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**Moncton, 1870-1937:
A Community in Transition**

by

Phyllis E. LeBlanc

Thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
of the University of Ottawa in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in history

Ottawa, Ontario, 1988

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I would like to thank the staff of the various archives and libraries who were helpful and patient with my numerous requests for research assistance. The Social Sciences and Research Council, as well as the **Centre de recherches en civilisation canadienne-française**, facilitated my research through funding. The Department of History of the University of Ottawa provided a positive academic environment. I owe a particular debt to my field directors: Irene Spry, Fernand Ouellet and Hubert Watelet. D.A. Muise, my thesis advisor and Professor of history at Carleton University, provided reassurance and help when required, and never failed to respect my ideas. Mark Olsen and Didier Cencig helped with the technical side of the statistical analysis and deserve special thanks for their assistance. I also thank other friends and colleagues for their support and encouragement throughout the years. My family deserves recognition for their help and patience. My mother's determination that each of her six children would succeed in their chosen fields is in no small measure responsible for the fact that this thesis is submitted to the School of Graduate Studies.

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Abstract

*

One of the objectives of this thesis is to study Moncton as an urbanizing community within the context of regional industrial growth and economic transformations. For the period 1870 to 1937, economic growth in the Maritime Provinces depended to a large extent upon the success of the process of industrialization which, in turn, depended upon a number of factors, not the least being the maintenance of favourable federal transportation and tariff policies, and the process was heavily political.

Moncton's economic prosperity after 1870 resulted from this external stimulus, first by the arrival of the Intercolonial Railway, and then by the implementation of National Policy. The city's economy was negatively affected early in the twentieth century by factors such as industrial and financial consolidation, and by new federal policies which included transportation policies aimed at streamlining Canadian railways, including the Intercolonial, into a national system of railways.

The collapse of the industrial sector which crippled the economy of Moncton and the Maritimes after World War One helped shape and give expression to a growing regional consciousness. Although Moncton's business and political elites shared the region's dissatisfaction, they remained optimistic about

Moncton's potential for future growth, and redirected its economic functions from an industrial base to distribution and warehousing functions, as an alternative to deindustrialization.

The second objective of this thesis is to consider the Acadian community within Moncton. The city's central location within the Maritime Provinces and its expanding francophone component provided the groundwork for Moncton's transformation into an important francophone center within the context of the Acadian renaissance, which had developed sometime after Confederation, and which resulted in the formulation of a series of national goals which included all dimensions of growth for the francophone community of the Maritime Provinces.

This thesis will attempt to demonstrate that the concentration of Acadian institutions and societies in Moncton, and the emergence there of a strong francophone leadership, resulted in the recognition of the city's role as a center for the promotion of Acadian ideals of francophone collective survival. The Acadian experience within the urbanizing community, and the city's growing influence within the larger Acadian community of the Maritime Provinces, testify to the extent of Acadian integration within the larger Maritime society, and their determination to function as equal partners within that community.

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Introduction

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During the period 1870 to 1937, Moncton was transformed from an agricultural village into an important regional urban center. Most of Moncton's transformations can be attributed, either directly or indirectly, to the arrival of the Intercolonial Railway in 1870, when a political decision favoured Moncton as headquarters for the railway's administration, repair and warehousing functions. During the following decades the railway, along with implementation of other components of the National Policy, assisted Moncton's industrial development; the same economic transformations were occurring in other Maritime urban centers. After the turn of the century, however, the centralization of industries by larger Quebec and Ontario-based manufacturers and the disappearance of regional banking institutions affected the city's and the entire region's potential for growth. By 1914, branch offices of national firms and banking institutions had become dominant in the regional economic and financial framework.

Moncton's economic transformations resulted in a dramatic increase in its population as workers were attracted to new

employment opportunities in the city. Moncton soon acquired an important Acadian population, mostly migrants from surrounding rural areas. The growth of Moncton's francophone population community was paralleled by substantial increases in the number of Acadians throughout the Maritime Provinces, particularly in New Brunswick, where the population of French ethnic origin rose from 44,907 in 1871, or 15.7% of its total population, to 98,611 in 1911, or 28.0% of the province's population. Acadians expressed their growing collective strength during this period through a **renaissance** characterized by the emergence of national institutions and a dynamic and diversified leadership. From 1881, National Conventions became the forum for developing and refining their ideology of collective survival. Although essentially an anglophone city, Moncton soon became the center for the development of the Acadian **renaissance**. During the period from 1870 to 1937, Acadian institutions and a Moncton-based francophone urban elite transformed the city into a national center for Acadian power and growth.

This thesis studies Moncton within the context of regional growth and transformation, as well as the role of its francophone community within the framework of Acadian national aspirations. It will also consider the Maritime Provinces' attempts to adapt to national economic and political policies, as well as Acadian responses to transformations in the society surrounding them.

Chapter I will study transformations within the city and throughout the Maritime Provinces from 1870 to 1914, emphasizing the railway's role in this process. The choice of Moncton as headquarters of the ICR in 1870 was welcomed, since decline of shipbuilding in the mid-1860s had devastated the community. The implementation of National Policy in 1879 heralded a return of economic prosperity. During the ensuing decades, Moncton experienced dramatic population and industrial growth. The transformations of the community during this period are due in no small measure to the activism of its economic and political elite, who pressed every advantage offered by the railway to assure the community's continued growth.

Moncton's development as an industrial and urban center did not occur without some setbacks, one of which was the industrial consolidation which occurred throughout the entire region after about 1895. Chapter I analyzes this process of industrial consolidation and the consequent absorption of local industries by Central Canadian manufacturers. Railways were central to the National Policy's ideal of establishing a national economy, for it provided the communication and transportation links to other regions and markets. National policies transformed the regional economy; in effect Maritime manufacturers experienced difficulty in maintaining an active participation.

Chapter II analyzes Moncton's francophones between 1870 and 1914, particularly their integration into its urban industrial community. Acadians joined others in seeking the employment opportunities offered by the ICR and other related industries. Their migrations continued through to 1914, when its francophone component constituted 28.9% of the city's population. This period is also characterized by the Acadian **renaissance**, best defined as a conscious attempt by Maritime francophones to deal with their collective survival. The most tangible sign of the Acadian **renaissance** were the National Conventions, sponsored by the **Société nationale l'Assomption**, whose leaders stressed the need for a national ideology.

The **renaissance** also promoted development of a framework of societies and institutions to represent Acadian collective strength. Most of these headquartered in Moncton during this period: the **Société nationale l'Assomption** (founded in 1881); two French newspapers: l'Évangéline (1905), and l'Acadien (1913); and the **Société l'Assomption** (1913). Chapter II assesses their evolving role in Moncton and throughout the Maritime Provinces.

Chapter III examines Moncton's development from 1914 to 1937, when both its population and its physical boundaries expanded. The city acquired a number of smaller industrial and commercial establishments. Some were founded by Moncton's

political and economic elite, testifying to their continuing spirit of enterprise. The post World War One recession devastated the economy of Moncton just as it did throughout the region. The Intercolonial's integration into a national railway system and the disbanding of the Moncton headquarters in 1919 greatly affected the city's economic outlook. The railway's concatenation signalled the end of the preferential freight rate structure for the region's manufacturers and producers. These changes reinforced regional consciousness which was taken up when the Maritime Rights Movement focussed on the issue of freight rates during the 1920s. This chapter also analyzes the impact of the "Great Depression" of the 1930s on Moncton, explaining how government at all levels responded to the economic and social requirements of its citizens, through direct relief and public works programs for the city's unemployed.

Chapter IV situates Moncton's francophone element within the community between 1914 and 1937, when Acadians represented approximately 30% of its total population. Acadians continued the process of adapting to anglophone culture and the urban environment during this period. Moncton's emerging metropolitan functions within the Acadian community of the Maritime Provinces will also be examined. Acadian involvement in Moncton's economic development was best characterized by the growth of the *Société l'Assomption*, whose headquarters was situated in the city. This society reinforced Moncton's role from a national perspective,

particularly during the less active phase of the Société nationale l'Assomption's activities. Within Moncton, Acadian leaders espoused francophone aspirations, and also participated in community projects and associations. They founded francophone institutions, such as the Hôtel-Dieu Hospital, participated in municipal politics, and struggled to establish francophone religious and educational structures in Moncton.

Chapter V analyzes Acadian participation in Moncton's economy, focussing on the extent to which they coexisted with the dominant anglophone element within the city. The analysis relies on quantitative methods, using city directories to study interrelationships among the variables of ethnicity, occupation and residence in the community. Moncton's directories for 1896, 1911, 1929, 1930 and 1938 reflect the occupational and social/ethnic complexity of the community. A sample of employers associated with the community's growth and progress were chosen for analysis. [the ICR/CNR, the Record Foundry, the municipal government, the T.E. Eaton Co., the Dominion Cotton Mills Co., and Swift's Meat Packing Co.] Also included are Moncton's self-employed professionals, a group whose activism in the social, political, and economic arenas is well known. The occupational classification system used is adapted from the socio-occupational hierarchy established by Michael Katz and others for the study of late nineteenth and early twentieth century urban populations. The sample selected highlights relationships between residence,

ethnicity and occupation, as well as residence and place of employment.

The dominant theme throughout this thesis is the continuous effort of both anglophone and francophone elements of Moncton to adapt to transformations occurring in their city and in the Maritime Provinces. For both groups, Moncton represented their everyday reality as well as their source of livelihood. Consequently, both ethnic groups sought to further the community's interests. As elsewhere, these interests were taken up by the political, business and social elites, working in most cases for the benefit of the community at large. For the Acadians of Moncton, the community's prosperity was also associated with larger national aspirations. The analysis of the Acadian experience in Moncton, as well as the growth of that city's metropolitan functions within the larger Acadian community, are indications of the extent of Acadian integration within the society surrounding them, as well as their determination to function as equal partners within that community.

*

Chapter 1

*

Railways played an important role in Moncton's economic development. During the late 1840s and the 1850s Moncton relied, to a large extent, on the shipbuilding industry, which was complemented by lumbering and shipping. Because of the decline of the shipbuilding industry, the 1860s was a decade of economic stress. Railway construction, linking by rail the eastern provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia to the St. Lawrence valley at Rivière du Loup, occurred from 1868 to 1876. In 1870, Moncton was chosen as headquarters of the Intercolonial Railway.

Construction of the ICR was one of the reasons why political union of the colonies became a reality. From the perspective of the Maritime Provinces, it was so firmly part of the political reshaping of the colonies that it has been affirmed that:

...the Intercolonial Railway scheme was probably the most important single influence affecting the course of the Confederation movement in the Maritime Provinces. For Nova Scotia and New Brunswick it was, indeed, the sine qua non of their entrance into Confederation.¹

Rail construction was an essential component of any serious attempt to promote commercial exchange between the remaining colonies of British North America. New economic alliances became

imperative, as well as desirable, once the preferential policies of Great Britain disappeared, late in the 1840s. The British North American colonies were now in the same competitive situation as other suppliers to Great Britain. For a short while, the negotiated reciprocity treaty between the British North American colonies and the United States provided secure markets for the colonies, and alleviated the fear of economic instability brought on by the free trade policies of Great Britain. By 1864 however, the breakdown in the renegotiation of reciprocity with the United States alarmed some British colonists. New economic alliances became imperative. The British North American colonies began to look amongst themselves for new markets. Rail construction was the means to achieve this end.

Moncton's economy revived following completion of the Intercolonial Railway in 1876. The railway, combined with the protectionist policies set into legislation in 1879 by John A. Macdonald's conservative government in Ottawa, promoted the industrial development of the town. In this chapter, we shall study Moncton's transformation during the period from 1870 up to the First World War, placing emphasis on the Intercolonial's role in this process. We shall also analyze Moncton's growth within the larger framework of the development of the Maritime Provinces.

Map I situates the Maritime Provinces, along with major cities and towns, and the route of the Intercolonial Railway. It also shows that Moncton is situated on the east bank of the Petitcodiac River, approximately thirty five miles from its mouth, in the southeastern section of the Province of New Brunswick. The Petitcodiac River empties into Chignecto Bay at the head of the Bay of Fundy. By rail, Moncton is about ninety miles from the port of Saint John, and one hundred and ninety miles from the port of Halifax.

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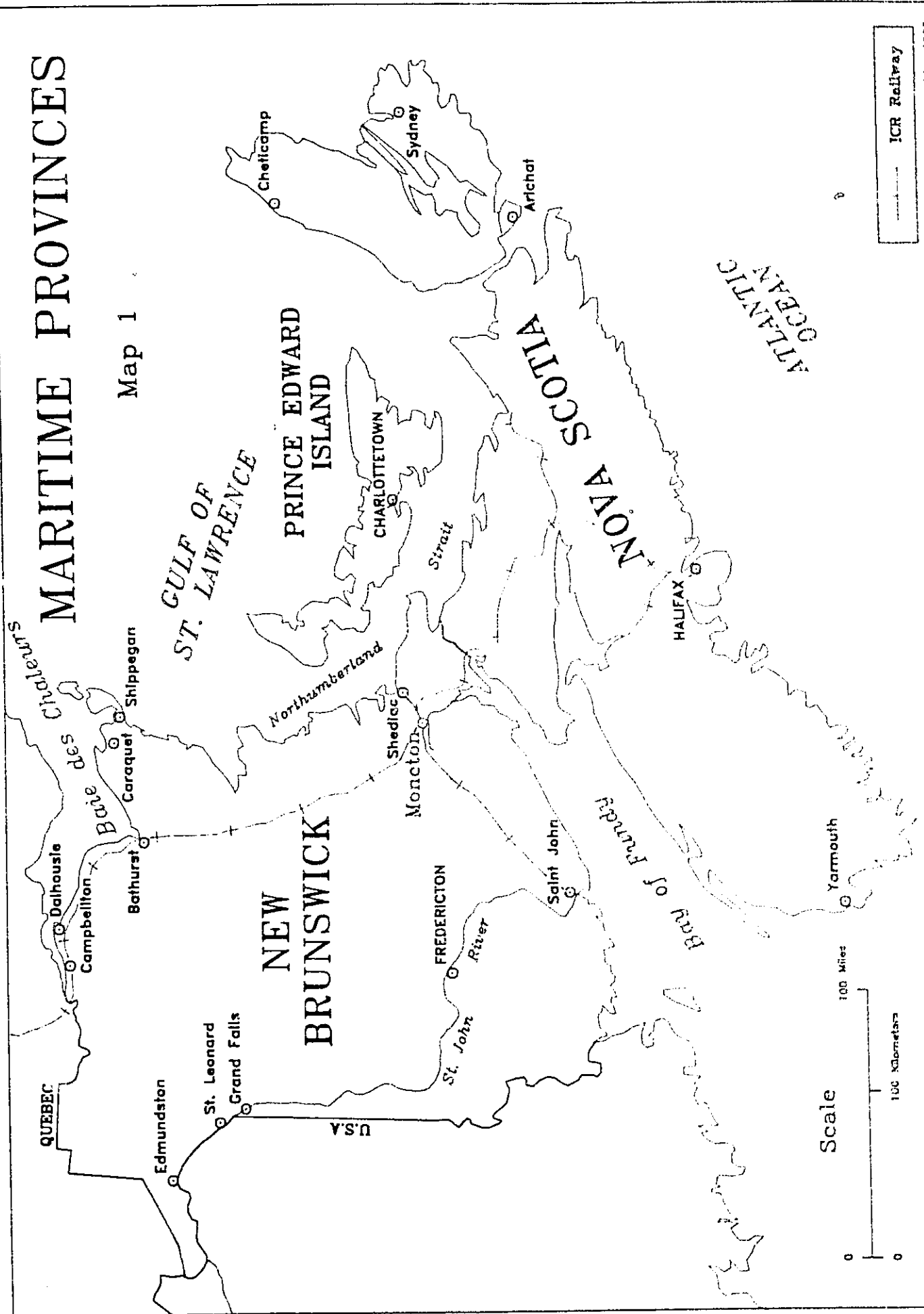
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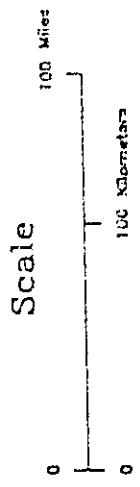
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MARITIME PROVINCES

Map 1



ICR Railway



Map supplied by GEOSTAT RESEARCH, 1983

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Prior to the arrival of the Intercolonial, Moncton was essentially an agricultural village. The birth of the shipbuilding industry in 1849 had caused a redirection in its development from a resource to an industry-based community. That year, the shipbuilding firm of George and Joseph Salter was the first to be established in Moncton.² Its initial success encouraged other shipbuilders to emulate them. More than a dozen shipbuilding firms, including the shipping and ship-building firm of the Harris brothers, were active within the village during the following decade.

Shipbuilding did promote growth of the economy's primary sector, particularly the forest industries, which supplied raw materials, and the agriculture industry, which fed a growing urbanizing work force. Both of these industries were essential to the community and to its economic hinterland. Shipbuilding promoted some secondary manufacturing activity as well, part of which served the industry, such as rope and nail manufacturing, and part of which served growing consumer needs.

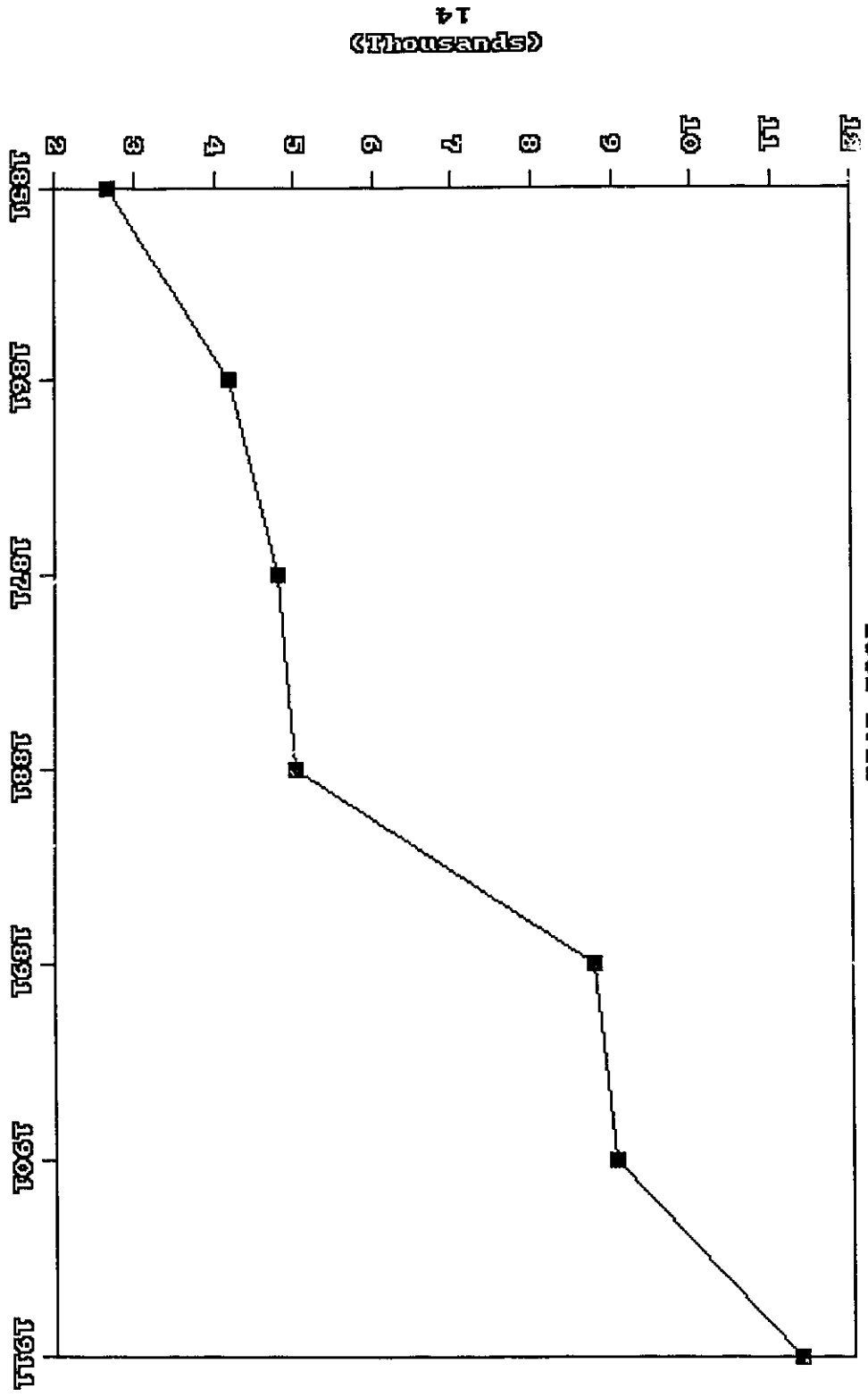
In the entire region, shipbuilding was associated with the shipping trade. Moncton exploited this particular field, especially the coastal trade, "establishing an economic unit of the Fundy ports, those of Northumberland Strait, and the east coast American ports."³ The growth of the shipping industry was an important component of the business community's optimism

regarding Moncton's economic potential. Their enthusiasm led them to establish Moncton as a port of entry in 1850,⁴ and they built docks and wharves for the shipping trades:

It was not uncommon to see five or six ships tied up at these wharves at one time, bringing in supplies for the stores - flour, cargoes of rum and molasses from the West Indies, furniture, and manufactured products of all kinds. On return voyages they would take farm produce, tan bark, and timber for the American markets and overseas.⁵

Moncton's economic transformations were accompanied by important demographic changes. Figure I provides a general demographic outline of Moncton from 1851 to 1911.

FIGURE I
POPULATION-MONKSTON
1851-1911*



* Source: S. Medjuck, Wooden Ships and Iron People, p. 37 and Govt. of Canada, Census, 1871-1911. Figures for 1851, 1861 and 1871 are for Monkton Parish. Figures for 1881 are for Monkton Township, and figures for 1891, 1901 and 1911 are for Monkton City.

Figure I illustrates that between 1851 and 1861, the population of Moncton Parish grew by 57%, from 2657 to 4182 people. A large proportion of this population increase can be directly attributed to the shipbuilding industry's growing demands for labour. Sheva Medjuck has stated that during the shipbuilding era in Moncton, the industry supported an important proportion of the community's workforce, and artisans constituted the major occupational classification within Moncton Parish in 1851.⁶ Her analysis of the nominal census records for that year brought her to conclude that 34% of Moncton's workforce consisted of farmers.⁷ She also noted that in 1851, agricultural production was not exported but obviously intended for local markets, where it was made available to the growing workforce of Moncton's shipbuilding, shipping and lumbering industries.⁸

Economic prosperity transformed Moncton's physical environment as well. In 1855, Moncton requested incorporation as a town. The proposal was presented to the Legislative Assembly in Fredericton on February 13, 1855 by James Steadman, an attorney and member of the provincial legislature.⁹

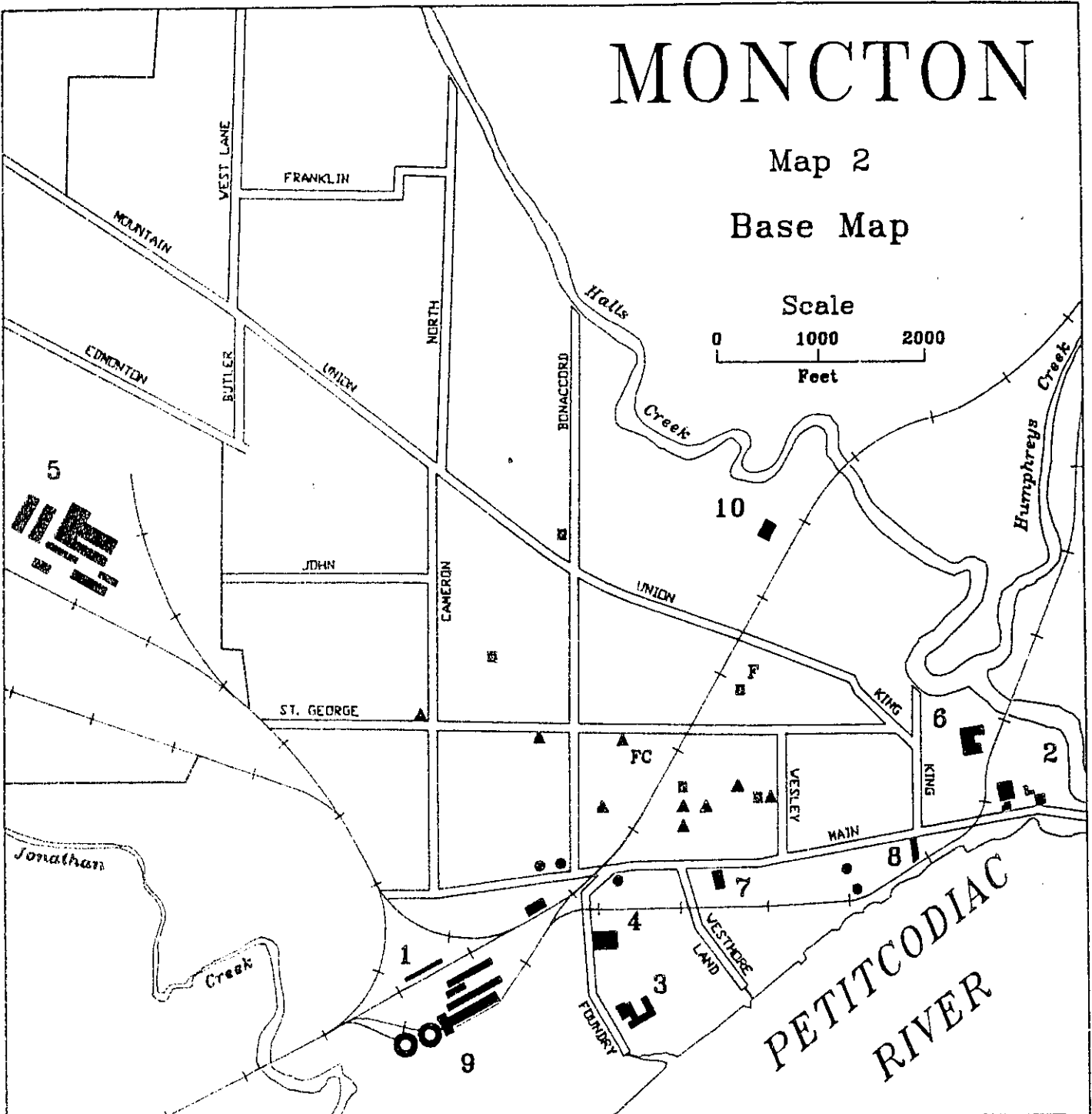
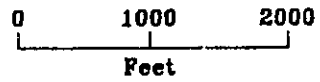
At the time of its first incorporation, Moncton's developed area was almost limited to Main Street, which ran east to west. West of Church Street, there were as yet no streets running north and south. Map II provides information on Moncton's physical, commercial and industrial attributes, and situates the railway.

MONCTON

Map 2

Base Map

Scale



INDUSTRIES

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| 1 CNR grounds | 7 City Hall |
| 2 Sugar Refinery | 8 N.E. Wire Fence Co. |
| 3 Record Foundry | 9 Swift Canadian Co. Ltd. |
| 4 Eaton Co. | 10 Peters Combination Lock Co. / Atlantic Underwear Factory |
| 5 CNR works shops | 6 Moncton Cotton Manufacturing / Marven's Ltd. |

▲ Church	— CN Railway	F French
● Hotel	┌ Limit	FC French Catholic
■ School	== Major Street	

Moncton's business sector was mainly situated on the south side of Main Street, and the residential sector on its north side, as well as on the few existing side streets north of Main Street. Several hotels were already in operation by the mid 1850s: the Temperance Hotel on the west side of Steadman Street off Main Street; the Moncton Hotel on the east side of Mechanic Street, which was operated by Oliver Jones and later by James Dunlap; the American House on the north side of Main Street, between Robertson (now Pearl) and Telegraph (now Lewis) Streets.¹⁰ The community's blacksmith shops, as well as the grocery, dry goods and general stores, were usually situated along Main Street. Sumner's hardware store was established in 1855, at the corner of Main and Duke Streets.¹¹ The only bank in the newly incorporated town was the Bank of Westmorland, which had been founded the preceeding year.¹²

In general terms, the 1850s were economically prosperous for the entire Maritime region. Despite the colonists' fears regarding the implementation of free trade, easy access to British markets continued, which encouraged the steady growth of the shipbuilding industry. Moreover, reciprocity with the United States in 1854 established free trade of primary products between that country and the British North American colonies, which meant free access to American markets for New Brunswick raw products, particularly forest products.

By the 1860s, the need for redefinition of the region's commercial ties became apparent. Trans-Atlantic markets for British colonial forestry products were unreliable. The end of the American Civil War in the United States brought about the abrogation of the reciprocity treaty in 1866, which resulted in uncertainty amongst the region's business community. More importantly though, transformations in communications and technology were drastically affecting the traditional Maritime commercial patterns. These events suggested problems for the region's continued growth. In terms of shipbuilding for both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, 1864 was a boom year, but then the industry definitely began to decline.¹³

These events affected not only the economy of the Maritime Provinces, but they also had an impact on Moncton's economic development. Problems became apparent within the shipbuilding industry as early as 1859, the year Salter Shipbuilding Enterprises declared bankruptcy. Over the next few years, the town witnessed the systematic failure of the shipbuilding industry.¹⁴ The decline in shipbuilding was felt in all sectors of employment. The manufacturing sector, which employed 15.6% of Moncton Parish's workforce in 1851, and 13.5% in 1861, employed only 10.8% in 1871.¹⁵ Employment in the building industries also suffered. Of the parish's total active workforce of 1840 people in 1851, 22.1% were employed in the building industries. That percentage fell to 7.8% of a total workforce of 2929 people in

1861.¹⁶ The artisans, who constituted 37% of the community's workforce in 1851, represented 20.6% of the active workforce in 1861, and 17% in 1871.¹⁷

On the other hand, the transportation sector in Moncton benefitted from new technological transformations and economic policies. This sector of the economy experienced minor and uneven growth over a few decades: in 1851, it only employed 0.5% of the workforce of Moncton Parish, but by 1861, it employed 5.1%, and in 1871, 3.1% of the town's active workforce.¹⁸ From 1871 to 1914, the transportation sector in Moncton experienced a consistent growth because of the presence of the Intercolonial Railway, its shops, warehouses and administrative offices.

Moncton's population base continued to grow, from 4182 people in 1861, to 4810 people in 1871, an increase of 15%, as indicated in Figure I. This growth is quite substantial, since the 1861 census indicates the number of residents of Moncton Parish, whereas the 1871 census provides township statistics.

Problems relating to the shipbuilding industry directly affected other aspects of the town's development. The crisis in shipbuilding forced the Bank of Westmorland, heavily involved in financing shipbuilding and shipping, into receivership in 1867. Citizens in Moncton had to do their banking in other communities until 1873, when a branch office of the Bank of Montreal opened.

Businesses either suffered the same lot, or attempted to obtain capital from the community's private bankers. The recession put a definite halt to the community's development. In 1862, the town's incorporation was revoked at the request of the Mayor, Joseph Crandall, and the Town Council. Albert J. Smith, the elected member of the Legislative Assembly for Westmorland County, moved for acceptance of the petition.¹⁹

In summary, the economic crisis brought about by the failure of Moncton's shipbuilding industry resulted in a general reduction of the specialized workforce and a partial return to a resource-based economy.²⁰ Industries, which had been founded mostly because of the requirements of the shipbuilding industry, were now founded in response to growing consumer demands. In the 1860s, Wm. S. Torrie founded a soap manufactory in Moncton. In 1862, John Humphrey, whose family would play an important economic and political role within Moncton during several decades, established the family's first industry, a sawmill, in Moncton. Later, Humphrey operated a grist mill. Apart from these and other traditional service industries, limited in most cases to local needs, Moncton remained an essentially rural, service community during this decade.

Farming constituted the major occupation in Moncton Parish in the 1860s. Sheva Medjuck has stated that in 1861, farmers constituted 41.3% of the parish's total active workforce of 1211

people.²¹ Of the 517 farmers, only 56% actually owned their means of production in 1861. The remaining 227 people were farm labourers.²² The median cash value of production on all farms was \$800. in 1861. Medjuck strongly suggests that farms were too small to produce surpluses, and that farming in Moncton Parish was limited to subsistence farming.²³ L. Machum agrees that farming constituted a substitute occupation, replacing shipbuilding in Moncton during the 1860s.²⁴ This tendency to substitute farming for other types of work continued into the next decade. In 1871, the proportion of the workforce employed in agriculture increased to 54%.²⁵

Moncton's economic future appeared dim during the early years of the 1860s. The municipal political structure, consisting of Mayor and Council, was unfortunately defunct, as they had accepted the Act of April 23, 1862 revoking Moncton's incorporation. Yet the town - while it retained the status of a town - had witnessed a certain level of development from which the citizens continued to benefit during this period of economic uncertainty.

Moncton's physical appearance was altered during this decade. The town had been linked to Shediac by rail in 1857, by the European & North American Railway. On the south side of Main Street, railway buildings were built: station, engine house, wood house, engineer's office, and freight house. Services such

as road construction continued, although mostly as a result of personal initiative.²⁶ The construction of a theater and music hall on Main Street, east of Pleasant Street, was also part of its urban development during this period. This specific project was a personal initiative of James Dunlap.²⁷ It was used for community purposes until construction of the first City Hall. A bridge across the Petitcodiac River was built, but it lasted only a few years. In October, 1868, the Saxby Gale created a tide and wind of such magnitude that it blew the bridge away.²⁸

A number of local firms disappeared due to economic stress of the late 1850s. A group of enterprising businessmen remained, consisting on the one hand of capitalists previously involved in shipbuilding, shipping and forestry, and on the other hand of some small-scale merchants and industrialists. During the next few decades, men such as Oliver Jones, J.B. Chandler, Michael S. Harris, James Dunlap and J. A. Humphrey constituted the nucleus of Moncton's economic and political elite. They remained undecided as to the direction to be taken to promote renewed prosperity: the traditional, resource-based industries, or a new, continental and industrially diversified economy. In this, Moncton's business class reflected the same uncertainties experienced by their counterparts elsewhere in the Maritimes.

It is within this context that the issue of colonial union emerged. Although L.A. Machum has categorized the 1860s as gloom times for Moncton, he added, cynically enough:

Not all else could have been black in these times either. The confederation of the four provinces in 1867 must have been some diversion and must have given a lift at least to those who favored it. It would certainly be something to talk about anyway, and with the comings and goings to the Chandler house in Dorchester, leading to a larger meeting in Charlottetown and a still larger one in Quebec in 1864, all preliminary to the big event of 1867, there would have been some things to keep the upper classes occupied anyway.²⁹

Confederation had brought about the construction of the Intercolonial Railway. All previous attempts to link the eastern colonies by rail had failed. Railway construction had begun in both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in 1853. By 1860 in New Brunswick, the European & North American Railway had connected St. John to Shediac, a distance of 108 miles. In Nova Scotia, Halifax was connected by rail to Truro and Windsor.³⁰ By 1866, Nova Scotia had built one hundred and forty seven miles of rail and New Brunswick, two hundred and eighteen. Both colonies had yet to be connected by rail.³¹ Confederation became the only method of achieving this goal:

The Intercolonial Railway owes its existence to the creation of the Dominion, although it may be said that neither would have been consummated without the other.³²

The legal recognition of railway construction was assured by the Canadian Railway Loan Act of 1867. The choice of the railway route initiated major debates, particularly in New Brunswick. It was generally admitted that the route chosen should be the shortest and, consequently, the cheapest to construct. It also had to provide services to the greatest proportion of the population, and give access to the most developed commercial districts. Finally, it had to ensure defence against invasion.³³ Two studies of potential routes had been undertaken: the first in 1848 by Major Robinson, the second by Sanford Fleming in 1864. Both presented three possible routes: the Northern Route (Bay of Chaleurs); the Central Route (St. John); and the Frontier Route (St. John River). Both Robinson and Fleming opted for the Northern Route, for they considered it presented least technical problems, best defence, and lowest construction costs. There were, nevertheless, defenders of all three routes. Businessmen representing the commercial interests of Saint John were especially vocal in lobbying for the Central Route. The final choice rested with Parliament, which chose the Northern Route, a decision based on political and strategic considerations. Private and commercial interests were set aside, as the rail line had to fulfill the requirements of the new Dominion:

As a commercial investment it [the Intercolonial Railway] has few, if any advocates. Were this otherwise, English capital would have gladly sought it, backed as it has been by Imperial approbation. Hence, we designate it as a purely national work, undertaken solely for national purposes, conceived in national ambition, dedicated to national greatness.³⁴

In Westmorland County, the Intercolonial Railway was to pass through Shediac, the eastern terminus of the European & North American Railway, rather than through Moncton. At the time, Shediac was an important commercial center and had the advantage of being a sea port.³⁵ Had Shediac been chosen as the intersecting point between the European & North American Railway and the Intercolonial Railway, that community would have experienced a greater economic boost and Moncton's development would have been stifled.

During the 1867-68 debates over the proposed Intercolonial routes, a citizen's group was formed in Moncton to promote the Moncton route. Initially, the group was unsuccessful. When Parliament decided on the Northern Route, a meeting was called in Moncton for December 17, 1868. The citizen's group prepared a resolution and a petition requesting the railway Commissioners study the route between Richibouctou and an intersecting point with the European and North American Railway near Moncton.³⁶ The petition noted that this route was shorter and, consequently, cheaper to construct. It also had less natural obstacles than the Shediac route. The Intercolonial's Commissioners, A. Walsh, E.B.

Chandler, C.J. Brydges and A.W. McLelan, undertook a study of the route through Moncton, and presented their report to the Secretary of the Intercolonial Railway. The report recommended that that this route be chosen, as it would save \$700,000. in construction costs, since it was sixty six miles shorter than the route along the coast.³⁷

The choice of the Moncton route was critical to the community's future, since the town would become the administrative, commercial and engineering centre of the Intercolonial Railway, as well as the intersecting point of the Intercolonial with the European & North American Railway. A Committee of the Privy Council recommended in 1870 that "Monckton be selected as the place for establishing the Main workshops for the repair and maintenance of the Rolling Stock."³⁸

Following this recommendation, the Intercolonial Railway Commissioners, in their 1871 report, approved the purchase of more than fifty acres of land, situated between Albert and Main Streets, on which the future workshops would be built.³⁹ Construction of the Car Shops, Round House and Mechanical Works began immediately. The Commissioners had estimated the costs of construction to be \$83,923.⁴⁰ As headquarters of the Intercolonial Railway, Moncton required and built a passenger depot and freight warehouses, and administrative offices for the

Superintendent (Eastern District), and his officers and telegraph operators.

