

A Study in the Historical Demography of a Loyalist County

by T. W. ACHESON *

The field of historical demography is one which has been largely neglected by most Canadian historians. The situation is particularly acute in the regional history of the Maritime Provinces. The lack of demographic studies on New Brunswick has left historians and other social scientists stumbling in a maze of vague generalities when some reference is made to the nature of provincial society. This situation has permitted the development of a number of untested hypotheses regarding the English-speaking population of the province, many of which, if untrue, have produced a distorted image of provincial society.

This paper will examine population, settlement, and changes in population characteristics in a segment of New Brunswick society over a period of four generations. It will attempt to advance some conclusions on the composition and nature of the English-speaking society of the province at various stages of its historical development.

Southwestern New Brunswick has always been a political frontier. Until 1763 it represented the meeting of Frenchmen and Englishmen in the New World. After 1783 it was the area of demarcation between an aggressive American influence and a defensive British position. The symbol and centre of this division on the Atlantic coast was the St. Croix River. Rising in the Chiputneticook Lakes, the St. Croix falls for sixty miles before meeting, twenty miles from its mouth, the salt water tides of Passamaquoddy Bay. The River enters the Bay on its western side. Across the Bay, three islands — Deer, Campobello, and Grand Manan — nearly cut it off from the Bay of Fundy. The most significant geographical feature of the mainland to the north of the Passamaquoddy is the network of rivers and streams flowing into the St. Croix-Passamaquoddy system: the Canoose, the Denys, and the Waweig flowing into the St. Croix; the Bocabec, the Digdeguash, and the Magaguadavic flowing into the Bay. The topography of the region is extremely hilly, the elevation fluctuating rapidly between 50 and 500 feet. The vegetation is predom-

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inately coniferous, although heavy stands of hardwood are to be found in the high ridges of the western interior. Less than two per cent of the total area of the region has a soil constituency which could be considered as favourable to agriculture.

Into this region flowed two pre-Loyalist streams of settlement, one American and one British. Fishermen from Massachusetts began a northeastern expansion into the Passamaquoddy area after the collapse of French influence during the Seven Years' War. By 1766 several fishing families had settled on the northern end of Campobello Island. In the following decade others began moving into the St. Croix Valley, where a settlement was formed in 1779 to utilize the river current as a source of power for lumbering operations.¹ The British settlement was made on Campobello in 1767 by the island's proprietor, Captain William Owen.² He imported a small group of English farmers and artisans, and proceeded to create a feudal estate at his capital of Welshpool in the island's centre. At the American Revolution's end, the three settlements in the Passamaquoddy region may have totalled forty families, at least half of which were American in origin.

The end of the American Revolution marked the end of isolation for the St. Croix-Passamaquoddy area. Between 1783 and 1785 nearly 2,000 British subjects, all designated as American Loyalists, emigrated to the region. The Loyalists arrived in six associations.³ Their five settlements formed a narrow, fifty-mile crescent extending from the middle St. Croix to the eastern Passamaquoddy. Two settlements were made on the north shore of the Bay: Pennfield, on the eastern coast, by 365 Quakers and Anabaptists; and St. George, at the mouth of the Magaguadavic River, by members of the disbanded Royal American Fencible Regiment. In the centre, at the mouth of the St. Croix and the head of the Passamaquoddy, was made the principal Loyalist settlement, St. Andrews. Two groups, the Penobscot Association composed of businessmen from Portland, Maine, and the members of the disbanded Argyll Highlanders Regiment, together constituted the new community. The other end of the crescent was formed by two settlements on the St. Croix: St. David, made by the land-hungry New Hampshire men of the Cape

¹ I. C. KNOWLTON, *Annals of Calais, Maine and St. Stephen, New Brunswick* (Calais, 1875), p. 23.

² Guy MURCHIE, *St. Croix: Sentinel River* (New York, 1947), p. 131.

³ The Loyalist settlements in the St. Croix-Passamaquoddy area are best described in E. C. WRIGHT, *The Loyalists of New Brunswick* (Fredericton, 1951), pp. 200-203.

