes of lumber to the West Indies and several ports in Nova Scotia, and as more sawmills are now erecting, our exports of lumber will rapidly increase."[8]

The American pre-Loyalists on the St. Croix had come to St. Stephen for the purpose of lumbering and the first sawmill in the community began operations in 1780.[9] Thereafter, with the impetus of the Loyalist settlements, the expansion of the lumber industry developed at a rapid pace. In 1803, Donald MacDonald, Registrar of Probate, placed the number of sawmills in the county at twenty-two, with a total yearly production of 7,700,000 board feet, approximately sixty per cent of which was cut in the St. Croix Valley and the remainder on the South Shore, particularly at Magaguadavic (St. George).[10]

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7. Gerald S. Graham, Sea Power and British North America 1783-1820 (Cambridge:1941), p. 42.
8. W. O. Raymond, Ed., Winslow Papers (Saint John:1901), p. 207: R. Pagan, C. Campbell, W. Gallop, J. Pote, to Agents for St. John River Loyalists, May 26, 1784.
9. Knowlton, op. cit., p. 23
10. Winslow Papers, pp. 488-491.

The other basic industry of the county was fishing, and the islands exported some 9,500 quintals and 3,000 barrels of fish in 1803. Fish, lime, lumber, and ships constituted almost the entire exports of the county.[11] Shipbuilding was still in the primitive stages, production being limited to crude, bulky cargo ships, reflecting the lack of skilled shipwrights in the settlements. A total of forty-seven such vessels were constructed prior to 1803 -- all but five at St. Andrews -- with a total tonnage of 9,880 tons. In the same period, to explain the unusual volume of lumber production, it was reported to Edward Winslow that,

> "Your astonishment will be less when you understand that 17/20 of the male population of this county are what is termed here 'lumbermen' and were employed in procuring this large quantity of timber."[12]

The farms in most parts of the county were partially developed for marginal farming, but the evolution of an independent yeoman class never materialized in this period. This was largely due to the influence of the more opulent lumbering industry which provided at least partial employment for the majority of the farmers in the county, particularly during periods of economic prosperity. Writing in 1800, after a smallpox epidemic in St. Andrews, Dr. John Caleff noted that,

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11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., p. 633: Ass. Deputy Surveyor-General of the King's Woods for Charlotte to Edward Winslow, April 23, 1809.

> "The people of St. Stephen keep a constant guard against any person going among them that may endanger their infection as they say it would ruin their sawing and fishing."[13]

Even alewife fishing in a community twenty miles inland commanded precedence over agriculture.

With its early development as a producer of fish and lumber, the county was to find itself in an increasingly difficult economic position. The market for lumber commodities was entirely regulated by forces outside the colonial economy, forces that were so massive by comparison that the entire colony could do little but suffer or prosper as circumstances in Europe dictated. This is certain to be the case in any economy, but in that of Charlotte it reached such proportions that the area had little separate economic existence or resources outside of the world market. Consequently until 1880 the economic history of the county is one of extremes; poverty-stricken depression and expansive, buoyant prosperity. Throughout the period prior to 1820 the proliferation of small, scattered sawmills continued. Gradually control of the lumber industry began to be concentrated in the hands of a group of "lumber merchants" who constructed mills at strategic positions on the rivers and contracted with the local lumbermen-farmers to purchase their winter's cut in return for credit. The embryo of this eventual timber aristoeracy was to be found in the small

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13. Ibid., p. 449: Dr. John Caleff to Major Hailes, June 23, 1800.

entrepreneur class which controlled the business activities in each of the early settlements.

The county was wracked by a progressively deepening depression beginning in the latter part of the 1790's and continuing until 1809. The British tariff against foreign timber, which was designed to encourage economic self-sufficiency within the Empire,[14] brought a period of temporary prosperity from 1809 until the opening of the War of 1812. The war brought all commercial activity in the county to a standstill, a state from which it did not fully recover until 1815 when a decade of unprecented expansion and development, both in human and material resources, was introduced into the county.[15]

In addition to world markets, the county needed a plentiful and easily procured supply of timber. The early Loyalist aristocracy seems to have controlled the sawmills and the shipping interests, but most of the timber supplies were either purchased from individual lumbermen or pirated wholesale from Crown lands by lumber crews in the employ of the Loyalist leaders. The result was the rapid depletion of most of the timber areas of the lower and middle St. Croix Valley. William Pagan wrote in 1784 of,

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14. W. T. Easterbrook and H. G. Aitken, Canadian Economic History (Toronto:1958), pp. 227-35.
15. Ibid., p. 234.

> "the large quantities of hardwood, all kinds of pine timber....very handy to the water where vessels can safely anchor. There are a number of falls of water where sawmills can be erected, but only two on the Scuddock are yet up. Mill privileges have been lately sold....purchasers are making preparations to erect sawmills. The timber is very handy to the mills and no end to quantity."

Twenty-five years later, acknowledging his appointment as Deputy Surveyor-General for Charlotte, Captain Hatch, himself the foremost importer of gypsum into Campobello, lamented the fact that he had not received the appointment six months previously as,

> "There are now 20,000 tons of squared timber ready for market (in Charlotte) -- two-thirds more than has been obtained in any one season prior to the last, with logs sufficient to employ forty saws in different parts of the county."

He acknowledged that eighty-five per cent of the men in the county were lumbermen and that,

> "Reserve No. 2 in the parish of St. David's, from its convenient situation, has been the scene of great depredations for some years past....it is now difficult to control and regulate the practice now with such props as follows: Mr. Pagan, owner of the sawmills, and purchases large quantities of timber, Messrs. McMasters, Porter, Wyer, Campbell, Lindsay, Christy -- all engaged in the business. Colonel McKay is concerned in logging and timber teams, with a long list of tenants, foreigners as well as subjects."[16]

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16. Winslow Papers, p. 633: Captain Hatch to Judge Edward Winslow, April 23, 1809; p. 201: William Pagan to Dr. William Paine, May 2, 1784.

Of the eight men whom Hatch named as the principal violaters of the law, seven sat as members of the Provincial Assembly, at least seven sat on the county Board of Magistrates, and one was the collector of customs for the county. All but one were distinguished Loyalists, and all were pillars of the Establishment.

The extremes induced by the speculative nature of the county's economy reflected themselves in the social conditions of the period. With the possible exception of the commercial classes in the principal villages, society was in a constant state of flux. Family life was badly disrupted as a result of the very nature of the lumbering operations, which necessitated long periods of separation among members of farming families. The extremes to which the lumber industry was subject resulted in great economic hardship to families whose standards of living fluctuated often and to extremes. At the same time the greater profit to be acquired from the lumber industry added to the seasonal nature of the employment made it far more attractive to the bulk of the population than existence as an agriculturalist.

Despite these disadvantages, and partially as a result of the demands of the expanding lumber industry, the Loyalists, and after 1800 their children, gradually spread from the original settlements into the neighbouring rural areas. From Saltwater, St. Stephen, the villages of Milltown and Upper Mills were devel-

oped for the utilization of their water power; from The Ledge and St. Andrews the settlement at Oak Bay was formed before 1790; from St. David's Ridge new lands were opened at Tower and Lever Settlement prior to 1800. Groups of St. Andrews and St. George settlements took up grants at Bocabec and Digdeguash in St. Patrick to utilize the rivers' mouths for sawing and loading timber. Pleasant Ridge was settled from St. Andrews after 1809 as a result of the beginning of the construction of the St. Andrews-Fredericton road. A handful of St. George Loyalists moved southward into the Letang peninsula, which had been ravaged by fire in the previous decade, and took grants at Letang and on Deer Island. The scattered remnants of the Beaver Harbour settlement originated the settlements at Black's Harbour, Seely's Cove, Lepreau Village, and Mace's Bay, while a few families made their way to the island of Grand Manan.[17]

The act of 1786 had created seven parishes: St. Stephen, St. David, St. Andrews, St. Patrick, St. George, Pennfield, and the West Isles. With the exception of the island parish, the parish system had presumed a village centre in each parish with its immediate outlying rural areas all forming a cohesive social unit. The proliferation of settlements which began after 1790 was soon to render the parish wholly unable to serve the social or political needs of the community. This decentralization remained the distinctive feature of settlement in the county until the decline of

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17. W. F. Ganong, "Monograph of Origins of Settlement in New Brunswick", Transactions of The Royal Society of Canada, 1904, X, p. 55.

the lumber industry and increasing industrialization at the end of the nineteenth century finally reversed the trend. Even with this expansion of settlement, the population of Charlotte grew slowly. The muster roll of 1785 showed almost 2,000 Loyalists in the county receiving the royal bounty and to this must be added from two to three hundred Americans. MacDonald estimated the total population of the county in 1803 as 2,622 of whom 549 were men, 516 women, and 1,503 children.[18] In 1785 there had been 819 adult male Loyalists in the county and about 380 male children. Thus, without considering the immigration of the period, more than one-half of the male population had died or emigrated in the intervening years. The two censuses also exhibited two other social phenomena: the comparative lack of women in the county and the high ratio of children (sixty per cent) to adults (forty per cent) in the population. In 1785 there were 819 men and 395 women among the Loyalist groups. Marriages were contracted with individuals from outside the county but the commonest source of wives seems to have been from among the daughters of the Loyalist families within the county. The result was a considerable variation between the ages of brides and grooms and this had a later repercussion in that young men of the same age as these brides were later to be forced into the same pattern. As late as 1803, there was still a significant imbalance in the sexes in St. Stephen parish.[19]

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18. Winslow Papers, p. 489.
19. Ibid.

The second social phenomenon of the period was the high ratio of children to adults. By 1800, most of the original Loyalist women were beyond the stage of childbearing, but numbers of the predominately male Loyalists were married to considerably younger women and were still in the process of producing families. The result, as indicated in MacDonald's 1803 report, was an average family size of five with large families being most prominent among the Grand Manan and Campobello settlers.

This then was the social and economic milieu in which the development of county society began.

The most significant religious fact after the Loyalist settlement was the establishment of the Church of England in the colony in 1786 by acts of the New Brunswick Legislature.[20] Under the terms of these acts the only recognized church was the Church of England. The members of all other denominations were dissenters.[21] The Church of England was regarded as one of the principal instruments of loyalty[22] and it was conceived that it would bear, in New Brunswick, the same relationship to the government and people of New Brunswick that it bore in England to the government and people of England. As the Established Church, it was endowed from the Crown lands,[23] the conditions of its clergy were regulated by

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20. Statutes of New Brunswick, 1796-1836, pp. 18, 40, 75, 81-84.
21. Ibid., p. 18 (26 George III, C. 4).
22. J. D. Purdy, Church of England in New Brunswick 1783-1860 (U.N.B.Thesis:1954), p. 6.
23. Carleton's Instructions, Aug. 18, 1784: 1,000 acres for each church and 500 acres for a schoolmaster in Loyalist grants, N. B. Museum, Jarvis Papers, Shelf 56, Box 15.

public law, and only its clergy had the privilege of performing marriages without restriction. In essence it was anticipated that the Church of England in this Loyalist colony would become the church of the great majority of the population. Every benefit that British precedence would permit was conferred upon it, and, to ensure its success, the first colonial ecclesiastical organization in the history of the British Empire was organized to facilitate its growth. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (henceforth the S.P.G.) paid almost the entire salaries of all rectors in the colonies and, in addition, those of their curates, and half of those of the schoolmasters attached to the parishes. This practice was continued until 1832 and, in an increasingly restricted fashion until the end of the nineteenth century.

The Church of England failed in this mission in Charlotte County despite all of the legal and financial resources at its disposal. The most elementary reason for its failure was that, contrary to the belief of the colonial government, the great majority of the Charlotte County Loyalists were not adherents of the Church of England. In St. Andrews, "the majority of the population" reported the Reverend Mr. Cooke, Commissary of the S.P.G., after an extended visit to the parish in 1785, "were

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24. Statutes of New Brunswick, pp. 81-84 (31 George III, C. 5).

of the Kirk of Scotland but would probably conform if a Church of England clergyman were there".[25] What is most significant in this statement is that the majority of the population was quite willing to conform. The Church of England had become a badge of respectability, an essential ingredient to a man who sought position and recognition in this Loyalist colony. What was true of St. Andrews was even more true of other settlements. The dominant faith at the time was probably Presbyterianism in St. Andrews and St. George; pietism at Pennfield; Congregationalism on the islands. In St. Stephen and St. David there were Anglicans, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Universalists.

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25. C. F. Pascoe, Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G. (London:1901), p. 127.

C - St. Andrews

Situated at the head of Passamaquoddy Bay and at the mouth of the St. Croix River, the site of the port of St. Andrews seemed ideally suited to any form of commercial pursuit. Its only disadvantage was a comparatively shallow harbour. A few American families had already begun lumber operations in the area when the Loyalist immigrant tide swept over them.

The first Loyalist group in the county, in point of arrival, was the Penobscot Association from Fort George comprising 178 Loyalists and their families (649 people).[26] This Association was mainly composed of merchants and small businessmen from Falmouth, Massachusetts, whose principal aim was to secure for themselves a monopoly of the lucrative trade with the British West Indies. They were soon joined by the 74th Association which was composed of the officers and soldiers of the disbanded 74th Regiment (Argyll Highlanders) -- 125 men, 32 women, 48 children.[27] The two Associations settled together to make St. Andrews the most populous parish in the county containing more than forty per cent of the total at the time of settlement. This advantage was soon lost as many members of the two founding Associations surrendered their early commercial pretensions for the humbler station of farmer-lumberer in the more remote settlements of the county.

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26. Wright, op. cit., p. 249.
27. Ibid., p. 200.

The Penobscot Association settled on the border by design evidently to assure themselves of the most favourable commercial circumstances possible. The common boundary with the United States was necessary to facilitate the re-export of American goods to British colonies through the medium of the favoured "Loyalist" Penobscot Association's merchants.

> "Passamaquoddy Bay swarmed with American craft of all sizes many of which....put into port with flour and fish....Liverpool merchants were among the first to adopt the practice of sending their ships laden with British merchandise to St. Andrews instead of Saint John",

to be smuggled into the United States. At the same time,

> "New Brunswick was supplied almost publicly with lumber and provisions from Maine."[28]

St. Andrews fulfilled its early promise and rapidly became the economic and social centre for southwestern New Brunswick.

Even in St. Andrews, which became the stronghold of the Establishment, it is doubtful if any large group had been raised in the Church of England. The greater number of American Loyalists were from Falmouth, Massachusetts, which had neither church nor clergymen of the Anglican faith, while the Argyll Highlanders were Presbyterians. For a quarter-century the only representative of the established church in the county was the Reverend Samuel Andrews

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28. Graham, op. cit., p. 203.

who was appointed rector of St. Andrews by the S.P.G. in 1786.

Andrews proceeded to administer the seven parishes of the county as one unit, and the first vestry of St. Andrews included two members from each of St. Stephen, St. David, St. Patrick, St. George, and St. Andrews.[29] The construction of St. Andrews Church in the village was accomplished in 1788 at a cost of £500, eighty per cent being borne by the colonial government and the S.P.G.[30] The payment of provincial funds for church-building was to create a legacy of bitterness. The dissenting denominations which rapidly overtook the Established Church found themselves denied the financial benefits bestowed on the privileged minority.

Glebe lands had been secured in St. Andrews in 1787, and further requests were made: two in 1790, one in 1800, 1801, 1802, 1807, two in 1820, and one in 1821.[31] The result of these was the acquisition of a total of 1,591¾ acres of land in the parish of St. Andrews for the support of the rector and the church school. Included in the grants were 57¾ acres of town lots comprising some of the choicest sections in the centre of the village.[32] In addition, 195 acres of Indian lands at Milltown in St. Stephen parish

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29. Ven. Archdeacon Edmund Hailstone's Manuscript of Exerpts from the Vestry Records of Christ Church Parish, St. Stephen.
30. Herbert Lee, Historical Sketch of The First Fifty Years of The Church of England in New Brunswick (Saint John:1880), p. 83.
31. Public Archives of Canada, N. B. Land Grants and Petitions, V & VI (Charlotte), 150, 155, 166, 217, 230, 252, 595, 596, 6454.
32. N. B. Crown Lands Office, Consolidated Land Grants 1787-1850.

were also granted to the church. It is significant that of the six county magistrates who signed the conveyance of the first glebe lot of 1,500 acres in 1787, all were members of the vestry of St. Andrew's Church.[33]

The position of Andrews and the Church of England Loyalists at St. Andrews was a distinct reversal of that which they had occupied in the American colonies. Andrews himself had been born and lived almost all his life in the New Haven coastal area of Connecticut. Like that of most New England clergy, his family had been converts from Congregationalism and had been accustomed to a minority position in a colony in which the Congregational Church was established by law and in which,

> "the Church of England was the interloper, discriminated against in the matter of political rights and regarded with dislike and distrust."[34]

At the time of the Revolution, there had been only seventeen Anglican parishes and clergy among Connecticut's 195,000 people.[35] What is even more significant is that the Church of England had been greatly influenced by the Congregational example. In most colonies there had been virtually no episcopal control, due partly to the fact that the colonies lay under the jurisdiction of the

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33. All Saints Church, St. Andrew's Vestry Records 1787-1837.
34. Papers of Trinity College Historical Society, No. 20 (Duke University:1955), p. 73.
35. Ernest Hawkins, Missions of Church of England in North America before 1783 (London:1845), p. 217.

Bishop of London three thousand miles away, but primarily to the Church's lack of the legal status in most colonies. Thus the Anglican Church in the old colonies consisted of voluntary associations of groups organized quite independently into congregations, each with its elected vestry and wardens. After making its own organization, a congregation appealed to the S.P.G. or to the Bishop of London for a missionary. A precedent of local autonomy was thus established which was to become the distinctive feature of the colonial Church of England in the Loyalist settlements.

After 1689 the Bishops of London had been accustomed to appoint a Commissary with power to visit the colonial parishes.[36] The Commissary's authority, however, extended only to the clergy -- not to the vestries nor the unordained clergy, who were numerous at this time. The result of this situation, extending over a period of a century, was to create a generation of Anglicans in the Americas whose religious polity differed only slightly from that of their Congregational or Presbyterian compatriots, and it was with little difficulty that the majority transferred their allegiance to that still semi-Anglican group, the Methodists, after the American Revolution. Anglicanism in America was much more of a political and social than a religious symbol of difference, and in Charlotte County this tradition was continued, both by its adherents and its clergymen.

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36. Ibid., p. 82.

The effects of local control by the vestry were immediately evident in St. Andrews. Spaces for the pews were sold for 2s.6d. per year, buyers to construct their own,[37] and by 1791 the church corporation was advising that church dues must be paid by June 15 or, "the culprits will be taken to debtors' court".[38] When a pall was donated in 1794, the vestry decided to rent it to the next-of-kin for twenty-five cents, the vestry clerk receiving fifteen per cent of the proceeds for his trouble.[39]

In 1788 Governor Carleton agreed to allow church corporations to select their own clergymen. If the Governor approved of the man chosen he would be presented to the Bishop for institution and to the Governor for induction.[40] In the American tradition, the local vestry was to be supreme in the parish, the Bishop was accorded some vague spiritual authority over the clergy, but the effective legal control at the level of the diocese was in the hands of the Governor. In actual practice, the master recognized by all was the S.P.G. from whom most financial blessings flowed. Andrews received a £50 stipend from the Society and £20 from the colonial government at the time of his

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37. All Saints Church, St. Andrews, Vestry Records 1786-1837, p. 31.
38. Ibid., p. 38.
39. Ibid., p. 41.
40. U.N.B. Archives, Letter Books of Bishop Charles Inglis (OMF): Inglis to the Provincial Agent for Nova Scotia, September 26, 1788.

arrival. In 1813, the Society's grant was raised to £200 exclusive of glebe income, which was the sole right of the rector.[41]

After 1788 progress was slow. Andrews' mission was widespread and thinly populated. The Bishop of Nova Scotia, the Right Reverend Charles Inglis, spoke of him in 1788 as, " a diligent exemplary clergyman ...\with seven hundred families in his mission".[42] These would constitute the entire population of the county at the time, but despite the obvious hope of the Bishop, and the fact that he was the only ordained clergyman in the area, Andrews could get little effective support. As late as 1793, his semi-annual report to the S.P.G. listed 150 baptisms performed in the county, but a total of only thirty-two communicants in his parish.[43] This ratio of 700 families, 100 baptisms a year, and 32 communicants was to plague him throughout his thirty-two years at St. Andrews. Most of the people of St. Andrews were Presbyterians; they attended his services; their children were baptized by him; they even sat on his vestry, and the position of that vestry was not unlike that of a Kirk Session; but they were still Presbyterians; would not become confirmed; and contributed little toward the maintenance of the church. Despite these difficulties, Andrews' rectorate in St. Andrews represented a triumph for the Church of

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41. Herbert Lee, First Fifty Years of The Church of England in New Brunswick (Saint John:1880), p. 83.
42. U.N.B.Archives: Charles Inglis Letterbooks: Inglis to Dr. Morice (S.P.G.) Nov. 6, 1788.
43. Hailstone manuscript.

England in that parish. He was a kindly, intelligent man who compensated for his lack of firmness by his generosity. The first generation Presbyterians he never converted, but by the end of his thirty years in the community when the break finally occurred between Anglicans and Presbyterians, the majority of the second generation remained faithful to the Church of England and gave it a dominance in St. Andrews that it was unable to achieve in any other part of the county.

Andrews made occasional journeys to the other parishes of the county, but he was no itinerant and after 1800 his age precluded too strenuous or extensive a programme. Services were held in St. Stephen at the home of Lieutenant Nehemiah Marks several times a year and the same treatment was accorded the village of Magaguadavic (St. George). The remaining areas, fishing and agricultural, were left virtually without the influence of the Church of England. Andrews felt much more at ease in the comparatively sophisticated society of the St. Andrews merchant class which carefully aped the manners of the larger provincial centres. By neither background nor inclination was he able to meet the diverse religious and social forces which were rising in the county after 1800. A remark which he made to the S.P.G. when requesting the aid of an assistant is most revealing. He was, he said, "unable to cope with the ignorant people of the outstations who easily succumb to the novel doctrines of the wild sectaries".[44]

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44. New Brunswick Museum, Letters from Diocese of Nova Scotia, Vol. I, Andrews to S.P.G., September 29, 1817.

During the last decade of his life, 1808-1818, his ministrations were almost completely confined to the parish of St. Andrews. The vestry attempted to relieve the situation in 1809 by offering £30 toward the salary of an assistant, but even after one was finally procured in 1817, little was done outside the immediate parish.[45]

Within the Church of England parishes the vestry was absolute. Upon the death of Andrews in 1818 his assistant succeeded him. The curate, the Reverend John Mercer, in the opinion of the vestry, had conducted himself in a manner so ill-befitting a clergyman that they withheld the glebe and rectory rents and petitioned the Lieutenant-Governor to remove him.[46] At the same time Mercer wrote to the Bishop of "the maddening fanaticism -- cruel and unrelenting persecution"[47] on the part of the vestry. Despite the objections of the Bishop, the Governor ordered Mercer's removal. It is prophetic that in this struggle the vestry and the Governor won; the minister and the Bishop lost.

Glebe lands were also a matter of controversy and later proved a serious source of weakness to the Church of England when it attempted to depend entirely upon colonial support, as it was generally felt among adherents that sufficient income should be

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45. All Saints Church, St. Andrews; Vestry Records 1786-1837.
46. Ibid.
47. New Brunswick Museum, S.P.G. Letters from New Brunswick: Mercer to Bishop Stanser, April 21, 1819.

raised from the glebes to support the clergy in the several parishes. Between 1786 and 1837, the Church of England in Charlotte County received (besides the revenues of the Ferry Point ferry between St. Stephen and Calais)[48] a total of 7,462 acres of land for the support of six parishes and four clergy.

The only other religious group in the St. Andrews community area was the Methodist. From St. Stephen, Duncan McColl organized a class among the labourers of the port of St. Andrews. The denomination always remained a foreign element in St. Andrews society, however, and although McColl faithfully tended the group for nearly thirty years,[49] the society never contained more than one class.

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48. New Brunswick Crown Lands Office, Consolidated Land Grants 1784-1850.
49. 1799-1826.

D - St. Stephen

About twenty miles from the mouth of the St. Croix River where salt and fresh water meet, a small group of American families in 1779 began the first settlement on the eastern bank of the St. Croix River. The site they called Saltwater, and within five years it was to become the centre of the parish of St. Stephen.

In the spring of 1784 the Americans were joined by a large number of Loyalists. The group came from Port Mouton on the south shore of Nova Scotia. The previous autumn a total of 2, 081 Loyalists, comprising the commissary and civil staffs at the British headquarters in New York, had been settled at the Port.[50] They had spent a miserable winter, and in May Port Mouton was swept by a forest fire. Consequently a group of 380 refugees under the Leadership of Lieutenant Nehemiah Marks was loaded aboard a British transport and conveyed to the site of the American settlement at Saltwater on the St. Croix River. Here the group, henceforth referred to as the Port Mouton Association, received a large block of land. Between the settlements at St. Stephen and St. Andrews, the entire bank of the St. Croix River was occupied for thirty miles from the river mouth.

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50. Collections of The Nova Scotia Historical Society (Halifax: 1949), XXVIII, p. 29.

Two settlements were made in the St. Stephen community area. The parish of St. Stephen was constituted around the Port Mouton Association. The second settlement was that centered in the parish of St. David at St. David's Ridge, midway between St. Stephen and St. Andrews. It was made by the Cape Ann Association. This settlement was confined, however, to the hinterland back from the St. Croix River.[51] Although a large number of these settlers were St. Andrews' Loyalists, the dominant group among them was made up of natives of New Hampshire who came to the province primarily for the purpose of obtaining land. The Association totalled 147 families.

Charlotte County had two religious pioneers: The Rev. Samuel Andrews, representing the Establishment, with his centre at St. Andrews, and the Rev. Duncan McColl, twenty-two years Andrews' junior, representing a pioneer non-conformity, with his centre at St. Stephen.

If the obstacles confronting Andrews in St. Andrews seemed impressive, those confronting McColl seemed well nigh insurmountable. Methodism was virtually unknown among the settlers and, in addition, McColl himself had no support, either financial or political. De-

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51. This has led many authorities to infer that the members of this Association were not Loyalists, although the British government considered them all to have been so. See: Knowlton, op. cit., p. 24: Murchie, op. cit., p. 193.

spite these difficulties, he became by far the most interesting and influential social figure of his time in the county. Born a Scottish Episcopalian in Appen, Argyll, scion of an impoverished family of the Scottish gentry, young McColl entered the 74th Regiment (Argyll Highlanders) as a company pay-sergeant and was sent to America with that regiment in 1778. There he participated in the construction of Fort George on the Penobscot River, and was ultimately sent with the relief fleet to aid Cornwallis.

During the war he began to experience a remorse for his former way of life and to seek a spiritual catalyst, first within the Church of England and finally among Methodists. At the end of the war he took his discharge and entered a business established by his former regimental commander at St. Stephen. There he found "a mixed multitude from many parts of the world without any form of religion".[52]

McColl's transition from businessman to itinerant preacher was largely accidental. He and his wife, in the absence of any clergyman, began holding prayer meetings in their home on the sabbath, in November, 1785. Six attended the first Sunday and sixty the next. Two months later a revival began. McColl notes that,

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52. "Memoirs of the Rev. Duncan McColl", British North American Wesleyan Magazine, 1841, p. 299. (henceforth, "Memoirs").

> "some fell on their faces, some ran to the doors and windows, others adored the Lord".[53]

He made twenty-one converts in two weeks, and by the end of the year he renounced his business, and,

> "called the believers together and joined them as near as possible to the Methodist plan as I was able".[54]

Methodism in Charlotte began as a movement of the people. It is no accident that McColl's earliest converts included all of the pre-Loyalist Americans in the St. Stephen area, and his Loyalist converts were made up entirely of the poorer groups who had neither the advantages of the dominant clique of leaders headed by Marks nor the influence to procure them.

Although he averaged a dozen converts a year between 1787 and 1795, McColl's financial position was desperate. Preaching at St. Stephen, St. David's on the Old Ridge, and at St. Andrews, he was forced to provide buildings, seats, and a fire in winter from his own resources, a fact which illustrates both the degree of poverty prevalent throughout the county and the economic position of the bulk of the Methodist adherents.

53, Ibid.
54. Ibid., p. 300.

> "As no private house could now contain the congregation we commenced building a meeting-house in the year 1790; the friends did all they could -- the county being poor at the time. We had to go in debt to Brother Watson, and that on interest. We made public collections every Sunday afternoon and in less than four years we paid the debt".[55]

In this succinct statement McColl describes that decisive step by which his society was elevated from an itinerant sect to a community church. All of the manual labour was performed by the congregation and the debt paid by them.

In the decade after 1790, despite the fact that he spent three years (1793-95, 1797-98) as superintendent of the St. John River Valley, McColl rapidly extended the Methodist societies in Charlotte. His second revival, beginning in 1795, nearly doubled the size of his group and in 1799 he established societies at The Ledge in St. Stephen, at Oak Bay in St. David, and in St. Andrews. As the Loyalists gradually moved inland, societies were organized at Basswood Ridge and Oak Hill. After 1800, he extended his sphere of operation to Scotch Ridge (1804) and to the Magaguadavic (St. George) and Digdeguash (St. Patrick) Valleys (1805), where he baptized a total of forty-four persons on his first visit.[56]

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55. Ibid., p. 302.
56. Kirk-McColl Church, St. Stephen, N. B., McColl Baptismal Records 1794-1848.

McColl's rapid evangelization of Charlotte came at a time when Methodism was evolving from embryonic enthusiasm into an organized and independent church. William Black organized the Nova Scotia District in 1786. At that time there were only four circuits, all in Nova Scotia, and great confusion as to who should take the responsibility for the fledgling mission work. Both the British Conference and the newly-organized (1784) American Conference received appeals from Black and although he submitted reports to Wesley and the British Conference it was from Thomas Coke and the American Methodist Episcopal Church that aid was forthcoming. Four of the six ministers at the opening of the Nova Scotia District in 1786 were Americans, including the Superintendent, Freeborn Garretson. By 1800 a total of twenty Americans had served in this District.[57] McColl and the St. Stephen Circuit became affiliated with the Nova Scotia District in 1792.

After 1800 the district was under the patronage of the British Conference which sent ten missionaries to the area between 1800 and 1812,[58] but it was not until 1818 that the London Wesleyan Missionary Committee was organized to provide systematic leadership for the programme of missions.

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57. Goldwin French, Parsons and Politics (Toronto:1962), p. 37.
58. Ibid., p. 56.

McColl did not strictly adhere to the Methodist polity, but in 1795 he was summoned by Bishop Ashbury of the American Conference to New London, Connecticut, where he was ordained.

The eighth parish of Charlotte, St. James, created in 1813, was the outcome of one of the most distinctive settlements in the county. In 1803, a number of members of a disbanded Scottish regiment from Sutherlandshire who had sailed with their families to take land in North Carolina had been landed instead at Boston. While several families proceeded on their original course, the remainder were invited to take up settlement successively at Kennebec, Thomaston, Schoodic, and Digby.[59] The group ultimately arrived on the St. Croix where, by the good offices of Joseph Porter, it received land grants in the upper St. Croix Valley, the first of which they subsequently named Scotch Ridge, the overflow settling on Pomeroy Ridge, one mile to the west. Settling communally in a single camp, the men alternated between work in Saltwater to obtain supplies and the development of their farms, a system which continued for two years. This was the only Scottish settlement ever made in the county which retained its distinctive national characteristics, particularly the use of the Gaelic language which was retained into the latter half of the nineteenth

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59. George Patterson, Memoirs of Rev. James MacGregor (Philadelphia: 1859), p. 522.

century. The settlers retained their relatively isolated position, the children and grandchildren of the original settlers simply occupying the lands around the ridge; eastward, in Basswood Ridge, and westward into Little Ridge. St. James parish at the time of its creation contained only two settlements, that of the Scots in the west and, in the east, Oak Hill, occupied by children of the St. Stephen grantees.[60]

The Highlanders had two ordained elders among them, and one of these, Neil Morrison, continued to carry on weekly services from 1804 until 1815.[61] In the period before 1820 several Nova Scotia missionaries stopped by and administered communion to the group. In 1816, the Rev. James MacGregor, Moderator of the Nova Scotia Synod, ordained five more elders for the congregation.

Prior to 1814 practically nothing was done by the Presbyterians in New Brunswick and it seemed for a time that the Highlanders might be absorbed into Methodism. Shortly after their arrival McColl commented,

> "Scottish Highland Presbyterians applied to me for liberty to come to the table of the Lord which was granted -- I had to speak to them in Gaelic".[62]

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60. Ganong, op. cit., p. 121.
61. Patterson, op. cit., p. 523.
62. "Memoirs", p. 493.

A road was built from St. Stephen to Scotch Ridge in 1815 and after that McColl normally conducted monthly services in Gaelic at the Ridge. His ministrations came to an abrupt end in 1821 when, during a sermon, he made an attack upon the Calvinist doctrines of the Westminister Confession of Faith.[63]

Despite the fact that Presbyterianism was perhaps the largest single faith among the Loyalists, it never established itself except in the port of St. Andrews, and even there the Loyalist Presbyterians were largely absorbed into the Church of England or into Methodist and what later became Baptist groups. The Presbyterians of the later period were immigrants who entered the county after 1800 and Presbyterianism was to be a church of British settlers. The colonial American elements found their spiritual home in the Methodist and Baptist denominations.

The only serious competition with the Methodists for the loyalties of the population of St. Stephen was the Church of England. Most of the prominent Loyalists looked to St. Andrews for spiritual and social leadership. Andrews occasionally conducted services in St. Stephen at the house of Nehemiah Marks and the denomination had the prestige and influence of an established church.

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63. Pine Hill Archives, "St. James, New Brunswick", Presbyterian Witness, April 15, 1916.

Unfortunately the Church of England also had to suffer the evils of an establishment. Two of these seriously hampered the efforts of the denomination to entrench itself in this period. The first was the weakness of the episcopacy and the other a form of "holy nepotism".

In an effort to avoid a duplication of the errors made in the American colonies, Charles Inglis had been consecrated as Bishop of Nova Scotia in 1787. Unfortunately, even though the situation was greatly improved, the organization was still extremely weak. The rite of confirmation requires the constant attention of a bishop and without the administration of this rite the spiritual significance of the bishop becomes meaningless. Yet even with the relative proximity of the Bishop, Charlotte was visited only three times between 1786 and 1826. Comparatively few children were ever confirmed and the rite came to have so little meaning that relatively few people ever availed themselves of it. Moreover, these visits took place only at St. Andrews so that the remainder of the county was left wholly without the services of a bishop.

Nepotism, advertently or inadvertently, seems to have been common in the entire colonial church. In 1802, Bishop Charles Inglis appointed his son as Commissary of the Diocese at an additional £100 salary, despite the fact that the young man was only

twenty-five, two years short of the canonical age.[64] Ten years later, in letters to Manners-Sutton, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Grenville, Sherbrooke, Prevost, and the Duke of Kent, he asked, since he was old and feeble, that his son be appointed Coadjuter Bishop, "for" he wrote, "he is the most competent clergyman in the Diocese".[65]

Nepotism of this same type was to prove disastrous when applied to a new pioneer parish such as St. Stephen. The S.P.G. insisted that young ministers should serve as curates at half-pay until an existing parish became vacant. Such were the circumstances surrounding the arrival of the Rev. Richard Clarke to the parish of St. Stephen. Clarke's background closely resembled that of Andrews. Born in West Haven, Connecticut, a Yale graduate, ordained in 1767, and appointed to New Milford, Connecticut, where he remained until 1786 when, like Andrews, he was forced to come to British North America as the S.P.G. refused to pay further salaries to clergy in the United States. He received the newly created parish of Gagetown, a position which he held for twenty-five years, his son later serving as his curate.

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64. U.N.B. Archives, Charles Inglis Letterbooks: Inglis to Archbishop of Canterbury, September 7, 1802.
65. Ibid.; Inglis to Sherbrooke, September 7, 1812.

In 1809 when Andrews and the vestry of St. Andrews petitioned the S.P.G. for the appointment of a clergyman to St. Stephen, Clarke requested to go on condition that his son succeed him as rector of Gagetown.[66] The Society agreed to these conditions and in 1811, at the age of seventy-four, Clarke became the first rector of St. Stephen. It was a most unwise choice. Clarke was an old man attempting to open a new mission in competition with McColl, then at the height of his influence and vitality. Clarke did not attempt to conduct services outside Saltwater and consequently Milltown and the other areas of St. Stephen parish were left entirely to McColl. Clarke, too, felt the lack of attendance on the part of the Bishop. During the whole period of his rectorate -- fourteen years -- the Bishop never visited his parish or any part of Charlotte County.

The relationships of the religious organizations in the community were surprisingly cordial. McColl reported some attempts at legal persecution by the Church of England magistrates in St. Stephen in 1786,[67] but as the Methodists proved themselves to be as politically and socially conservative as the Church of England itself, their position vis-a-vis the Establishment became one of alliance rather than antagonism. In St. Andrews

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66. U.N.B. Archives, Charles Inglis Letterbooks: Inglis to Dr. Morice, October 16, 1809.
67. "Memoirs", p. 299.

Methodism was somewhat less than welcome and there it always remained the interloper. After 1800, the great issue between Anglicans and Methodists was that of financing church construction. McColl attempted to build a larger church in 1804 at a cost of $7,000, a move which was thwarted by

> "our enemies (who) set in and got hold of many minds....many of our oppressors applied to the English Bishop for a church minister....I had no dislike for that motion; only to the principle which induced them to get him".[68]

The circumstances would seem to indicate that for the St. Stephen Anglicans this was a struggle to save themselves from absorption into the Methodist body.

In most cases, however, McColl and Clarke got along surprisingly well, and frequently helped each other conduct funerals. Since the Methodist church was much more commodious than the small Church of England chapel, Clarke held most of his funerals, weddings, and Easter Communion services there. The issue of financing church construction came to the fore again in the economic boom after 1815. When the vestry of St. Stephen decided to build a church, which was constructed in 1818 at a cost of £937, the New Brunswick government contributed £300, the parish of St. Andrews £104, and the S.P.G. £111.[69] In 1817, the Methodists determined

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68. "Memoirs", p. 493.
69. Hailstone manuscript.

to build a larger structure. Their petition to the Legislature for a grant was denied, and the congregation was forced to gather and subscribe a second time to raise sufficient funds. This caused considerable friction in the area where the Methodists represented 162 members at the time and the Church of England only 22.[70]

Upon the declatation of war in 1812, McColl called upon Magistrate Christy with the proposal that a committee be established to keep peace on both sides of the border. This was done, and McColl reported that, on the next Sunday, he,

> "preached on both sides of the river, baptized eight adults and twelve infants".[71]

The status quo thus established was maintained until the end of the war.

The war was followed by a revival among the younger generation in the community. By 1816, McColl reported 162 members, making his circuit the largest in the Maritimes, comprising more than fifteen per cent of the Methodist population of the district.[72] The steadily growing strength of the societies was reflected in the growing number of baptisms which he performed.

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70. U.N.B. Archives, Report of S.P.G., 1820.
71. "Memoirs", p. 497.
72. Mount Allison Archives, Minutes of District Meeting, 1816.

Averaging thirteen a year in St. Stephen parish before 1800, they rose to an annual average of fifty-two between 1815 and 1820 in a period during which the population of the parish was less than 1,500.[73]

McColl himself was the moulder of the social tradition of the society in which he lived. Determined, headstrong, somewhat mystical, largely self-educated, he was an able administrator, a driving, forceful figure of tireless energy, a man of exemplary conduct and deep piety. In a primitive colonial society he drew the lines of righteousness and evil and, if these sometimes followed the configurations of his own thoughts, they were generally adhered to by that group of pioneers among whom he worked. Denying the more sympathetic ethic that no act or substance is of itself evil, McColl stated,

> "I have in public and private insisted upon it, there is nothing in practice but has a tendency to promote good or evil -- consequently, I set my face against all dissentions as cannot be used in the name of the Lord Jesus; such as gambling, dancing, etc."[74]

Shortly after this he excommunicated a man for dancing at his wedding, and noted with evident satisfaction,

> "for many years after this, I found none in the place who attempted to advocate dancing".[75]

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73. Kirk-McColl Church, McColl Papers, Record of Burials and Baptisms.
74. "Memoirs", p. 458.
75. Ibid., p. 459.

The Church of England was able to attain supremacy in the port of St. Andrews, the only compact urban area in the county. In the tiny, far-flung settlements and villages of the remainder of the mainland county, it made little progress. In the St. Stephen community area the Methodist congregational system was much more adapted to the settlement pattern. Communication posed one of the greatest problems to a highly centralized denomination.

The advantages which the Methodists had over the Church of England were three: itineracy, the class meeting, and the authority of the minister. Andrews normally conducted three services a week, Sunday morning and evening in St. Andrews, and an afternoon service at Chamcook. By contrast, McColl, by 1820, had organized on his circuit societies at Saltwater, Milltown, St. David, St. James, St. Andrews, Magaguadavic, and Digdeguash containing a total of twelve classes each of which met weekly under class leaders who conducted weekly or bi-monthly services among most of the societies.

Whereas the vestry and wardens in each Anglican parish were created a corporation with complete control of all finances and property, all the churches and property on the Methodist circuit were deeded in McColl's name. While each society had circuit stewards who took charge of the finances, the principal legislative body on the circuit was the quarterly meeting, which

was attended by all class leaders and stewards from the several different societies. By their very diversity they tended to strengthen McColl's position, and when a challenge to his authority did arise it was generally from a source outside the circuit.

Andrews faced extensive supervision. In addition to his vestry, he was almost completely financially dependent upon the S.P.G., which required semi-annual reports and was able to make its wishes felt. The Methodists too had an external missionary society, but McColl never submitted to its authority. He refused to make the triennial ministerial changes which were required and refused to submit reports and accounts for inspection. There was little the committee could do, for McColl had the only self-supporting circuit in the Maritimes. The difference between the incomes of the two clergymen perhaps best serves to emphasize the differences in viewpoint between them. Andrews received £70 until 1813 and £200 per annum thereafter, plus the rents of the glebe lands. By contrast McColl himself states,

> "For the first twenty years I preached without salary, then for several years the Society paid me £25-£30, for several years from £40-£50, and since 1820, £60-£70 and firewood".[76]

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76. Mount Allison Archives, McColl to District Meeting, April 1, 1826.

The American influence, which was to become enormous by the end of the century, was hardly felt on mainland Charlotte before 1820. On the contrary, in the St. Stephen area it was the much larger New Brunswick community that dominated the smaller Maine community both socially and economically. Methodism remained the faith of the population of Calais until after 1820,[77] almost entirely due to the influence of McColl who, until 1817, was able to insist that the population of Calais attend church in St. Stephen, and prevented the construction of any church on the American side, much to the chagrin of some individuals in Calais.[78]

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77. Knowlton, op. cit., p. 68.
78. Ibid., p. 70.

E - St. George

Two groups occupied the South Shore of the county. At Beaver Harbour, in what became Pennfield parish, 365 Quaker and Anabaptist Loyalists arrived in 1784.[79] Optimistically they prepared the site for a city of "Bellevue", designed to provide for an agricultural community of several thousand inhabitants in the European fashion. Despite a population increase to eight hundred by 1786,[80] the initial enthusiasm was soon replaced by despair as it became increasingly apparent that the development of an economy based upon agriculture was an impossibility. The settlement was wiped out in the forest fire of 1790 and the population dispersed, many leaving the county. The remaining Quakers moved inland to Pennfield Ridge where an environment more sympathetic to agriculture was to be found. The other south coast settlement was military in nature. The Fencible Americans, a native Loyalist regiment, was assigned lands on the Letang peninsula. In 1784, 108 members of the regiment with 96 dependents, under the leadership of Lieutenant Peter Clinch, took possession of the land.[81] The forest fire of 1790, which levelled the whole coastal region from St. George eastward, destroyed this settlement and the inhabitants moved north to the mouth of the Magaguadavic River where, with a group from the

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79. Wright, op. cit., p. 202.
80. Murchie, op. cit., p. 196.
81. Wright, op. cit., p. 200.

Queen's Rangers, they formed the parish and community of St. George.

A striking characteristic of the South Shore settlements was the obvious reluctance of their inhabitants to engage in fishing rather than agriculture as a livelihood; in this way they reflected the mores of the New England and Middle Atlantic colonies where the status of fisherman was that of social pariah.[82] Although some Loyalists later moved to the West Indies and a few to Grand Manan, particularly after 1790, this was generally done as a final attempt at establishing themselves. For the most part the island fisheries were left in the hands of the Americans, and most of the St.George-Pennfield Loyalists engaged in lumbering and subsistence agriculture.

The South Shore area never had the commercial advantages of the St. Croix communities. The former remained smaller and less prosperous than the latter, and this was reflected in the social institutions. Except for occasional visits by Andrews, McColl, and one or two other Regular Baptist evangelists, there was neither clergyman nor church institution in the entire community area of St. George during the first forty years of its settlement. Most of the more prominent Loyalists in the area were adherents of the Church of England, but it is doubtful if

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82. James T. Adams, A History of American Life (New York:1927), III, p. 95.

most of the population had a connection with any denomination. Only the small settlement at the mouth of the Magaguadavic received even the occasional attentions of the religious groups. The tiny coastal settlements were almost completely ignored and developed a tradition of social independence which was to work to the benefit of the more congregationalist Regular Baptists in the second period of the county's history.

F - The Islands

The county islands received a most erratic settlement. Deer Island and Campobello had been part of a 100,000 acre grant made to the Canada Company in 1765.[83] The islands were in turn granted to officials of the company: Deer Island to John Gorman, who transferred his title to Captain Thomas Farrell, and Campobello to Admiral William Owen. Farrell's encouragement of unrestricted settlement on the island resulted in the rapid growth of a conglomerate population of Americans, Loyalists, and late Loyalists which made Deer Island the most populous of the Charlotte County islands until the second half of the nineteenth century. David Owen, who managed Campobello on behalf of his cousin, attempted to create a feudal fief on that island, the northern part of which had been settled by Robert Wilson and other New England fishermen in 1766. Owen made his capital at New Warrington (Welshpool), in the centre of the island, to which he imported a small colony of English farmers and artisans in an effort to recreate his family's Welsh estate. His ensuing efforts to evict Wilson and his American fishermen failed, the courts declaring the Wilson's Beach area a freehold tenure as it had been settled by British subjects previous to the island's granting.[84]

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83. Murchie., op. cit., p. 131. This company was organized at Montreal by a number of prominent colonial Americans. Its purpose was to settle colonial Americans in the newly conquered areas of Nova Scotia. The company received 100,000 acres in the St. Croix area and 400,000 acres in the St. John River Valley.
84. Ibid., p. 202.