In 1873, a fire at the European & North American Railway's workshop facilities in Shediac destroyed the railway facilities.⁴¹ Construction began immediately at Pointe du Chêne, but the facilities were of reduced capacity, since most of the repair and engineering work was now done in the larger facilities in Moncton. In spite of this setback, Shediac continued to expand during the next decade. From 1871 to 1881, its population rose by 8.1%, from 5756 to 6227 people. During the same decade, Moncton's population rose by only 4.6%, from 4810 to 5032 people. However, by 1891, Shediac's population had decreased by .2% to 6216 people, whereas the population of Moncton had increased by 74.1%, to 8762 people.⁴²

Moncton took advantage of the opportunities for growth provided by the railway:

The completion of the Intercolonial with its new shops and offices was the foundation of the new town in the old township and she now lifted her head proudly for the second time, determined never to fall again. She would never look back but rather march on triumphantly to greater endeavours.⁴³

The railroad had created a communication and transportation link between the town and the rest of the country. The Intercolonial asserted an east-west commercial axis by land.

Products heading west by rail were mostly primary staples, which were locally produced, or products imported from overseas and destined for Central Canadian markets. Central Canadian products travelling east by rail were mostly manufactured goods, as this region was rapidly industrializing. The Intercolonial was to fulfill Central Canada's need of access to the winter ports of St. John and Halifax for exportation of products overseas. As freight costs were prohibitive, this intended goal was never fully realized. All rail traffic going through the Maritime region in either direction was, nevertheless, administered by the Moncton headquarters. The town became an important link in the trade patterns established since Confederation. Moncton could not have realized such a goal ten years earlier. From a sleepy hamlet in south-eastern New Brunswick, Moncton was transformed in an attempt to fulfill the role created by the Intercolonial.

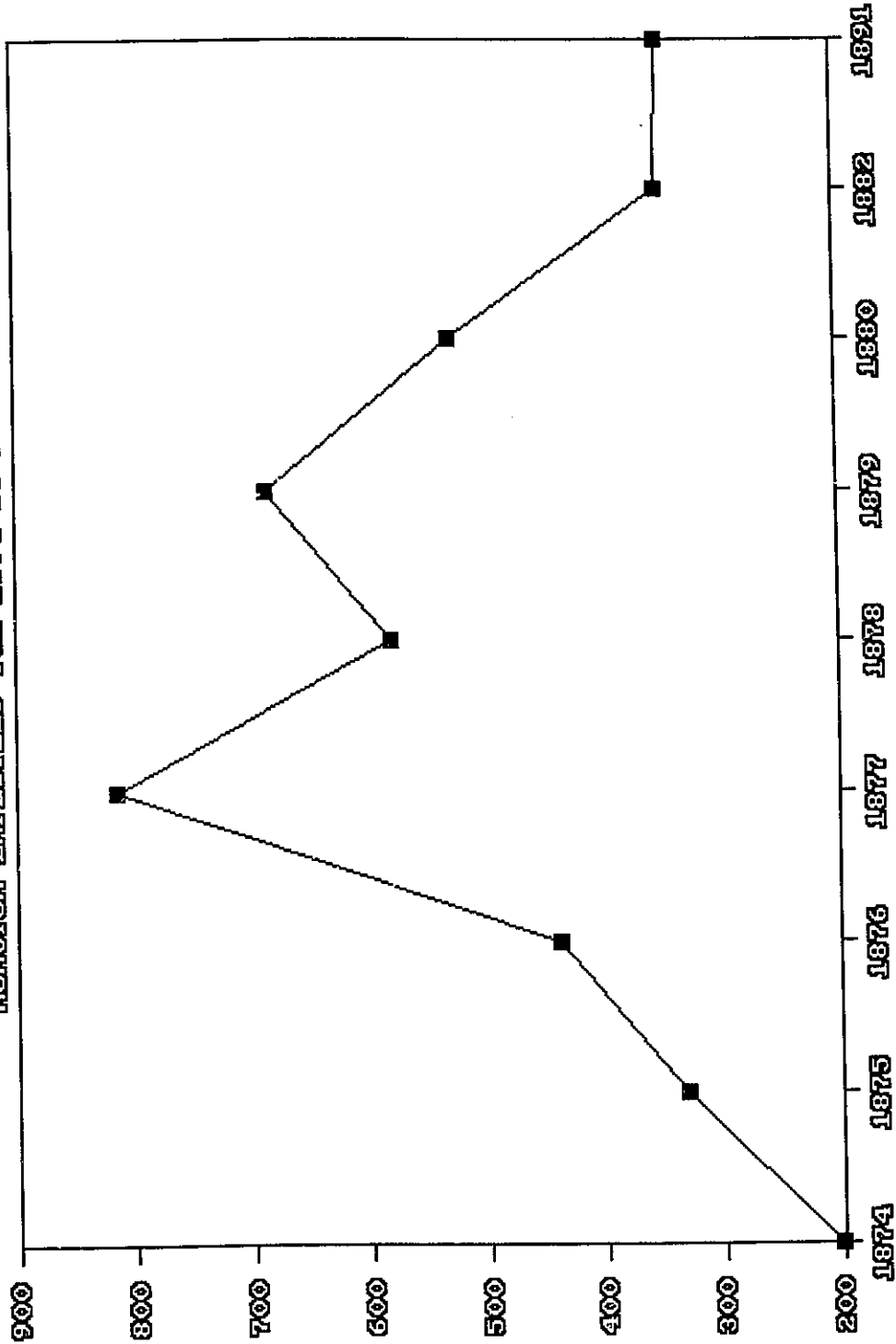
In Moncton, early post-Confederation efforts to industrialize met some initial success: a tannery and a shoemaking firm were founded in 1871; a carriage factory was established in 1873; a soft drinks manufacture was founded in 1872; a stove and furnace factory was established in 1876.⁴⁴ These industries were usually small, required little initial start-up capital, and employed a small number of mostly unskilled workers.⁴⁵ They were usually established by independent businessmen, sometimes associated with another member of their family. In general, industries founded in Moncton during this

period were responding to local consumer demand, or following the slow but sure trend towards industrialization within the region. Indeed, it can be argued that the process of industrialization was irrevocably underway before 1879 in Moncton and in the entire region, although it was still closely associated with the requirements of traditional staple industries. An 1885 report on Canadian manufacturing, entitled Reports Relative to Manufacturing Industries in Existence in Canada, listed nineteen industries which had been established in Moncton in the years prior to implementation of the National Policy and were still functioning in 1884.⁴⁶ Appendix A indicates the most important of these Moncton industries. However, the railroad was not listed in the 1885 progress report.

It is very difficult to gauge the significance of the Intercolonial's operations to the city's growth during this period, because of the lack of reliable employment records. Fires in 1882 and 1906 at the Moncton headquarters destroyed most of the official archives. Moreover, employment lists and payrolls are scarce for the latter part of the nineteenth century. The only list of employees available from the National Archives of Canada records is dated 1891.⁴⁷ Fortunately, Moncton's daily newspaper, The Daily Times, sometimes published lists of employees at the railway offices, shops and maintenance sections.⁴⁸

On the basis of this partial documentation, Figure II indicates levels of employment between 1874 and 1891. It clearly shows that the railway provided a major boost in terms of employment opportunities for Monctonians, notwithstanding yearly variations in employment levels, which may in any event be attributable to incomplete documentation.

FIGURE II
 MONGTON EMPLOYEES-IGR-1874 TO 1891 *



*Source: National Archives of Canada, R.G. 30, Intercolonial Railway, Box 11, Book 2, May 1891; June 1891, vol. 6186, and Daily Times, June 8 and 10, 1882 and December 19, 1882.

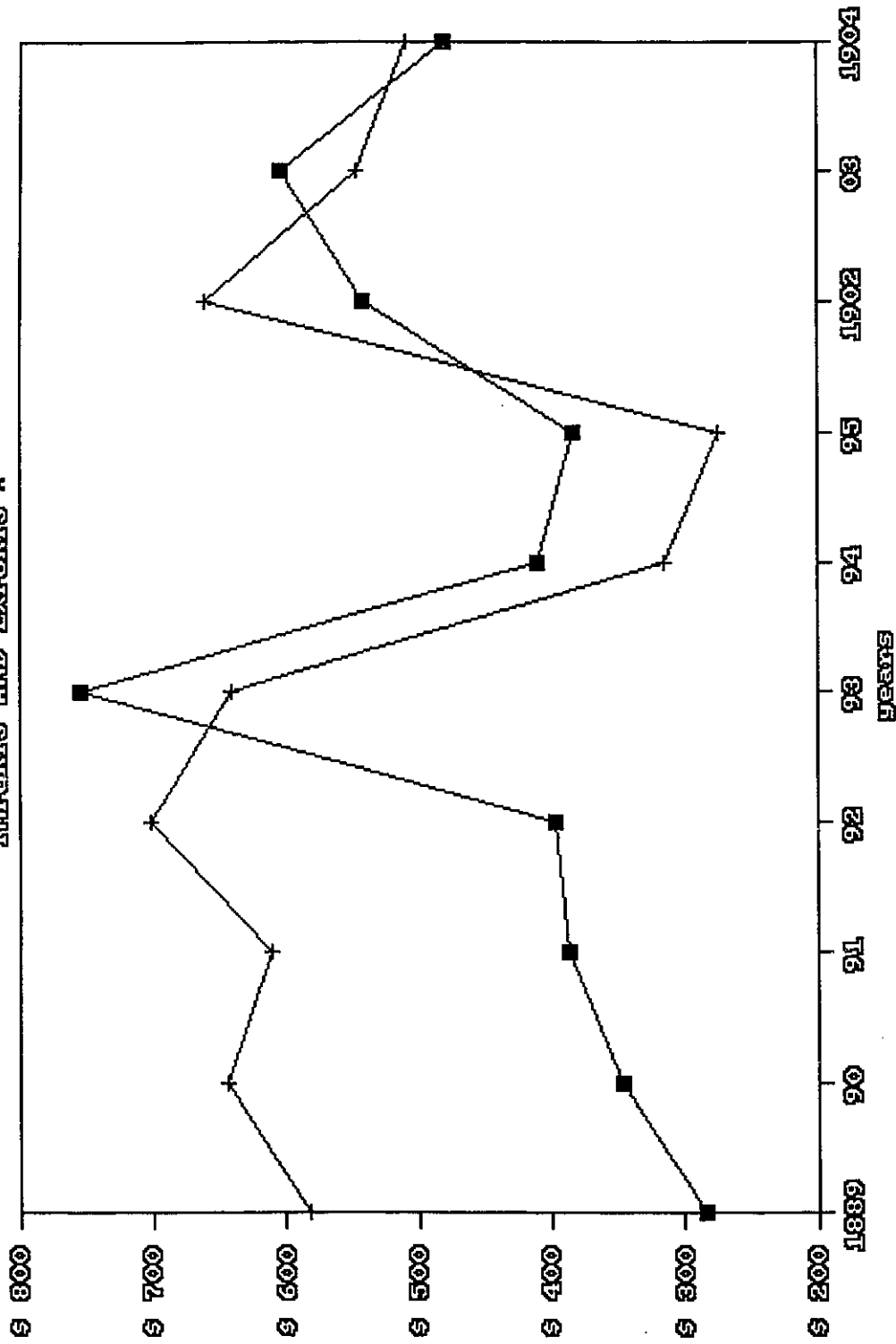
Other sources provide more reliable information relating to employment patterns at the Intercolonial Railway. The 1889 Report on the Relations of Labor and Capital in Canada indicates that 700 men and women were employed in 1888 at the Intercolonial Railway.⁴⁹ Moncton directories were also available for historical research and analysis. A detailed analysis of occupation patterns for certain Moncton industries, including the Intercolonial, using this source, will be dealt with in chapter five. In very general terms, the analysis shows that in 1896, 650 men and women worked for the Intercolonial in Moncton. By 1911, 2310 people were employed by the railway.⁵⁰

One other source indicates that by 1904, the largest proportion of the active population of the city was employed directly by the railway.⁵¹ The railway offered several different types of employment. The workshops of the Intercolonial in Moncton were responsible for the maintenance of the rail cars, as well as all levels of repairs to the locomotives. They also had the capacity to build locomotives and rail cars. These functions created a need for a specialized workforce, including engineers, electricians, blacksmiths and mechanics. Freight storage and passenger traffic offered outlets for non-specialized and semi-specialized employment, including brakemen, sectionmen, loaders and porters. The railway's administration created professional, administrative and clerical employment opportunities for accountants, lawyers, clerks and typists.

In view of the magnitude of the 1860s economic stagnation, the political choice of Moncton as the headquarters of the ICR gains in importance. In the final analysis of the town's economic development, it is evident that the local elite played a dominant role. During the following decades, Moncton's business class made use of every advantage the town and the railway could offer. The economic prosperity witnessed during the early 1870s is notable when compared to the stagnation of the previous decade. The railroad had replaced shipbuilding as the town's major industry. For most of Moncton's citizens, the town's economic destiny appeared indivisible from the railway's development. Not surprisingly, the city's logo sported a locomotive with the motto *Resurgo*, meaning I rise again.

The fact that the Intercolonial demanded the transfer from a maritime, sea-based economy to a continental, land-based economy did not initially create problems for Moncton's economic growth. Although the shipbuilding industry was declining, Moncton continued to be a regional shipping and trading center. Figure III indicates the value of products imported and exported from the port of Moncton from 1889 to 1904.

FIGURE III
 PORT OF MONCTON
 IMPORTS AND EXPORTS *



* Source: Govt. of Canada, The Canada Year Book, 1906.

Figure III shows that trade was subject to major yearly variations. More importantly, it indicates continued commercial activity in shipping, in spite of the Intercolonial Railway's presence as a catalyst of the new continental commercial structure.

J.A. Macdonald's conservative government implemented a new fiscal policy in 1879 that, along with other components, later came to be known as the National Policy.⁵² Its goal was to integrate the different economies of the country into one national economy which would be self-sufficient. The policy strived to continentalize Canada's economy. Its components were: an immigration program designed to populate the west; a tariff system which protected existing Canadian industries and, more importantly, encouraged the birth of new industries; and a state-funded and, in some cases, state-owned railway system.

At first, the policy was generally well received by the business and political communities of the Maritime Provinces.⁵³ These businessmen had been unable to assure safe, secure markets overseas since the international trade depression of the mid-1870s. They now sought new markets, and were committed to establishing them on an east-west commercial axis. Businessmen and politicians depended on the federal government to maintain low freight costs and to implement policies which were adapted to regional needs. Therefore, the federal government had to provide

a secure and relatively cheap method of transportation between markets. By 1879, rail freight had become the most important means of transportation of these products.

Businessmen accepted the philosophy and the objectives of the federal government's economic policies, and attempted to adapt to them.⁵⁴ At the federal level, in the House of Commons and in the Senate, conservative members generally followed party policy on the ideological issues associated with National Policy. Liberal Members of Parliament from the Maritimes were vocal in their distrust of the government's motives, and spoke of improper alliance between government and business. A.J. Smith, the Liberal Member of Parliament for Westmorland County, accused the government of implementing new fiscal policies stemming from political necessity, rather than from conviction.⁵⁵ Smith went on to accuse the Finance Minister, Sir Leonard Tilley, of ignoring the interests of labourers and farmers, and of listening only to the business interests in Quebec and Ontario.⁵⁶ Smith was convinced that National Policy tariffs discriminated against New Brunswick, particularly its lumber industry. He argued that low freight rates were an economic necessity for the lumber industry and for the economy of that province.⁵⁷ On the issue of tariffs, Smith believed that "they could not stimulate, encourage and foster industries that required artificial means to sustain them."⁵⁸

From 1879 to 1889, as a result of the implementation of National Policy, the Maritimes witnessed a significant shift of capital and human resources from the resource extraction and export sector of the economy to the industrial sector.⁵⁹ The transfer of capital to the industrial sector of the region's economy initially met with some degree of success:

Aided by low freight rates, cheap sources of energy, the tariff, and a booming national economy, Maritime manufacturers secured a large hinterland in Central and Western Canada to absorb the volume necessary for competitive production.⁶⁰

The distance to Central Canadian markets had worked against the Maritimes' ability to compete in Central Canadian markets. Low, locally negotiated freight rates had been a political concession to the region's entrepreneurs. At any Maritime point along the line, freight rates could be negotiated on products moving in a westerly direction only. Freight rates could be reduced from 20% to 50% of the rates charged to freight travelling eastward along the same rail line. In all cases, freight rates were negotiated at the Intercolonial's headquarters in Moncton.⁶¹ Freight rates charged to transportation of externally produced products entering Maritime ports and destined for Central or Western Canada could not benefit from this freight rate structure. This was consistent with the need to adjust policies to Canada's regional requirements.

Boosted by protectionist policies aimed at speeding up the industrialization process, Maritime businessmen participated willingly and wholeheartedly in the transformation of the region's economy. The National Policy was perceived as an instrument of economic stabilization by the region's businessmen.⁶² Linked to the rest of the country by rail and protected by a tariff structure designed to keep Canadian manufacturing free from foreign competition, the region witnessed the birth of a new, internal mercantilism. The staple products of eastern Canada continued to be exported by water to external markets, mostly British or American, and sometimes by rail to Central Canada, as in the case of Nova Scotia coal. Secondary manufacturing expanded as eastern industrialists attempted to equal Central Canadian standards and prices. Meanwhile, Central Canadian manufactured products continued to integrate eastern markets, as industrialization soared in response to the federal government's economic policies.

Several problems remained: the high costs of transportation, the need to adapt to technological transformations in the production of goods, the difficulties of adapting to new marketing techniques, and the need for new financial structures, as local banking institutions were rapidly disappearing. The problem of insufficient capital could not be resolved only by community-based financing of industries, although local businesses, as well as entire communities, would

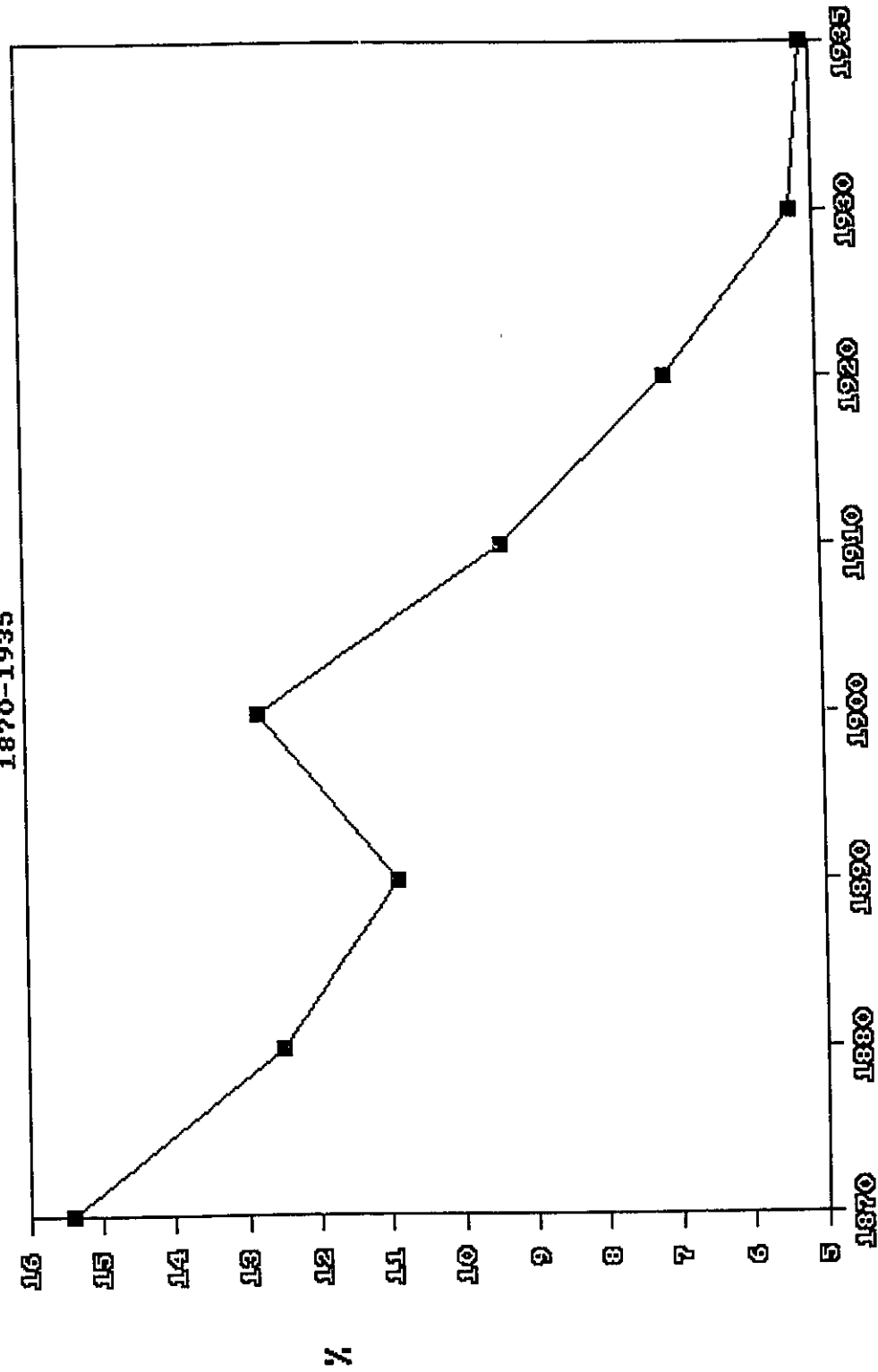
ultimately benefit from this type of enterprise. Towns and municipalities often offered financial benefits to industries locating within their boundaries, in an attempt to attract capital and industry to the region. These benefits usually took the form of tax concessions or grants of land. In spite of these problems, the Maritime provinces nourished their ambition to become the industrial heartland of Canada. In view of protective tariff, rail freight structures, and the fact that the region had all major sources of iron and coal in the eastern half of the country, a new economic optimism prevailed in the east, at least for the first decade after 1879.

In spite of these efforts to resolve the problems associated with industrialization and economic diversification, industrial production in the Maritimes remained decentralized and fragmented. On the one hand, the region lacked a strong, economic metropolitan centre. As a result, entrepreneurs sometimes competed against other eastern manufacturers, as well as against Central Canadian firms for regional markets. On the other hand, the new structure of tariffs determined to some extent the nature of new industries, as industrialists opted for manufacturing in those industries most heavily protected by tariffs. The result was often disastrous, as economic initiatives were intuitive rather than reflective, and often unrelated to the region's capacity for growth.

Although generally impressive, the region's industrial growth remained uneven during the first two decades of National Policy. Manufacturing was not limited to one urban center or economic sub-region. Businessmen in the Atlantic port cities of St. John and Halifax, and in the lumbering and ship building towns such as Yarmouth and Newcastle, invested in manufacturing where once they had invested in the staple industries. Central Canadian capitalists, as well as American and British businessmen, also invested in the region's industrial sector.

Figure IV provides a summary of the amount of capital invested in industries in the Maritime Provinces, as a percentage of capital invested in manufacturing in Canada, during this period.

FIGURE IV
 INVESTMENTS IN INDUSTRY IN MARITIME PROVINCES.
 as % of capital invested in Canada. *

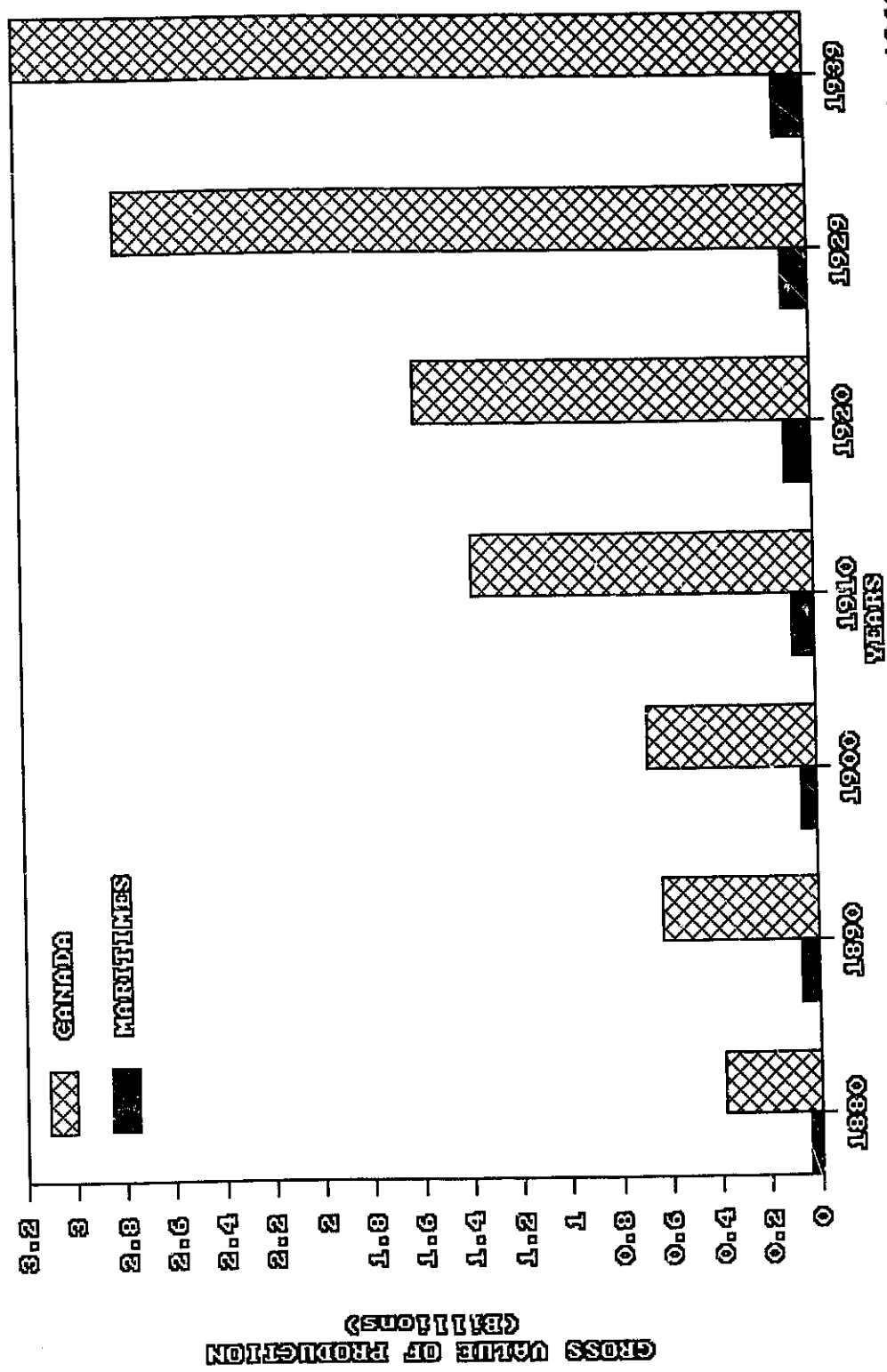


* Source: S.A. Saunders, Economic History of the Maritime Provinces,
 Ott., 1939, p.90.

The highest level of capital invested in industry within the region (as a percentage of capital invested in Canada) is shown to have occurred in the 1870s, before the implementation of National Policy. The following two decades show a definite decrease in the percentage of capital invested in industry in the Maritime Provinces. From 15%, the percentage of capital invested fell to just below 11% of the national level. After 1910 and until 1935, the level of capital invested in industrial production in the Maritime Provinces declined consistently when compared to the national level.

The Maritime Provinces experienced a rapid decrease in the value of industrial production, when compared to the national level. Figure V shows the gross value of production in manufacturing for the period 1880-1939. It indicates consistent expansion of the manufacturing sector at the national level for each decade during this period. The value of industrial production grew from \$385,345,000. in 1880 to over three billion dollars in 1939. This represents an approximate increase of 628%. The Maritimes' rate of growth in the value of manufactured goods rose from \$42,626,000. to \$124,120,000. during the same period. This constitutes an increase of 191%.

FIGURE V
GROSS VALUE OF PRODUCTION (MANUFACTURING)¹
MARITIMES AND CANADA, 1880-1939.*



* Source: D. Alexander, "Economic Growth in the Atlantic Region, 1880 to 1940", *Acadiensis*, Vol. 8, no. 1, 1978, pp. 53 and 60.

Industrial growth in the Maritimes occurred not only in the larger urban centers, but also in the smaller communities served by the new railroads. Moncton is a typical example of a small community which experienced economic growth. The town had already benefitted from its status as headquarters of the Intercolonial Railway. The National Policy's protective tariffs and flexible freight rates gave Moncton's businessmen an opportunity to develop a secure industrial base for their community. During the following decade, entrepreneurs such as John and Christopher Harris, their brother-in-law John Humphrey, and Josiah Wood of Sackville, established several industries: a sugar refinery, iron works, a gas, light and power plant, cotton and woolen mills, and a flour mill.⁶³ During this decade, Moncton witnessed the founding of a barrel factory (adjacent to the sugar refinery), a bronze workshop, and a butchery and meat packing plant, and even experienced the temporary recovery of the shipbuilding industry.⁶⁴

Moncton's economic development was consistent with the natural features and politically acquired advantages of the town. Moncton had access to the commercial possibilities of the Bay of Fundy since becoming a port of entry in 1850. Coastal and trans-Atlantic trade continued to be a component of the town's economic activities. Between 1878 and 1884, the value of imports doubled, while the value of exports rose incredibly, from \$2,849. to \$73,934.⁶⁵ The Reports Relative to Manufacturing Industries in

Existence in Canada attributed this increase in the value of exports to the development of the shipping business of the port of Moncton.⁶⁶ The increase in port activity appears consistent with the statistics provided by the Department of Agriculture.⁶⁷ It therefore appears that shipping remained an important commercial function in Moncton until at least the turn of the century.

A spirit of enterprise and the interweaving of community-based interests best characterizes the city's economic growth during the last decades of the nineteenth century. Local businessmen John and Christopher Harris, both well-known entrepreneurs from Moncton's shipbuilding era, in partnership with their brother-in-law John Humphrey and the entrepreneur/politician Josiah Wood, contributed large amounts of capital and played an important role in the administration and the development of several of Moncton's leading industries. They were also instrumental in developing services such as the natural gas company, which was beneficial to both business and consumer lighting and heating needs in the community.

Under the direction of these entrepreneurs, plans were drawn up in January, 1879 to establish the Moncton Sugar Refinery and Barrel Factory. The barrel factory stored the refined sugar for transportation to markets. In order to set up this particular industry, a public subscription was sought through the Daily

Times. As a result, \$130,000. of the \$200,000. in required capital was raised within two weeks.⁶⁸ Several of Moncton's industrialists were among the major financial contributors to this project: R. W. Binney, John MacKenzie, C.B. Record, D. A. Duffy, George Dunlap and James Harris.⁶⁹ Within weeks, the new administrative council of the sugar refinery and barrel factory was chosen. J.L. Harris was named president of the council, while J. A. Humphrey, C. B. Record, D. A. Duffy, along with three others, were named councillors.⁷⁰

This industry received material assistance from Town Council, in the form of exemption from local taxes.⁷¹ During the process of industrialization, this form of assistance was widely used by towns and cities to encourage prospective industries to establish businesses in their community. In the case of Moncton, tax exemptions were offered to a number of companies and industries.

The Moncton Land Company also lent aid to the sugar refinery and barrel factory. Its contribution to the campaign consisted of a ten acre land donation, situated on Main Street.⁷² J. A. Humphrey and the Harris brothers were financial backers and administrators of the Moncton Land Company. Their financial ties to the sugar refinery were direct and unquestionably served as the motivation behind the gesture.

The Moncton Sugar Refinery received further assistance from some American industrialists, in the form of equipment and machinery.⁷³ The Moncton Sugar Refinery and Barrel Factory opened its doors in December, 1880, and by 1885 it reported \$150,000. in invested capital and a workforce of 80 people.⁷⁴ The success of this industry was, without a doubt, the result of the concerted efforts of Moncton's industrialists, particularly the Harris and Humphrey families. They had succeeded in pooling not only their own capital into a project that was too costly to attempt on an individual basis, but also the funds raised by public subscription. This was made possible by the community's spirit of enterprise.

In spite of initial enthusiasm, the sugar refinery suffered financial difficulties by 1884. Problems arose when the price of refined sugar on North American markets fell both drastically and rapidly. Fierce competition from other Canadian refineries, and the flooding of American refined sugar on the Canadian market at greatly reduced prices, further complicated the situation. The company's administrators appealed to Josiah Wood, Member of Parliament for Westmorland County, for financial assistance.⁷⁵ Josiah Wood was not only a well known shipper, but also a private banker.⁷⁶ He provided much needed capital for the Moncton industry. After 1884, Josiah Wood sat as a member of the refinery's Administrative Council, in recognition of his role in bailing the company out of its difficulties.

Another example of Moncton's spirit of enterprise is the Moncton Cotton Manufacturing Company, founded in 1882. It was also partially funded by public subscription through the Daily Times, raising a total of \$70,000. As in the case of the Moncton Sugar Refinery, the Harris brothers, Josiah Wood and J.A. Humphrey provided the remaining capital required for this venture.⁷⁷ By 1885, the firm had a capital outlay of \$240,000.⁷⁸ However, the Moncton Cotton Manufacturing Company did not progress as well as its founders had anticipated. The Daily Times attempted to reduce subscribers' apprehensions by stating that the industry's problem was due to over-production, and was only temporary. The newspaper, aligned politically to the Conservative Party, was thus attempting to minimize apprehensions relating to the party's National Policy:

And though a few of the many industries called into existence by the National Policy are obliged to close temporarily on account of over-production, it is manifestly absurd to say that the National Policy is a failure.⁷⁹

The cotton industry in Moncton survived its first decade, producing a daily average of 10,000 yards of cotton.⁸⁰ These were difficult times for the Canadian cotton industry, because of reduction in prices brought on by over-production. This problem resulted in reduction in returns to the shareholders of the Moncton Cotton Manufacturing Company. The company continued to function independently until it was absorbed by the Dominion Cotton Mills Company in 1891.

During the period of industrialization, Moncton's manufacturing sector could not solely rely on community subscription. The largest portion of required capital for the process of industrialization had to be provided by local entrepreneurs, outside capitalists and financial institutions. Moncton, which became a city in 1890, was serviced by branches of two national banking companies: the Bank of Montreal and the Bank of Nova Scotia.⁸¹ American investments in the Moncton Sugar Refinery and in Peter's Combination Lock Company are examples of foreign investments in Moncton industries.⁸² Outside investors were apparently welcome during this period of the city's development. The Daily Times repeatedly stated that it was in favour of foreign investments, for they were beneficial to the city as a whole. Notwithstanding the community's concentrated and sustained efforts to promote industries, its financial limitations were obvious. Therefore, other avenues, such as branch banking offices and external capital, were sought as a necessary element to the city's continued industrial development.

Table I provides more general statistical information on the industrial development of Moncton from 1881 to 1911.

Table I

Summary of industrial statistics for Moncton, 1881-1911.*

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Establishments</u>	<u>Capital</u>	<u>No. of Employees</u>	<u>Wages/ Salary</u>	<u>Value of Production</u>
1881	53	\$530,380.	603	\$251,840.	\$1,719,382.
1891	97	\$1,134,025.	948	\$317,250.	\$1,973,536.
1901	21	\$1,503,665.	1450	\$511,519.	\$1,291,036.
1911	---	\$1,666,086.	----	\$1,010,417.	\$3,223,565.

* Source: Government of Canada, Census, 1891, 1901, 1911.

It should be noted that industrial statistics for the period did not include railways. Table I shows that between 1881 and 1891, capital investments in Moncton industries had more than doubled. This resulted in an important increase in the number of industrial establishments. National Policy had promoted the establishment of industries in the area of clothing, boot and shoe manufacturing, as well as sugar refining, confectionary and iron and metal working. Certain industrial establishments, such as tailor and dressmaking shops, blacksmiths, and carriage factories, resulted from the city's economic prosperity and demographic growth. A third type of industrial establishment owed their existence to the process of urbanization and the consequent demand for public services, such as plumbing, gas and steam fitting, and undertaking firms.

The level of employment in industrial establishments increased significantly during this decade. Notwithstanding the overall rise in the amount of wages and salaries paid, average wages and salaries decreased. In 1881, employees working in these fifty three industrial establishments received an average annual salary of \$417.65, whereas in 1891, the average annual rate of pay was \$334.65. These statistics are too general to reflect individual or occupational variations in rates of pay earned in Moncton industries.

Between 1891 and 1901, the number of industrial establishments drastically decreased, from ninety seven to twenty one. Furthermore, the value of industrial production decreased significantly. However, the amount of invested capital increased, though modestly. It would therefore appear that industries functioning in Moncton now required heavier outlays of capital. They certainly required more manpower, as the level of employment in Moncton's industrial sector increased. Salaries remained fairly stable, when compared to the previous decade.

The statistics from 1901 to 1911 are more difficult to interpret. The number of establishments and the level of employment were not provided in the 1911 census. Although the rate of capital invested in Moncton industries rose, the increase was insignificant. From 1891 to 1911, capital investments increased by only a half million dollars. The level of wages and

salaries increased substantially, which usually signifies an increase in the number of employees. This remains hypothetical in the case of Moncton, since the number of employees was not provided in the 1911 census. The value of output in the manufacturing sector more than doubled during this decade.

Table II provides industrial statistics for Westmorland County for the years 1881 to 1911. When compared to Table I, it allows us to situate, in a general manner, the development of Moncton within the geographic framework of Westmorland County.

Table II

Summary of industrial statistics, Westmorland Co., 1881-1911.*

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Establishments</u>	<u>Capital</u>	<u>No. of Employees</u>	<u>Wages/ Salary</u>	<u>Value of Production</u>
1881	430	\$1,011,833.	2,516	\$537,143.	\$2,900,735
1891	809	\$2,083,825.	3,541	\$737,963.	\$3,455,918.
1901	147	\$2,196,087.	3,107	\$805,737.	\$2,265,683.
1911	153	\$3,136,563.	3,664	\$1,473,468.	\$4,903,621.

* Source: Government of Canada, Census, 1891, 1901, 1911.