Ann Association; and St. Stephen, made by the Port Mouton Association, former members of the British civil staffs at New York.⁴

By 1785 approximately one fifth of the Loyalists in the newly-created colony of New Brunswick were resident in the St. Croix-Passamaquoddy region.⁵ The most distinguishing characteristic of the Loyalists as a group was the very diversity of their backgrounds and motives. The members of the Penobscot Association were mostly representatives of the coastal Massachusetts business community, although a large proportion of these were first-generation Scottish emigrants. Another genuine colonial American element was to be found among the Quakers. More questionable was the colonial status of the Royal American Fencibles, most of whom had been recruited in Nova Scotia.⁶ Even more dubious were the credentials of the members of the Port Mouton Association. Many of these were colonials, but a number had come directly from England with the military staffs.⁷ While the colonial status of the Cape Ann Association members was unquestionable, all evidence seems to suggest that their arrival and the end of the American Revolution were merely coincident events, in no way connected.⁸ The remaining Loyalist group, the 74th Association, were Scots whose American sojourn had been limited to the period of the Revolution. In sum, probably not more than seventy per cent of the 819 adult male Loyalists had been residents of the American colonies, and of these perhaps one quarter would have emigrated in any event.

The motives of the Loyalists were equally diverse. While the land grants of the time indicate that most of the newcomers at least arrived with agrarian intentions, one group, the Penobscot Association at St. Andrews, arrived with the avowed purpose of creating an empire based upon British mercantilist policy. Of the 430 original grants made in St. Andrews, more than eighty per cent consisted only of a town lot.⁹

⁴ Thomas RADDALL, "Tyrell's Raiders", *Collections of N. S. Hist. Soc.*, XXVIII (1949), 29.

⁵ WRIGHT, *Loyalists of New Brunswick*, pp. 249-250.

⁶ W. O. RAYMOND, "L'Etang", *Acadiensis*, VII (1907), 254.

⁷ "Memoir of the Rev. Duncan McColl", *British North American Wesleyan Magazine*, 1841, p. 299.

⁸ KNOWLTON, *Annals*, p. 24; MURCHIE, *St. Croix*, p. 193; W. F. GANONG, "Monograph on Origins of Settlement in New Brunswick", *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, X (1904), 55-57.

⁹ New Brunswick Crown Lands Office, Fredericton, Consolidated Land Grants 1784-1850.

In 1786, by an act of the New Brunswick Legislature, the St. Croix-Passamaquoddy region was erected into the County of Charlotte.¹⁰ The county was divided into seven parishes in the English manner. The parishes of St. Stephen, St. David, St. Andrews, St. George, and Pennfield corresponded to the Loyalist settlements. The mainland north of the Bay between St. Andrews and St. George, although largely unpopulated, became the parish of St. Patrick. The three islands together constituted the parish of West Isles. With the exception of the islands' parish, the parish system had presumed a village centre in each parish which, together with its outlying rural areas, would form a cohesive social and administrative unit. To achieve this end, settlers at St. Andrews, St. Stephen, St. George and Pennfield were each offered a town lot and a 100-acre farm lot.¹¹ Only in St. David was no provision made for the creation of a central settlement, a possible reflection of mistrust for these acquisitive Yankees by the colonial administration.

The attempt to create compact parish settlements failed. Instead, the generation between 1786 and the War of 1812 was marked by a rapid extension of settlement. The size of the individual farm grants militated against village settlement, but more important were the generally depressed economic conditions of the period which prevented the development of urban labour forces. The villages were largely denuded of their earlier population as family after family surrendered commercial pretensions and took up land grants in the surrounding countryside. Loyalists from the port of St. Andrews, for example, largely populated St. Patrick's parish as well as the lower ends of St. David and St. Stephen parishes. In all, thirteen new rural settlements made by Loyalists can be discerned in this period — three in St. Stephen parish, two in St. David, one in St. Patrick, one in St. George, one in St. Andrews, one on Deer Island, and four in Pennfield.¹² This proliferation of settlement, which began after 1790, was soon to render the parish wholly unable to serve the local administrative needs for which it had been created. Decentralization was to remain the distinctive feature of settlement in the county for the next century.

The Loyalist and pre-Loyalist population of Charlotte was supplemented by two small groups of immigrants in the period before 1812.

¹⁰ *Statutes of New Brunswick*, 26 George III, c.l.

¹¹ N. B. Consolidated Land Grants 1784-1850.

¹² GANONG, "Origins of Settlement", p. 56.