The most neglected and isolated area of the county was Grand Manan which had served for decades as a fishing post for New England fishermen. The first major settlement occurred after the application of Moses Gerrish and several other Cape Ann Association Loyalists for a grant of the island. The grant was made by the Governor on the condition that fifty families be settled on the island immediately.[85] Settlement however was painfully slow and almost entirely composed of Maine fishermen. In 1810, when Gerrish's licence was revoked for failure to fulfill his contract, there were only twenty-nine families on the island.[86]

Generally the fishing economy of the period presented the poorest and most hazardous occupation in the county. The island of Campobello represented the notable exception to this rule, for it became the centre of contraband trade with the United States. Moose, Dudley, and Frederic islands, nominally American, remained an international hunting ground. The great article of contraband was Maritime gypsum which was essential as fertilizer to American farmers of the mid-west. By 1802 more than fourteen thousand tons of gypsum a year were being shipped in small vessels from Campobello to the American mainland at prices ranging up to $36.00 a ton.[87]

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85. Ibid., p. 131.
86. Ibid., p. 140.
87. Graham, op. cit., p. 168.

Like the St. George community area, the islands suffered from a small population scattered in tiny settlements over a very large area. Grand Manan, for example, had only 121 people in 1803, scattered over an area longer than the St. Croix Valley from St. Andrews to St. Stephen. The population of Deer Island was even smaller. Only Campobello had a settlement of any size, that of the Owen family at Welshpool. The only attempts at organizing religion on the islands in the period were those of David Owen who constructed a Church of England chapel where he faithfully read the service every Sunday for the benefit of his English tenants and, by virtue of his position as Justice of the Peace, he married and buried the inhabitants of Welshpool.[88]

Thus by the end of the Loyalist period in Charlotte, only the St. Croix Valley areas were considered either populous enough or prosperous enough to maintain a stable social institution. The south shore and island areas, with their tiny far-flung settlements received little outside attention and were incapable of maintaining an organized religious institution by their own efforts.

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88. Murchie., op. cit., p. 240.

Chapter II

The Second Period 1815 - 1860

A - Prologue

The second period was marked by two major economic movements: a prosperity which extended over two-thirds of the period, and a mantle of depression which, after 1842, gradually extinguished the rapid expansion characterizing the earlier decades.

The period was generally marked by expansion of settlement and a rapid economic development based upon timber. Roads were built; communications improved; education extended; greater economic specialization developed. In effect the county passed from a pioneer stage to that of a highly developed colonial society.

The most significant social development arose out of British immigration which resulted in a rapid increase in population. As a result of immigration, new denominations appeared and a change occurred in the denominational balance of the county, bringing with it a modification of the social distinctions which had gradually developed between the early Church of England and the Methodists.

What is most apparent in this period is the contradiction between the new society which is coming into being, and the social and political concepts which the original Loyalist settlers and the

metropolitan power had intended for the new colony. Religiously this difference is demonstrated in the conflict between the British tradition of centralization of ecclesiastical authority and the colonial tradition which was essentially congregationalist in polity. The attempts on the part of the Church of England to centralize authority in the S.P.G. and in its appointee, the Anglican bishop, led to severe strains within the denomination. The Methodists suffered from much the same problem, as an English missionary society dictated policy to a colonial church in a colonial situation.

The colonial American tradition was best represented by the Baptist, Congregationalist, and Disciples of Christ movements which, not having the British ideal to reconcile to their colonial polity, were able to adopt a relatively democratic polity and pragmatic doctrine to meet the needs of the individual colonial situation.

A third group of denominations was that of the new churches organized by the immigrants. Presbyterianism and Roman Catholicism were both put forward in this period as bulwarks of nationalism, Scottish and Irish, in contrast to the dominant English culture from which the other denominations had risen.

The effect of the economic development upon the society of the period was twofold. The traditional dominant commercial bourgeoisie of the Loyalist period, which had provided the backbone of the Church of England Establishment, found itself challenged and

eclipsed by the nouveau riche Yankee lumber merchants. The latter in their turn found themselves in somewhat of a dilemma. Having been nurtured upon the Methodist ethic of poverty, they now found its assumptions incompatible with both their personal and business practice. At the same time their social position was ambiguous as they had the financial resources but not the status of the earlier Loyalist aristocracy. The result was the development of a liberal modification of the puritan ethic manifested in the Congregationalist and ultimately in the Unitarian-Universalist movement.

At the other extreme of society, the ethic of poverty was modified among the former proletariat. Independence, long a virtue, was made subservient to submissiveness in the new ethic. Attention was instead directed toward the mystical. Since one is incapable of controlling his environment, the individual's attention must be focused outside the environment. The elongating social system encouraged competitiveness, and the increasing religious emphasis upon the individual reflected the growing cult of competitive individualism as colonial society rose above its subsistence level. Methodism manifested these ethical changes after 1830, and in the same decade the Regular Baptist groups, having had little success in the previous period, developed in response to this same social need among the farmer-proletariat in the areas where Methodism had not penetrated. By the end of the second period the overwhelming majority of the native-born of the lower classes of the county adhered to the Methodist and the Baptist denominations.

Presbyterianism and Roman Catholicism were both put forward in this period as bulwarks of national culture. The Scottish element among the Loyalists had been strong, but had survived only in St. Andrews. Here the Presbyterian faith became the principal vehicle of Scottish nationalism and socially there rose a Scottish commercial class to challenge the dominant colonial American Church of England. Outside of St. Andrews, the Presbyterian church was an immigrant creation and tended to follow closely developments in the mother Church of Scotland. It was this immigrant Presbyterian group which pushed deep into the virgin woodland of the county and occupied the new pioneer communities. Ironically, this group developed an ethic of poverty which included the virtues of independence and co-operation which the native churches were gradually abandoning.

Most of the Irish Roman Catholic immigrants, arriving later, settled in the older village areas where they encountered much opposition. Economically, they competed with the natives for labouring jobs. Socially they encountered a deep-seated tradition of antipathy, not toward themselves as individuals, but toward their religion as an institution. Becoming thus the social pariahs of the county, they retreated from the hostile elements in the new environment, settling in large groups in the village areas for mutual protection and consolation.

B - The County 1815 - 1860

The year 1815 represents a watershed in the history of Charlotte County. The most essential difference between the first and second periods is that of generation. The decade between 1810 and 1820 saw the demise of the original Loyalist generation. The period after 1815 represents the coming to maturity of the first generation raised in the county. Previous to 1815 most of the population was Loyalist. After 1815 an increasing stream of British migration gradually inundated that Loyalist majority. Prior to 1815 the county experienced only short bursts of prosperity, after 1815 only short periods of depression.

The county had experienced a most erratic growth in the period to 1824 when the first official census was made. A population in excess of two thousand in 1784 had reached only twenty-six hundred twenty years later, and in the period before 1815, numerous references are made by McColl to the almost constant drain of his church members as a result of emigration. In fact, until 1810, revivals were necessary to keep the membership of the Methodist societies at a constant level, not so much as compensation for deaths or desertions, but simply to fill the places of those leaving the county. The economic boom in 1816 was one of two factors which contributed to a rapid expansion of the population. Money, formerly scarce, became plentiful. McColl built a larger version of the church which he had proposed in 1804 and the entire

cost was subscribed and paid within two years from among the members of the St. Stephen society. The great revival of 1816 was the first after 1804 and brought a large number of younger people into the societies, indicating that for the first time large groups of the younger generation were remaining in the county. The forerunners of the great British migration, which began in earnest within the decade, were arriving in the county by 1820. Their settlement from 1819 onwards is evidenced in their memorials to the colonial government and in the land grants which they received.[1]

The New Brunswick census taken in 1824 gave the county a population of nearly 10,000 out of a colonial total of 72,000.[2] About sixty per cent of the population resided in the St. Croix Valley.

The heaviest influx of immigrants occurred in the period from 1825-1835. Under this impulse, the county's population rose from 9,800 to almost 16,000 in a decade.[3] A more gradual increase after 1834 brought the total to 18,174 in 1840,[4] making it second only to Saint John County in population.

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1. N. B. Crown Lands Office, Consolidated Land Grants 1784-1850.
2. New Brunswick, Journal of House of Assembly, 1825, Census of 1824. Archdeacon Best's report on the State of Religion in N. B. in 1825 gives the population of N. B. as 74,176; and that of Charlotte as 9,967. (U.N.B.Archives, N. B. Despatches Sent, MFR 26: Rev. George Best to Rev. Mr. Hamilton, April 27, 1825).
3. Ibid., 1835, Appendix XCM.
4. Ibid., 1841, Appendix A, p. 28.

Individually and in groups, the migrants swept into the seacoast parishes of Charlotte, and gradually moved up the river-banks of the Magaguadavic, Digdeguash, and St. Croix taking up grants on all lands unoccupied by the earlier Loyalists and finally, penetrating beyond the previous line of settlement, drove deep into the interior of the county. Most of the immigrants were Irish, varying from three-fifths of the total in some parishes to four-fifths of the total in others. The parishes most affected were St. Andrews, St. Patrick, St. George, and Pennfield -- all facing seaward -- and the St. Croix River parishes of St. David and St. James.

By 1850, the force of the migration was already spent, but the result was impressive. In St. Andrews parish more than thirty per cent of the population were foreign-born, almost eighty per cent of them Irish, while in each of St. Patrick, St. David, and St. James more than twenty per cent were foreign-born.[5] Most of the immigrant land grants were made prior to 1840,[6] indicating that the peak was reached in the decade of the 1830's. Of a greater social significance was the fact that the immigrants as a groups were younger than the native population, so that the potential for bearing and rearing children was far greater than simple numbers would indicate. The impact of this comparative

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5. Ibid., 1852, Appendix: Population Returns for N. B., 1851.
6. N. B. Crown Lands Office, Consolidated Land Grants, 1784-1850.

youthfulness is apparent in the fact that, in 1851, when these immigrant groups were in the process of raising their families, (although the immigrants themselves comprised only about seventeen per cent of the county's population) in approximately two-thirds of all the families in the county, either one or both parents were immigrants. The proportions were heaviest in those parishes experiencing the heaviest migration: in St. Andrews, seventy-five per cent of all families; in Pennfield, seventy per cent; in St. Patrick, eighty per cent; in St. David sixty-five per cent; in St. James, sixty per cent; in St. George, sixty-five per cent.[7] The social complexion of the entire county was altered by this movement and the impact is perhaps best measured in the effects upon the religious organizations of the county.

Two fairly distinct movements of British immigration are discernable in the period. The larger, earlier group, arriving in increasing numbers between 1820 and 1840, was comprised of English, Scottish, and Ulster Irish, mostly Protestant. After 1840 a trickle of Irish settlers continued, but the major part of this second migration was the sudden influx of Wicklow Irish, as a result of the potato famine, in 1847.

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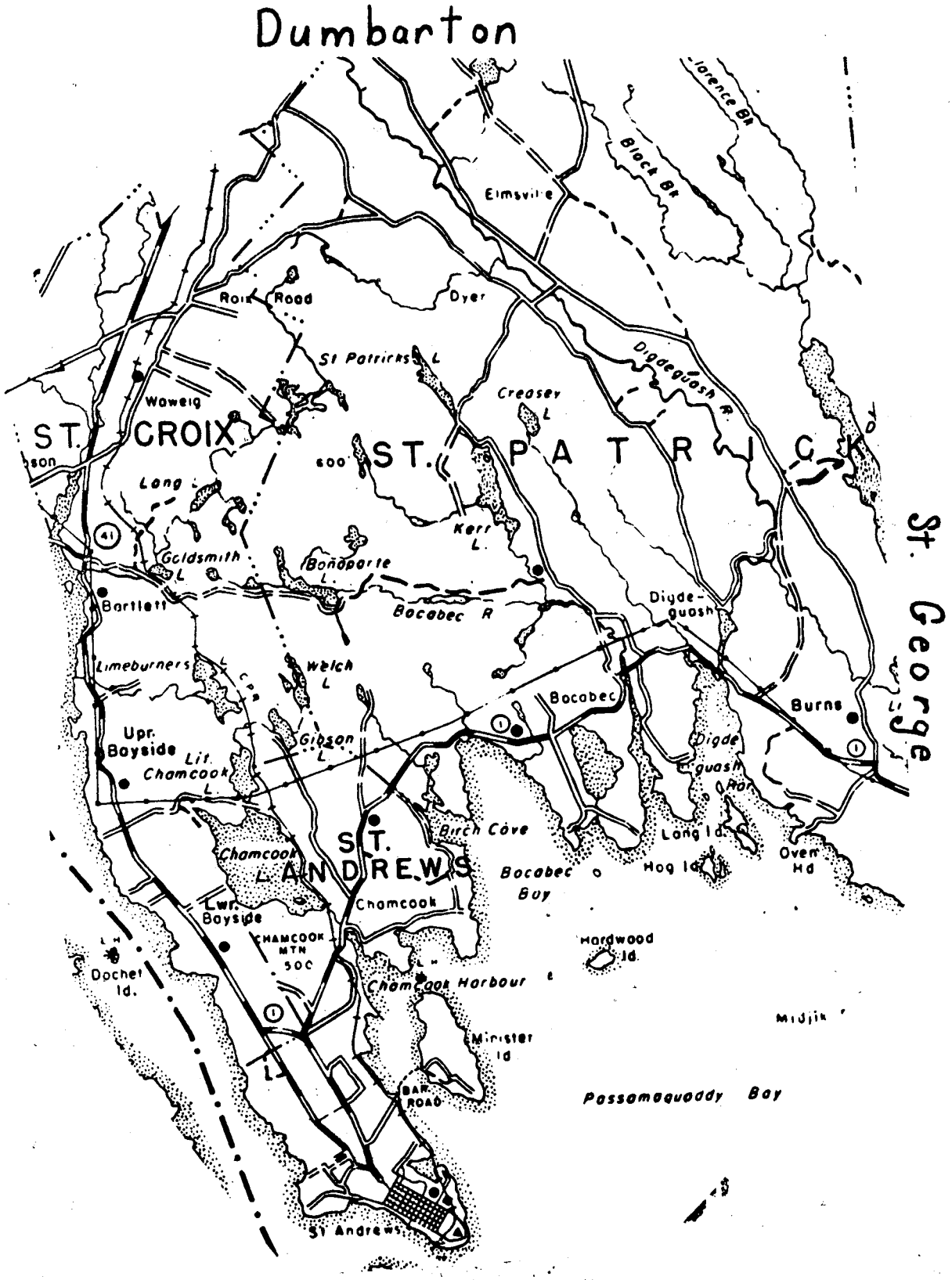
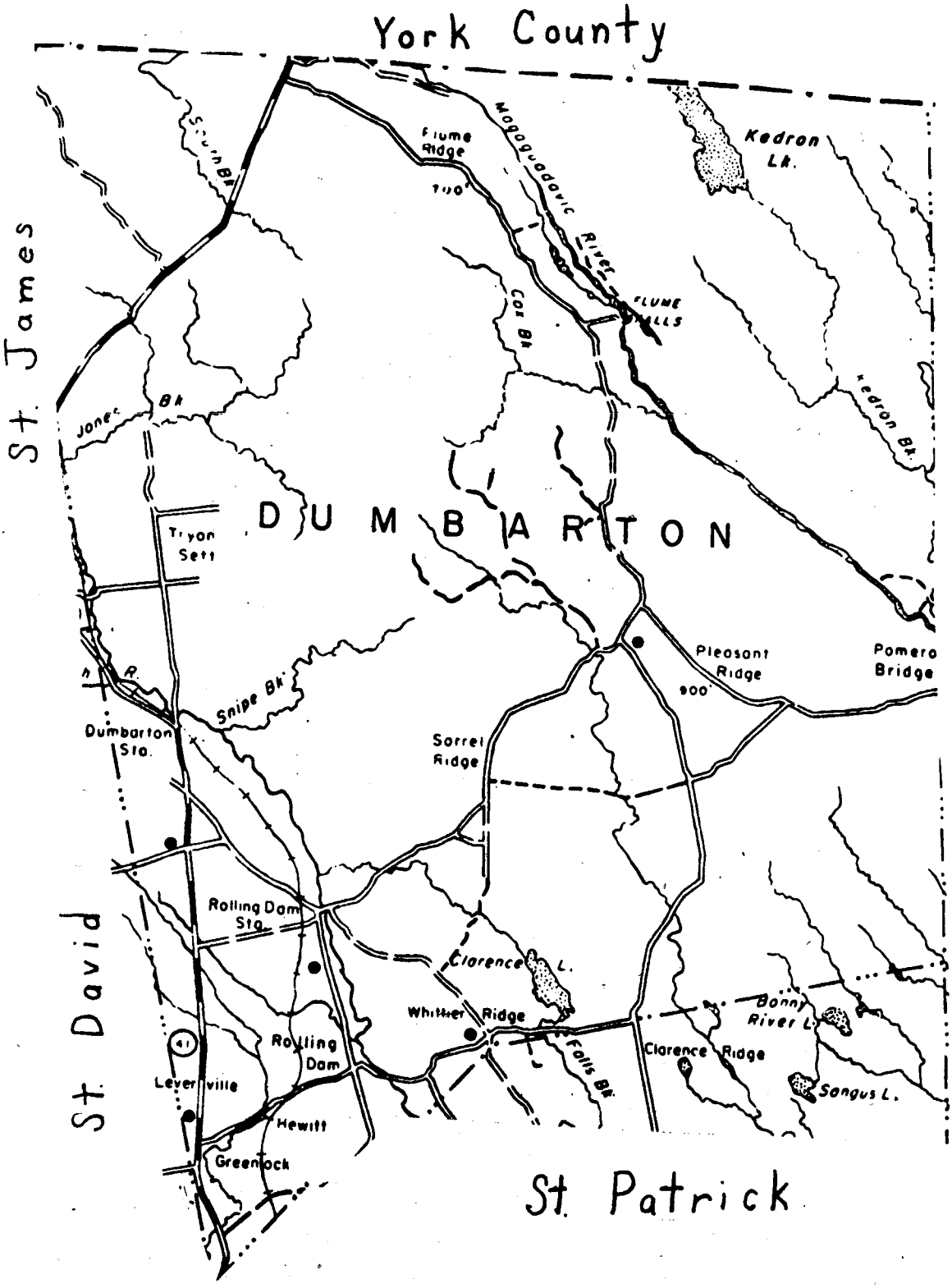
7. Public Archives of Canada, Census 439 OMR, (1851 N. B. Census Manuscripts).



Map 1 – St. Andrews Community Area: St. Andrews, St. Patrick and St. Croix parishes.



Map 2 - St. Andrews Community Area: Dumbarton Parish.

The distinct break between these two Irish migrations is most strikingly revealed by an examination of the Irish-born heads of families in St. Patrick's parish. Of the settlers who first entered the parish and took up lands in the southern half, sixty-one per cent were Presbyterian, twenty-two per cent Anglican, and seventeen per cent Roman Catholic. In contrast, forty-four per cent of the late arrivals who moved far up the Digdeguash and Magaguadavic Rivers into northern St. Patrick's (which in 1856 became the parish of Dumbarton) were Roman Catholic, and only fifty-six per cent were Protestant.[8] In the port of St. Andrews, where the later Catholic Irish tended to congregate, more than two-thirds of the Irish-born were Roman Catholic.

On the basis of the 1861 census, sixty-two per cent of the Irish in the county were Protestant, and thirty-eight per cent were Roman Catholic, while among English and Scottish immigrants, who together comprised about one-third of the total immigration of the period, more than ninety-five per cent were Protestant.

Three religious groups gained as a result of the British migration: Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, and Church of England. Most of the migrants were Ulster Irish of the Presbyterian and

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8. Public Archives of Canada, Census 449 OMR, (1861 N. B. Census Manuscripts).

Anglican faiths, who took land grants in the rural areas. The considerable minority of Roman Catholic Irish tended to congregate in or around the existing villages. Two reasons can be found for this. The largest single group of Roman Catholics was made up of two hundred labourers and their families sent by Earl Fitzwilliam in 1847 from his Wicklow estates to work on the St. Andrews railroad.[9] They settled as a body on the outskirts of St. Andrews and constituted a cohesive urban labour force.

The emphasis upon timber and the subsequent lumber boom in Charlotte County, like that throughout the colony of New Brunswick, was based upon a desire of the British government during the Napoleonic Wars to make the Empire economically self-sufficient. To achieve this end, in 1809 colonial timber was given a preference over the much cheaper Baltic product. The principal suppliers of colonial timber were New Brunswick and Upper Canada.[10] The boom increased after 1821 when colonial timber was given a preference totalling two hundred and seventy-five per cent of its value.[11]

By 1843, more than 900,000 loads of colonial timber a year was entering the British market, at a value of £3 per load.[12]

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9. W. F. Ganong, "Origins of Settlement in the Province of New Brunswick", Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Vol. X, p. 81.
10. R. L. Schuyler, The Fall of the Old Colonial System (New York: 1945), p. 105.
11. Ibid., p. 106.
12. J. H. Clapham, Economic History of Modern Britain (Cambridge: 1926), I, p. 237.

The result of this artificially based colonial prosperity was to provide England with the most expensive lumber in Europe. By 1840 the imperial preference on timber was costing the British consumer more than £1,000,000,[13] and this preference was one which drew the heaviest fire of the free traders. Consequently in 1842 and 1846, timber tariffs were lowered on foreign timber until the colonial preference amounted to only 14s. per load.[14] In 1860 it was abolished. By 1886 more than eighty per cent of the British lumber market was again in Baltic hands.[15]

From the initial postwar boom beginning in 1815, prosperity based upon shipbuilding and the timber trade continued in Charlotte until 1826, when a brief recession occurred.[16] The economy rapidly recovered, but faced a further threat from the reciprocity agreement negotiated in 1830[17] between the United Kingdom and the United States, when Americans were accorded equal treatment in the carrying trade of the West Indies. Faced with the extinction of the commerce of her North American colonies, the British parliament lowered the duties on certain products shipped from British colonies to England. This act had two results: the British market came to have primacy over the West

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13. Ibid., p. 238.
14. Schuyler, op. cit., p. 147.
15. Clapham, op. cit., p. 225.
16. John MacGregor, British America (Edinburgh:1832), II, p. 294.
17. Easterbrook and Aitken, op. cit., p. 235.
18. Ibid., p. 237.

Indian, and the degree of economic specialization became intensified. In Charlotte, in consequence of this act, a gradual disintegration and reformation of economic power began. The British market demanded larger ships and heavier timber, which, in turn, required greater sources of power. Consequently there was a gradual movement of industry from the St. Andrews commercial centre to the two principal sources of water power in the county, the point where fresh water met salt water on the St. Croix in St. Stephen, and the first and second falls near the mouth of the Magaguadavic River in St. George parish.

The demand for New Brunswick timber and the subsequent emphasis upon the commercial nature of the colony led to an increasing degree of narrow economic specialization after 1815. Soon the colony was importing a large part of the primary products which its own agricultural potential should have enabled it to produce. The attraction of a good cash wage or profit, combined with the part-time nature of the work, made woods work irresistible to farmers and labourers who could purchase several times over with their woods wages the products they might have raised had they devoted their time to agriculture. By 1840 the colony was officially importing 79,000 barrels of flour, 97,000 barrels of oats, 7,000 barrels of pork, 160,000 bushels of vegetables, 1,433 cattle, 4,635 sheep, 3,000,000 gallons of rum, and £71,000 worth of iron.[19]

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19. New Brunswick, House of Assembly Journal, 1840, Customs House Accounts.

The influence of the West Indies market in the 1820's was reflected in the county's exports, which included pine timber, boards, shingles, staves, dried and pickled fish, herring, and some foodstuffs.[20] As the British market increased in relative value after 1830 even the timber trade became narrowly specialized. In 1840, five-sixths of the entire value of New Brunswick's exports were in two lumber commodities: squared timber (262,000 tons, one-half of all exports) and deals (77,000,000 board feet, one-third of all exports).[21]

Most of the British immigration took place in the boom period between 1820 and 1840. Little attention was evidently given to the land grants by either the grantor or the grantees. Much of the land was of extremely poor quality and almost inaccessible. The immigrants generally did little serious farming. Most of them in the newer areas lumbered, providing the raw materials used by the mills, a fact which is attested to by the comparatively small quantity of improved land in the county prior to 1850.

The year 1842 marked the peak of the economic growth which had begun nearly three decades earlier. Thereafter a rapid decline set in as the economy fought to offset the rapidly

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20. New Brunswick, House of Assembly Journal, 1823, Report of Port of St. Andrews.
21. Ibid., 1840, Customs House Accounts.

dwindling West Indian market.[22] Some compensation was to be found in gains in the British market, but the cost of readjustment was the destruction of the prosperity of the ports of St. Andrews and Welshpool, Campobello. By 1855 St. Andrews was the principal port of entry for most of the county's imports, particularly from the United States, but most exports, particularly those destined for the British markets, were sent directly from St. Stephen and St. George. The level of prosperity attained in 1842 was not duplicated until the growth of the American market after 1860 compensated for the loss of that of the British West Indies.

Table 1

Changing Value of Exports from Charlotte County Ports[23]

	To West Indies	To British Isles
1840	£ 70,343	£ 30,258
1842	108,988	24,967
1844	82,061	32,641
1845	26,918	43,443
1847	6,078	51,079
1855	3,034	57,880

The rapidly declining market after 1842 played havoc with an economy geared to the mass production of several specialized variations of a single product. The result was depression,

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22. Easterbrook and Aitken, op. cit., p. 344.
23. Based upon Customs House Reports for Ports of St. Andrews, St. Stephen, St. George, and Welshpool: New Brunswick, Journal of House of Assembly, 1840, 1842, 1844, 1845, 1847, 1855.

and the result of the depression was widespread unemployment. In the villages this was partially solved by emigration while in the rural areas there was a rapid movement back to subsistence agriculture. Between 1840 and 1851 the quantity of improved farmland in the county doubled.[24]

The earliest reports of the decline are from St. Andrews where the Methodist minister, in his annual report to the New Brunswick District, bemoaned, "the great loss due to emigration -- three class leaders and twenty-four members in one year".[25] Toward the end of the 1840's and in the early 1850's St. Stephen and St. George felt the full impact of the depression. "Continual drain away, still a depression. Membership from 186 to 173 despite members added", commented a St. Stephen clergyman in 1852, while from St. Andrews, "another mass exodus....the church is unable to pay its debts".[26] As a result of this emigration, the population of the county increased from 18,000 to less than 20,000 between 1840 and 1851, despite a birth rate in excess of thirty-five per cent per thousand population, and a death rate of less than seven per thousand.[27]

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24. New Brunswick, Journal of House of Assembly, 1841, 1852. Census Returns.
25. Mount Allison Archives Report, N. B. District Methodist Meeting, 1844.
26. Ibid., 1852.
27. New Brunswick, Journal of Legislative Assembly, 1841, 1852, Census Returns.

Immigration, economic reorganization, and the extremes of prosperity and depression created a society in a state of flux during these decades. Until 1850, a common practice in the rural areas was for an influential farmer to gather together a dozen or so men -- farmers, labourers, drifters -- and to sign a contract with a lumber merchant. The latter would agree to provide the men with supplies during the winter, and to purchase their lumber at a set price. A class of wealthy lumber merchants gradually emerged and fairly clear social distinctions developed among merchants, farmer-drivers, and lumbermen. Large numbers of American lumbermen annually invaded the St. Croix region to participate in the lumber harvest and, after a difficult winter in the woods, the lumbermen -- natives and transients -- "spent the spring in idleness; drinking, smoking, gambling, etc."[28] Alexander Munroe stated the case in much more definite terms in 1851:

> "In a moral point of view a lumber camp is not the place to educate the youth of the country; vice is encouraged; profane swearing; sabbath breaking; gambling and other vices are the order of the day -- six to nine months a year subject to no law and the recipients of no moral or religious precepts".[29]

While Munroe's stricture represents the Methodist

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28. MacGregor, op. cit., p. 294.
29. Alexander Munroe, New Brunswick (Halifax:1855), p. 82.

morality and must be judged accordingly, the whole picture of the period is one of vitality and vibrant growth despite periodic slumps, as lumber barons sought to create and maintain a commercial empire; villagers, native farmers, and tradesmen sought a better standard of living; immigrants, in the pioneer tradition, sought to recreate a new life for themselves on the traditions of the old.

The greatest social upheaval in this period was engendered by the arrival of the Irish immigrants and more specifically the Roman Catholic Irish immigrants. There seems to have been little resentment of the English and Scottish immigrants of the period, perhaps because of their relatively small numbers, but nativistic feelings against the Irish generally ran deep. "Most immigrants to the St. Croix are a poor class of Irish from Cork who want annexation",[30] James Johnston was told in the course of his journey throughout the county in 1848, an obvious reference to the Roman Catholics of Irish extraction, as most Charlotte County Irish were from Ulster. A later conversation in which the subject of the Irish was raised brought the remark, "they're the only servants to be had -- but the airs they give themselves".

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30. James Johnston, Notes on North America (Edinburgh:1851),II, p. 153.

Even the Irish Protestants were not popular. For the most part they arrived prior to 1840 and were evidently comparatively prosperous, for the majority were able to take land grants almost immediately and to occupy their land. Moving usually into virgin farmlands, relatively isolated from the native population, they were gradually assimilated with a minimum of conflict, although it was a generation before it was fully accomplished. In parishes such as St. David and St. Stephen where they settled among native farmers, there was evidently considerable resentment between native and immigrant.

C - Denominational Structure

Until 1845, New Brunswick remained part of the Diocese of Nova Scotia, and the policies of Bishop Charles Inglis were generally continued by his son, John.

The most significant event in the history of the Church of England in the second period was the creation of the Diocese of Fredericton in 1845.

The Diocese of Fredericton was conceived in conflict, and the heritage engendered by this conflict seriously threatened its position in the province. The dispute revolved around the evangelical-tractarian debate which had enveloped the Church of England. The dispute became particularly bitter in New Brunswick when the appointment of Bishop Medley identified episcopal authority with the tractarian movement. The more congregational elements appealed to the evangelical tradition. In England the Colonial Church Society had been organized as the missionary organ of the evangelical party, and as discussion of the creation of a new bishopric in New Brunswick proceeded, this Society brought its influence to bear among the clergy of the province. Chief Justice Chipman warned Inglis in 1842, to

> "Go slowly. I fear that immediate steps to form a bishopric would create an excitement in favour of Dr. Jacob, the principal of the College of New Brunswick, with that party in

> the provincial church which favours the Colonial Church Society, for I have reason to believe that this party expects should he be made bishop, he will accede to the views of that Society."31

After his induction, Medley began to place increasing stress upon the sacramental and liturgical aspects of worship within the diocese rather than the scriptural and congregational. He favoured the weekly over the monthly observance of communion, upheld the choral service as scriptural, and encouraged the habit of daily prayers to be said in the church. The trend toward sacramentarianism was opposed for theological reasons not only by the majority of the clergy but almost by the entire membership of the vestries of the diocese, who saw in this concept the seeds of the destruction of their influence and their belief. "After this", said Medley, in his charge in 1883, "we shall, I hope, hear no more that apostolic succession and the assertion of church doctrine are inconsistent with the evangelical teaching".[32] The literal acceptance of this theory meant the acceptance of episcopal over scriptural authority and brought to the laity the spectre of the ancient claim to absolutism which derived from the same source as did that of the Pope.

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31. U.N.B. Archives, Letterbooks of Bishop Charles Inglis: Chipman to Inglis, January 31, 1842.
32. Four Charges of the Bishop of Fredericton (London:1863), p. 12.

William Ketchum, a close friend of the Bishop, who succeeded Alley as rector of St. Andrews in 1858, described in his biography of the Bishop conditions within the Church of England before 1845:

> "There was not one church in the diocese, which, at the present day would be considered as properly arranged -- dullness and lack of responses in the services -- there was no chancel. The altar stood in a narrow space between the reading desk and the pulpit. In most instances, the communion was celebrated quarterly. There was strong and bitter feeling against what was termed innovations -- more frequent celebrations, the offertory, the prayer for the church militant and the disuse of the black gown....the chanting of the canticles".[33]

Of Medley's problems, he spoke with great sympathy:

> "It seemed to be supposed that real, vital religion could not exist with high church views. The principles which ruled the Bishop's mind were soon well known. By the evangelical party he was regarded with distrust....all this was diligently set forth in the public press and in much public teaching. He found it hard, in many instances, to bring about the most desirable and harmless changes in the mode of conducting divine service. Any proposed alteration was called the 'entering wedge', 'step by step system'".[34]

Ketchum has exaggerated conditions particularly in connection with the earlier period, but his statement,

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33. W. Q. Ketchum, The Most Reverend John Medley, Metropolitan of Canada (Saint John:1893), p. 64.
34. Ibid., pp. 64-65.

> "the blessed change, which has come over every candid, thoughtful mind was, at the time we speak, wholly wanting",[35]

gives some indication of the legacy of bitterness which was evident in the mind of Ketchum himself at the time the biography was written (1893), and of the division between the bulk of the hierarchy on the one hand and the laity on the other.

The philosophy and position of Medley and his party are best reflected in their attitudes toward church finance. Medley, in 1859, called for increases in clerical stipends:

> "the sum now allowed is far smaller than any layman, moving in a respectable sphere, would think it sufficient to enable him to bring up a family upon".[36]

The key to this statement is the phrase, "moving in a respectable sphere", for the £200 plus salaries of the time were equivalent to wages which supported the families of three tradesmen or five labourers.[37] Medley's ideal was based upon English experience in which the rector dominated the closely-knit rural parishes through alliance with the gentry of the parish. The farmers, tenants for the greater part, generally accepted the leadership and guidance of both gentry and clergy. For their part, the English laity were required to do little. The livings for most parishes were provided

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35. Ibid.
36. Four Charges of the Bishop of Fredericton, p. 82.
37. Munroe, op. cit., p. 382. -- lumberers averaging £4 a month for the seven month season, farm labourers £25 a year and board, mill workers 3s. a day, carpenters, 5s. a day.

either by government or endowment, as were all capital costs, and the control of the aristocratic elements was absolute. That the aristocratic Medley never fully comprehended the significance of the social differences between the English and colonial society is demonstrated in his attempts to conform the latter to the former. The wealthier members of the church, he contended, should endow the church, to insure its financial independence in all its parishes.[38] Even granting his contention that the Church of England comprised the wealthiest group in the province, and assuming that the endowment could have been made (a severe drain on the capital resources of the economy considering that it would have involved a sum of perhaps £600,000 by 1860), the point remains that the church had been endowed by the S.P.G. for eighty years and the system of endowment had failed in its long-term purpose of creating an independent ecclesiastical organization within the colony. It was not that the people as a group were particularly parsimonious, but in any pioneer society where the scarcity of money had on occasion resulted in outright famine, utilitarian values were necessarily held in high esteem. The clergyman held his position no more than the millwright by right of birth or training but had to prove his ability in terms of experience and practical results. Among English and Irish immigrants the concept of the pre-eminence of the clergy was accepted, but these groups would not, or could not, accept the financial burden.

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38. Four Charges of the Bishop of Fredericton, p. 11.

Medley wanted endowment to free the clergy from control of the parishioners and to make them instruments of episcopal rather than congregational policy. Independence and individualism were powerful motivating forces. The individual communities survived by their own efforts and the fundamental Protestant concept of the Bible as the sole guide to life and conduct was a powerful factor in shaping this theological and ecclesiastical independence. The essential organizational difference between Church of England and Baptist groups lay in the fact that the latter developed in the local environment under independent leadership, which gradually coalesced to form a loose union deriving its authority from its component parts. Within the Church of England all authority rested in a central figure whose agents entered the individual parishes and welded the parishes together under the domination of the central authority. In essence, the Church of England clergy were not part of the community nor products of its culture. Rather, they were generally well-educated, principally from the United Kingdom of aristocratic or bourgeois background, and throughout their correspondence the distinct impression is imparted that they were, for the most part, quite uncomfortable in the presence of most of their relatively unlettered parishioners. Only in the towns and cities among the business and professionaly classes did they appear at all successful and at ease.

In many respects the experience of the Church of England

was reversed in the case of the Methodists. The latter received little or not support in the first forty years after the establishment of New Brunswick, but whereas the S.P.G. vainly tried to extricate itself from responsibility for the colonial church in the second forty years, the English Methodists consolidated their hold over the colonial Methodists.

In 1818, the London Wesleyan Missionary Committee had been organized by the English General Conference as the agent of English Methodist missionary activity. What had before been at best a lethargic effort became a zealous enterprise. New Brunswick and Nova Scotia each became districts under the careful supervision of the London Committee, which attempted to organize colonial Methodism on the English style. From 1818 onward, missionary control from England became increasingly influential in all circuits except St. Stephen where McColl adhered to the "Discipline" (except in connection with the two year itineracy), but could not be manipulated by the Committee which regarded the clergy as their agents in the community.

McColl's place in 1829 was taken by the Rev. Richard Williams, Superintendent of the New Brunswick District, an Englishman and the epitome of the concept of English control of colonial circuits. McColl's passing represents the end of an age in New Brunswick Methodism -- he was the last of that Loyalist pioneer generation of congregationalist Methodists who eked out a pre-

carious existence as social leaders in a new colonial society. With Williams, Methodism, like Anglicanism a decade before, entered an era of organization-builders, an age of control from an external authority. The clergy were strangers, frequently Englishmen, ministering to a native population to whom an Englishman was a foreigner whose ministry was imposed for a three-year cycle, then removed by an external force and replaced by another stranger. Organization was the keynote. The Methodist government, extended from the quarterly circuit meetings (comprising the minister, local preachers, class leaders, and circuit stewards) to the district meetings (attended by representatives of each circuit) to the annual conference. Each level acted as court over the next, imposing a rigid conservative conformity over the individuals and organizations within the authority of the conference.

After a rapid growth in the 1820's and 30's, the pace began to falter after 1840, largely due to a critical lack of ministers, the fault of which was attributed to the London Committee. Only a conference could ordain clergy. Such districts as existed in the colonial areas could only license local preachers. The common practice was for a ministerial candidate to serve as a local preacher on a probationary basis for several years, to take his examinations in specified studies, and, if successful, to be ordained (with the approval of the London Committee) by the Committee's agent and then to receive appointment as superintendent of a

circuit. The practice had begun in 1826 and one or two local preachers had been ordained every year thereafter. Unfortunately, these native ministers were never considered by the London Committee to be the equivalent of the English ministers who were sent as missionaries. In this respect the Committee differed little in its attitude toward the natives of New Brunswick and those of Somoa. Native ministers had no rights on the legalized funds which provided for persons, nor, more seriously, did they have the privilege of administering the sacraments.[39] Considerable agitation finally led to the removal of these disabilities in 1847, but the rapid increase in the number of native clergy was severely limited by the London Committee which was feeling the results of the depression in New Brunswick. Having raised ministerial stipends to the level of those of the Church of England, the Committee found a constantly enlarging burden falling upon itself as local church revenues shrank in New Brunswick. The result was a severe curtailment of the home mission programme in the colony.

Widespread agitation developed, particularly after 1845, for the organization of a conference which would bring virtual autonomy to the colonial church. The schism within the English Wesleyan General Conference delayed the final organization, but in 1852 the Nova Scotia District was split into two, and the Prince

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39. T. W. Smith, History of the Methodist Church of Eastern British America (Halifax:1890), II, pp.335-40.

Edward Island District separated from New Brunswick. The following year the four districts agreed to unite in an independent conference. Dr. Beecham was sent by the English General Conference to create the Methodist Conference of Eastern British North America. It came into being in 1855 with seventy-nine ministers and 13,136 communicants.[40] The conference was then re-divided into seven districts, Charlotte County falling into the Saint John District. The following year the Conference Home Missionary Society was founded with a contingency fund for the aid of the poorer circuits.

The group to suffer the first financial pangs of independence was, as in the case of the Presbyterians, the clergy. Salaries in 1860 had dropped to an average of £130.[41]

The most conspicuous failure of a denomination to attain its potential was that of the Presbyterians. This failure largely stems from the fact that, throughout the world, from 1732 to 1875, this denomination suffered all the weaknesses of disunity and constant internecine strife, doubly debilitating to a polity which demanded organization and centralization to enable it to function. Division and lethargy were thus principal causes for the failure

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40. Goldwin French, Parsons and Politics (Toronto:1962), p. 201.
41. Milltown United Church, Milltown, N. B., Methodist Circuit Book, 1846-1879.; Wesley United Church, St. Andrews, N. B., Methodist Circuit Book, 1830-1873.; Kirk-McColl United Church, St. Stephen, N. B., Circuit Stewards Accounts.

of Presbyterianism in Charlotte County. Like the Church of England, the Presbyterian clergy were highly educated, selectively trained and accustomed to a prominent position in the community. While the Anglican clergy found support in the S.P.G., the Presbyterian clergy found nothing comparable until 1825 and then only on a limited scale. Moreover the endemic evil of constant division which characterized the Scottish Presbyterianism of the period was duplicated in miniature within the colonies. While the Scottish parent churches had the resources to survive constant schism, the colonial churches, fighting for survival in a pioneer society, were seriously weakened and almost destroyed. Presbyterianism also suffered from the fact that in Charlotte, it was the great middle church of the period: its theology was Calvinistic, similar to that of the Regular Baptist; its government aristocratic, very similar, in fact if not in theory, to that of the Church of England in Charlotte. In a pioneer society, most of the Presbyterians of the Loyalist period, after decades of neglect, found their way into the Church of England or, later, into the Baptist churches.

The Secession Churches, Burgher and anti-Burgher, had broken from the Church of Scotland over the principle of establishment in 1732. From that period until the disruption of 1843, there had been a steady stream of seceders, ministers and communicants from the Church of Scotland over the issue of the right of civil patrons to name clergymen to their congregations. These seceders formed relief congregations outside the Church of Scotland. The

issue was further complicated in 1843 when about one-third of the entire Established Church seceded over the issue of government versus presbytery control of the clergy. The early anti-establishment churches (Burgher and anti-Burgher) were the most evangelical and provided the only colonial assistance prior to 1825. Most of the early Presbyterian arrivals in Nova Scotia, Highlanders, were secessionist rather than Church of Scotland Presbyterians. Although St. Matthew's Church in Halifax had a Presbyterian minister from 1749, the first Presbyterian organization did not appear in the Maritimes until the establishment of the Presbytery of Truro in 1786, with five ministers of the Burgher group. Two years later by Presbytery of Pictou came into being with three ministers of the anti-Burgher group. After much strife between the two, Dr. James MacGregor of the anti-Burgher presbytery finally succeeded in uniting the two presbyteries, in 1817, into the Synod of Nova Scotia.[42]

Previous to 1814 virtually no notice was taken of the Presbyterian population of New Brunswick.[43] Perhaps the only organized Presbyterian congregation in the province was that of the Highlanders at Scotch Ridge, St. James, which was visited periodically by ministers from the secession presbyteries in Nova Scotia.

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42. William Gregg, History of Presbyterian Church in The Dominion of Canada (Toronto:1886), Ch. 1.
43. Frank Archibald, History of the Presbyterian Church in New Brunswick 1784-1875 (Edinburgh Ph.D.:1934), p. 41.

The Church of Scotland finally awakened to a missionary zeal with the establishment of the Glasgow Colonial Society in 1825. Despite the opposition of the Synod of Nova Scotia (United Presbyterian), this Society sent out forty ministers to the Maritimes between 1825 and 1835.[44]

This period of growth came to an abrupt halt after 1843 as a result of the Great Disruption in Scotland. The following year its reverbrations were felt throughout New Brunswick. The issues which created the Free Church of Scotland and drove its members from the Establishment had no counterpart in British North America. Almost all the New Brunswick clergy, however, were Scottish-born and educated; furthermore, speakers for both sides of the dispute toured the colonies promoting their particular views. It was not surprising, therefore, that the Scottish disruption was re-enacted among the immigrant Presbyterians of the Maritimes.

What had formerly been a difficult situation now became chaotic. Before 1843 there had been four Presbyterian churches in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia: (1) the Synod of Nova Scotia in connection with the United Presbyterian Church (the largest and most influential); (2) the Synod of Nova Scotia in connection

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44. Gregg, op. cit., p. 33.

with the Church of Scotland; (3) the Synod of New Brunswick in connection with the Church of Scotland; and (4) the Presbytery of New Brunswick in connection with the Reformed Presbyterian Church (Covenanters).

The first and largest of these churches was the result of the union of the original secession churches in Nova Scotia in 1817. After 1825 the large influx of Church of Scotland clergy provided by the Glasgow Society had resulted in the formation of the second synod of Nova Scotia in 1833, and of the Presbytery of New Brunswick in the same year.[45] In 1835, having increased to ten clergy, the Presbytery of New Brunswick was constituted the Synod of New Brunswick, containing the presbyteries of Saint John and Miramichi.[46] By the time of the Great Disruption the Synod of New Brunswick contained thirteen of the fifteen Presbyterian clergy in the province (the other two being Covenanters). In the schism which followed, ten of the thirteen clergy remained within the Church of Scotland, while three withdrew and constituted themselves the Synod of New Brunswick adhering to the Westminster Confession (Free Church of Scotland). At the same time the Nova Scotia Synod in connection with the Church of Scotland withdrew en masse and became the Synod of Nova Scotia adhering to the Westminster Confession.[47] In 1854, several clergy of this latter

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45. Ibid., p. 33.
46. Ibid., p. 43.
47. Ibid., p. 44.

Synod withdrew from the main body and reconstituted themselves as the Synod of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island in connection with the Church of Scotland. Thus in 1854 there were six separate Presbyterian bodies in the Maritimes. The Nova Scotia Presbyterians were much more capable of surviving this controversy, for the original United Presbyterian Synod was a large cohesive body which maintained its own seminary at Truro and had its own home mission programme. Even the small Free Church Synod maintained its own college at Halifax (Dalhousie), which graduated an average of three native clergy a year.[48]

In New Brunswick the Presbyterian Church arrived late and did comparatively little. Its resources were negligible, its position weak. With only fifteen clergy in the colony in two bodies, it seriously contemplated a schism which would create still a third body. Lack of energy was the greatest weakness of all the groups, yet in the subsequent controversies which ensued, the welfare of New Brunswick Presbyterianism was completely disregarded. The clergy were Scotsmen first and colonials second. By 1850, at a time when Bishop Medley had been able to ordain ten native New Brunswickers to the ministry in one year (1854),[49] and an extensive home missions programme was being promoted by the Diocesan Church Society within the Church of England, the Presby-

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48. Ibid., p. 91.
49. John Lantry, History of The Church in Eastern Canada and Newfoundland (Toronto:1924), p. 157.

terian Synods of New Brunswick, although theoretically each having the right of ordination, did not even have a seminary in which to train prospective candidates. Candidates had to spend several years in Scotland or Nova Scotia to procure this training. The result was a pitifully slow growth within the Church of Scotland Synod after 1844 and a period of prolonged ecclesiastical as well as financial dependence upon the parent body in Scotland. The Free Church Synod of New Brunswick allied itself to the Irish Presbyterian Church and thus reaped most of the benefits of the Ulster migration. It had the further advantage of being able to train its native clergy at the Nova Scotia Free Church seminary in Halifax.[50]

The most conspicuous religious movement of the period 1820-1860 in Charlotte was the Baptist. Arriving in two distinct bodies, Regular and Free Will Baptists, they swept over every area after 1830, converting both native and immigrant, as they advanced, becoming the terror of the older established denominations. The two Baptist groups differed from one another, both in government and doctrine, as the Methodists from the Presbyterians, but they shared a common symbolic form of immersion, a rejection of all formal creeds, and a common American origin. Of the five major denominations in the county they alone could

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50. Gregg, op. cit., p. 104.

lay claim to the distinction of being the product of American initiative, and bore no relationship to the bourgeois English Baptists.