These statistics allow us to conclude that by 1881, Moncton was already playing an important industrial role within Westmorland. The town employed 12.3% of the county's industrial workforce, and accounted for 46% of the industrial wages and

salaries. Investments in Moncton's industries represented 52.4% of investments in the county's industrial sector, and Moncton industries accounted for 59.2% of the county's industrial output.

Throughout the next few decades, Moncton led the way in terms of the number of industrial establishments, and in terms of invested capital. The city's industrial workforce represented 46.6% of the county's industrial workers by 1901. This signifies an increase of over 20% in two decades. By 1911, wages paid to Moncton workers constituted 68.5% of Westmorland County's industrial wages and salaries. This same workforce produced 65.7% of the county's industrial output.

It is evident that Moncton's record of growth was most impressive in the years immediately following the adoption of National Policy. Sir L. Tilly, the Minister of Finance in J.A. Macdonald's Cabinet, initiated a study of Canadian manufacturing in 1884. The report, entitled Reports Relative to Manufacturing Industries in Existence in Canada, was published in the Sessional Papers for 1885.⁸³ It indicates that, between 1878 and 1884, Moncton witnessed the founding of forty two new industries, which employed six hundred and sixty six men and women at an annual payroll of \$223,964.⁸⁴ Appendix A lists the more important industries listed in the 1885 report.

The Minister, in justifying the need for a report, argued that a ten year period between census reports was too long to truly gauge the progress of manufacturing in Canada. He added that: "...particular attention should be paid to the progress that has been made since the commencement of the year 1879".⁸⁵ In fact, the federal government was attempting to determine the effectiveness of National Policy in promoting growth. In view of the general business downturn of 1883-1884, and of the upcoming general election of 1887, it is not surprising that the government attempted to evaluate the policy's results.

A. H. Blakeby was chosen to undertake the study in Ontario and Quebec, as well as to supervise the economic analysis of the Maritime region. His overall evaluation of the government's fiscal policies was positive.⁸⁶ He confirmed the need for protectionist fiscal policies to maintain the level of investment in the industrial sector.⁸⁷ Blackeby noted the high cost of freight rates as a particular concern to manufacturers outside industrial centers:

...there still remains the fact that all manufacturers are not on an equality, in the respect that it was found, in a number of cases, that railway freight rates were a more serious charge on the product of one locality and one or more classes of goods than in another, and, as a consequence, those localities and manufacturers were, from this cause, placed at a disadvantage.⁸⁸

The study reported not only on the effectiveness of Canada's fiscal policies, but also on its acceptance by Canada's businessmen. Generally speaking, public opinion vis-à-vis the National Policy was positive. A majority of Maritime business leaders declared themselves satisfied with the rate of their industrial progress, especially the iron and steel industry's leaders. Others, the furniture industry for one, refused to blame fiscal policies for their economic problems.⁸⁹ Edward Willis, in submitting the Maritime section of the report, asserted, somewhat cynically:

...even in the class credited with hostility to the National Policy, there are men with considerable capital invested in enterprises nourished by the policy.⁹⁰

Moncton industrialists generally responded in a positive manner to National Policy's benefits to the community.⁹¹ Willis visited sixty two Moncton industries and supplied written comments from interviews with twenty Moncton businessmen. Of these, sixteen associated their business success with the implementation of National Policy. Twelve businessmen viewed the Conservative Party's fiscal policies favorably, and only four referred to negative consequences.

Moncton businessmen generally agreed that National Policy had changed the scope of its industrial sector. Of the sixty two industries visited, only nineteen had begun operations before

1879. In 1884, these establishments employed an average of 7.36 men, women and children, invested an average of \$8,000. in capital, and reported an average output value of \$11,138. The forty three industries that had begun operations after implementation of the National Policy employed an average of 15.58 people in 1884. They boasted an average capital investment of a little over \$16,000., as well as an average output value of \$41,731.

Most Moncton industrialists interviewed stated that the presence of the railway was beneficial to their community. The Manager of the Moncton Cotton Manufacturing Co. indicated that the railway tracks ran directly to the building "so that the manufactured cotton may be shipped conveniently and the raw cotton deposited with small expense".⁹² He added that the railway ran directly to the separate furnace building, dumping coal into the coal storeroom.

The Manager of the Moncton Sugar Refinery was the only industrialist that referred specifically to freight rates imposed on the transportation of products to markets. His refinery was competing with three other refineries in the Maritimes, all situated in the Halifax/Dartmouth region. He stated that the railway tariff rates operated prejudicially to his refinery, since Moncton was not considered a terminal point along the rail line. Consequently, shipment of raw sugar from Halifax to

Moncton, and shipment of refined sugar from Moncton to Montreal, made the cost of transportation to Central Canadian markets higher for the Moncton refinery than for the Halifax refineries.⁹³ But the source of this particular problem was not local in nature. The international trade depression of the mid 1880s had caused sugar prices to fall. Over-production and dumping of American refined sugar on an already saturated Canadian market resulted in the Maritime refineries' inability to retain Central Canadian markets. The freight rates structure was viewed as just another negative component of the problem. The business community asked the federal government to adjust freight rates to regional requirements, rather than resorting to voluntary restriction in the production of refined sugar.

A second important study, which included industry and railways, was carried out in 1889. The Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital in Canada stated that employer/employee relations were generally positive in the community.⁹⁴ Table III indicates the material condition (in terms of wages and hours of work) of Moncton's industrial workforce.

Table III

Material condition of the industrial workforce

Moncton, 1889*

<u>Industry</u>	<u>Wages/ Salary per day</u>	<u>Wages/ Salary per week</u>	<u># hours worked</u>
<u>ICR Shops</u>	\$	\$	(per day)
Apprentices	.50/1.00		10
Coppersmiths	1.70/2.20		10
Blacksmiths	1.60/2.70		10
Carpenters	1.28/1.85		10
Workmen	1.10/1.35		10
Machinists	1.40/2.64		10
Tinsmith	1.50/1.70		10
Pipefitters	1.50/1.80		10
<u>Workmen, ICR</u>			
Brakemen	1.25/1.50		--
Conductors	1.75/2.50		--
Engineers	1.90/2.75		--
Firemen	1.30/1.50		--
<u>Moncton Cotton Manufacturing Co.</u>			
Carders		7.00	10
Spinners	1.80		10
Loom workers		3.60	10
Weavers		7.50	10
<u>Mechanical Workmen construction shop</u>			
	1.00/1.20		10
<u>Workmen, Moncton Sugar Refinery</u>			
specialized	1.25/3.00		10/16
non-specialized	.90/1.20		10/16

* Source: Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital in Canada, Vol.I, 1889, pp.174-177.

Although Moncton's workers declared themselves mostly satisfied with their rates of pay, this may not have reflected real material comfort. Salaries and wages paid in the manufacturing sector in the city were wide-ranging, depending on a variety of factors, one of which was the level of specialization within the work involved. The average salary paid in the manufacturing sector in Moncton declined for the first decade after National Policy, and rose slightly during the following decade.

The rate of hourly, daily or weekly wages is best used to determine the industrial workers' material condition when it is used in conjunction with information regarding job security. Some Moncton industries could not offer permanent employment, nor full work weeks to all of their employees. Carpenters and tailors, as well as employees of the Record Foundry and Machine Shop and of the Moncton Sugar Refinery (and barrel factory), complained of the lack of secure employment. In the 1889 Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital in Canada, the need to work twelve months a year was the largest expressed anxiety among the town's workforce. The interviewed workers rarely expressed the need for unions as a means of improving their material condition.

The Intercolonial Railway employees also perceived the same basic problem of job security, as indicated in the Commission's

report. Intercolonial employees had every reason to complain about job security; the railroad was plagued by periodic fluctuations in staff throughout the last decades of the nineteenth century. In 1894, the Daily Times noted the slowdown in employment opportunities at the Intercolonial Workshops, and commented on its effects on the workers, and on the entire city of Moncton:

The growth of the town has been checked but it is undoubtedly true that outside of the ICR, service and the building trades, a larger number of working men find employment than ever before.⁹⁵

Job opportunities at the Intercolonial Railway were sometimes plentiful and sometimes rare; the rate of employment mainly depended on political factors. During the last decade of the nineteenth century, pressures were being exerted to reduce its deficit.⁹⁶

Moncton's development during the last decade of the nineteenth century encountered several obstacles. The Town Council had been supported by businessmen in its efforts to obtain financial backing for improvements to the port at Hall's Creek and for the construction of a dry dock in the town. The Moncton Harbor Improvement Company was incorporated by private act in the House of Commons in 1881.⁹⁷ Under the direction of John Harris, in 1888, in 1894-95 and again in 1904, the company sought public financing. The Moncton Harbor Improvement Company

promoted these projects, hoping to expand Moncton's role in coastal trade and improve its capacity as a distribution centre:

There are those among our citizens who do not think that Moncton should be content to remain merely an important railway centre, but that such harbor improvements should be effected as will make this a place where vessels of large tonnage would come frequently and be amply accomodated. That Moncton will become as prominent a shipping port as it now is a railway centre is within the range of possibilities in the near future.⁹⁸

A number of Moncton's businessmen believed that their community should emphasize its traditional, sea-based distribution and transportation functions. However, the Moncton Harbor Improvement Company was unable to obtain the required financial backing from the public sector and, subsequently, the project died.

The last decade of the nineteenth century was the beginning of a new phase of Canada's industrialization. The first phase had been characterized by the construction of the railways and implementation of Canada's fiscal policies; this second phase was characterized by a high level of industrial consolidation and by centralization of financial capital. Consumer-goods industries in the Maritimes slowly came under control of Montreal finance capital. Another characteristic of this period was the integration of the major Maritime seaports and railways into a Canadian-based transportation system. Regardless of the fact that communities within the Maritime Provinces were more closely

associated than before, Montreal, Canada's new economic metropolis, eventually controlled the region's economic destiny.

Central Canadian and American industrialists absorbed a number of eastern industrial establishments, removing the threat of competition while restraining industrial production in the region. William Acheson has argued that the absence of a coordinated effort to create a metropolitan base within the region facilitated the transfer of industries to outside interests, even before the end of the nineteenth century. He added that the tendency to absorb eastern industries was so widespread that by 1914, the Maritimes had become a branch-plant economy.⁹⁹

Industrial consolidation was first witnessed in Moncton in 1891, when the Moncton Cotton Manufacturing Company was absorbed by a Montreal firm, the Dominion Mills Company, headed by A. F. Gault and David Morris. The takeover was realized within weeks of their acquisition of the Halifax based Nova Scotia Cotton Mill and another cotton mill in Windsor, Nova Scotia. The fear of bankruptcy and instability convinced Moncton stock-holders to join the larger Montreal firm. Despite the fact that the Montreal firm offered partial payment in bonds in their new corporation, the stock-holders lost heavily in the exchange.¹⁰⁰

The sugar refining industry, which was also suffering chronic difficulties, suffered the same fate:

Competition among the refiners has been such that very little money has been made for years and it is only by consolidation, thus securing greater economy in management, that the Maritime refineries have been able to make ends meet.¹⁰¹

Following the 1896 fire which destroyed the sugar refinery and much of its equipment, the property and interests of the Moncton Sugar Refinery were sold to the Acadia Sugar Refineries. This firm, founded in Halifax, had absorbed all other refineries in the Maritimes.¹⁰² The Moncton Sugar Refinery was never rebuilt, although barrel manufacturing continued under the new, Halifax-based management. This industry continued to provide employment for local workers and a substantial return for local lumber entrepreneurs. The barrel factory required 2,500 cords of wood per year, at a cost of \$10,000.¹⁰³

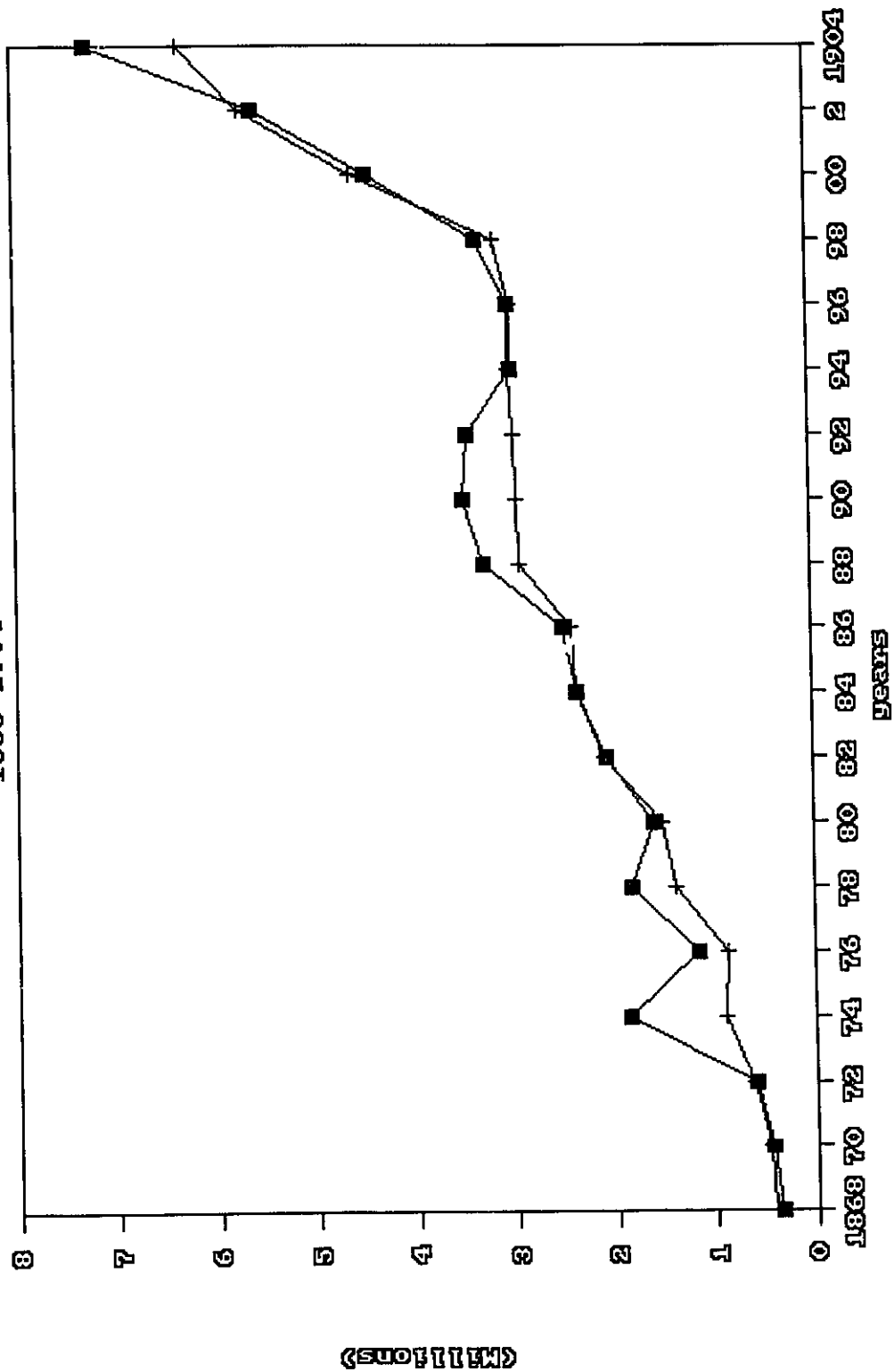
Thus, in the last decade of the nineteenth century, some of Moncton's more important industries came under control of external interests. This inevitably resulted in shutdowns, as in the case of the Moncton Sugar Refinery in 1896, and the Moncton Cotton Manufacturing Co. later on. It was perhaps to the community's advantage that most of its industrial establishments were too small to warrant interest from external capitalists,

since major industrial takeovers and subsequent shut-downs were so common in the region.

Moncton also experienced other misfortunes during this period, a number of local industries closed shop for various reasons. Peter's Combination Lock Co. and the Moncton Agricultural Implement Co. are but two examples. Both were important to the community. Peter's Combination Lock Company, founded in 1880, employed fifty people in 1884. The Moncton Agricultural Implement Company was founded in 1884 and that same year, employed fifteen people.¹⁰⁴ As indicated in Table II, by 1901 there remained only twenty one industrial establishments in the city, a drastic reduction from the previous decade.

Moncton's major industry was without a doubt the Intercolonial, which continued to boost the local economy. As Figure VI indicates, its power to generate revenues continued to grow throughout the decades.

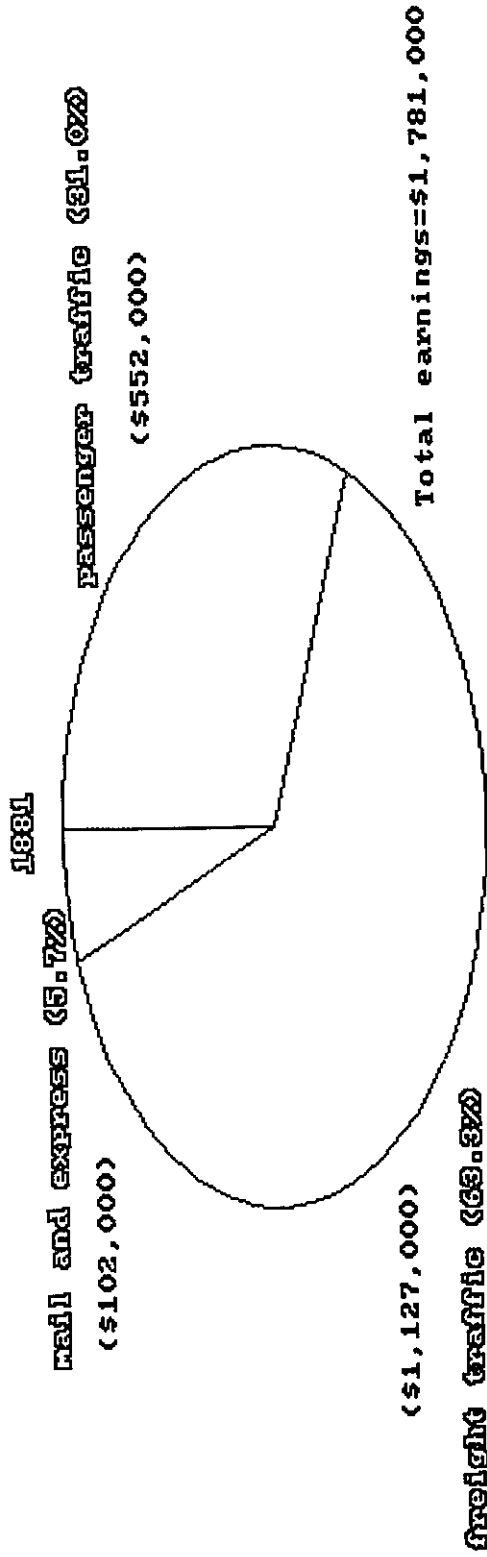
FIGURE VI
I.C.R.
(EXPENDITURES/EARNINGS)
1868-1904 *



■ expenditures + earnings
* Source: Govt. of Canada, Department of Agriculture, The Statistical Year-Book of Canada, Ottawa, 1904.

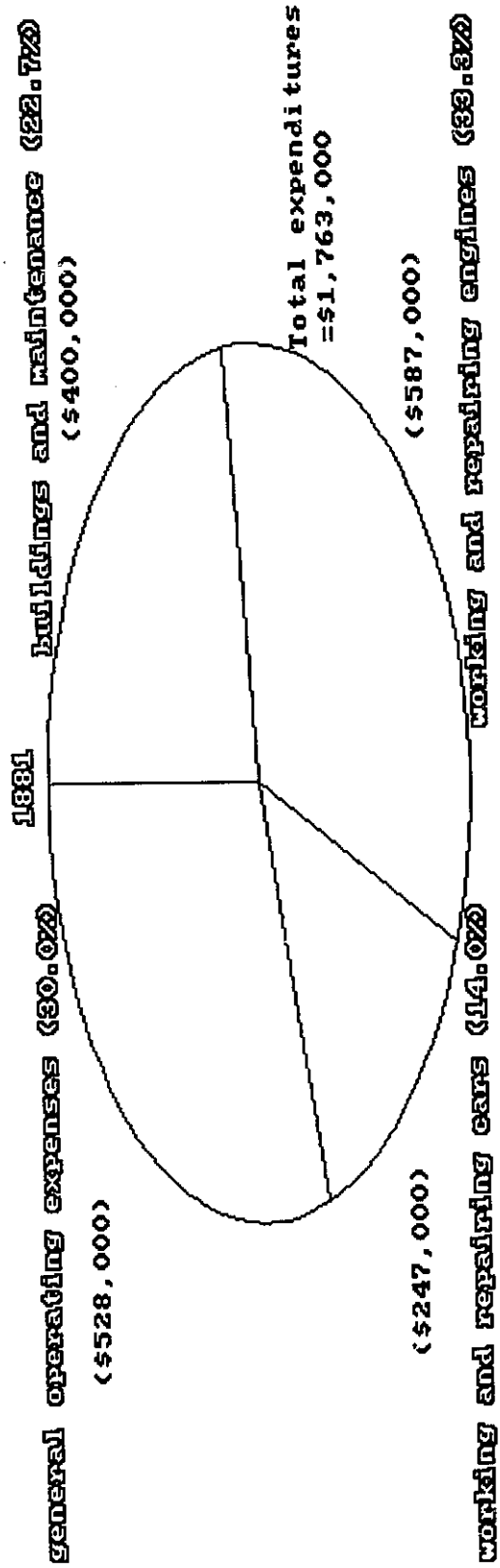
The Intercolonial's annual revenues increased from just under three million dollars in 1890, to over six million dollars in 1904. Figures VII and VIII indicate that in 1881, as in 1904, approximately 63% of the railway's earnings were generated by freight traffic. Passenger traffic accounted for approximately 32%, while mail and express generated between 4% and 5% of the Intercolonial's revenues. The Intercolonial's expenditures also grew at approximately the same rate.

FIGURE VII
I. C. R. EARNINGS *



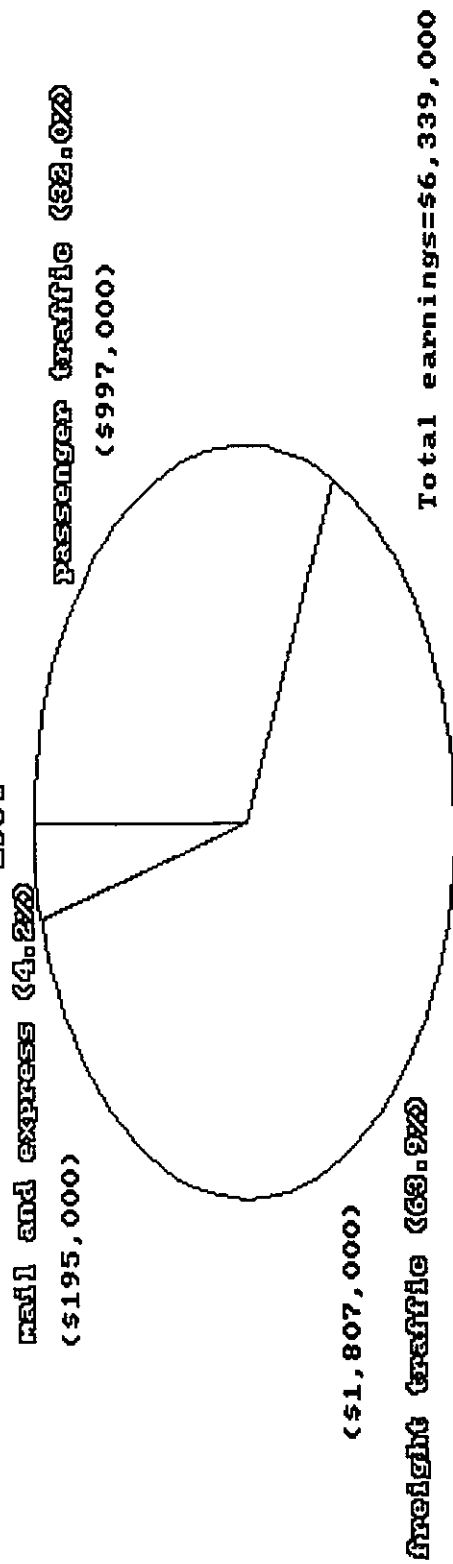
67

I. C. R. EXPENDITURES *



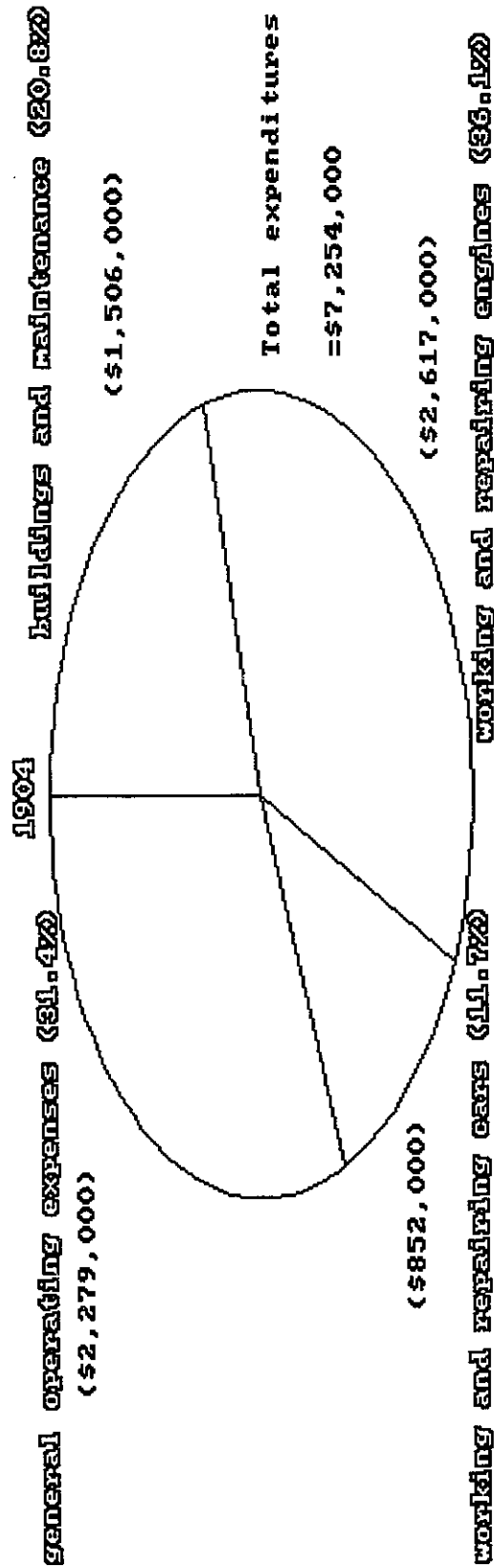
* Source: Govt. of Canada, Department of Agriculture,
The Statistical Year-Book of Canada, Ottawa, 1904.

FIGURE VIII
I.C.R. EARNINGS *
1904



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I.C.R. EXPENDITURES *



* Source: Govt. of Canada, Department of Agriculture, The Statistical Year-Book of Canada, Ottawa, 1904.

It has already been stated that the Intercolonial's employment record was erratic. Even those workers who had secure employment with the Intercolonial Railway received low-paying salaries at all levels of occupations, and particularly at the Intercolonial Shops. H. R. Emmerson, Westmorland's Member of Parliament, remarked in 1902 that the Moncton shops were paying freight handlers and checkers the rate of \$1.20 for a thirteen to fifteen hour work day. Emmerson also stated that the Intercolonial Shops were an unhealthy place to work.¹⁰⁵ Two years later, Emmerson became Minister of Railways and Canals and set out to correct this situation. In his 1904 annual report on the Intercolonial, presented to the House of Commons, he announced a general increase in salary to Intercolonial Railway employees. These increases were quite substantial, sometimes up to 25% and, in extraordinary instances, 50%. Workers employed at all branches of the service and at all points along the Intercolonial received these increases: members of the telegraphers' union, section men, conductors, brakemen, locomotive drivers and firemen, and even freight checkers and handlers. This pay increase recognized the right to equal pay for similar services by other railroads.¹⁰⁶

Moncton continued its process of urbanization during the last decade of the nineteenth century. In 1886, the construction of a new Post Office, and a Customs House, were undertaken. The city's physical appearance was also being transformed by the

paving of streets and the installation of street railways.¹⁰⁷ Gas, heating and lighting, as well as telephones, were being installed in Moncton residences and businesses. In 1894, the Moncton Electric Street Railway, Heat and Power Company was incorporated. Street cars operated on a circular route, along Main Street from King, up Weldon Street to St. George Street, and along St. George to King and Main Street again. In 1910 the Moncton Tramways, Electricity and Gas Company extended the street railway route along Main to High Street, and up High to John Street and to the new ICR shops. For a few years, street cars ran from downtown Moncton to Humphrey's along the Moncton and Bouctouche Railway line, and plans were drawn up for street railway service between Moncton and Shediac, using the ICR tracks.¹⁰⁸

By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, several national manufacturing firms had opened branch offices in Moncton. These firms often used Moncton as a warehousing center, since transportation by rail was so convenient. The Massey-Harris Co., the Singer Sewing Machine Co., and the National Manufacturing Co. are a few examples of firms which chose Moncton as their regional or local headquarters during this decade. National financial institutions also extended their branch offices to Moncton: the Royal Bank of Canada, the Standard Life Assurance Co., and J.M. Robinson & Sons (Brokers).¹⁰⁹ During the following decades, Moncton's role as a regional distribution

center grew, and helped the city adjust to the period of deindustrialization.

Moncton did not limit itself to this role; a number of new, locally based industries also appeared in the city: New Brunswick Wire & Fence, J. A. Marven's Co. Ltd., Lounsbury's Co., Maritime Cap Company, and J. D. Creighan Company. Their administration, as well as all aspects of production and marketing were situated in Moncton. A new generation of entrepreneurs, some of whom had not been born in the community, took charge of the city's industrial development. The most notable were G. A. Lounsbury, J. D. Creighan, John Abrams, Sherman Blakeney and F. W. Sumner.¹¹⁰ They worked much in the same manner as the earlier generation of businessmen had, within the municipal political structure, as well as the Greater Moncton Chamber of Commerce, founded in 1891, to achieve their goals. The new industries and commercial establishments which they founded, although local in nature and stature, strove to develop Maritime markets. In most cases, they were successful.

Although the community spirit of enterprise was less evident within the city, family businesses continued to multiply in Moncton. New family enterprises, such as those of the Blakeney's, Sumners', Lounsbury's and Creighans', attempted to link industrial or commercial interests with political activism, as entrepreneurs such as Oliver Jones had a generation earlier.

Jones had been involved in municipal politics during the 1850s. His business interests in Moncton were initially in shipbuilding and land speculation. He was also a major promoter of the Bank of Westmorland, and, along with several others, was involved in establishing and financing the Moncton Gas Light and Water Company (1877), and the Moncton Sugar Refinery (1879). He also sponsored a steam tannery and soap factory in 1861, which was the largest industrial employer in Moncton that year.¹¹¹

One of the first Moncton families to merge business and politics was the Humphrey family, which had established itself in general milling in 1849. Family business interests diversified into clothing (cotton and woollens). John A. Humphrey was also involved in the Moncton Sugar Refinery, the Moncton Cotton Manufacturing Co., the Moncton Gas, Light & Water Co., and the Moncton Land Co. Ltd. In 1855, he married the daughter of Michael S. Harris, a prominent Moncton merchant and shipbuilding entrepreneur. He served as Conservative Member of the Legislative Assembly for Westmorland County from 1872 to 1878, and again from 1882 to 1889.¹¹² His son, William F. Humphrey, was also involved in provincial politics. William sat as a Conservative Member of the Legislative Assembly from 1899 until 1903, and again from 1912 to 1917. On the local business scene, William occupied the President's Chair at the Moncton Land Co. Ltd. and acted as Director of the Atlantic Underwear Co.¹¹³

The Sumner family had been involved in ship-building in Moncton, and had later expanded into lumbering and milling, shipping and exports. In 1855, F. W. Sumner established the Sumner Co. Ltd. in Moncton, which dealt in wholesale and retail hardware.¹¹⁴ Sumner was also involved in other local businesses, holding various positions: President of N.B. Petroleum; President of Atlantic Underwear; Director of N.B. Tel; Director of N.B. Wire Fence; President of Moncton Gas & Oil Fields; and President of the Times Printing Co. He was also the first President of the Greater Moncton Chamber of Commerce in 1891.¹¹⁵ On the political scene, he was elected Mayor of Moncton from 1890 to 1894 and again in 1899, and represented Westmorland County as conservative Member of the Legislative Assembly from 1895 to 1899.¹¹⁶

The merger of business and political activism was also evident in the Robinson family. C.W. Robinson's business interests were in lumbering. He headed a law firm, as well as a real estate and financial consulting firm in Moncton. He was also President and Director of the Moncton Transcript Ltd., the N.B. Wire Fence Co. Ltd., and Director of Eastern Trust.¹¹⁷ Robinson was a City Alderman from 1895 to 1896, and was elected Mayor in 1897. Later that same year, he was elected to represent Westmorland County as Liberal Member of the Legislative Assembly. He was re-elected consecutively until 1924, when he resigned. Robinson was at one time member of the Executive Council, as well

as Premier of New Brunswick from 1907 to 1908. After retiring from provincial politics, he was immediately called to the Senate, where he sat until 1944.

E.A. Reilly was a Moncton lawyer and businessman. He was a member of the Board of Directors of numerous firms: Central Trust; Brunswick Hotel; Maritime Cap Ltd.; and Maritime Life Assurance Ltd. He was not only Chairman of the New Brunswick Electric Power Commission, but also an active member of the Moncton Board of Trade. He began his political career as Alderman on City Council in 1908 and 1909. He was elected Mayor in 1910 and again in 1911. He served as a Conservative Member of the Legislative Assembly from 1924 to 1935, and was Minister without portfolio.¹¹⁸

Another notable Moncton entrepreneur, Sherman Blakeney, established the family firm of Blakeney & Sons, which dealt in cartage, coal and ice. His son, C.H. Blakeney expanded the family business into hardware and concrete products. C.H. Blakeney became President of the Maritime Board of Trade. It was he who involved the family in politics: first as City Alderman, then as Mayor in 1929 and through the depression years, 1931 to 1934. He was elected Liberal Member of the Legislative Assembly from 1939 to 1948, when he retired. During his political career, he was Minister of Education, as well as Minister of Federal and Municipal Affairs.¹¹⁹ A general profile of the political careers

of the Members of the Legislative Assembly representing Moncton City and Westmorland County during the period from 1870 to 1914 is provided in Appendix B.

The first decade of the twentieth century seemed to be an ideal time to achieve Canada's goals of creating a national economy. Blair Neatby has written that, during this decade, the production of wheat spiralled; the value of manufactured goods in Canada more than doubled; the urban population increased more rapidly than the rural population, and Ontario's and Quebec's population grew almost as quickly as that of the prairie provinces.¹²⁰ Yet Neatby hastened to add:

It was true that the benefits of the National Policy were not evenly distributed - manufacturing in the Maritimes actually declined, with the exception of the iron and steel industry there, which was stimulated by railway construction - but although regional differences attracted some attention, regional jealousies were tempered by the increased prosperity in all areas.¹²¹

Other historians have argued that dumping of American products on Canadian markets, and continued horizontal consolidation by Montreal interests of mass-consumption industries, resulted in the region's entrepreneurs abandoning the commitment to the new industrial order.¹²² The accompanying consolidation of Canada's financial institutions added to the burden. Between 1900 and 1920, every component of the Maritime banking system was replaced by branches of the great national

banking consortia.¹²³ The inevitable result was a general drain of capital from the region and a shift in invested capital away from manufacturing and into resource-based industry.¹²⁴

Efforts to attract the federal government's attention to the region's economic problems came from various sources. The Maritime Members of Parliament were vocal in presenting their concerns regarding economic disparity between different regions of the country. A number of these eastern politicians were highly respected businessmen in their community. None of the four elected members to the House of Commons from Westmorland County for this period were residents of Moncton, although the city was the economic center of the county. Two long-term Members of Parliament, Josiah Wood and H.R. Emmerson, had business interests in the city. Josiah Wood was a member of Parliament from 1882 to 1895. H. R. Emmerson had been a Member of the Legislative Assembly (Albert County) from 1880 to 1890, when he resigned. He was re-elected in 1892 and sat until 1900. He was a member of provincial Cabinet from 1892 to 1897, and Premier from 1897 to 1900. From 1900 to 1914, he represented Westmorland County in the House of Commons. He was Minister of Railways and Canals from 1904 to 1907. Appendix C provides a political profile of the elected Members of Parliament from Westmorland County for the period 1870 to 1914.

Members of Parliament representing Westmorland County sought political independence from federal policies aimed at centralizing and nationalizing Canada's transportation system. Emmerson, in particular, played an active role in this debate:

...if the government of Canada were in any way to attempt to hand over to that great corporation [Canadian Northern], either by means of operating rights which would take from the Intercolonial Railway the Intermediate traffic or by any other means, I would condemn this government or any government that would adopt such a policy as that.¹²⁵

He continued to defend the railroad's desire to expand its operations, its branch lines and its workshop capacity. In 1904, he promoted a project to modernize the Intercolonial's facilities in Moncton in order to increase the traffic of goods.¹²⁶

Emmerson's concern may have been prompted in part by the fact that the Intercolonial's headquarters sat in the middle of his electoral district of Westmorland County. As Minister of Railways and Canals, he defended the railroad's plans to expand and absorb branch and short lines in Westmorland.¹²⁷ Both Westmorland County and Moncton City benefitted from Emmerson's efforts. When the Workshops were destroyed by fire in 1906, Emmerson had them rebuilt in Moncton, despite political pressure to have them moved elsewhere.¹²⁸ In 1907, he resigned as Minister of Railways and Canals, following reports published by the Fredericton Gleaner, the Halifax Herald, and the Toronto World, that he had spent a night in a Montreal hotel with a woman

of "ill-repute".¹²⁹ Although he remained a staunch defender of the Intercolonial Railway, he could no longer develop policies affecting its future. The integration of the Intercolonial Railway into a national railroad system was already being studied by the time his Liberal Government left office in 1911.

Moncton's development during the period from 1870 to 1914 was dominated by the construction of the Intercolonial Railway, and by the implementation of the National Policy. Although both were initially beneficial to the city, the trend towards industrial and financial consolidation, as well as the move towards the nationalization of the country's transportation system, affected the city's growth during the second phase of its industrialization.