The first of these was a group of Massachusetts fishermen brought to the large isolated island of Grand Manan by Loyalist promoters between 1795 and 1810. When the promoters' licence was revoked in 1810, twenty-nine families, mostly American, had taken grants in their rugged Utopia.¹³ The most unusual settlement in the county was made in 1803 when seventeen families of Sutherlandshire Scots accidentally arrived on the St. Croix on their way to North Carolina. They were given land grants on the high fertile ridges at the back end of St. Stephen parish some fifteen miles from the village. There, in comparative isolation, a Scottish Gaelic-speaking community developed.¹⁴ Their settlement was called Scotch Ridge and in the next two generations their offspring created two more settlements on adjoining ridges. In 1812 the parish of St. Stephen was divided and the northern portion became the parish of St. James.

The expansion of settlement and incidental immigration of the Loyalist generation are deceptive. In reality, nearly half of the Loyalist population emigrated between 1785 and 1803. The muster roll of 1785 showed almost 2,000 Loyalists in the county receiving the Royal Bounty. To this total must be added perhaps 200 pre-Loyalist and 200 post-Loyalist immigrants. Of the Loyalist population alone, 819 were adult males and at least 380 were male children in 1785. Even when a heavy rate of mortality is taken into consideration, there should have been more than 1,000 adult male Loyalists in the county eighteen years later. In reality, there were only 561 adult males of all origins in 1803.¹⁵ The population of the county increased from 2,200 in 1785 to 2,622 in 1803, but almost sixty per cent of the latter total were children. What made the situation even more discouraging was the fact that the small ratio of children to adults in 1785 would seem to indicate the comparative youthfulness of the adult Loyalists of that time, and hence the far greater population potential which was lost to the communities which they left. The principal reason for the emigration was economic. The number of adult males in the port and parish of St. Andrews was reduced from 303 to 104 in

¹³ MURCHIE, *St. Croix*, p. 140.

¹⁴ New Brunswick Legislative Library, Sessional Papers, 1805, Miscellaneous Papers, Report on Scotch Ridge Settlement.

¹⁵ W. O. RAYMOND, ed., *Winslow Papers* (Saint John, 1903), p. 489. Donald MacDonald, Registrar of Probate for Charlotte, to Edward Winslow, June, 1803.

the period. With one or two brief interruptions, depressed conditions continued until 1808.

The end of the Napoleonic Wars had two effects upon the population of Charlotte. The general commercial upsurge which characterized the post-war era persuaded large numbers of Loyalists' adult children to remain within the county rather than continue the pattern of emigration established by the Loyalist generation.¹⁶ More important as a factor in population was the beginning of a great tide of British immigration into the county which, with varying degrees of intensity, was to continue for the next thirty years. From perhaps 4,000 in 1812, the population increased to 9,267 in 1824.¹⁷

Two fairly distinct movements of British immigration are discernible between 1817 and 1860. The larger group began to make its appearance following the Napoleonic Wars. It was mainly composed of Ulster Irish with small numbers of Scots and English. The migrants swept into the seacoast parishes of Charlotte and gradually moved up the river banks, taking up grants on all land unoccupied by their predecessors. Finally, penetrating beyond the previous line of settlement, they moved deep into the western interior of the county.¹⁸ In all, some twenty-four settlements were made by the British migrants before 1840. These were centred on the relatively unsettled parishes of St. Patrick — where ten settlements were made — and St. James — where seven emerged. Three settlements were made in each of St. George and Pennfield parishes, two in St. David and one in St. Andrews. The port of entry for the immigrants was St. Andrews. While most passed on to acquire farms in the interior, two groups, the skilled craftsmen mostly of English and Scottish background, and the poorer Irish migrants, made homes on the periphery of the port where they formed an urban labour force. The port's permanent population had reached 2,000 as early as 1835.¹⁹ In the mainland county only St. Stephen parish, where all available farm land had been granted, escaped this first wave of immigration.

The major immigrant influx occurred between 1825 and 1835. Under this impulse the county's population rose from 9,200 to 16,000 in a

¹⁶ Kirk-McColl United Church, St. Stephen, N. B., McColl Papers, Membership Rolls.

¹⁷ COLONY OF NEW BRUNSWICK, *Journal of House of Assembly* (1825), Census of 1824.

¹⁸ N. B. Consolidated Land Grants 1784-1850.