The earlier group, both in time of arrival in the county and in origin, was the Regular Baptist. This sect had been the principal beneficiary of the New Light movement that had swept the ranks of the New England Congregationalists in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Congregationalism, which had become increasingly rationalistic and formal, moribund in its rigid Calvinism, survived among the business and professional classes in New England towns and cities but faltered, and eventually lost a large part of its following, in many rural areas. Regular Baptists had existed only in small groups in New England prior to 1750.[51] The New Light Movement had been kindled among the New England immigrants in Nova Scotia by Henry Alline in 1776.[52] It led to excesses which eventually brought the entire movement into disrepute, but McColl's sermons against the antinominian preachers is testimony to their influence in the Charlotte area in the last decade of the eighteenth century. The position of the small groups of Baptists in relation to their vastly numerically superior Congregational brethren is curious. In most congregations they existed together, particularly in

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51. G. E. Levy, Baptists of the Maritime Provinces (Saint John: 1946), p. 9.
52. Ibid., p. 27.

Nova Scotia, where small numbers, scattered settlements, and a hostile Church of England precluded any attempts to splinter the non-conformist strength by the creation of separate Baptist churches. The theological distinctions between the more evangelical New Light Congregationalists and the Regular Baptists were slight. After the death of Alline in 1778, the period until the end of the century was one of a gradual Baptist expansion within the Congregational churches. . By 1800 at least three Nova Scotian congregations had been altered from a New Light majority to a Baptist majority, and the Baptists, once in control, showed little tolerance toward their erstwhile companions.[53] In 1800, nine congregations, including one in New Brunswick, organized an Association which initially included both Baptists and New Lights. Within nine years however, the growing Baptist group seized control of the Association, imposed closed communion on the basis of baptismal immersion, and thus forced the demittance of the four congregations which still retained a New Light majority (out of twenty-two congregations in the Convention of 1809).[54]

The 1809 Association meeting organized a home mission programme which resulted in an effective evangelization of large areas of the Maritimes and the rapid expansion of Baptist congregations. In 1821 the Association was divided, and the New Brunswick Association came into being with six clergymen and

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53. Edward Saunders, Maritime Baptists (Halifax:1900), Chs. 10, 11, 12.
54. Levy, op. cit., p. 78.

thirteen churches.[55] The period from 1820 to 1860 in New Brunswick was one of spectacular growth. From 506 communicants in 1821, the Association membership rose to 7,263 in 1858 with a total of 116 churches.[56]

The impact of the Baptist movement is reflected in the origins of the twenty-four men commonly referred to as "The Fathers".[57] The group contained eight Nova Scotians, eight Americans, four Englishmen, two Scots, one New Brunswicker, one Irishman. Of these, nine had been raised as Baptists, six were converts from Congregationalism, five from the Church of England, two from Presbyterianism, one from Methodism, and one from Roman Catholicism.

The second and later Baptist group to enter the county was the Free Will (General) Christian Baptist. This group, frequently referred to as "immersed Methodists", bore a striking resemblance to the Methodists. In point of doctrine they, like the Methodists, were Arminians, as distinct from the Calvinistic Regular Baptists. In polity they almost duplicated the Methodist organization with its emphasis upon centralization. Their basic fundamentalism combined with their Arminian beliefs gave them an individualistic faith which stressed a highly personal mystical experience, which in turn gave considerable credence to the verity

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55. Saunders, op. cit.,p. 165.
56. Acadia Archives, Minutes of the Maritime Baptist Convention, 1858.
57. I. E. Bill, Fifty Years with the Baptist Ministers and Churches of the Maritimes (Saint John:1880), Chs. 8, 9.

of the emotive faculties. Stress was placed upon the individual and, although the local churches performed the function of providing local unity, they had not nearly the position which they occupied in the Regular Baptist movement where the local church was regarded as the ingathering of God's elect. This distinction in attitude between the two groups toward the church and the external world is reflected in their treatment of the sacrament of communion. To the Regular Baptist it was a visible means of God's grace and a symbol of the perseverence of the saints. Certainly it was not to be distributed to one who was not of the elect. Therefore, closed communion had been practiced since 1809. To the Free Will Baptist, communion was a sign of God's general redemption of all men who were willing to make use of it, and no organization had the authority to withhold it from any individual desiring it. The practice of open communion was the hallmark of the Free Baptists and Methodists.

Entirely American in origin, the Free Will Baptist movement entered Carleton and Victoria counties from Maine where it had developed as a reaction against the Calvinism of both Congregationalists and Regular Baptists. The movement took root in the central St. John River Valley between Woodstock and Andover and gradually advanced down the river. In 1832, the year that it organized as the New Brunswick Free Christian Conference, it comprised two elders and six churches in New Brunswick.[58] Its ex-

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58. Acadia Archives, Minutes of Conference of Free Christian Baptists of New Brunswick, 1832.

pansion after this was moderately rapid. In 1835 the conference was divided into two districts and in 1847 it comprised fourteen elders, forty churches, and 2,000 communicants.[59] In 1850 the conference was divided into six districts each under a superintendent, and the districts were divided into circuits each under an elder (ordained minister) assisted by licensed preachers. Several general evangelists were appointed for the whole conference to carry out home mission activities. Five of the districts followed the St. John River Valley, while the sixth consisted of Westmorland.

As the organization of the denomination continued, the power of the conference became increasingly dominant. Prior to 1880 all legislation required unanimous vote to be enacted. After 1856 ministers were to be ordained only by the authority of the conference.[60] The local church was left only with power to licence local preachers for periods not to exceed one year at a time. Nothing demonstrates the austerity of the Free Will Baptist polity more than the condition of their clergy. Essentially they lived in poverty. Chosen for their fervour and piety, frequently anti-intellectual, they were forbidden to become "hirelings" and could not therefore contract to act as pastor of a church for a certain period at a named salary. Rather, they lived on a system of free-will offerings from members supplemented by their own occasional labour. To a large extent this explains the great influence which

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59. Ibid., 1847.
60. Free Will Baptist Conference Minutes, 1856.

they exerted among their congregations: the individual member could readily identify himself with a pastor who was expected to be the epitome of the moral virtues of righteousness as opposed to the natural depravity and sin which existed in all that was not directly touched by the spirit of God. Among the Free Will Baptists the tenets of the ethic of poverty were to achieve their greatest triumph.

The latest comer among the denominations which entered Charlotte in the second period was the Disciples of God. The Disciples movement had begun in the Kentucky area of the United States as a protest movement within the Presbyterian church against the pre-eminence of the clergy within the church and against the authority of the higher church courts, presbytery and synod, over the local congregations. Perhaps the most significant aspect of its formation was the fact that it was essentially the simple frontier culture in revolt against the more urbane polity and theology of the coastal areas of the United States. Beginning in 1804 from the Springfield Presbytery of Kentucky, its followers took a rabidly fundamental, anti-intellectual position, "Speaking where the scriptures speak, and silent where the scriptures were silent".[61] Frequently referred to as "Campbellites" after 1832, their polity stressed the omnipotence of the local congregation and the laity to the point

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61. E. T. Clarke, Small Sects in America (New York:1939), p. 214.

where the sacrament of communion was dispensed by the church elders rather than the clergymen, "who are unordained and are chosen by local groups".[62] The theological beliefs of the denomination are a paradox. The Disciples proclaim at once the reformation doctrine of justification by faith alone and hold to the actual efficiacy of the sacraments; they declare the sacredness of the scriptures, yet emphasize the New Testament as supplanting the Old; they declare they are not a denomination yet practice closed communion. Their appeal was to the isolated frontier regions, and they spread rapidly throughout the mid-western and south-western United States, where, eventually, one of their more prominent Texan adherents, Lyndon B. Johnson, was to become President of the United States.

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62. Ibid., p. 215.

D - St. Andrews

The two decades after 1820 were the economic golden age of St. Andrews. Created a free port in 1821, St. Andrews, the cnetre of the West Indies trade and the commercial centre for the entire county, seemed destined to become a community rivalling Saint John in size and influence. The community area, including as well the rural parishes of St. Andrews and St. Patrick, received the greatest impact of the British immigration and was one of the most rapidly growing areas of the county up to 1840.

St. Andrews remained the social stronghold of the Establishment tradition. Until 1830 the Establishment was able to dominate the political situation in the county. In the eight colonial elections between 1785 and 1827, Charlotte, with four Assembly members, sent a total of nineteen different individuals as representatives to Fredericton. Of these nineteen, twelve were from St. Andrews, and eleven of the twelve were either members or adherents of the Church of England. Moreover, so complete was the control of this Establishment throughout the county that a veritable family compact existed among the members of the Legislative Assembly, creating a tradition that was to continue into the twentieth century. Eight of the nineteen Assembly members from the county between 1785 and 1830 were vestrymen of St. Andrews Church, St. Andrews, in 1810.

Following the death of Andrews in 1819, the vestry called as the second rector of St. Andrews the Rev. Jerome Alley who has been credited with dividing the congregation of St. Andrews Church. He has been ridiculed as, "a small, plump, pompous man with a lisp whose attitude was, 'do as I say, not as I do'".[63] Despite these charges, Alley had one great virtue which Andrews had lacked: he was an administrator of the first rank. Authoritarian and controversial, he was in an almost constant state of warfare with his vestry throughout the forty years he remained as rector of St. Andrews.

While Alley is generally credited with driving the Presbyterian group out of the Church of England, this view overlooks the general social and economic situation as it existed in St. Andrews in the period after Andrew's death. An increasing commercial rivalry between Scottish and American Loyalist groups and basic theological differences between the two beliefs were alone unable to effect a division. It was almost certainly the developing prosperity which combined with the other two factors to bring about the schism.

By 1817 the Presbyterian-oriented element actually controlled the vestry of St. Andrews. The county grammar school had

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63. Helen Mowatt, The Diverting History of a Loyalist Town (St. Andrews:1934), p. 64.

been established in 1816.[64] The president of the Board of Trustees was to be the rector of St. Andrews and the eight trustees were the vestrymen of the period. The Presbyterian influence within this group is reflected in the fact that in 1818 the Rev. John Cassilis, a Church of Scotland minister, was appointed Master of the school. The vestry elections of 1819 resulted in a defeat for the Presbyterian element and, at the urging of Cassilis, a Presbyterian church was formed.[65]

Of Alley's ambition and enthusiasm, however, there is little doubt. In one of his first letters to the S.P.G., he began the agitation for more clergy in the county, particularly at St. George and Grand Manan. He also began regular services at St.George, Digdeguash, occasionally at Pennfield, and stressed, "the urgent need for a minister with Mr. Clarke for he is old and the Methodists are gaining on the Church".[66] Alley continued his agitation both to the Governor and the S.P.G. throughout 1821, when the S.P.G. finally conceded and construction was begun on the St. George and Grand Manan churches.

Nowhere perhaps did the bitterness which existed between native and immigrant manifest itself more strongly than within the

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64. Statutes of New Brunswick, 56 George III, C. 15.
65. Melvin Cockburn, History of Greenock Church 1821-1906 (St. Andrews: 1906), p. 2.
66. New Brunswick Museum, S.P.G. Letters from New Brunswick: Alley to S.P.G., November 28, 1820.

Church of England, and the history of that denomination in this period is mainly that of the attempt to reconcile these two groups to co-exist within the same religious organization. Three Anglican clergymen dominate the period; one native and two Irish: Jerome Alley, rector of St. Andrews 1819-61, Nova Scotian born: Skeffington Thomson, curate 1821-25 and rector 1825-65 of St. Stephen; and his brother Samuel Thomson, rector of St. George 1821-48, were the three clergymen of the second generation Church of England in Charlotte. All three lived in a period of tension and conflict in which they were all directly involved. The early Church of England as introduced from the American colonies was essentially latitudinarian. Alley himself was a churchman of the evangelical school but with proclivities toward the high church. The Thomson brothers were both members of the Church of Ireland. While not adhering to the high church group which was rapidly growing within the Church of England, all three young clergymen were churchmen in an orthodox sense. They fought the latitudinarian ideas which they found in their parishes. They represented episcopal authority, canon law, and strict adherence to the rubric. The concept of Presbyterians sitting in a Church of England vestry was utterly inconceivable to Alley. Both Thomsons, while not faced with this problem, judged each case which arose in the local churches upon the basis of canon law. In most instances they denied tradition based upon two centuries of American experience, and found themselves set against their own vestries to whom subjection to the English canon and rubric meant only one thing, the enhancement of

the power and position of the clergy and the hierarchy at the expense of the authority of the laity and the local congregation.

Matters came to a head in 1825 when the S.P.G. announced that all parishes must henceforth provide a rectory and £30 yearly for the support of their clergy.[67] All of the congregations opposed this order. In 1829, the wardens and vestry of St. Andrews, the largest and most prosperous congregation in the county, petitioned the S.P.G. complaining that it was impossible to pay £30 a year to the rector -- "the pew rents are up fifty per cent, the congregation complaining that the glebe rents are sufficient to support him".[68] Finally in 1831, the wardens and vestry stated that, "we are of the opinion that neither the rector nor the S.P.G. has any legal claim to £30 per annum for the rector's salary".[69] These remonstrances seemed to have little effect upon the S.P.G. which inexorably re-enunciated its position, "the dissenters in the colonies are able to support their own clergy and the Church of England must do the same".[70]

The 1833 announcement by Inglis of the withdrawal of S.P.G. support over a three-year period caused a panic among both the clergy and the vestries of Charlotte. St. Andrews vestry,

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67. St. Mark's Church, St. George, Vestry Records 1823-1870. All
68. Saints Church, St. Andrews, Vestry Records 1786-1837.
69. Ibid.
70. U.N.B.Archives, Bishop John Inglis Letterbooks: Inglis to Annapolis Church Wardens, December 2, 1831.

feeling ~~that~~ it was incapable of meeting such a demand, determined to call a congregational meeting.[71] Alley's consternation was scarcely less than that of the vestry. The prospect of, "being thrown upon"[72] his parishioners being something he did not relish in the least, and for the next year he continued to bemoan, "his peniless old age".[73]

The decision of the S.P.G. to continue a yearly grant of £4,000, to provide £150 per annum for the lifetime of each of the twenty-eight clergy working under the S.P.G. in the colony,[74] removed the crisis, but directly resulted in the establishment of the Diocesan Church Society to provide for home missions within the colony.

Of all denominations in Charlotte, that which on the one hand had the greatest opportunities, and on the other lost most heavily to the other groups, was the Presbyterian. Presbyterians comprised the largest single group of immigrants entering the county from 1784 to 1860. Allusion to the Presbyterian majorities in St. Andrews and St. George was constantly made in the S.P.G. letters from Andrews. In addition there were numbers at Grand Manan, Deer Island and St. Stephen. The ~~Rev~~. Alexander MacLean, first minister

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71. St. Andrews Vestry Records 1786-1837.
72. New Brunswick Museum, S.P.G. Letters from New Brunswick: Alley to S.P.G., December 5, 1833.
73. Ibid., March 26, 1834.
74. T. B. Atkins, Sketch of The Rise and Progress of the Church of England in British North American Provinces (Halifax:1849), p. 63.

of Greenock Church, St. Andrews, indicated in 1835 that at that time, on the basis of ten years' observation as the only Church of Scotland clergyman in Charlotte, there were at least 6,000 adherents of that faith out of a population of 15,829.[75]

The arrival of the Rev. John Cassilis, a Secessionist Presbyterian minister from Pictou, as Master of the Charlotte County Grammar School in St. Andrews in 1817 introduced a period of Presbyterian activity in the county. He often preached in halls and schools in the St. Andrews area and agitated for the construction of a Presbyterian church in the port.

In 1820, by permission of the Nova Scotia Synod (United Presbyterian Church; the Burgher and anti-Burgher Secession Churches in Scotland were united in 1819), Cassilis organized the Presbytery of St. Andrews with four ministers: two from St. Andrews, and one each from St. George and Fredericton. The presbytery existed just one month before being suspended by the Synod because two of the ministers were unable to produce credentials of ordination.[76]

Despite this abortive effort to create a local organization within the county, work continued on the new Presbyterian church which Cassilis was attempting to have built in the port.

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75. Pine Hill Archives, Presbyterian Guardian, July 18, 1838.
76. Archibald, op. cit., p. 41.

In 1822 a Scottish sea captain, Christopher Scott, took charge of the partially completed structure and financed its completion, which was accomplished within two years. A number of Presbyterians then petitioned the Church of Scotland for a minister. The Rev. Alexander MacLean was ordained and sent to St. Andrews by the Church of Scotland in 1824. Upon his arrival he ordained ten ruling elders to constitute a Court of Session.[77]

What is perhaps most unusual about this entire series of events is the persistence of the Presbyterian tradition among Scottish Loyalists who had attended the Church of England for more than thirty years. The leaders of this group were Colin Campbell, collector of customs, and for twenty years a member of the Assembly, and Robert Pagan, the wealthiest merchant of the period, and for thirty-five consecutive years a member of the Assembly.

The first Session consisted of the collector of customs, four merchants, two justices of the peace, but only one tradesman, and just two farmers. The new congregation also affiliated itself with the Church of Scotland, which had the social distinction of being an Established Church, rather than the Nova Scotia Secession Synod to which Cassilis belonged.

Despite the establishment of the Greenock Church and sub-

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77. Greenock Presbyterian Church, St. Andrews, Session Book 1824-50.

sequent Church of England losses, Andrews policy of cohabiting with the Presbyterians seems to have been justified, for, although the Presbyterian congregation was fairly large, it was considerably smaller than that of the Church of England. It is doubtful if more than a minority of the original Presbyterians entered the new congregation. The original native members of the denomination were augmented by the flow of immigrants into the community over the next decade. The seventy-two communicants in June, 1825,[78] rose to 102 in 1834. In addition there were an estimated 500 adherents.

With the Church of England a rather curious relationship existed. MacLean acknowledged its primacy within the community and that,

> "the town has a Church of England which is endowed and established and is the oldest, wealthiest church, containing the most influential families".[79]

Although most of the Presbyterian communicants had left the Church of England, the two churches maintained a common Sunday School until 1834.[80]

In the colony, the period from 1820 until 1834 was one of constant struggle on the part of the non-conformist denominations for equality with the Church of England. The struggle centered on the right of non-Anglican clergy to perform marriages. The Marriage

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78. Greenock Presbyterian Church, St. Andrews, Session Book 1824-50.
79. Presbyterian Guardian, July 18, 1838.
80. Ibid.

Act of 1791 permitted the Attorney-General to license Presbyterian and Roman Catholic clergy to perform marriages where the couple involved were both of the clergyman's faith. A bill to license Methodist, Baptist, and non-Church of Scotland Presbyterian clergy was presented to the Assembly in 1821 and passed by a vote of 13 to 11.[81] It was rejected by the Legislative Council. Of the four Charlotte County Assemblymen, all of whom were members of the Church of England, three voted against the more liberal marriage act. In the elections of 1827, these three were defeated.

The lack of Presbyterian clergy throughout the county grew increasingly desperate as the flood of Irish immigrants continued in the 1830's. The situation was particularly acute in St. Patrick where MacLean estimated that four-fifths of the population were Irish Presbyterians.[82] Baptist evangelists were entering the parish and evidently making inroads into the Presbyterian population. To alleviate the situation in the eastern and central parts of the county, John Cassilis resigned as Grammar School Master in 1839 and formed a pastoral charge which initially comprised churches at Whittier's Ridge and Bocabec among the immigrants of St. Patrick.

Until 1844, finance and the legal position of the Presbyterian Church in the colony were two problems which occupied much

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81. James Hannay, History of New Brunswick (Saint John:1909), I, p. 440.
82. Presbyterian Guardian, August 1, 1838.

of the attention of the denomination. In 1834, on the legal premise that the whole body of British common and statutory law was effective in any colony settled by British subject, the Session of Greenock Church petitioned the Colonial Secretary for an annual subsidy to the congregation on the grounds that the Church of Scotland was an established church within the United Kingdom. Provincial Secretary Odell denied the legal basis of the petition,

> "excepting to Saint John, to which place the parliamentary grant is confined".[83]

The debate continued until, in 1837, the Session appointed a committee to,

> "take steps to secure the lands tendered by the government".[84]

The rights of the Church of Scotland as part of the Establishment were thus formally legally recognized and five hundred acre glebes were granted to the Presbyterian pastoral charges at St. Andrews and St. James.[85]

Greenock Church had been incorporated as a legal entity in 1826 under an act of the Legislature by which the corporate powers were vested in the Session, the members of which were elected by the pewholders.[86] In 1832 this act was repealed and both the Greenock and the Scotch Ridge churches came under the general act incorporating the Church of Scotland in New Brunswick. By this

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83. Greenock Church Session Records 1824-1850.
84. Ibid.
85. New Brunswick Crown Lands Office, Consolidated Land Grants in New Brunswick, 1766-1850.
86. Cockburn, op. cit., p. 3.

act, secular and temporal offices were divided. A Board of Trustees to administer all property and financial affairs was to be elected annually by the pewholders of each congregation while the ruling elders were, in practice, ordained for life by the presbytery.[87] The clergy, as a result of a compromise between Church of Scotland and Secession principles, were to be chosen by the elders and trustees with the consent of the congregation, which was defined to consist of all pewholders and communicants.

No policy of financing missions was enunciated by the Glasgow Society. In general the congregations made their own financial arrangements with each minister and salaries varied greatly depending upon the time, the place, and the individual. St. Andrews originally agreed to pay MacLean £250 per annum.[88] The Presbyterian custom was to guarantee the clergyman's salary by using the pew rents as surety. This system generally failed in practice. In 1836, MacLean received only £158.9.5½ of his £250 salary, while the pew rents were in arrears to him for more than £465.[89]

Methodism had been introduced among the poorer groups of St. Andrews society by McColl as early as 1800, but it had not shown the growth which had been exhibited by his societies in the

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87. Statutes of New Brunswick, 2 William IV, C. 18.
88. Greenock Church Session Records 1824-1850.
89. Ibid.

less prosperous areas of the county. In 1830 the London Committee divided the St. Stephen circuit into two, and the St. Andrews class, together with the hinterland classes at Digdeguash and Bocabec (St. Patrick's), became a circuit with its own missionary.[90]

After 1830 the Baptists became increasingly active. Establishing their stronghold in St. George, they proceeded to enter the neighbouring St. Andrews area.

Baptist development at this time resulted from the growth of the home missions programme within the Association, a loose confederation of Regular Baptist churches. New Brunswick was divided into four parts, of which Charlotte was one, and an intensive programme of evangelism was begun. Under this programme, "messengers", in the form of one or two ministers from other churches, spent a period of several weeks in a particular area, and attempted to organize the converts, along with any existing members, into a new church. As a result of the work, the Oak Bay (St. David) church was reconstituted and a new congregation was formed at The Ledge (St. Stephen) in 1834. Rollingdam (2nd St. Patrick), Bayside (1st St. Andrews), and St. Andrews (2nd St. Andrews) were organized in 1838, and Grand Manan and Baillie (1st St. James) in 1843.[91]

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90. See p. 123.
91. Bill, op. cit., Ch. 11.

In the St. Andrews community area, Baptist expansion was confined to the rural areas of St. Andrews and St. Patrick parishes. Within the port of St. Andrews the evangelical position which the Baptists traditionally occupied was already occupied by the Methodists. Consequently, although a small church was organized in 1838, it disappeared within a year.

The seeds containing the decline of St. Andrews as the commercial and industrial centre of the county were sown as early as 1830 when the British government granted trading concessions on the British market as compensation for opening the West Indies market to American competition. The port of St. Andrews had a poor harbour containing a bar and a ledge.[92] Larger ships were aground twelve hours of the day due to the tides of Passamaquoddy Bay. The large timber had been cut well back from the shores and riverbanks and the parish was able to provide only small trees for export purposes. The West Indies trade had used small ships and the principal exports had been fish and small varieties of sawn lumber such as staves and deals. These St. Andrews had been able to provide, particularly after becoming a free port in 1821.[93] The British market required heavier ships and the principal export was squared timber. Consequently commerce began to move to more suitable areas where water power and deep port facilities could be

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92. MacGregor, op. cit., p. 252.
93. Easterbrook and Aitken, op. cit., p. 344.

obtained: at St. Stephen on the St. Croix and St. George on the Magaguadavic.

The decade of the 1840's became one of social and economic revolution for St. Andrews. Not only did economic prosperity enter into a gradual but steady decline, but bitter social and religious conflicts erupted in the major community institutions -- the Church of England and the Church of Scotland. Into this flux arrived a number of Irish Roman Catholic labourers, and for a time there was growing alarm that the American Protestant tradition of a half-century would be destroyed.

As a result of the depression which began in 1843, sons of native farmers tended to remain on the farm or to take land grants of their own. In St. Patrick, where the immigrants had concentrated on lumbering, the transition to farming doubled farm acreage. Farm acreage also doubled in St. George. St. Patrick now became the principal agricultural area in the county supplanting St. Andrews which had been so since 1784. The total farm production of St. Patrick's by 1851 was greater than that of any two other parishes combined.[94]

Several basic problems beset the Church of England in this period, some of which were shared with other groups. These

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94. Colony of New Brunswick, Journal of House Assembly, 1852, Appendix: 1851 Census, Charlotte County.

problems included finances, centralization of authority, and theological concepts.

The Church of England clergymen had each received £200 per annum from the S.P.G. since 1813. In 1834 these stipends were reduced to £150, with a further provision that new clergymen taking up posts would receive only £100, the remaining £100 and free rectory to be made up by the local parish. This arrangement was continued until 1859 when new clergy receiving appointments were to be paid entirely by their parishioners unless the parish was designated a mission charge. The size of the salaries caused discontent even in the more prosperous urban areas which were required to meet only one-quarter of the rector's salary after 1834. In the newer, poorer, rural parishes such as St. David's, St. Patrick's, Campobello, and Grand Manan, the concept that a £100 salary, several times the cash income of a working man, must be supplemented by at least another £100 from the parish seemed unreasonable to the farmers, fishermen, and labourers who made up the population.

To add to the problems of centralization was the unwillingness or the inability of the Bishop of Nova Scotia to travel frequently to the various parts of his Diocese. After sixteen years during which there were no visitations, Bishop Charles Inglis made a visit to Charlotte in 1826. Alley had completed construction of All Saints Church in St. Andrews the previous year and it was

consecrated by the Bishop. On the same day a class of 113 received the rite of confirmation, quadrupling the number of communicants in the parish.[95] At St. Stephen he consecrated Christ Church which had been built eight years previously, but the low esteem in which Thomson was held in that parish was reflected in the small number of confirmations (twenty-four).[96] The Bishop's second visit occurred nine years later at which time he consecrated St. Peter's and St. Jude's churches in Milltown and Upper Mills.[97] No further visits were made until after the creation of the Diocese of Fredericton in 1845. Under these circumstances the creation of any strong bond of loyalty to the episcopacy was virtually impossible, and authority within the local parishes resided principally with the vestries who looked to the more accessible Lieutenant-Governor as their patron. Church administration, therefore, remained essentially congregational.

For a short time it had seemed as if Presbyterianism might become the dominant religious force in the county. In 1838 there were four clergy in the county: MacLean at St. Andrews; MacIntyre at St. James (Scotch Ridge); Atkinson at St. George; Cassilis among the Irish settlements in St. Patrick. With the promise of still a fifth minister for Grand Manan, and with the group of Loyalist Presbyterians supplemented several times over by the continuing Ulster

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95. St. Andrews Vestry Records 1786-1837.
96. Hailstone Manuscript.
97. Ibid.

and Scottish migration, the ultimate success of the Presbyterian cause in Charlotte seemed assured.

As rapidly as success had seemed to come, it dissipated. Late in 1839, MacIntyre died and a successor was not found for three crucial years. Atkinson left in 1841 claiming insufficient support in the St. George area,[98] and MacLean resigned in 1844 to take the chair of Theology at Edinburgh University.[99] The result was that in 1844 the elderly Cassilis complained to the Society that he was the only Presbyterian minister in the county. At that time he was preaching at Pleasant Ridge, Digdeguash, Bocabec, and Whittier's Ridge in St. Patrick; Mascarene and Second Falls in St. George, as well as services at Greenock Church in St. Andrews.

The situation was soon partially rectified. Clergy arrived in both St. Andrews and St. James by 1845. In that same year the Irish settlements at Waweig and Bocabec were organized into the pastoral charge of St. Patrick, and the Rev. William Millen was sent as their minister. The hopes of the budding Presbyterian enterprise were soon blasted however by the Disruption in Scotland.

Nowhere did the effects of the Disruption of 1843 manifest themselves more fully than in Charlotte County. The New Bruns-

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98. W. C. Atkinson, A Historical and Statistical Account of New Brunswick (Edinburgh:1844), p. 47.
99. Greenock Church Session Book 1824-1850.

wick clergy divided ten to three in favour of the Church of Scotland; the Charlotte clergy one to two in favour of the Free Church of Scotland. St. Andrews remained within the Established Church, while the charges of St. James and St. Patrick with their clergy, the Rev. Andrew Stevens and the Rev. William Millen, initially comprised two-thirds of the Free Church Synod.[100] In 1856, by authority of the New Brunswick Synod, the Charlotte County pastoral charges were constituted as the St. Stephen Presbytery of the Free Church of Scotland.

Greenock Church, St. Andrews, which remained the only active congregation in the Church of Scotland Synod of Charlotte, existed in solitary grandeur. After 1858, as the Presbytery of St. Stephen expanded its influence, the St. Andrews church found itself isolated sixty miles from the nearest congregation in its Synod with the exception of two small rural groups in St. Patrick which were absorbed into the St. Andrews charge.

The division between Established Church and Free Church among the congregations of Charlotte was essentially social. The St. Andrews church, with most of its members drawn from early Loyalist elements, was dominated by its professional, official, and business classes, having the more cosmopolitan outlook of an

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100. Pine Hill Archives, Minute Book of Presbytery of St. Stephen (Free Church) 1854-1870.

urban free port and still in 1844 relatively wealthy, its adherents (500) comprising one-quarter of the population of the port, remained firmly within the Establishment.[101]

While the bulk of the St. Andrews "Loyalist" Presbyterians were probably Scots, their mentality was that of third generation natives whose religious background had been tempered by thirty years of worship in a Church of England under an Anglican rector, and whose memories of Scotland were those of a vague sentimentality passed from a parent or grandparent.

To the first generation Scottish or Irish immigrant, the moral implications of the causes of the Disruption touched a more tender nerve. The Free Church congregations were, for the most part, rural; their members comparatively poor, uneducated and puritan in outlook. New Brunswick was merely a religious extension of the homeland and the principles involved in the Disruption were universal. The Free Church congregations tended to be at the same time more dogmatic and more evangelical.

The denomination most alien to the established community was the Roman Catholic. In a century not renowned for its broad-

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101. Despite many exaggerated concepts of the size of the port, it is doubtful if there were ever more than 2,000 people in the community. MacLean gives an official census figure of 1,532 for the rural areas of the parish in 1834 which would indicate a population of 1,955 for the port.

mindedness, the Roman Catholic church in Charlotte was tolerated but never accepted. The small groups of Roman Catholics prior to 1830 had provoked little interest, although a mission had been founded in St. Andrews shortly after 1820. The Rev. John Cummins remained priest-in-charge of the county with his centre at St. Andrews until 1838. As a steady trickle of Irish Roman Catholic immigrants entered the county, the St. Croix area was divided into two missions.

Cummins was transferred to the new mission at Milltown, St. Stephen,[102] and was replaced at St. Andrews by the Rev. James Quinn, an Irish priest, who was to become one of the most prominent clergymen of the county. Individual families did settle in St. Patrick and one group made the Roman Catholic settlement at Flume Ridge, but as a denomination the church remained primarily urban. In a society which had been bred upon the theology and history of the Reformation in conjunction with the equalitarian values of pioneer and American society, the theology and polity of the Roman Catholics was viewed with distrust and even fear. Two developments created the intense antipathy with which this denomination was viewed in the mid-nineteenth century, the one containing the germ of the other; the Irish migration and the Ulster migration. The impact of the Irish migration has been discussed at some length,

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102. Knowlton, op. cit., p. 76.

but what was most disturbing to leaders of other denominations was the sudden expansion of the church organization in Charlotte to meet the spiritual needs of the Irish Catholic immigrants. After 1830 the Protestant denominations tended increasingly to close ranks against this immigration. The port of St. Andrews was the place of arrival for most immigrants, the only Roman Catholic mission was there, and most of the Irish Catholics settled in the vicinity. MacLean estimated their numbers at 600 as early as 1838,[103] and the advent of nearly 1,000 Irish Roman Catholics into St. Andrews in one year (1847-48) evidently horrified the fundamental Protestantism of the bulk of the population. The arrival of the poverty-stricken refugees of the potato famine with their large families[104] created a fear that this was only the forerunner of an unceasing deluge.

Protestants of all shades and ethics ascribed to Irish Roman Catholics those vices most abhorrent to the essentially puritan morality of the period: drunkenness, idleness, ignorance, idolatry, degeneracy, uncleanliness, disloyalty to the Crown. The feeling against them was heightened by the large number of Irish Protestants, Ulstermen, and Orangemen, who arrived in the same period. The mild prejudices of the second and third generation Loyalists' descendents were transformed into a much more

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103. Presbyterian Guardian, July 18, 1838.
104. Public Archives of Canada, Census 439 OMR (1851 New Brunswick Census).

virulent form by these first generation Irish Orangemen who found no difficulty in transferring two centuries of antagonism across a few thousand miles of ocean; the environment might alter but the issues did not.

A second reason for the natives' dislike of the Irish was economic. The period 1842-54 was one of depression. The Irish arrival in 1847 provided a source of cheap labour in a county which already was experiencing widespread unemployment and depressed wages.

In the final analysis, the Roman Catholic church shared with the Free Church of Scotland a position as the principal social vehicle of this immigrant generation.

D - St. Stephen

The community of St. Stephen in the second period presented a contrast to that of St. Andrews. Whereas the latter contained a definitive, cohesive urban area, the former consisted of an almost continual string of villages along ten miles of the St. Croix. The original Loyalist settlements had all been within a few miles of the St. Croix, although the second generation began a movement into the interior of the county. The creation of St. James parish in 1812 severed most of the hinterland from St. Stephen and left it primarily a riverside parish. Consequently, being neither a port nor with any quantity of ungranted land, it was largely by-passed by the immigrant tide, and St. Stephen parish contained the highest proportion of Loyalists' children in the county. In 1851, more than eighty per cent of the parents of families in the parish were native-born.[105]

The situation was reversed in the hinterland parishes of St. James and St. David. St. Stephen natives pressed into St. James parish while the old Scotch Ridge settlements were augmented by Irish immigrants. The immigrants sometimes created new settlements, such as Baillie (1828) and Andersonville (1835),[106] sometimes augmented older native settlements, such as Tower Hill, and Scotch Ridge, and

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105. Public Archives of Canada, Census 439 OMR (1851 New Brunswick Census).
106. Ganong, op. cit., p. 127.

sometimes replaced the older Loyalist settlers, particularly among the Loyalist settlements in St. David's. By 1851, the great majority of the parents of families in these parishes were immigrants.

Thus the greater St. Stephen community was socially divided in the period, with the older river settlements retaining their dominant Methodist institutions, while immigrant impact upon the hinterlands was reflected in the rapid growth of Presbyterianism in the area. As in St. Andrews, the Church of England found itself divided between native and immigrant loyalties and traditions.

Until the 1830's St. Stephen remained primarily an area for the cutting and processing of wood products. Shipbuilding and most major commercial enterprises were centered in St. Andrews, although that port was becoming increasingly dependent upon the timber of the Upper St. Croix.

Because of the prosperity after 1815, the constant loss of population through emigration elsewhere diminished and the native population of St. Stephen parish doubled between 1824 and 1840.

This growth of the native population was reflected in the strength growth of its principal native social institution, the Methodist Church. Within this denomination the period 1815-30 is principally the completion of the story of Duncan McColl. By 1826 McColl was administering

seven societies containing a total of fourteen classes all on one circuit. The circuit's total length exceeded one hundred miles. Little expansion took place in the last decade of McColl's ministry. His age precluded the arduous journeys during the last few years of his life. He was sixty-seven in 1820 and keenly felt the onset of old age. Unlike Anglicanism, Methodism had never experienced the sometimes violent quarrels over the subject of control of church property. Under the "Discipline" of the Methodist church, title to all property was vested in the Conference -- all that is except the Charlotte County circuits where McColl had kept title himself. Realizing that his increasing infirmities made him unfit for circuit work, McColl turned over title of the church properties to the London Wesleyan Committee in 1826 in return for a pension upon retirement.[107] At the same time he requested a missionary to take charge of the more distant societies in St. David, St. Andrews, and St. Patrick. The missionary arrived in 1827, and McColl continued to minister to the societies at Saltwater, Milltown, and St. James.

In 1828 McColl announced his retirement which was to take place in the spring of 1829. In October of 1828, the Rev. George Morley, agent of the London Committee, arrived in St. Stephen at McColl's request to arrange the transfer of the circuits to another Superintendent. Morley's report sent on November 7, 1828, requested a missionary from England in the spring.

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107. "Memoirs of the Rev. Duncan McColl", British North American Wesleyan Magazine, 1842, p. 250.

> "The parishes of St. Stephen and St. David present as fair a field for labour as any in the province. McColl, the father of Methodism in southwestern New Brunswick, is old but strong and the great influence McColl has over his people might be very beneficially employed in assisting a new preacher to introduce it (the raising of money at class meetings) and to reconcile the people to what some of them might be averse".[108]

Morley was quite horrified at the fact that there was no organized method of raising money other than free-will offerings. He therefore proposed the reunion of the St. Stephen and St. David circuits, a unified financial system for the whole circuit, and the organization of a missionary society.

The difference between local and missionary opinion of the same question is reflected in a memorial sent by, "members and friends of the St. Stephen Methodist Society", just four days before Morley's report was submitted. The memorial honoured McColl, noting that he was now seventy-five years of age and still ministered to a total of seven preaching places. The memorial further stated that, "St. Stephen circuit is larger than any in the Maritime colonies: in 1827 McColl baptized ninety-six children and buried forty-eight people".[109] The recommendation is then made that instead of two circuits there should be four: St. James should be created as an independent circuit from St. Stephen, and St. Andrews-

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108. Kirk-McColl Church, St. Stephen, McColl Papers: Morley to London Committee, November 7, 1828.
109. Ibid.; Memorial to London Committee, November 3, 1828.

St. Patrick should comprise a fourth circuit distinct from St. David's. As a concession to missionary ideals the memorialists agreed that weekly and quarterly offerings should be taken and a missionary society formed, but the idea of reunion of St. Stephen and St. David was considered a last resort.

Morley's ideas on church finances, to be expected from a missionary agent, opened again a running battle between McColl and the London Committee. McColl had not been imposed upon the circuit from authority above but was himself a product of the community, and accepted as a religious and social leader because of his personal qualities and abilities. Such had been his prestige in the district that even the London Committee had not dared to force him to itinerate. McColl had firmly resisted any attempts to take up money collections for the minister's support during divine worship, and most of his salary was raised from the quarterly collections which, by 1829, exceeded £100 yearly on the St. Stephen circuit.[110] In addition there were the pew rents which were used for church maintenance. This was at a time when the vestry of St. Andrews informed the S.P.G. that it was impossible for the congregation to raise £50 in support of their minister.

McColl was an anachromism in the last decade of his

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110. Kirk-McColl Church, St. Stephen, Circuit Stewards Accounts, St. Stephen 1829-80. Subscriptions and salaries 1795-1829; Quarterly collections in 1797 amounted to £5.10.11½ of which McColl received £4.15.11½; in 1806 they were £12.11.2.

ministry. He had lived past the social and economic watershed of the post-war of 1812 era and, in effect, had outlived his own generation. His ideas and techniques were those of an earlier more primitive society than that which developed after 1815. With the death of his wife in 1819, he was practically the only survivor of that early group of converts who had gathered for house worship prior to 1790. So fundamental had been his ideas on personal regeneration and grace, that he would not permit Sunday Schools in which to bring children to church membership. Rather, membership was to be the direct result of an intense spiritual experience between the being and his creator, a highly personal matter which the individual must achieve by his own efforts. The great drawback to this concept was that there was no means of recruiting the second generation children of believers. Hence there was a great fluctuation in Methodist membership from year to year.[111] While a number of outside converts were received in the revivals of 1806, 1813, and 1815, the majority of the members received were the adolescent and adult children of Methodist parents. This dependence upon revivals was at once the strength and the weakness of the church, for although membership became much more stable with the introduction of Sunday Schools in 1837, the stress upon the personal means of grace was de-emphasized in favour of systematic recruitment among the adolescent Sunday scholars.

Despite these changing social conditions, McColl had im-

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111. Mount Allison Archives, Minutes of New Brunswick-Nova Scotia District Meetings. 1814, 1816, 1817. 118 members in 1814; 162 in 1816; and 122 in 1817.

pressed his character and his ideals so firmly upon the area of his work that his religious and social thought tended to become the cultural norm of the communities in the middle and upper St. Croix Valley. A virile, puritan Methodist ethic developed, which in time developed the authority of tradition, and upon which the social characteristics of other denominations floated but rarely penetrated. The extent of its domination of the thought of the area and the relative influence exerted by McColl can perhaps be appreciated when it is realized that, as late as 1861, nearly seventy per cent of all native heads of households in the parish of St. Stephen were Methodists.[112]

McColl was succeeded in 1829 by Richard Williams, an Englishman whose attitude was typical of the new English colonial missionary approach. As in the case of the Church of England, the first generation clergy had been the pioneers and the second generation were the organizers, moulding the work of their predecessors within the area to conform to the mores of the religious organization within the wider national culture.

Despite a brief feud between Williams and his parishioners over his attempts to "Methodize" the circuit,[113] Methodism in Charlotte progressed in the decade after 1830. In a typical London

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112. Public Archives of Canada, Census 449 OMR (1861 New Brunswick Census Manuscripts).
113. Mount Allison Archives, New Brunswick District Report, 1831.

Committee compromise, St. David's circuit had been reunited with St. Stephen, but St. Andrews, the shiretown, had been organized as a separate circuit.[114] The result was to leave the missionary in St. Stephen with ten preaching places and eighty-five per cent of the membership, while the St. Andrews minister had three preaching places and fifteen per cent of the membership. Even with this drawback, revivals in Milltown in 1836 doubled the size of the society there which then proceeded to build its own church.[115] The threat of Baptist invasion throughout the colony led the District Meeting in 1833 to recommend the use of the protracted meeting lasting two or three days as an answer to the Baptist Camp Meeting. The device was very successful and , in 1838, in a series of protracted meetings, the largest revival of the decade took place. By 1839 the St. Stephen circuit reported 340 communicants, making it the largest numerically in the colony.[116] The result was the division of the circuit with the societies in Milltown and St. James being incorporated in a new Milltown circuit. The following year, Milltown experienced its most violent revival,

> "scores of souls were brought under a religious influence, the altar was crowded with penitents seeking the mercy of God".[117]

An addition of fifty communicants as a result of this revival brought the circuit total to one hundred and seventy, only fifty less than the St. Stephen circuit, while the total number of ad-

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114. Ibid., 1831.
115. Ibid., 1836.
116. Ibid., 1839.
117. Ibid., 1840: Account of Religious State of Circuits.

herents on the two circuits exceeded 2,000.[118] A vigorous missionary programme after 1830 expanded the St. Stephen circuit into the frontier hinterland settlements of Lynnfield and Tower Hill where classes were organized among the native inhabitants who had entered these settlements.

Meanwhile, the dwindling ranks of the Church of England in the community were resuscitated by two arrivals. The first was that of the Rev. Dr. Skeffington Thomson, the second that of numbers of Irish and English Anglicans in the course of the great migration. The arrival of the Thomsons was the result of the decision of the S.P.G. to extend their missions in the Diocese of Nova Scotia, from nine in New Brunswick in 1816 at a cost of £3755, to sixteen in 1821 at a cost of £5215.[119] Dr. Skeffington Thomson was probably the outstanding individual in the history of the Church of England in Charlotte County. Irish in origin, former principal of the Clough Seminary, he had, in addition to his clerical duties, been a magistrate of his Irish county. So dedicated had he proved in the latter task that smugglers in the Clough area had promised to dispose of him permanently,[120] and it became desirable that he should leave Ireland for a time. He received the appointment to St. Stephen in 1821 on the understanding that the elderly rector, then nearing eighty-five, would retire

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118. Ibid.
119. U.N.B.Archives, S.P.G. Report, 1821, p. 219.
120. S. P. G. Letters from Nova Scotia: Thomson to S.P.G., May 2, 1822.

within a year. Two years later his brother received the newly created rectorate of St. George. Mr. Clarke, however, did not resign at the end of a year but continued to exercise his office for nearly four years. Tension between the old colonial minister and the aggressive young theologian continued to mount. The St. Stephen parish was in a weak position, its numbers decimated. The older minister would not retire and in a time when new immigrants were entering the county in considerable numbers and the Methodists were making serious inroads into Anglican strength, he refused to change or to permit his curate to change anything. By 1824, open emnity was the result. The vestry of St. Stephen, composed of natives of Loyalist descent, supported Clarke and sent letters of condemnation against Thomson to both the Bishop and the S.P.G.[121]

Thomson's outstanding work was with the Irish immigrants of the rural parishes. While a curate, he had begun work among the neglected Anglican families of St. David's. When Clarke finally died in 1825 at the age of eighty-eight, Thomson became Rector of St. Stephen and eventually carried his missionary work into St. James and St. Patrick parishes. The vestry at St. Stephen, however, continued to regard him with suspicion. He was doubly odious, he advocated administrative and liturgical change and he was Irish.

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121. Letterbooks of Bishop John Inglis: Clarke to John Inglis, August 14, 1824.