While Moncton's entrepreneurs worked towards the economic development of the city, its politicians continued to promote federal fiscal and transportation policies adapted to regional requirements. Ultimately, federal politicians from the Maritime Provinces would prove unable to defend the principle that the Intercolonial should continue to serve as the primary instrument for the region's economic integration within the country. Preferential freight rates and the Intercolonial's deficit were the two issues on which Central Canadian politicians were unwilling to compromise. Continuous political pressure forced the Intercolonial's integration into a new national system of

railways in 1918. This signalled the disappearance of preferential freight rates and the transfer of administrative staff and headquarters to Toronto. These political decisions affecting Moncton's growth and prosperity will be assessed in chapter 3.

*

Notes

Chapter 1

1. P.B. Waite, "A Chapter in the History of the Intercolonial Railway, 1864", in Canadian Historical Review, Vol. XXXII, no.4, December, 1951, p. 356.
2. S. Medjuck, Wooden Ships and Iron People: The Lives of the People of Moncton, N. B., 1851 to 1871, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, York University, 1978, p. 2.
3. L. A. Machum, A History of Moncton Town and City, 1855-1965, Moncton, 1965, p. 24.
4. S. Medjuck, op. cit., p. 3.
5. L. A. Machum, op. cit., p. 21.
6. S. Medjuck noted that artisans constituted 37% of the classifiable occupations in Moncton Parish in 1851. Her occupational classification system is modelled, with minor modifications, on Michael Katz' classification. See S. Medjuck, op. cit., p. 142.
7. Ibid., p. 142. It should be noted that the 1851 nominal census does not distinguish farmers from farm labourers. In the 1861 Census, 153 people were classified as farm labourers in Moncton Parish.
8. Ibid., p. 33.
9. Journal of the Assembly of New Brunswick, February 13, 1855.
10. L. A. Machum, op. cit., pp. 29-31.
11. J. E. Belliveau, "Crackie", The Sumner Business Dynasty, 1978, p.7.
12. C.A. Pincombe, The History of Monckton Township (C.A. 1700-1875), unpublished M.A. thesis (history), U.N.B., 1969, p. 178.
13. S. A. Saunders, Histoire économique des provinces maritimes, 1939, p. 4. See also E. Sager and L. Fisher, "Patterns of Investment in the Shipping Industries of Atlantic Canada, 1820-1900", in Acadiensis, Vol. IX, no. 1, pp. 19-43.

14. S. Medjuck, op. cit., p. 120.
15. Ibid., p. 123.
16. Ibid., p. 123.
17. Ibid., p. 142.
18. Ibid., p. 123. S. Medjuck noted that this sector was relatively insignificant in 1871, but added that: "it is this growth that heralds the economic resurgence of Moncton Parish in the 1870s."
19. L. A. Machum, op. cit., p. 78.
20. S. Medjuck, op. cit., p. VII.
21. Ibid., p. 142.
22. Ibid., p. 32.
23. Ibid., p. 33.
24. Both S. Medjuck and L. Machum emphasize this point. See S. Medjuck, op. cit., p. VII, and L. A. Machum, op. cit., p. 81.
25. S. Medjuck, op. cit., p. 142.
26. L. A. Machum, op. cit., p. 63. The author noted the construction of Highfield, Bonaccord (spelled Bon Accord) as well as other streets in the west end of the city, by Oliver Jones. Jones apparently regarded this area of the city as valuable farming land rather than as urban, residential land.
27. Ibid., p. 71.
28. Ibid., pp. 82-83.
29. Ibid., p. 82.
30. Sir S. Fleming, The Intercolonial, A History, 1832 to 1876, 1876, p. 56.
31. S. A. Saunders, "The Maritime Provinces and the Reciprocity Treaty" in Dalhousie Review, Vol. XIII, 1934, p. 369.
32. Sir S. Fleming, op. cit., p. 236.
33. Anonymous, The Route of the Intercolonial Railway in a National, Commercial, and Economic Point of View, 1867.

34. J.L. Power O'Hanley, The Intercolonial Railway: Analysis of the Frontier, Central and Bay Chaleurs Routes, 1868, p. 5.
35. L. A. Machum, op. cit., p. 52.
36. Report of the Commissioners of the Intercolonial Railway, 1870. See Appendix C: Copy of the Minutes and Proceedings of the Meeting of the Inhabitants of County of Westmorland, pp. 27-
37. Ibid., Appendix F: copy of a letter dated October 19, 1869, from S. Fleming to C.S. Ross, pp. 31-33.
38. Report of the Commissioners of the Intercolonial Railway, 1870. See: Report of the Committee of the Honourable the Privy Council, January 11, 1870.
39. Government of Canada, Sessional Papers, 34, Vol. IV, no. 5, 1871.
40. Ibid., 1871.
41. W. Wallace, Report of the General Management of the Railways in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, 1873, p. 7.
42. Government of Canada, Census, 1871, 1881, 1891.
43. A. Pincombe, op. cit., pp. 224-225. Although Mr. Pincombe's analysis is quite metaphorical, he is essentially correct in stating that the town had received an unexpected boost which could be put to its advantage.
44. Reports Relative to Manufacturing Industries in Existence in Canada, in Canada, Sessional Papers, 1885, Vol. 10, no. 37, pp. 180-183.
45. The only notable exception is the Record Foundry and Machine Shop, established in Moncton by E.B. Record in 1853. Although official employment records are not available, the Record Foundry employed a number of specialized workers. In 1878, it employed 27 people, the largest workforce of Moncton's industries. Refer to Appendix A.
46. Reports Relative to Manufacturing, pp.180-183.
47. National Archives of Canada, R.G. 30, Intercolonial Railway, Box 11, Book 2, May 1891; June 1891, Vol. 6186.
48. The Daily Times, Moncton, June 8, 1882, p. 2; June 10, 1882, p. 2; December 19, 1882, pp. 2-3.
49. Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital in Canada, 1889, Vol. IV, p. 311.

50. Refer to Chapter 5.
51. I.M. McQuinn, Histories and Origins of the Railways of New Brunswick, unpublished manuscript, N.A.C., 1974, p. 5.
52. T.W. Acheson, "The Maritimes and "Empire Canada", in D.J. Bercuson, ed., Canada and the Burden of Unity, 1977, p. 91. Acheson states that the 1874-79 crisis was the catalyst for fiscal policy changes, which led to National Policy. These changes were recommended by industrialists, artisans and their "proletarian allies", who demanded more commitment from the federal government in the development of secondary industries in Canada.
53. T.W. Acheson, "The National Policy and the Industrialization of the Maritimes, 1880-1910" in Acadiensis, Vol. I, no. 2, Spring 1972, p. 3.
54. Acheson indicates that the Maritime business class embraced the policies as a "new mercantilism". See T.W. Acheson, The Social Origins of Canadian Industrialism: A Study in the Structure of Entrepreneurship, 1880-1911, Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1971, p. 61.
55. Sir A.J. Smith, Debates of the House of Commons, 1889, Vol. II, pp. 1220-1224.
56. Ibid., pp. 1220-1224.
57. Ibid., pp. 1224-1233.
58. Ibid., p. 1224.
59. T. W. Acheson, "The National Policy...", p. 3.
60. E.R. Forbes, "Misguided Symmetry: The Destruction of Regional Transportation Policy for the Maritimes" in D.J. Bercuson, ed., Canada and the Burden of Unity, 1977, p. 65.
61. Ibid., p. 63.
62. T. W. Acheson, "The National Policy...", p. 3.
63. Ibid., pp. 8-9.
64. A. Pincombe, op. cit., p. 230.
65. Reports Relative to Manufacturing..., pp. 54-55.
66. Ibid., p. 55.
67. See Figure III.

68. Daily Times, Moncton, December 20, 1879 and January 5, 1880.
69. L.A. Machum, op. cit., pp 109-110.
70. Daily Times, Moncton, January 28, 1880.
71. Daily Times, Moncton, July 5, 1879.
72. Daily Times, Moncton, January 18, 1879.
73. Daily Times, Moncton, October 30, 1880. It is possible that the involvement of American capital in this instance was sought because industrialists were unable to raise more than building costs. The case would then fall into what Acheson describes as an entrepreneurial failure to take into account operating and other costs over and above initial outlays of capital for setting up industries. See T.W. Acheson, "National Policy...", p. 11.
74. Reports Relative to Manufacturing..., p. 183.
75. L.A. Machum, op. cit., p. 110.
76. R.T. Naylor identifies Josiah Wood as one of several private bankers who played an important entrepreneurial role by providing capital for such long-term investments as the Moncton Sugar Refinery. Wood was also involved in promoting Eastern Trust and was an agent for the Halifax Banking Co. See R.T. Naylor, The History of Canadian Business 1867-1914, 1975, Vol. I, The Banks and Finance, pp. 161-162.
77. Daily Times, Moncton, November 7 and December 29, 1881.
78. Reports Relative to Manufacturing, p. 180. See also Appendix A.
79. Daily Times, Moncton, October 31, 1883.
80. Reports Relative to Manufacturing, p. 106.
81. Ibid., p. 55.
82. Daily Times, Moncton, August 15, 1879.
83. Reports Relative to Manufacturing, p. 1.
84. Ibid., pp. 72-74. It should be noted that statistics regarding the Intercolonial were not included in this compilation, as railways were not then considered as industries.
85. Ibid., p. 1.
86. Ibid., p. 4.

87. Ibid., p. 35.
88. Ibid., p. 4.
89. Ibid., p. 39.
90. Ibid., pp. 36-37.
91. Ibid., pp. 105-109.
92. Ibid., pp. 106-107.
93. Ibid., p. 107.
94. Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital in Canada, 1889, vol. I, pp. 174-177.
95. Daily Times, Moncton, January 18, 1894.
96. Debates of the House of Commons, Vol. II, May 10, 1892, pp. 2405-2410.
97. Debates of the House of Commons, Vol. II, 1881, p. 1220.
98. Daily Times, Moncton, July 23, 1895.
99. T.W. Acheson, "The Maritimes and Empire Canada", p. 95.
100. T. W. Acheson, "The National Policy", p. 17.
101. Daily Times, Moncton, May 7, 1895.
102. T.W. Acheson, The Social Origins, p. 93.
103. L.A. Machum, op. cit., p. 127.
104. Reports Relative to Manufacturing, pp. 180-181. See also Appendix A.
105. Debates of the House of Commons, April 28, 1902, Vol. II, pp. 3707-3708.
106. Debates of the House of Commons, 1904, pp. 5880-5884.
107. A. Pincombe, op. cit., pp. 230-233.
108. L.A. Machum, op. cit., pp. 181, 240-241.
109. Eastern Publishing Co., Moncton Directory and Business Guide, 1911.
110. A. Pincombe, op. cit., pp. 205-207.

111. P.C. and L.F. Felt, "Capital Accumulation and Industrial Development in Nineteenth Century New Brunswick: Some Preliminary Comments" in L.R. Fischer and E.W. Sager, eds., The Enterprising Canadians: Entrepreneurs and Economic Development in Eastern Canada, 1820-1914, 1979, pp. 63-64.
112. J.C. and H.B. Graves, New Brunswick Political Biography, unpublished compilation of biographical notes. P.A.N.B., n.d.
113. Ibid.
114. J.E. Belliveau, op. cit., pp. 58-59.
115. Greater Moncton Chamber of Commerce Records, Moncton.
116. J.C. and H.B. Graves. op. cit.
117. Ibid.
118. Ibid.
119. Ibid.
120. B. Neatby, "The New Century" in J.M.S. Careless and R.C. Brown, The Canadians, 1867-1967, Part I, 1968, pp. 150-151.
121. Ibid., pp. 151-152.
122. G.A. Rawlyk and Doug Brown, "The Historical Framework of the Maritimes and Confederation" in G.A. Rawlyk, ed., The Atlantic Provinces and the Problems of Confederation, 1979, pp. 21-22.
123. The Halifax Banking Company was absorbed by the Bank of Commerce (1903), the Peoples Bank of Halifax was absorbed by the Bank of Montreal (1905), and the Union Bank of Halifax was taken over by the Royal Bank of Canada (1910). Acheson argues that although the banks of N.B. and N.S. were the two most stable and conservative financial institutions of Canada, they were amalgamated into the Bank of N.S., whose ownership and control went to Central Canadian shareholders. See T.W. Acheson, "The Maritimes and "Empire Canada", op. cit., p. 95. See also J. Frost, "The "Nationalization" of the Bank of Nova Scotia, 1880-1910", in Acadiensis, Vol. XII, no. 1, autumn, 1982, pp. 3-38.
124. G.A. Rawlyk and Doug Brown, "The Historical Framework of the Maritimes and Confederation", pp. 22-23.
125. Debates of the House of Commons, March 8, 1909, Vol. II, p. 2186.
126. Debates of the House of Commons, 1904, p. 5890.

127. Debates of the House of Commons, Committee of Supply, ICR, March 2, 1905, Vol. I, pp. 1946-1960.
128. L.A. Machum, op. cit., p. 214.
129. Debates of the House of Commons, April 2, 1907, p. 5556.

Chapter 2

*

The issue of Moncton's development from the standpoint of the Acadian francophone population has been the subject of voluminous literature in both published and manuscript form. From Edme Rameau de Saint-Père's Une colonie féodale en Amérique to Robert Rumilly's Histoire des Acadiens, and from Michel Roy's Les Acadiens perdus to Léon Thériault's La question du pouvoir en Acadie, historians, economists and sociologists have attempted to grasp the significance of the Acadian presence in this essentially anglophone city. The development of Moncton's Acadian community was characterized by the integration of Acadian institutions and societies within the context of the city during the latter part of the nineteenth and the early decades of the twentieth centuries. The significance of the francophone presence could no longer be overlooked.

During this period, Moncton's dual ethnicity was characterized by numerous debates between both ethnic groups. Acadian leadership often used Moncton as a springboard for many of the struggles for the right to be recognized as a cultural and political force, within the city and throughout the Maritime Provinces. The question arises then, as to the role Moncton's

francophones played in the development of the francophone community both within and beyond the bounds of the city. Chapter 1 situated the development of the Moncton community from 1870 to 1914, within the context of the changing Maritime society in Canada. This chapter explains the emergence of Moncton's Acadian community and its influence in the Maritime francophone society.

We will first attempt to identify general Acadian population and settlement patterns within the Maritimes. We will then introduce the notion of **renaissance acadienne**, the Acadians' response to the changing society surrounding them, within the Maritime Provinces and within Canada. We will next situate the ideals of the **renaissance** in the context of francophone urban development in Moncton. Leadership was most important in this period of transition. Moncton's growing francophone society was led by a dynamic local elite which was urban by nature, as well as being community oriented. Another group of Acadian leaders addressed national ideological issues and concerns, **les visées nationales**.

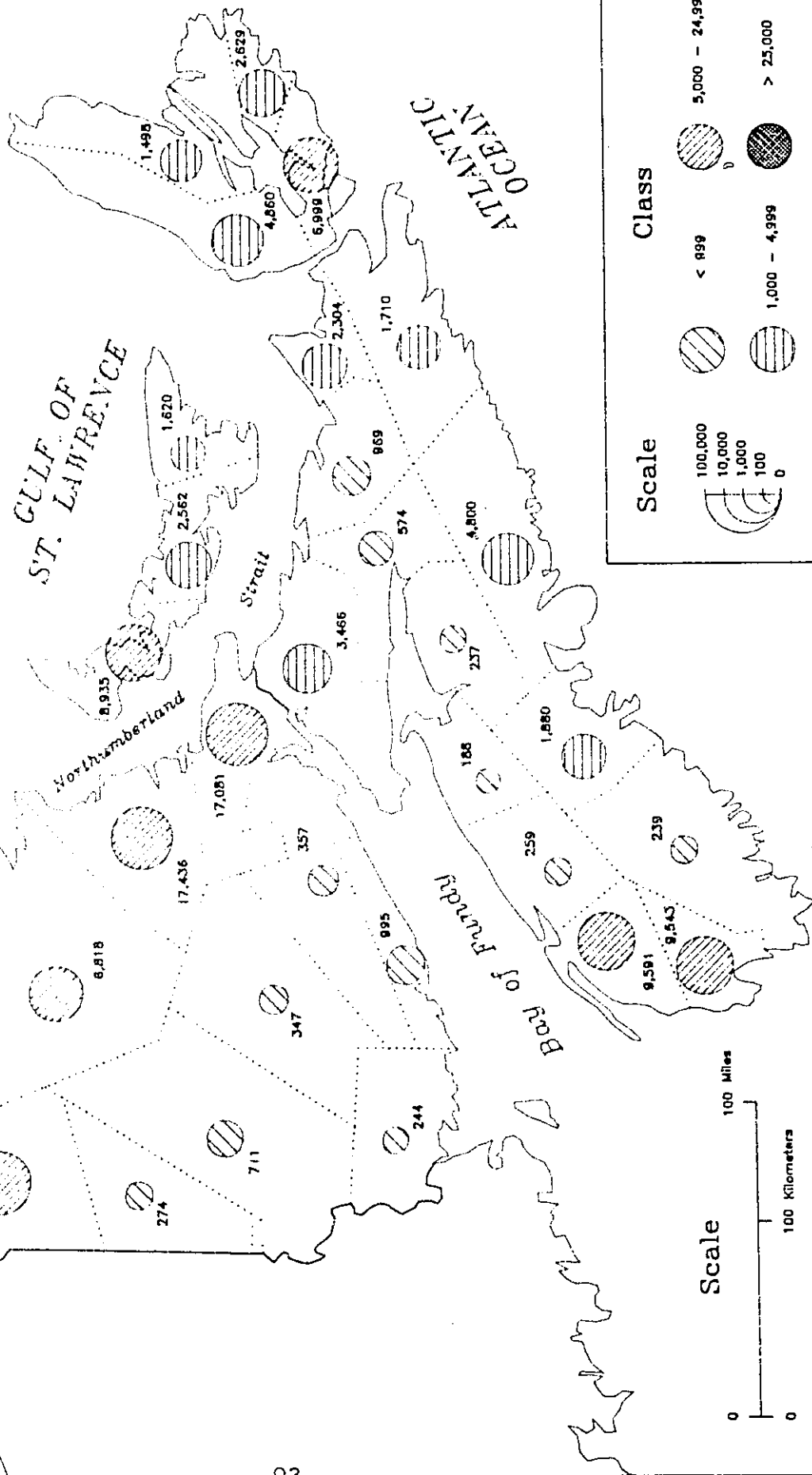
Acadians numbered approximately 85,000 by Confederation, and half of them lived in New Brunswick.¹ Here, Acadians occupied lands in the north-east sector, from Bathurst to Tracadie, and in the south-eastern sectors of Northumberland, Kent, and Westmorland counties, including Moncton. In the north-west sector, Acadians had settled up the St. John River Valley at

Grand Falls in Victoria County, St-Léonard and Edmundston in Madawaska, up to the Quebec border. In Nova Scotia, the Acadian presence was most visible in Digby and Yarmouth counties, especially the area from Pointe-à-l'Eglise to Yarmouth, and in the areas of Chéticamp and Ile Madame, on Cape-Breton Island. Prince Edward Island's Acadian population was mostly settled in Prince County at Tignish, Egmont Bay and Mont-Carmel.² Map 3 indicates distribution patterns of Acadian population in 1871.

By 1911, Acadian population in the Maritime Provinces had doubled, increasing to 163,474.³ Map 4 describes population patterns for francophones, drawn from the 1911 census statistics. Acadians had consolidated their presence in most of those areas already settled by 1871. In several cases, the proportion of francophones had dramatically increased compared to overall population. Such was the case in Digby and Yarmouth counties in Nova Scotia where the number of Acadians rose in absolute terms, and gained in proportion to the total population. In Digby County, the Acadian population rose from 37.9% of the total population in 1871, to 47.5% in 1911. In Yarmouth County, Acadian population constituted only 26.1% of the total population in 1871, and rose to 41% in 1911.⁴

MARITIME PROVINCES

Map 4
Population of French Ethnic Origin
(1911) *



* Source: Government of Canada, Census, 1911. Digital Mapping by GEOSTAT RESEARCH, 1988.

Table IV indicates the rate of Acadian population growth, and compares it to population statistics for other ethnic origins, for the period 1871 to 1911 and through to 1941.

Table IV

Population growth by ethnic origin, 1871 to 1941 *

	Population of French ethnic origin			Population of other ethnic origins		
	<u>1871</u>	<u>1911</u>	<u>1941</u>	<u>1871</u>	<u>1911</u>	<u>1941</u>
P.E.I.	10,751	13,117	14,799	98,140	80,611	80,248
N.S.	32,833	51,746	66,260	354,967	440,592	511,702
N.B.	44,907	98,611	163,934	240,687	253,278	293,467
M.P.	88,491	163,474	244,993	693,794	774,481	885,417

* Source: Government of Canada, Census, 1871, 1911, 1941.

Table V provides a different measure of the francophone presence in the Maritime Provinces. Using 1871 as a base year, it indicates the rate of population growth for subsequent decades, in this case for 1911 and for 1941, and clearly indicates growth for the francophone group when compared to people of all other ethnic origins.

Table V

Population by ethnic origin, using 1871 as a base year.*

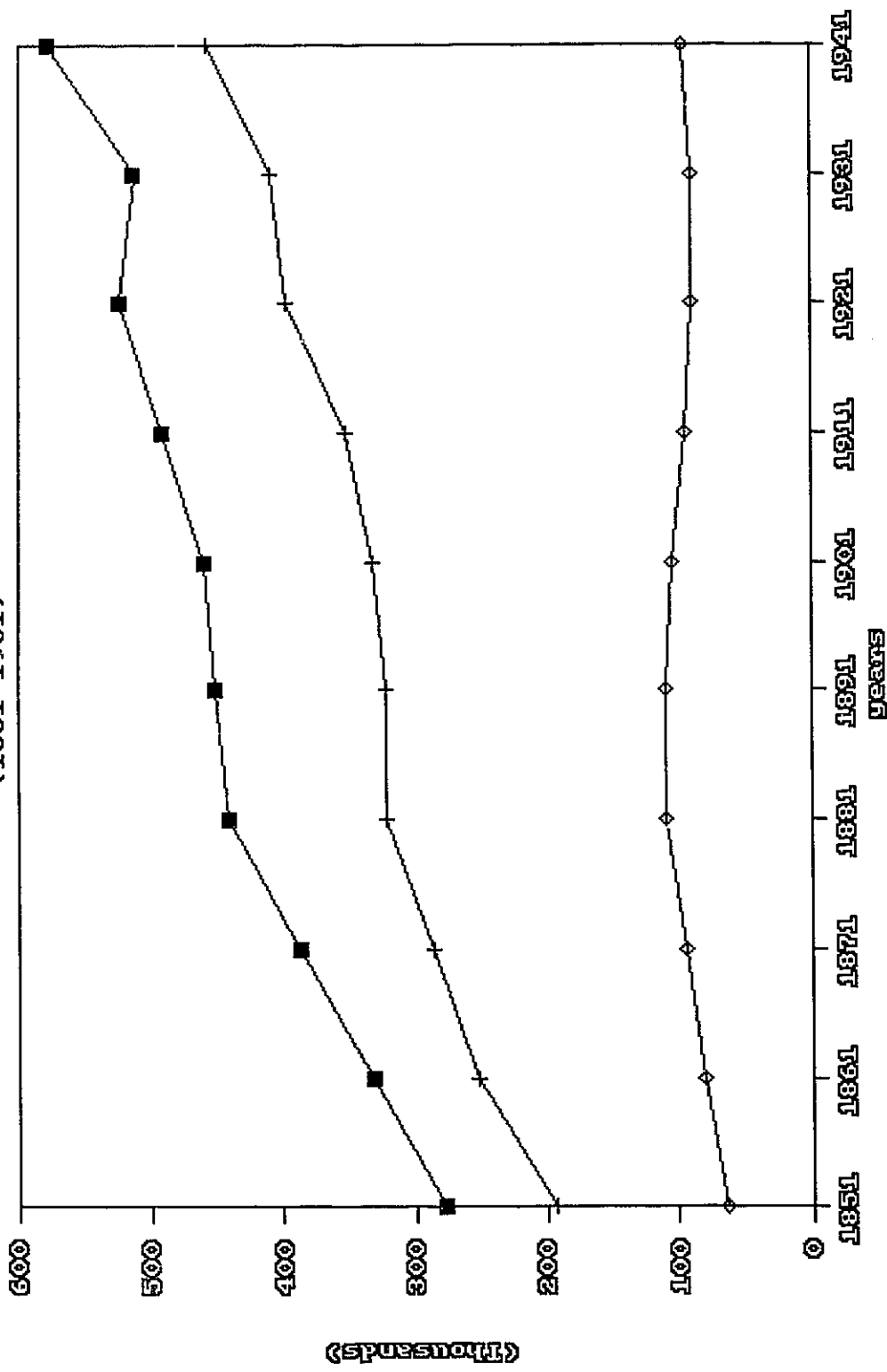
	Population of French Ethnic origin			Population of other ethnic origins		
	<u>1871</u>	<u>1911</u>	<u>1941</u>	<u>1871</u>	<u>1911</u>	<u>1941</u>
P.E.I.	100	122	137	100	82	82
N.S.	100	157	202	100	124	144
N.B.	100	219	365	100	105	122
M.P.	100	184	277	100	111	128

* Source: Government of Canada, Census, 1871, 1911, 1941.

It is therefore evident that the Acadian population grew more rapidly in each of the Maritime Provinces than the population of all other ethnic origins. While francophone population on Prince Edward Island does not demonstrate particular or outstanding growth, it more than maintained itself when compared to population of other ethnic origins, which actually declined during the same period. Nova Scotia's French ethnic population also grew more rapidly than the population of other ethnic origins. Overall, the population of French ethnic origin of the Maritime Provinces grew by 84% from 1871 to 1911, and by 177% from 1871 to 1941. The most notable growth occurred

in New Brunswick, where the francophone population increased by 265% between 1871 and 1941, while the population of other ethnic origins increased by only 21.9%. Figure IX provides information on population changes for the Maritime Provinces for the period 1851 to 1931.

FIGURE IX
 MARITIME PROVINCES
 POPULATION CHANGES *
 (1851-1931)

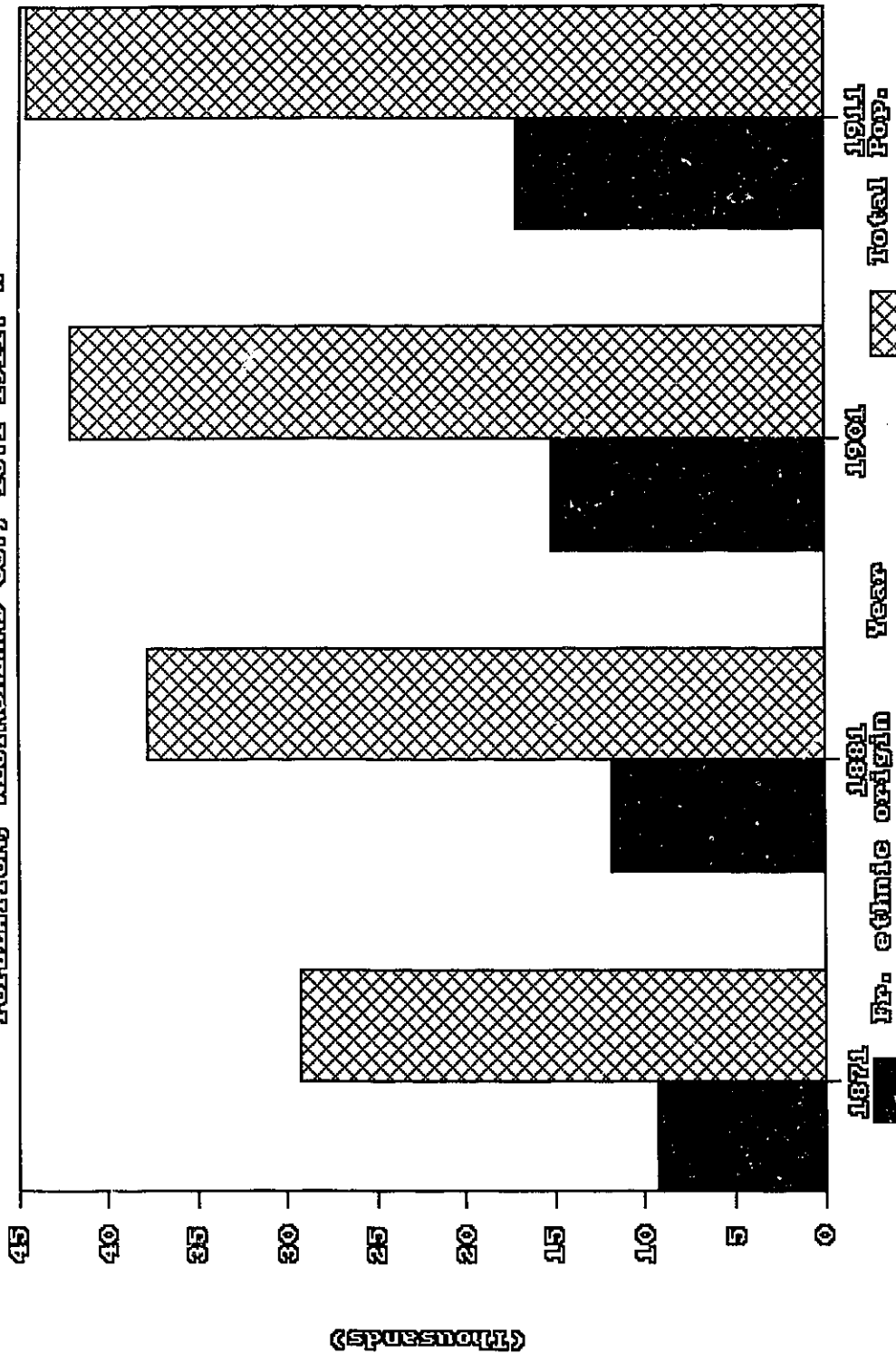


*Source: S.A. Saunders, *Histoire économique des provinces maritimes*,
 Ott., 1939, p.112, and Govt. of Canada, *Census, 1941*.

New Brunswick was the province with the highest proportion of francophones. In 1871, 15.7% of its population was of French ethnic origin. The proportion of the population giving French as its ethnic origin increased to 21.8% by 1911, and to 35.8% by 1941.⁵ Maps 3 and 4 indicate that Gloucester, Kent, Westmorland, and Victoria counties were the most densely populated by francophones even before 1871. This initial pattern of population settlement was maintained, for in 1911, the number of francophones in all these counties had increased. Each county also witnessed a rise in the proportion of francophone population in relation to the population of all other ethnic origins.

By 1871, in Westmorland County, which included the urbanizing centres of Shediac, Sackville, Dorchester and Moncton, 31.8% of the total population of 29,335 people were francophones. The proportion of francophones in Westmorland County remained fairly consistent throughout subsequent decades. By 1911, 38.2% of the total population of 44,621 people were francophone.⁶ Figure X provides an indication of population growth for francophones in Westmorland county, measured by ethnic origin, as well as for people of all ethnic origins, for the period 1871 to 1911.

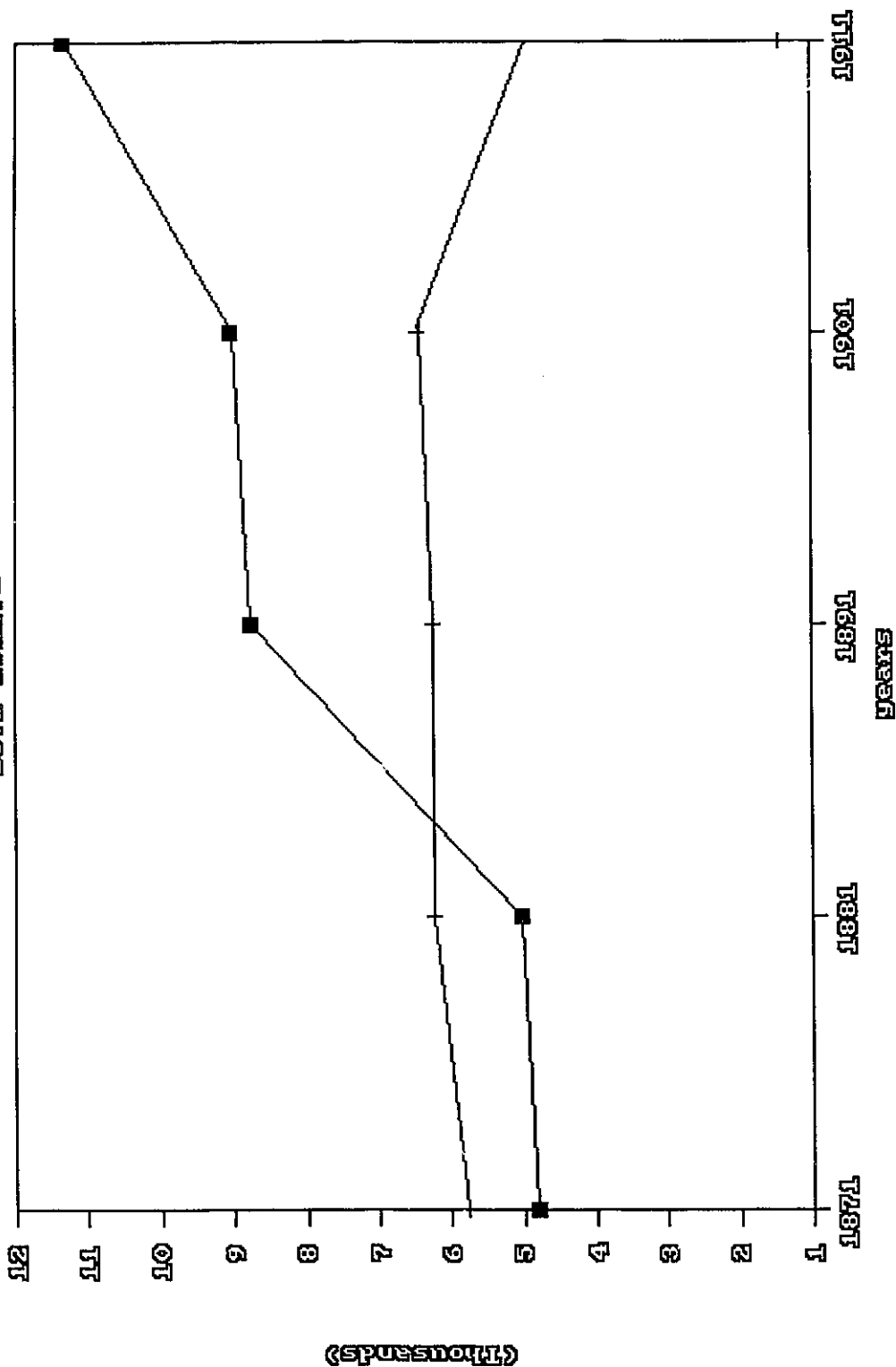
FIGURE X
 POPULATION, WESTMORLAND CO., 1871-1911. *



* Source: Therese B. Roy, *Population totale et population acadienne des provinces maritimes de 1871 a 1971*, p. 5. Francophone population is measured by French ethnic origin. Statistics for French ethnic origin for Westmorland County were not provided for 1891.

It has already been stated that Shediac's demographic, economic and urban growth was curtailed after 1881, because Moncton was chosen as the headquarters of the Intercolonial Railway. In terms of demographic growth, Moncton showed a greater increase than Shediac did during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, and a somewhat faster growth after the turn of the century. Figure XI provides statistics on demographic growth for these two urbanizing centres for the period from 1871 to 1911.

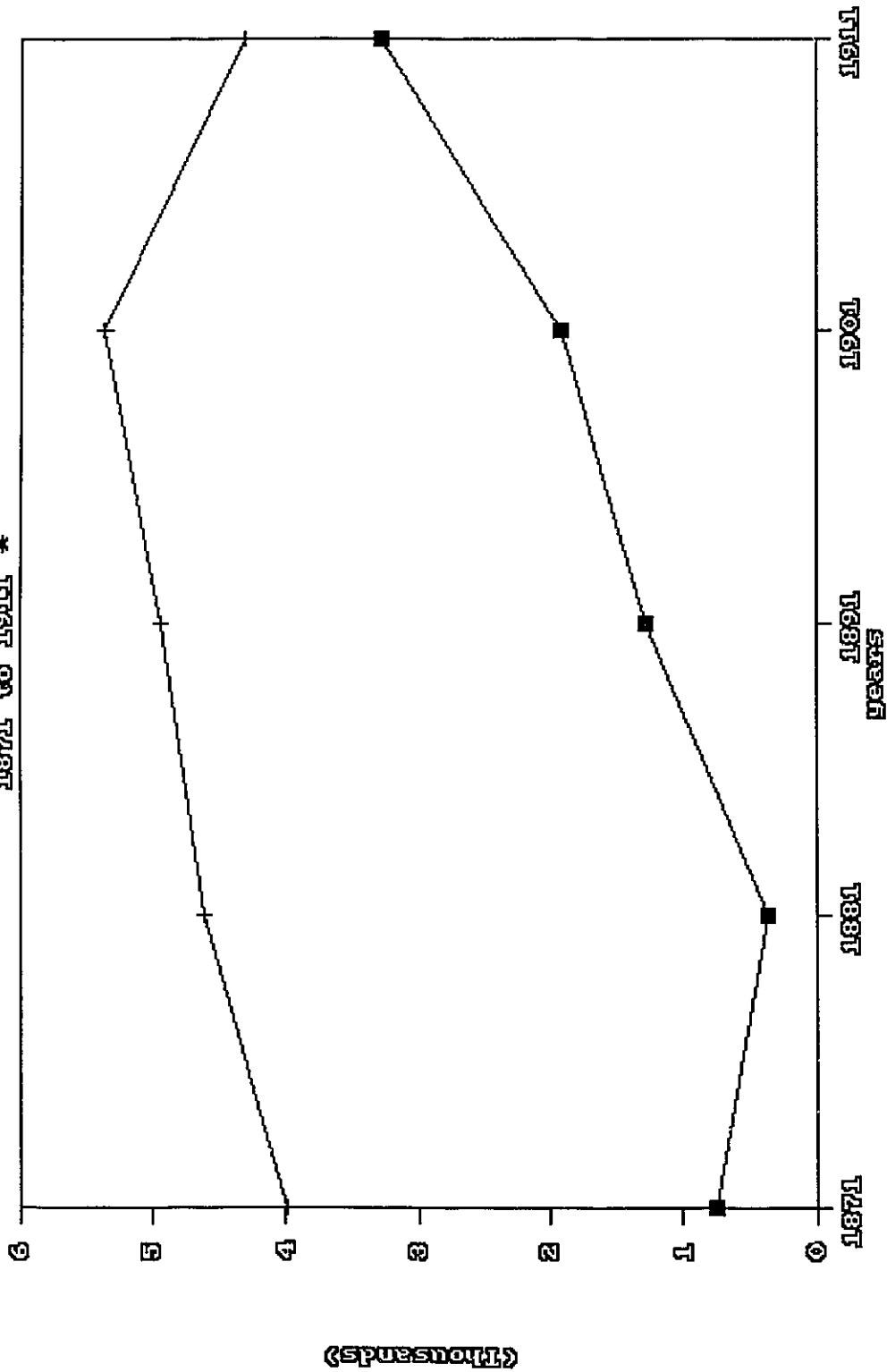
FIGURE XI
POP., MONCTON & SHEDIAC
1871-1911, C



* Source: Gov. of Canada, Census, 1871, 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911. Statistics for Moncton are at the level of parish in 1871; town in 1881; city in 1891, 1901 and 1911. Statistics for Shediac are at the level of parish.