¹⁹ Pine Hill Archives, *The Presbyterian Guardian*, July 18, 1838.

decade.²⁰ By 1840 it totalled 18,176, making Charlotte second only to St. John County and City in population.²¹

The buoyant expansion which had characterized the second generation ended shortly after 1840. The abandonment of mercantilism by the British government in the middle 1840's produced a devastating commercial depression in the late 1840's. In the villages the problem was partially solved by emigration; in the rural areas by a rapid movement back to subsistence agriculture. Between 1840 and 1851 the quantity of improved farmland in the county doubled.²² Although the immigrant was more likely to turn to his farm in the face of depression, the native-born, for the most part adult grandchildren of the Loyalists, sought relief in emigration.²³ The parish which suffered the greatest loss was that with the largest native population of Loyalist descent, St. Stephen. An exodus numbering perhaps 1,200 people caused the population of the parish to decline from 3,400 in 1840 to 2,800 eleven years later. In St. Andrews perhaps as much as one third of the native-born population emigrated in the same period.

Coincident with this native emigration occurred the arrival of the second wave of British immigrants. The second wave differed from the first in three respects: it was considerably smaller in numbers, its members generally arrived with no resources and most of its members were Irish Catholics. While two rural settlements, one Irish Catholic and one Irish Protestant, were made by this group, the great majority of the new immigrants settled as railroad labourers and dock workers in the port of St. Andrews.²⁴ Thus in the decade after 1840 Charlotte County had the unusual experience of widespread emigration of the native-born occurring simultaneously with a considerable Irish immigration.

By 1850 the effects of sixty years of immigration and emigration had radically altered the composition of county society. In St. Andrews parish more than thirty per cent of the population was foreign-born, while in the interior parishes of St. Patrick, St. David, and St. James,

²⁰ COLONY OF NEW BRUNSWICK, *Journal of House of Assembly* (1835), App. XCM.

²¹ *Ibid.* (1841), App. A.

²² *Ibid.* (1852), Census of 1851.

²³ Mount Allison Archives, Reports of N. B. District Methodist Meeting, 1845-1851. Almost all Methodists in Charlotte were native-born (cf. p. 11). By 1861 they comprised 70% of the native-born heads of family in the St. Stephen area.

²⁴ Public Archives of Canada, Census 439 OMR (1851 N. B. Census Manuscripts, Charlotte County).

the proportion was more than twenty-five per cent.²⁵ These figures are deceptive however, as they do not demonstrate the extent of British immigrant influence. The immigrants were, on the average, considerably younger than the native population. By 1851, although they comprised only seventeen per cent of the county's population, in approximately two-thirds of all families either one or both parents were immigrants.²⁶ The influence of the immigrants was further extended by the fact that in 1851 families in which the head had been an immigrant averaged 6.1 people, while those with native-born heads averaged only 5.

Perhaps the most useful indicator of immigrant influence was the family head. An analysis of the colonial census of 1851, summarized in Table 1, illustrates the new demographic pattern which had emerged by the mid-nineteenth century.

Table 1²⁷
BIRTHPLACE OF FAMILY HEADS,^a MAINLAND PARISHES,
CHARLOTTE COUNTY, N.B., 1851.

		Native	Ireland	Scotland	England	U.S.A.	Others ^c
St. Croix Valley	St. James	26%	47%	18%	1%	7%	1%
	St. Stephen	70%	22%	1%	2%	5%	— ^b
	St. David	40%	37%	6%	1%	16%	2%
	St. Andrews	29%	52%	6%	8%	3%	2%
	St. Patrick	33%	53%	8%	3%	2%	1%
	St. George	55%	28%	6%	2%	8%	— ^b
Passama- quoddy Bay	Pennfield	40%	49%	4%	3%	4%	— ^b
Average for Mainland		44%	40%	6%	3%	6%	1%

^a Based upon an analysis of 2,596 family heads.

^b Less than 1%.

^c Mostly Nova Scotian and West Indian.

The social characteristics of the immigrant groups differed rather sharply not only from the native-born but also from each other. (See Table 2). The major immigrant groups, Irish and Scots, greatly strengthened the Presbyterian and Roman Catholic traditions in contrast to the Evangelical Protestantism of most natives. Only the Church of England

²⁵ COLONY OF NEW BRUNSWICK, *Journal of House of Assembly* (1852), Census of 1851.