When in 1828 the vestry sent documentation of their charges against Thomson to Bishop Inglis,[122] Thomson was defended by his brother, the Rev. Samuel Thomson at St. George, who stated that a majority of the church population of the doctor's parishes supported him, as would be proven by a petition in favour of Thomson being circulated at the time. To this the vestry replied in a tone of condescension which expresses more than anything else the gulf which lay between native and immigrant:

> "We expect it (the petition) will get more support in St. David for most there are Irish immigrants in favour of him -- but few in St. David attend church anyway".[123]

Thomson remained and succeeded in overcoming the greater part of the antipathy toward his administrative and theological views; his Irish background he was never able to overcome in St. Stephen. His interest lay in the rural parishes and in 1840, at his own request,[124] a curate was appointed to care for St. Stephen. Thomson organized missions at St. David's in 1824 and St. James in 1825, and as the congregation flourished as a result of the influx of immigrants, he was responsible for the construction of St. David's Church at Oak Bay in 1835, and St. Thomas' Church in St. James in 1837.[125] Within his own parish, he challenged Methodist

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122. Letterbooks of Bishop John Inglis: Inglis to Thomson, November 24, 1828.
123. S.P.G. Letters from New Brunswick: Wardens and Vestry of St. Stephen to S.P.G., June 14, 1828.
124. S.P.G. Letters from New Brunswick: Thomson to S.P.G., March 13, 1839; Thomson to S.P.G., June 14, 1828.
125. W. O. Raymond, Progress of Church of England in Seven Rural Deaneries (Saint John:1897), Deanery of St. Andrews.

control of Milltown, constructing St. Peter's Church there and St. Jude's in Upper Mills.[126] There, however, the results were disappointing. In 1839, he refers to,

> "the well-filled churches at St. Stephen, St. James, and St. David, and the well nigh empty chapels-of-ease at the Milltowns, on account of the new non-conformist mill-owner and the constantly changing millhands".[127]

In 1840 he determined upon the most ambitious scheme of his career, to begin a mission among the newly-settled Irish of St. Patrick, forty miles distant.

> "I am always keen of the spread of church doctrines and Bible truth",

he wrote to the S.P.G.,

> "and St. Patrick's contains a majority of high church Irish Loyalists, true Enniskilleners from county Fermanagh who are preparing to build a church".[128]

From 1840 onward he held monthly services at Christ Church, Elmsville, until in 1848 the mission was taken over by his son, the Rev. John Thomson.

In 1844, in a letter to the S.P.G., Thomson summed up his accomplishments in the county:

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126. S.P.G. Letters from New Brunswick: Thomson to S.P.G., August 29, 1831.
127. Ibid., March 13, 1839.
128. Ibid., February 14, 1840.

> "When I arrived there was one church, now there are six, five of which are better filled than that one was. Then there were four or five church families, now several hundred, then eighteen communicants, now above one hundred".[129]

As a result of his great interest in missions work among the Irish immigrants, Thomson took the lead in pressing for a Diocesan home missions society. This was finally established in 1837 as the Diocesan Church Society. The Society's financial future was secured in 1852 when, by the Will of the late Chief Justice Chipman, the interest on £10,000 was bequeathed to the organization.[130] In the first fifteen years of its existence £455 was contributed to church expansion in Charlotte, exclusive of salaries.[131] Aid was given for the construction of churches at Elmsville (St. Patrick); Grand Harbour (Grand Manan); Chamcook (St. Andrews); Christ Church (St. Stephen); Oak Bay (St. David). In 1848 St. Patrick's and in 1850 St. David's were separated from St. Stephen and placed under the missionary sponsored by the Society, John Thomson, son of the Rector of St. Stephen.

The origins of Presbyterianism in the St. Stephen area were found in the Scotch Ridge where the congregation was one of the first to be offered the services of a clergyman by the Glasgow

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129. Ibid.: January 13, 1844.
130. C. F. Pascoe, Two Hundred Years of S.P.G. (London:1901), p. 132.
131. U.N.B.Archives, Diocesan Church Society Reports, 1840, 41, 42, 44, 49, 50, 53.

Society. Before accepting the offer which was made in 1825, the congregation determined to construct a church.[132] Subscriptions were raised among the Presbyterians of St. James, St. Stephen, and St. Andrews and the church was finally completed in 1832.[133] Considerable difficulty was then encountered in procuring a minister from the Society, for the church elders spoke primarily Gaelic. Finally, late in 1832, Peter MacIntyre was sent as minister. His pastoral charge, St. James, with its centre at Scotch Ridge, had a population scattered over a sixteen mile area. His congregation comprised two-thirds of the 927 people in the parish.[134] From St. James, MacIntyre began to conduct a mission among the small groups of Presbyterians in St. Stephen, using the Methodist church for afternoon services. He found conditions difficult and, in correspondence with the Glasgow Colonial Society in 1836, he referred to Dr. Thomson as, "an Anglican minister, crafty as a fox",[135] and of the Methodists as, "a sly, sneaking set, having no learning and encompassing sea and land to make converts".[136] Even so, with the great potential of the Irish and Scottish migrants, Presbyterian success in the St. Stephen community area seemed insured by the late 1830's.

Increasingly the sawmills of Charlotte were concentrated

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132. Patterson, op. cit., Appendix F.
133. Archibald, op. cit., p. 63.
134. Presbyterian Guardian, August 1, 1838.
135. Archibald, op. cit., p. 82.
136. Ibid.

at the centres of water power and, after 1830, although many tiny sawmills remained, the bulk of the units of production was located at the villages of Union Mills, Milltown, and Upper Mills in the parish of St. Stephen. In 1851, there were a total of 103 sawmills in the county employing 1,617 millhands, and of these mills only thirty-one were in St. Stephen parish, exactly the same number as were to be found in St. George. The difference lay in size. The seventy-two mills outside St. Stephen employed an average of six men apiece, whereas the St. Stephen mills averaged almost forty men, for a total of 1,192 employees within the single parish.[137]

The more affluent lumber merchants of the St. Croix Valley began to acquire an economic complex which included not only mills but also timber rights on Crown lands and company stores, and millmen were paid with chits redeemable only at these stores. This cram price system was well established by 1840, the year when an American Baptist preacher was forced to leave Milltown, Maine, by the business community of the area because of his attacks upon the system before his congregation of millhands.[138]

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137. Colony of New Brunswick, Journal of House of Assembly, 1852, Appendix: Census of 1851, Charlotte County.
138. Calais Free Public Library, Man writing of his recollections of 1840 in Calais Advertizer, William-Brown Scrapbooks.

Stephen merchants had the advantage over their counterparts in St. George of being able to employ the resources of both the United States and New Brunswick, and to consider them, for all economic purposes, as one. By 1854, with three-quarters of the county's secondary lumbering industry concentrated in St. Stephen parish, it had the added advantage of a smaller lumber industry on the Washington County side largely controlled by New Brunswickers. This complex was almost completely controlled by nine families represented by twelve men -- Todd (3), Eaton (2), Boardman, McAllister, Hill, Murchie, McAdam, Gates, and Wentworth.[139] Of this group of local capitalists, Hill, the Todds, the Eatons, Gates, Wentworth, and Boardman were Americans naturalized in New Brunswick, Murchie was a New Brunswicker of the St. Stephen settlement, McAdam was a Scottish-born New Brunswicker and McAllister was of Loyalist descent (Cape Ann Association). These men, who had all originally been lumber merchants, represented the wealth and power acquired as a result of the lumber operations in the period after 1815. As a result of Reciprocity, they began an economic reign in 1857 which was to last unbroken until 1873.[140]

The period 1842 to 1854 represented a steadily worsening economic depression as changes in British commercial policy gradually whittled at the traditional New Brunswick markets. Conversely,

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139. Davis, op. cit., pp. 207-208.
140. Ibid., p. 205.

the period after 1840 was one of economic progress for the Washington County, Maine, communities as the expansion into the midwest and the demands of the Mexican War created a rapidly expanding market. In the decade after 1840, Calais, Maine, finally surpassed St. Stephen, New Brunswick, in population. Although the Calais lead was a temporary one, it indicates the effect of depression on the New Brunswick community. The most interesting social phenomenon of this depression period in Charlotte was a heavy immigration and a heavy emigration occurring simultaneously in the county. As the third generation Loyalists' descendents emigrated in increasing numbers to the more prosperous United States, they were replaced in Charlotte by refugees from the Irish potato famine. Growth in most parishes was brought almost to a standstill in the period. Only in the parishes where immigration continued was any significant increase to be found. The parish which suffered the greatest loss was that with the largest native population: St. Stephen. An exodus, particularly between 1845 and 1850, numbering close to twelve hundred people, drove the population of the parish down from 3,400 in 1840, to 2,800 eleven years later.[141] Two distinct movements can be discerned in this St. Stephen emigration. A number of the migrants moved into the hinterland parish of St. James and took up farms in the eastern areas of that parish, where the population increased fifty per cent in this depression period.

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141. See Appendix A.

The majority migrated, primarily to the United States, thus decreasing still further the ratio of natives of Loyalist descent to British immigrants and their families. The acreage of improved farm-land rose steadily in most parishes, particularly the immigrant areas, as, for example, in St. James parish where acreage was nearly coubled. By contrast, so severe had been the St. Stephen emigration that farm acreage in that parish actually declined by one-third between 1840 and 1851.[142]

Roman Catholicism was almost unknown in the St. Stephen community area prior to 1815. Small numbers of Irish Catholic labourers found their way to St. Stephen in the 1830's, and there were individual families among the Irish immigrants in St. James and St. David. In 1837 a small mission was established at the village of Milltown, but it is doubtful if there was any substantial number of Roman Catholics in the area in the second period.

Methodism in Charlotte during this depression suffered an eclipse. In the early period the Methodist influence in the county had been second only to that of the Church of England and, in the period after 1815, McColl's baptisms had outnumbered those of the Church of England clergy.[143]

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142. New Brunswick, Journal of House of Assembly, 1841, 1852. Census Returns: Charlotte County.
143. Kirk-McColl Church, St. Stephen, McColl Records of Burials and Baptisms, 1794-1848. All Saints Church, St. Andrews, Parish Records of Baptisms, 1816-1839.

In the period after 1820 two factors gradually altered this situation. The influx of immigrants swelled both the population of the county and the influence of the Churches of England, Scotland, and Rome. What had been a proportionally large ratio of adherents in a population of perhaps 8,000 in 1820, became relatively insignificant among the 19,000 of 1851. The second factor was the heavy emigration after 1840 among the native-born where Methodist strength lay. This drain had been constant until 1816. At that time the flow was largely halted until the early 1840's when depression again forced the widespread emigration of the greater part of the young third generation, a movement which more seriously weakened the Methodists than any other denomination. So severe was this drain that the number of Methodist adherents in the county was considerably fewer in 1855 than it had been in 1840 despite a number of converts added in the period.[144]

The social status of the Methodist adherents had gradually altered as the first generation Loyalists blended into the second in the decade after 1810. Between the first generation Methodists and Anglicans there had existed a high social barrier. Poverty had been the hallmark of Methodism and, though one or two small businessmen were numbered among McColl's followers, almost all of them were lumbermen, farmers, and labourers. By 1830,

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144. Mount Allison Archives, Report of New Brunswick Methodist District Meeting, 1840, 1855.

however, particularly in St. Stephen parish, Methodism had become respectable. Numbered among its members were businessmen, lumber merchants, an occasional official, and several mill owners. McColl did not live to see this evolution come to its full fruition in the third generation, but his individualistic values were already becoming outmoded by 1820.

As the complexity of colonial society increased, the holding together of diverse, frequently hostile social groups became one of the principal problems with which the Methodist denomination had to contend. The gradually widening gaps between groups within the denomination were social and economic rather than racial or theological. What had been poverty in the Loyalist generation and the mild prosperity of the lumber merchant in the first native-born generation had become wealth in the third generation of a number of Methodist families. What had been a relatively homogeneous pioneer society in the Loyalist generation had become increasingly complex and differentiated, and the extremes of wealth and poverty were increasingly apparent. McColl's early converts had included almost all the American pre-Loyalists settled in the St. Stephen-Calais area. Their roots lay in Congregationalism, and this movement, feeding from its New England origins, frequently made incursions into McColl's monopoly in Calais.

Two movements, precipitated the division which rapidly developed after McColl's death. The first was the newly introduced

emphasis on centralization of authority and rigid adherence to Methodist discipline, which was accompanied by an increasing stress placed upon emotionalism by the rapidly changing Methodist clergy. Throughout the colony, the Baptists were regarded as the greatest threat to the growth of Methodism and as a result, there was an increasing emphasis upon mass evangelism. McColl had been experimentalist and enthusiastic, but was essentially a pietist. Among the labourers of Milltown the new methods of mass evangelism, typified by the protracted meeting and after 1850 by the camp meeting, were highly successful. To many of the rising upper middle-class Methodists they appeared increasingly vulgar. The second movement was the development of Universalism and Unitarianism. In one form or another these philosophies had arrived in the area with the Loyalists. McColl early spoke of the Universalism to be found in St. David's and the same complaint was echoed by Andrews in 1787 when he stated, "many in St. Andrews tainted with the Universal doctrine".[145] The movement seems to have remained latent until after the War of 1812 when American Unitarians became increasingly active, and in 1819 McColl delivered a number of sermons against this heresy.[146] In 1825, Archdeacon Best noted that in St. David there was, "one meetinghouse occupied by nondescripts whose doctrines andprinciples are considered baneful to society".[147] Both Universalism and Unitarianism became popular among the prosperous

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145. S.P.G. Letters from New Brunswick: Andrews to S.P.G., August 5, 1787.
146. Knowlton, op. cit., p. 146.
147. U.N.B. Archives, New Brunswick Despatches Sent, Microfilm Reel 26, Rev. George Best to Rev. Mr. Hamilton, April 27, 1825.

segments of Calais society and in 1826 a series of lectures was given in St. Stephen and St. David on behalf of the Universalists by a clergyman from Eastport, Maine. In 1836 a small Universalist Society began in Milltown, N. B., among several American-born New Brunswickers. Five years later this group built a small chapel.[148]

The increasing discontent with Methodist discipline, particularly among certain classes in Milltown, was most evident over economic issues. Methodism, puritanistic, sabbatarian, prohibitionist, rigidly moralistic, and dogmatic, clashed headlong with managerial and proprietor groups who insisted upon lumber crews working sabbaths and labouring a fifteen-hour day. These practices made difficult the carrying out of these week-day religious exercises which, through class and prayer meetings, played such a prominent role in Methodist life. A revolt began in Milltown in 1845. By the mid-nineteenth century this area represented at one and the same time the most primitive, widely diversified and industrial society in the county. Saltwater was the commercial and shipbuilding centre for the area, but it was in Milltown that the huge sawmill industry was concentrated. In the village lived most of the lumber barons of the county as well as the mill labourers. The great lumber drives from the upper St. Croix kept the community in a perpetual state of chaos. More than any other part of the

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148. Knowlton, op. cit., p. 122.

county, Milltown resembled a frontier community. Cooney, writing in 1852, makes what is certainly a prejudiced but probably reasonably exact statement of Milltown society, and the principal areas of contention between religious and secular leaders of the community.

> "People are Americans, Nova Scotian, natives, Irish Roman Catholics....the rudeness of the working classes; speculative spirit and sharp practice of merchants and manufacturers prevalence of vulgar and profane habits; flagrant violations of the Sabbath; infidel opinions... Methodism is too pure for many who permit logging on the Sabbath, usury, smuggling, and extortion".[149]

In 1849 the circuit steward and, "a number of members left the church and exerted themselves to the utmost to destroy our influence and to establish an American Methodist minister".[150] Failing this, the dissident group united with a group of Milltown, Maine, Congregationalists, and procured the services of a Congregationalist minister. The bitterness of the dispute culminated in the burning of the Milltown Methodist Church. The following year both Methodists and Congregationalists constructed a new church building and the latter group drew up their Articles of Faith and Covenant.[151]

The schismatics were almost entirely from a single social group within the Methodist church. The twenty-nine charter members

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149. Robert Cooney, Autobiography of a Wesleyan Methodist Missionary (Montreal:1856), p. 162.
150. Mount Allison Archives, New Brunswick District Methodist Report, 1845.
151. Milltown United Church, Record Book of First Orthodox Congregational Church in St. Stephen, N.B., 1845-94.

of the new Congregational Society included eighteen families of which two were Todds, two were Eatons, and one was a McAllister.[152] In 1849, by an act of the Legislature, all male communicants were created a corporation to transact church business and hold all property. The congregation entered the Maine Congregational Union and experienced a slow but constant growth over the next two decades.[153] The church was the church of the prosperous and this was reflected in the method of church finance which was unique and implied a bourgeois congregation. Expenses were borne by an ad valorum tax on the property of all members, the tax running from $5.00 to $450.00 per year depending upon the value of the property.[154]

To the more genteel Methodist dissidents, Congregationalism became a stepping-stone to the Universalist faith. The original group of Universalists in Milltown was soon dominated by wealthy newcomers who appropriated the society for themselves and turned it into an exclusive religious organization. The accidental burning of the original chapel in 1854 completed this process. A larger church was built and the congregation was incorporated in 1857 by a legislative act which declared a group comprising three Todds, four Hills, one McAllister, and one Hall, to be a body politic and corporation of the First Universalist Society of St. Stephen and their heirs to have succession of the corporation for-

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152. Ibid.
153. Ibid.
154. Knowlton, op. cit., p. 114.

ever. The Society was always small, its very existence dependent solely upon the whims of several wealthy members, and consequently its period of existence corresponded almost identically with that of the prosperity of the lumber industry. The movement, differing so radically from the community mores, never took root on the New Brunswick side of the border and its doubtful respectability derived entirely from the social position of its leading adherents.

Methodism suffered serious blows in Charlotte after 1845. Coupled with the loss of most of the wealthier members at Milltown was an economic depression which resulted in a mass exodus of members from that area in the latter half of the 1840's. By 1851 membership had fallen below one hundred and it was not until the return of prosperity in 1855 that the circuit was able to report a halt in the decline.[155] In addition, relations between the London Committee and the New Brunswick District grew progressively strained. Not only were colonial clergy regarded as inferior by the Committee, but they dictated the policy of evangelism to the District. The district plan for evangelizing Grand Manan was vetoed by London, and the St. Stephen minister had no assistant for his large circuit for more than a decade.

Finances were another sore point. The London Committee

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155. Mount Allison Archives, New Brunswick District Methodist Reports, 1847-55 inclusive.

provided a complicated system of allowances for ministers, allowing a set sum for each dependent, for house, firewood, correspondence, rent, laundry, servants, etc. Thus a married Methodist minister in the period after 1830 received as large a salary as did an Anglican. Every Methodist Society maintained its buildings from pew rents. In 1850, at the height of the depression, the expenses of the minister on the St. Stephen circuit were £206.6s.7d. of which the circuit was able to raise only £124.10s.7½d from offerings, and the London Committee was forced to contribute the rest.[156]

In retrospect, the period had been a grim one for Methodism in Charlotte. Advances were made in the 1830's, but the schisms and the depression of the following two decades more than offset the early gains. New Brunswick Methodism, like Presbyterianism and Anglicanism, was independent by 1860 but unlike either of the latter denominations it had no immigration to offset the emigration of the period.

On June 24, 1854, by permission of the Free Church of Scotland Synod of New Brunswick, the Presbytery of St. Stephen was constituted. The first act of the Presbytery was the ordination of the elders of the Session of St. Stephen to complete

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156. Kirk-McColl Church, St. Stephen Methodist Circuit Stewards Accounts 1829-80.

the organization of that congregation,[157] William Elder, an Irish Presbyterian from Donegal, having been ordained as minister. The Free Church Synod, which had taken the precaution of affiliating itself with the Irish Presbyterian Church, brought almost all of the Irish Presbyterians of Charlotte into the St. Stephen Presbytery.

The Disruption provided one great benefit for the Presbyterian cause in Charlotte: it thrust the Free Churches into a relatively independent ecclesiastical position. The establishment of the Presbytery of St. Stephen in 1854 introduced, for the first time, an era of self-sufficiency and systematic expansion. The administration and policy-making machinery was brought within the scope and control of the individual congregations. The two Free Church charges in the county in 1850 (St. James and St. Patrick) were increased to four by 1860 by the addition of St. Stephen and Baillie.[158] The four clergy in the Presbytery organized a home missions programme which, in 1859, included services during the winter in the lumber camps -- a most impressive undertaking -- and a system of evangelizing the neighbouring areas under which the minister from Baillie began services at Tower Hill, Moore's Mills, and St. David's Ridge (all in St. David's parish); the minister from St. Patrick in Mascaren and Pennfield; from St. James to Lower Little Ridge; and from St. Stephen to The Ledge.

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157. Pine Hill Archives, Minute Bool of Presbytery of St. Stephen (Free Church), 1854-1870.
158. Ibid.

By 1860, for the first time in the county's history, the Presbyterian denomination was holding its position. In poorer areas, congregational salaries were supplemented by missionary grants previous to 1844, but after the Disruption, the Free Church clergy were entirely dependent for their support upon their congregations. Most Presbyterian strength was concentrated in the rural areas and salaries were comparatively low, the St. James minister receiving £130 in the 1860's.[159]

Despite the problems of the period, the Church of England in the St. Stephen community area experienced a rapid growth, although most of its gains were registered among English and Irish Anglican immigrants. Immigrants dominated the rural churches in St. James and St. David, although in St. Stephen the conflict, complicated by the movement of the late immigrant Anglicans into the parish and the growing evangelical-tractarian controversy remained unresolved.

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159. Ibid.

E - St. George

Settlement in the St. George community area, which included the parishes of St. George and Pennfield, extended into two areas. The first was a group of small settlements scattered along the South Shore from Digdeguash to Dipper Harbour. The second, at right angles to the first, followed the Magaguadavic River between the First and Second Falls. At the First Falls, there developed the village of St. George, which bore much the same economic relationship to eastern Charlotte as St. Stephen did to western. Early in the second period small sawmills were scattered along both the South Shore and the Magaguadavic. The shift to the British market affected St. George parish much as it affected St. Stephen, although to a much lesser extent since the Magaguadavic had neither the power resources of the St. Croix, nor the advantages of easy access to the American market. After 1830 a slow but constant period of growth, supplemented by the British migration, set in.

The St. George community area had been largely ignored by the county's religious institutions prior to 1820. The only attempts at establishment of churches were made at the village of Magaguadavic in St. George parish. Here an attempt by Baptist evangelists to establish a congregation at the end of the eighteenth century failed. Here, too, McColl established a Methodist class which he periodically visited. The most consistent denomination, however, was the Church of England. Although it claimed the allegi-

ance of the more prominent citizens of the village area, it had little support in the hinterland areas of the community. In fact Archdeacon Best referred to it in 1825 as, "a section hostile to the Church of England".[160]

One centre of Baptist expansion in Charlotte was the large Quaker and Anabaptist colony at Beaver Harbour. While most of this group subsequently emigrated, a number of families remained in tiny scattered communities in Pennfield parish. By 1790 an American Quaker observed that most of the younger generation of Quakers were falling from the observance of Quaker tenets and were being absorbed into the local religious groups which were Anabaptist. Consequently, under the impact of Regular Baptist evangelism, the transition into the Association was accomplished with little difficulty.

Baptist churches in Charlotte, in many cases, grew from spontaneous local movements by pious individuals in tiny pioneer communities who sought a spiritual and social outlet by the formation of religious societies. Most of these groups developed among poorer families in relatively isolated areas. There was little feeling of loyalty to Church of England even when one was relatively close. The attitude of these groups towards the Established Church was essentially one of distrust, distrust both of a foreign religious body whose representative claimed superior spiritual powers, and of that

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160. U.N.B.Archives, New Brunswick Despatches Sent, Microfilm Reel 26: George Best to Rev. Mr. Hamilton, April 27, 1825.

representative whose intellectual abilities and finely-spun theological arguments offended the equalitarian instincts of these recent American transplants. Rabidly fundamentalist, they accepted no authority other than that which could be proved ad verbatim from the scriptures. Completely congregationalist in polity, they refused to accept even the (Baptist) Association as more than a coordinating body for missions work. The elected church officers ordained as clergy such as showed themselves to have a calling for the task. Within their own communities these religious organizations, largely based upon community consensus, became so entwined with the life and thought of the individual in the community that they eventually gave the principal direction to its social life and mores. To a much greater extent than the Church of England, these Baptist churches in their scattered rural and fishing communities came to be the de facto established church in that they were most directly involved with the greatest number of people. A man of the soil or the sea had little opportunity for social distinction in terms of the larger society, but he could, as a reward for faithful service, become an officer of his local church, a post of undisputed authority and position within the social terms of reference of the typical farmer or labourer. Many of these churches were formed several years before being admitted to the Association, and some, more Congregational than most, remained as Independent Baptists for decades. At worst these local religious organizations were anti-intellectual, rejecting eighteen hundred years of theological thought, and reflecting the reaction against the rationalism of the more conservative elements

of New England Congregationalism. At best they became a force for order, albeit a puritan morality, which offset the harsh and frequently coarse nature of the pioneer environment. In the final analysis they were the reflection of the society in which they existed, and rose in response to felt needs within that society.

The establishment of a solid and stable Baptist organization in Charlotte was primarily due to missionary work by Baptist leaders from Nova Scotia. James and Edward Manning, two of the "Fathers", preached along the South Shore of Charlotte as early as 1796. More significant was the work of the evangelist Thomas Ansley, who arrived in the county in 1804. As a result of revivals in St. David, St. George, and St. Andrews, the First Baptist Church of St. George was organized in 1806 with nine members.[161] In the same year the First St. Andrews Baptist Church at Bayside with forty-two members was formed,[162] as well as a small group in St. David's.[163] After the departure of the evangelist in 1807 the three congregations struggled to maintain themselves. Although the Bayside congregation erected a church in 1810, the existence of all three groups was precarious. Despite a revival at St. George in 1820 there was not an active Baptist congregation in Charlotte County in 1830.

The development of permanent organized Baptist churches

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161. United Baptist Church, St. George, First St. George Baptist Church Records, 1831-1904.
162. Acadia Archives, First St. Andrews (Bayside) Baptist Church Records, 1838-1926.
163. Saunders, op. cit., p. 219.

in the St. George area was precipated by three events: the British migration, the return of Ansley in 1832, and the organization of a home mission in Charlotte County by the New Brunswick Association in 1834. Most of the British immigrants, who began arriving in the St. George community area shortly after 1820, settled among the native population. While most were Irish, two small Scottish Highland settlements were made on the South Shore in the late 1820's; one at Mascarene, the other at Letang.[164] In addition to greatly enlarging the population of the area, the new migration added a large number of Irish and Scottish Presbyterians. It was at this juncture that the common Calvinism shared by Regular Baptist and Presbyterians presented an opportunity for Baptist evangelism. Having no church organization of their own, many Presbyterian immigrants found themselves easily accommodated within the theologically similar Baptist congregations. Ansley himself remained in St. George only a few years. In the revival which ensued, the most prominent convert was Samuel Robinson, a candidate for the Presbyterian ministry. Within a year, Robinson was ordained as minister of the reconstituted First St. George Baptist Church by the two church deacons, a position which he retained until 1840.[165]

Periodic Church of England services had been held in St. George by Andrews, but it was not until 1821 that, under the urging

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164. Ganong, op. cit., p. 170.
165. First St. George Baptist Church Records.

of Alley, construction was begun on a church. In the following year arrangements were made to procure the services of a rector, the Rev. Samuel Thomson, brother of the curate of St. Stephen.

The first vestry of St. George was elected in 1823, followed shortly by the sale of twenty-three pews at sums ranging downward from £5 plus an annual rental of 10s.[166] Within the newly organized parish, Samuel Thomson encountered far less opposition to his views than had his brother at St. Stephen. In 1824 he was able to set a precedent in the county by having one warden appointed by the minister and the other elected by the pewholders, thus compromising the custom in which both wardens were elected by the pewholders. During his twenty-six-year rectorate he was able to dominate the vestry. In 1830 he was accused of rigging the church elections to procure the election of his brother as the people's warden and to return a pliant vestry. The vestry denied the charge as, "a malicious falsehood: an attempt to produce dvisions among the members of the church".[167] As in all the Charlotte parishes, the basic issue was that of the powers of the rector within his parish. The charges levelled by the vestry of St. Stephen against Skeffington Thomson had included the withholding of parish papers, the insistence upon calling the vestry at his leisure, of keeping control of the glebe lands and church property within his own hands, and his attitude that the vestry was only an advisory body to the rector.[168]

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166. St. Marks Church, St. George, Vestry Records, 1823-70.
167. Ibid.
168. Bishop John Inglis Letterbooks: Inglis to Thomson, November 24,1828.

While the St. George congregation included most of the prominent families in the community, and for the decade after 1823 was the only religious organization in the area, it was never a large or prosperous organization. In the early part of the second period it gained considerable strength from the immigrant groups.

The period 1820-50 was one of social disorganization caused by the migrations of the time. Throughout the county thousands of uprooted individuals from a stable, highly-developed British environment were attempting to reconstruct a life in a colonial environment. Added to this situation was the situation within the old churches. That church which should have been most involved in this social reconstruction, the Presbyterian, suffered throughout most of this period from such a lack of clergy and organization that it was frequently unable to maintain established congregations, much less attempt a programme of organized expansion. Thus the only alternative for the immigrants was to organize congregations themselves, then petition a Presbytery for a clergyman. Once organized on this Congregationalist basis, the transition to a Regular Baptist congregation was comparatively simple and Baptist clergy were readily available. The Disruption of 1843 destroyed any hope of creating a dominant Presbyterian community in eastern Charlotte. Methodism suffered, in the same period, from the limiting effects of control by the London Committee. McColl had established a class at Magaguadavic in 1809, and, while this continued

to function as a unit in the St. Andrews circuit, St. George was too far from the Methodist centre on the middle St. Croix to receive effective evangelizing without the establishment of a resident missionary, and this the London Committee refused. Thus the Church of England alone had the resources to meet the challenge in St. George and Pennfield; it alone managed to survive as a major denomination in the area although, for reasons already discussed, its influence was largely limited to its tradition adherents.

In his two-year ministry at St. George, Ansley was responsible for the increase of Baptist communicants from fourteen to one hundred eighty-four.[169] Robinson continued this work after 1834. Like the early Methodist membership, that of the Baptists was subject to extreme fluctuation since it depended upon revivals for major accessions. Between 1831 and 1851 a total of 552 communicants were received into the First St. George Baptist Church,[170] the great majority by conversion from other denominations, notably the Presbyterian. From this St. George base, most of the other Baptist churches on the South Shore were formed. Robinson organized the Bocabec Baptist Church (First St. Patrick), which became a separate congregation with its own pastor in 1838; the Second Falls Church above St. George on the Magaguadavic, which eventually became an independent church but shared a minister with the mother church; and the Pennfield Church, which remained a branch of the St.George church

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169. Bill, op. cit., p. 583.
170. First St. George Baptist Church Records; Membership Rolls.

until 1841.[171] In 1845 the members from Letang, Letite, and Mascarene, all of whom belonged to the First St. George Church, petitioned that congregation to permit them to leave to form a church in the peninsula. Permission was granted and 137 members were dismissed to form the Second St. George Baptist Church at Mascarene.[172]

This disposition of the 552 members received into the First St. George Church perhaps best illustrates the dispersal of the Baptist churches in the South Shore from a common centre. Of the total, 278 were dismissed to form other congregations nearby: seventy-eight to Pennfield, sixty-three to Second Falls, forty-six to Letite, ninety-one to Mascarene and Letang; and twenty-one were dismissed to congregations outside the area: eight to the United States, four to Canada, five to Saint John, two to St. Andrews (Bayside), one to St. Patrick, and one to British Columbia. In addition twenty members were excluded on moral grounds. By 1851, the First St. George Church had 206 communicants compared with seventy-three in the Church of England, the only other church in the village.[173]

Within twenty years (1832-1852), the Regular Baptists in Charlotte established thirteen churches with a total of 802 communicants.[174] The strength of the movement lay on the South Shore, particularly in St. George and Pennfield. Outside of these parishes,

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171. Ibid.
172. Ibid.
173. Atkins, op. cit., p. 145.
174. Acadia Archives, Maritime Baptist Convention Minutes 1851.

the only large church was that at Bayside, St. Andrews, which was organized by Robinson and A. D. Thompson in 1838 as the result of revival meetings held in 1836 and 1837.[175] Until 1860 the Regular Baptist advance into the St. Croix Valley was halted principally by the Methodists, and the churches at The Ledge, Baillie, and Oak Bay remained very small despite energetic efforts to expand them. The same situation existed on the islands where Regular Baptist met Free Will Baptist and was forced to retreat. The small Grand Manan congregation, though formally affiliated with the Convention, never maintained itself as an active church. The Regular Baptist movement filled a religious vacuum on the South Shore but, caught between Methodist and Free Will Baptist, was unable to make any serious advance either south or west. In all, it met with little success in any of the fishing communities. Even the Letang-Mascarene Church (Second St. George) was founded among a group who were primarily lumberers, mill-workers, and farmers. All of the other churches were in agricultural communities. Part of the reason for this lack of attraction perhaps lay in the fact that while the Regular Baptist faith was frequently emotional it was essentially rational, lacking the intense mysticism of the Free Will Baptists, and, by the time of its introduction into the islands, it was becoming increasingly conventional. Ansley marked the end of the "Fathers" of the Baptist revival movement and the second, and later the third, generation clergy, while still professing a Congregational polity, were placing

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175. Bayside Baptist Church Records 1838-1926.

increasing emphasis upon stability. Radicalism was discouraged, and increasing prestige was being attached to those clergy with some formal higher education. The concept of a contractual arrangement between congregation and clergy was becoming widespread and the term "respectable" is generally used by travellers through the province to describe the Regular Baptists after 1840.

The clergy, ordained by the individual churches, numbered six in Charlotte in 1850. Unlike the Methodists, they were not itinerants, and would normally minister to only one or two churches. Although for financial reasons two or even three of the rural churches would employ one minister, each of the congregations remained an independent entity and the clergyman had to contract with each. The salaries of clergymen varied, as in the Presbyterian churches, with the time and the situation. The minister of the First St. George Baptist Church, in 1849 received £50 a year in contrast with a stipend in excess of £200 for Anglican and Methodist clergymen.[176] With the general economic improvement beginning in the early 1850's, the St. George minister's salary rose steadily to a peak of £115 in 1860.[177] The position of the pastor in these churches was tenuous. All authority lay with the laity. When a quarrel developed between several church members and the minister of the St. George Church in 1850, the deacons

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176. First St. George Baptist Church Record Book.
177. Ibid.

decided that the pastor was to receive a call within three months from a three-quarters majority of the church members or, failing this, he was to be dismissed.[178] Affairs of the local church were administered by means of monthly conferences which all members were expected to attend and in which all matters of importance, spiritual or secular, were brought for decision. Within the congregations the office of deacon became increasingly important, while after 1857 all secular matters were legally the absolute domain of the elected trustees who could act without the consent of the congregation.[179] Church discipline was the prerogative of the church and its elected deacons, the clergy actually having little authority in this sphere. In 1849 the St. George deacons appointed a committee of five to,

> "Interest themselves concerning property and finances of the church, to investigate and report upon cases of discipline in a scriptural manner to the church".[180]

This committee presented to the conference a report in which four members were to present themselves before the committee within two weeks, explain their behaviour and make public acknowledgement of their sin and repentance, or be excluded from membership. At the same time the deacons investigated all quarrels between members, handing judgment upon each case with the authority of a court of law.

Prior to 1840 it seemed for a time that the Presbyterian denomination, under the impulse of continued Irish and Scottish mi-

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178. Ibid.
179. Statutes of New Brunswick, 18 Victoria I, C. 67.
180. First St. George Baptist Church Record Book.

gration, would emerge as the dominant religious institution of the area. As in the rural areas of the St. Andrews community area, the greatest problem was lack of clerical leadership. Another problem also intervened. Whereas in the St. Andrews-St. Patrick area the immigrants had entered virgin lands, most of the St. George-Pennfield settlers settled among the native population, thus drastically reducing cohesiveness and sense of identity.

From St. Andrews, MacLean made periodic visits to the 280 practicing Presbyterians in St. George parish. At the Lower Falls, the Presbyterians and Calvinist Baptists had united to build a joint church in which MacLean preached several times a year. This church was normally served by a Baptist preacher. By 1838 MacLean reported that a number of Presbyterians had already "submitted to the Baptists to have membership and communion".[181]

In 1839 several small groups of Presbyterians in the St. George community area organized themselves into a pastoral charge and petitioned the Glasgow Society for a missionary. In the same year the Rev. Christopher Atkinson was sent by the Society to St. George to minister to the congregations at Lower Falls, Mascarene, Letang, and Western Pennfield.[182] Atkinson remained two years and then resigned, claiming insufficient support in the area. In 1842, Cas-

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181. Presbyterian Witness, July 25, 1838.
182. Archibald, op. cit., p. 81.

silis was the only Presbyterian clergyman in the county, and while attempting to maintain the institution in St. George by holding occasional services at Lower Falls and Mascarene, he admitted that, "the St. George Presbyterians are all satisfied in the English church".[183] The Disruption of 1843 completely destroyed the Presbyterian organization in the area. The small congregations suffered from internal dissensions and for the duration of the second period (1843-1854) there was no resident clergyman in the St. George area. Significantly, both Baptist and Anglican groups experienced a rapid growth in the decade after 1840.

The growth of the Church of England in St. George as the result of the absorption of Presbyterian immigrants had a distinctive effect upon that congregation. In the long run it created a strong "low" church sentiment within the parish, and when Samuel Thomson retired in 1848, his successor at St. George and Pennfield, John McGivern, came almost completely under the control of the vestry.

The remaining immigrant social institution which developed in the St. George area in the second period was the Roman Catholic. In the 1830's St. George was organized as a mission from Saint John. Thus it was administered independently of the St. Croix River parishes, and was one of a series of mission extending westward from Saint John

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183. Cassilis to Glasgow Society, as quoted by Mrs. Allen Armstrong in Waweig United Church Through the Years (St. Stephen:1949), p. 17.

city into eastern Charlotte. The St. George mission was small and did not attain the status of a parish for nearly three decades.[184]

184. Archives of Chancellery of Diocese of Saint John, Catholic Parish Register of New Brunswick, 1931, pp. 92-95.

F - The Islands

The poorest area of the county in this period was the islands. In consternation at the request of the proprietor of Campobello in 1824 that the Passamaquoddy Islands be created into a separate county, Sir Howard Douglas, the Lieutenant Governor, informed the Colonial Office that,

> "The quality of society on Campobello is such that insufficient persons could be found to act as magistrates, justices of the peace....serious dissension exist in all three island. It is almost impossible to find parish officers much less county officers".[185]

Seven years later, when visiting the islands, John MacGregor, Secretary of the Board of Trade, stated the case even more bluntly: of Grand Manan,

> "Mostly from Maine and resemble Americans in attitude. They have a reputation for being scheming and overreaching.... a great smuggling area";[186]

and of Campobello:

> "Another smugglers' notch".[187]

This description was particularly true of Campobello. Huge quantities of gypsum had been smuggled into the United States from there in the late eighteenth century. From the United States large quantities of food products and manufactured goods were certainly smuggled into Campobello and the St. Croix Valley communities. Sir How-

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185. U.N.B.Archives, New Brunswick Despatches Sent, Microfilm Reel 26: Douglas to Lord Bathurst, November 10, 1825.
186. MacGregor, op. cit., p. 250.
187. Ibid., p. 252.

ard Douglas, in 1825, estimated that eighty per cent of the 2,800 chests of tea annually consumed in New Brunswick were smuggled across the Charlotte County-Washington County border.[188]

Almost the entire support of the population of the islands was derived from the export of fish to the West Indies market. Fishing was at best a hazardous occupation and at worst offered a perennial threat of actual starvation for most of the fishing population. Despite the fact that Charlotte's production of fish was double the value of that of any other county, the 1,600 fishermen with their 350 boats and seventy ships, in a good year (1850) received a total of only £31,438 for their entire catch[189] -- an average of £20 per man -- from which had to be paid the capital and operational expenses of boats, gear, and weirs. At the same time, the Bishop of Fredericton was attempting to increase the stipends of the rectors of Grand Manan and Campobello from £200 to £250 yearly.

The islands, particularly Grand Manan and Campobello, had long received immigrants from the Maine coastal areas and the North Shore of Nova Scotia. One of the most isolated and sparsely populated areas of the county was the island of Grand Manan. The island had been attached to Alley's parish, and he began an agit-

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188. U.N.B.Archives, New Brunswick Despatches Sent, Microfilm Reel 26: Douglas to Lord Bathurst, November 10, 1825.
189. Munroe, op. cit., pp. 139-140.

ation for the creation of a parish among its growing population in 1820. That same year he made several visits to Grand Manan where he found a population of six hundred totally destitute of religious instruction and baptized one hundred on one visit.[190] Despite the completion of a church, so isolated was the island and so acute was the shortage of clergymen that it was twelve years before a permanent rector was appointed to the parish.

The Church of England had enjoyed a long history on Campobello by 1855. Three generations of the Owen family had insured its continuity and Captain W. F. W. Owen, who had retired to the family estate in 1820, had continued to agitate for missionaries on the islands. In 1821 the S.P.G. reported,

> "the church on Grand Manan has been completed at a cost of £550 which has been met by the Legislature, the S.P.G., and an individual named Owen".[191]

A missionary was sent to Campobello in 1842, but demanded to be removed the following year, declaring Owen to be, "wild, illusory, and undesirable".[192] Ultimately both Grand Manan and Campobello were to have churches and clergymen but, outside of Welshpool, the Church of England never influenced more than a tiny minority of the population, despite the fact that in Grand Manan there was little immigration and the Church of England was alone on the island for more than thirty years. The Campobello congregation continued

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190. S.P.G. Letters from New Brunswick: Alley to S.P.G., November 28, 1820.
191. U.N.B.Archives, S.P.G. Report, 1820.
192. S.P.G. Letters from New Brunswick: McGhee to S.P.G., April 27, 1843.

without a clergyman from 1843 until 1849. In 1849 the Society sponsored a missionary to Campobello and the West Isles, and constructed St. Ann's Church at Welshpool, Campobello, in 1855. Neither the polity nor the ethic of the Church of England found much sympathy among the American and Nova Scotian fishermen, whose origins were generally Congregational of Baptist.

The situation was further complicated by the growth of the high church movement within New Brunswick after 1820. A strong church group had developed among the younger clergy even before Medley's time. The first rector of Grand Manan was John Dunn who was ordained and sent directly to that parish of American immigrants in 1833. He found 170 families on the island of which ninety affiliated themselves with the Church of England.[193] Gradually the people turned against him, and in 1839 his church at Grand Harbour was burned, presumably by malicious incendiaries. The reason for their action can be deduced from Dunn's correspondence with the S.P.G., where he notes that,

> "Had the wind been blowing in the opposite direction, they would have burned the rectory and the crucifix standing between the church and the rectory".[194]

Thereafter, the Church of England never gained the allegiance of more than a small minority of the population on the island. In

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193. Shirley McPhee, Social Organization and Economic Change in a Fishing Community (Unpublished U.N.B. Thesis:1962), p. 225.
194. S.P.G. Letters from New Brunswick: Dunn to S.P.G., June 17, 1840.

1842 attendance at Anglican services averaged fifty, out of the island's one thousand people.[195]

Deer Island (West Isles) was by far the most populous of the county isles, yet it had neither church nor chapel until after Grand Manan and Campobello each had a Church of England and a regular clergyman. The economy of Deer Island followed closely that of St. Andrews. Two reasons contributed to the lack of religious institutions: it contained one of the most diverse populations of any parish in the county, and from the New Brunswick viewpoint it was the least isolated of the islands. The northern part of the island facing New Brunswick had been settled by Loyalists and a few British immigrants, while the southern areas had attracted American settlement. Thus no single denomination was ever to find a sufficient base for support and, in view of the usual shortage of clergy, it became much simpler merely to administer the island as an appendage of St. George or St. Andrews. A group of Baptists had developed a small community church among the American fishermen at Chocolate Cove as early as 1828,[196] but its influence seems to have been limited to the communities at the American end of the island. Occasional services were held in the upper end of the island by the Church of England minister from St. Andrews, but by 1850 a population of nearly 1,300,[197] scattered in

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195. New Brunswick, Journal of House of Assembly, 1842, Ecclesiastical Returns, Appendix CCXXXV.
196. St. Croix Courier, May 15, 1935.
197. See Appendix A.

seven small villages, was served by only one village church. Into this religious vacuum entered what was to become the most Congregationalist denomination in the county, the Disciples of Christ.

As early as 1834 a Disciples congregation had been established in Saint John although its success was comparatively limited. In 1850, two American evangelists, following the northeastern coastline, arrived in Deer Island where, within a year, they formed a church of seventeen members at Lord's Cove, the largest village on the island.[198] Their success was immediate and complete. A church was built at Lord's Cove in 1853, and from this base missionary work was carried on in the other villages culminating in the organization of a church at Leonardville in 1858.[199] While the strength of the group lay in the northern half of the island, the small Baptist group in the south lost heavily to them and by 1860 were barely able to exist. The completeness of the Disciples' conquest is illustrated in the 1861 census figures: after only eleven years on the island, the Disciples claimed the allegiance of 1,010 of the island's 1,334 people.[200]

The entry of the Free Will Baptist into Charlotte was a two-pronged attack, one from Saint John and the other from Eastport and Lubec, Maine. The group scored rapid successes on the islands,

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198. Reuben Butchart, Disciples of Christ in Canada since 1830 (Toronto:1949), p. 316.
199. Ibid.
200. See Appendix B.

partially because of their evangelistic fervour in a marginal economy, but largely because a great part of the population of the islands were Americans, many of whom had been associated with Baptist groups in Maine. The earliest organized church was that of Wilson's Beach, Campobello, lying next to the Maine mainland. A rigid social division had existed between Owen's capital at Welshpool, with its English population and proprietory Church of England, and the old American settlement at Wilson's Beach. The very animosity between Owen and the Americans had precluded any adherence to the Anglican faith by the latter, and the two groups epitomized the differences between the colonial American and British traditions.