In terms of distribution of the francophone population, the comparison between Moncton and Shediac is quite striking. Figure XII provides a picture of the rate of population growth for francophones in Moncton and Shediac from 1871 to 1911. While the francophone population in Shediac parish maintained itself in regards to the parish's total population statistics, the francophone population of the parish and town of Moncton showed a greater increase in terms of absolute numbers.

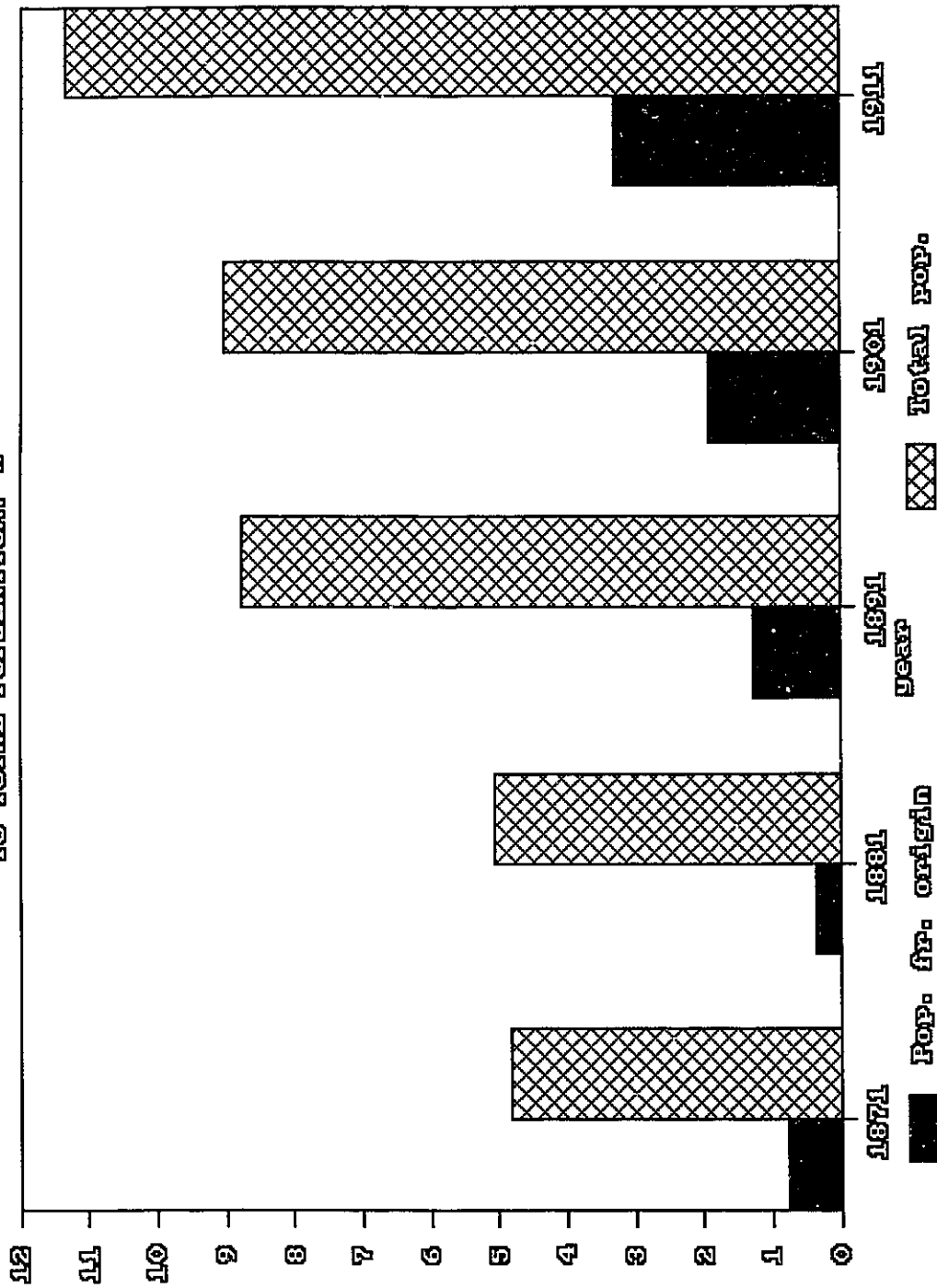
FIGURE XII
 POP. OF FRENCH ETHNIC ORIGIN
 FOR MONCTON AND SHEDIAC,
 1871 TO 1911 *



* Source: Govt. of Canada, Census, 1871, 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911. Statistics for Moncton are at the level of parish in 1871; town in 1881; city in 1901 and 1911. Statistics for Shediac are at the level of parish.

When compared to the total population growth for the parish and town of Moncton during this era, the francophone proportion of the population showed dramatic increases, as indicated in Figure XIII. It clearly indicates that, with the exception of the decade 1871 to 1881, the francophone population grew more rapidly than the anglophone population, and that the level of population growth of francophones within Moncton must be attributable to migration, rather than to natural increase only.

FIGURE XIII
 POP. MONCTON 1871-1911
 BY FRENCH ETHNIC ORIGIN COMPARED
 TO TOTAL POPULATION. *



* Source: Govt. of Canada, Census, 1871-1911. Statistics are for Moncton parish for 1871; town for 1881; city for 1891, 1901 and 1911.

In 1871, francophones already constituted 15.5% of the total population of 4810 in Moncton Parish. The statistics for the parish for 1881 indicate 1252 people of French ethnic origin, an increase of 66.9%. That same year, francophones represented 363 (or 7.2%) of the 5032 townspeople. Jean-Roch Cyr's study of Moncton for the period from 1851 to 1881 concluded that francophones from surrounding rural areas congregated to the town:

Témoins des nouvelles tendances économiques de Moncton entre 1870 et 1880, les Acadiens des zones périphériques bougent et sortent peu à peu des campagnes; leur société, comme celle de la ville, se diversifie et s'adapte aux changements.⁷

By the turn of the century, 21.2% of Moncton City's total population of 9026 was of French ethnic origin. In 1911, this proportion had increased to 28.9% of the 11,345 citizens. The most dramatic growth of the francophone element of the city's population during this period occurred during the decade from 1901 to 1911. While the population of all other ethnic origins grew by only 13.5%, francophone population grew by 70.9%.⁸

Population statistics for Moncton, as well as for Shediac Parish, lead us to conclude that francophones were as much attracted as anglophones to the opportunities being offered by the arrival of railways and development of related industries in urbanizing centers. The fact that these centers were essentially

francophone, as in the case of Shediac, or essentially anglophone, as in the case of Moncton, was irrelevant.

The demographic outline presented above also leads us to reject the view that:

Après l'euphorie des projets initiaux en 1868, il fallut se rendre à l'évidence que cette voie [the Intercolonial] relierait des centres anglophones entre eux en oubliant les Acadiens, c'est-à-dire la côte...

L'infrastructure ferroviaire engendre la valorisation de certaines initiatives individuelles et commerciales, mais elle n'a pas d'effet d'entraînement sur la collectivité.⁹

The general ideology of survival as proclaimed periodically to the Acadian society by its leaders through the **conventions nationales** completely overlooked the growing Acadian element within urban centers. Although he did not attend the 1881 convention, Edme Rameau de Saint-Père had written:

La population acadienne est assez nombreuse pour se maintenir; les Canadiens comptaient bien moins de monde en 1763; mais leur côté faible c'est la dispersion de toutes leurs paroisses, (...) il faut donc par dessus tout contrebalancer cette dispersion en s'agglomérant autour des centres les plus nombreux et les plus forts.¹⁰

This learned advice was intended to promote a rural lifestyle and agricultural pursuits, rather than the urban and industrial

pursuits, but Moncton's francophone growth occurred regardless of the prescribed code for cultural survival.

The **Convention de la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Québec**, held in Quebec City in 1880, was the first step in the diffusion of the Acadian **renaissance** of late nineteenth century. Its seventh standing committee looked into the Acadians' situation within the Maritime Provinces. Acadian delegates decided while in Quebec to hold their own national convention in order to study their community's problems. They set up an Executive Committee which met on May 10, 1881 to organize their own convention. Its members were P.A. Landry, president; G.A. Girouard, secretary; and Urbain Johnson, Stanislas Poirier and Prosper Paulien.¹¹ They were Acadians' leading politicians: P.A. Landry was Member of Parliament for Westmorland, G.A. Girouard was M.P. for Kent County, and Urbain Johnson was M.P. for Kent County, and Urbain Johnson was an M.L.A. representing Kent County.

The Executive Committee decided to hold their national convention at the **Collège Saint-Joseph** in Memramcook in 1881. It also decided on the fields of study for each commission: date of celebration of the Acadian national holiday; education; agriculture; colonisation and emigration; and French newspapers. The committee issued a manifesto outlining its expectations for the convention:

...la convention acadienne devant se réunir au collège Saint-Joseph de Memramcook le 20 juillet prochain, dans le but de cimenter l'union indispensable qui doit faire des Acadiens-Français un peuple affirmant son existence et sa force, ami du progrès et sérieusement soucieux de son avenir. Trop longtemps on a semblé nous ignorer, pour nous la force a primé le droit, il est temps de faire valoir nos titres à une égalité de justice que le sens droit et pratique de nos vainqueurs ne saurait nous refuser plus longtemps.¹²

The manifesto is revealing on two fronts. In the first place, it was a call for public participation in the proceedings. This appeal was successful, since over 5,000 people attended the two days of deliberations and social activities. In the second place, the manifesto denounced the abuse of power of the anglophone majority. The **vainqueurs** were being asked to respect the rights of francophone citizens within the Maritime Provinces.

National conventions claimed little redress for past injustices, which does not imply that the national conventions were ineffective or pointless. The manifesto had established its main goal quite clearly: "cimenter l'union indispensable qui doit faire des Acadiens-Français un peuple affirmant son existence et sa force." This main objective was achieved by the very fact that the meetings were being held. Hundreds, even thousands of people attended the meetings in the cities or towns in which they were held. A number of well-known politicians of both ethnic groups, from both the federal and provincial levels, also attended. Priests and other clerics and leaders of Acadian society for all levels also participated.

The conventions successfully publicized Acadian nationalism within the Maritime Provinces and in the province of Quebec as in Ottawa. They became an occasion to improve public relations and a tool for political lobbying. During the third national convention, held at Pointe-de-l'Eglise in Nova Scotia, while addressing thousands of people assembled for the convention's opening speech, P.A. Landry declared:

Nous sommes ici en convention pour plusieurs bons motifs. L'un de ces motifs, et ce n'est pas le moindre, c'est de nous affirmer devant nos concitoyens d'autres origines. Nous sommes assez forts, par le nombre et par l'intelligence, pour prendre notre place au rang des nationalités qui se partagent ce grand pays du Canada, qui s'étend d'un océan à l'autre.¹³

The creation of an Acadian national identity, and the protection of this identity from outside external influences - from anglophone and French Canadian societies - were achieved through the conventions.

Acadian conventions were held periodically between 1881 and 1937. The first convention in Memramcook, New Brunswick, and the second convention in Miscouche, Prince Edward Island, were notable because the more visible symbols of the emerging Acadian identity were decided upon: the founding of the **Société nationale l'Assomption**, and the selection of the national holiday (Assumption) in 1881, and the selection of the Acadian flag in 1884. These first conventions were also important in that the

delegates showed a determination to distinguish Acadians' developing national identity from French Canadian or Québécois nationalism. The choice of the religious holiday of Assumption (August 15th) instead of St. John the Baptist (June 24th) as the Acadian national holiday, and the selection of the French blue, white, and red flag with the papal star in the upper left hand corner, distinguish Acadians' national symbols from other components of French Canadian society. Apart from these issues, however, discussions varied very little from one convention to the next, until and including the last, which was also held in Memramcook.¹⁴

Acadian national conventions were not the sole indicator of the cultural and political **prise de conscience** of Acadian society during the last decades of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth centuries. Nevertheless, they are synonymous with the **renaissance**. Michael Begley identified the movement in the following manner:

A "renaissance" occurred which is characterized by economic prosperity and diversification, upward social mobility, marked educational and intellectual development and a stronger sense of national cohesiveness, historical continuity, and slowly, an idea of a national set of goals to strive for.¹⁵

Acadian nationalism had developed despite the fact that the concept of an Acadian nation had never been defined. As early as 1867, the Acadians were establishing the educational institutions

needed to mold an elite, which would consist mostly of teachers, priests, physicians, small businessmen, lawyers and politicians. They later defined the concept of an Acadian nation and awakened Maritime francophones to their evolving concept of nationhood:

Bien sûr, il faut admettre que cet effort de conscientisation avait son point de départ non dans les masses populaires, mais chez certains éléments de la nouvelle classe moyenne acadienne qui avait commencé à se constituer,... Ajoutons aussi que la vision que projetaient ces nationalistes reflétait assez largement les préoccupations socio-économiques inhérentes à cette classe.¹⁶

The people participating in the deliberations of the conventions appointed themselves to lead Acadian society. They believed the principle of Acadian claims to justice, and publicized their philosophy of Acadian ideology from one national convention to another. It can even be argued that the nucleus of Acadian leadership was already cast as of the 1880 convention held in Quebec city:

Ce fut à une "Intelligentsia" cléricale et professionnelle que revient le rôle de définir la situation nationale acadienne, dans les grandes "conventions", et de jouer, dans les décennies suivantes, un rôle de premier plan dans la direction des destinées de la nation acadienne.¹⁷

Members of the Executive Committee of the **Société nationale l'Assomption** were chosen at each convention. Their role was to assure continuity from one convention to the next, and propagate

national ideology. Other national institutions, such as the Catholic Church, and French newspapers, also accepted to diffuse the ideology of survival.

During the period of **renaissance**, the multiplication of Colleges and other educational institutions occurred, and this, in turn, produced an indigenous elite. Although the nationalist discourse of the **renaissance** was not particularly political, Acadian involvement in the political arena was encouraged, and their political successes were significant. They participated actively in provincial and federal politics. By 1914, Acadian provincial political representation in New Brunswick was roughly proportionate to their population. At the federal level, New Brunswick Acadians would generally send two of their own to the House of Commons.¹⁸

In creating a national identity, which Léon Thériault has termed "Acadianité", the nationalists were aware that they were developing an ideology that went beyond provincial political and administrative boundaries.¹⁹ They were also aware that Acadians could no longer live in a sheltered environment, isolated from external influences. Acadian nationalism of late nineteenth century developed a program of national survival that, by its very nature, dealt with other evolving societies which were also adapting to external influences. Acadian nationalism had to deal with the anglophone society of the Maritime Provinces, as well as

with a diversified Canadian society which was itself responding to British imperial sentiment, French loyalty, and Quebec nationalism. Acadian nationalism was not fuelled by reactionaries, nor by isolationists. It was striving to find an identity and develop a distinctive ideology which would successfully defend its existing society.

One of the pressures affecting Acadian society of late nineteenth century was the changing economic environment. However, Acadian nationalist discourse within the context of the national conventions, at least in matters pertaining to the economy, was very nearly limited to colonization and agriculture.²⁰ Its zealous treatment of these economic issues had been sparked by increasing emigration of french-speaking population from the Maritime Provinces towards Central Canada and the United States. Nationalists spoke extensively of colonization and agriculture in the first decades of the twentieth century, as pressures arising from evolving economic structures were felt by the entire region's populations.²¹

Nationalist discourse on the issues of colonization and agriculture was also prompted by the desire to safeguard Acadians' religious and linguistic heritage. Nineteenth century nationalists advocated farming and a rural environment, notions which rapidly developed into a *destinée nationale*:

C'est l'agriculture qui a sauvé notre religion, notre langue et nos coutumes, et c'est encore par les moyens fournis par l'agriculture que nous grandirons comme peuple et que nous remplirons les destinées providentielles sur nous. Les peuples, comme les individus, ont leur destinée, leur mission: la nôtre, c'est d'être cultivateurs.²²

The clergy, particularly, promoted the ideals of an agrarian lifestyle, making use of all the powers and the tools at its disposal. The clergy lobbied governments for the construction of roads, pursued their own colonization projects, founded agricultural societies and periodicals, and were not above preaching their ideals from the pulpit. The preservation of Acadian identity and culture, not the collective prosperity of the Acadian community, was their aim. In promoting an agrarian lifestyle, the clergy advocated a nationalist cause that imitated their Quebec counterparts. Aurèle Young evaluated their mission:

Nous admettons que la colonisation eut de bons effets, mais cet attachement à la terre les empêchait d'apprécier à sa juste valeur l'importance de la révolution économique des provinces de l'Atlantique, introduite par l'arrivée de la voie ferrée. Sur ce point, nous croyons pouvoir dire que la politique de colonisation leur fut nettement défavorable.²³

The nationalists' zeal for farming reflected their conviction that agricultural pursuits were the best means of maintaining economic independence. The agrarian mission was judged in relation to its alternative: an urban lifestyle and industrial or commercial pursuits. The agrarian lifestyle was

chosen as the most favorable to develop an Acadian national identity. It was also the best method of assuring the retention of the French language and the Catholic religion. Nationalists attempted to discourage Acadians from participating in those economic transformations occurring at this time which were characteristically urban and industrial by nature:

On leur a [depuis] reproché de se limiter à la terre, de mépriser la ville et ses manufactures. On trouve en effet dans les propos nationalistes du temps, chez les membres du clergé en particulier, de nombreuses mises en garde contre la ville pécheresse...La formation d'entrepreneurs et de gérants n'était pas non plus une préoccupation importante des institutions collégiales du temps.²⁴

But the flow of population to cities and towns could be stopped by neither nationalist discourse, nor colonization projects. In the Maritime Provinces, as elsewhere, urbanization was occurring and industrial jobs attracted francophones and anglophones alike. Acadian nationalists were aware of the fact that their non-involvement in urban economic pursuits had distinct disadvantages. As early as 1880, Pascal Poirier had foreseen them:

Une des causes de l'infériorité de condition matérielle chez les Acadiens, c'est qu'ils sont demeurés absolument étrangers au commerce et à l'industrie, et qu'ils se sont faits jusqu'ici exploiter par les négociants anglais. Mais le monopole du commerce, les Anglais sont à la veille de le voir, dans une certaine proportion, s'échapper de leurs mains. L'éveil de ce côté est également donné.²⁵

Poirier went on to describe the necessary elements for a truly Acadian economy: "le nerf du commerce, les capitaux, ou tout au moins le crédit."²⁶ It is therefore surprising that while historians and economists have documented the slow economic growth of the francophone society of the Maritimes, they persist in believing that Acadian leadership of late nineteenth century was ignorant of the economic needs of their developing society.²⁷

In fact, the Acadian leaders of the late nineteenth century approached the problem of economic diversification in the same manner as they had other needs: through the systematic analysis of the problem, and the restructuring of educational institutions to restore balance. Pascal Poirier indicated in his 1880 speech in Quebec:

Il y a vingt ans, il y a quinze ans, un petit négociant acadien au Nouveau-Brunswick était chose rare, introuvable, inconnue. Aujourd'hui, l'on rencontre des commerçants français bien établis, assez près de tenir le haut du pavé, dans les campagnes, et même dans les centres, à Shédiac, Moncton, Saint-Jean(...) Plus que cela, les négociants anglais recherchent avec une préférence marquée les jeunes commis acadiens que le collège de Memramcook et, à présent, celui de Saint-Louis donnent chaque année au commerce. Ces commis honnêtes, intelligents, forment une pépinière de commerçants et d'industriels pour l'avenir.²⁸

The deliberations of the national conventions held at Miscouche in 1884 and at Pointe-de-l'Eglise in 1890 publically recognized the need for Acadian commerce and industry. The **Collège Saint-Joseph** accepted the challenge of forming a

commercial elite, and adapted its curriculum of classical academic subjects by integrating a field of commercial studies.

It would be erroneous to view the Acadian **renaissance** as only a struggle to maintain **notre langue, notre religion, nos coutumes**.²⁹ The **renaissance** was a manifested resistance to economic inferiority, as well as to political and cultural oppression. Nowhere is this resistance more evident than in the history of Moncton's development during the last decades of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century. Acadians converged on this urbanizing and industrializing center in response to the economic boom that Moncton was experiencing.

Acadians also experienced social transformations that included not only new migration patterns towards urban centers, but also a process of acculturation to the urban ecological system. The threat of alienation and assimilation was therefore diminished, thus permitting Acadians to conserve their own culture in an urban environment.³⁰ In cities and towns, Acadians were slowly integrating into the capitalist system. Jean-William Lapierre has noted that a new urban Acadian bourgeoisie had already developed by the early decades of the twentieth century: "Une nouvelle "élite dirigeante" de laïcs et de prêtres urbanisés s'est substituée aux notables et aux curés de villages."³¹ The first generation of nationalists had been responsible for the development of the **Société nationale l'Assomption**, for the

multiplication in the number of French newspapers, as well as for the conventions that sought to develop a viable identity for the Acadian community. The second generation, which included this new urban bourgeoisie, was responsible for founding institutions that would assure the Acadians' economic and social development for the following decades: **Caisses populaires** and other cooperative societies; mutual life societies; as well as others. These institutions influenced not only the urban but also the rural milieu.

The new urban bourgeoisie still worked closely with the clergy and espoused its national aspirations, such as Acadian representation within the hierarchy of the Catholic Church and French language education at all levels. But the elite's perspective was urban in nature, yet national in scope. Emergence of this new leadership did not preclude development of a parallel francophone elite in Moncton. The latter was local in nature, and its perspective was community-based. Jean-Roch Cyr has stated that as early as 1881, the nucleus of this french-speaking bourgeoisie was present in Moncton. He added that although they were incapable of imposing themselves economically, they actively promoted francophone involvement in Moncton.³²

Slowly, the ambitions and ideals of both groups of Acadian nationalists, the elite developing national aspirations and the new urban elite centered in Moncton, which promoted a program of

francophone development in the city that paralleled the larger aspirations of Acadian nationalism, meshed until they became almost inseparable. Antoine Bernard noted the significance of this alliance for Moncton:

Moncton, centre ferroviaire et commercial du pays, devient vite la position-clé du peuple acadien des Provinces Maritimes...³³

Acadians participated to a certain extent in the economic prosperity of the City of Moncton between 1881 and 1891:

Cette apparente prospérité est limitée et avantage les "lumber lords" et les entreprises de Moncton. A ce dernier endroit, parmi les plus gros entrepreneurs, on retrouve T.M. et T.B. LeBlanc. Plusieurs "professionnels" qui ont reçu une formation au Collège de Memramcook "pratiquent" aussi à Moncton.³⁴

It is difficult to accurately define the role francophones played in Moncton's industrial development during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Their presence on the industrial scene was somewhat scarce. However, francophone industrial investment and involvement in the city's development was not altogether nonexistent, as some francophone industries were established. Thibodeau and Cornea's (Cormier) brick factory was one. Founded in 1881, it employed twenty permanent employees. By 1884, the value of the firm's production had surpassed its initial capital input.³⁵ Another example of francophone industrial investment was J. Doucette's ginger ale

factory, established in Moncton in 1884. It employed only two people that year. It competed with an anglophone firm, W. Givan's ginger pop factory, established in 1872.³⁶

But francophone industries were hardly common in Moncton, at least until the turn of the century. The few documented companies may be characterized as individual attempts to provide a means of subsistence for their entrepreneurs. For the most part, individual francophone economic involvement in Moncton was limited to retail sales and services. In 1896, francophones owned four grocery stores, four shoemaking and shoe repairing shops, three dressmaking shops, two barber shops, two general merchant establishments, and one hairdressing salon, as well as a hotel.³⁷ Francophone commercial establishments and services responded to the demands of the expanding community and required small amounts of investment capital.

Although as a group Acadians were still somewhat handicapped by their lack of experience in business and industry, individual francophone economic endeavors in Moncton industries and businesses were nonetheless multiplying by the first decades of the twentieth century. As in the past, Acadian successes were limited for the most part to commercial and retail services. In 1900 a former Intercolonial employee, Eloi Cormier, set up a tinsmithing shop. He eventually gave up tinsmithing to open an oyster and confectionery store at the east end of Main Street.

Following a 1907 fire that destroyed Sherman Blakeny's Cape Breton Coal and Ice Company's ice houses and coal sheds, Blakeny entered into partnership with Simon B. LeBlanc in ice, coal and cartage. J.J. Bourgeois & Company established a shoe and boot manufacturing industry at 739 Main. A. J. Babang (Babin) was one of several wholesale and retail grocers. Others were: J.N. Boudreau, Z.G. Bourque, S. Melanson, and P.R. Richard. P. A. Belliveau established a men's clothing shop at 735 Main Street, and was active in city politics as Alderman. Cassidy and Belliveau were partners in a hardware business on Main Street, while T. and A. Léger were in the plumbing business. Alyre Léger ran a press shop and upholstering business at 574 Main Street. M. Melanson was a jeweller and optician and worked in his own shop. The Pure Food Bakery, situated at 30 King Street, was founded by P.A. LeBlanc. P. N. LeBlanc established a woodworking factory in 1912; he built doors, sashes, frames, office fixtures, and church fittings. LeBlanc was also a contractor, and was responsible for the construction of the Provincial Bank of Canada building, the Post Office, and many Moncton residences.³⁸

Francophones had not been leaders in the economic transformations in industry, commerce, transportation and communications occurring in the Maritime Provinces since Confederation. As a group, Acadians had no commercial or industrial capital to speak of. They had not participated as developers of the forest and its related industries, nor had they

been involved as entrepreneurs in shipbuilding and shipping. Their involvement in these and other industries rarely surpassed the level of readily available, relatively cheap, non-specialized labor. By the turn of the century, however, Acadians had become more actively involved in the economic development of the Maritime Provinces. As a group, Acadian involvement in the economic structure of the Maritimes takes on a new dimension after the turn of the century, as new francophone societies and institutions developed throughout the region.

The most prominent of these societies was the **Société l'Assomption**, founded in 1903 in Waltham, Massachusetts by the Acadian community of New England. The society quickly and decisively took on roots throughout New England and in all three Maritime Provinces within a few years of its establishment. The objective of the **Société l'Assomption** was to create a fraternal, benevolent mutual aid society which would benefit the Acadian group. The merit of developing the idea and following the project to fruition is usually attributed to Ferdinand Richard and Dr. Lucien-J. Belliveau of New England, as well as to Mgr. M.-F. Richard of New Brunswick.³⁹

The promoters of the **Société l'Assomption** believed that the **Société nationale l'Assomption**, the respected society representing the interests of the majority of the Acadian population in the Maritime Provinces, should have supported the

founding of the Acadian fraternal society. They therefore appealed to the **Société nationale l'Assomption** in February, 1903.⁴⁰ However, the response from Pascal Poirier was not encouraging, as he did not believe in the viability of an Acadian mutual benefit society. He recommended that the Acadians of New England join a branch of the **Société des Artisans Canadiens** instead.⁴¹ Years later, Poirier admitted his shortsightedness in regards to the proposal, and supported the society.⁴²

The promoters of the **Société l'Assomption** persisted, and the society's constitution was approved by its members on September 8, 1903. A slogan was adopted: **Unité, Charité, Protection**. Membership was limited to Acadians and to their spouses. All executive positions during the first years of the society's existence were filled by New England Acadians. By 1906 however, the society had extended to the Maritime Provinces and Dr. E.-T. Gaudet, of Westmorland County, was elected president.⁴³

The society functioned through branch offices. The first five branches were founded in Massachusetts in 1903. The following year, the first branch in the Maritime Provinces was founded in Bouctouche, Kent County, by Dr. David-V. Landry. The society enrolled Maritime Acadians as benevolent propagandists, to recruit members and laud the fraternal and mutual benefit society's advantages. These voluntary workers were important members in their respective communities. One such recruiter was

Dr. David-V. Landry, who would be President from 1913 to 1919.⁴⁴

It was through its branch offices that the **Société l'Assomption** assured its involvement in Acadian communities. Each branch's structure was a mirror image of the head office, including the Executive Committee, but each functioned independantly from other branches. Every branch determined the means and extent of its involvement within the community. This independence permitted a great deal of community participation, the extent of which was determined by local interests and needs.

Elles [succursales] ont tout fait dans leur milieu avant l'apparition de nombreuses associations qui, aujourd'hui, se partagent la tâche de l'action sociale selon leurs buts spécifiques.⁴⁵

The **Conseil Général de la Société l'Assomption** oversaw the society's ideals of mutual aid and fraternal benefits. The **Conseil Général** was made up of members elected from each branch at the general conventions which were held every two to three years. Policies concerning Acadian development were discussed during these gatherings which were modelled on the **conventions nationales** of the **Société nationale l'Assomption**. There was very little in terms of content to distinguish the **conventions nationales** from the conventions of the **Société l'Assomption**.

The **Société l'Assomption** provided down to earth financial benefits to Acadians through its system of insurance, as well as

through the *caisse écolière* and the *caisse universitaire*, which were designed to assist less fortunate Acadian families with their children's education. Thus, the society achieved its goal of maintaining a firm and growing source of Acadian leadership. It also provided loans for construction of churches, colleges and convents.

Table VI provides a statistical overview of the Société l'Assomption's progress from 1903 to 1913.

Table VI

Statistical Overview, Société l'Assomption, 1905-1913.*

<u>Year</u>	<u>Assets</u>	<u>Members</u>	<u>Insurance</u>	<u>Paid Benefits</u>	<u>Education Scholarships</u>
1905	\$2,284.	930	\$93,000.	\$1,528.	\$211.
1910	\$13,606.	3548	\$554,000.	\$77,800.	\$8,293.
1913	\$22,600.	7520	\$400,000.	\$100,000.	-----

* Source: Rapport financier du Secrétaire Trésorier Général, 1931 and 1939, C.E.A., collection of the Société mutuelle l'Assomption, and Euclide Daigle, Petite histoire d'une grande idée, 1978, p. 44. Scholarships for 1913 were not provided.

The Société l'Assomption began its operations in Moncton in 1905. The benefits to the Acadians in the New England states had sparked interest in the establishment of a branch of the society in the city.⁴⁶ LaTour branch (no. 14), was founded on May 28,

1905, and immediately established roots within the community. Its first president was Bliss Bourgeois, and the first chancellor was Father Henri D. Cormier, curate of Saint Bernard Parish in Moncton.⁴⁷ In 1906, they presented proposals aimed at stopping the anglicization of francophones in Moncton's schools, and within the Church at the parish level:

Il fallait une réaction énergique afin d'enrayer ce fléau. La succursale se mit résolument à l'oeuvre. Elle avait des chefs, vrais chevaliers sans peur et sans reproches, qui se chargèrent du mouvement.⁴⁸

The LaTour branch was deeply involved in the debate over the division of the Saint Bernard Parish along ethnic lines. This idea was part of an even larger controversy: establishment of a francophone bishopric in Moncton. The debate concerning the division of the Saint Bernard Parish immediately alienated the LaTour branch from its Irish priest, Father Savage.⁴⁹ As parishes had already been set up along ethnic lines in Ottawa and in Montreal, the LaTour branch had precedents to strengthen its cause.⁵⁰ As its membership listed 463 francophone members, and as there was no opposition to the proposal from within the branch, it presented a strong case.⁵¹

Francophones constituted the majority of Moncton's Catholic population at this time. Of 2,803 Catholics in the city in 1901, 68% were Acadians.⁵² They required services from a francophone priest. In 1905, 75% of baptisms and 90% of all marriages were

administered to francophone parishoners.⁵³ The struggle between the LaTour branch and Father Savage became so heated that in 1910, the branch delegated Dr. Richard and the President of the *Société l'Assomption*, Clarence F. Cormier, to meet with the Apostolic Delegate, Mgr. Sbarette, in Ottawa.⁵⁴ The Vatican official immediately took matters into hand. Since the Acadian weekly newspaper, *l'Évangéline*, participated in the ongoing religious controversy concerning St. Bernard Parish, Mgr. Sbarette prohibited Valentin A. Landry, the newspaper's owner and editor, from publishing on Moncton-related Church issues.⁵⁵

Francophones founded the parish of l'Assomption in 1914. Financial assets of the former parish were divided between Assomption and St. Bernard parishes, based on the proportion of their parishoners. L'Assomption parish has been served by french-speaking priests and curates ever since. Assumption Parish's experience was emulated by other communities of dual ethnicities in New Brunswick and the Maritime Provinces. One example was the Parish of Cape Bauld, also in the county of Westmorland, which was divided in 1916 in order to better serve its francophone population. The new francophone parish was established at Shemogue.⁵⁶

The LaTour branch, along with other local branches in Lewisville, Dieppe and Parkton, involved itself in virtually all Acadian causes within the community. They continued to struggle

for the promotion of their language within the city, serving as a model for other communities and for the **Société l'Assomption** itself, headquartered in Moncton since 1913. Activities reflected the society's ideals by providing benefits to sick or dying members, and to their families. They promoted higher education among all Moncton Acadians by financing the education of children of poorer members at francophone colleges. The branches also regularly collected money and clothes to be distributed to the less fortunate, and founded the local branch of the St-Vincent-de-Paul Society during the depression years of the 1920s. They also promoted involvement of francophones in Moncton's development. This involvement went beyond the society's membership code, encompassing the entire community.

The **Société l'Assomption** encountered problems during its first decade. The society had yet to receive formal approval from the Catholic Church in the Maritime Provinces. Until it did, in 1914, its growth would be curtailed by a strict interpretation of the Church's right to approve or disapprove the activities of such societies.⁵⁷ Some branches of the **Société l'Assomption** were plagued by indifference, and the society suffered temporary but disquieting stagnation in some regions of New England and in the Maritime Provinces. The **Société l'Assomption** was also faced with discordance among its members, because of the direction the society's officers were taking on the issue of life insurance. As a mutual aid society, the

Société l'Assomption had in 1903 established a system of payment of sick benefits, but no life insurance benefits. In 1908 Clarence-F. Cormier, the society's President, recommended adding the sale of life insurance to the society's functions. Although the proposal eventually passed, many members felt that the Acadians were unable to subscribe the fees required to insure their lives, and the society's membership remained divided on the issue.⁵⁸

The **Société l'Assomption's** Canadian branches even encountered legal problems. It was incorporated in all three Maritime Provinces in 1907.⁵⁹ But in order to legalize this status in New Brunswick, the society had to locate its head office in the province. Since it failed to do so, the situation remained irregular for a number of years. Several proposals were studied at the general convention of 1913, in an attempt to resolve the irregularity. That same year, the decision was taken to establish the head office in Moncton, thus complying with provincial requirements.⁶⁰

This decision resulted in the loss of 2,000 New England members, who immediately founded the parallel society in the United States, the **Société l'Assomption des Etats-Unis**.⁶¹ The **Société l'Assomption** quickly recuperated its financial losses and rebuilt its membership.

An accurate assessment of the **Société l'Assomption's** importance to the community is difficult, mostly because of the problem of sources.⁶² The fact remains that of all Acadian institutions, the **Société l'Assomption** had the highest stature.

Other societies and institutions serving the french-speaking population of the city, appeared during the first few decades of the twentieth century. L'Évangéline was founded in 1887 by Valentin-A. Landry, in Digby, Nova Scotia. Landry moved his newspaper to Moncton in 1905:

...l'Évangéline fut transportée à Moncton, centre industriel et commercial de l'Acadie et centre français le plus peuplé des Provinces Maritimes. Ce fut un coup de foudre pour l'assimilateur!...⁶³

Valentin Landry's unique personality and total commitment to the Acadian cause, conveyed by his newspaper, surpassed the nationalists' dream of having at their disposal a tool to diffuse their sentiments and ideals. L'Évangéline immediately became involved in the issues being debated in Moncton: "...la ville la plus importante pour nous, Français, comme aussi la plus centrale."⁶⁴

L'Évangéline actively supported the Acadians' struggle for proportional representation within the Church's hierarchy in the Maritimes. Landry was most vocal in accusing Irish clergy of being responsible for the general retardation of francophone

Catholics. He appealed to the Maritimes' french-speaking clergy to combat Irish domination, thus assuring survival of the Acadian community.

The newspaper wholeheartedly supported Moncton Acadians on the issue of the division of Saint Bernard's parish. Landry's editorials regarding this debate so provoked the Apostolic Delegate in Ottawa, Mgr. Sbaretti, that he forbade further publication on that issue. Landry's professional credibility having been questioned, he was forced to retire and to sell his newspaper to a company of shareholders in 1910:

La carrière efficace du journaliste-éducateur se termina prématurément en 1910 lorsqu'il accepta la retraite comme condition *sine qua non* de la victoire acadienne dans la lutte pour obtenir une paroisse nationale et un clergé autochtone.⁶⁵

Landry also spoke out against the anglicization of Moncton's Acadians. Editorials in L'Évangéline and later in the Revue Franco-Américaine publicized his campaign to promote francophone education in Moncton schools:

A Moncton, N.-B., les catholiques français avaient obtenu, en 1907, que l'enseignement primaire à l'école St-Bernard fut donné exclusivement en français les quatre premières années. Ce système marchait à merveille, et donnait des résultats très appréciables et fort appréciés des parents et des religieuses enseignantes, bien que la supérieure et plusieurs soeurs fussent irlandaises. Après deux ans de bon fonctionnement, ce règlement fut aboli par une coalition de traîtres à notre race unis au curé irlandais de la paroisse: l'anglais est enseigné désormais dès la seconde année.⁶⁶

In addition to these nationalist debates publicized by L'Évangéline, it also spoke of the community's successes and failures in the same way as Moncton's other newspapers. It covered all major community events, commented on municipal politics, exposed the trials and tribulations of the Intercolonial Railway, and elucidated the ups and downs in the city's industrial and commercial activities.