²⁶ Public Archives of Canada, Census 439 OMR.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

provided a bridge between the two groups, and it was nearly destroyed in the attempt to reconcile native and British traditions.²⁸

Occupationally, the immigrant groups differed far more from one another than from the native-born. The Irish Catholic and the English were mainly town dwellers, although the former were concentrated among the unskilled labourers, while the latter were largely skilled or professional workers. The Irish Protestants and the Scots shared a preference for a rural environment, and between them probably comprised nearly half of the county farmers of the mid-nineteenth century. The English and the Scots were found predominantly in the upper and middle strata of society; the Irish, whether Catholic or Protestant, in the middle and lower strata. The proportion of the native population in each occupational grouping corresponded closely to the average for the whole population.

Two basic population changes emerge from the analysis in Tables 1 and 2. The Loyalist element, although still comprising a significant portion of the population, was reduced to a minority position. A large part of the forty-four per cent of family heads who were native-born in 1851 were in reality children of British immigrants. It is doubtful if one third of the family heads were of Loyalist origin. The other change was the strength of the Irish groups, particularly the Irish Protestant. From 1860 onward these groups were to form the dominant element in the population of this Loyalist county.

Charlotte County as a whole never recovered from the depression of the 1840's. Only those parishes along the American border experienced any significant growth between 1850 and 1870. Under the stimulus of Reciprocity and a rapidly expanding timber industry, the population of St. Stephen parish rose from 2,800 to 6,500 during this period. The greater part of this increase is accounted for by intra-county migration. Hundreds of workers from St. Andrews and St. George, seeking employment, moved into the middle St. Croix. At the same time St. Andrews began a decline which was to continue without interruption from 1851 to 1931.

The prosperity of Reciprocity was short-lived. By 1880 the timber economy was in a state of ruin and the demographic pattern which had marked settlement in the county for a century was reversed. Painfully

²⁸ T. W. ACHESON, "Denominationalism in a Loyalist County: A Social History of Charlotte County, N.B." (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1964), p. 187ff.

Table 2²⁹

A COMPARISON OF NATIVE AND IMMIGRANT SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS^a
MAINLAND PARISHES,^b CHARLOTTE COUNTY, N.B., 1861.

a. *Religion of Family Heads*

Birthplace	Anglican	Methodist	Presbyterian	Roman Catholic	Baptist
Native born	25%	24%	10%	4%	35%
Ireland	18%	3%	38%	38%	2%
Scotland	18%	4%	52%	— ^d	26%
England	76%	5%	9%	— ^d	10%
United States	14%	24%	4%	3%	47%
Others	9%	19%	12%	21%	34%
Average for Mainland	23%	14%	22%	16%	22%

b. *Occupation of Family Heads*

Birthplace	PMBO ^c	Farmers	SKT ^e	Labourers	Fishers	Paupers	Total
Native born	11%	40%	15%	23%	5%	6%	100%
Irish Protestant	3%	54%	23%	15%	— ^d	5%	100%
Irish Catholic	3%	28%	19%	43%	— ^d	7%	100%
Scotland	18%	56%	12%	7%	— ^d	7%	100%
England	14%	7%	51%	14%	6%	8%	100%
United States	9%	42%	15%	22%	— ^d	12%	100%
Others	5%	12%	30%	37%	3%	13%	100%
Average for Mainland	8%	41%	18%	23%	3%	7%	100%

^a Based on an analysis of 2,016 family heads.

^b Pennfield, St. George, St. Patrick, Dumbarton, St. Andrews, Lower St. Stephen.

^c Professional, managerial, business, civil service.

^d Less than 1%.

^e Skilled craftsmen.

but consistently the long, far-flung rural settlements of the county were decimated. More noticeable was the decline in the interior settlements which had been made by the British migrants during the nineteenth century. In the four interior parishes of St. James, St. David, St. Patrick and Dumbarton (created from St. Patrick's in 1857), the population de-

²⁹ Public Archives of Canada, Census 449 (1861 N.B. Census Manuscripts, Charlotte County).

clined nearly thirty per cent between 1881 and 1901. Most significantly, the number of farms in the county declined thirty-four per cent in a single decade after 1891.³⁰

A new demographic pattern was created on the middle St. Croix and along the north shore of the Passamaquoddy as a result of the economic disaster. Under the ægis of the National Policy secondary manufacturing industry was developed on the St. Croix, and two urban areas, the towns of St. Stephen and Milltown, were created in the parish of St. Stephen. This severance of the inter-dependence of rural and urban economies was reflected in the gradual decline of the former, and the expansion of the latter. By 1921, sixty per cent of the population of the St. Croix Valley was resident in the three towns in the area. Along the Passamaquoddy shore, in St. George and Pennfield parishes, the economic problem was partially met by a movement from the farming areas to the seacoast, and the development of fishing villages along the bleak bay shores. The number of fishermen in this area rose three hundred per cent between 1871 and 1901, in a period which saw the population of the area decline by fifteen per cent.