In 1844 Elder William Carleton came from the Maine Conference and organized the Christian Church of Campobello. Beginning with only fifteen members, the church continued to maintain a preacher who, in 1854, was authorized to unite them with the New Brunswick Conference of the Free Will Christian Baptist Church.[201] The congregation, typically, prepared its own covenant declaring to receive as members all those who agreed to accept the Bible as the sole guide of life and conduct; to sustain the worship of God at all services; and to attend the monthly conference meetings of the congregation.[202] The local congregation, organized in 1854,

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201. United Baptist Church, Wilson's Beach, Campobello, Campobello Free Christian Baptist Church Record Book.
202. Ibid.

consisted of an elder as pastor and four deacons elected for life. Services were held in the school for twenty years, until a church was finally completed in 1865.[203]

Early local Baptist groups had been organized on Grand Manan and Deer Island but had disintegrated from lack of organization until, by 1854, the Church of England remained alone on Grand Manan. In the winter of 1854-55, Licentiate Doucett, assisted by the Campobello pastor, conducted revival services on Grand Manan, the converts from which were organized into a church at North Head and admitted into the Conference in 1856. The following year Elder Taylor, the District Superintendent, visited North Head and conducted another revival.[204]

By 1855 the Free Will Baptists had only two small churches in Charlotte, but the succeeding decade was to see a rapid expansion.

The Free Will Baptist were the most puritanical denomination to enter the county. Their appeal to a denial of worldly things and to a life devoted to a rigid adherence to scriptural simplicity had faint monastic overtones. It had strong appeal to those forced to endure the perpetual hardship of a marginal fish-

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203. Ibid.
204. Acadia Archives, Free Christian Baptist Conference Minutes 1856, 1857.

ing economy in which the harshness of a life in the bleak isolated island communities was broken only by the swift violent tragedies that haunted their hazardous occupation, and left the islands throughout the entire nineteenth century the only parishes in the county in which females outnumbered males. Above the age of twenty, the ratio frequently reached three to two.[205] To these people the call to renounce this world had a strong appeal and the promise of eternal salvation gave the Free Will Baptists a much more optimistic faith than that of most of the traditional denominations. This denial of the world was a literal concept: any sensuous pleasure was sinful. As a condition of baptism a member must foreswear both alcohol and tobacco. The group early quarrelled with the Orange Lodges of New Brunswick which denounced the extreme puritanism of their doctrines and consequently membership in any secret society was forbidden to members of the denomination. The effect of this was to be seen in the complete absence of both Orange and Masonic Lodges on any of the islands throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century.

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205. See New Brunswick Census 1824, 1834, 1840, 1851, 1861, 1871, 1881, 1891.

CHAPTER III

The Third Period 1860-1900

A - Prologue

Economically the third period is the most significant in the history of Charlotte. It was a period which saw the almost complete destruction of the economic base of the county, and of its replacement by a completely different economic culture. In essence, two changes can be noted. First, there was a transition from an imperial to a national economy. Secondly, there was a shift in the whole economic base. The pre-1870 economy had been based upon ships, lumber, and imperial preference -- it faced seaward. The new Canadian economy of which Charlotte became a part was based upon railroads and manufacturing industries, and faced inland. The timber base of the county's economy was destroyed. In its place secondary industry developed in the St.Croix Valley, while the South Shore turned to fishing.

This division of the county into primary and secondary producing areas was reflected in a political division, as the St. Croix Valley populace espoused the confederation, protectionist, Conservative Party and the South Shore and Island areas the anti-confederation, free trade, Liberal Party.

Socially the period was marked by the increasing homo-

geneity of the population. With few immigrants and a heavy emigration there appears to have been a growing social cohesiveness, and acceptance of a common community value system, throughout the county.

Within the religious denominations the period was marked by the development, first of autonomous colonial church organizations and then, following Confederation, of their incorporation into new bodies organized upon a national basis. This process occurred in the Church of England, the Presbyterian, and the Methodist denominations. Among the major denominations only the Baptists escaped this centralizing tendency, although even within the Baptist groups there was evidence of the beginnings of centralization based upon regional courts.

The dominant theological theme was the expansion of evangelical puritan Protestantism. The Baptists, Regular and Free Will, the Methodists and the Disciples of Christ, all under the impulse of colonial or congregational control, began a deliberate programme of aggressive, active evangelization among the adherents of the more passive denominations of the county. The more British oriented denominations, Anglicans, Presbyterians, and even Roman Catholics, lost heavily before the onslaught. The period marks the triumph of the puritan ethic of poverty, nonconformity, and the general acceptance of simple Arminian piety over the more sophisticated theologies of the traditional denominations.

B - The County

This period opening in 1856 with the prosperity consequent upon Reciprocity represents a distinct phase in the social development of Charlotte. The third generation, native-born after the War of 1812, had replaced that second generation which had been directly associated with the origins of the county. The third generation in its turn was to be replaced by the fourth before the end of the century. The British immigrant group was replaced by their native New Brunswick children during this period, and a pattern of social conformity and stability became more discernible as the period progressed. With the stabilizing of population and the lack of a catalytic element in it, the population became increasingly homogeneous.

The period began prophetically. In 1861, for the first time in thirty years, Charlotte lost its position as the second county of the colony, this, despite a population increase from 19,000 to 23,000 during the decade. Although, in the decade of the 1860's, the county enjoyed a prosperity which in its history had been paralleled only in the 1830's, Charlotte was never to regain the prominence in provincial affairs which it had taken for granted in earlier decades.

Reciprocity was the key to the second economic golden

age of the county. Even this entailed a readjustment. The first age of prosperity had been centered in St. Andrews and was dependent upon trade with the British West Indies and, to a lesser extent, with England itself. The West Indies market had gradually disappeared after 1840, and with it the pre-eminence of fish and small lumber products as the principal base of the economy. The new wealth was dependent upon an English market until the end of the American Civil War and an American market thereafter. Heavy timber increasingly replaced light timber and fish. The result was a gradual abandonment of the old economic capital of St. Andrews and, after 1842, the development of a new capital in St. Stephen parish, where the loading of heavier timber could be accomplished at The Ledge, the sources of power in the rapids at Milltown could be utilized to drive the rapidly growing sawmill industry, and the proximity to heavier timber gave the town an enormous advantage over its rival at the river's mouth. By 1860 most of the large timber had been cut in the St. Croix Valley and Charlotte lumbermen were pushing well into York County where they eventually gained control of the greater part of the western third of that county and moved northward into southern Carleton.[1] A high level of prosperity was maintained in the St. Stephen area until 1874. The despression which began in that year resulted in the almost complete destruction of the basic lumbering economy of the

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1. Harold Davis, An International Community on the St. Croix (Orono:1950), p. 210.

county. In some areas greatly reduced operations were continued, but the age of "King Timber" was finished.

There followed an economic reorientation of the county's economy which was to have far-reaching social and political effects. Along the South Shore in the parishes of St. George, Pennfield, and Lepreau, which had been based upon a lumbering and agriculture economy, a gradual transition was made to fishing, and increasingly the society in the coastal areas of these parishes came to resemble the society of the Islands rather than that of the other parts of the mainland. In the areas of greatest water power, particularly St. Stephen, the transition was to the development of manufacturing industries under the aegis of MacDonald's National Policy.

The change took place mainly between 1880 and 1890. Industrial enterprise in Charlotte (which in the depression year of 1881 had a total capital of $310,000, employed 1,011 workers, and paid $257,000 in wages)[2] had increased ten years later to a capitalization of $1,600,000, employed 2,648 people, and paid $569,000 in wages.[3] Discrepancies in wages however were great; the 260 men and 371 women in the Milltown cotton mill averaged wages of $335 per year, while the 959 men and 112 women of the 411 fish-curing industries in the county averaged only $112. The other significant

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2. Canada, 1881 Census, Vol. IV, p. 499.
3. Canada, 1891 Census, Vol. III, p. 119.

change in the period was the decline of the sawmill industry in which the 997 men receiving $231,000 in wages in 1871 had fallen to 131 men receiving $40,000 in 1891.[4]

The St. Croix Valley was the only area which greatly benefited from the development of secondary industry. The remainder of the county, South Shore, inland agricultural areas, and Islands, remained in a state of chronic depression until the end of the century. Between 1880 and 1900, the industrialization of the St. Croix Valley alienated it economically from the remainder of the county which was to stay, comparatively, a subsistence level primary producer. What secondary industry was to be found on the South Shore or the Islands was generally of a small single family variety, including small shoe and marble firms. A large secondary fisheries industry did develop at Black's Harbour in Pennfield in the last decade of the nineteenth century. The economic alienation of the St. Croix Valley from the rest of the county was to foster a social and political alienation as the economy shaped a new way of life in the river area.

Agriculture in the county reached its peak in 1861 when 2,176 farmers each cultivated an average of twenty-five acres of land.[5] The lumber economy was conducive to subsidiary agriculture.

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4. Canada, 1891 Census, Vol. III, p. 162.
5. New Brunswick, 1861 Census, p. 11.

Consequently the numbers of farms continued to increase reaching 3,677 in 1891, but averaging only twelve acres of improved land.[6] Deaths among the older generation, migration, and the increasing advantages of urban industrial life resulted in a drastic thirty-four per cent reduction in the number of farms in the single decade after 1891.

Agriculturally, Charlotte always resembled much more the North Shore counties of New Brunswick than those of the St. John River Valley. The proportion of land granted in the county was smaller than that of any other county in southern New Brunswick, and the basic rural industry was always more pastoral than agricultural. In 1900 the improved agricultural land in the county was less than one-quarter of the land granted, and the entire improved area of the county was substantially less than that of Albert County which had half the number of farmers.[7] At the same time, the only counties containing less improved agricultural land were Northumberland, Restigouche, and St. John, while Kings County contained three times the amount of improved land to be found in Charlotte.

This transition of the mainland from an agricultural-lumbering economy to a predominantly manufacturing-fishing economy

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6. Canada, 1891 Census, Vol. II, p. 340.
7. Canada, 1901 Census, Vol. II, p. 2.

had a telling effect upon the political orientation of the county after 1880. Politically, Charlotte had always been comparatively radical. During the Carleton administration, Charlotte members had generally supported the St. John representatives against the Fredericton oligarchy headed by the Lieutenant-Governor. In this period a tradition had been developed in which the county normally returned one friend of the Lieutenant-Governor, and three mavericks. The changing social conditions after 1820, reflected politically in the importance in the 1820's of the marriage issue, altered the voting patterns somewhat. In the election of 1830, two non-conformist reformers were elected, James Brown of St. David, a Universalist, and George Hill of St. Stephen, a Methodist.

While party distinctions as such were extremely nebulous throughout the pre-Confederation period, the Charlotte members generally included a majority of reformers. The reform movement was succeeded by the development of the Smashers Party, a group which

> "Like the Clear Grits of Canada....rejoiced that progress could be reconciled solely with the English language and Protestant faith".[8]

The Smashers swept Charlotte in the election of 1853, defeating among others Bartholeman Fitzgerald, the only Roman Catholic Assemblyman returned from Charlotte prior to 1872. Even after the disastrous prohibition experiment of the Reform Party, A. H.

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8. Stewart MacNutt, History of New Brunswick (Fredericton:1963), p. 367.

Gillmore of St. George was one of only two Assembly members who dared to vote against the government's repeal of the Prohibition Act in 1856.[9] Thus, prior to Confederation, there was moderate Liberal voting pattern prevalent throughout most parts of the county.

In the twenty years after 1860 the county was nearly divided into two equal parts by two issues: one political, Confederation, and one economic, the National Policy. In the Confederation issue, the St. Stephen and St. Andrews areas, which faced the prospect of Fenian invasions after 1865, were strongly pro-Confederation in the election of 1865, while in the St.George area an equally strong anti-Confederation sentiment prevailed.[10] Symbolically, the leader of the Conservative, pro-Confederation, party was a St. Stephen mill owner, John McAdam, and of the Liberal, anti-Confederation, group a St. George mill owner, A. H. Gillmore.

The elections of 1872 and 1873 confirmed the county's division: St. Stephen and St. Andrews returning large Conservative majorities; Grand Manan and Campobello, lying near the Maine coast, returning small Conservative majorities; Deer Island, lying near the St. George coast returning a small Liberal majority; St.George

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9. James Hanney, History of New Brunswick (Saint John:1909), II, p.183.
10. Canada, Sessional Papers, 1868, No. 49.

returning a large Liberal majority.[11]

The National Policy introduced in 1879 completed the process of alienation between the two basic economic areas of the county. The issue was joined between primary producer and secondary producer -- specifically, farmer-factory worker versus lumberman-fisherman. The first immediate electoral result was that all of the Island areas joined St. George in the Liberal free trade camp, and St. Stephen was left alone as the Conservative centre of the county. Under the impact of the National Policy, the Liberal candidates were frequently inundated in St. Stephen by ratios of three to one.[12]

The antithesis of this was found in the fishing areas of the South Shore and Islands, to which Reciprocity seemed the only salvation from depression and where protective tariffs were looked upon as a means of stripping from them the only economic advantage to be gained from their geographic position. Consequently, led by the Letite fishing area of St. George parish, St. George, Pennfield, Lepreau, and Deer Island -- all in the more vulnerable eastern Charlotte area -- became centeres of Liberal free trade support. The battle lines were thus drawn and the other parishes fell into line behind one or the other socio-

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11. Canada, Sessional Papers, 1874, No. 49.
12. Federal Election Returns, Charlotte County, 1896; 1911; 1930; 1940. St. Croix Courier, July 2, 1896; Sept. 28, 1911; July 31, 1930; March 25, 1940.

economic positions, largely on the basis of their own background. The rural agricultural areas generally supported the St. Stephen position, the fishing areas that of St. George, while the towns of Milltown and St. Andrews held the slender balance of power. In Milltown, the economic motive was modified somewhat by religious and racial factors. The large Irish Roman Catholic population of factory workers in the town frequently followed along Liberal tradition.

Social problems that did not exist in this period were those associated with the immigrants. The great migration of the second period had ended by 1850 and the county's population contained its basic ingredients which were to be only gradually altered by the slow infiltration, largely through marriage, of Americans from the neighbouring county. In every census from 1861 onward, approximately four percent of the population of Charlotte was American-born, about two-thirds being women. The difficulty in this constant American infusion, from the point of view of the census, is that they almost invariably list themselves as being of 'English' origin, thus distorting the figures in favour of the 'English' group.

The effects of the Irish migration are evident in the census of 1881, when over 10,000 people in the county declared themselves to be of Irish origin, as opposed to 9,000 of English and 5,300 of Scottish origin; figures which are reduced to 9,400

5,200, and 4,600 when the population of the mainland is taken alone. Most of these Irish were either immigrants or children of immigrants and they comprised the largest group in eleven of the seventeen parishes and towns in the county, including an absolute majority in Pennfield, Lepreau, St. Patrick, Dumbarton, St. Andrews, St. David, St. Stephen (town) and Milltown. Only in the Islands did those of English descent comprise a majority, and the bulk of the Island population was of American derivation. The single Scottish-dominated parish was the old stronghold of St. James.

The degree to which the position, as well as the numbers, of the Loyalists descendants had given way to the newcomers is also reflected in the polities. Of the eighteen members of the Assembly elected from Charlotte prior to 1830, sixteen had been Loyalists or children of Loyalists, and the other two had lived in Charlotte prior to 1800. Of the fourteen members elected between 1830 and 1867, only three had been of male Loyalist descent, and eight had been immigrants who had arrived in Charlotte after 1820. In the issue of Confederation only one of the protagonists had been of Loyalist origin. Of the two principals, the Hon. John McAdam, lumber merchant, President of the Executive Council of New Brunswick 1867-70, Member of the Legislative Assembly 1854-65, and Conservative Member of Parliament from 1872-73 had been Scottish-born;[13] and

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13. Canada, Parliamentary Register, 1873, p. 275.

his antagonist, A. H. Gillmore, lumber millowner, Member of the Legislative Assembly 1854-66, Provincial Secretary 1865-66, Liberal Member of Parliament 1874-96, had been the son of Irish immigrants from County Down.[14] Of the nineteen men returned from the county as Legislative Assembly members, Legislative Council members, Members of Parliament, and Senators during this period (1860-1900), six (of whom two were descended from soldiers of the 71st Argyll Highlanders) had been of Loyalist origin, five of Scottish, four of Irish, two of English, and two of American. The total included eleven Liberals, five Conservatives, and two Independents, and the county had the distinction of having a member in the federal opposition in every parliament between 1878 and 1908.

Although they were still noticeable, social distinctions between old settlers and immigrants were beginning to fade. There were five Masonic Lodges in the county by 1890, four of which had been organized between 1845 and 1855 (St. Andrews, St. Stephen, St. George and Upper Mills).[15] The original members were distinctive in that they were almost entirely native-born and of business and professional backgrounds, in contrast to the five Orange Lodges in the county whose rolls of officers read like a dictionary of Ulster.[16] By the end of the century, however, differences

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14. Ibid., 1889, p. 130.
15. W. F. Bunting, Freemasonry in New Brunswick (Saint John:1895), pp. 320-338.
16. St. Croix Courier, December 25, 1878.

were beginning to merge as the last of the original immigrant generation died and their acculturated children and grandchildren entered spheres of endeavour formerly occupied only by third generation natives.

The most distinctive social movement of the period was that of temperance.[17] Never far from the surface, the prohibitionist approach to the subject of alcohol had been early represented in the county by the Methodists. The espousal of temperance on the part of McColl seems to have been a matter of expediency rather than dogma, but the stresses of pioneer life combined with a lumbering economy had produced conditions where no compromise could be permitted and the Methodists became increasingly prohibitionist in outlook, a position which was reinforced by the Baptist groups, particularly the Free Will Baptists, after 1830. Alcohol provided the most immediate form of escape from the harsh realities of colonial life, and the cost of the product, combined with the subsequent loss of productive time to the user, violated the very core of the puritan ethic of poverty, which was essentially utilitarian. The issue eventually came to symbolize the difference between two sets of cultural values; in effect, two ways of life. The consumption of alcohol as a matter of course by most of the British immigrants of the second period was one

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17. The most complete study of the temperance movement of the period is that of J. K. Chapman, "The Mid-Nineteenth Century Temperance Movement in New Brunswick", C.H.R., Vol. XXXV, 1954.

of the major native objections to them as a group, and the symbol of acculturation came to be prohibition. The movement thus becomes significant in terms of its wider implications. Until 1860 the temperance movement had been essentially denominational in character. The sonsumption of alcohol, so prevalent among the immigrant groups had increased on account of the working conditions in the urban areas after 1860. The reaction had been a massive social crusade against alcohol which, by 1870, had surpassed denominational boundaries and evoked a general public outcry against its use. Numerous temperance societies arose in all denominations in the decade after 1870. The Sons of Temperance movement had originated in the St. Stephen Methodist Church (Howard Lodge No.1) in 1847, but the proliferation which began after 1860 gave rise to the United Temperance Association (Baptist), the Catholic Temperance Federation, and, most spectacularly, the Reform Clubs. These latter organizations had their origin in Calais in 1876,[18] and by the end of the year eighty Calaise members had formed a group in St. Stephen. The depth of prohibitionis feeling was expressed in an editorial in the St. Croix Courier which stated that religion and the desire to do right should take second place in the clergy's time to leading the fight against alcohol.

> "It is drunkenness that is cursing the world. Politics prevents the law from attacking it; it must be fought from the pulpit".[19]

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18. St. Croix Courier, December 14, 1876.
19. Ibid., November 14, 1876.

Two months later the Courier could report that the Calais Reform Club numbered four hundred men and that the St. Stephen Club numbered one hundred and thirty. Meetings were held bi-monthly and a Ladies' Aid Association was formed for wives of Reform Club members.

Throughout the winter of 1877, the movement continued to expand, promoted by torchlight processions led by Orange Lodge bands. The formation of the Milltown Reform Club occurred in January,[20] and in March the movement advanced into the Church of England stronghold at St. Andrews, where a club of one hundred members was organized and, "the jail was empty for a month".[21]

By 1878 the major part of the social life in most communities of the St. Croix Valley was dominated by the Reform Clubs in league with the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Orange Lodges. Evangelical Protestants added a massive religious zeal to the campaign by the singing of such hymns as "Let the Lower Lights be Burning"[22] at massed rallies of Reform Clubs. Plays and lecture courses were sponsored by the clubs and received moral support from such dignitaries as the Lieutenant-Governor, the President of the Bank of St. Stephen, and the leading clergymen of all denominations in the county. Membership in the St.Andrews club totalled one hundred and eighty men within two

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20. Ibid., January 11, 1877.
21. Ibid., March 15, 1877.
22. Ibid., February 8, 1877.

months, in a parish of two thousand people,[23] and on the first anniversary of its founding, an additional thirty-nine members signed the "iron-clad pledge".[24] By late 1878 membership in the Reform Clubs alone must have exceeded one thousand men throughout the county. The passage of the Scott Act ended the meteoric career of the Reform Clubs, and they subsided as quickly as they had begun.

The local option clause of the Scott Act, when exercised in Charlotte in 1879, resulted in a majority of seven hundred and forty favouring prohibition, representing a majority in every parish and town in the county. When the issue was raised again in 1891, the prohibitionists were still stronger, winning the vote 1,785 to 855. By 1891 however, the issue had become more a matter of personal ethics and, predictably, in the predominately Anglican areas of Lepreau, Welshpool (Campobello), St. Andrews North and St. Andrews South, a majority favoured repeal.[25] Upon the death of the Rev. James Quinn in 1885, the noblest thing the Courier could say of him was that he had in his lifetime administered the pledge of total abstinence to over eight thousand Roman Catholics.[26]

What is significant in the seeming phenomena of the Reform Clubs and, in fact, in the entire temperance movement is that

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23. Ibid., May 23, 1877.
24. Ibid., March 18, 1878.
25. Ibid., November 26, 1891.
26. Ibid., July 28, 1885.

it represents the triumph of the puritanical ethic of poverty within the county. This ethic applied not only at the level of particular groups or classes but was fairly universally accepted as the norm of the community by all classes and religious denominations. It also marked the final phases of the acculturation of the immigrant to the native norm and set a pattern of social conformity which applied to the society of the county well into the twentieth century.

The New Brunswick Census of 1861 was the first religious census ever taken. The results showed the Church of England to be the largest denomination in the county with 5,700 adherents, closely followed by the combined Baptist groups with a total of 5,300, the Presbyterians with 4,500, Roman Catholics with 3,000, Methodists with 2,800, Disciples of Christ with 1,000, Universalists with 400, and Congregationalists with 270.[270] As expected, the Anglicans were the largest group in St. Andrews, St. David, Grand Manan, and Lepreau, and represented the most evenly distributed group in the county. The Baptists, concentrated on the South Shore and the Islands, dominated Campobello, Pennfield, and St.George, while the Presbyterians, concentrated in the interior agricultural areas, dominated St. James, St. Patrick, and Dumbarton. Methodists, concentrated in the St. Croix Valley dominated St. Stephen. This Disciples controlled Deer Island, while

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27. See Appendix B.

the Roman Catholics, Universalists, and Congregationalists represented minorities in all parishes but were concentrated in the St. Croix Valley.

What is more socially significant is that, as Table 2 illustrates, the Baptist and Methodist denominations were essentially native institutions, Presbyterian and Roman Catholic organizations were immigrant, and the Church of England was quite evenly divided between the two groups.[28]

Table 2[29]

Birthplace and Religion of Heads of Families, 1861

	Mainland Parishes[32]							Island Parishes[30]					
	Nat.	Eng.	Ir.	Sc.	N.S.	Am.[31]	Oth.[33]	Nat.	Eng.	Ir.	Sc.[35]	N.S.	Am.
Angl.	54%	13%	25%	4%	2%	2%	-	76%	9%	2%	-	9%	2%
Meth.	82%	2%	12%	-	3%	1%	-	15%	-	-	-	54%	31%[34]
Pres.	26%	3%	60%	8%	3%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-[35]
R. C.	12%	-	82%	-	1%	-	5%	-	-	84%	-	16%	-[34]
Bapt.	75%	2%	3%	6%	7%	6%	1%	87%	2%	-	-	3%	6%
Aver.	53%	5%	31%	4%	3%	2%	1%	71%	5%	7%	-	11%	6%

28. Table 2 is based upon an analysis of the birthplace and religion of all heads of families in seven parishes, based upon microfilm copies of the 1861 census manuscripts.

29. Table 2 distinguishes between the mainland and island parishes because of the obvious cultural differences induced by the economic and geographical diversities between the two areas.

30. Campobello, Grand Manan.

31. Nat.=Native;;Eng.=English; Sc.=Scottish; N.S.=Nova Scotian; Am.=American.

32. St.George, St.Patrick, Dumbarton, St.Andrews,St.Stephen.

33. Indian and Negro (West Indian).

34. The number of individuals concerned in each of these denominations is very small.

35. Under 1%.

The only major distortion in the picture portrayed by this table is the percentage of Scots in the Presbyterian Church and the county, as St. James parish was not included in the calculation. The large Scottish element in the Baptist group is the result of conversions among the Scots Presbyterians of Mascarene, Letang, and St. George, while the Irish figures for both Methodists and Baptists largely represent conversions. The Roman Catholic, Methodist, and Baptist churches never experienced the native-immigrant conflict, the former remaining essentially Irish in outlook and attitude, while members of the immigrant group within the latter denominations largely represent groups acculturated to the native outlook. The Presbyterian church had split largely on this basis. The Church of England, which attempted to reconcile the two cultural groups, engendered a forty-year struggle between them within the church.

Table 3

Occupation and Religion of Heads of Families, 1861

	Mainland Parishes						Island Parishes					
PBMO	Farm.	SKT.	Lab.	Fish.	Paup.[36]		PBMO	Farm.	SKT.	Lab.	Fish.	Paup.[36]
3%	44%	12%	28%	6%	7%		3%	25%	-	55%	14%	2%
4%	35%	22%	30%	1%	7%		-	15%	-	35%	50%	-
16%	38%	17%	18%	3%	8%		15%	15%	-	47%	20%	4%
11%	55%	18%	10%	2%	4%		-	-	-	-	-	-
6%	34%	32%	22%	-	6%		-	-	40%	50%	-	10%
40%	25%	10%	25%	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-
8%	41%	18%	22%	4%	7%		7%	19%	1%	50%	19%	4%

36. PBMO=Professional,Business,Managerial,Official; Farm.=Farmer; SKT.=Skilled Tradesmen; Lab.=Labourer; Fish.=Fishermen; Paup. =Pauper.

Table 3 is somewhat distorted in that the rural parishes of St. James, St. David, and Pennfield are not included so that the proportion of farmers in the county was actually somewhat higher than indicated.[37]

The younger average of immigrants seems to indicate that they would exert a future influence out of proportion to their numbers. Immigrant families averaged 6.1 persons in 1861, while those of the natives averaged only 5. Within a denomination, family size depended both upon origin and occupation. Families varied in occupation from those of professional which averaged 3.1 persons to those of farmers -- 5.5, to those of tradesmen -- 6.8. Thus, on the basis of the 1861 census, that denomination which should have experienced the greatest natural growth ought to have been the Presbyterian, the families of which averaged 5.7 persons, and the slowest growth should have been the fate of the Baptists, who averaged only 5 persons per family.

The distinctions between members of the several denominations with respect to occupation were not so spectacular as those of origin and, with the exception of the more prosperous classes, the differences were largely geographical rather than social. The Congregationalist schism from Methodism gave the former an unusually large percentage of the more prosperous

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37. The actual proportions on the basis of the 1861 census abstracts were: PBMO 6%; Farmers 42%; Tradesmen 14%; Labourers 22%; Fishermen 15%; Others 1%.

citizens while the Church of England, which included the old aristocracy, also maintained a relatively high proportion of prosperous individuals. The Presbyterians at the upper level lived, for the most part, in St. Andrews. The farming group was quite distributed among all major denominations, except for the Presbyterians where the impact of the rural Irish settlements made that denomination the largest in the agricultural parishes. The fact that Irish Roman Catholics remained, for the most part, in the urban areas was reflected in the small percentage of farmers in comparison with the Irish Presbyterians. The differences between Irish Roman Catholics and Presbyterians were also shown in the labouring group, where the latter had the lowest proportion of any denomination while the large group of urban workers among the former gave them the highest. The distinctive feature of the Methodists was the preponderance of skilled tradesmen, the result of three generations centered in a community of wood processors. Certainly the denominations that had the highest proportions of members who were poor were the Baptist and Roman Catholic, and those with the most prosperous were the Congregational and Anglican.

The period 1860 to 1900 was one of rapid alteration of the denominational pattern of the county. The immigration of the previous period had drastically altered the pattern of the early Loyalist era, but after 1860 the native churches once again reasserted themselves. By 1860 immigration had practically ceased.

In most immigrant families the second generation was comint to maturity by 1870, and a revival began among the two native evangelical Protestant denominations. The pioneer period had ended by 1860. Few land grants were made after that date, the maximum expansion of settlement had been reached, and hereafter the county was to experience a contraction of the settled areas as emigration and reformation of the population into more concentrated urban areas occurred. Areas without churches were rare, and as the county had almost attained its largest population by 1861,[38] the only means of growth on the part of any denomination was by large scale conversions from other groups. Despite alternate prosperity and depression, the population of Charlotte in 1891 was almost identical with that of 1861; approximately 23,700.

After 1860, as Table 4 indicates, the Roman Catholic, Anglican, and Presbyterian groups became the passive denominations and the Baptist and Methodist the aggressive ones.

Table 4

Shift in Denominational Strength 1861-1891

	1861	1891
Baptist	22%	29%
Anglican	24%	19%
Methodist	11%	17%
Presbyterian	19%	14%
Roman Catholic	15%	12%
Disciples of Christ	4%	3%
Congregationalist	1%	2%
Universalist	2%	Less than 1%

38. 23,663 - It ultimately reached 26,000 in 1881 and thereafter declined.

Emigration from the county had always been extensive. No comprehensive estimate can be made of the extent of emigration prior to 1820. The census data of 1824, 1834, 1840, 1851, and 1861 give a fairly clear picture of the situation in the second period. Between 1820 and 1860 the excess of births over deaths had been at least 14,000, which was supplemented by at least the 5,000 immigrants listed in the census of 1861, an absolute minimum of 19,000. In effect, the county's population had increased by 14,000 in the period, indicating a total loss from emigration of a minimum of 5,000 people. In the third period, depression had been more prolonged in most areas, and there had been no compensating immigration with its resultant large young families. The natural increase between 1860 and 1900 had been at least 20,000, while the population of the county was actuall 1,000 less in 1901 than in 1861, which indicates a net emigration of 21,000 people in four decades without indlucing the incidental immigration which occurred. Thus, by 1900, there were certainly more Charlotte settlers' descendants living outside the county than inside.

Certainly all denominations suffered from emigration, particularly after 1870. The problem that arises is whether or not the emigration affected one religious group more than another. The contention has been made that the poorest and most highly educated elements will emigrate most readily from a depressed area, the former because they must, the latter because they are most able to find acceptance elsewhere. This case does not hold in Char-

lotte, with the possible exception of the Roman Catholics. The latter group, with its high proportion of urban immigrant labourers, certainly suffered the earliest heavy losses through emigration after 1874. For other denominations, however, examination reveals that, if anything, the Baptists lost more heavily through emigration than any other Protestant group. Baptists also averaged the smallest families; Presbyterians the largest. Yet the Presbyterians lost more than one-quarter of their strength in the county as did the Anglicans, while the Baptists, in the face of these other factors, increased their strength by one-third and the Methodists by one-half. Again, the heaviest losses in population were suffered in the rural areas. Yet in the Presbyterian stronghold of St. James, while the Presbyterians suffered a thirty-five per cent decline from 1861 to 1891, the Methodists increased their strength by seventy-five per cent. Thus, it would seem that emigration did not play a major role in the alteration in the denominational pattern within the county. It was instead almost entirely a matter of movement from one group to the other, largely, in other words, a matter of conversions.

The reasons for this movement are more difficult to analyze. Certainly in the third period, as the evangelical Protestant ethic became accepted as the community norm, acculturation to that norm of the children of the immigrant generation played a very large role. The temperance movement, culminating in prohibition within the county in 1879, certainly marks the

final triumph of this ethic. Theologically, this period after 1860 marks the epoch of the evangelical Arminian concept of man's relationship to environment and to God. Emphasis was placed entirely upon the concept of a spiritual renaissance within the individual and an intensively subjective, personal, essentially mystical relationship between God and man. Man's environment served merely as a backdrop -- sometimes neutral, sometimes evil -- to this relationship, and any aspect of the environment which might threaten the primacy of this God-man relationship in the thought or attitude of the believer was rejected as materialistic and therefore evil; emphasis was placed on the purity of this relationship and subsequently on the purity of the regenerated believer. As a matter of necessity, a rigid puritanism was engendered with an anti-materialistic, almost monastic attitude. The reasons for the triumph of this attitude after 1860 are diverse and would seem to include a reaction to the attack upon scriptural authority by mid-nineteenth century scientific ideas and the instability created by depression and the rebuilding of the economy upon a different basis.

With its collective concept of the congregation as the gathered body of Christ which is God's instrument on earth and its legalistic emphasis which minimized the role of the individual and subjected it completely to that of a rational Providence working its will in an ordered universe, Calvinism was in full retreat. The victory was to the Arminians as represented by

the radical Free Will Baptists and the pietistic Methodists. All denominations in the period were forced to compromise with this concept or be threatened with heavy losses in terms of adherents. The Regular Baptists increasingly modified their already lukewarm Calvinism until the gulf between the two Baptist groups narrowed to a matter of particulars rather than generalities. Anglicanism found the compromise even less difficult to make; Wesley himself had been a product of the rising high church Arminianism and within the Church of England the degree of compromise depended largely upon the clergyman and the individual parish. Ironically, the conflict between the high church and the evangelical parties within that denomination placed the evangelical group in the native camp adopting a puritanical Arminian position, while the high church was to present the most successful defence against the advance of the ethic of poverty. The evangelical position was presented by the South Shore parishes of St. George, Pennfield, and Musquash-Lepreau, which consequently retained the greatest strength; the high church position by Grand Manan, Campobello, and St. Andrews which lost heavily. St. Stephen parish split over the issue and the division probably kept half the Anglican community of that parish within the Church of England. Presbyterianism alone of the major denominations was unable to make compromises on the Arminian issue and its losses, particularly to the Methodists, were heavy in both rural and urban areas.

C - The Denominational Pattern

The Church of England was disturbed by two conflicts at the opening of the third period, and attempts to resolve them at times seemed likely to destroy the church itself. The native-immigrant conflict was still far from settled, and the issue of evangelical versus high church was to harry the denomination well into the twentieth century. In fact, so bitter did the internal strife become in certain parishes after 1860, that the situation came to resemble that within the Presbyterian church, with one important exception; despite the fact that theological differences between high and evangelical groups were far greater than those between free and established, the former carried on their internecine war within one body. Inevitably the native-immigrant and evangelical-high church issues became fused in parishes where they both existed; those of the earlier Loyalist descent generally adhered to the traditional evangelical party, which stressed a much greater degree of local autonomy, while the immigrant groups were largely associated with the high church movement.

The relationships between the Bishop and the seven parishes of Charlotte varied greatly from parish to parish, becoming increasinly less cordial as the parish moved closer to the evangelical position. Opposition was particularly strong among the Saint John clergy and, from 1849 until 1900, a steady stream

of pamphlets, mostly aimed against the high church position, poured forth from the presses of the Province. One of the most popular and widely distributed had been An Anglo-Roman Priesthood vs. An Anglo-Protestant Laity, which described the illegal acts performed by Anglo-Roman priests and especially condemned prepared bread for communion, moments of intention before the communion service, placing of the bread not in the fingers but in the hand during the communion, adding water to the wine, consuming the remainder of the bread and wine at the end of a service, the congregation standing upon the entry of the clergy, placing of a cross, flowers, or candles upon the communion table, sprinkling rather than pouring water in baptism, and the use of sponsors and the sign of the cross at baptism and confirmation. Most of these points seem trivial, but to the evangelical they represented the difference between the sacrament as a symbol and as a means of grace having an efficacy of its own.

The greatest immediate non-theological problem was finance. Despite the revenues of the Diocesan Church Society, the diocese had never been able to support its own home mission work. From 1785 to 1862, the S.P.G. had poured into the Church of England in New Brunswick a sum in excess of £200,000,[39] and as late as 1900 twenty-one of the seventy-seven New Brunswick clergy

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39. Pascoe, op. cit., p.133

were receiving S.P.G. grants, although these were cut by ten per cent a year beginning in 1896.

New Brunswick Methodism faced many problems. In 1855 it had obtained ecclesiastical independence from the English General Conference and had become part of the newly-created Conference of Eastern British America. Economic conditions, however, dictated the necessity of a subsidy from the English Conference for home missions. The prosperity of the 1860's altered this situation and in 1866 a Conference Home Missions Fund was inaugurated. All circuits with incomes under $400 per annum were eligible for benefits under this fund, and the districts were urged to undertake programmes of expansion.

The great impetus to home mission work began after 1874. In that year the Eastern British American Conference united with the Canadian Conferences to form the Methodist Church of Canada. The original Eastern British America Conference was divided into two, one being the New Brunswick-Prince Edward Island Conference containing sixty-seven circuits, fifty-nine ministers, 5,813 communicants and 26,000 adherents.[40]

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40. Mount Allison Archives, Minutes of the N.B.-P.E.I. Methodist Conference, 1874.

The denomination thrived during the depression after 1874 and continued to make advances in the face of a declining population.

Much of the success of the Methodists was due to the systematic organization of missions circuits, the sole purpose of which was to proselytizing of natives in the surrounding areas, a device which the St. Stephen district used with great effectiveness.

The denomination made full use of its circuit system. To emphasize its local nature, community churches were encouraged in every settlement which had been entered. No attempt was made to centralize these societies, which existed independently, and met only quarterly to discuss circuit business. Under the impulse of the missionary nature of the denomination in this period, the number of churches in the county rose from twenty in 1860 to thirty-three in 1895 and, excluding the McColl Church in St. Stephen, averaged a local church for every twenty communicants.

The decade after 1860 represented the beginnings of the union movement within Presbyterianism which was to culminate in the final unification of 1875. During this decade, the Free Church

Synod of Nova Scotia and that of New Brunswick united with the old Secession Synod of Nova Scotia to form the Synod of the Presbyterian Church in the Lower Provinces of British North America. At the same time the Church of Scotland Synod of New Brunswick and that of Nova Scotia united to form the Synod of the Presbyterian Church in the Maritime Provinces in connection with the Church of Scotland. The Church of Scotland Synod found organization more difficult, for its dependence upon the Church of Scotland was great: at the time of the union in 1868, eight of the thirteen congregations of the New Brunswick Synod, including St. Andrews, were receiving grants-in-aid from the mother church. To alleviate the situation, a Board of Home Missions was organized by the new united synod and aid was placed in its hands.[41] Unfortunately the union sacrificed local control for more centralized authority. The St. Stephen Presbytery was dissolved in 1870, and its charges were brought under the authority of the Saint John Presbytery.

In the period after 1870 emigration and conversion both ravaged the younger generation. The effect was catastrophic. Throughout the county the number of Presbyterian baptisms dropped from an average of eighty a year in the decade after 1870 to only thirty-two a year in the decade after 1890. St. James charge

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41. Archibald, op. cit., p. 112.

dropped from thirty-three a year in the 1860's to ten in the 1880's. St. Andrews from twenty to four in the same period. An average of thirty births a year was incapable of maintaining the denominational constituency at half of its existing strength; Presbyterians numbered 3,000 to 4,000 in the period. Thus, while the number of Presbyterians under twenty-one was rapidly decreasing, the large numbers of middle-aged adults and the growing numbers of communicants -- the number rose from 386 to 580 in the two decades after 1880[42] -- gave a false impression of denominational well-being.

So radically had the economic structure of the denomination in Charlotte altered in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, that the membership, which had been seventy per cent rural in 1875, was sixty per cent urban in 1900.

Throughout the county the growth of the Regular Baptist denomination in the first twenty years of the third period had been spectacular. Thereafter the effects of the prolonged de-

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42. Mount Allison Archives, Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1900, p. 328.

pression, which continued to wrack the traditional Baptist strongholds in the St. George community area until the First World War, began to take its toll and progress came to a virtual halt. The significant event of the period was the Regular Baptist invasion of the Methodist stronghold on the St. Croix.

The drive for a more highly organized home missions programme among the Baptists of New Brunswick took shape in 1860 when the Convention accepted a proposal that each congregation should raise, for Convention purposes, five shillings per member per year, of which 2s.6d. should be used for home missions work.[43] Two distinct movements of Baptist growth can be traced in this period. The first was the organization of Baptist churches among migrants from the South Shore who had moved to the St. Croix area, the second was evangelical, directed at the second generation British immigrants.

In 1860 there were eight Regular Baptist churches in Charlotte with four ministers, one licentiate, and 555 communicants.[44] During the next thirty years, new churches were organized at Piskehagen, Beaver Harbour, St. Andrews, St. Stephen, The Ledge, and Bartlett's Mills, largely by Baptist migrants from St. George and Bayside, while in the agricultural areas churches

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43. Acadia Archives, Minutes of the Baptist Convention of N.B.-P.E.I., and N.S., 1860, p. 22.
44. Ibid.,

were organized at Tower Hill, Rollingdam, and Bocabec largely as a result of conversions in these settlements. By 1900, there were sixteen churches with six ministers, one licenciate, 1,038 communicants and between 3,500 and 4,000 adherents.[45]

The home missions issue, however, created a dilemna for the Regular Baptists. In a congregational union to what extent should the individual churches surrender control to the central co-ordinating body? The five shilling levy, in addition to meeting home mission requirements, included 7½d. for foreign missions, 7½d. for education, 9d. for ministerial education, 6d. for Sunday Schools, and 6d. for ministerial pension funds. The increase in Baptist communicants in New Brunswick from 8,070 in 1861 to 18,340 in 1896 greatly increased the complexity of administration and tended more and more to leave the formulation and execution of policy in the hands of the Convention. Determined opposition from large numbers of congregations developed against this centralizing tendency. To the anti-centralists, Acadia University represented the fulcrum from which modernists and centralists were impinging upon the autonomy of the local congregations. The primary areas of conflict were the increasing demands for funds on the part of the central denominational boards, and the insistence upon an educated ministry,

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45. Ibid., 1900.

which implied the right of the Convention to determine the qualifications for ordination. The movement toward centralization was especially strong in the cities, particularly Saint John. By 1870 opposition in the rural and smaller urban areas had solidified, and the Convention minutes for 1871 reported that no church in Charlotte had ever contributed toward the maintenance of Acadia University. Ministers with academic degrees occur with increasing frequency in the Convention minutes after 1880, and in a denomination in which the congregations ordained their clergy from among the elect as the necessity arose, the Charlotte churches were reporting difficulties in procuring pastors.

As centralization increased, ministerial salaries became fairly standardized. As early as 1862 the Convention reported that ten ministerial candidates received £4 each to aid in the expenses of their education. Although ordination continued to take place in the local churches, it was performed by two or three ministers from other congregations rather than by the authority of the congregation itself. Six ministers were ordained in the county during the period: one each at St. George, St. Stephen, Pennfield, Baillie, and two for St. Andrews.

Accompanying this growth of centralization was an emphasis upon personal evangelism, and a highly efficient group of professional evangelists was developed by the Home Missions Board. Increasingly the Regular Baptists were moving closer in

polity and theology to the Free Will Baptists.

The Free Will Baptists reached the pinnacle of their influence in Charlotte about 1880. At that time the membership of the New Brunswick Conference was 10,360 (totalling 31,000 adherents) and that of the 7th District (Charlotte and St. John counties) 1,738.[46] The census of 1881 enumerated 3,200 adherents in Charlotte, 1,600 of them on Grand Manan, 600 each on Campobello and Deer Islands, and 180 at Beaver Harbour.[47]

In the decade after 1880, the denomination was wracked by that theological dispute which is inherent in any Arminian denomination. This was the issue of the doctrine of holiness or entire sanctification. English Methodism had split over this question a half-century before, but due to the discipline of the Wesleyans the schism had not spread to the colonies. Instead the two theological concepts had both remained and thrived within the Methodist church. The individualism of the Free Will Baptists would permit no such compromise. Arminianism granted the doctrine of free grace, and the controversy centered around the issue of whether or not a person who had once repented, submitted to the will of God, and had been sanctified by His presence was then in a state of grace and in effect had, assuming his life

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46. Acadia Archives, Conference Minutes, 1880.
47. See Appendix B.

did not degenerate, received the gift of salvation while on earth. What made the doctrine unacceptable to many Free Will Baptists was that it implied a second blessing -- that the acceptance of faith and regeneration implied by the symbolic act of baptism could be supplanted later in life by a more complete, entire sanctification. This problem is implicit in the very theological structure of Arminianism. Once this doctrine of holiness or entire sanctification has been accepted, it is assumed that, once having received sanctification, the individual is a vessel of God, and therefore his entire existence thereafter must be wholly dedicated to his spiritual needs in conformity with hold scripture and to maintaining the purity and godliness of his life, and to the rejection of the world and its vanities and pleasures. The doctrine of free grace was universally accepted throughout the denomination but that of holiness only by the more extreme elements. Taken in total the doctrine of holiness implied a monastic existence and was alien to the Calvinist tradition.

In practice the Free Will Baptists were suffering the problems of any small, parochial group which attains some size. There was a growing feeling among the more puritanical members that something less than absolute scriptural integrity was being permitted within the churches and that the standards of the founders of the denomination were not being maintained: in effect, this dispute was the revolt of a puritanical minority agains the compromising majority.

The controversy was first expressed in the Conference of 1881.[48] Thereafter party lines were drawn until a schism occurred at the Conference of 1888, when eight ministers and two licenciates withdrew from the Conference and organized the Reformed Baptist Alliance. The Alliance was further augmented the following year when two more clergy left the Free Will Baptist Conference.

48. Conference Minutes, 1881.

D - St. Stephen

The concentration of capital in the hands of a dozen families, as discussed in Chapter II (see Page 118), created an industrial aristocracy on the upper part of the St. Croix in opposition to the commercial aristocracy of St. Andrews. A few of these had been among the early commercial aristocracy, notably the Porter family, but most had created their fortunes through a forty-year period of evolution from small trader or businessman to lumber merchant to industrialist. Such was the case of the Todd brothers who created two lumber firms between 1830 and 1850. The Eaton brothers, the Hills, and the Boardmans also developed businesses in the same period. Only James Murchie differed. He attained his position by gradually purchasing, on speculation, timber licenses on the lands at the headwaters of the St. Croix in the 1840's, and profiting from the advance of the lumber cruisers. Murchie built up one of the largest fortunes in the county, based on ships, railroads, company stores, lumber mills, and, in addition, by 1890, control of 200,000 acres of timberland in Charlotte, Carleton, and York counties, as well as 50,000 acres in the State of Maine.[49]

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49. Davis, op. cit., p. 272.