L'Évangéline played an essential role in the Acadian renaissance as a fiercely nationalist newspaper. Its ideology was sometimes considered its major weakness. Some nationalists believed that alienation of the anglophone majority might compromise the Acadians' legitimate struggle for redress.

A second French weekly newspaper, L'Acadien, was founded in Moncton in 1913. L'Évangéline's developing sympathy towards the Conservative Party prompted Liberal supporters, regardless of their ethnicity, to fund its publication.⁶⁷ Table VII provides a list of subscribers to the new French newspaper in 1913. It reads like a "Who's Who" of Moncton's Acadian nationalists and Liberal provincial politicians of various ethnic backgrounds.

Table VII

List of Subscribers to l'Acadien, 1913 *

<u>Name</u>	<u>Amount of shares</u>	<u>Amount subscribed</u>
Hon. W.E. Foster	5	\$500.
Hon. L.A. Dugal	2	\$200.
Hon. O. Turgeon	1	\$100.
Hon. P.J. Véniot	1	\$100.
Hon. C.W. Robinson	1	\$100.
Pius Michaud	2	\$200.
J.E. Michaud	1	\$100.
A.T. Léger	1	\$100.
A.J. Bordage	1	\$100.
C.M. Léger	1	\$100.
Alph. LeBlanc	1	\$100.
D.J. Doiron	1	\$100.
Hyp. Belliveau	2	\$200.
R.A. Arseneau	2	\$200.
A.H. Melanson	2	\$200.
Alph. Robichaud	1	\$100.
T.D. Melanson	1	\$100.
Alb. LeBlanc	1	\$100.
Dr. A.J. Gaudet	1	\$100.
Siméon Melanson	1	\$100.
Emery LeBlanc	--	----
Dr. Alphonse Sormany	1	\$100.
E. Paturel	--	----
Louis Robichaud	1	\$100.
Ferd. Bourgeois	1	\$100.
Hon. Sen. McSweeney	1	\$100.
Hon. Wm Pugsley	2	\$200.
J.D. Irving	1	\$100.
P.P. Melanson	1	\$100.
Théo Langis	2	\$200.
Hon. P.A. Choquette	1	\$100.
R.A. Fréchet	2	\$200.
J.J.W. Martin	2	\$200.
Clément Cormier	2	\$200.
A.B. Copp	1	\$100.
Fred Magee	1	\$100.
P.A. LeBlanc	1	\$100.
A.A. Dysart	1	\$100.
Reid McManus	1	\$100.

* Source: C.E.A., collection of papers under the title Acadian journalism.

Politics dominated the editorials of Moncton's new French weekly:

Et cette modeste feuille, dernière venue des journaux bien établis dans la région, se lança crânement dans la lutte, chantant les louanges de Laurier, Foster, Véniot, et s'appliquant à dépister les moindres méfaits des adversaires. La lutte est honnête, le ton populaire, les arguments s'adressent à la masse des électeurs; et quand on relit avec le recul des années, on a plus que jamais l'impression que la politique partisane est un sport, et que ceux qui s'y adonnent sont de grands enfants.⁶⁸

In early twentieth century, Moncton's francophone community witnessed the founding of several other national and mutual aid associations and societies. The **Cercle Catholique Beauséjour**, a social club, worked with the LaTour branch on issues such as the division of Saint Bernard Parish.⁶⁹ **Les Artisans Canadiens Français**, a branch of the Québec-based mutual aid society, was firmly established by 1913. Its Secretary was Antoine-J. Léger, a Moncton lawyer and legal counsel for the **Société l'Assomption**. The Acadian women of Moncton established a parallel society, the Ladies' Auxiliary Artisans. The Moncton branch of **l'Alliance Nationale**, founded in 1905, consolidated a cultural link with the **mère-patrie**.⁷⁰

These various francophone associations and clubs conveyed Acadian solidarity. The nature of this solidarity was either religious, as in the case of the C.M.B.A., official club of the St-Bernard Parish, or nationalistic, as in the case of the

Société l'Assomption, or even social, as in the case of the Loyal Order of Moose. Acadians participated in all these associations, including the Loyal Order of Moose, whose secretary, P.A. Belliveau, occupied the position of Vice Dictator in 1913; though Acadians understandably avoided Moncton's six branches of the Loyal Orange Order. Furthermore, they did not hold executive positions on the city's seven temperance societies, although they may have been members.⁷¹

During the period 1870 to 1913, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America was the only labour organization where an Acadian held an executive position.⁷² Moncton had several major labor organizations during this period, particularly in the transportation industry, such as the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees, the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, which were open to both francophones and anglophones.

It is difficult to accurately establish the level of Acadian participation in societies and associations whose objectives were to lobby for regional and community development. One such lobbying tool, the periodical the Busy East, was founded in Saint John in 1910, but moved to Moncton in July, 1913. The periodical's lobbying goals were clearly identified in its first edition:

Now is the time to wake up: let the pessimist croak and cower all he wishes, boost, advertise, use the publicity our circulation will give you. If your town has an advantage, talk of it, dream of it, keep it first, last and all the time, be chock full of it, let it ooze through you and spread a greater spirit of optimism among your fellow-citizens and gradually choke off the pessimist - the man who does more to harm his town by his unbelieving cackle than he knows of.⁷³

The Busy East published information pertaining to Moncton's progress, including updates on Acadian-owned industries. It also published articles submitted by Acadians, analyzing Acadian concerns. The Busy East obviously intended to dispell fears of Acadian separatism and accusations of disloyalty by publishing father Clément Cormier's chronicle of Acadians' endeavours:

The accusation has been passed that the Acadians are disloyal subjects. Such statements as that are beneath contempt. They are but the ravings of demagogues and the would-be breeders of sectional strife. No one is prouder of Canada today than we are - it is one country and we want to see it great and prosperous. No one appreciates the great constitution under which we live better than do we ourselves.⁷⁴

Acadian politicians also used the Busy East to promote Maritime goals. Pierre Véniot, Premier of New Brunswick from 1925 to 1927 and President of the Maritime Board of Trade, publicized regional views on the economic, social and political issues of the day.⁷⁵

While Acadians had won a number of political victories at the provincial and federal levels, by the turn of the century

they played a relatively minor role in Moncton's municipal government. In fact, no francophone has ever been elected Mayor. W.D. Martin, the first Acadian elected to city council, sat nine times as a member of City Council, from 1891 to 1909, first as Alderman for Ward 3, and later as Alderman-at-Large.⁷⁶ The only other Acadians to sit on City Council during this period were Dr. L.N. Bourque, J.N. Boudreau, and P.A. Belliveau, all representing Ward 1.⁷⁷

By 1914, Moncton had become an important regional transportation and communication center. Industries had settled in the city and were creating job opportunities. The city's population had risen by 135.8% since 1871. Thus, Moncton and its economic hinterland required a number of consumer industries and retail services. The city had also become an important Acadian urban center. Its french-speaking population had risen by 337.3% during the period. Acadians constituted 38.3% of Westmorland County's population. The flow of Acadian migration to Moncton was still occurring in 1914. Acadians were integrating into the urban environment while influencing its economic, social, political and cultural makeup. In doing so, the physical environment was molded into a community in which they could live.

Acadian leadership had developed an ideology of survival that permitted Moncton's francophones to live side by side with their anglophone counterparts. An indigenous francophone elite

participated in community affairs and, to a certain extent, in municipal politics and economic development. It was also responsible for cultural and religious institutions which benefitted the urban francophone population. This elite was composed of professionals: doctors, lawyers, and teachers; local merchants and entrepreneurs; and Intercolonial Railway employees. The urban elite created the framework necessary to the francophone community's development within the city, while remaining loyal to values defined by the Acadian nationalists of late nineteenth century.

Acadian nationalists, whose function it was to develop and defend the ideology of the Acadian **renaissance**, had established several national institutions and associations in Moncton by 1914. Among the most important were the **Société nationale l'Assomption**, whose headquarters moved to Moncton in 1913, and **l'Évangéline**, which moved to the city in 1905. These institutions encompassed the intellectual nucleus necessary for adapting and interpreting the national ideology of survival for the next several decades. These permanent institutions' influence transcended the city boundaries and extended to the entire Acadian society.

Acadians would continue to migrate to Moncton after 1914, and their role within the community would gain in importance. Individually and collectively, Acadians demanded and received

recognition for their contributions to the community. The process of centralizing national Acadian institutions and societies in Moncton continued after 1914. The influence these societies exerted on the Acadians' collective development and cultural survival also grew. The extent of these transformations will be analyzed in chapter 4.

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Notes

Chapter 2

1. Samuel P. Arseneault, et al., Atlas de l'Acadie. Petit atlas des francophones des maritimes, plate 3. Statistics quoted are from the 1871 Census, and reflect ethnic origin rather than mother tongue.
2. Ibid., plates 3 and 16.
3. Government of Canada, Census, 1911.
4. Ibid., 1871 and 1911.
5. Ibid., 1871, 1911 and 1941.
6. Thérèse B. Roy, Population totale et population acadienne des provinces maritimes de 1871 à 1971, 1976, p. 5.
7. Jean-Roch Cyr, Les Acadiens de Moncton, aspects d'histoire sociale, 1698-1881, unpublished M.A. thesis (History), Université de Moncton, 1982, p. 4.
8. Since Moncton's incorporation had been revoked in 1862, the 1871 Census did not provide statistics for the township. See Government of Canada, Census, 1871, 1881, 1891, 1901, and 1911.
9. R. Mailhot, "Quelques éléments d'histoire économique de la prise de conscience acadienne, 1850-1891" in Cahiers, Société historique acadienne, Vol. VII, no. 2, 1976, pp. 65-66.
10. This letter was read at the first National Convention in 1881, to the committee deliberating on the issues of colonization and emigration, and published in F.J. Robidoux, ed., Conventions nationales des Acadiens, Vol. I, 1907, p. 142.
11. Ibid., p. 1.
12. Ibid., p. 9.
13. Extract from a speech delivered by P.-A. Landry at Pointe-de-l'Eglise, Nova Scotia, in 1890. See F.-J. Robidoux, op. cit., p. 215.
14. C.E.A., Dr. J.-E. LeBlanc papers. Minutes of the last full session of the tenth National Convention, held in Memramcook, August 10 and 11, 1937.

15. Michael Begley, Acadian Nationalism: An Examination of its Characteristics and Development During World War One, 1914-1918, unpublished M.A. paper, Department of History, University of Ottawa, 1972, pp. 2-3.
16. L. Thériault, La question du pouvoir en Acadie, 1982, pp. 28-29.
17. A. Boudreau et R. Paradis-Richard, "La vie sociale" in Esquisses du Canada français, l'Association canadienne des éducateurs de langue française, 1967, p. 366.
18. P. Doucette, "La politique" in J. Daigle, ed., Les Acadiens des Maritimes, 1980, p. 268.
19. Léon Thériault defines **Acadianité** as "l'ensemble des traits, des attitudes, des valeurs qui font que l'Acadie a une personnalité propre." He adds that the Acadian nationalists of this period "considéraient les Acadiens comme un peuple authentique." See L.Thériault, op. cit., p. 30.
20. Ibid., p. 30. See also P.-E. LeBlanc, Le Courrier des Provinces Maritimes et son influence sur la société acadienne, unpublished M.A. thesis (History), Université de Moncton, 1978. One of the objectives of the latter study was to document the issues dealt with by Acadian nationalists, including the discourse on economic issues.
21. As an indication of the voluminous discussion on these issues, sixteen of the forty-four resolutions voted upon after deliberations at the tenth National Convention held in Memramcook in 1937 dealt with colonization and agriculture. See C.E.A., Dr. J.-E. LeBlanc papers, minutes of the tenth National Convention.
22. Extract from a speech delivered by Father M.-F. Richard, reporting on the deliberations of the agricultural commission at the second National Convention, held in Miscouche, P.E.I. in 1884. See F.-J. Robidoux, op. cit., p. 180.
23. A. Young, "L'économie acadienne. Histoire et développement" in J. Daigle, ed., Les Acadiens des Maritimes, 1980, p. 211.
24. L. Thériault, op. cit., pp. 30-31.
25. Pascal Poirier, reporting on the situation of Acadians within Confederation, at the **Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste** Convention held in Quebec in 1880. See H.-J.-B. Chouinard, ed., Fête nationale des Canadiens-français, 1881, p. 455.
26. Ibid., p. 455.

27. R. Mailhot gives no indication that Acadian leadership could have been knowledgeable or interested enough to understand the needs of a developing economy from a nationalist perspective. See R. Mailhot, op. cit., pp. 49-74. Aurèle Young's narrative on Acadian economic development also shares this perspective, as he writes of an isolated people, essentially uninvolved or uninterested in the happenings of the society surrounding them. See A. Young, op. cit., pp. 209-233.
28. P. Poirier in H.-J.-B. Chouinard, op. cit., p. 455.
29. This was the slogan adopted by the first French weekly newspaper, Le Moniteur Acadien, founded by Israel-J. Landry in July, 1867. The second French weekly, le Courrier des Provinces Maritimes, was founded in 1885, and adopted the slogan: Religion, Education, Agriculture, Colonisation, Science, Industrie, Nouvelles. See P.-E. LeBlanc, op. cit., p. 3.
30. J.-W. Lapiere, "Conflit ethnique et lutte de classes dans la question acadienne" in Cahiers, Société historique acadienne, Vol. X, no. 3, 1979, pp. 142-143.
31. Ibid., p. 143.
32. J.-R. Cyr, op. cit., p. 4.
33. A. Bernard, La renaissance acadienne au XXe siècle, 1949, pp. 19-20.
34. R. Mailhot, op. cit., p. 70.
35. Reports Relative to Manufacturing Industries in Existence in Canada, pp. 180-183, in Government of Canada, Sessional Papers, 1885, Vol. 10, no 37.
36. Ibid., pp. 180-181.
37. J. Lovell, Lovell's Business and Professional Directories of Cities and Towns, 1896-97.
38. L. A. Machum, A History of Moncton, 1855-1965, 1965, pp. 207, 210, and 234.
39. Mgr. M.-F. Richard was one of the more zealous Acadian nationalists of late nineteenth century. His interest in Acadian causes is well known, and includes active work in colonization projects, agricultural societies, French education, French press and the Church. C.E.A., Mgr. M.-F. Richard papers.
40. Euclide Daigle, Petite histoire d'une grande idée, 1978, p. 28.

41. Ibid., p. 29.
42. F.-J. Robidoux, op. cit., p. 276.
43. Euclide Daigle, op. cit., p. 32.
44. Ibid., pp. 33 and 156.
45. Ibid., p. 80.
46. Eldérice-J. Landry, Album-souvenir, cinquantième anniversaire de la fondation de la succursale LaTour no 14 de la société l'Assomption, 1955. Landry identifies Alphée-A. LeBlanc and Zoel-D. Cormier, both employees of the Intercolonial Railway in Moncton, as this branch's promoters. Their meetings were generally held in the Main Street barber shop of another friend and promoter, Marcel Robichaud.
47. Ibid. The first list of officers included: Alphée LeBlanc, Steward; Zoel Cormier, Second Vice-President; and Marcel Robichaud, Director.
48. Ibid.
49. Father Savage published an undated but personal account of his trials in Moncton entitled Thirty Years in Moncton. It was not intended for sale or for general distribution.
50. Eldérice-J. Landry, op. cit.
51. C.E.A., Zoel-D. Cormier papers. These undated records list all of the branch's earliest members. Cormier was an active nationalist.
52. See Henri-P. LeBlanc's historical notes on the LaTour branch of the Société l'Assomption. C.E.A., Henri-P. LeBlanc papers.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
56. E. Savage, op. cit., p. 22.
57. A.-J. Leger, Les grandes lignes de l'histoire de la Société l'Assomption, 1933, pp. 143-151.
58. Euclide Daigle, op. cit., pp. 45-56.
59. Ibid., p. 42.

60. Ibid., p. 160.

61. Ibid., pp. 52 and 54.

62. The two existing published accounts were written by company employees. The society's legal counsel, a Moncton lawyer and nationalist, Antoine-J. Léger, published Les grandes lignes de l'histoire de la Société l'Assomption in 1933. E. Daigle, the society's public relations official, wrote a second account, Petite histoire d'une grande idée, on the occasion of the society's 75th anniversary in 1978. In addition, Calixte Savoie, Secretary/Treasurer and later President of the **Société l'Assomption**, wrote an autobiography. All three sources suffer from the same limitations: they deal with the society's official history and were written by people directly related with its story. Manuscript sources are available at the **Centre d'études acadiennes** of the University of Moncton. Unfortunately, the **Société l'Assomption's** own papers are still held by the society's head office in Moncton and remain closed to independent researchers. Its payroll would have been an indication of the relative importance of the **Société l'Assomption** as an employer of francophones. The minutes of the Executive Committee and of the **Conseil Général** meetings could have shed some light on the society's priorities in regards to the Acadian community, and illustrated the decision-making structure at these levels. Documentation from the LaTour and other Moncton branches was either destroyed or sent to the head office, rendering them inaccessible to this author.

63. V.-A. Landry, "Voix d'Acadie" in Revue Franco-Américaine, Vol. VI, no. 4, 1911, pp. 276-277.

64. Ibid., Vol. VI, no. 5, 1911, p. 357.

65. Roger Lacerte, "Etat des recherches sur la presse française en Acadie", in Cahiers, Société historique acadienne, Vol. VI, no. 1, 1975, p. 31.

66. V.-A. Landry, "Voix d'Acadie" in Revue Franco-Américaine, Vol. VII, no. 1, 1911, p. 42.

67. V.-A. Landry had always been fiercely Liberal in politics. He corresponded regularly with Sir Wilfred Laurier and was responsible for founding the Laurier Club in the Maritime Provinces. See C.E.A., V.-A. Landry papers. After Landry sold l'Évangéline, the new administration was deemed to be too supportive of the Conservative party and, consequently, l'Acadien was founded. See C.E.A., records entitled Acadian journalism.

68. C.E.A., records entitled Acadian journalism.

69. See Eldérice-J. Landry, op. cit.

70. C.E.A., Zoel-D. Cormier papers.
71. L.A. Machum, op. cit., pp. 247-248.
72. Ibid., p. 245.
73. Busy East, Editorial, June, 1910, reel #1.
74. Busy East, November, 1913, reel #2.
75. See, for example, Busy East, February, 1924, reel #4, and August, 1924, reel #4.
76. In 1894, two Aldermen-at-Large were added to City Council. Martin was the first Acadian elected to this position, in 1900. See L.A. Machum, op. cit., pp. 163 and 222.
77. Ibid., pp. 222, 224 and 232.

Chapter 3

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By 1914, the National Policy had attained its objective of establishing a national economy. The Maritime business community experienced an economic boost from the construction of the Intercolonial Railway. Instead of consolidating the region's economy, however, the railroad opened its markets to Central Canadian producers. Moreover, consolidation of Canada's railways into a state-owned national transportation system, being studied by 1914, would have tremendous regional implications. In the Maritime Provinces, industrial development had provided insufficient employment to offset the decline in staple industries and other urban trades. Moreover, the process of deindustrialization had already begun. By 1914, the region had a declining industrial sector and was struggling with a stagnant debtor economy.

This chapter deals with Moncton's development during the period from 1914 to 1937. It will focus on economic change in the city. These transformations were required in order to assure its continued development within the larger framework of the

region. Between 1914 and 1937, the region struggled with a number of economic problems when the Maritimes failed to participate in the post-war economic boom. Moreover, the government's policy of centralizing railways into a national transportation system had a negative effect on the Maritimes: it immediately increased the freight rates on products moving in a westerly direction, and transferred the Intercolonial's administration from Moncton to Toronto, thus weakening its ability to respond to regional policy requirements.

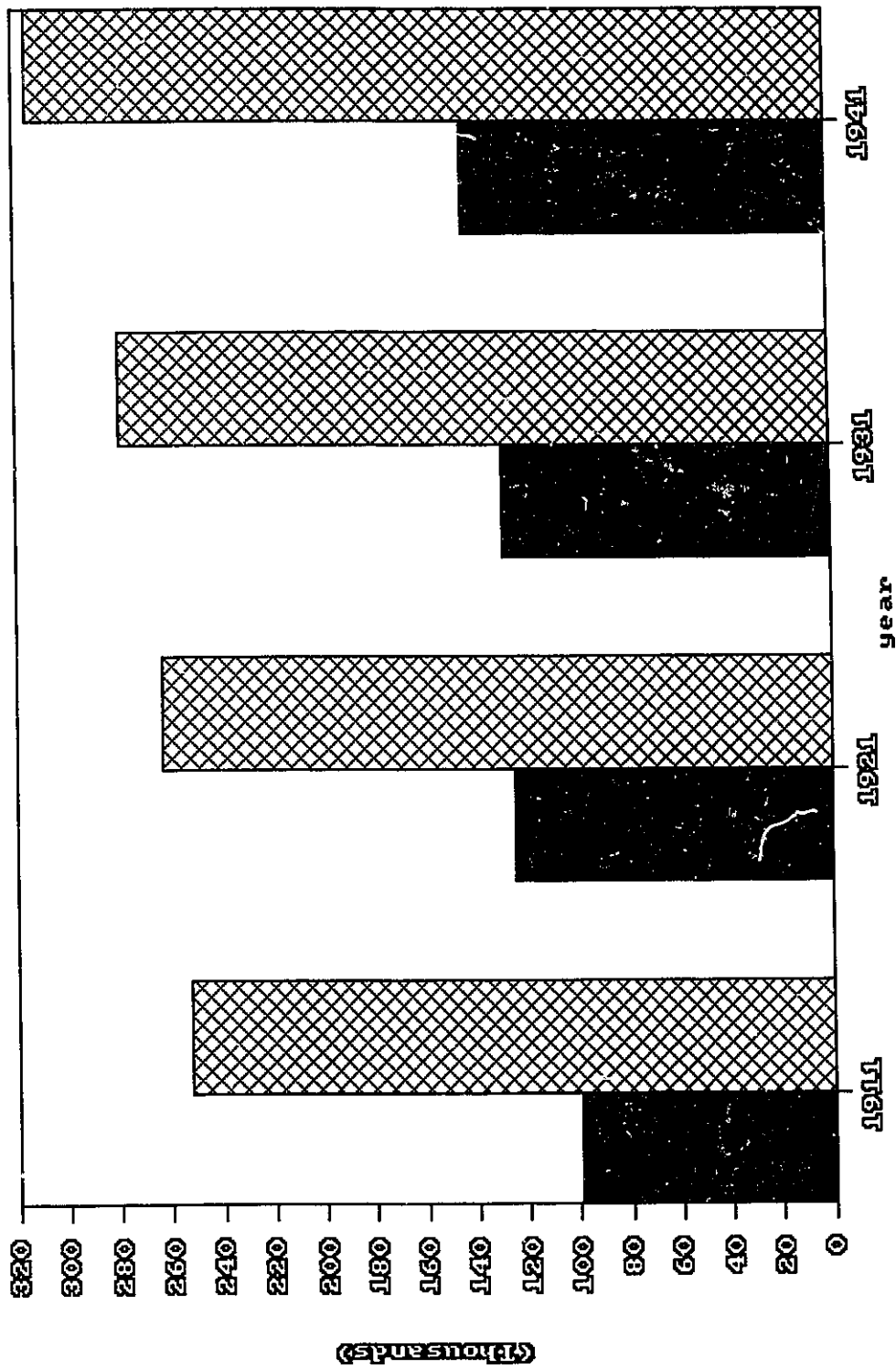
In view of their inability to apply effective political pressure on the federal government to redress these difficulties, the Maritime Provinces' outlook and policies became more regional. Both businessmen and politicians voiced grievances against federal policies that appeared to be crushing the region's economy. Urban centers such as Moncton, were better able to cope with the economic challenges: its communication and transportation system, and the fact that it was centrally located within the Maritime region were positive factors. Moncton's business groups and political leaders remained optimistic regarding the city's potential for future development.

Moncton adjusted to the region's dismal economic performance by transforming its functions after its industrial sector disappeared. Only those small-scale industries and commercial establishments whose objectives were to service Moncton's

economic and geographic hinterland remained. The railway became the dominant factor in Moncton's economic prosperity, since the city's new economic function was as the distribution center for the Maritime region. Both national and Maritime-based firms chose Moncton as their administrative headquarters and warehousing center for goods produced mostly outside the region.

During this period, the trend towards urbanization in New Brunswick continued at a steady, though slow, pace. Figure XIV shows that urban population in New Brunswick rose from 99,547 in 1911 to 124,444 in 1921, an increase of 25%. During the next decade, the province's urban population rose by only 3.61%, to 128,940 people. By 1941, New Brunswick's urban population was 143,423 people. Yet only 31.4% of New Brunswick's population was urban.¹

Figure XIU
 Population, N.B., 1911-1941.
 (urban and rural)*



* Source: Govt. of Canada, Census, 1911, 1921, 1931, 1941.

Moncton's population growth during this period reflected regional demographic trends. Table VIII provides a summary of Moncton City's population for this period. It shows outstanding growth for the decade 1911 to 1921, and substantive increases for the entire period.

Table VIII

Population, City of Moncton, 1911-1941.*

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>% of increase</u>
1911	11,345	25.6
1921	17,488	54.1
1931	20,689	18.3
1941	22,763	10.0

* Source: Government of Canada, Census, 1911, 1921, 1931, and 1941.

The dramatic increase in Moncton's population during the period from 1911 to 1921 was due in part to the city's physical growth. In 1912, the area of Georgetown, which had been part of the Parish of Moncton, was absorbed into Moncton's boundary. The city had extended in a northerly and westerly direction, increasing its geographic area from 2.16 to 3.27 square miles.²

During this period, civic improvements and programs developed at a slow, steady pace. Concrete sidewalks and streets were built as of 1911. A subway with railway overpass was constructed on Main Street during this decade.³ Road construction and repairs remained haphazard, at least during the early decades of the twentieth century. Road repairs were sometimes left to individuals, and, in one case, became a tradition between Moncton and Shediac residents. "Good Roads Day" was an annual spring event. Men from both Moncton and Shediac who owned cars, rakes and shovels would lend a hand at repairing Shediac Road.⁴ It was always hoped that they would meet somewhere between both urban centers, but they rarely did, as the event was also a social affair.

Increasing demands from industries, particularly the railway, necessitated additional water supplies. In order to complement the Irishtown Road Reservoir, construction of the McNutt Reservoir on McLaughlin Road began in 1911 and was completed in 1914. A pumping station was built on Highfield Street Extension. The city now had two reservoirs with a capacity of 500,000,000 gallons of water.⁵

The City of Moncton, as other municipalities throughout North America, continued to implement social policies to aid their less fortunate citizens. Civic officials singled out children as most requiring protection, and attempted to fulfill

their needs. The Children's Aid Society of the City and Parish of Moncton was incorporated on May 28, 1917. During this period and through to the Second World War, the city continued to assure relief and protection for its needy children. Expenditures were for the most part met by City assessments.⁶ By the end of this period, this social responsibility, as well as others, were being transferred to the federal government's jurisdiction.

Moncton's health facilities also required civic attention. Construction of a hospital on King Street Extension had been completed during the first decade of the twentieth century. The corner stone to the Moncton Hospital was laid in 1903, and the facility was opened the same year. Doctors Smith, Chandler, Myers, Bourque, Ferguson, and White were appointed as medical staff.⁷ Some modest improvements to the Moncton Hospital were carried out in 1911. In 1914, an extension was added to the nurses' residence across the street. In 1921, construction of an Annex added twenty beds to the modest facilities.⁸ Another extension was opened in 1930. By 1931, the Moncton Hospital had 130 beds. Operating mostly through private funding, the hospital annually received a provincial grant of \$2,000., as well as a municipal grant of \$9,000.⁹ The city's other hospital, the **Hotel-Dieu**, was a Catholic institution, and did not receive provincial or civic grants.

Moncton also required the construction of a number of schools to alleviate overcrowding at the existing institutions: Aberdeen, Victoria, Georgetown, Wesley Street, and Mary's Home. During the 1920s, the Edith Cavell School, the King George School, and the Queen Street School were built. The Church Street Academy (1923), and the Prince Edward School on West Street (1927) were also constructed. During the next decade, the Mountain Road School (1932), and the Essex Street School (1935) were built. The Moncton High School was built on the corner of Church Street and Mountain Road (formerly Union Street) in 1935.¹⁰

A number of industrial and commercial establishments were destroyed by fire during this period. In late 1911, a natural gas explosion in Elliott's Hardware Store devastated the east side of Main Street. The flames spread to four other commercial establishments before the fire was contained.¹¹ A second natural gas explosion occurred during the winter of 1913 at John Abram's and Sons Machine Shop, causing extensive damage. City Hall burned during the following winter. It contained not only the administration offices, but also the Opera House on the second floor, the municipal library, and the City Market on the lower level.

These incidents resulted in serious economic hardship for the community. They prompted the municipal government to

implement policies aimed at improving fire prevention and reconstructing public facilities. Four fire stations were built throughout the city by 1915.¹² The new City Hall was reconstructed on its old site. Moncton's library, rebuilt in 1927, was now in the Archibald House, at the foot of Archibald Street.¹³

Moncton acquired air service in 1928. Mail and passenger service between Moncton and the Magdalen Islands began that year. Air mail service between Moncton and Prince Edward Island was established in 1929. The municipal government and the Moncton Board of Trade established a committee to determine the site of the Moncton Airport. Fifty-two acres of land were purchased at Léger's Corner (Dieppe) in 1929. By the end of the year, runways and hangars were constructed, and air mail service was established with Quebec and Montreal. The Aero, a flying club and the first flying school in the Maritime Provinces, was founded soon after.¹⁴

Moncton Airport's facilities were soon deemed insufficient to satisfy the demands of mail and passenger service. Mayor W.E. McMonagle promoted plans for a new airport.¹⁵ The Commission established to study the feasibility of constructing a new airport for Moncton submitted its report in 1937. It approved the project on the basis of the city's potential for growth:

...Moncton may be in the picture as a concentration point for the Maritime Provinces for this rapidly growing industry which today is only in its infancy and which is surely and definitely destined to be of very large proportions. It is not difficult to visualize the great importance attached to the building of such an Airport here, nor is it difficult to visualize the co-ordination in the near future of the rail and air services, and Moncton, being the largest railway centres [sic] east of Montreal, occupies a strategic position in this respect.¹⁶

The City of Moncton and the federal Department of Transport began negotiations for a new airport in 1937. Trans-Canada Air Lines purchased a large tract of land in Lakeburn, west of Léger's Corner, and construction began in 1938. By 1947, the airport had three runways, a control tower and all essential lighting and landing systems. The airport was serviced by Trans-Canada Air Lines, and by Maritime Central Airways which serviced flights throughout the Maritime region, as well as by Northeast Airlines, which provided service throughout New England.¹⁷ The flying school was moved to the new site, and the old airport at Léger's Corner was transformed into a race track.

Moncton's physical transfiguration was accompanied by social transformations. Radio had been introduced in the city as early as 1925. The first radio network servicing Moncton was actually part of the Canadian National Railways system, and operated from the second floor of its offices on Main Street. The Voice of the Maritimes had a 500 watts capacity and offered a varied program, composed of information, music and drama.¹⁸ A second radio

station, operated by the Moncton Broadcasting Company, was established in 1934. It had a 100 watts capacity, and its studios were situated in the Knights of Pythias Building. Its officers were well-known Monctonians: J.L. Black, President; F.R. Sumner, Vice-President; and H.M. Wood, Secretary-Treasurer.¹⁹

During this period, a number of new clubs and associations were founded in the city. The Young Women's Christian Association of Moncton was incorporated in 1920.²⁰ It offered travellers' aid for young women in the region, acted as a service hostel, and aided in art and drama projects in the City. Other clubs founded during this period included: the Moncton Rotary Club (1920); the Pythian Sisters (1923); the Canadian Legion (1926); the Benevolent Order of Elks (1926); the Moncton Kinsmen Club (1932); and the Kinetite Club (1940).²¹ The latter two were active in community projects, and contributed to the Y.M.C.A. The Victorian Order of Nurses began its Moncton operations from City Hall in 1919. The V.O.N. was financially supported by the municipal government, by local chapters of the I.O.D.E., by the Red Cross Society, and by the Rotary Club.²²

Moncton's economic outlook was transformed by deindustrialization of the entire Maritime region. Deindustrialization proceeded with few exceptions, as Central Canadian industries extended their markets throughout the region.

Fierce competition had resulted in horizontal integration of industries, and elimination of the indigenous Atlantic industry base. This was accompanied by consolidation of the Canadian branch banking system. Consequently, Maritime entrepreneurs had limited access to relatively high cost investment capital, rendering new accumulations of capital very difficult.²³

During this economic transition, Moncton progressed on other levels. Several retail stores were established in Moncton during this period. R.R. Colpitts, an Albert County farmer, bought Gerald Nixon's stationery and variety store, and established Colpitts the Stationer in 1903. The G.A. Lounsbury Company, which changed its name to The Lounsbury Co. Ltd., opened on Main Street in 1904. The J.D. Creaghan Co. of Newcastle opened a Moncton branch in 1905.²⁴

Several family-based retail firms appeared in Moncton during this period. Peter McSweeney, later nominated to the Senate, established a family business on Main Street at the turn of the century. His clothing and furnishings establishment was the city's largest retail store until the arrival of Eaton's in the 1920s. In 1912, F.W.S. Colpitts began a clothing business still in operation on Main Street. William Peake, an English clothing and dry goods retailer, opened his first Moncton store in 1913. The business expanded to larger quarters in 1917, and again in 1927.²⁵ Clogg and Gilmore began operations in 1919. The

partnership was dissolved around 1930, when A.W. Clogg became the sole owner. The business continued to be run by the family.²⁶

Industries which served mostly local markets continued to be founded by local entrepreneurs: Y.C. and W.C. Cosman founded the Cosman and Co. Sheet Metal Co. (1921); A.J. Taylor established the Maritime Paint and Chemical Company, Ltd. (1920); and H.A. Joyce founded the Moncton Lumber Company (1926).²⁷

Other local industries underwent changes in administration and ownership. In 1916, S. and C.H. Blakeny bought out the Moncton Fuel, Ice and Cartage Company. The new firm, under the name of Blakeny and Son, dealt in coal and ice, as well as in gravel and sand, operating barges on the Petitcodiac River and the Bay of Fundy for several decades.²⁸ C.H. Blakeny, a Moncton born citizen, had married the daughter of another important Moncton businessman, E.N. Lockhart. C.H. Blakeny was Mayor of Moncton in 1921 and in 1931. He was also President of the Moncton Board of Trade (1927-28), as well as President of the Maritime Board of Trade (1932). He owned the booster periodical Busy East until 1916, when he sold it to the Tribune Publishing Co. of Sackville.²⁹

A number of food production industries were active in Moncton during this period. J.A. Marven had bought out P.N. Hamm in 1905, and Marven's Biscuits Limited began production that

year. His associates were well-known Monctonians: L.H. Higgins, E.A. Reilly, K.C. Frank Tuplin and J.E. Masters. In 1926, Marven's was bought out by Canada Biscuits Co. Ltd, though control of the company was returned to local interests in 1936.³⁰ Another biscuit making industry, Brown-Holder Biscuits, Limited, was founded in Moncton in 1931. Fred M. Brown was the company's first Manager, and his son, H.M. Brown, succeeded him in this position in 1953.³¹

Table IX provides a summary of industrial performance of Moncton, for the period from 1911 to 1941.

Table IX

Summary of industrial statistics, Moncton, 1911-1941*

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Establishments</u>	<u>Capital</u>	<u>No. of Employees</u>	<u>Wages/ Salary</u>	<u>Value of Production</u>
1911	----	\$1,666,086.	----	\$1,010,417.	\$3,223,565.
1917	40	\$2,432,570.	880	\$460,665.	\$2,132,503.
1918	51	\$3,499,277.	1,194	\$732,113.	\$3,526,243.
1919	76	\$7,319,623.	3,214	\$3,348,447.	\$7,526,945.
1920	90	\$9,589,975.	3,061	\$3,727,278.	\$8,888,553.
1923	40	-----	913	\$827,407.	\$5,904,558.
1925	37	\$7,395,675.	2,226	\$2,505,738.	\$5,789,373.
1927	40	-----	2,359	\$2,666,502.	\$7,350,485.
1931	51	\$7,839,412.	2,314	\$2,677,596.	\$6,723,864.
1932	48	\$6,984,411.	2,131	\$2,013,980.	\$5,207,762.
1935	44	\$6,310,217.	2,009	\$1,912,622.	\$5,445,526.
1938	46	-----	1,801	\$2,163,561.	\$6,524,780.
1941	51	-----	3,104	\$4,799,216.	\$14,043,130.

* Source: Government of Canada, Bureau of Statistics, Manufacturing Industries of the Maritime Provinces, 1922 and 1933. Government of Canada, Year Book, 1923, 1927, 1934, 1935, and 1938. U.N.B. Archives, Facts about Moncton, compiled by Moncton Publishers Ltd, 1948. It should be noted that railways were not considered an industry and, as a consequence, the statistics quoted here do not include railway workers.

It shows a substantial rise in the number of industrial establishments, from 40 in 1917 to 76 in 1919. The growth in the number of industries was accompanied by an important increase in

the amount of invested capital, as well as in the number of industrial workers. By 1923, the number of industries had dropped back to 40. During the same period, the number of industrial workers fell from 3,214 to 913. In 1927, there were still only 40 industrial establishments in the city. By 1931, the number had grown to 51, but the number of employees, as well as the amount of wages and salaries paid, remained at the same levels as in 1927. By 1938, the number of industrial establishments had levelled off at 46, but the 1,801 industrial workers constituted the lowest employment level in this sector since 1923. In 1941, Moncton had benefitted from an important increase in the number of industrial employees, as well as a corresponding increase in the salaries/wages paid to this workforce. The value of production had more than doubled during the same period, and the number of industries had risen, although not as sharply as other values.