Neither National Policy nor fishing industry was able to compensate for the economic chaos created by the decline of the timber industry. By 1880 a growing stream of migrants was moving from the country. Despite a rate of natural increase which should have doubled the population between 1860 and 1900,³¹ the county contained 1,000 fewer residents in 1901 than it did in 1861. The emigrants for the most part shared a common characteristic: youth. In the town areas of the county, about one half of the population under the age thirty emigrated in each generation after 1875. Before 1900 about three-quarters of the migrants moved to the United States, particularly to Massachusetts and Minnesota. After 1900 the United States and upper Canada each attracted about two-fifths of the migrants, with Ontario and the West sharing equally in the Canadian movement.³²

³⁰ CANADA, *Census of 1891*, II, p. 340; *Census of 1901*, II, p. 2.

³¹ This total is computed on the basis of the crude birth and death rates prevalent at the censuses of 1861, 1871, 1881, 1891, 1901.

³² First Baptist Church, St. George N.B., Church Records, Membership Rolls 1831-1901; Milltown United Church, Milltown, N.B., St. James Presbyterian Church Register 1894-1925.

Emigration from the county's rural areas differed somewhat from the urban situation. While many rural emigrants left the county,³³ the more common method was a two-generation pattern of emigration. In the first generation the son of the farm moved to one of the county towns; in the second his children made the final transfer from the county itself.³⁴

In all, the population of the county, after reaching a peak of 26,087 in 1881, began a gradual decline which was to continue without interruption until 1941. Aside from an incidental American immigration, largely as a result of intermarriage, little immigration occurred after 1860. By 1901, ninety-three per cent of the population were reported as native-born.

The most interesting demographic phenomenon which occurred after 1880 was the tendency for children and grandchildren of Protestant immigrants to abjure their Irish origins and to adopt an English ancestry in keeping with their loyalties. By 1921 the numbers claiming Irish ancestry in many urban areas of Charlotte corresponded rather closely with the number of Roman Catholics in those towns.

Table 3
ORIGINS OF THE POPULATION OF CHARLOTTE COUNTY, N. B., 1881-1921.

	<i>The County</i>				<i>Mainland Parishes Only</i>			
	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Irish</i>	<i>Scots</i>	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Irish</i>	<i>Scots</i>
1881	26,087	36%	40%	21%	21,150	29%	45%	22%
1901	22,467	46%	32%	17%	17,286	36%	40%	22%
1921	21,435	51%	24%	20%	16,492	45%	28%	20%

³³ School teachers in St. James parish reported that "as fast as the young men can get scraped together \$100"; they were leaving for California. *The St. Croix Courier*, February 15, 1877.

³⁴ Of the 120 persons who were baptized members of the 2nd St. Andrews Baptist Church between 1865 and 1880, 83 were received by transfer, usually from rural county churches, and only 37 were baptized in St. Andrews. Most of those baptized in St. Andrews were children of the transferees. Of these 120 members, 64, including almost all of the younger generation, left the community before 1900 (Acadia University Archives, Second Baptist Church Record Book).

So many young Presbyterians from St. James Parish moved to Milltown in the last quarter of the nineteenth century that the St. James minister organized a congregation in Milltown between 1890 and 1897. The number of Presbyterians in the town rose from 85 to 327 between 1881 and 1901. After 1900 most of the younger adult members emigrated and the congregation depended upon rural immigrants to sustain its strength (St. James Presbyterian Church Register 1894-1925).

In retrospect, the Loyalist county was the product of two immigrant streams, one American and one British. About seventy per cent of the original 2,000 Loyalists had been American, but British immigration and subsequent Loyalist emigration to the United States in 1785-1800 and 1845-1853 had so reduced the Loyalist proportion that it is doubtful if one third of the county's population could have been considered of Loyalist origin in 1860. At that time the dominant element was the later arriving British group. About four-fifths of the 4,000 British immigrants were of Irish origin, the majority of whom were Ulster Protestants.