In the decade of the 1860's this groups reached the epitome of its wealth. This wealth consisted of a capital complex of mills, timberlands, shipyards, commercial vessels, railroads, merchantile establishments. Its financial centre was the Bank of St. Stephen, the wealth of which was based upon the credit of the great lumbering families. This latter institution had as president throughout the period one or other of the Todd brothers while its Board of Directors was dominated by Murchies, Hills, and Eatons. Its bills were orders of William Todd and Robert Watson drawn upon the St. Stephen shipbuilder, Zachariah Chipman. These bills were accepted as currency not only throughout Charlotte but, in the decade after 1870, provided the principal currency of Washington and Aroostook counties, Maine.[50]

By 1870 there were operating along five miles of waterfront on the St. Stephen side of the St. Croix River, fourteen gang-mills, fourteen lath-mills, two single saws, one sash and blind factory, one shingle mill, two axe factories, and two grist mills. These annually produced more than seventy million board feet of lumber, thirty-three million laths (for the American market), and thirteen million shingles (for the Australian and South American markets).[51] Nearly half of the production was in the hands of three firms: James Murchie and his four sons; H. F. Eaton and his four sons; and J. E. Eaton and his two sons. Other

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50. Ibid., 249.
51. Ibid., pp. 207-208.

large firms at the time included G. M. Porter, C. F. Todd and Sons, F. H. Todd and Sons, John McAdam and Sons, and the firm of Gates and Wentworth. Smaller firms included F. H. Boardman, William McAllister, Daniel Hill, and Frank Todd.

The number of men employed in these industries was estimated at five thousand in 1870, three thousand cutting in the winter, one thousand in the mills, eight hundred on the drives, two hundred surveyors, and two hundred and fifty engaged in loading ships.[52] While some duplication certainly occurred and much of the work was only part-time, the lumber operations probably provided nearly two thousand full-time positions and in addition provided the work which created the cash used by most of the farmers in the parishes of St. James, St. Stephen, and St. David in Charlotte and their counterparts in Washington County, Maine.

The capital amassed by these firms was enormous. The holdings of J. E. Eaton, the poorer of the brothers, were estimated at a value of more than one million dollars in 1869,[53] and this value was exceeded by at least three other firms in the area.

The lumber economy of the pre-1880 era, while having the

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52. Ibid., p. 210.
53. Ibid., p. 274.

disadvantages discussed in Chapter II, had at least enabled the rural worker to maintain a farm, to produce most of his own food products and firewood, and by woodswork in the five winter months, to earn a cash income. For the urban millhands, conditions had been much more difficult. It was an employers' market: labour was plentiful and wages were low. The ninety-hour week was standard in all St. Croix mills. Wages were low and almost entirely paid on the "cram system" under which goods had to be purchased in company stores. The return of prosperity in the1850's had made St. Stephen the Mecca of hundreds over the next decade. Between 1857 and 1861, while St. Andrews experienced a twenty per cent decline in population, St. Stephen enjoyed the boom experience of an old established community and increased its population by more than eighty per cent. During the following decade, its population rose another thirty per cent to a total of 6,500. Included in this increase was a large part of the labouring class of St. Andrews, as well as a considerable migration from the interior agricultural areas of St. David, St. Patrick, Dumbarton, and the South Shore parishes. The adjoining parish of St. James shared in the prosperity of St. Stephen and a great part of the woods labour was provided from its large farm population.

Generally speaking, all denominations benefited from the period of prosperity prior to 1874, with the exception of the Church of England which was torn by internal disputes.

As the oldest and largest denomination in St. Stephen parish, the Methodist denomination had a definite advantage with the advent of prosperity in the area. Due to factors already discussed, Methodism in Charlotte had made no headway between 1840 and 1855. The denomination in 1848 had comprised 396 communicants, with a total of 3,100 adherents in all.[54] Seven years later the respective figures were 332 and 2,500, and it was not until 1865 that Methodism regained the position it had held twenty years earlier.[55] The first problem of Methodism was the re-establishment of its position in its stronghold of St. Stephen and in the hinterland areas of St. David and St. James parishes. The greatest immediate problem lay on the St. Stephen circuit which, in 1855, included not only the St. Stephen society but also ten rural societies. Some relief was provided the following year when Oak Bay, Dufferin, The Ledge, Moore's Mills, and St. David's Ridge were formed into St. David's circuit, but in 1869 the district launched a programme of expansion and the remaining rural societies--including Oak Hill, Old Ridge, Lynnfield, Dewolfe, Pomeroy Ridge, and Canouse--were detached from St. Stephen and united into the county's fifth Methodist circuit -- St. James. Despite its six congregations, this circuit contained only thirty-four communicants, and the minister was given an annual subsidy and carte blanche to build up the strength of his circuit.

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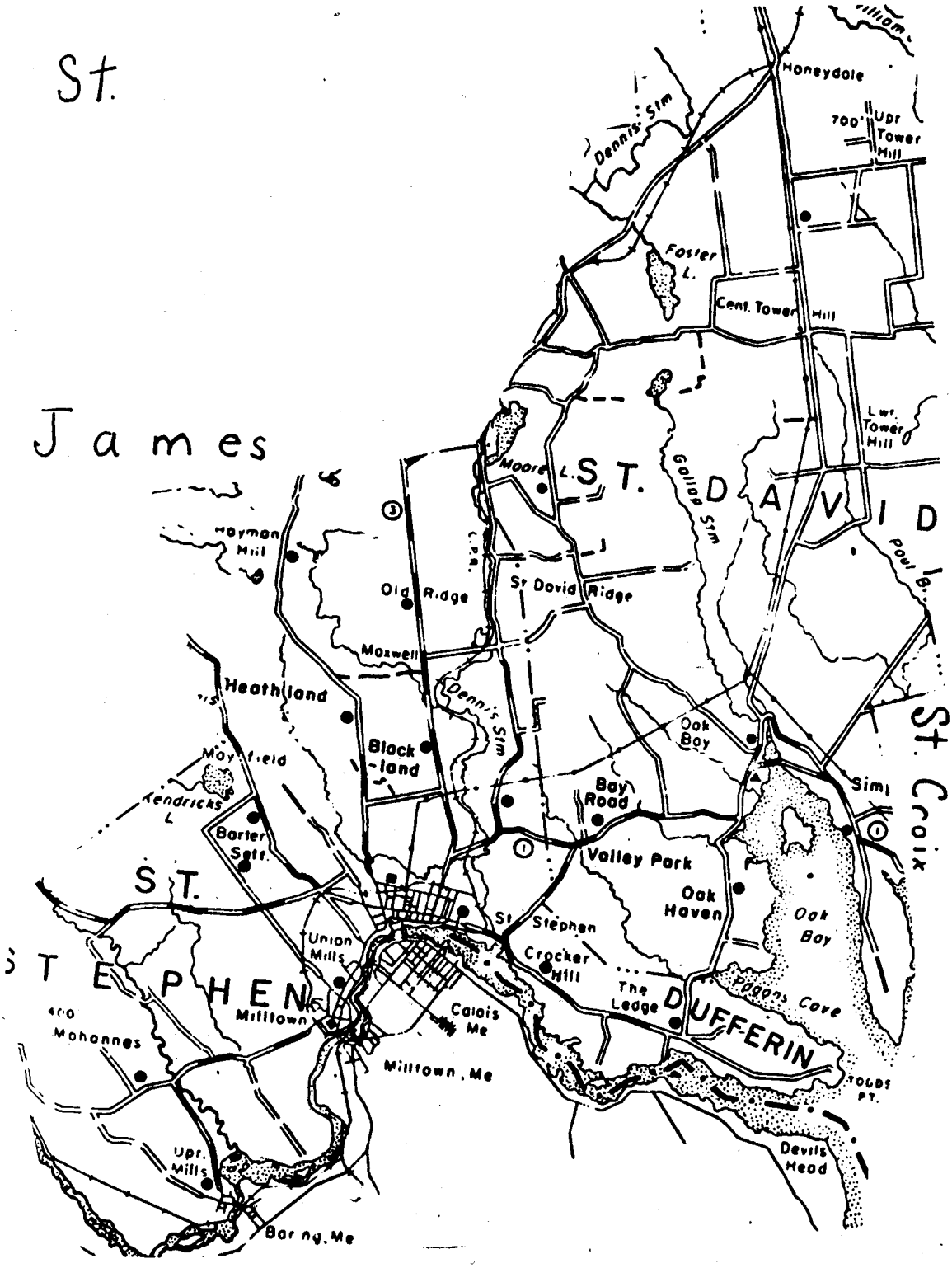
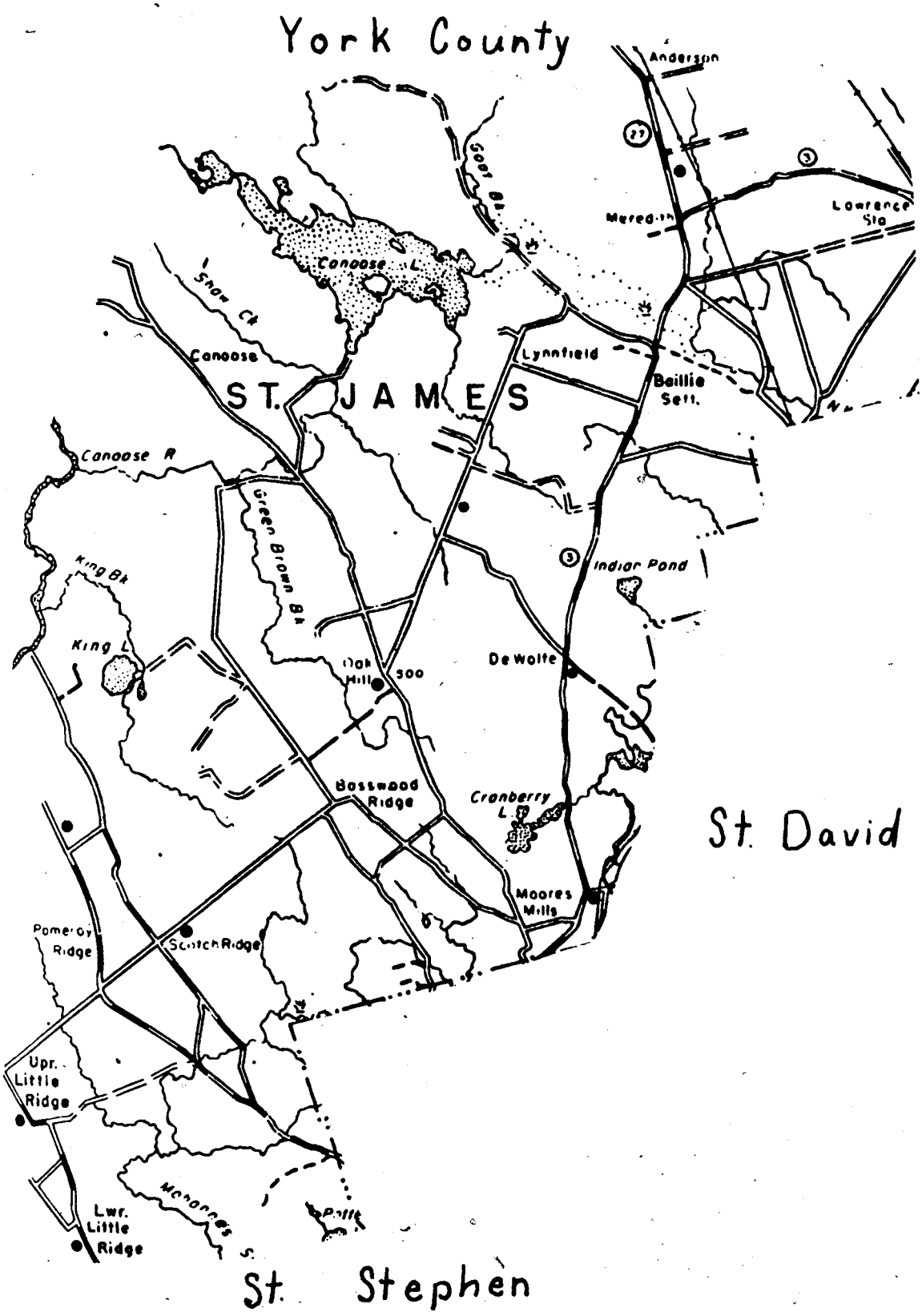
54. U.N.B.Archives, Report of British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, 1848; 'NewBrunswick District".

55. Mount Allison Archives, Minutes of Saint John District Meeting, 1865.



Map 3 - St. Stephen Community Area: St. Stephen, Dufferin and St. David parishes.



Map 4 - St. Stephen Community Area: St. James Parish.

In the redistribution of districts which took place in 1874, the Charlotte circuits were organized into the St. Stephen district. The result was a large scale programme of home missions expansion. New mission circuits were organized at St. George, Deer Island, Grand Manan, and Old Ridge in addition to the St. James and St. David circuits which had been organized a few years previously. In all cases the minister, supported from home missions funds, was expected to strengthen his circuit by the addition of converts. The most successful example of this strategy was that of the St. James circuit which, in addition to four Methodist churches, included the Methodists in three societies using union churches. Between 1870 and 1900, the number of Methodist communicants in the St. James societies rose from thirty-four to one hundred sixty, despite a thirty per cent decline in the population of the parish. As a result of the general growth of the Methodist denomination on the upper St. Croix, a new circuit was created. Upper Mills and Lower Little Ridge were taken from the Milltown circuit, Old Ridge from the St. James circuit, and the three societies formed the new circuit of Old Ridge.

By the end of the century there were nine Methodist circuits in Charlotte as opposed to three in 1855. Basically however, the geographical pattern had altered only slightly. Five of the nine circuits were in the St. Stephen community area, two in the St. Andrews area, and two on the Islands.

The conflicts within the Church of England in the period were to be focused on St. Stephen. Here in the boom period of the 1860's were to be found all elements: high, evangelical, latitudinarian, natives of Loyalist descent, and immigrant Irish and English. The early conflict between the Irish rector and the native vestry had lain dormant throughout the last years of Thomson's rectorate. With the skill of a competent administrator, he had dealt primarily with missionary expansion within the rural parishes leaving the care of the congregation at St. Stephen to his curate. By 1860 however, the grandchildren of the Loyalist Anglicans in St. Stephen found themselves outnumbered within their own congregation by the immigrant group. In the next decade, the colonial American Anglican tradition clashed headlong with the rising English high church tradition. Thomson's last curate had been young Edward Medley, son of the Bishop, upon whom the clash of these two traditions was shortly to descend.

The theological position of young Medley was aptly described by one of his vestrymen, W. F. Vroom,

> "Like his father, Mr. Medley was in hearty sympathy with the Oxford movement, and like him had to meet the distrust and opposition of those who resented any deviation from their accustomed ways. Once assuming the care of the parish, he established the custom of weekly communion and observance of Holy Days in the church".[56]

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56. W. F. Vroom, Christ Church, St. Stephen (New York:1913), p. 23.

The new observances encountered strenuous opposition among the members of Christ Church parish, evidently resulting in the loss of a number of members. The issue finally ended in an open rupture between the rector and a large part of his congregation. Ostensibly, the dispute which led to the rupture developed over the glebe; in fact, its origins were cultural and theological.

Christ Church, St. Stephen, burned in 1863 as a result of arson and was reconstructed under the direction of Edward Medley who, upon Thomson's death in 1865, became rector. Medley was an accomplished young man of exquisite taste. The new church, one of the finest pieces of architecture in the county, was completed at a cost of nearly $9,000, of which the curate loaned the church corporation more than $2,400 from his personal resources. The glebe land was sold for $1,400, and a $4,900 debt was contracted.[57] By 1870 about $2,900 remained to be paid on the church, including the amount owed to the glebe. The rector insisted that the glebe fund must be repaid, while the vestry maintained that the cost of the church had been greatly increased due to Medley's elaborate plans.

Accordingly, on March 21, 1870, a group of twenty-one men, including the two wardens of Christ Church, met in Marks

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57. Hailstone Manuscript.

Hall with the avowed intention of petitioning the Legislature to create St. Stephen into two ecclesiastical parishes, with the area from King Street westward to be the new Trinity parish. Accordingly, two wardens and five vestrymen were elected and the petition was circulated throughout the congregation of Christ Church. Ultimately the petition, containing the names of fifty-two male members of St. Stephen parish, was despatched to Fredericton. The reasons given by the group for their proposal were that the Anglican community in St. Stephen was being destroyed by the practices introduced by the rector, that many were leaving the church to join the dissenters, and that, unless some remedy were found, the Church of England in St. Stephen would be reduced to a mere shadow of its former position.[58] There seems to have been some justification for this claim, the number of communicants in the parish having fallen from ninety in 1860 to fifty-two a decade later, despite a substantial increase in the population of the community.[59]

In a counter-petition to the Legislative Council in which the division of the parish was opposed, Edward Medley claimed that thirty-six of the signatories never attended church and that only five of the total were regular communicants.[60] Under the circumstances, both sides were probably correct in their argu-

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58. Trinity Church, St. Stephen, Vestry Book of Trinity Mission Church 1870-1896, pp. 208-209.
59. Diocesan Church Society Reports 1860, 1870.
60. Vestry Book of Trinity Mission Church, p. 210.

ments. Without the prior approval of the Bishop, the bill was introduced into the Assembly and passed. The most the indignant Bishop could do when the bill reached the Legislative Council was to insert the provision that the glebe be left with Christ Church. Having failed to prevent the creation of the parish, the Bishop endeavoured to halt construction of the new church. Relations between the Bishop and the vestry deteriorated to the point where the former was finally warned,

> "We discern with regret that it is your unalterable determination to force us, if possible, to severe our connection with the Diocese of Fredericton, should this object be effected because of the non-compliance of our part of some real or fancied old established custom, and some 250 persons (or a large majority of them) who had always possessed a strong attachment for the service of the Church of England when dispensed in their purity, should seek as their spiritual advisors dissenting clergymen, we shall have the proud satisfaction of reflecting that we have exhausted every honourable effort in our power to obtain a different result".[61]

The Bishop finally consented to a meeting with the dissenting group, and, in July, Bishop and laity faced each other from irreconcilable positions. The vestry accused the rector of a variety of liturgical crimes and agreed to return to Christ Church "when rites and ceremonies as prescribed in the prayer book are upheld and administered evangelically and free from

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61. Ibid., p. 21.

offensive forms".[62] In turn, the Bishop upheld his son's actions and chided the rebels for their treatment of the rector.

Compromise between the Trinity congregation and both the Bishop and the rector of St. Stephen failing, the Trinity vestry appealed to the Colonial and Continental Church Society for support.[63] The following year Trinity Church was completed, the pews sold, and with the help of the Colonial Church Society, a minister was procured.

What is remarkable about this revolt is not only that it succeeded but that it demonstrated the degree of alienation between the ideas of the Bishop and of the bulk of the laity within the church. Trinity represented the triumph of laity over clergy; of local control over centralized authority; of colonial American tradition over the rising English high church tradition. The degree of reaction to high church practices was intense within the new congregation. Even the hymnary was discarded and replaced by, The Evangelical Collection of Church Music . The rector remained under the control of the vestry. He was elected by the congregation and could be dismissed by the vestry, as occurred in 1888 with the terse announcement "his services will not be required after 16 June, 1888", and that "his contract terminates at that time".[64]

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62. Ibid.
63. This was a missionary society of the evangelical party within the Church of England.
64. Trinity Vestry Book, p. 161.

What is socially significant in the Trinity rebellion is the fact that the dissidents were predominantly natives of Loyalist descent to whose fathers the policy of Thomson in the previous generation had been reprehensible, and who saw a stream of church people moving into the non-conformist churches as a result of practices designed to enhance the position of the clergy and decrease that of the laity. So extreme was the reaction of this group that it is not difficult to feel some sympathy for the Bishop when he defends his son for erecting a cross in the church

> "which is a perfectly unobjectionable symbol, adopted in the Methodist church in your own town (on the outside) and everywhere by various sects".[65]

Unfortunately, at the same time, there were some clergy of the high church party whose excessive sacramentarian attitudes drove hundreds of the laity into the waiting arms of the Arminian denominations.

Never strong among the labouring classes of Milltown, and with rural strength only in St. David's, the Church of England was the denomination least affected by the economic upheavals after 1870. The basic issue facing the church was still internecine warfare, the high church versus the evangelical. Until the end of the century this issue continued to sap the strength of this influential body. The bitter theological dispute between the evan-

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65. Trinity Vestry Book, p. 26.

gelical and high church parties broke out again in 1877 during the course of a deanery meeting in St. Stephen. The utterances of the young high church rector of Campobello at the deanery service in Trinity Church -- that the Eucharist contains the true body and blood of Christ, that priests hold the keys to the kingdom of heaven, that the teachings of the Church of England were of themselves divine, and that a child at baptism receives grace from the hands of the priest -- created such a furore that the vestry denied the use of the church to the deanery. The closing deanery service was held in Christ Church, without music as the organist and choir of that church refused to participate.[66]

In the rural areas the gulf between high church clergy and the laity became even more pronounced both in polity and in theology. St. David and St. Patrick had been united under one clergyman in 1850, a union to which St. James was later added. The struggle began in 1855 when, against the opposition of the parishioners, John Thomson had the parish church in St. David's torn down and built a new structure some distance from the original site. The two clergymen who followed Thomson, both high church, further alienated the people until, in 1876, the rector bemoaned the fact that,

> "The congregation at Oak Bay dwindled to very small proportions -- little interest was taken in the church as a divine institution".[67]

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66. St. Croix Courier, July 26, 1877.
67. Diocesan Church Society Report 1897, p. 62.

Instead the congregation of St. David's insisted upon meeting for worship in three local school-houses in different parts of the parish rather than attending a distant central church. After 1876 a five-year clerical vacancy occurred and it seemed that the entire Anglican community would be absorbed by other denominations.

The situation was saved in 1881 with the arrival of W. Millidge, an evangelical churchman who, in the face of a rapidly falling population in his rural parishes, was able to maintain a strong church organization and even to achieve progress. The burned St. David's church at Oak Bay was rebuilt on the Bay Road in 1886, while the Church of the Ascension was built and consecrated at Tower Hill in 1889 to serve the upper half of St. David's parish.[68] In the same year the Church of the Transfiguration was constructed at Digdeguash in St. Patrick's and Millidge was able to report the largest number of parishoners of any clergyman in the county.[69]

Change in the lumber industry was inevitable. Reciprocity had saved an industry which in terms of the world market had been in decline since the middle of the century. Many traditional uses of wood were being approximated by iron pro-

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68. Raymond, Progress of the Church of England in Seven Rural Deaneries;'Deanery of St. Andrews'.
69. Ibid.

ducts. The shipbuilding industry was the most immediate casualty. In 1861, only two ships were in the process of construction in the county,[70] and while a brief revival ensued in the decade following, these were the final tremors of a dying industry which, over the next three decades, was to pass into oblivion. The long-term effects of steel substitution in construction and industry, combined with world despression and trade decline, hastened the passing of the timber industry itself. By 1875 the lumber industry faced the darkest three decades in its existence; the period between the depression beginning in 1874 and the rise of the pulp and paper industry shortly after 1900. In a specialized lumber economy such as that of the St. Croix Valley, where prosperity was entirely dependent upon world markets, the economic slump which began with the rapid trade decline in 1874 was disastrous. With only a brief respite in 1879-81, the depression continued from 1874 to 1896.[71] Lumber production on the St. Croix which had been eighty million board feet in 1874 fell to one-half that figure in four years.[72] In the face of the prolonged depression, wages were drastically cut and there followed massive unemployment among the mill-workers in the urban areas, and poverty in the rural areas where farmers, with the loss of their cash crop, were reduced to subsistence farming. The toll was

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70. New Brunswick, Journal of the House of Assembly, 1862, App. VIII.
71. Easterbrook and Aitken, op. cit., p. 391.
72. Davis, op. cit., p. 269.

equally great among the lumber barons. Only the strongest and most persevering survived. Nowhere is the effect of the depression demonstrated so effectively as in the economic destruction of the great lumbering families. By 1880 only seven of the twelve major firms remained, a number which was reduced to three by 1896.[73] One firm, H. F. Eaton and Sons, purchased Eaton Bros. in 1885, Gates and Wentworth in 1889, and C. F. Todd in 1892. On the St. Stephen side of the river only the Murchie and F. H. Todd firm survived. The destruction of the shipbuilding industry was also completed in this depression period and the skilled craftsmen, many of them third and fourth generation natives, were forced to readjust or emigrate.

In the face of this economic catastrophe, the realization became increasingly clear that, despite the natural proclivity of the environment to the lumber industry, a more stable basis was required for the economy. Salvation seemed to lay in the terms of the National Policy expounded by MacDonald. This policy, which when originally proposed had generally encountered stiff opposition in the county, it was now felt, might be utilized to the advantage of the region. Of particular importance was the source of power available on the St. Croix River above the town of St. Stephen. The decade of the 1880's therefore, was devoted

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73. Ibid., p. 270.

to the transition of the middle St. Croix Valley from a lumbering and lumber processing economy to a diversified manufacturing economy. The foremost of the new industries was the development of the St. Croix Cotton Mill at Milltown, which was initiated by the four surviving lumber barons of the time, headed by James Murchie. Capitalized initially at $400,000, of which one-third was locally provided,[74] the capital stock was subsequently increased to $1,000,000, and the plant opened in 1883 employing six hundred people, and with a capacity of 225,000 yards of cloth a week. Despite a precarious existence, which ran the gamut of restricted markets, competition, wage-cutting, long hours, work stoppages, suspensions, layoffs, and a major strike in 1886, the industry survived its first decade, and with a tradition of labour difficulties which were to continue throughout its history, one of the largest textile firms in the Maritime Provinces began its colourful career.

A small candy business had been opened in St. Stephen in 1875 by G. W. Ganong, a Kings County native. Under the impetus of tariff protection, operations were gradually expanded until it developed into one of the major industries of the community,[75] employing one hundred fifty people as early as 1887. In that latter year the Surprise Soap factory began its operations.

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74. Ibid., p. 258.
75. St. Croix Courier, June 17, 1885.

In the subsequent decade (1890-1900), further industrialization occurred with the opening of a fertilizer plant, an axe factory, and a flooring mill on the St. Croix. An upswing in lumbering activities also resulted in higher employment in the remaining mills.[76]

The economic revolution in the middle St. Croix Valley after 1880 culminated in a social revolution. The most striking feature was the distinction now made between urban and rural areas. Relatively little difference was noticeable before 1860 and while the terms Saltwater, Union Mills, Milltown, Upper Mills, and The Ledge were used to distinguish villages straggling along the riverside in St. Stephen parish, there was little differentiation among them, or between them and the agricultural hinterlands behind them. The employment on a full-time basis of large numbers of individual workers necessitated the workers living within close proximity of the mill. This process had already begun with the lumber mill workers after 1860 and after 1880 was reinforced by the industrial development paralleled by the breakdown of the lumber-agriculture alliance of the preceding century. The great increase in the concentrated urban population developed economically specialized communities in contrast with the more flexible, more self-sufficient, farmer-labourer-lumberman who had retained a much greater degree of independence. Nowhere was the growing complexity of society

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76. Canada, 1891 Census, Vol. IV, p. 335.

in St. Stephen parish illustrated than more in the administrative changes made in the parish after 1870. Between 1871 and 1873 the parish was divided into five administrative areas, the old village of Saltwater became the town of St. Stephen with a population of 2,300 in 1881.[77] Milltown was separated from St. Stephen and incorporated as a town with 1,600 inhabitants, Upper Mills with 300 was temporarily set apart as an incorporated village although it was later reunited with St. Stephen parish, The Ledge was created into the parish of Dufferin, while the remaining rural hinterlands remained as the parish of St. Stephen. While St. Stephen and Milltown reaped the benefits of the new industry, the other two communities lapsed into decaying suburbs of the larger centres. At the same time most of the rural areas of St. Andrews parish, including Bayside and Waweig, were created into the parish of St. Croix, while St. David's parish was extended to include the Oak Bay area.

Other social changes engendered by the new industry included the disruption of the social mores in regard to the position of women within the family and within the community. In the earlier pioneer society, the differentiation of the role of man and woman, particularly husband and wife, had been clearly defined. A widow, unless having independent means of support,

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77. See Appendix A.

was normally regarded as a pauper. The only vocations open to single women had been those of teacher and seamstress (none were open to married women whose husbands were living).[78] After 1880, the economic conditions dictated that the primary function of many women, particularly within the working classes, should be that of breadwinner, or breadwinner in conjunction with her husband, rather than housewife. In the St. Stephen area in 1891 there were more than five hundred industrial jobs for women, and it is almost impossible to exaggerate the consequences of this revolution upon groups within the community. Probably the most distinguishing social characteristic which divided the working class was whether or not the mother of the family was forced to seek industrial employment. Another social change was the direct external control exerted over county industry. In 1890 the cotton mill was purchased by a Montreal firm,[79] and for the first time the populace felt the influence of a control which brought stability and at the same time a distant impersonal factor in the relationship of employer and employee, of employer and community. Henceforth, the employee and the community were to deal with the major industry through the medium of a developing managerial class.

The depression followed by industrial expansion had varying effects on the several denominations. The smaller de-

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78. National Archives, New Brunswick Census, 1851,1861.
79. Davis, op. cit., p. 259.

nominations whose primary support came from the lumber aristocracy, the Congregationalists and Unitarians, went into a state of decline. The Methodists, Baptists, and Roman Catholics, principally working-class churches, expanded rapidly as the area grew under the impulse of industrialization. The Presbyterian denomination grew rapidly in the towns, as erstwhile farmers became mill workers, but suffered severe losses in the rural areas not only from emigration but from the incursions of the Methodists.

The denomination which suffered the greatest loss in this period was the Universalist. The strength of the group had been drawn from two areas; one was St. David, in which the Universalist tradition had prevailed in certain families from Loyalist times, the other, St. Stephen parish, where a church was erected at Milltown with its congregation drawn from several wealthy families from the Methodist schism who united with a number of Universalists of American origin living in Milltown. The only formal organization existed in Milltown, and its vulnerability lay in its dependence upon a half-dozen prominent families in the community. During the ministry of James Philbrook (1854-61), a dynamic young man, interest in the organization remained high. The deaths of several of the leading Universalists and the frequent intermarriage of the scions of their families with the aristocratic Congregationalist families led to a gradual diminution of the more prominent families in

the congregation. This process was accelerated after 1861 when Philbrook, an American citizen, enlisted as a Captain in the Union Army during the Civil War. The remaining gentility, mostly Todds, attended services with the Unitarian society in Calais and, upon Philbrook's return in 1865, the Calais Unitarian Church became his principal charge with the Milltown Universalist Society taking a purely secondary role.[80] With the destruction of its church in the Saxby Gale of 1869, the Milltown society disbanded, some members continuing their association with the Calais Unitarians and the remainder being absorbed into the Congregational church. Thus the 451 Universalists returned in the census of 1861 had been reduced to 230 by 1881,[81] the Milltown group declining from 175 to 62. The society had gained acceptance within the community only because of its wealthy patrons. The general revulsion with which it was regarded by all denominations insured its rapid demise once this support was removed.

The demise of the Universalists almost paralleled the growth of the Congregationalists. As the denomination of the socially prominent elements in Milltown, this group benefited from intermarriage with the Universalists, and from the migration of American workers into the Milltown lumber industry prior to 1875. In the decade after 1860 the denomination became increasingly puritannical in outlook. In 1870 it voted to expel any

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80. Knowlton, op. cit., p. 156; Knowlton was Unitarian minister in Calais in 1875.
81 See Appendix B.

member missing the monthly communsion services for six months,[82] and during the 1870's its leading members played a prominent role in the temperance movement.

The depression worked hardship upon this group as upon all Milltown denominations. The rapid succession of bankruptcies among its lumber baron supporters and the subsequent loss of adherents had reduced the church to financial difficulties. Though still containing elements of its former prestige, the social status of the church had begun a gradual decline after 1880. Its financial system, based upon property, had disintegrated under the stress of an adverse economic situation. With the loss of its leading members, the denomination found itself eclipsed in numbers by both Roman Catholics and Methodists, and even challenged by the growing Presbyterianism within the county where it had reigned supreme, in position if not in numbers, for forty years.

The Congregationalist denomination found itself in an increasingly insupportable position after 1890. Its ties were entirely American. It was a member of the Maine Congregational Union and its adherents generally had close family ties with the Calais area, reminiscent of an earlier age of freer trade and pioneer settlement when the boundary had been an artificial one in fact if not in law. Confederation had raised a political

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82. Milltown United Church, Record Book of First Orthodox Congregationalist Church of St. Stephen, N. B.

and the National Policy an economic, if not a social, barrier within the St. Croix Valley, and increasingly the Congregationalist denomination found itself cut off from the source of its strength.

If the causes for the decline of the Universalists and Congregationalists were primarily economic and political, those for the decline of Presbyterianism were economic and theological. The Presbyterian church in 1860 was the principal rural agricultural denomination of the county. Thirty per cent of its strength was in the single parish of St. James and it was the dominant faith in St. Patrick, Dumbarton, and the rural areas of St. Andrews parish. The exodus from these parishes after 1875 threatened to denude certain areas of the interior agricultural parishes of their population, and had devastating effects upon the small rural Presbyterian congregations.

Until 1875, the county's Presbyterians remained divided into two administrative units and three denominations. The congregation of St. Andrews and its small satellite groups in the surrounding parishes remained within the Church of Scotland, while the pastoral charges of St. James, St. Stephen, Bocabec-Waweig, St. George, and Baillie-Tower Hill constituted St. Stephen Presbytery of the Free Church of Scotland. To confuse the issue further, the majority of Presbyterians in St. David and St. George claimed to be "Reformed" Presbyterians of

the old Covenanter sect, the most theologically conservative of all Presbyterian groups.

The Free Church Presbytery of St. Stephen continued its local home missions programme with some success. In 1870 a congregation was organized in northern St. David's parish, at Tower Hill, which was united with the Baillie congregation to form a new pastoral charge with its own missionary.[83] The rural charges of St. James and Waweig-Bocabec proved to be the most stable in the period prior to 1890. Both obtained ministers who spent the greater part of their lives in the charge. As William Millen commented upon his return to Waweig in 1861 --

> "Changes are hurtful and break down the congregation. The Methodists are taught to look for changes but not so the Presbyterians. When a minister and congregation are settled and their affections centered there should be no removal without great cause".[84]

The difficulty in procuring clergy lay in the fact that the Presbyterians inherited the weaknesses of both the Methodist and Regular Baptist polities without either of their strengths. The responsibility for procuring a clergyman lay primarily with the local pastoral charge. Thus, if no clergyman was available, a charge could go leaderless for years.[85]

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83. Pine Hill Archives, Minute Book of Presbytery of St. Stephen 1857-1870.
84. Quoted in Archibald, op. cit., p. 151.
85. Baillie faced this situation from 1861 to 1870.

At the same time the power of selection and ordination of clergy lay in fact with the Synod. This lack of co-ordination among the church courts and the perpetual imbalance between the supply of and the demand for clergy were to prove the decisive weaknesses of the Presbyterian system. Either the Methodist or the Baptist systems would have guaranteed a continuous supply of clergy at all times. The record of the St. Stephen pastoral charge indicates the seriousness of this problem. From its foundation as a charge in 1854 until 1900 the congregation had nine ministers, the longest term being nine years, the shortest one year. Between these nine individuals there were six breaks extending from six months to five years each in length.[86] These interruptions occurred in a comparatively large urban church.

In 1870 the Presbytery of St. Stephen ended its sixteen-year existence and its five pastoral charges were amalgamated into the Presbytery of Saint John. It is difficult to ascertain the net effect of this upon Presbyterianism within the county, but it was probably deleterious. The denomination in this period was not interested in mission work. Its primary concern was the healing together of the factions which had resulted from the strife of the previous generation and every effort was made to bring about the union of 1875.

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86. Kirk-McColl Church, St. Stephen, Kirk Session Book.

The period after 1870 was marked by continuous loss for the Presbyterian faith in every parish of Charlotte. Much of this loss was due to emigration but equally as much to conversion, in the South Shore parishes to the Regular Baptists, and in the agricultural areas to the Methodists. Presbyterian strength in St. James was also dissipated by "union" churches. The Scottish Presbyterian settlements had been made in a compact group in western St. James. These were later augmented by Irish Presbyterians. From St. Stephen, the native Methodists had moved into eastern St. James and eventually moved southward, almost encompassing the Presbyterian majority. In settlements where a mixed population was to be found, small local churches had grown up containing, in most cases, Presbyterian majorities and Methodist minorities. By 1880 there were four of these churches with a total of 125 communicants in comparison with the three Presbyterian churches in the parish containing 151 communicants.[87] Eventually the Methodists, more aggresive, efficiently organized, with greater resources of leadership and a reforming Arminian zeal, created a minority into a Methodist majority within the union churches, particularly those at Pomeroy Ridge and Lower Little Ridge. Particularly after 1880, the numbers of Presbyterians in these groups rapidly dwindled.

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87. Census of Canada, 1901, Vol. IV, p. 366.
Acts and Proceedings of The General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1889, Appendix B.

The depression struck Charlotte in 1874, and resulted in a movement back to the farms. It was not until the mid-1880's that the younger generation began a large-scale movement from the farms. The movement was sometimes one-stage, but more frequently two-stage. In most cases the individual moved to the urban areas to seek employment: after a period of time there, he or his children would leave the county itself. The movement from rural to an urban point within the county rather than to some external point began after 1895 and centered on the St. Croix. The Presbyterian areas of St. James were contiguous to industrial Milltown with its great employment capacity and its guaranteed cash income. From 85 in 1881, the number of Presbyterians in that town rose to 215 in 1891, and to 327 in 1901.[88] By 1890 the Scotch Ridge minister found most of the younger generation of his congregation in Milltown, and subsequently, to retain their contact with the church, he began to hold cottage prayer meetings among the large groups of uprooted Presbyterians in the community. The Congregational vestry was later used for evening services and, by 1892, a decision was made to form a church.[89] The following year two elders were ordained and the congregation constituted by the Saint John Presbytery. The rapidity and ease with which the congregation was organized indicates the strength of feeling among the newly

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88. See Appendix B.
89. Milltown United Church, St. James Presbyterian Church Session Book 1894-1924.

urbanized Presbyterians for their mother church, and their connection was commemorated in the name St. James by which their church was consecrated in 1894. The Scotch Ridge minister continued to serve both St. James and Milltown until 1897 when the congregation voted to become a settled charge with its own clergyman.[90]

A similar growth was experienced in St. Stephen's Kirk. This church, never native to St. Stephen, and formed largely from immigrants of the period after 1820, had suffered a considerable loss of membership after 1860. Of the seventy-five original communicants only twenty-nine had been St. Stephen residents, the remainder coming from Calais, Baillie, Scotch Ridge, and The Ledge.[91] A decade later the Presbyterian community in St. Stephen contained only half that number of members. The depression actually aided the growth of this church, for as unemployed workers from Milltown moved into the lower town seeking employment in the commercial establishments, the congregation began a rapid growth which made it the largest pastoral charge in the county by 1882.[92] It more than doubled its size again before 1900,[93] replacing the Church of England as the second denomination of the town.

The demographic antithesis of the Presbyterian situation

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90. Ibid.
91. Kirk-McColl Church, St. Stephen, St. Stephen's Presbyterian Kirk Session Book.
92. General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1882; Appendix 24.
93. Ibid., p. 328.

was found in the Roman Catholic denomination in Charlotte. Roman Catholicism followed the Irish settlement and was a church of the towns, nearly two-thirds of its adherents residing in the urban areas at the beginning of the third period. The remainder were to be found in small pockets throughout the Irish dominated parishes of St. Patrick, Dumbarton, Lepreau, Pennfield, and St. James. In the rural parishes the Roman Catholics lived in small scattered settlements surrounded and greatly outnumbered by Ulster Protestants. The rise of the Orange Lodges in St. Patrick, Dumbarton, St. George, Pennfield, and St. Stephen attest to the difficult social position in which the Catholic groups found themselves. Consequently through emigration and intermarriage their numbers began an early decline in the rural areas except in the few areas of Dumbarton where Irish Catholic settlements had been made. The most prominent of these was that of Flume Ridge, Dumbarton, the birthplace of the Rt. Rev. Timothy Casey, fourth Bishop of Saint John.[94]

When the Roman Catholic centre of the county shifted from St. Andrews to Milltown the two small churches constructed at Milltown by the Rev. John Cummings in the 1840's were replaced by a much larger church, St. Stephen's, in 1864,[95] and a small chapel was constructed in Saltwater in 1862.[96] Tension

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94. Catholic Parish Register, Diocese of Saint John, p. 53.
95. Ibid., p. 75.
96. Knowlton, op. cit., p. 178.

between Roman Catholic and Protestant denominations in the urban areas was kept to a minimum through the efforts of Rev. James Quinn, who served as pastor of St. Andrews (1846-54), Milltown (1854-62), St. George (1862-67), Milltown (1867-85). A zealot in his own fashion, Quinn had learned to compromise with the dominant evangelical Protestant culture. Largely due to his efforts, the more radical elements among the Irish Catholic immigrants were quieted, and Protestant fears that a threatened attack by American Fenians would evoke an uprising among their Milltown counterparts were allayed. The only major religious conflict in which Quinn became involved was the schools' issue of 1871. He vainly petitioned the federal government for restoration of the Catholics' religious privileges within the public schools system.[97] Protestant feeling had been aroused in reaction against the dogma of papal infallibility the previous year, and there was a general attitude that Quinn's proposals were part of a general plot to infiltrate and gain control of the public school system to use it as an instrument for the propagation of Roman Catholic doctrine. Unable to gain any local concessions, Quinn organized two separate schools in the parish. The schools question remained the most volatile issue in local politics. Despite the size of the Catholic community in Milltown, no compromise was ever achieved,

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97. Public Archives of Canada, Rg. 7, Quinn to Governor-General in Council, June 6, 1871. Public Archives of Canada, Miscellaneous Documents, Vol. II, p. 102: St. Stephen's Parish re School Bill.

and the public schools came to represent the battle standard of Protestant supremacy within the county.

The Milltown Roman Catholics were particularly vulnerable to the depression of 1874. For the most part they represented the mill-labourers, few having any farm outlet as did most native labourers. Again, unlike the natives, their resources were extremely limited and they were unable to withstand a lengthy depression. At the same time they had few roots or traditions in the community and represented an alien culture to the population among whom they settled. An exodus began quite early and by 1880 the St. Stephen Roman Catholics, who represented a more prosperous group including a number of skilled tradesmen and a handful of small businessmen,[98] became the dominant group in the parish. Long dominated by the numerically stronger Milltown congregation, whom they evidently viewed with some antipathy, the Catholics in the town of St. Stephen petitioned the Bishop for a separate parish, a request which was granted in 1888 when Holy Rosary parish was created. The St. Stephen period of pre-eminence was brief, however, and the advent of the new industry preserved Milltown as the Roman Catholic centre of the county after 1880. Despite its consistent losses in most other areas of the county in this period,

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98. Public Archives of Canada, Census 449 OMR, 1861 New Brunswick Census: Charlotte County.

the denomination maintained itself in Milltown at almost the same strength in 1900 as in 1870. By 1900 there were four parishes in the county served by regular priests in addition to four small scattered mission churches which were served from St. Andrews and St. George.

While all other denominations were either losing strength or barely maintaining themselves, the two colonial puritan evangelical churches, the Methodist and the Baptist, experienced a rapid expansion in the St. Stephen community area. Optimism and evangelism were the hallmarks of Methodism in the last third of the nineteenth century. The St. Stephen District Meetings are a perennial record of these traits, the dominant theme being the concept of "the power on high visited, and has led to the sanctification of believers".[99] The emphasis was upon sanctification, that highly mystical concept in which the individual experiences a divine revelation, the result of faith and repentance, which leads to a purifying in-dwelling of the Hold Ghost.

Dependence was still upon revivals as the most effective means of mass evangelism. In the St. Stephen area several were held in the decades after 1870, culminating in

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99. Mount Allison Archives, St. Stephen District Record Book 1875-88: 1875.

the Gale revival of 1896, jointly sponsored with the Baptists, in which seventy-five converts were made in St. Stephen, fifty-four in Milltown, and seventeen in St. James.[100] The reasons for the Methodist success in the third period are not difficult to ascertain. The prevailing spiritual mood of the time was actually encouraged by the hardships of the economic depression. The Methodist system utilized to the greatest extent possible all local lay leadership. In addition to class leaders, who were basic to every society, promising young men could be appointed by the circuit as exhorters, or evangelists, within a particular society. After a successful period as exhorter, the district could then licence these men as local preachers for periods up to three years and these latter could, in a period of several years, through graduated stages of study, attain ordination by the Conference.

McColl had never used leaders other than class leaders and this practice continued until 1855. After that, and particularly after the formation of the St. Stephen District, they were used extensively and provided the most effective means of evangelizing and holding together circuits of several scattered societies under the supervision of only one minister. By 1890 the St. Stephen District contained nine circuits em-

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100. Mount Allison Archives, Minutes of the N.B.- P.E.I. Methodist Conference, 1896.

ploying seven ministers, four local preachers, and six exhorters.[101]

It was in the urban centres, particularly in the Methodist stronghold on the upper St. Croix, that, with the introduction of the new industry, the most rapid social changes were transpiring. Here the puritanical Methodist ethic had been accepted as the basic moral and social value of the area, a situation which was emphasized by the almost universal acceptance given to the Reform Clubs. Stability, however, demanded its price, and it became increasingly difficult for the Methodist denomination to maintain its religious radicalism in the face of a social establishment of which it was the bulwark. A further schizophrenia was engendered over the issue of clerical education. The Conference minutes of 1885[102] listed sixteen clergymen out of ninety-six holding degrees, and there was increasing pressure to insist upon longer terms of ministerial study at Mount Allison University. Previous emphasis had been placed upon ability and experience, the academic qualifications being limited to examinations upon stated texts. Considerable opposition was raised to the educational emphasis by those claiming that sanctification made formal academic education as such unnecessary. The increasing dichotomy of the Methodist position in the urban areas such as St. Stephen is reflected in

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101. Ibid., 1890.
102. Ibid., 1855, p. 6.

the diversity of its interests: on the one hand, an emphasis upon a personal spiritual experience demonstrated in the frequent use of mass revivals, and on the other, the organization of series of mid-week courses in which lectures discoursed on such subjects as "Pre-Christian Religions and Their Effects on Christianity",[103] "Our Grandfathers: Man or Monkey?",[104] "Evenings with the Poets".[105]

Always more pietist than radical, the greatest problem urban Methodism faced after 1880 was that of becoming merely staid and overly efficient. The Milltown circuit adopted the envelope system in 1875 replacing the old quarterly collections, and the Milltown clergy were finding increasing difficulty in keeping the class system functioning. As early as 1880 three of the six class leaders in the society "refused to act fully".[106] As the communities grew larger and more cohesive after 1882, and the church members became spread over a wider social and economic spectrum, the problem of keeping members together in the highly unified class groups on the basis of geography became increasingly difficult.

Of all the denominations on the upper St. Croix,

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103. St. Croix Courier, December 25, 1876.
104. Ibid., March 8, 1877.
105. Ibid., December - March, 1878.
106. Milltown United Church, Milltown Methodist Circuit Book 1879-1925.