By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, the automobile became a common sight on Moncton streets. The city's growing and modernizing community required a number of automobile dealerships. The first was owned by F.C. Robinson, agents for Russell, Hupmobile, and Ford. Others included: W.A. Humphrey and Son (Ford dealer); J.M. MacDonald (Overland dealer); E. W. Givan (Pierce-Arrow, Cadillac and McLaughlin-Buick dealer); I.M. McCarthy (Graham-Paige and International Trucks and Studebaker dealer).³²

In the late nineteenth century, natural gas deposits had been found in Albert and Westmorland counties. After 1910, it was distributed in Moncton by the Moncton Tramways, Electricity and Gas Company, Limited. The company also purchased electric power from the New Brunswick Electric Power Commission, for distribution to Moncton residents and businesses.³³ The tramways ceased operation in 1931. In 1934, the company's name was changed to the Moncton Electricity and Gas Company, Limited. Outside entrepreneurs, mostly New York businessmen, had played an important role in the company's administration.³⁴ The availability of natural gas had attracted industries to the city. In 1918, the Humphreys Glass Limited, formerly of Trenton, Nova Scotia, used gas as a source of heat to produce bottles and lamp chimneys. Their products were shipped to markets throughout eastern Canada.³⁵

Community cooperation in business endeavors had not disappeared in the city. The Central Trust Company of Canada, which began operations in 1920, listed shareholders including E.A. Reilly, Manager; A. C. Chapman, Reid McManus, J.A. Marven, F.R. Sumner, W. F. Fergusson, and C.W. Robinson, all of Moncton; R.C. Tait of Shediac; A.E. Trites of Salisbury; W.L. Carr of Woodstock; J.D. Palmer of Fredericton; Fred Magee of Port Elgin; and C.W. Fawcett and H.M. Wood of Sackville. The latter two shareholders had business interests in Moncton. In spite of the generally depressed state of the economy, Central Trust grew and

prospered until, in 1933, its assets amounted to over three million dollars.³⁶

Another example of business cooperation is the Brunswick Hotel, the largest establishment of its kind in Moncton. In 1918, a joint stock company was formed, and was administered by: J.A. Marven, President; H.S. Bell, Vice-President; E.A. Reilly, Treasurer; Mayor J.B. Toombs; F.E. Dennison; and two women: Beatrice and Dorothy McSweeney. A new and grander hotel was planned. The architect chosen to draw the plan was R.A. Fréchet, an Acadian Monctonian. The new hotel opened in 1919.³⁷

During this period, Moncton promoted its potential as a warehousing and distribution center. As a result, several regional and national firms had established branches in Moncton: the Massey-Harris Co. (1907); the F.J. Woolworth's Co. (1912); the Willett Fruit Company of Saint John (1921); the Fuller Brush Company (1922); and Swift Canadian Company, Limited (1925).³⁸ Moncton also acquired an important national catalogue shopping firm. In February, 1920, the T.E. Eaton Co. built a centrally-located, six storey building, employing 752 people the year it opened.³⁹ In Moncton, Eaton's was originally a mail order house, yet customers could browse through limited displays of items to be sold over the counter. Its first managers, A.H. Grainger, R.H. Bannon, T.H. Howard, and H.P. Parkes, were brought into the community from other Eaton establishments. Within a few years,

Eaton's mail order company became the second largest employer in the community after Canadian National Railways. Eaton's confined its economic importance to the community in 1927, when it added a retail sales department. The number of employees had increased to 988 people by 1938.⁴⁰

During the 1930s, despite the economic recession, quite a few new businesses were founded. John Neilson, Limited, a wholesale fishery was established in 1933. Moyer School Supplies, originating in Western Canada, reestablished its business on Church Street in 1935.⁴¹ Among the most important new firms was Brookfield Ice Cream, Limited, which began operations in 1936, at its Albert Street location. It provided a welcome outlet for dairy farmers in the surrounding rural areas.⁴² Another important industry established during the 1930s was the Moncton Cold and General Storage, Limited, founded in 1938 by E.H. Ritcey and C.C. Avard. At the time, the business consisted of one building with one bay loading dock, and 60 lockers; by 1965, the business had expanded to seven buildings, nine bay loading docks, and 600 lockers.⁴³

National industries and businesses continued to expand their operations throughout the Maritimes during the Great Depression, and Moncton received its fair share of the regional branches during this decade. Robin Hood Flour Mills opened a large warehouse on lower Main street in 1930. General Motors opened a

distribution warehouse, and established its Maritime Headquarters on Downing Street in 1933.⁴⁴

The decade of the 1930s was also fertile for the developing co-operative movement. The impetus for co-operation in the Maritimes was provided by the Continuing Education Department of St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, Nova Scotia, and its Chairman, Dr. Moses Coady. The Catholic Church in the Maritimes supported the Antigonish Movement, as a means of dealing with the decline in the agrarian lifestyle and its traditional values, and the problems faced by growing numbers of urban, industrial workers.⁴⁵ The Antigonish Movement responded to the continuing process of deindustrialization and economic recession. Another factor stimulating development of the co-operative movement in the Maritimes was the encroachment of national industries and capital, and the subsequent destruction of small-scale and independent production.⁴⁶

A number of co-operatives were founded in Moncton during the latter half of the 1920s and during the following decade. The Canadian Livestock Co-Operative (Maritimes), originally the Maritime Livestock Marketing Board, was established in 1927. One of its objectives was to market livestock for the area's farmers. It also distributed feed, fertilizer and other goods. A consumer co-operative, the Co-Op Grocery Store, was later established on St. George Street.⁴⁷ Dairy co-operatives had developed in

Moncton as early as 1918, the year the Farmers Co-operative Creamery Company, Ltd. was founded. In 1947, this co-operative was integrated into the Co-operative Farm Services.⁴⁸

The establishment of a study club was usually the first step towards the founding of a co-operative or a Credit Union. In the Maritimes, study clubs discussed at length the philosophy of co-operation as a means to counteract the effects of the region's economic decline. Many Credit Unions were established in Moncton during the decade of the 1930s: the Intercolonial Credit Union (1937); the Moncton Shops (I.C.R.) Credit Union (1938); The Moncton Civil Servants Credit Union (1938); the Typo Credit Union (1938); the Esco Credit Union (1938); the Moncton Teachers' Credit Union (1939); and the Royal Credit Union (1939). Credit Unions in surrounding towns and villages were also founded during this period: the Dieppe Credit Union (1938); the St. Anselme Credit Union (1941); and the Lewisville Credit Union (1941).⁴⁹ By 1940, Credit Unions in New Brunswick had 16,509 members, and total assets totalled \$377,379. ⁵⁰

The railway continued to play an essential role in the city's economic development. The first decades of the twentieth century were, none the less, times of upheaval for the railway in Moncton. The railway shops and buildings on West Main Street were nearly all destroyed by fire in 1906. In spite of political pressure to have them built elsewhere, they were rebuilt in

Moncton; facilities were larger than before, and resituated on Pacific Avenue, north of St. George Street.

In 1913, the Intercolonial Railway had been integrated into the Canadian Government Railways. In 1918, the Canadian Government Railways, including the Intercolonial, were integrated into the Canadian National Railways. The Royal Commission inquiring into railways and transportation in Canada had recommended integration in a report submitted in 1917:

We recommend the transfer of the Intercolonial on three practical grounds: the interest of the Maritime Provinces; the interest of the Canadian taxpayer; and the interest of the railway undertaking itself.⁵¹

At the time the Intercolonial was being absorbed into the Canadian National Railways, its headquarters were relocated in Toronto, and the railway was now administered from that city. In 1922, however, the administration of the C.N.R. was divided into five regions, and Moncton became the railway headquarters for the Atlantic Region, which comprised the three Maritime Provinces and the Gaspé peninsula of Quebec.⁵² Its facilities in the west end of the city had expanded, and now consisted of: an erecting shop for the servicing of locomotives; a boiler shop; a power house; a blacksmith shop; a machine shop; a passenger shop; a cabinet shop/planing mill; a sheet metal shop; an electrical and battery shop; a passenger car paint shop; a freight car planing mill; a freight car repair shop; an air brake repair shop; and a brass

moulding shop. The railway facilities also included a Stores Department, a drafting department shop office, and a reclamation plant, as well as an apprentice instruction school which, in 1927, had 137 enrolments.⁵³ After the centralization of the railway systems into the CNR, work began on an engine house and terminal, costing one million dollars.⁵⁴ The latter consisted of: machine shop, power house, stores, resthouse, offices, coaling plant and roundhouse, all situated at the west end of the yards south of Main Street.

The Canadian railway system's administrative changes brought uncertainty to Moncton. In 1921, the C.N.R. planned to lay-off 32% of its Moncton shop employees. Once this proposal was made public, Moncton Mayor A.C. Chapman and the members of City Council immediately protested to D.B. Hannah, the C.N.R.'s General Manager in Toronto. Telegrams were also sent to the Prime Minister, Arthur Meighan, and to Senator J.A. McDonald. A.B. Copp, M.P. for Westmorland, F.B. McCurdy, the Minister of Public Works, and R.W. Wigmore, the Minister of Customs, received the following telegram:

Why this discharge of thousands of working men connected with the C.N. Railway while high paid officials and over crowded offices in Toronto and elsewhere is [sic] not disturbed[?] our confederation birthright[,] the Intercolonial Railway[,] has been stolen from us[.] while the consideration may not be a mess of pottage[,] it is certainly hitched up with a mess of some kind[.] it is time for our Public men to do something to prevent these wholesale dismissals at this time of depression[.] please try and do something to have the services of these men retained[.] plenty of work for the men in the shops here.55

The post-war economic recession affected the railway industry in Moncton as it did all other industries and services. Freight shipments and passenger traffic were slow and, as a result, the railway shops were sometimes idle. Shifts were cut and men were laid off.56 In 1931, one series of lay-offs left 300 C.N.R. employees jobless.57

The integration of the railway systems throughout Canada, subsequent administrative policies, as well as post-war economic recession, dramatically reduced employment opportunities at the railways, Moncton's number one employer. In 1920, the C.N.R. employed 2,502 men and women in Moncton, but by 1930, the number was reduced to 1,960 employees. By 1938, the number of C.N.R. employees was down to 1,387, a reduction of 44.5% from 1920.58 The Second World War brought employment levels up at the Canadian National Railways in Moncton. In 1939, the Industrial Commission and Bureau of Information, set up by the City of Moncton two years earlier, reported that laid off employees of the C.N.R. shops had been re-instated, and projected an increase in

operations as a result of the war.⁵⁹ In 1941, the number of men and women employed by the C.N.R. in Moncton rose to 4,260.⁶⁰ Employment had never before attained this level.

E. R. Forbes has noted that the integration of the Intercolonial Railway into the Canadian National Railways system met resistance from Maritimers, because of the threat of increased freight rates and the loss of regional control over the railway's administration and rate-setting policies. Maritime politicians had been unable to convince federal officials that the Intercolonial was an essential tool of Confederation as guaranteed by Section 145 of the British North American Act, which proclaimed construction of the railroad as "essential to the consolidation of the Union and to the assent thereto of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick".⁶¹ Their worst fears were realized with a series of freight rate increases in 1918 and in 1920. In all, freight rates along the Intercolonial line had risen by 111% since 1916.⁶² Freight rate increases affected all Maritime businesses, particularly those who marketed outside the region. Several Moncton industries and businesses, who relied upon the railways to ship their products to markets, were also affected. The Atlantic Underwear Ltd., established in Moncton in 1912, stated in 1922 that freight rate increases dramatically reduced its ability to maintain its western markets, which represented 45% of its sales, whereas markets within the Maritime Provinces only represented 16% of its sales. They claimed that the

difference between freight rates from Moncton to Toronto, and from Hamilton to Toronto, was seventeen cents on one dozen woolen shirts in 1912, whereas in 1922 the difference was thirty cents. Another business cited as being negatively affected by the freight rate increases was J.D. Marven, Ltd.⁶³

Drastic freight rate increases were politically justified by the federal government, as an attempt to transform the Intercolonial line into a sound commercial venture. Freight rate increases may have had the opposite effect, however. During the forty years the Intercolonial had been administered locally, it had accumulated a total net operating deficit of approximately \$6 million.⁶⁴ It had adapted to regional requirements, and its freight traffic was an important part of its revenue generating capacities. Only one year after establishment of the Canadian National Railways system, its Atlantic section's operating deficit was \$5 million. Forbes attributes the Atlantic sector's debt to the new rate schedules and to the rigidity in its operations, which resulted in reduced freight traffic.⁶⁵

The integration of the Intercolonial into the C.N.R. system was undoubtedly one of the issues which sparked the Maritime Rights Movement. That movement focussed on revealing Maritime grievances to the rest of the country. The railway grievance was the most important, certainly the one most vocalized, within the movement. Maritime Rights advocated separation of the

Intercolonial from the C.N.R., or at the very least, creation of a separate unit sufficiently independent to establish rates and administer the eastern line in accordance with regional requirements of local trade. Implementing this policy implied restoration of the railway's headquarters in Moncton.

The Maritime Rights Movement flirted with strategies of secession and repeal, which became familiar themes throughout the three provinces.⁶⁶ Actual repeal, be it secession or union of the Maritime Provinces, was less important than negotiations for better terms. Not surprisingly, Moncton City Council supported the notion of Maritime union. At a City Council meeting dated April 14, 1921 a motion was carried that Moncton City Council "heartedly approves of the proposed Union of the Maritime Provinces."⁶⁷ No further discussions were held on this issue by City Council, which seems to support Forbes' conviction that this particular issue was, for the most part, a tactic to pressure the federal government into changing its policies.⁶⁸

In 1926, Mackenzie King established the Royal Commission on Maritime Claims, commonly referred to as the Duncan Commission after its chief Commissioner, Sir Andrew Rae Duncan, to study Maritime grievances. It recognized that the chaotic nature of the subsidy system in Canada and the rigid federal railway policy had diminished the Maritime Provinces' ability to deal with national economic transformations. Maritime politicians and

businessmen's initial enthusiasm with the recommendations of the Commission was quickly dampened, as it became evident that some recommendations would not be acted upon, while others were only implemented as temporary measures.⁶⁹ Consequently, Dominion-provincial relations continued to deteriorate. In the Maritime Provinces, regional concerns increased as grievances multiplied. In 1934, the province of Nova Scotia set up a Royal Commission to inquire into the provincial economy, and, more specifically, the fiscal, financial and trade relations between the Dominion and that province.⁷⁰ This was followed, in 1938, by a federally-appointed Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial relations, which studied issues affecting the two levels of government.⁷¹

The government of New Brunswick submitted recommendations to the federal Commission in April, 1938. It reiterated those regional grievances which had been articulated for decades:

The operation of Dominion policies, especially with reference to the tariff and the excessive burdens of freight and transportation, (...) have so depleted the resources of the inhabitants that they are unable to provide for themselves a standard of living and social services comparable with those in other provinces.⁷²

New Brunswick officials clearly believed that federal policies, particularly tariffs, freight rates, and other transportation policies, had resulted in the centralization of the country's industries and financial institutions in Ontario and Quebec. They considered that the most practical method of compensating

New Brunswick was to adjust freight rates on shipments to and from the province.⁷³

The New Brunswick brief argued that since federal union in 1867, the federal government had failed to fulfill all of its obligations regarding rail transportation, the development of Maritime ports into national ports, and the encouragement of east-west trading patterns. In order to carry out the design of Confederation, it was essential that the Intercolonial's administration be relocated in Moncton; that the federal government seek to encourage industries in New Brunswick; and that it enable New Brunswick products to be competitive.⁷⁴ The province also recommended development of the ports of Saint John and Halifax as truly national ports. New Brunswick's brief also recommended fiscal need, rather than population, as the basis for determining Grants-in-Aid. It noted the province's financial burden was increased as a result of the high cost of education, public health, and highway construction. New Brunswick denounced the federal government's interference in direct taxation, as the B.N.A. Act had reserved this form of taxation for the provinces.⁷⁵

The Great Depression had confirmed the need for more equitable fiscal arrangements between levels of government. Indeed, a concerted effort from each level of government was required to relieve the economic stress. Yet the federal relief

programmes were based on matching grant formulas, and the more meagre financial resources of the Maritime Provinces did not permit them to commit a large percentage of their funds to these programmes. As a result, only 3.3% of the total \$463,667,018. distributed among the provinces during the decade of the 1930s was provided to the Maritimes. Federal relief loans to the Maritimes followed the same pattern of inverse relationship between poverty and participation in federal programmes.⁷⁶ E. Forbes has stated that only Quebec and Ontario were readily able to match federal relief grants, and concluded that:

The process of metropolitan consolidation which led to the concentration of manufacturing, wholesaling and financial institutions in southern Ontario and Quebec also hived much of the taxable resources of the nation within the two central provinces.⁷⁷

The municipal government in Moncton responded to the numerous demands for relief in the same manner as other municipalities throughout the country. In April, 1931 Mayor C.H. Blakeny authorized municipal aid to provide clothing, food, rent and mortgage payments to the unemployed.⁷⁸ The municipal government traditionally administered aid to the poor and unemployed through the Alms House Commission, established since 1885.⁷⁹ During the depression years, the Commission was headed by J. Telesphore Cormier, and included Mrs. A.E. Killam and George A. Robertson. During the economic crisis, the Alms House Commission was temporarily transformed into the Relief and

Welfare Bureau, administered by the members of the commission and four members of City Council.⁸⁰

The amount of direct aid funded by the municipality to relieve economic stress increased throughout the depression years, as Table X indicates.

Table X

Expenditures, Direct Relief, City of Moncton, 1932-1935.*

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total expenditures</u>	<u>Govt receipts</u>	<u>Amounts unprovided for</u>
1932	\$52,078.68	\$15,240.50	\$36,838.18
1933	\$92,269.67	\$58,050.30	\$34,219.37
1934	\$67,822.84	\$36,484.50	\$31,338.34
1935	\$49,189.79	-----	\$49,189.79
1936	\$49,241.05	-----	\$49,241.05
Total	\$310,602.03	\$109,775.30	\$200,826.73

* Source: P.A.N.B., Mmn/5/22/1 D4 and Mmn5/22/2 D4: City of Moncton Records, Correspondance, City Clerk, Direct Relief. Municipal reports, dated 1934 and 1936. Figures for 1934 and 1935 cover only the first eight months of the calendar year. Figures for 1936 cover only the first seven months.

Although the documentation is incomplete, Table X does show that in 1933 the municipal government increased its direct aid to the poor and unemployed in the city from the previous year. The

incomplete financial statements provided for 1934, 1935, and 1936 would seem to indicate important annual levels of municipal spending for those years as well. Table X also indicates the level of assistance provided by the provincial government under the heading of **Government receipts**. The third column indicates the amounts not covered by provincial funds. The city met a portion of the expenditures not covered by provincial funding by issuing \$63,000. in bonds between 1932 and 1934.⁸¹

Figures provided by the city indicate that in July, 1936, 294 heads of families, and their 1,147 dependants were receiving direct relief. Of this number, 158 heads of families, and their 512 dependants were english-speaking, while 172 heads of families, and their 635 dependants were french-speaking citizens.⁸² Considering the fact that french-speaking citizens composed only a third of the city's population, the numbers indicate that they were relying to a larger extent on Direct Relief as a measure to alleviate hard times than their english-speaking counterparts.

In September, 1932 the provincial government assumed two thirds of direct relief expenditures for all municipalities and towns in New Brunswick. Allowable expenditures included food, fuel, shelter, and clothing, but excluded hospital and medical fees.⁸³ As provincial aid was to end by May, 1933, the program was obviously intended as a very temporary measure. However,

continuing economic hardship and high levels of unemployment forced the provincial government to extend the program past its original deadline. Throughout the summer, allowable expenditures were reduced to indispensable food articles.⁸⁴ In November, 1933 the policy was once again expanded to allow food, fuel and shelter.⁸⁵

Although the provincial government indicated its intention to phase out relief assistance in May, 1936, payments to municipalities continued through August of that year.⁸⁶ Although municipal authorities continued to press both the provincial and federal governments to alleviate the stress of economic recession and the resulting municipal debts, the provincial program was discontinued.⁸⁷ The federal government had officially terminated its direct relief programmes in August, 1934, and implemented instead a new programme of grants-in-aid which was based on need and the province's ability to deal with economic problems.⁸⁸

Moncton established a public works program, which it considered the best solution to employment problems. Programs, such as road construction and paving, were only made available to those Moncton residents who were unemployed.⁸⁹ Road construction had the advantage of providing a much needed service, for roads in Moncton were notoriously bad. Public works programs turned out to be more costly than direct public relief funding. The City of Moncton officially terminated its public works policy in

April, 1934. At that time, restrictions were applied on direct relief allowances. Food allowances were reduced by 20%, and single people now had to report to the Municipal Home in order to qualify.⁹⁰ By the summer of 1934, Moncton had disbanded the special commission dealing with direct relief, and once again the Alms House Commission took the responsibility for dealing with the city's poor and unemployed.⁹¹

Urban development was necessarily curtailed by the economic hardships affecting public purses as they did private incomes. No municipal buildings were constructed during this decade. However, the city continued to maintain its interest in the residents and in the workers' welfare. In one contract awarded to the Thomas Stephen Company in 1937, the city projected the construction of 20,000 square yards of bituminous paving. The contract stipulated that wages were to be guaranteed at thirty cents an hour, a five cent an hour increase over the going rate. Portions of King Street Extension, as well as Lewis, Bacon, Robinson, Albert, Cornhill, Mountain Road, Lutz and St. George Streets were paved or repaired.⁹²

The city remained committed to its continued development, and optimistic for its future. Although cognizant of the limitations of their economic potential, the city's public officials and business associations continued to press its advantages. The Greater Moncton Chamber of Commerce, founded in

1891, remained active throughout this period. Local businessmen such as C.H. Blakeny and J.F. Parsons, and including one Acadian businessman, B.A. Bourgeois, promoted the city's economic potential through this lobbying institution.⁹³ In 1937, Mayor McMonacle and City Council established an Industrial Commission and Bureau of Information, in an attempt to attract both industry and tourism to Moncton.⁹⁴

During the period 1914 to 1937, Moncton's role as an industrializing center was replaced by distribution functions. The city's development was negatively affected by the integration of the Intercolonial Railway into the Canadian National Railways. Apart from the transfer of headquarters to Toronto, the new national system of railways brought about freight rate increases, which affected the entire region's ability to compete effectively with Central Canadian producers. Early in the 1920s, the Maritime Rights Movement addressed the issue of freight rates, as well as other federal policies which were blamed for the region's poor economic performance.

The post-war recession was another factor influencing social and economic transformations within the city. Moncton witnessed the multiplication of community financed assistance for target groups, such as children, as well as collective efforts to strengthen community services. The depressed economy eventually required the municipal government to bestow financial relief to

its unemployed citizens, either by direct relief or by public works programs, though responsibility for that was shared with other levels of government as well.

Throughout this period, the railway remained the city's greatest economic asset, and businessmen and politicians pushed its potential to its limits. The C.N.R. continued to be Moncton's largest employer, even though lay-offs were a frequent occurrence. The presence of the railway facilities in Moncton encouraged development of the city's distribution functions. Moncton's role as a distribution center would continue to grow in following decades.

Community co-operation in business efforts continued to feed the city's economy, as in the case of the Central Trust Company of Canada, founded in 1920. As in previous decades, Moncton's major businessmen and industrialists were also actively involved in the community's social and political framework. As a group, they were best suited to redirect the community's potential for growth to economic transformations occurring throughout the region. Their vision of the community's development was also realistic; they recognized the need to adapt to national transportation policies which negatively affected Moncton. Their experience permitted them to develop new economic goals for the community, largely based on the railway's potential and adaptability, and this was one reason for Moncton's ability to

cope with the economic and social challenges of this period.

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Notes

Chapter 3

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39. Ibid., p. 281.
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84. The list noted that only potatoes, teas, sugar, flour, molasses, rolled oats, pork, beef, fish, salt, butter, lard, beans and yeast cakes were allowed under the new policy. See letter dated August 28, 1933 from department of Works. P.A.N.B., Mmn/15/22/1. D4. City of Moncton Records. Correspondance, City Clerk.
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86. D.P. Lemon, op. cit., pp. 41-42.
87. A Dominion Conference was held in Montreal in March, 1935, to which all leading municipalities sent delegates. A resolution was unanimously accepted which stated that the Dominion Government should immediately take over the entire cost of unemployment relief throughout Canada. In October, 1936, the cities of Saint John and Moncton passed resolutions, requesting that the Government of New Brunswick extend the direct relief agreement beyond the agreed time limit. P.A.N.B., Mmn/5/22/1. D4. City of Moncton Records. Correspondance, City Clerk.
88. E. Forbes, "Cutting the Pie Into Smaller Pieces", op. cit., p. 51.
89. L. A. Machum, op. cit., p. 332.
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Chapter 4

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By 1914, Moncton's french-speaking population had established their roots within the community. They constituted an important linguistic minority. Even more importantly, their involvement in the community was recognized by the anglophone majority.

Acadians were still a relatively minor factor in the community's overall economic development. There were few individual examples of francophone entrepreneurial endeavours. Rather, Moncton Acadians provided an important and readily available source of manpower for the new industries and businesses within the city. Collectively however, the Acadians had made their mark on the community, for the Société l'Assomption constituted an important financial institution. Although its head offices were established in Moncton, its financial role was not limited to the city, but extended to francophone members throughout Acadian villages and towns of all Maritime Provinces.

Acadians had achieved some success in the area of politics. At the level of municipal politics, four Acadians had been elected Aldermen, and one was elected Alderman-at-Large for

several years running. Westmorland County had elected four Acadians to the provincial legislature, although none of these were residents of Moncton. At the level of federal politics, Acadians were most successful in the Senate. In all, three Acadians had been appointed to the upper house. In 1935, Antoine-J. Léger, a Moncton lawyer, became the fourth Acadian appointed to the Senate.¹

Moncton Acadians were also successful in their attempts to obtain a separate French parish. *L'Assomption* parish was founded in 1914, two years after the nomination of the first Acadian bishop, Edouard LeBlanc, to the St. John Diocese.² Francophones continued the struggle to defend their rights against the established Irish Catholic population in Moncton.

Between 1914 and 1937, french-speaking Monctonians worked at consolidating their position within the community at all levels, while Acadian institutions and societies attempted to reinforce Moncton's role from a nationalist perspective. Their efforts met with some successes and some failures. While the Acadian group in Moncton was continuing the process of integration into the urban environment, the larger Acadian community was adapting to events and policies which affected the region at all levels. Acadians felt the consequences of these external influences, and attempted to adjust to them.

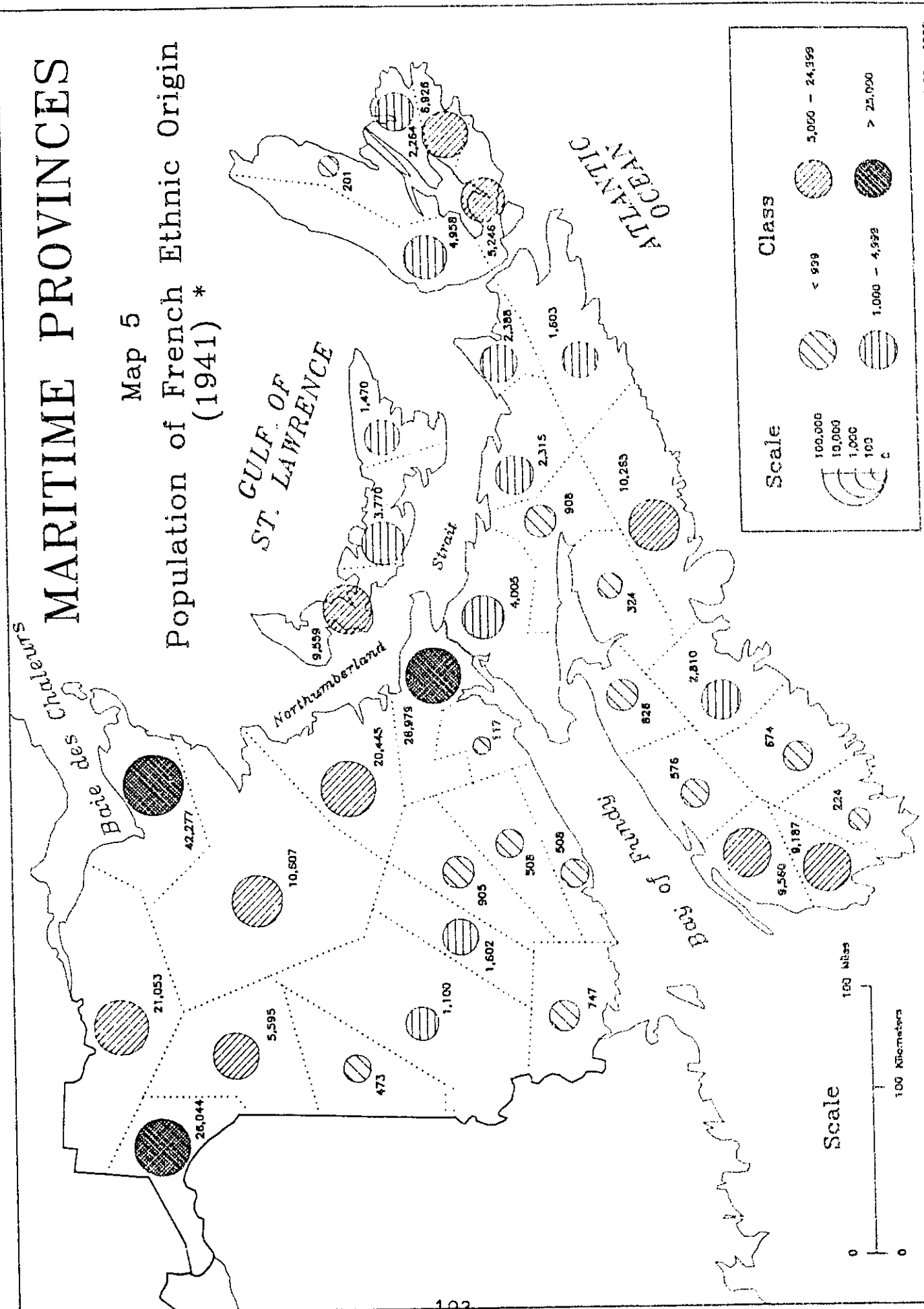
This chapter deals with the changes affecting Moncton's Acadian population during the period from 1914 to 1937. We will identify those policies which had a negative effect on the development of the Maritime Provinces, including Moncton, and assess the general state of economic depression throughout the region, which limited the degree of success of Acadian endeavours. We will also assess Moncton's influence in the evolving Acadian society within the Maritime Provinces, since Moncton's role as a center of Acadian institutions and leadership was confirmed during this period.

During the period from 1911 to 1941, the population of French ethnic origin within the Maritime Provinces grew by 49.8%, from 163,474 to 244,993 people. People of all other ethnic origins sustained an increase of only 14.3%, from 774,481 to 885,417 people.³ Settlement patterns for Acadians throughout the Maritime Provinces altered very little during this period. Map 5 shows Acadian population patterns from the 1941 census statistics. When compared to population statistics for 1871 and 1911, as provided by maps 3 and 4 in chapter two, it becomes evident that Acadians continued to consolidate their presence in most of the areas/counties already settled by 1871.

MARITIME PROVINCES

Map 5

Population of French Ethnic Origin
(1941) *



Scale

100,000
10,000
1,000
100
C

Class	Scale
< 999	100,000
1,000 - 4,999	10,000
5,000 - 24,999	1,000
> 25,000	100

Scale

0 100 Miles

0 100 Kilometers

Source: Government of Canada, Census, 1941.

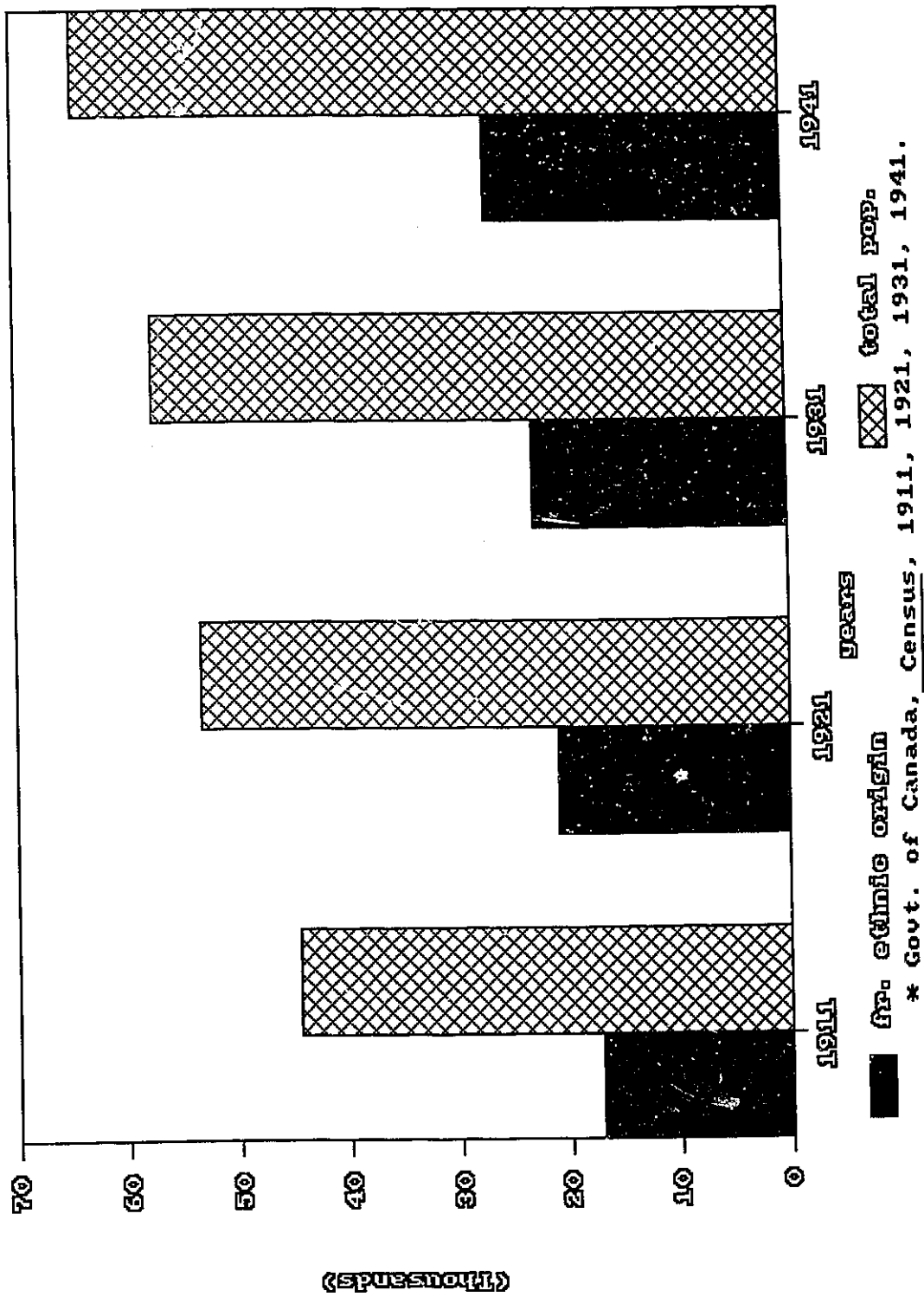
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The highest level of population growth for people of French ethnic origin occurred in New Brunswick which grew by 66.2% between 1911 and 1941, from 98,611 to 163,934 people. Population statistics for all other ethnic origins rose only slightly in the province, from 253,278 to 293,467 people, or 15.8%. The proportion of New Brunswick population stating French as its ethnic origin rose from 21.8% in 1911 to 35.8% in 1941.⁴ Maps 4 and 5 indicate that Kent, Gloucester, Restigouche, Victoria, Madawaska and Westmorland were the New Brunswick counties most densely populated by francophones.

The trend towards urbanization continued during this period in New Brunswick. The proportion of urban population rose from 28.3% in 1911 to 31.3% in 1941. In Westmorland County, the proportion of the urban population rose from 33.4% to 45.6% during the same period.⁵

Westmorland County had a population of 44,621 people in 1911, of which 17,081, or 38.3%, were of French ethnic origin.⁶ As Figure XV shows, the proportion of people of French ethnic origin rose slightly during subsequent decades, representing 39.1% of the total population in 1921, and 40.4%, or 23,210 people, of the total population in 1931. By 1941, the county's population had increased to 64,486. The population indicating French as their ethnic origin had risen to 26,979, or 41.8% of the total population.⁷

FIGURE XV
POP. WESTMINSTER CD.
1911-1941. *



In terms of population growth, Moncton had definitely eclipsed other urbanizing centres in Westmorland County. In 1911, Moncton had 11,345 citizens, an increase of 25.6% for that decade.⁸ Sackville was the only other town in Westmorland County with more than 2,000 people in 1911, while Shediac, the county's other important francophone urban center, was stagnating, registering only 1,442 citizens in that year. Francophones constituted 74.4% of Shediac's population.⁹ Table XI shows Moncton's population growth for the period from 1911 to 1941.

Table XI

Population growth, Moncton, 1911 to 1941.*

Year	Total population	% increase	French ethnic population	% increase
1911	11,345	25.7%	3,280	42.5%
1921	17,488	54.1%	5,440	65.8%
1931	20,689	18.3%	6,848	25.8%
1941	22,763	10.0%	7,644	11.6%

*Source: J.-C. Vernex, Les francophones du Nouveau-Brunswick, Volume II, 1978, Annexe V., p. 21 and Govt. of Canada, Census, 1921, 1931, and 1941.

The rate of growth for the decade from 1911 to 1921 is particularly notable. In fact, Moncton's population growth was

never more significant than during this ten year period.¹⁰ The rate of population growth diminished somewhat during the next two decades, although Moncton continued to witness increases.

Table XI also indicates Moncton's francophone population substantially increasing during this period. The rate of growth of the french-speaking element was most notable during the first decade. The francophone population rose from 3,280 to 5,440 people, an increase of 65.8%. For each of the subsequent decades, Moncton's francophone population grew at a faster rate than that of all other ethnic groups combined. Since 1941, Moncton's francophone population base has maintained a level of growth proportionate to other ethnic groups in the city, varying between 32.2% and 37.9% of the total population.¹¹

In spite of the Acadian clergy's campaigns against the urban environment, francophones had migrated to Moncton. Acadian leaders, particularly in south-eastern New Brunswick, having recognized Moncton's potential for development, now sought to profit from it from a national perspective. This resulted in the physical concentration of institutions and societies which best represented their values and their strengths.