Methodism was most affected by the concentrating effect of the new industry. As late as 1868 the St. Stephen Methodist Church contained only two classes and forty-two communicants actually living in the village, the others being scattered in a dozen rural settlements in the peripheral areas of the village. Twenty years later the St. Stephen town classes had grown to one hundred thirty-two communicants. By 1900 they had reached 226 with a total of 730 adherents in the town.[107] The comparable communicant figures for Milltown were from seventy-five in 1873 to 155 in 1900.[108] The strength of the St. Stephen society was demonstrated in 1876 when the society's new, uninsured $20,000 church burned. A new structure was erected within a year despite the fact that this was the third year of the depression.[109]

One distinctive characteristic of Methodism was its highly organized system of Sunday Schools, which were used as the basic instrument of evangelism. Sunday Schools had been in use in St. Andrews among both Presbyterians and Anglicans as early as 1810, but the practice did not become general throughout either denomination. The Presbyterians used them only among the very young, while as late as 1890 they were used in neither of the Anglican churches in St. Stephen. By contrast the Methodists had employed a most efficient system of

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107. Kirk-McColl Church, St. Stephen, St. Stephen Methodist Circuit Membership Rolls, 1855-1888: 1889-1940.
108. Milltown United Church, Milltown Methodist Circuit Membership Rolls.
109. Mount Allison Archives, Wesleyan Magazine, July 22, 1876.

Sunday Schools in all circuits after 1830, presenting a graduated study from early childhood into adulthood, when the young adult was inducted into the class system. The effectiveness of this method was reflected in the high correlation between Sunday School attendance and church membership in the older circuits. The 560 scholars in the district in 1865[110] rose to more than eleven hundred by the end of the century.[111] Communicants in the same period increased from 393[112] to 865[113] despite, on the average, a net loss through emigration of twenty-one communicants a year between 1880 and 1900.[114]

The expansion in St. Stephen parish in the two decades after 1850 had increased the population by one hundred and thirty per cent. Social distinctions had also developed which were to be accentuated as the economy altered and reformed. The Methodist support of the second and third generation tradesmen and millmen after 1830 had resulted in a split with the lumber aristocracy over the social consequences of their economic operations. By 1870 the situation had altered considerably. With the upsurge of wood manufacturies after 1854, the unskilled labour was largely imported. The older inhabitants

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110. Mount Allison Archives, Minutes of N.B.- P.E.I. District Meeting, 1865.
111. Minutes of N.B.- P,E.I.Conference, 1900.
112. Minutes of Saint John District Meeting, 1865.
113. Minutes of N.B.- P.E.I.Conference, 1900.
114. Ibid., 1880-1900.

comprised, for the most part, the businessmen, tradesmen, and farmers of the area. The 1861 census reveals that the Methodists in the area drew particularly from tradesmen and farmers, clerks and small businessmen, essentially a lower-middle-class grouping with a much smaller proportion of millmen and labourers. The common labourers were drawn from the poorer Irish Roman Catholics, migrants from other parts of the county, and the United States. This distinction was intensified in 1880 with the rise of the new industry. Methodism had originally become the dominant denomination of the area as the faith of the working-class. As it abandoned this area in the fourth generation, its place was taken in Milltown by the Roman Catholic denomination, and in St. Stephen by the Regular Baptist.

The Baptist denomination in the St. Stephen area was largely built upon two migrations from the South Shore areas to St. Stephen. The first occurred between 1855 and 1870, resulting in the establishment of a Baptist church in St. Stephen; the second came as a result of the new industry after 1882. The Union Street Baptist Church of St. Stephen was the outcome of evangelistic meetings held in 1869. The following year seventeen members banded together and organized a congregation. Growth throughout the depression period was moderate and took place almost entirely as the result of a series of revivals held periodically during this time.

Most of the original Baptists were first generation migrants from the rural areas of the South Shore. In its first fifteen years the church received one hundred thirty-six members, fifty by transfer and eighty-six by baptism, most of the baptisms being children of the transferees.[115] Almost all baptisms were made in a series of four revivals. The young denomination suffered greatly from the decline of the lumber industry after 1874. Losses during the depression were heavy and in 1884 the membership stood at one hundred and one. The advent of the new industry brought another influx of migrants and the development of a large proletariet. Subsequently three great revivals shared by the Baptists and Methodists swept the area in 1885, 1886, and 1896. The Baptists added one hundred and eighteen members between 1885 and 1891, eighty-six of them by baptism.[116] The church had experienced great difficulty in procuring and keeping a minister, but the arrival of the Rev. W. C. Goucher in 1888 began a period of unprecedented growth.

At the same time, the Home Missions Board of the Convention determined to carry missionary work into the neighbouring parish of St. James where the small Baillie church had been struggling for survival in that predominantly Presbyterian community since 1832. In 1872 a minister was ordained for the

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115. Acadia Archives; Union Street United Baptist Church, St. Stephen, N. B., Record Book 1870-1891.
116. Ibid.

church under the auspices of the Board. The church shared with St. Stephen the effects of the revivals of 1886 and 1896 and, although it remained the only home missions charge in the county, the missionary was able to report two churches in St. James in 1896 with fifty-five families and sixty members.[117]

By 1900 the original purpose of home missions, the development of new churches among converts, was passing into obscurity with the generation which promoted it. Home missions work had become simply the task of supplying under-privileged churches with sufficient material resources to continue operation and of supplying evangelists for established churches. The Regular Baptists were rapidly acquiring the organization and the stability which marked the other more formal denominations. The denomination was losing its distinctive qualities of fluidity and spontaneity.

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117. Minutes of Baptist Convention of N.B., N.S., and P.E.I., 1896, p. 221.

E - St. Andrews

Economically and socially the St. Andrews community area was divided between the port of St. Andrews and the agricultural parishes of St. Andrews, St. Croix, St. Patrick, and Dumbarton. The economic decline of the port had begun by 1850 and in the decade after 1850 hundreds of its workers moved to the St. Stephen area. Nonetheless, while foreign trade and the wooden ship remained an integral part of the county's economy, the port retained a measure of prosperity. The destruction of the lumber industry after 1874 destroyed the economic basis of the port and threatened it with extinction. Between 1851 and 1921 the port and parish of St. Andrews experienced an uninterrupted loss of population. The National Policy conferred little benefit upon the port. For purposes of domestic trade, the railway replaced the wooden ship. After 1880 decline had been replaced by decay in the port. However, the decision of the Canadian Pacific Railroad to construct a resort hotel in the area in the last decade of the century guaranteed its continued existence. From this period onward the community became primarily a resort area with its economic foundations resting upon both the railroad hotel and the estates of the very wealthy. The agricultural areas of the community developed with the lumbering industry, and with its decline they declined. In the twenty years after 1880 the

population of St. Patrick and Dumbarton declined by more than one-third, almost the same ratio of population loss recorded in St. Andrews port.

While general decline was the fate of the community area throughout the period, the denominations within the area did not lose proportionally. While dwindling in numbers in the port of St. Andrews, Methodists and Baptists actually increased in numbers in the rural areas of the community. In terms of both numbers and proportion, the denominations most heavily hit by the decline in the St. Andrews community area were the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church. The former lost forty per cent and the latter fifty per cent of their followings in the period.

The port of St. Andrews had been the early centre and stronghold of the Church of England, and hence its losses here, at a time when it was suffering heavily in other areas of the county, were particularly painful. In addition to the theological dissensions which were wracking the denomination, the Church of England was still attempting to grapple with the problem of finances. Four of the seven parishes in Charlotte remained aid-receiving throughout the entire period (St. David-St. Patrick-St.James, Campobello, Grand Manan, St. George-Pennfield) despite the fact that the number of adherents in the first parish numbered 890 in 1889; in the second, 100; in the

third, 200, and in the fourth, 800. Of the remaining three parishes, Trinity, St. Stephen, received aid from the Colonial Church Society, and the parishes of Christ Church, St. Stephen, and St. Andrews were self-sustaining only by virtue of their glebe incomes. Bishop Medley made much of the relative poverty of the Church of England in the colony. He devoted the greater part of his diocesan charge in 1862 to the matter, and declared the denomination to be the only one in the province receiving financial aid from outside the colony.[118] His remonstrances had little effect in Charlotte and the situation remained the same throughout the entire period.

The conflict between evangelical and high church theology caused far more alarm than is generally realized. In St. George, the influx of Irish Presbyterians had tended to create a more congregational than episcopal outlook, while conversely in St. Andrews, the exodus of evangelicals into the Methodist ranks in the two decades prior to 1860 had left the balance of power in the hands of the high church party. Of the major urban churches of the county, in St. Stephen alone the issue had remained unresolved.

In St. Andrews, after the retirement of Alley, the

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118. A statement which was not quite true. Most congregations of the Church of Scotland received missionary aid, including St. Andrews, which received £50 a year.

Bishop informed the vestry that he planned to present his friend, W. Q. Ketchum, with the parish, a command to which the vestry acquiesced,[119] a fact which indicates the degree of high church influence in the parish by 1857. Two years later the vestry, without urging, offered the rector a salary of £300 and a free rectory. St. Andrews was fortunate in that a large part of its glebe land had been sold and the money invested to produce a regular income. The total income from this source amounted to almost $500[120] a year by 1895. Ketchum's forty-three years in the parish is mute evidence of the effectiveness of high church doctrine there. After 1870, the decline of population in the parish rapidly diminished the strength of the congregation although until the end of the century it remained the largest Church of England congregation in the county, reporting 212 communicants as late as 1897. Confirmations in the parish averaged thirteen a year throughout the third period.[121]

The tiny scattered agricultural settlements continued to pose a problem for the Church of England. The clergy generally refused to itinerate, and the relatively high educational qualifications demanded resulted in a perennial shortage of clergymen for the smaller mission areas.

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119. All Saints Church Vestry Records 1838-87.
120. Ibid., 1887-1937.
121. Ibid., Records of Confirmations, 1867-1919.

Consequently, a great imbalance resulted: Campobello, Grand Manan, Christ and Trinity churches, St. Stephen, each having less than three hundred adherents, had a clergyman,[122] while St. David, St. Patrick, and St. James parishes, comprising half the area of the county, with nine preaching places and nine hundred adherents, were left to one missionary.

The union of the Church of Scotland and Free Church Synods in Canada in 1875 to form the Presbyterian Church in Canada came at a most inopportune time for the Greenoch Church of St. Andrews. King Lumber was in the process of dethronement and the port of St. Andrews was entering that transition from mere decline to actual decay. Entry into the new union meant a severence of the ties with the mother Church of Scotland. The St. Andrews pastoral charge particularly suffered from this direct break. Until 1878 every minister of the Greenoch Church had been from Scotland and had returned there upon retirement.[123] Being the only Church of Scotland clergymen in the county, they were responsible not only for the Greenoch congregation but for numerous tiny groups in the rural areas of St. Andrews and Dumbarton. In 1870 the St. Andrews pastoral charge listed 379 adherents in the port of St. Andrews, eighty-two at Chamcook, sixteen at Bar Road, ten

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122. Diocesan Church Society Report, 1877, p. 96.
123. Presbyterian Witness, August 9, 1913.

at Bay Cove, and ten at Bayside in St. Andrews parish. In addition there were four at Tyrone Settlement, sixteen at Dumbarton, seventy-five at Rollingdam, twelve at Sorrel Ridge, and twenty-two in Pleasant Ridge, all in Dumbarton parish. Financially, despite the fact that it contained many of the most prosperous individuals in the county, the congregation was never able to support itself. Grants had to be continued from the Home Missions Board until 1885, while the clergyman was forced to rent accommodation until a wealthy lady tourist donated $2,000 with which a manse was finally purchased in 1900.[124]

As in the St. Stephen area, the Methodists used even the depression period after 1874 as an opportunity for evangelism. The rural societies on St. Andrews circuit were detached in 1876 and formed into an eighth circuit -- Bocabec.[125] The circuit contained only twenty-eight communicants and again the minister was subsidized to conduct active missionary rather than pastoral work. The St. Andrews circuit, even though freed of its rural responsibilities, made little progress in the port. The declining population left little opportunity for actual advance, and the arrival of the Baptist denomination occupied the traditional social positions into which Methodism might have advanced.

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124. Cockburn, op. cit., p. 12.
125. Mount Allison Archives, St. Stephen District Record Book 1875-88.

In the predominantly Presbyterian agricultural areas however, the Methodists met with considerable success in their campaign of evangelism. The Bocabec minister had four societies in 1876: Bocabec and Digdeguash (in St. Patrick), Rollingdam (Dumbarton) and Lawrence (St. James). During the next decade, societies were organized from this circuit in the Ulster Irish settlements of Tyrone, Whittier Ridge and Sorrel Ridge (in Dumbarton) and Brockway (in York County). By 1890, the Bocabec circuit consisted of eight societies operating with stewards and class leaders. Four of these societies had been organized from converts.[126] Throughout the entire period the circuit never became self-supporting although by 1900 the subsidy amounted to less than twenty per cent of expenses. Between 1876 and 1890 the communicants on the circuit rose from twenty-eight to one hundred twenty-eight[127] in a period when the population of the parishes concerned declined twenty-three per cent.[128] Only in St. Andrews did Methodism fail to advance. The movement from the community which had begun after 1850 continued without interruption until 1921 to the detriment of Methodists, Presbyterians, and Anglicans. After the creation of Bocabec circuit, the membership of the St. Andrews circuit stood at twenty-six,[129] and by the end of the century the total had

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126. Wesley United Church, St.Andrews, Circuit Book of Bocabec 1882-1910.
127. Minutes of N.B.- P.E.I. Methodist Conference, 1890, p. 21.
128. See Appendix A.
129. St. Andrews Methodist Circuit Book.

reached only thirty-five, with the district meeting two-thirds of its $1,000 annual expenses.[130]

The Baptist progress in the period was the result of a movement outward from several small rural congregations which had been established in St. Andrews and in St. Patrick's parish. In 1860 the only Baptist congregation in the valley had been the First St. Andrews Church at Bayside. Bayside acted as the centre from which distribution was made throughout the lower St. Croix Valley. In the years immediately after 1850 the Bayside congregation maintained a relatively stable membership of about ninety in the prosperous agricultural hinterland of the port of St. Andrews. The surplus from the large rural families which composed the congregation moved southward into St. Andrews village and northward into the Waweig area. Fourteen of the original twenty-two members who founded the St. Andrews Church in 1865 were demitted from Bayside.[131] Despite the fact that the Bayside Church was forced to share a minister with St. Andrews and Bocabec in 1871, it continued to be the most stable of this trinity. However, by 1875 it was reduced to thirty-one members, and by 1885 the Convention evangelists found it necessary to carry on a series of revivals in the area to resuscitate the old congregation.[132] Two years

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130. Ibid.
131. Acadia Archives, Bayside Baptist Church Records 1838-1926; Second St. Andrews Baptist Church Record Book, 1865-1925.
132. Acadia Archives, Minutes of Baptist Convention of Maritime Provinces, 1886, p. 51.

later, the three deacons of the Bayside Church formally organized a branch church at Waweig. The following year, seventeen members of this branch organized as the Bartlett's Mills Baptist Church.

The St. Andrews church began its existence in a community in which the evangelical position which it represented had been monopolized by the tiny Methodist congregation. This Baptist church was founded by migrants, for even when the community was declining a constant flow was maintained by farmers leaving the land who normally took two generations to leave the county, the first generation being a transfer from a rural to an urban setting. Of a total of one hundred twenty persons who were baptized members of this church between 1865 and 1880, only thirty-seven were baptized in St. Andrews, the remaining eighty-three having been received by transfer.[133] The majority of those baptized in St. Andrews were the children of the transferees.[134] Of this total sixty-four left the community before 1900 -- about half to the St. Stephen area -- including most of the younger generation who had been baptized in the community. Efforts to maintain a strong congregation in St. Andrews were unavailing. Union with the Bayside Church was necessary in 1871, and from 1880 onward the membership never rose above thirty.[135]

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133. Second St. Andrews Baptist Church Record Book, 1865-1925.
134. Ibid.
135. Ibid.

F - St. George

St. George received the immediate benefits of the transition from the West Indies to the British market after 1844. For the only time in history, the population of St. George parish surpassed that of St. Stephen in 1851. Reciprocity, however, conferred relatively little benefit upon St. George and it remained primarily a supplier for the dwindling British lumber market.

Until the decline of the lumber industry in the 1870's, lumbering and agriculture remained the principal industries of the South Shore areas of Pennfield, Lepreau, and St. George. Fishing, on a modest scale, had undoubtedly been carried on along the coastal areas but it was an incidental rather than a major industry. As late as 1871 only 243 men were engaged in fishing along the entire South Shore, which contained a population of more than five thousand.

The Baptists had entrenched themselves as the dominant religious group in the area in the second period. Ironically, while making large gains elsewhere, the Baptists lost ground in their stronghold not only from emigration, but also from the incursions of the more congregational and fundamental Disciples of Christ from Deer Island. St. George, the mother church of the Regular Baptist movement in the county, had

had passed its high mark by 1860. The entire third period is the story of a continuous loss of members which frequently threatened the existence of the church although with its satellite at Second Falls it managed to maintain itself as one of the major pastorates in the county. The First Church at St. George village had separated from the Second St. George Church at Mascarene in 1856 although it continued to serve the Second Falls Church. In the year of separation, the First St. George congregation raised £115 for the pastor's salary.[136] Eleven years later, so complete had the depression become, that the deacons seriously considered closing the church because of loss of membership and the inability of the remnants to lend financial support to the institution.[137] The loss of younger members was devastating. Of the 111 members in 1872, forty-five had been baptized in the decade before 1840, and only eighteen in the decade after 1860.

Another denominational irony was that the Church of England, which generally lost ground in every other community area of the county in the third period, actually made some headway in the depressed St. George area. The St. George and Pennfield congregations never suffered the bitter theological con-

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136. United Baptist Church, St. George, N. B., Record Book of First St. George Baptist Church 1832-1900.
137. Ibid. -- the minister's salary was reduced to $260.

flict which threatened to destroy the St. Stephen church. So complete was the evangelical triumph in St. George that it became increasingly difficult to distinguish between the Anglican and Baptist polity in the community. In contrast with the position in St. Andrews, congregational control of the rector was absolute. He was forbidden to collect or handle church money in 1888, and in 1894 the vestry refused to install (in the chancel) a cross which had been purchased as a memorial item.[138] Typical of this control was the method of selection of a new rector in 1900. Applications for the position were invited and fourteen were received. The applicant finally selected was almost rejected when the suspicion was raised by the rector of St. Jude's Church in Saint John that he had "high church tendencies which I feel you do not want there at all".[139] An idea reminiscent of Presbyterian or even Baptist practice was suggested in the phrase of one vestryman at the time "if we give him a unanimous call, he might accept it".[140]

The thoelogical position of the evangelical party within the Church of England was much closer to the general norms of the county, and consequently those parishes which thrived in this period were the evangelical groups which moved closer to the puritan Arminian position. Thus the

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138. St. Mark's Church, St. George, Vestry Records 1870-1934, p. 98.
139. Ibid., p. 149.
140. Ibid., p. 164.

rector of St. George and Pennfield informed the Pennfield vestry in 1876 that he was organizing a Church of England Total Abstinence Society.[141] The young rector of Musquash and Lepreau, who had the only fishing community in which the Church of England was able to command the allegiance of the majority of the inhabitants, announced quite candidly in 1897 that, through the summer, he had conducted evangelistic services at Mace's Bay and New River in Lepreau, and at Musquash at which, "members have expressed a new experience of the saving power of Jesus".[142]

The St. George and Pennfield churches suffered considerable loss of membership as a result of emigration, and the depression prevented the parishes from becoming self-sufficient. As the depression became progressively worse after 1875, the point was reached where the congregations could raise only half the rector's salary.[143]

The destruction of the lumber industry forced members of the community to seek other employment. The lumber industry survived on a modified scale on the Maguagadavic River, particularly at Second Falls. In the coastal areas, however, a transition began after 1875 from lumber-agriculture

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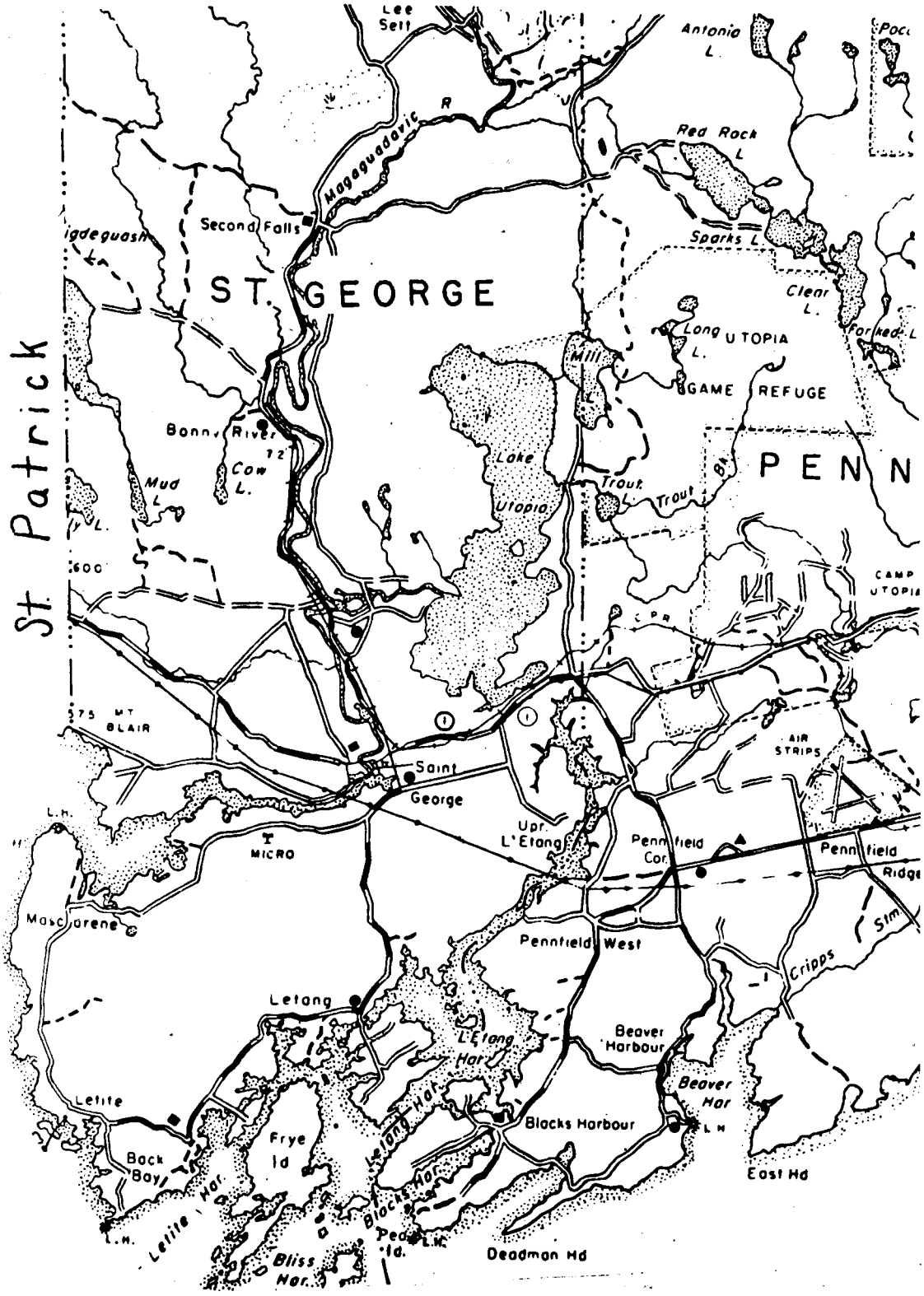
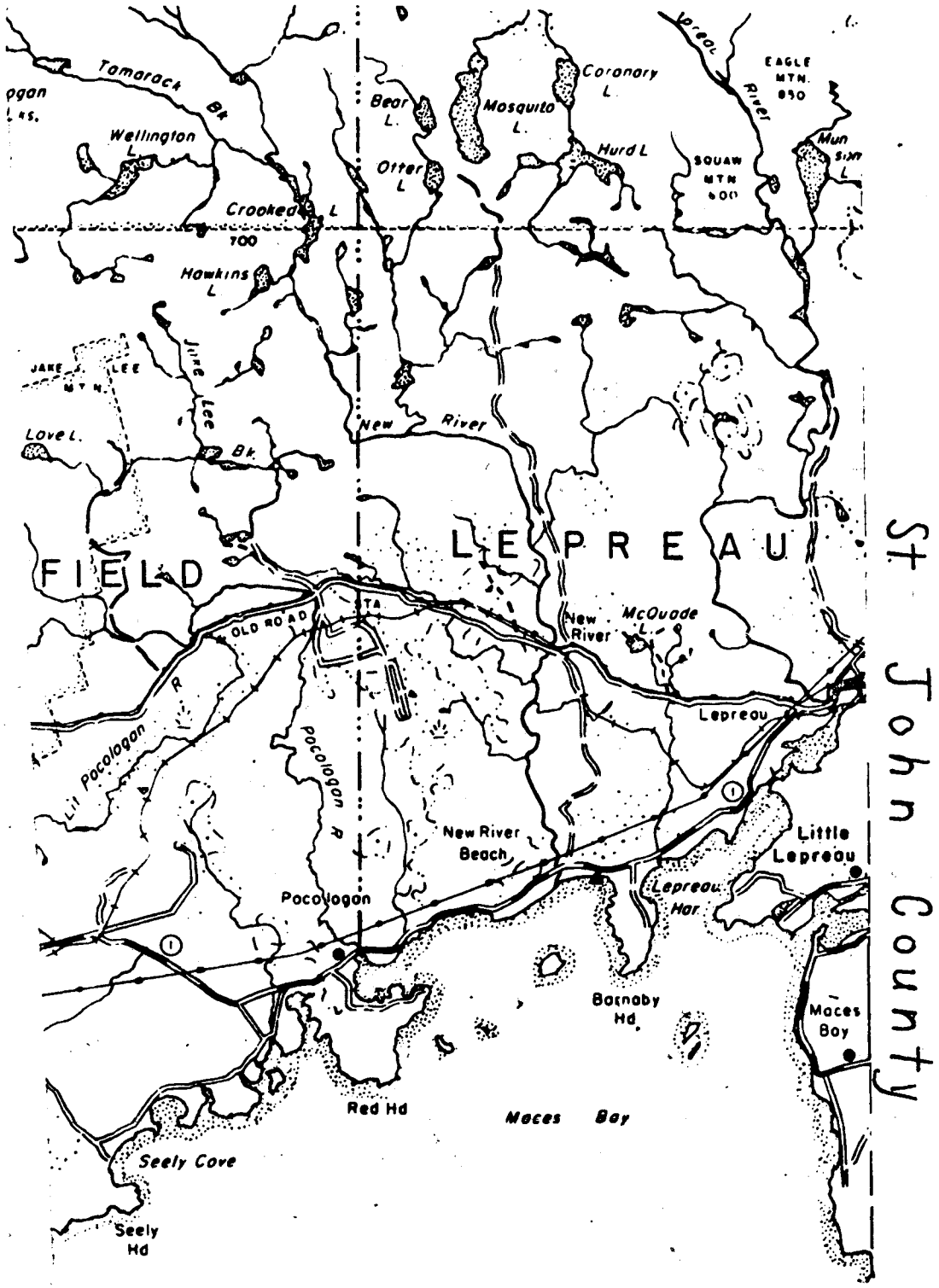
141. St. Mark's Church, St. George, Pennfield Parish Records 1831-1949.
142. Diocesan Church Society Report 1897, p. 49.
143. St. Mark's Vestry Records, 1870-1934. p. 98.

to fishing. In southern St. George parish the old agricultural communities of Mascarene and Letang declined and were supplanted by the fishing villages at Back Bay and Letite. Much the same pattern developed in Pennfield parish where the already established fishing villages at Black's Harbour and Beaver Harbour expanded while the agricultural areas of the parish declined.

At best, however, the fishing industry was a poor second choice. Living standards generally fell and emigration from the St. George area was extremely heavy. Between 1880 and 1890 the parish population dropped twenty-one per cent while lesser decreases occurred in Pennfield and Lepreau. Symbolic of the triumph of the fishing economy in the area was the establishment of the Connors Brothers fish processing plant at Black's Harbour. This plant, secure in the eastern part of the county from American competition, rapidly developed into one of the largest plants of its kind in the world. It marked the turning point in the transition of the South Shore from farming to lumbering to fishing as the way of life of the majority of the population. The 243 mainland fishermen in 1871 had tripled twenty years later at a time when the population of St. George, Pennfield, and Lepreau parishes had declined.



Map 5 - St. George Community Area: St. George and western Pennfield parishes.



Map 6 - St. George Community Area: Lepreau and eastern Pennfield parishes.

As the predominant social institution in the community area, the Baptist denomination was that most affected by the economic changes of the period. After 1870 there was a gradual movement of the population from the urban areas of the village up the Magaguadavic River into the Second Falls settlement to which the centre of lumbering operations had been transferred. By 1880 the Second Falls church surpassed the St. George mother church in size and maintained its lead almost to the end of the century. Of seventy-seven members received into the First St. George Church in the decade after 1880, only thirty-two remained on the membership rolls in 1892, and only fifteen were left in 1900.[144] Of those transferred to other congregations, two-thirds were to the United States, particularly Massachusetts and Minnesota. Most of the remainder moved to the St. Stephen area.

The greatest menace to the Baptist position rose not from depression and emigration but from the threat of invasion by the Disciples of Christ from Deer Island. Separated by less than a mile of water from the mainland of southern St. George parish, many Deer Island natives had almost certainly settled among and intermarried with the population of the mainland parish. As early as 1862 one of the outstanding Disciple evangelists, George Garrity, crossed from Deer Island to the fishing

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144. First St. George Baptist Church Records.

village of Letite, the southernmost area of St. George parish, and conducted an evangelistic campaign among a small independent Baptist group in the village. The following year the group renounced its Baptist faith and its members became Disciples of Christ.[145]

Fortunately for the Baptists, Garrity left in 1867 and a period of Disciple inactivity and decline ensued. After a decade of missionary inactivity a Disciple revival ensued in 1880 under the leadership of a Back Bay lumber millowner, Joseph Gates, who, beginning as a lay preacher at Letite, spent six years rebuilding the denomination on Deer Island. The revival could not have occurred at a more inappropriate time for the Baptists. The southern St. George area was in the midst of a period of transition. What had formerly been a conservative agrarian community rapidly had become a radical speculative one, and to the Baptists' problems arising out of the depression had been added that of the onslaught of the Disciples of Christ. The victim of this onslaught was the Second St, George Church at Mascarene. This congregation, which had originated in 1840 when one hundred thirty-seven members of the First Church had withdrawn, included the great majority of the population of the Letang Peninsula in 1870.

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145. Butchart, op. cit., p. 312.

Gates returned to the mainland in 1881 and began the active evangelization of the growing village at Back Bay. A church was organized at Back Bay in 1881, and from this base the evangelization of Mascarene and Letang was carried out so effectively that the Second St. George Baptist Church at Mascarene was reduced from eighty members in 1878[146] to twenty-two in 1886.[147] In 1883 he crossed Letang Harbour and entered Black's Harbour where a small church was established -- the denomination's fifth in the county. A sixth was added in 1896 when another small congregation was organized at Letang.

The adhesion to the Disciple movement, particularly in southern St. George parish, was largely a movement of social protest. Between 1870 and 1890 the entire economy of the area had been altered. The lumbering-agricultural economy had been destroyed with the end of Reciprocity, and the subsequent depression had forced hundreds of farmers to either leave the Peninsula or to move to the coastal areas and engage in the hazardous and speculative fishing industry. The transition from a conservative agricultural society to a radical fishing society took place within one generation. Revolt was aimed at the essentially conservative nature of the Regular Baptist

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146. Minutes of Baptist Convention of N.B., N.S., and P.E.I., 1878, p. 44.
147. Ibid., 1886, p. 146.

denomination, and at the tendency toward central alien control by the Convention. At the same time favourable attention was given to the seeming equalitarian, individualistic interpretation of Christianity offered by the Disciples, and its adherence to a rigid sacramentarian position emphasizing the means of grace, and their control by the laity rather than by a professional clergy. Significantly, almost the entire group represented the poorest economic classes in the area, and the lack of leadership and direction was to provide a most erratic pattern of growth and recession. By the end of the third period the Disciples could claim almost five hundred adherents in southern St. George parish, while the Baptist strength had fallen from fifty-one to thirty-six per cent of the parish population.[148]

Caught in the economic and social crossfire of this period were the small surviving Presbyterian congregations of the St. George community area. Their geographical position placed the bulk of them between Baptists and Disciples, both of which had also derived from the Calvinist tradition. Presbyterianism received a considerable strengthening as a result of the union of 1875. The disruption had particularly affected the St. George Presbyterians, many of whom had held aloof from the Free Church mission which was founded there. The result

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148. See Appendix B.

was that neither group had sufficient adherents to employ a regular clergyman. The 1875 union brought them together, and a new pastoral charge was created consisting of small congregations at St. George village, Pennfield, and the remnants of the Scots Presbyterians at Mascarene.[149] Established in the heartland of the Regular Baptists and competing as well with the Disciples of Christ at Mascarene, the St. George congregations remained pitifully small and the charge never became self-supporting. By 1890 the three congregations could show a total of only fifty-one communicants in forty-three families.[150]

149. Archibald, op. cit., p. 152.
150. Minutes of General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada 1890, Appendix 24.

G - The Islands

With the declining West Indies market, the fishing industry entered a depression, and the period after 1850 saw a gruadual decline in employment and production. This trend was halted in the next decade with the advent of Reciprocity and the transition from dependence upon the West Indies market to dependence upon the American market. By 1871, 757 vessels and boats operated by 1,362 men were harvesting the Passamaquoddy and Fundy Bays and landings in the previous year totalled 124,120 barrels of herring and 15,722 quintals of haddock.[151] The greatest number of fishermen were on Deer Island where, in 1871, almost one-third of the Island's entire population was actively employed in fishing. On Grand Manan the ratio fell to one person in four. After 1860 Grand Manan replaced Deer Island as the centre of the fishing industry. On Campobello only one-fifth of the population was thus engaged.

The period of Reciprocity set a pattern for the Charlotte fishermen on the western islands contiguous to the Maine coastline. It was simpler and more lucrative to deliver the fish directly to the processing plants located at Eastport and Lubec than to organize and maintain plants on the Canadian islands. Consequently, despite the fact that lobster plants and several small fish pro-

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151. Canada, Census of 1871, Vol. III, pp. 257-259.

cessing plants had been established on Grand Manan and St. Andrews in the decade after 1850, from Reciprocity onward the bulk of the catch was delivered to American plants. The processing industry of Charlotte was not developed on a large scale until the end of the century, and then only in the eastern part of the county where American competition was not so serious a factor. By 1900 the Eastport and Lubec plants were producing almost one million cases of fish annually, much of it caught in Canadian waters by Canadian fishermen!

The denominational picture on the Islands at the opening of the third period was in a state of rapid transition. The Disciples of Christ were just completing their conquest of Deer Island. After nearly a half-century monopoly of the social institutions of Grand Manan and Campobello, the Church of England was beginning to feel the effects of a rapid Free Will Baptist advance. Only in Campobello had a fairly stable denominational pattern been established, with a Baptist majority centered at Wilson's Beach, and an Anglican minority at Welshpool.

In Grand Manan and Compobello, which remained under the aegis of the S.P.G. until 1892, the Church of England lost heavily before the onslaught of the Free Will Baptists. A succession of young high church missionaries bred an attitude of suspicion among the native population who had little sympathy for young highly remunerated specialists who attempted to introduce what seemed to

be papist practice among twelfth generation New Englanders. William Carey on Grand Manan (1849-70) attempted unsuccessfully to compete with the Baptists by opening a mission at North Head.[152] The purchase of Campobello from the Owen family by a group of wealthy Americans, headed by the father of F. D. Roosevelt, in 1884, and its subsequent development as a resort area, gave the Welshpool church added strength from among the wealthy cottagers.

The most spectacular expansion of any group in the third period was that of the Free Will Baptists. Before 1860 there had been two small churches in the county, one at Wilson's Beach, Campobello, and the other at North Head, Grand Manan. The advance was most impressive on Grand Manan where, in the 1861 census, a majority of the population had given at least nominal support to the Church of England. The failure of the Church of England to acquire the loyalty of the fishing population of the Bay of Fundy island during a fifty-year monopoly of its social institutions represents the most conspicuous example of cultural incompatability in the history of the county.

The Free Will Baptist conquest of Grand Manan was accomplished within six years, largely through the efforts of one missionary, Rev. Joshua Barnes. Barnes was sent by the Conference in 1862 to expand the small mission at North Head. The story of his revivals,

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152. U.N.B.Archives, Diocesan Church Society Report 1897, p. 57.

typical of the Free Will Baptist attacks on all new territory, is vividly portrayed in his autobiography, Lights and Shadows of Eighty Years. In combination with two other evangelists and using the North Head church as a base, he began evangelistic services at Seal Cove village, where services were held afternoon and evening, seven days a week. Within three weeks a branch church of thirteen members was organized and in the following year a total of ninety-one converts were added to this congregation. A church building was completed in 1863.[153] The same year twenty-seven conversions were made at the North Head church and Barnes participated in a revival on White Head Island, off the Grand Manan coast, which resulted in the organization of a church there.

Having organized churches on either end of the island, Barnes found that the principal obstacle to the Free Will Baptist advance now was the Anglican stronghold of Grand Harbour in the island's centre. Barnes attempted to get the use of the school there for public meetings, but it was"refused and closed against them forever",[154] as Barnes observed with more than a trace of bitterness. The Church of England, under siege by the interloper, fought back with every legal means in the power of its more influential members, but Barnes' success had attracted the attention of the Free Will Baptist Conference. In 1863 Charlotte and St.John counties

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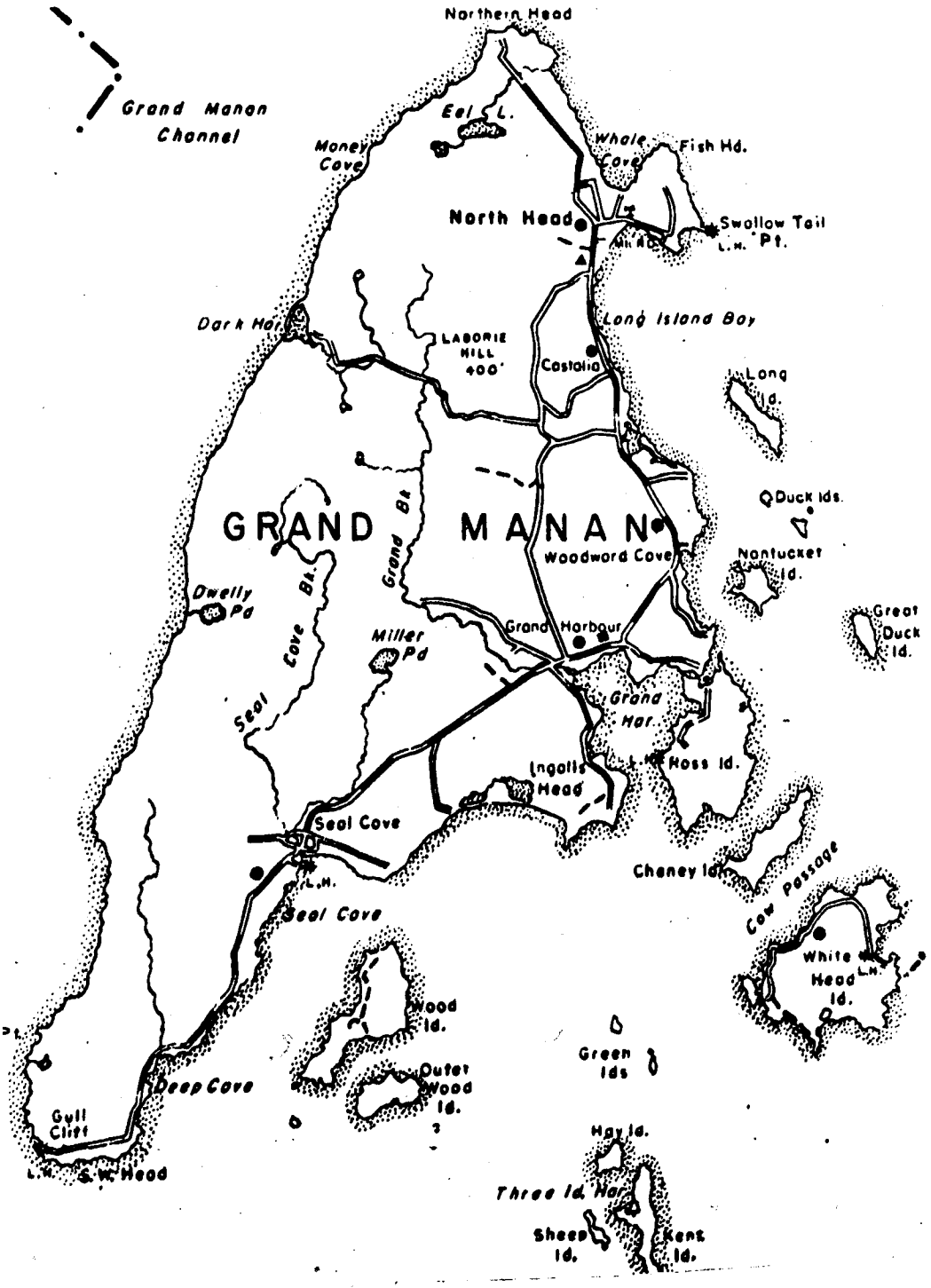
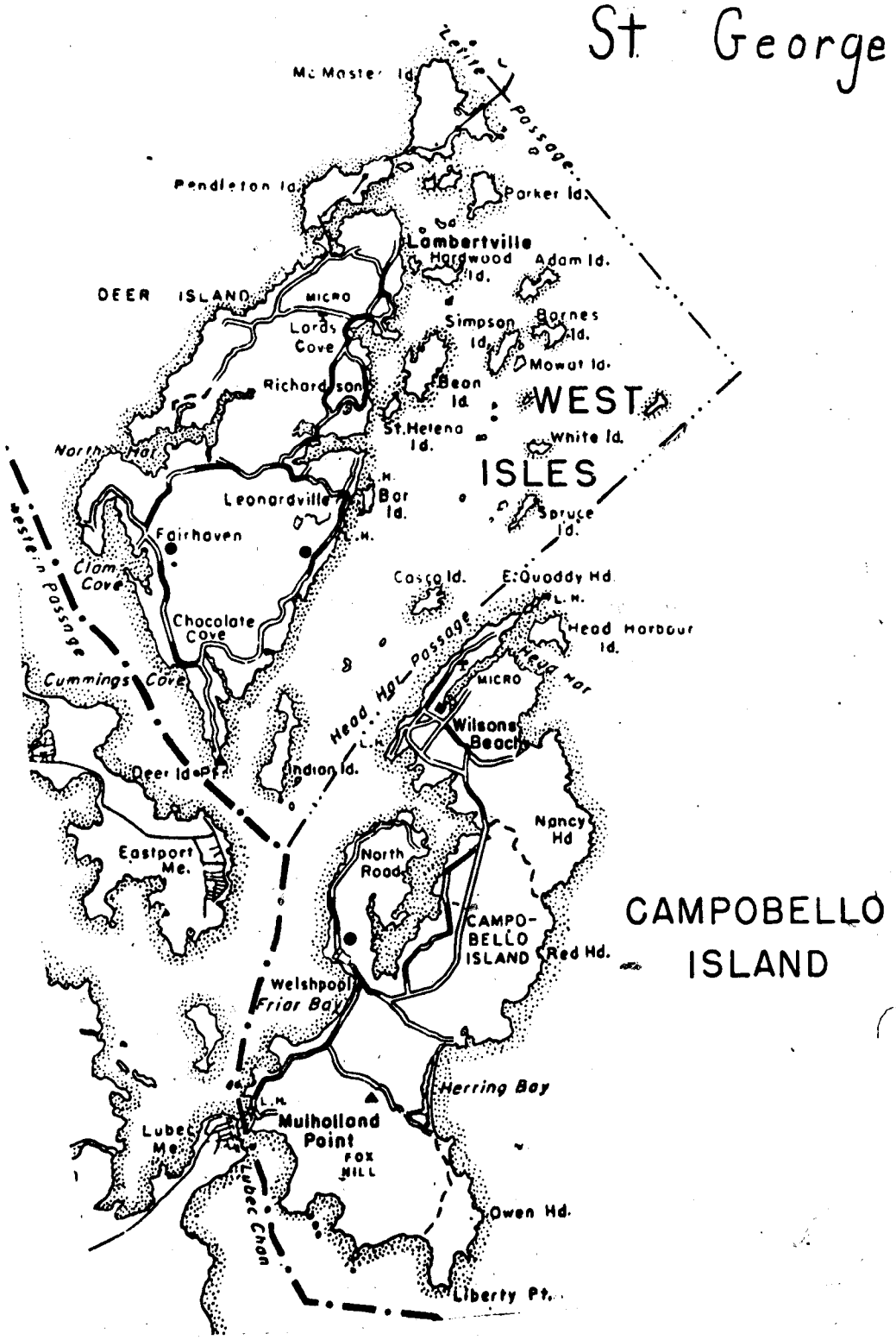
153. J. N. Barnes, Lights and Shadows of Eighty Years (Saint John: 1911), p. 56.
154. Ibid., p. 50.



Map 7 - The Islands Community Area: Grand Manan Parish.



Map 8 - The Islands Community Area: West Isles and Campobello parishes.

were organized into the Seventh District of the denomination, and four evangelists were sent to the aid of the missionary. In 1864 Barnes and his associates began an intensive three-month revival on the outskirts of Grand Harbour which resulted in forty-one conversions, and the organization of a church of fifty-three members. This work was followed up by a revival in the smaller settlement of Woodward's Cove which resulted in twenty-seven conversions and the organization of a church there. Within two years Barnes had organized three churches, one branch church, and baptized a total of 268 converts.

In 1865 Grand Manan was divided into two circuits by the Missions Committee. In 1868 the entire Free Will Baptist Conference of New Brunswick was reorganized into thirty-four circuits of which three were in Charlotte: one comprising Wilson's Beach (Campobello) and Beaver Harbour (Pennfield); one comprising North Head and Woodward's Cove; one containing Seal Cove, Grand Harbour, and White Head Island.[155] Communicants on the Charlotte circuits totalled 803.[156]

Two of the three Free Will Baptist circuits were on Grand Manan, but the third and oldest was that of Campobello

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155. Acadia Archives, Minutes of the Free Christian Baptist Conference of New Brunswick, 1868, p. 22.
156. Ibid.

with its centre in the Wilson's Beach church. This church remained the largest Free Will Baptist congregation in the county, and continued a steady growth under the influence of Taylor, Barnes, Malloch, Babcock, and other evangelists of the period. The growth of this church was dependent upon the revivals, each held by a different clergyman, in which a total of 207 members were received into the church during the third period.[157] The Campobello churches, including Wilson's Beach and the North Head branch church, had their roots in the radicalism of the Main seacoast ports and were under the influence of American evangelists much more than other areas of the county. In Campobello, the distinction between Baptist and Anglican was racial as well as cultural. Baptist efforts to penetrate the Welshpool area were unsuccessful and the Anglican and small Roman Catholic group retained their traditional adherents, although as early as 1860 the Baptists claimed the allegiance of two-thirds of the island's population.

Two other missions were established in Charlotte by the Free Will Baptist Home Missions Committee as a result of the drive into the county begun by the establishment of the Seventh District in-1863. In that year a small congregation was organized in the small fishing community of Beaver Harbour

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157. Wilson's Beach United Baptist Church, Campobello, Free Baptist Church Records, 1856-1940.

in Pennfield parish among Free Baptist migrants from the islands who had settled there.[158] Two years later Elder Babcock made twenty converts in a revival and a small church was built. The congregation was the only permanent Free Will Baptist church on the mainland, and isolation from the others entailed many problems. It was included in the Campobello circuit, but the pastoral work and the church made little progress until the arrival of Barnes in 1881. He found thirty families in the church,[159] and spent three years with them during which time he established a sabbath school system modelled upon that of the Methodists. The second mission was on Deer Island. Campobello migrants had settled and intermarried with Deer Islanders for generations, and in 1869 a church was organized among this group, at Fairhaven in the southern part of the island.[160] In establishing this church the Free Will Baptists carried a challenge to the stronghold of the Disciples of Christ.

From their Deer Island centre the Disciples had made themselves the terror of the Free Will Baptists on Grand Manan and of the Regular Baptists in the southern St. George parish around 1860. Their greatest appeal, however, was their greatest weakness. Their independent congregationalist policy combined with their relatively isolated position created a dearth of clerical leadership. Until 1867 the movement displayed con-

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158. Acadia Archives, Minutes of Free Christian Baptist Conference of New Brunswick, 1863.
159. Barnes, op. cit., p. 121.
160. Conference Minutes, 1869.

siderable strength and one evangelist, George Garrity, was able to destroy the Baptist congregation at Woodward's Cove in 1866 and to establish briefly a small Disciples church in the community, as he had done three years earlier at Letite. The period from 1867-80 was one of stagnation and regression. Despite the congregational nature of the denomination, only the largest and most stable church, that at Lord's Cove (Deer Island), was able to function normally under lay leadership throughout the period. Even the comparatively influential Leonardville church carried on only sporadic periods of activity while the Letite group became dormant and that at Woodward's Cove was absorbed by other groups. In the interval, the Free Will Baptists were able to take their revenge for the Woodward's Cove assault, and the result was the establishment of the subsidized mission at Fairhaven (Deer Island) which, in conjunction with the old Chocolate Cove Independent Baptist Church, was to destroy the influence of the Disciples in the southern part of the island.

While the Arminian Free Baptists gradually gained control of the south of the island, the Disciples faced a new menace in their northern stronghold. The Methodists were in the process of launching their massive campaign to evangelize the county, and in 1872 the Methodist minister in St. Andrews conducted a series of evangelistic meetings on Deer Island which so impressed a group of non-Disciples of Christ in the northern part of the island that they petitioned the Methodist Conference for a mission-

ary.[161] The following year a mission was established and active evangelism began at Leonardville and Cumming's Cove. The proliferation of circuits for the sole purpose of converting non-Methodists is reflected in the fact that it was 1876 before any communicants on Deer Island were indicated on the Conference minutes. Yet of the new Methodist missions opened in this period the most successful was that conducted on Deer Island. Reporting only twenty communicants in 1880 after six years as a mission, it experienced a steady growth throughout the next decade with a series of revivals which added more than 150 converts to the circuit.[162]

For a time in the late 1870's it seemed that, with the exception of the Lord's Cove church, the Disciples movement on Deer Island would be destroyed. The fatal weakness of the movement was its lack of organization which placed almost complete dependence upon an individual leader whose departure from the community destroyed the greater part of the movement's influence. The salvation of the Disciples denomination came in the person of Joseph Gates, ex-lumber mill-owner and Back Bay native. Taking over the pastorate of the Deer Island churches in 1880, he engendered a revival which strengthened the island churches, then swept the fishing villages of southern St. George. The

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161. Johnson, op. cit., p. 219.
162. Minutes of the N.B.- P.E.I. Methodist Conference, 1880-1890.

Baptist and Methodist advance on Deer Island was gradually halted and by 1885 the Disciples were regaining ground at the expense of the two invading denominations. The Baptists were in a stronger position to resist the resurgent Disciples. Even they faced great problems. Growth was very slow, and until 1881 Fairhaven remained a mission church. The great problem was the animosity of the Disciples, whose adherents in 1861 comprised almost three-quarters of the island's population. The Free Will Baptist foothold in 1869 had been gained only because of the lack of leadership among the Disciples; the Baptists in their turn retreated before Gates after 1880. The situation was saved for the Baptists in 1886 when Barnes persuaded the old Christian Baptist Church of Chocolate Cove, which had been affiliated with an independent American group, to enter the New Brunswick Free Baptist Conference. The Fairhaven and Chocolate Cove congregations were united into the Deer Island circuit.[163] The result was an impasse between the Baptists and the Disciples with neither group able to eject or efficiently evangelize the other. The Fairhaven and Chocolate Cove churches were augmented in 1898 by the formation of a tiny branch church at Lambertsville in the northern half of the island.

The Methodists fared less well than did the Baptists

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163. Barnes, op. cit., p. 131.

after 1885. The bulk of the Methodists were converts from the Disciples and feelings between the two groups were frequently bitter. The Disciples revival and the depression which encompassed the island's fishing industry combined to insure the ultimate failure of the Methodist mission on the island. From 1883 onward, a steady trickle of fishermen suffering from the prolonged despression moved to Eastport on the Maine coast to seek employment in the sardine factories which were rapidly developing in that area. All denominations on theisland suffered but the infant Methodist mission had neither the following nor the tradition to withstand the prolonged emigration and in the decade after 1890 the number of communicants fell from seventy-six to thirty-two,[164] its total adherents from two hundred to one hundred and nineteen.[165]

The early success of the Methodist mission on Deer Island encouraged the St. Stephen District to extend its work to the largest of the Passamaquoddy islands. The floodtide of Methodist missionary activity in Charlotte was reached in 1884 when a ninth circuit was formed with the establishment of a mission at Woodward's Cove, Grand Manan.[166] Shortly afterwards the work spread to Castalia where a number of Methodist Nova Scotian immigrants had settled.[167] Only a limited degree of success was attained in the Free Will Baptist centre of

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164. Minutes of the N.B.- P.E.I. Methodist Conference, 1890, 1900.
165. See Appendix B.
166. Wesley United Church, St. Andrews, Grand Manan Methodist Mission Circuit Book.
167. New Brunswick, Census of 1861, Charlotte County.

Grand Manan. Methodism arrived on the island thirty years too late. The Arminian tenets and the social position which it represented had already been occupied by the Free Will Baptists. Nonetheless, the societies were maintained, a church was constructed at Woodward's Cove in 1893, and a Baptist-Methodist union church was donated at Castalia in 1875.[168] By 1899 however, the two societies contained only thirty-eight communicants[169] and one hundred and sixty adherents, and were not destined to exceed this number.

The only Free Will Baptist Church founded in the last half of the third period was that of Castalia, Grand Manan. Barnes had failed in his attempts to establish a church there in 1870, and for the next decade it reamined the only village on the island without a Free Will Baptist church. The community was one of the smallest on the island and had been principally settled by Nova Scotians, many of whom were Methodists. Finally in 1882 a union church for both Baptist and Methodists was willed to the community.

By 1880 the Free Will Baptists seemed on their way to becoming the principal denomination of Charlotte. Suddenly, at the pinnacle of success, the denomination was torn in two by a violent, bitter theological dispute over Entire Sanctification.

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168. Lorimer, op. cit., p. 136.
169. Grand Manan Methodist Mission Circuit Book.

The effects of the dispute on the denomination in Charlotte were catastrophic, for Grand Manan proved to be one of the centres of dissent. The minister and two-thirds of the congregation at Seal Cove, the largest church on the island, seceded and organized a Reformed Baptist Church in opposition to the Free Will Baptist Church in 1888.[170] The following year the North Head congregation, the oldest on the island, was divided on the issue and a Reformed Baptist Church was constructed there. Only Campobello remained completely loyal to the Conference. In the census of 1891, the Free Will Baptists had lost forty per cent of their following throughout the county.

Grand Manan was the gathering place of the very tiny sects, largely of American origin, which were imported into the county in the last half of the nineteenth century. The Woodward's Cove Baptist Church, along with most of the congregation, had been taken over by the Disciples under Garrity in 1866, and forty-five of this group in turn were converted to the Mormon faith by an American missionary who turned the church into a Mormon Tabernacle.[171] The existence of this group so offended a section of island society that the temple was burned. The missionary left, and in the decade after 1880 the Woodward's Cove group were ab-

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170. Seal Cove United Baptist Church, Seventy-five Years of Service, p. 5.
171. Lorimer, op. cit., p. 70.

sorbed into the Methodist and Seventh Day Adventist groups. At Grand Harbour, in 1887, a Salvation Army mission was opened despite the strong opposition of both Baptists and Anglicans.[172] At the century's end, Grand Manan contained one hundred and eighteen Adventists and fifty-eight Salvationists.[173]

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172. McPhee, op. cit., p. 230.
173. See Appendix B.

CHAPTER IV

Epilogue 1900-1940

The third period in the history of Charlotte marked the last major social and economic upheaval. The distinguishing characteristic of the fourth period was stability. With the exception of the last decade, the population remained almost stationary throughout. Properly, the fourth period is itself divisible into two parts: pre-war and post war. The pre-war period saw the decline of the fourth generation Loyalists, followed by the rise of the fifth largely represented by the armed services personnel returning in 1918 and 1919.

The century opened on a note of optimism. The economy seemed to be relatively prosperous. True, the golden west was beckoning an increasing number of young men to its broader horizons, but within the county itself the future seemed much brighter, both for the St. Croix industrial area and the South Shore fishing industry, than it had in the three previous decades. A total of 2,577 persons were employed in twelve different types of secondary industry with a capitalization of $2,696,000.[1] Further expansion occurred within the first few years of the century. In 1905 the two surviving lumber firms on the St. Croix, Murchie and F. H. Todd, amalgamated their enormous woods holdings with the St. Croix Paper Company of Woodland, Maine, "of which Mr. Todd was one of the

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1. Canada, Census of 1901, Vol. III, p. 162.

founders".[2] Thus the greater part of the woodland of western Charlotte and York counties passed under the control of American interests. The new corporation provided a market for much of the timber cut by the farmers of St. James parish, and thus there was re-established in that parish, on a limited scale, the traditional agricultural-lumbering economy which had prevailed in the previous century. A considerable tourist industry had been developed in St. Andrews, particularly after the establishment of the Algonquin Hotel in 1888 as the eastern resort of the Canadian Pacific Railways. In Black's Harbour (Pennfield), the Connors Brothers plant, which had been established in 1894 as a lobster cannery, was expanding into the field of processed herring, and was producing Canadian "sardines".

Prosperity was cut short in the drastic recession which, beginning in 1908, continued until the First World War. The foremost casualty of this recession was the already over-extended St. Stephen Bank which failed in 1910. The serious labour problems which were a mark of the Milltown Cotton Mill throughout its history took the form in this period of agitation against the importing of Scottish weavers and French-Canadian labourers. A strike over wages in 1903 proved so bitter that the Canadian Deputy Minister of Labour, W. L. MacKenzie King, was forced to arbitrate the matter himself.[3]

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2. Davis, op. cit., p. 270.
3. Davis, op. cit., p. 260.

The war brought prosperity particularly to the industrial area of the St. Croix. By the end of 1914 employment in the Ganong candy factory averaged between four and five hundred while that of the cotton mill exceeded eight hundred.[4] This economic state continued until a general slowdown began in 1928 which reached its bottom in 1932.[5] At that time employment in the cotton mill had fallen to 273, and the Connors Brothers plant was only operating on a weekly basis.[6] The year 1933 saw the beginning of a gradual upswing, and despite a further wage cut of ten per cent in the cotton mill and candy factory, employment soared.[7] By 1934 the cotton mill had raised wages five per cent and the candy factory ten per cent. Employment in the former reached 661,[8] while the Connors Brothers plant reached 350.[9] Salaries and wages were still low in comparison with pre-1928 levels of income, but cases of actual destitution in the period, while not uncommon, were not numerous. In 1934 also, Ganong's adopted a five-day work week, resulting in a twenty per cent rise in factory employment.[10] The following year, 1935, all plants, including the cotton mill, candy, fertilizer, and soap factories on the St. Croix,[11] the small pulp mill in St. George[12] and the Connors factory were reporting almost full levels of employment.[13]

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4. Calais Advertizer, October 31, 1917.
5. St. Croix Courier, May 18, 1933.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., May 3, 1934.
8. Ibid.,
9. Ibid., July 5, 1934.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid., February 28, 1935.
12. Ibid., December 12, 1935.
13. Ibid., April 25, 1935.

Agriculture, considered the principal occupation of the county until the First World War, while undergoing some minor fluctuations, continued a rapid decline. There were only one-third the number of farms in the county in 1941 that there had been a half-century before,[14] although the average acreage of improved land per farm had increased from twelve to twenty-two acres in the period. By 1941, the farm population of this rural county comprised only twenty-two per cent of the total and field crops in Charlotte were limited to the produce of less that 20,000 acres, of which eighty per cent was in hay and fourteen per cent in oats.[15] The reasons for these changes are twofold. While the population of the islands in the period declined slightly, that of the fishing communities of Pennfield parish, particularly Black's Harbour, more than doubled. This movement was accentuated after the cnslaught of the 1930 depression. Thus the fishing economy expanded as the agricultural parishes declined. The second reason for this change was largely the result of modern technology. The new industry after 1880 had forced urbanization upon a large segment of the rural population of the county. The development of the automobile reversed this trend after 1920. After 1930 there was an actual movement from the urban areas to the rural; this was especially true of the rural areas surrounding the towns of St. Stephen, Milltown, St. George and the village of Black's

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14. Canada, Census of 1941, Vol. III, p. 322.
15. Ibid.

Harbour, where commuters became quite common among the urban labour force. There were 386 persons over ten years of age living in rural areas in 1941 who had moved from urban locations in the previous decade,[16] and of the 1,213 farm occupiers in the county, 787 of them worked off their farms, about one-third of them as primary producers, the remainder as secondary and service workers, their off-farm incomes totalling more than $320,000 yearly.[17]

The advent of the commuter population created a bitter social problem as animosity was heightened by the depression. In 1935 when a labour dispute erupted between management and seventy workers in the fertilizer mill in St. Stephen, the town council refused to intervene on behalf of the poorly paid labourers on the grounds that they were mostly outsiders, and hence non taxpayers, who had agreed with management to work for less than the town workers.[18]

In the first quarter of the twentieth century the political habits of the last quarter of the nineteenth century solidified into tradition. Party loyalties became more firmly fixed as generation succeeded generation, with a fairly even balance existing between Liberals and Conservatives. Industrial-

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16. Ibid., p. 323.
17. Ibid., p. 352.
18. St. Croix Courier, February 28, 1935.

ist Gilbert Ganong's twelve-year tenure in the House of Commons was broken in 1908 by W. F. Todd, Liberal, son of Freeman Todd and Adeline Boardman, scion of two of the noblest lumber families. His reign was brief. The 1911 election was fought on the sovereign issue of reciprocity, and once again the lines were drawn: industrial-agricultural Charlotte versus fishing Charlotte; the St. Croix and interior agricultural areas versus the South Shore and the islands. The Conservatives won with a majority of 196 votes.[19] Thereafter prosperity and the economic boom of the post-war decade insured the Conservatives increasing margins of victory until 1935. The decline of the Liberals was most marked in the agricultural-industrial northern St. George parish, including St. George town. It was not until after 1930, in the rapidly developing urban areas of Pennfield parish, that the Liberals finally found a counterpoise to the Conservative stronghold of St. Stephen. As the agricultural areas declined and the fishing areas remained constant, as did the islands, or increased, as did Pennfield and southern St. George, the balance of power slowly altered to the Liberal advantage. The election of 1935 broke the Conservative monopoly. The party was broken in Charlotte over the reconstruction issue, and the dissident Reconstruction candidate polled more than half the number of votes polled by the Conservative, mostly in Conservative areas.

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19. St. Croix Courier, September 28, 1911.

The immediate social problems of the Irish migration had disappeared by 1900. The demise of that British-born generation may be traced in succeeding census figures after 1861. -- 2,294 in 1871; 451 in 1901; 63 in 1921. The social stigma attached to being an Irish immigrant in Charlotte however, was reflected in the census figures after 1881 as the first generation immigrants gave way to the next generation, and again after the First World War as the immigrants' children gave way to the grandchildren. The numbers of people in the county declaring themselves of Irish origin declined from 10,700 in 1881 to 5,200 in 1921 with a proportionate increase being recorded in the numbers declaring themselves to be English or Scottish.[20] The Irish decline was most evident in urban areas where substantial Roman Catholic minorities were to be found. In Milltown, St. Stephen, St. George, St. Andrews and Pennfield there was a high numerical correlation between numbers of Roman Catholics and those of Irish origin in 1941.[21]

The relative stability of the population resulted in an increasingly homogeneous group into which a small but perennial trickle of Americans and Nova Scotians was readily absorbed. Despite small enclaves of French-Canadians at Milltown and Pennfield, more than ninety-six per cent of the county's population were of British origin in 1942.[22]

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20. Canada, Census of 1921, Vol. III, p. 319.
21. Canada, Census of 1941, Vol. II, pp. 666-669.
22. Ibid., pp. 340-341.

The only traditional religious denominations to experience growth after 1900 were Baptist. Among them the most significant religious event in the early years of the century was the union of the Regular and Free Will Baptists in 1905. The secession of the Reformed Baptist movement from the Free Will denomination had made the union almost inevitable. The remaining Free Will Baptist majority included those who had rejected the holiness movement and hence were willing to accept a more conventional Christianity, and to modify their Arminian interpretations of Christian belief. At the same time the increasing Arminian influence within the life of the county had been so extensive in the preceding half-century that Arminian moral concepts were accepted as conventions in most areas. The already diluted Calvinism of the Regular Baptists was further undermined by a growing acceptance of the basic premise of Arminianism. As the polity of the two denominations became increasingly similar, the differences between them became largely a matter of detail rather than principle. Thus the union of 1905 was effected with a minimum of discord.

One great contributing cause to the success of the union in Charlotte was geography. The Free Will Baptists had been concentrated on the islands, the Regular Baptists on the South Shore, the inland agricultural area and the St. Croix Valley. In the one community where two denominations overlapped, Beaver Harbour, the two small congregations, numbering fewer than

sixty members each, united into a single church. Elsewhere the union had little effect upon the individual churches.

The new United Baptist Church, comprising all but the Reformed Baptists of Grand Manan, became the largest and most representative denomination in the county. The Regular Baptists brought seventeen churches into the union and the Free Will Baptists, twelve. In 1906 the new denomination in Charlotte contained twenty-six churches, nineteen clergy, 2,217 communicants[23] and in 1911, more than 6,000 adherents.[24] Until the First World War, the denomination remained relatively static. In the decade after the war it began an expansion in two areas, Pennfield parish and the town of St. Stephen. Even after the union of 1905, the major strength of the Baptists remained on the islands and the South Shore. With the rapid growth of the Black's Harbour area of Pennfield, a steady stream of migrants from the islands entered the growing secondary fish industry on the mainland, bringing with them their Baptist faith. This resulted in the establishment of both United and Reformed Baptist churches at Black's Harbour in this period, and a rise in the Baptist population of Pennfield parish from 487 to 1,310. The expansion of industry in St. Stephen during the war years resulted in a revival of the flow of labourers from the more depressed areas of the county, the Baptist areas, into St. Stephen with a resultant increase in its Baptist population.

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23. Yearbook of The United Baptist Convention of The Maritime Provinces, 1906, p. 20.
24. See Appendix B.

Baptist gains in the period after 1900, unlike those of the previous half-century, were not primarily the result of conversions but rather of a retention of the younger generation within the county. The denomination's proportion of the county's population rose from twenty-eight per cent to thirty-four per cent largely as a result of geography and social conditions. By 1821, the four towns of Charlotte, which contained only thirty-five per cent of the county's population, contained sixty-five per cent of all Roman Catholics, forty-five per cent of Methodists, and forty-three per cent of the Anglicans and Presbyterians, but only eighteen per cent of the Baptists, and most of these were labourers. The towns, which provided the educational centres for the county tended to prepare their youth for positions which necessitated their leaving the county. The irony of the situation lay in the fact that the more fundamental and anti-intellectual the denomination, the larger it was probably to be in the next generation. Moreover families in the rural areas tended to be somewhat larger than those in the urban centres, while religious institutions in these rural agricultural and fishing areas tended to be much more conservative than their urban counterparts. Thus the Baptists were able to reap the benefits of the two-generation pattern of movement in addition to dominating the only area which showed rapid growth after 1920.

Alternation in name made little impact on most local Baptist churches. The Campobello Church, in the best Free Will

tradition, continued the use of revivals as the standard method of enrolling members of the younger generation, and throughout the entire period it made use of this technique, the last revival of the period occurring in 1940 when forty-seven were baptized on the island in a week of evangelistic services.[25] In 1933 this church contained 296 members, of whom two-thirds belonged to eight families.[26] The islands, with the exception of Deer Island, remained Baptist monopolies throughout the period, containing the second and third largest churches (Wilson's Beach and Grand Harbour) in the county in addition to eight smaller congregations. The largest Baptist church was the Union Street Church in St. Stephen followed in fourth place by the old mother church of St. George. The problem faced by the United Baptist denomination after 1920 was to reconcile the two traditions from which it had risen. The denomination created from any union will be more tolerant in its theology than either of its forebears , and from sheer size will tend to become more conventional and hierarchical in its polity. From the war period onward a divergence appeared between "liberal" and "conservative" wings within the group. The last major revival in the St. Stephen church was in 1910, and while evangelists appeared periodically thereafter, the congregation became increasingly rational in attitude. The extreme zeal which marked the former Free Will churches was largely

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25. United Baptist Church, Wilson's Beach, Campobello: Membership Rolls.
26. Ibid.

lacking in the less radical mainland churches. The Seal Cove Church on Grand Manan, which averaged a humdred members between 1862 and 1937,[27] produced six ministers in that period, including one Anglican priest. By contrast the St. Stephen church, averaging twice that number of members, produced only one. By 1930, there were five home mission fields in the county, totalling ten churches.[28] The principal missionary work was among the Disciples of Christ in St. George parish, where advantage was taken of the Disciples' lack of leadership.

The problems which the Methodists faced in the twentieth century were generally similar to those faced by the United Baptists. More than any other denomination Methodism received the full force of the "social gospel" concept which became increasingly prominent after the turn of the century. This coincided with a drastic increase in the academic qualifications of ministerial candidates which resulted in a shortage of clergy and placed a premium on intellectual qualifications rather than spiritual experience. Unlike the Baptists the Methodist denomination had never divided over the doctrine of holiness. Entire sanctification and the concept of total regeneration had been implicit in Methodist belief from the time of Wesley although considerable latitude in interpretation of this concept had been permitted. In the

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27. Seal Cove Baptist Church, Seventy-five Years of Service.
28. Yearbook of United Baptists of the Maritime Provinces of Canada, 1930.

twentieth century an increasing divergence of attitude toward this doctrine developed as middle class elements within the denomination increased at the expense of the working classes. This dichotomy between liberal and traditional elements was most evident between rural and urban areas. The last attempt at mass evangelism in the St. Stephen Methodist Church was in 1910, when a revival was held in conjunction with the Baptists. After this, as the fourth generation gave way to the fifth, the traditionalists found themselves a steadily dwindling minority in the urban areas, where the class system, backbone of Methodism, was in a state of disintegration. Concentrated in or near the urban areas, the denomination suffered heavily from the advantages of the educational systems. As the population of the Methodist strongholds in the St. Croix Valley and the interior agricultural areas diminished after 1890, the proportion of Methodists in the urban areas rose correspondingly. The new social rational spirit of the denomination was manifested in the fundamental change in philosophy toward home missions. As in the case of the Regular Baptists and the Presbyterians, home missions work consisted of giving material aid to poorer circuits rather than being an evangelizing medium. The Grand Manan and Deer Island mission circuits were largely abandoned as missions, and underwent a state of gradual decline after 1900. The first quarter of the twentieth century represented a period of almost continual retreat on the part of the Methodists in the face of declining rural populations and periodic depressions.

Both the Anglican and Presbyterian denominations were finally able to staunch the heavy loss of adherents which threatened their existence in many areas in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The Church of England had effected a compromise between its factions by 1900 and most parishes adhered to a "middle" church attitude which permitted considerable latitude to both evangelical and high church elements. Although it had most of its popular support on the islands, it retained the traditional allegiance of a number of the more prominent families on Grand Manan and Campobello, in addition to outsiders living on the latter island.[29] Great losses, however, were suffered at St. Andrews where half the Anglican community of the town was not acknowledged by the church. The number of active Anglican families in the town fell from one hundred to forty-three in the period between 1923 and 1941,[30] and the congregation was financially sustained only by the fact that the revenues from glebe investments were able to pay two-thirds of the rector's salary.[31] By the end of the fourth period the largest Anglican congregation was at St. George. Evidence of the increasing importance of the sacramentarian attitudes was reflected in the stress placed upon the rite of confirmation. There were fewer Anglicans in the county in 1940 than in 1900,[32] yet the number of communicants had risen from 739 to 1,355.[33] Stability was the para-

29. McPhee, op. cit., p. 270.
30. Journal of the Diocesan Synod of Fredericton, 1923, 1941.
31. All Saints Church, St. Andrews, Vestry Records 1886-1919.
32. 1901-4089; 1941-3,645.
33. Diocesan Church Society Report, 1897; Journal of Diocesan Synod of Fredericton, 1941.

mount feature of the Church of England in the period, and if it tended to lose heavily in the agricultural areas and slightly in the islands, it maintained its position in the urban areas, and even registered small gains on the South Shore.

Presbyterianism followed a pattern similar to Anglicanism: a gradual decline in the rural areas in the face of a declining population, and fairly stable congregations in the urban centres. By 1905 consideration was being given to the issue of union with the Methodists, and combined summer services were initiated in St. Stephen the following year. The need for some form of church union was particularly felt in Milltown. The recession of 1908 had seriously diminished the ranks of all denominations in the town, and most of the benefits of was prosperity were absorbed by St. Stephen. The situation was particularly acute within the Congregationalist Church, which had no supplementary source of strength in the surrounding countryside. After considerable debate, a proposal for union of the Congregational, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches was put forward. The Methodists, whose church was the only one of the three which was completely self-sufficient, refused, but the remaining two federated as two churches in a single congregation under the Presbyterian minister in 1921,[34] and joint communion was instituted in 1922.

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34. Milltown United Church Minute Book, St. James Presbyterian Church Milltown.

General church union of the Methodists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists when it occurred in 1925 was quite unlike that of the Baptist union two decades earlier. The only similarity lay in the fact that both unions brought together Arminians and Calvinists. Methodism was Arminian in doctrine. Presbyterianism and Congregationalism were Calvinist. Methodism was essentially Anglican and pietiest in tradition and practice; Presbyterianism was of the Scottish Independent tradition. The two groups shared the common characteristic that the New World experience had modified their attitudes and reduced the differences between them. The union in Charlotte County was not effected without conflict. Unlike the two Baptist denominations, the Methodists and Presbyterians shared the same strongholds: the St. Croix Valley and the interior agricultural areas. So decimated had the populations of the rural areas become that the union was accepted as the only reasonable solution to the problem of providing clergy for the scattered rural churches. In the rural parishes of St. James, St. David, and Dumbarton the union was accepted by every congregation of both denominations. More than two-thirds of the population of St. James parish thus entered the union, and the new United Church became the largest denomination in the other rural parishes of St. David, Dumbarton, and St. Patrick. In Milltown, union was accomplished uneventfully, and the Milltown Methodist circuit automatically entered the union with the already federated Presbyterians and Congre-

gationalists. The Congregationalists withdrew from the Maine Congregational Union and voted for union, and the Presbyterians voted unanimously to enter. In the other urban areas conflict erupted. The old Church of Scotland congregation at St. Andrews, Greenock Church, refused, as a whole, to enter the union, and joined the ranks of the anti-union Presbyterians. The small Presbyterian mission in St. George followed the lead of Greencok Church and remained outside the union. The principal focus of conflict was St. Stephen, which contained by far the largest and most prosperous Presbyterian congregation in the county. Here a bitter debate ensued and when the vote was taken in 1925, 150 communicants voted to enter the union, and ninety-two, including three elders and two trustees voted against it.[35] Subsequently the church entered the union, as the Kirk United Church, and the dissident minority withdrew and organized an anti-union Presbyterian Church.

The United Church of Canada in Charlotte thus began its existence with thirty-one churches on eleven pastoral charges with 1,164 communicants,[36] and a total of 5,000 adherents. In St.Stephen and St. James the old Methodist and Presbyterian circuits were retained. In most other areas they were united under a single clergyman. This was done with the three congregations in Milltown and

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35. Kirk-McColl Church, St. Stephen, N. B., Session Book of St. Stephen Presbyterian Church.
36. Yearbook of The United Church of Canada, 1926.

in the parishes of St. Croix, St. Patrick, and Dumbarton where the Waweig Presbyterian charge was united with the six-society Bocabec Methodist circuit. The northern extremities of the latter were united with the Baillie Presbyterian charge to create the new Lawrence pastoral charge.

Within twenty years two church unions had united nearly sixty per cent of the population of the county into two denominations, thus reducing the number of major denominations in the county from six to four. What is more significant is that the county was divided geographically between the two major denominations, with the Baptists dominating the islands and the South Shore, and the United Church the St. Croix Valley and the interior agricultural parishes. The major unions of the period reflected the growing impatience with seemingly minor denominational differences, and each union resulted in a more liberal viewpoint and a greater tolerance of other groups. The role of the First World War as a social catalyst was immense. Certainly returning soldiers and the many brides whom they brought from Europe contributed to a radical alternation of the world-view which inevitably led to the weakening of older concepts and traditions. The religious issues of even a generation earlier seemed irrelevant in the face of scientific advancement.

Liberalism and compromise, however, could only be achieved at the cost of uncertainty and doubt. Against this compromising

modernism a reactionary group appeared in the form of a second holiness movement. The Reformed Baptists on Grand Manan and at Black's Harbour had made their appearance a generation earlier as mildly radical reactionaries. The second holiness group, the Pentecostals, were the exact antithesis of the mainstream of intellectual thought. Insisting upon the concept of total sanctification, they gave to it a scriptural interpretation which required a literal re-enactment of the first chapter of the Book of Acts. Sanctification must be accomplished in an emotional frenzy. The group rejected all progress, all learning.

The Pentecostal movement entered Charlotte in two streams. One advanced from Fredericton to St. Stephen in 1926, the other from Saint John to Back Bay (St. George parish) in 1931. The St.Stephen evangelists, under the leadership of the Rev. Wynn Stairs, began tent meetings in the summer of 1926. Several converts were made, and in the fall a hall was rented and a gradual growth began. A revival occurred in 1928 and forty converts were made. In 1931 the St. Stephen pastor conducted a revival in Honeydale, where the minister of the Baillie Baptist Church was a convert, and a second church was organized there. Having built a church in St. Stephen in 1930, Stairs attempted to organize a group in St. Andrews seven years later but failed. In 1940 a small group was organized on Grand Manan.

The Back Bay congregation developed out of the efforts of William Ring, who began work there in 1931. The following year, in the absence of any Disciples of Christ clergy, he began a revival which resulted in the conversion of the bulk of the Disciples in southern St. George parish. The Baptists who had made considerable progress in the area since 1900 found their influence almost destroyed. In the course of the 1930's, fully three-quarters of the population in the Back Bay-Letite area were Pentecostal converts.[37] Congregations were also organized at St. George and Back Bay.

The implications of the Pentecostal movement are two-fold. Almost the entire body of converts belonged to the poorest economic class and represented a social revolt of these groups against the traditional churches which they felt had betrayed them and which they felt had succumbed to secularist and modernist elements which to them represented the anti-Christ. Most of the converts came from the Baptist churches and in this connection it is significant that the area of least Pentecostal intrusion was the islands on which the Free Will Baptist tradition was strongest. In St. Stephen, while the Baptist church lost heavily, some Methodists and even a few Anglicans were converted to the Pentecostal faith.

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37. Most of this material on the Pentecostal movement in Charlotte was the result of interviews with the Rev. Wynn Staris, Director of Foreign Missions, The United Pentecostal Church of North America.

Appendix A -- Population of Charlotte County by Parishes 1803--1961

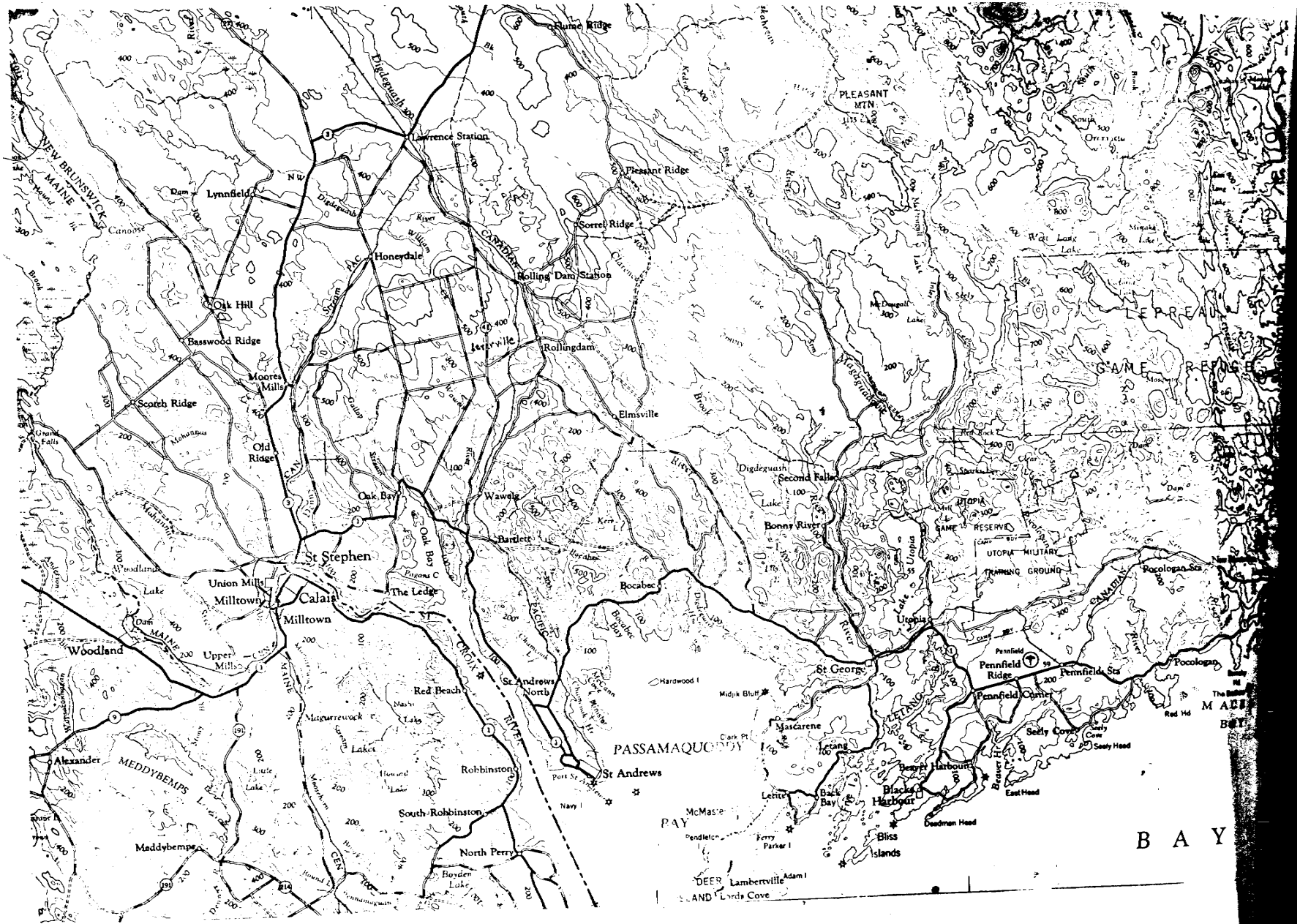
	1803	1824	1834	1840	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Campobello	245	509	550	718	865	1039	1073	1160	1188	1211	1230	1188	1144	1181	1222	1137
Grand Manan	121	598	956	1003	1187	1535	1867	2116	2397	2671	2444	2510	2540	2457	2687	2564
West Isles	117	559	1110	1128	1252	1334	1556	1661	1664	1399	1385	1245	1141	1162	1205	976
St.George	400	1406	2321	2422	2943	3126	3314	3412	2754	2892	1839	1549	1356	1558	1888	1867
St.George-Town											988	1110	1087	1169	1263	1133
Pennfield	54	558	742	1043	1213	904	998	1064	1032	1002	1146	1254	1607	2375	2901	2690
Lepreau						864	562	534	423	347	446	417	591	537	558	554
Clarendon							204	182	177	162	58	61	66	62	65	20
St.Andrews	487	2263	3487	3682	3910	3126	2961	2128	1778	1390	238	236	258	255	328	327
St.Andrews-Town											987	1065	1207	1167	1458	1531
St.Croix								747	674	558	462	401	379	387	410	410
St.Patrick	229	762	1507	2013	2263	1461	1355	1123	921	755	612	649	664	652	583	489
Dumbarton						938	991	1000	807	711	718	700	640	639	634	620
St.Stephen	683	1673	2677	3405	2868	5160	6515	1481*	974*	894	867	829	840	1062	1105	1105
St.Stephen-Town								2338	2680	2840	2836	3452	3437	3306	3769	3380
Milltown-Town								1664	2146	2044	1804	1976	1735	1876	2267	1892
Dufferin								416	334	260	258	245	197	203	325	355
St. James		453	927	1155	1756	2406	2606	2697	2266	1860	1648	1476	1388	1505	1397	1263
St.David	286	1005	1575	1609	1681	1758	1880	1864	1554	1419	1181	1072	1060	1170	1088	962
Total	2622	9267	15852	18178	19938	23663	25882	26087	23753		21147	21435	21337	22728	25136	23285

* Includes Upper Mills

Appendix B - Denominational Strength in Charlotte County by Parishes 1861-1961.

	1861							1881								1901							
	Anglican	Methodist	Presby.	Catholic	Baptist	Disciples	Congreg. Univers.	Anglican	Methodist	Presby.	Catholic	Regular Baptist	Free Will Baptist	Disciples	Congreg. Univers.	Anglican	Methodist	Presby.	Catholic	Baptist	Disciples	Congreg. Adventist	Salvation Army
Campobello	276	41	16	96	607	C 2		386	21	0	68	55	618			375	7	1	57	761	D 9		
Grand Manan	822	34	6	40	607	C 4		518	110	43	27	183	1615	D 15	U 6	443	164	14	10	1823	Ad 118	S.A. 58	D 18
West Isles	73	28	13	18	190	D 10 10		74	111	0	9	5	641	D 80		20	119	4	0	440	D 79	S.A. 1	
St. George St. George-Town	702	36	314	430	1621	U 9		824	21	330	544	1330	3	D 309	U 4	595	86	286	338	1054	C 3	D 496	
Pennfield Lepreau Clarendon	231 316	6 94	147 106	161 208	357 136			364 246 51	2 19 39	90 19 47	159 168 1	265 66 40	180 0 0	C 13 D 6		262 207 18	13 6 51	69 7 60	156 64 0	487 58 33	D 15		
St. Andrews St. Andrews-Town	834	251	805	715	499	D 18	U 11	663	272	455	550	169	0	C 5	U 3	459	171	304	302	149			
St. Croix								71	20	364	54	236	0			32	18	238	22	248			
St. Patrick Dumbarton	327 96	126 24	611 350	205 212	191 244	U 12		311 160	167 102	365 291	118 221	152 191	10 32			213 26	126 164	291 225	43 154	82 131	D 4		
St. Stephen St. Stephen-Town	1122	1319	708	1166	390	C 259	U 181	304 624	669 462	139 513	196 422	102 245	10 0	U 10 C 38	C 11 U 20	196 552	437 729	88 502	45 396	102 547	Ad 11 C 22	C 1 S.A. 19	
Milltown-Town								103	414	85	597	55	0	C 356	U 42	121	427	327	683	77	C 342	A 4	
Dufferin								85	154	8	20	56	0	C 5	U 1	39	122	4	2	91			
St. James	309	407	1237	232	149	U 72		306	677	1149	192	212	113	U 39	C 3	169	532	689	133	137	S.A. 4	C 1	
St. David	600	448	183	112	289	U 124	C 2	578	419	194	143	411	0	U 97	C 16	362	303	150	117	349			
Total	5708	2814	4496	3595	5280	D 1032	U 415	5668	3742	4106	3489	3773	3222	D 1142	C 441	4089	3475	3259	2522	6749	D 1341	C 370	

	1921							1941					1961						
	Anglican	Methodist	Presby.	Catholic	Baptist			Anglican	United	Presby.	Catholic	Baptist	Anglican	United	Presby.	Catholic	Baptist	Disciples	Pentecostal
Campobello	325	10	4	34	815	D 34		278	10	1	42	843	199	4	3	59	812		56
Grand Manan	404	49	8	11	1894	SA 8		341	64	4	14	1876	372	87	12	46	1911		80
West Isles	8	65	6	2	398	574	C 1	20	54	2	5	343	16	39	0	1	344	574*	1
St. George	178	15	134	69	952	D 171	C 1	209	43	79	118	630	226	23	53	167	701	180*	515
St. George-Town	407	8	121	235	321	D 2	C 2	410	20	117	221	321	313	54	73	228	374		68
Pennfield	338	22	56	180	631	D 28		370	68	103	331	1310	494	48	90	619	1228		178
Lepreau	147	0	6	62	140			160	11	29	89	189	179	12	24	53	262		6
Clarendon	10	11	26	4	9	C 1		3	42	1	1	15	3	7		2	6		
St. Andrews	79	27	23	72	30	C 2		99	8	38	54	45	89	61	11	88	46		18
St. Andrews-Town	327	158	244	159	148	C 6	D 10	311	171	233	186	230	336	359	211	203	362		24
St. Croix	24	14	177	29	157			43	119	36	26	162	33	107	35	36	139		42
St. Patrick	174	93	238	49	81			172	293	0	81	91	155	118	60	44	96		19
Dumbarton	36	166	185	136	171	C 6		17	338	41	117	117	8	277	5	117	187		23
St. Stephen	52	511	131	49	71	C 7		143	497	58	120	198	103	561	48	182	146		25
St. Stephen-Town	649	869	600	476	788	C 13	SA 17	541	1102	252	550	681	598	1134	208	660	623		87
Milltown-Town	247	363	301	690	145	C 205		177	837	40	673	99	161	755	20	822	88		14
Dufferin	37	83	10	13	102			37	94	11	9	45	37	199	3	36	58		11
St. James	90	437	521	81	330			107	912	34	73	284	71	772	6	112	157		107
St. David	200	226	208	81	348			207	394	54	101	363	168	342	19	156	224		43
Total	3732	3127	2999	2431	7531	D 771	C 244	3645	5080	1141	2811	7842	3561	4959	881	3631	7764		1317


Flume Ridge
Lawrence Station
Pleasant Ridge
Sorrel Ridge
Rolling Dam Station
Rollingdam
Lynnfield
Honeydale
Oak Hill
Basswood Ridge
Moores Mills
Scotch Ridge
Old Ridge
Oak Bay
Wawaig
Bartlett
Elmsville
Second Falls
Bonny River
Bocabec
St Stephen
Union Mills
Milltown
Calais
The Ledge
Woodland
Upper Mills
Red Beach
St Andrews North
St Andrews
Robbinston
South Robbinston
North Perry
Alexander
Maddybemps
Meddybemps Lake
Magurrewock Lake
Hardwood I
Midjik Bluff
PASSAMAQUODDY BAY
Port St Andrews
Navy I
McMaster I
Pendleton
Ferry
Parker I
DEER ISLAND
Lambertville
Adam I
Lords Cove
St George
Utopia
Lake Utopia
Mascarene
Letang
Back Bay
Leonardville
Blacks Harbour
Beaver Harbour
East Head
Deadman Head
Bliss Islands
Pennfield
Pennfield Ridge
Pennfield Corner
Pennfield Sta
Seely Cove
Seely Head
Pocologan
Pocologan Sta
Red Hd
PLEASANT MTN
McDougall Lake
West Lake
Stinkpot Lake
LEPREAU
GAME PRESERVE
UTOPIA RESERVE
UTOPIA MILITARY TRAINING GROUND
CANADIAN
MAINE
NEW BRUNSWICK
B A Y

Appendix C

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Because of the diversity of sources that must be consulted in writing a thesis of this nature, I have arbitrarily assigned the various sources in given categories in a manner designed to facilitate the work of the reader.

In the manuscript section, all documents are classified by nature (i.e. governmental, denominational), and within these general categories by depository. To indicate the extent and type of denominational records available, each set of church records is broken into its component parts. Where there is correspondence pertaining to a particular church or clergyman, it has been included in the local denominational records. The denominational reports, (Section A3), include both printed and manuscript sources, but for the convenience of the user of the bibliography, these were placed together.

The second section, printed sources, includes both primary and secondary printed sources. These are listed in alphabetical order within the major sub-divisions; government

publications, newspapers, book, booklets, theses.

Again, the wide scope of the subject severely curtails any attempt to single out any source or few sources as being of greater value than the others in this study. The manuscripts and printed primary sources were all of such value that the loss of any one would have seriously weakened some major part of the work. Of the secondary works, the only two which give some study in depth to the south-western New Brunswick area are: I. C. Knowlton's, Annals of Calais, Maine and St. Stephen, New Brunswick, which gives an excellent account of early social conditions in the St. Croix valley, and Harold Davis', An International Community on the St. Croix (1604-1930), which is particularly valuable for its study of economic conditions in the mid-nineteenth century.

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