Judging from the published census statistics, Acadians, as well as people of other ethnic origins, continued to migrate in large numbers to the city in search of employment. Francophones

from surrounding areas were attracted by employment opportunities within the city, even during periods of economic recession. P. A. Sloat, studying the effect of the depression years on the francophone population of Kent County, situated immediately north of Westmorland County, for the decade from 1929 to 1939, concluded:

Le comté de Kent est assez pauvre et n'a pas d'industries ni de villes importantes. Donc, il n'y avait rien que la terre et la pêche pour y retenir les gens, de sorte que, pendant la crise de 1929 à 1939, beaucoup d'Acadiens quittèrent ce comté pour aller s'établir aux Etats-Unis, ou dans les villes du Nouveau-Brunswick, surtout à Moncton, où la Compagnie du Chemin de Fer Canadienne Nationale avait besoin de centaines d'hommes. Si la population de la ville de Moncton a monté si vite, c'est aux dépens des comtés environnants, surtout de celui de Kent.¹²

New trends in population movements were occurring, mostly because of transformations affecting the transportation sector. The automobile now permitted people to live in one community while working in another. The common usage of railways, such as the Moncton and Bouctouche Railway, meant that Moncton was easily accessible from areas outside the bordering communities. P.A. Sloat suggests that since Kent County was only eighteen miles from Moncton, Kent residents regularly commuted.¹³ Moncton's hinterland was expanding.

Employment opportunities that were, in most cases, created by a growing urban environment and by Moncton's economic functions attracted both francophones and anglophones:

The Acadians were drawn to Moncton from the surrounding small farms and the smaller towns on the east coast and north shore by opportunities to work for the I.C.R. and in the smaller industries then established, providing skilled and faithful workers. Others set themselves up in various businesses, usually small but some quite large retail stores. Girls and women worked as household servants...¹⁴

Moncton's economic potential in relationship to its hinterland was never fully developed. By 1920, the city, as well as the Maritime Provinces, were affected by economic recession. S.A. Saunders argues that the recession affecting the region during that particular decade was severe, and explains why the Maritimes did not suffer more than it did from the economic depression of the 1930s.¹⁵ Industrial stagnation was one of the factors negatively affecting the region's economic performance during the 1920s. Deindustrialization was occurring throughout the entire Maritime Provinces, including Moncton. This city had ceased to be an industrializing center in the early 1920s.

Since it still housed the railway, Moncton's economic position may still have seemed more promising than that of other urban centers within the region. By the 1920s, the importance of the railway to Moncton's economy had been diminished by the Intercolonial's integration into the national system of railways.

This integration had been accompanied by a subsequent move of the administrative headquarters to Toronto. This structural reorganization seriously limited Moncton's role in the railway's policy-making process in the Atlantic region. Moncton retained its administrative role in passenger service, freight traffic, warehousing, and car and engine repairs. This continued to feed the city's economy in terms of employment opportunities. The promise of employment was curtailed by lay-offs at the Moncton shops and warehouses, a common occurrence throughout the 1920s and 1930s. The railway's potential to generate industrial and commercial development within the city and the region was seriously affected by the centralization of the transportation system, and subsequent changes in the freight rate structure.

The presence of the railway facilities permitted the redirection of Moncton's economy after the process of deindustrialization had begun. Its new role was that of a distribution center for the Atlantic region. Companies that marketed Canada-wide, such as T.E. Eaton, Kraft Canada, and Massey-Harris Ltd., built warehouses in the city and used the railways extensively to store and transport their products to their final destination. Moncton benefitted economically, as these new employment opportunities compensated to some extent for the loss of employment due to the restructuring of the railway system.

The urban environment continued to be shunned by Acadian nationalists as a threat to the survival of the francophone community. Acadian leaders continued to promote the agrarian lifestyle as the safest means of guarding the Acadian culture from undesirable linguistic and religious influences. Among the most vocal and active nationalists were the clergy. They lobbied for the construction of new roads and the founding of towns and villages, in an attempt to preserve the francophones' cultural identity. Yet the City of Moncton fulfilled certain needs of the modernizing Acadian society. By 1914, the city had become the Acadian center for institutional and national activism, a role which was confirmed during the period from 1914 to 1937:

Ainsi les aspirations métropolitaines de Moncton, le fait que les principales institutions acadiennes y ont leur siège, décontent-ils uniquement d'une erreur de jugement de la classe clérico-professionnelle ou sont-ils le résultat de l'évolution démographique et du poids économique du Sud-Est par rapport au Nord-Est?¹⁶

Moncton's development as a francophone center has caused much controversy among authors. Michel Roy, an Acadian lawyer and author of two essays on the Acadian fact in the Maritime Provinces, sees Moncton's francophone institutional development as an attempt by a self-serving elite to assert its power over the majority of its Acadian population.¹⁷ Roy asserts that Moncton's development as an Acadian center with metropolitan aspirations was a mistake on the part of the Acadian leadership. He maintains that the error was in the choice of Moncton, for the

city was physically cut-off from Acadia's northern heartland, the Bay of Chaleurs. Roy adds that Acadian urban development should have been promoted further along the north-eastern coast of New Brunswick.¹⁸ Since Acadian nationalists were promoting colonization projects in the interior of the province, the possibility of a francophone urban center along the coast of the Bay of Chaleurs was unlikely. In Roy's opinion, the nationalists' efforts resulted in the development of Moncton as the center of Acadian activism:

Cette persistance de l'establishment acadien à vouloir ériger Moncton en capitale de l'Acadie prouve assez qu'une fausse interprétation de l'histoire entraîne souvent les conséquences les plus néfastes. Dans le cas qui nous occupe on voit une population à caractère français, celle du Nord de la province et de la frontière québécoise, perdre un poids considérable sous l'action diluante et parfois franchement dissolvante d'une prétendue capitale qui n'est après tout qu'un autre produit des rêves délirantes de nos curés-historiens.¹⁹

Since Moncton's Acadian element retained a minority status, the city's larger potential as a francophone metropolitan center seemed compromised. Faced with the choice of dominance of the anglophone majority within the urban environment, or continued isolation from anglicizing influences, Roy chose the latter:

...si on avait un avenir, il fallait s'installer là où l'isolement nous garantissait pour un temps la majorité, et le voisinage du Québec un adossement solide et durable.²⁰

Léon Thériault's political essay, entitled La question du pouvoir en Acadie, also identifies Moncton as an essentially anglophone city, and rejects its national aspirations:

Etre Acadien à Moncton, c'est vivre en marge de la société monctonienne, c'est vivre comme dans un ghetto, dans la contrainte perpétuelle. C'est ce qui arrive lorsqu'une minorité s'installe dans le territoire de la majorité.

...Moncton ne cessera pas d'être une ville somme toute anglophone, une ville où les Acadiens seront minoritaires. Or j'estime que ce n'est pas encore suffisant pour que l'on y installe nos sièges sociaux acadiens.²¹

In his thesis, entitled Le territoire pilote du Nouveau-Brunswick ou les blocages culturels au développement économique, Alain Evan attempts to analyze the difficulties facing Moncton's metropolitan aspirations because of its dual linguistic status:

Moncton c'est le Sud-Est, le dernier bastion français mais aussi le plus menacé. C'est le centre des grandes institutions acadiennes: l'archevêché, la société l'Assomption, la Société Nationale des Acadiens, l'Université, l'Ecole Normale, etc...Pour les autres régions c'est "la gang" de Moncton qui tente de tout diriger alors qu'ils se trouvent en milieu anglais, parlent moins français, sont plus compromis que ceux du Nord, qui sont les vrais, les purs. Plus menacés, les gens de la région de Moncton dont le centre était autrefois Memramcook, ont toujours eu des leaders plus dynamiques au niveau "national".²²

The process of development from a community to an urban center required certain commercial and industrial functions. There were no francophone communities which could boast of any functions that extended beyond the physical limits of the

community, and which served as a motor to urban development and economic prosperity. The Acadian community did not have a commercial or industrial elite which could command the development of urban functions:

Si une certaine concentration démographique est nécessaire à la genèse d'une ville, est-ce une condition suffisante? La ville ne naît-elle pas d'une fonction (carrefour commercial, centre administratif, centre industriel)? Comme les anglophones dominaient massivement les fonctions commerciales et industrielles, on peut douter que les villes aient pu être autrement que de culture anglo-saxonne.²³

It is true that Moncton remained an essentially anglophone city with a definite anglophone identity, apparently in perpetual conflict with the goals of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Acadian national discourse. But the modernizing Acadian society required an urban metropolitan center, and the city's linguistic duality was not taken into account. Moncton became the institutional center of the Acadian cultural "renaissance", for it was the headquarters of the *Société nationale l'Assomption*. It also fulfilled a much larger role. Moncton was the nucleus of Acadian economic influence, because it was the headquarters of the *Société l'Assomption*. It was the center of Acadian influence within the Catholic Church, for it became the seat of an archdiocese in 1937. Furthermore, it was in the process of becoming the center of francophone intellectual development, because of the shift of Saint-Joseph College from

Memramcook to Moncton. Therefore, the city truly did fulfill its francophone metropolitan aspirations.

As we have already stated, the linguistic duality of the city did not detract Acadians from integrating into the community. Acculturation to the urban ecological system and a familiarization with the anglophone culture diminished the Acadians' fears of alienation and assimilation. Within the city, Acadians were now integrated into the capitalist economic system. Francophones as well as anglophones participated as fully as they were able in the development of its industries, shops and services, as well as in its urban, political, social and economic development.

Francophones founded several modest commercial establishments in the city. The Moncton Fish Market, on the corner of Main and Pleasant Streets, was owned by A.L. Comeau. Edgar T. LeBlanc founded the Moncton Plumbing and Supply Company in 1923. This business remained family owned, as the sons took over the company in 1957. In 1937, Francis Breau bought the Léger Drug Store, which became the Acadia Drug Store.²⁴

Acadians were also involved in bolder, more substantial commercial and industrial pursuits. The Honourable A.D. Richard of Dorchester, member of the provincial legislature for Westmorland County, participated in the efforts to locate and

market natural gas for the lighting and heating requirements of Moncton residents. Mineral, oil and gas deposits had been located as early as 1860 in Albert County. Richard occupied the position of Vice-President of the New Brunswick Petroleum Company, later renamed the Maritime Oilfields, which benefitted from investments of British capital. Pipelines were laid to Moncton and Hillsborough and installations prepared for distribution of natural gas to consumers. In Moncton, the gas was distributed by the Moncton Tramways, Electricity and Gas Company.²⁵ Natural gas supplies were considered a boost to Moncton's economic development, as industries were attracted by this source of power and by the quality of the Albert County gas deposits.

These individual efforts by Moncton's francophones testify to Acadian involvement and interest in the city's future development. Other individual endeavours in all types of businesses and industries continued to be hampered by the lack of investment capital among most Acadians. Collectively, Acadians were in a better position to make an impression on both the economic development of the city, and on the larger Acadian community of the Maritime Provinces. Their active participation in the co-operative movement testifies to this collective strength.

The co-operative movement in the Maritime Provinces had developed during the latter years of the First World War, in response to the downward trend in the region's economy. The interwar years were a period of social activism throughout the Maritime Provinces. The co-operative movement was an important manifestation of the collective effort to provide a moral economic framework for all levels of society. The popularization of social activism in economic pursuits was not particular to the francophone population of the Maritime Provinces. Both ethnic groups worked to promote economic involvement through the various consumer and producer co-operatives, Credit Unions, and **Caisses Populaires**. Francophone nationalists, especially the clergy, promoted the ideals of economic co-operation and social reform in Acadian communities, and particularly in New Brunswick, where the majority of Acadians resided. Archbishop Melanson of Moncton led the clergy's involvement within his Archdiocese.

Co-operative efforts developed at this time in Moncton responded to the needs of both francophones and anglophones. In 1937, the Moncton Group Hospital Service Commission was founded as part of a larger social commitment to improve the community's welfare. Membership grew rapidly in this co-operative effort: in 1941, there were 1,894 members and, a year later, 2,392 members. By 1943, there were 4,345 members. That same year, the Commission's administration consisted of: R.P. Dickson, President; J.A. Blanchard, Vice-President; W.B. Logan, Treasurer;

E.A. Keyes, Secretary; and J.A. Godfrey and C.A. Melanson, Directors.²⁶ In view of the continuing lagging economy, and despite the fact that membership required the payment of dues for medical coverage, the rapid growth in membership seems to indicate the community's need for this type of co-operative effort.

The first producer co-operative in Moncton was the Farmers' Co-operative Creamery Company, founded in 1918. The internal administrative framework of this particular co-operative testifies to the dual ethnic nature of Moncton society. Between 1910 and 1927, the co-operative's first managers were anglophone, but three francophones held this position for the period from 1927 to 1944. In 1947, the Farmers' Co-operative Creamery Company was integrated into the larger Co-operative Farm Services.²⁷

Credit Unions were another very popular form of economic co-operation. The city and its outlying areas witnessed the founding of a number of Credit Unions in the 1930s, among which can be counted three credit unions serving the francophone community: the Dieppe Credit Union, founded in 1938; the St. Anselme Credit Union, established in 1941; and the Notre-Dame-de-Grace Credit Union, founded in 1945.²⁸ This form of *petite épargne*, and the channelling of savings into investment and consumer capital, was also occurring in other francophone centers

throughout the Maritimes. The first Acadian **Caisse Populaire** was founded in 1937 at Petit Rocher, New Brunswick, and served the rural farmers and fishermen of northern New Brunswick.²⁹ The first **Caisse Populaire** in Moncton was founded in 1944.³⁰ The following year, there were 75 **Caisses Populaires** throughout the Maritime Provinces.³¹

By the early 1940s, a rift had developed between the anglophone Credit Unions and the francophone **Caisses Populaires**, which were both united under the New Brunswick League of Credit Unions. The nature of the disagreement is difficult to identify, and appears to stem from differences in objectives of both ethnic groups within the League. Francophones involved at this time in the Caisse Populaire movement included: Martin Légère, provincial Auditor; Théophile Poirier, President of the provincial league; Father Livain Chiasson, parish priest of Shippagan; and Father Clément Cormier, President of the **Collège Saint-Joseph** in Memramcook.³² Since the rift appeared irreconcilable, the francophone element of the League of Credit Unions established a committee to reorganize the League:

Notre comité s'est fait un devoir de rechercher en toute objectivité les causes profondes de la déplorable crise qui a menacé tout notre mouvement; il est d'avis que nous aurions tort de ne pas avoir assez de réalisme pour tenir compte de divergences profondes qui distinguent les deux principaux groupes ethniques intéressés.³³

Monseigneur Camille LeBlanc, who had established the first fishermen's co-operative, in Shemogue, New Brunswick, in 1931, and father Clément Cormier, who led the Collège Saint-Joseph's involvement in the co-operative movement, promoted the fusion of the **Caisses Populaires** within the **Fédération des Caisses Populaires Acadiennes**.³⁴ The federation was founded in 1945, and its new headquarters were established in Caraquet, Gloucester County. In the words of one analyst of the francophone fact in New Brunswick:

Les chefs "patriotes" et le clergé avaient ainsi permis aux francophones de réaliser un certain nombre de progrès dans la reconnaissance de leurs droits culturels et politiques tout en les dotant d'une solide organisation financière.³⁵

The clergy in the Maritime Provinces was instrumental in the propagation of the social ideology of co-operation, which was the basis of the Credit Union movement.³⁶ In Acadian centers throughout the region, priests were active in establishing Credit Unions and, later, **Caisses Populaires**. The Acadian hierarchy within the Catholic Church encouraged their subordinates at the parish level to participate in the movement:

Nos Evêques tant de langue anglaise que française se sont faits par leurs prêtres les propagandistes des **Caisses Populaires**. Pour ne parler que de Son Excellence Monseigneur l'Archevêque de Moncton, disons que malgré ses multiples occupations, il s'intéresse fort à la chose.³⁷

The economic recession affected farmers as it did the industrial workforce. The Archbishop of Moncton expressed concern for the urban workers' material and moral state, as well as for the rural producers' livelihood. By encouraging the Acadian clergy's involvement in all forms of co-operation, he was attempting to alleviate some of the devastating effects of the depression years of the 1930s on the Acadian population of the Moncton Archdiocese. Mgr. Melanson appointed father Edgar LeBlanc, of the Barachois parish in south-eastern New Brunswick, propagandist of the co-operative movement for the entire Archdiocese.³⁸

Another form of collective involvement of the Acadian group in the Moncton community was the **Société l'Assomption**. Founded in 1903 in Waltham, Massachussetts, this society moved to Moncton in 1913. The hierarchy of the Catholic Church, represented by Bishop Barry in Chatham and Bishop LeBlanc in St. John, had officially proclaimed their recognition of the work of the **Société l'Assomption** in decrees dated October 12, 1914 and February 5, 1915 respectively. The Archbishop of Halifax followed suit on March 2, 1915.³⁹ The Acadian population throughout the Maritime Provinces were now actively encouraged to support this financial institution.

The **Société l'Assomption** was the most prominent francophone financial institution of the Maritime Provinces. From 1914 to

1937, the **Société l'Assomption** consolidated its position as the collective voice of the Acadian community, for it represented the concrete manifestation of Acadian entrepreneurship and success. Table XII provides a statistical overview of the progress of the Société l'Assomption from 1914 to 1939.

Table XII

Société l'Assomption.*

<u>Year</u>	<u>Assets</u>	<u>Members</u>	<u>Insurance</u>	<u>Paid Benefits</u>	<u>Education Scholarships</u>
1913	\$22,600.	7520	\$400,000.	\$100,000.	-----
1920	\$100,625.	5293	\$1,495,000.	\$388,230.	\$47,159.
1930	\$419,821.	10,942	\$3,971,887.	\$636,704.	\$118,745.
1939	\$1,080,354.	15,332	\$10,337,072.	\$1,043,679.	\$191,685.

*Source: Rapport financier du Secrétaire Trésorier Général, 1931 and 1939, C.E.A., collection of the Société mutuelle l'Assomption. The amount of scholarships for 1913 was not stated.

D.V. Landry, a physician and politician from south-eastern New Brunswick, was a major figure in the founding of the society's first Maritime branch, in Bouctouche, New Brunswick.⁴⁰ He became the society's President from 1913 to 1919.

In 1913, the **Société l'Assomption** had a membership of 7520 Acadians. The transfer of its headquarters to Moncton that year resulted in the loss of over 2,000 members, most of whom were affiliated to the New England branches. American members disagreed on the issue of the location of the headquarters in New Brunswick. They immediately founded a new fraternal society, the **Société l'Assomption des Etats-Unis**.⁴¹

In spite of this rift within the **Société l'Assomption**, membership increased to nearly 11,000 by 1930. In 1935, the society's Secretary-Treasurer, Calixte Savoie, presented an encouraging financial report for the society, especially given the depression of the 1930s. During the period from 1930 to 1935, the value of insurance had risen to \$4,660,743. from the 1930 level of \$3,971,887., an increase of close to three quarters of a million dollars. The society's membership had also risen, from 10,920 in 1931 to 11,149 in 1935. Company assets for the period from 1931 to 1935 had increased by \$271,396., compared to an increase of \$211,824. for the period between 1927 and 1931.⁴²

Moncton branches of the **Société l'Assomption** continued to prosper and multiply. Besides the LaTour branch, three new branches were established during this period: the Marie branch in 1913; as well as the Sacré-Coeur and the Marguerite-Marie branches, both in 1917.⁴³ The LaTour branch played an important economic role within the Moncton community, and was also an

important component of the **Société l'Assomption's** overall financial success. In the Secretary-Treasurer's report, the LaTour branch was singled out as the most successful in terms of active insurance.⁴⁴ During its 25th anniversary celebrations in 1930, one orator commented on the branch's commitment to francophone progress within the Moncton community:

...qu'on nous permette de dire qu'il n'y a peut-être pas une autre succursale qui ait joué un rôle plus important dans la Société l'Assomption. Pour s'en convaincre, il suffit de jeter un regard rétrospectif sur les vingt-cinq dernières années, et noter les changements qui se sont produits, à Moncton, depuis ce temps. Bornons-nous à dire, d'une manière générale, que cette succursale a pris l'initiative, dans presque tous les mouvements, entrepris pour l'avancement des nôtres; qu'elle a groupé nos compatriotes et créé entre eux un esprit plus grand de solidarité, qui leur a permis de protéger plus effectivement leurs intérêts nationaux.⁴⁵

In Moncton as well as throughout the Maritime Provinces, the **Société l'Assomption** was not only recognized as the financial backbone of the Acadian society, but was also a visible sign of its ability to succeed in the world of economics and finance. The society's officers propagated a vision of Acadian nationalism which included the realm of economic pursuits. This philosophy was conveyed to each branch of the society through its conventions, and to other societies and institutions, such as the press, which they helped to administer and sometimes finance. Calixte Savoie spoke of Moncton's Acadian economic and financial

institutions, and the strength that they could provide in support of Acadian claims:

Si nous voulons donner du poids et de l'importance à nos valeurs numériques et à nos revendications, (...) si nous voulons devenir un peuple fort et indépendant, un peuple qui doit se suffire à lui-même par ses oeuvres de vie religieuse, nationale, française et matérielle, il faut à tout prix établir chez nous une puissance économique égale à celle de nos compatriotes de langue anglaise. Il faut (...) arriver un jour à occuper des postes de commande, non seulement dans nos propres entreprises, mais aussi dans les grands établissements de commerce, les grands magasins, la grande industrie, la haute finance qui sont aux mains des autres. Il faut nécessairement que la puissance de l'argent se porte à la conquête de notre patrimoine.⁴⁶

The **Société l'Assomption's** role within the Acadian community was also evolving during this period. Conventions were held every two to three years in Moncton with delegates chosen from within every single branch of the society. Issues dealing with the francophone society's aspirations were discussed, decisions were taken, and policies were carried out by the officers of the **Société l'Assomption**. These officers became semi-public figures who were called upon to redefine the ideology of survival and guide the Acadians in Moncton and throughout the Maritime Provinces in their struggle for the recognition of their community's survival.

The Moncton-based leadership of the **Société l'Assomption**, took on new dimensions. Calixte Savoie played an important part in the society's growth at this time. His vision of the

society's mission as a tool to promote Acadian progress revealed the extent of the Société l'Assomption's commitment to francophone interests:

...il fallait faire de la Société l'Assomption une organisation forte et puissante qui pourrait, au besoin, s'imposer avec plus de force auprès des autorités gouvernementales lorsqu'il s'agirait de réclamer nos droits touchant la langue et la culture française.⁴⁷

The Société l'Assomption developed policies and programs aimed at strengthening the Acadians' position in their respective communities. One such program was the 1934 campaign of "refrancisation", a means of raising the level of linguistic and collective consciousness. The campaign was first undertaken by the Moncton branches of the Société l'Assomption, and supported by its headquarters.⁴⁸ The economic recession had especially affected unskilled urban workers in Moncton, who were necessarily less secure in their workplace. In Moncton's major industries, Acadians as a group generally occupied the lower echelons of the workforce. As a result, they were losing jobs more consistently than anglophones.⁴⁹

This campaign was led by Calixte Savoie, although Thadée-J. Léger, president of T. & A. Léger Ltée., situated on St. George Street, is generally acknowledged as the promoter.⁵⁰ The campaign's first objective was simply to encourage Acadians to require to be served in their mother tongue in all retail stores

in Moncton. Francophones would then have to be hired in commercial establishments in order to serve this important portion of the city's consumers. The campaign's second objective was to encourage Moncton Acadians to shop in francophone establishments, thus assuring their survival through the economic recession. Should this campaign prove to be successful, it was to be extended to all francophone communities in New Brunswick.

On April 23, 1934, a circular letter was sent to all Moncton francophone families. It encouraged Moncton's Acadian population to promote employment of francophone men and women:

Suivez cette intéressante campagne en lisant l'Évangéline et en assistant aux assemblées des succursales LaTour et Marie. La Société l'Assomption aide ses membres et elle est fière de le prouver: elle est la plus puissante société de la ville de Moncton; les hommes d'affaires anglais le savent et l'avouent.⁵¹

Calixte Savoie, who was also President of the St. John Diocese division of the Association catholique de la jeunesse canadienne, wrote to all units of the A.C.J.C., requesting assistance in the campaign. The campaign had the approval of the Moncton French weekly, l'Évangéline. Initial francophone response to the campaign was favourable in all parts of New Brunswick.⁵²

Moncton's anglophone majority reacted immediately to the campaign. The English Speaking League, a society for the

promotion of the exclusive use of the English language, was founded. The League circulated a series of letters among Moncton's anglophone population, and published them in the city's newspapers. These letters encouraged resistance to francophone tactics. The english-speaking population was asked to limit their shopping to anglophone establishments within the city.⁵³ As a result of the negative reaction from the League and its sympathizers, the **Société l'Assomption's** Executive Committee, decided to end the campaign.⁵⁴

Calixte Savoie was despondent at the lack of solidarity among Acadian leaders within the Moncton community, and taken aback by the anglophones' interpretation of the campaign's objectives:

Les Acadiens n'avaient aucunement l'intention de faire du mal à l'élément anglais: de fait ils n'y avaient jamais songé. Ce qu'ils demandaient au nom de la plus élémentaire justice, c'était le droit de vivre et d'être considérés sur un pied d'égalité avec les autres. C'est précisément ce que l'élément anglais ne voulait pas. Pour lui, les Acadiens étaient très bien traités à Moncton et la publication de tels documents étaient de nature à diviser les gens plutôt qu'à les rapprocher. Les Acadiens n'avaient rien à perdre et tout à gagner en restant debout devant un principe que tous avaient reconnu comme étant solide et juste. Mais, comme toujours, les chefs abandonnèrent la partie et capitulèrent sans coup férir.⁵⁵

The **Société l'Assomption** nevertheless continued to pursue what Calixte Savoie termed as its "mission" within the Acadian community: the active promotion of higher education, which would

assure continuity of Acadian society's leaders and intellectuals, as well as economic and cultural emancipation.⁵⁶ Personalities such as Calixte Savoie took on responsibilities that went far beyond his original mandate as Secretary-Treasurer (and later as President) of the **Société l'Assomption**. Officers of the **Société l'Assomption** often actively participated in other Acadian national institutions. Calixte Savoie not only sat on the Executive and Administrative Councils of the **Société l'Assomption**, but he was also a member of l'Évangéline's Administrative Council for several decades.⁵⁷ In his published autobiography, Savoie justified both functions:

...sachant que la Société l'Assomption n'avait pas les moyens financiers pour se procurer les services de propagandistes et d'agents recruteurs, je me rendis vite compte que le moyen le plus apte à faire entrer dans les foyers acadiens le message de la Société l'Assomption c'était bien la presse acadienne. Comme ce quotidien était le journal d'expression française qui pénétrait dans le plus grand nombre de foyers acadiens, il n'y avait aucun doute qu'il pourrait jouer un rôle très important dans l'expansion de la Société l'Assomption.⁵⁸

The French press was a widely used tool to propagate the ideology of Acadian survival. It was used to further the political careers of members and supporters of one or the other political parties, particularly at the provincial level. Since 1867, the year the Shediac-based Moniteur Acadien was founded, Acadian nationalists used French newspapers to popularize their philosophy of collective survival.

The **Société l'Assomption** also used the French press as a means of popularizing the philosophy of their fraternal society's philosophy and goals. Upon assuming the position of Secretary-Treasurer of the **Société l'Assomption** in 1926, Calixte Savoie immediately began a very successful recruitment campaign for membership into the society, which was widely publicized by l'Evangéline.⁵⁹

During the depression years, the **Société l'Assomption** led a successful campaign to re-establish l'Evangéline's financial solvency, and to transform the weekly into a daily newspaper. In 1937, Savoie assumed the position of Manager of l'Evangéline Ltée., and undertook this campaign, which went beyond the issue of the survival of the Moncton-based French newspaper.⁶⁰ L'Evangéline had always attracted Maritime-wide subscriptions. Since 1926, the year the Moniteur Acadien ceased publication, l'Evangéline was the most widely read French newspaper in the Maritime Provinces. Its content remained nationalistic, publicizing and promoting every major Acadian campaign and all ideological issues: the birth of Acadian institutions, such as the Association acadienne d'éducation; the campaign for recognition of the dogma of l'Assomption; and the campaign to reconstruct the church at Grand-Pré, Nova Scotia to commemorate the expulsion of the Acadians. L'Evangéline's editorial board had the unequivocal support of the Acadian hierarchy of the

Catholic Church throughout the Maritime Provinces during this period, and received financial support from Acadian clergy. The **Société l'Assomption's** campaign, although long, eventually attained its two major objectives.

In order to assure their collective survival, the Acadian community needed the guidance and the support of a dynamic leadership. Since its founding in 1881, the **Société nationale l'Assomption** had provided the required leadership. National conventions, the society's major tool for the definition of Acadian ideology, were held irregularly during this period, in 1913, 1921, and 1927, but disappeared altogether after 1937.⁶¹ The **Société nationale l'Assomption** obviously could no longer assure the same level of leadership. The society was affected by a number of problems. Firstly, since the society's conventions were no longer held at regular intervals, national ideology was no longer being defined, nor adapted to the Acadian society. Secondly, the process of modernization of the Acadian community was not being addressed by the ideology of survival, which had been defined by the **Société nationale l'Assomption** in the earlier period. Thirdly, the **Société nationale l'Assomption**, no longer able to assure the dynamic leadership of Acadian society, was plagued by indifference throughout the inter-war years.

Of all the problems plaguing the **Société nationale l'Assomption**, regional sectionalism was the one that most

affected its efficiency. New Brunswick Acadians had become an important minority within their province, since they had succeeded in building a political force commensurate with their numbers. As a result, they had won a grudging respect from the provincial government for their lobbying institutions, and played an important role within New Brunswick society. Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island Acadians would never attain the population necessary to ensure the same level of success in their national causes. The **Société nationale l'Assomption's** mandate overrode provincial boundaries in an attempt to unite Acadians throughout the Maritime Provinces. However, because of the different demographic weight of the Acadian population in the provinces, the process of selecting and implementing national policies relating to Acadian national ideology was difficult to say the least, and concrete action became more and more elusive. New Brunswick's Acadians were disillusioned by the society's non-performance in matters of concern to them, and turned to the Moncton-based **Société l'Assomption**. Institutional leadership within the Acadian community was therefore transferred to the **Société l'Assomption**. Their independent branches, working within their respective communities, were best able to recognize the needs of their collectivity. The **Société l'Assomption** was in a better position than the **Société nationale l'Assomption**, to define the policies that best suited Acadian society in New Brunswick and throughout the Maritime Provinces.

As a result of the problems plaguing the **Société nationale l'Assomption**, the society became dormant during the inter-war years. It was during this period of hibernation that Mgr. Melanson, the Archbishop in Moncton, and Mgr. LeBlanc developed a campaign of rejuvenation. At the 1937 convention, a resolution was adopted to create a permanent Secretariat which would coordinate all national policies.⁶² The resolution called for the creation of a permanent Secretariat of the **Société nationale l'Assomption**, which implied a reorganization of the society's structure. While the **Société nationale l'Assomption** would continue to elect members to its Executive Committee during the national conventions, they would now be chosen "dans les environs de la ville où est le Secrétariat", indicating Moncton.⁶³ This, in effect, gave Moncton Acadian leaders a dominant role in the society's policy-making process. The resolution called for creation of a second committee, the **Bureau de Direction**. Its members would include all Acadian bishops, as well as those priests involved in national or other affiliated institutions, lay representatives of each of the affiliated institutions, and any special members recommended by the Executive Committee.⁶⁴ The new **Secrétariat Social Permanent de la Société nationale l'Assomption**, created in 1945, was directed by Henri-P. LeBlanc.⁶⁵

Moncton's dominant role as a francophone center was confirmed in the struggle for the establishment of an Acadian

archdiocese in the city. Acadians had already achieved several minor successes: in 1912, E. LeBlanc had been nominated to the position of Bishop of the St. John diocese. In 1920, Bishop Barry of Chatham died and was replaced by Mgr. P.-A. Chiasson.⁶⁶ Mgr. LeBlanc worked closely with Mgr. Chiasson to establish an archdiocese for the francophone population in Moncton. Moncton became the seat of an Archdiocese in 1936.⁶⁷ Mgr. Melanson, formerly of Campbellton, New Brunswick, became the first Acadian Archbishop. Acadians, while forcing the recognition of their ethnicity as an integral part of the structure of the Catholic Church within the Maritime Provinces, had also scored a victory for Moncton's aspiring metropolitan role.

Acadian nationalists in Moncton also worked outside their national institutions to improve the living conditions of the urban francophone community. Their field of action included the founding of the first Hôtel-Dieu de l'Assomption hospital in 1922, which was built on Church Street. The Montreal-based nursing congregation of the Soeurs de Providence was assigned the responsibility for its administration. The construction of a second, larger hospital on Archibald Street, on property formerly owned by the McSweeney family, began in 1927. Commonly referred to as the "French" hospital, this facility opened in 1928.⁶⁸ It was complemented by a school of nursing, which was founded in Moncton early in the 1920s. Under the supervision of the Soeurs

de Providence, the practical training was done at the Hôtel-Dieu, and both training and services were conducted in french.

Between 1870 and 1914, Acadians had founded several fraternal organizations and social clubs which were designed to serve the francophone community and offer support to the Acadians' struggles for recognition of their society. As early as 1905, francophone involvement in the community was already apparent by the founding of the Moncton chapter of **l'Alliance Nationale**. During this period, it continued to organize social functions, and beyond this role, it succored the poorer families of the Assumption parish and of the larger Moncton community.

Not all francophone community-oriented societies were prospering. The **Cercle Catholique Beauséjour**, which had been active in Acadian struggles within the Moncton community before 1914, was no longer involved in francophone goals. By 1922, the Cercle was in limbo. However, proposals to disband were rejected, and a substitute proposal for reorganization was put forth:

M. C. Cormier propose que l'assemblée de ce soir exprime l'opinion que le Cercle Beauséjour ne vende pas ses meubele et amusements mais que l'on soumette au curé la proposition que le Cercle soit réorganisé pour représenter dans la paroisse l'assomption ce que d'autres associations sportives et d'amusements représentent ailleurs.69

Moncton also witnessed the founding of the **Comité France-Acadie**. Its membership was quite exclusive, as one had to be invited in order to join the committee. In 1935, membership was restricted to Judge A.-T. LeBlanc, President; Judge Arsenault and F.-J. Robidoux, Vice-Presidents; Alphonse Sormany, Secretary; Senator Bourque of Nova Scotia; M.-A. Roy of l'Évangéline; and Calixte Savoie, of the **Société l'Assomption**.⁷⁰ The **Comité France-Acadie's** role was basically limited to choosing the recipients of scholarships offered by the French government, and was therefore not community oriented. Membership within the French section of the **Comité France-Acadie** included Emile Lauvrière and the Count de Caix.

After 1914, Acadians established associations and clubs which were mostly community oriented. Their goal was to improve the community's welfare, regardless of ethnic origin. The Ladies' Aid Society for the **Hôtel-Dieu** Hospital is an example. This society was founded in 1937 by the wives of some of the most prominent Acadians within the city: Mrs. F.A. Richard and Mrs. A.T. LeBlanc were Honorary Presidents; Mrs. A. J. Léger was President; Mrs. L.L. Doiron, Mrs. Alphonse Sormany and Mrs. R.A. Fréchet were Vice-Presidents. The society's chaplain was the Rev. Monseigneur Henri D. Cormier.⁷¹

Moncton Acadians also actively participated in community-oriented organizations and clubs which were not established by

francophones. It was a measure of their integration into the community that they not only participated in these associations, but that they were also elected to executive positions. A branch of the Canadian Legion was established in Moncton in 1926. Original members in 1926 included several francophone Monctonians: John Malenfant, Dr. O.W. Melanson, Ernest Doiron and Jude P. Bourgeois.⁷² Acadians were also members of the Benevolent Order of Elks, founded in Moncton in 1926. Although membership files are no longer available, one secondary source reported among its first list of officers the names of Dr. A.-J. Cormier, Esteemed Leading Knight, and J.-E. LeBlanc.⁷³ The Moncton Kinsmen Club, founded in 1932, included Wilfred Carcaud among its first officers.⁷⁴

Acadians were also participating in community projects funded and administered by the civic government. The Alms House Commission is an example, since it was created by the City of Moncton to oversee the administration of the Alms House, and to recommend policies regarding the city's less fortunate citizens. Dr. L.-N. Bourque and Dr. Ferguson had worked together to establish the Alms House, and were later responsible for setting up its medical facilities. During the depression years, J. Télesphore Cormier was a member of a committee of three that administered civic funds, in conjunction with the Alms House Commission.⁷⁵ They became even more active and involved, as successive mayors authorized increases in civic funds to

compensate for the economic recession's devastating effects on Moncton's citizens.

Another example of francophone involvement in the community is the fact that they also sat on the Moncton School Board. Dr. L.-N. Léger had been a member of the Board for forty years when he retired in 1923. That year, he was replaced by another francophone, Senator A.-J. Léger. Senator Léger was reappointed to the School Board from 1930 to 1950.⁷⁶

In 1937, the City of Moncton established an Industrial Commission, as well as a Bureau of Information. This was an effort by the civic government to promote industry and tourism to the city.⁷⁷ A francophone, Bliss A. Bourgeois, was one of the Industrial Commission's first Commissioners.

Moncton Acadians also actively participated in municipal politics. Included among elected francophone Aldermen were: P.-A. Belliveau (1914 to 1918); J.-J. Bourgeois (1916); C.-A. Melanson (1919 to 1921); Dr. L.-N. Bourque (1919 to 1921); C.-H. Belliveau (1921, 1923, 1924); Clément Cormier (1923); R.-A. Fréchet (1925 to 1928); as well as Téléspore Cormier, Fred Breau and Ernest Doiron.⁷⁸

By the end of this period, Acadians had become an important linguistic minority within Moncton, representing 33.5% of the

city's population. Other francophone population centers within commuting distance were also participating in the city's economic and social life. Acadians were active participants in the community's development, and were as affected by its misfortunes.

Several important changes had taken place within the framework of Moncton francophone society. Francophone institutions had gained respect and stature within the community. The most notable were: the ever-growing and prestigious financial institution, The **Société l'Assomption**; the French newspaper, l'Évangéline, with its own printing company; the **Caisses Populaires**; and the **Société nationale l'Assomption** which, by 1945, housed a permanent Secretariat in Moncton. Collective efforts also resulted in the founding of the francophone parish, l'Assomption, and the establishment of an Acadian Archdiocese.

Acadians had succeeded in integrating Moncton's urban environment. They founded a number of francophone societies and clubs within this period,. They also participated in numerous activities and fulfilled functions at all levels in community-based clubs and associations. Their participation was also notable on City Council.

Moncton Acadian society had, by now, grown permanent roots. Its leadership aspired to work within a community-based framework for the city's development and for the fulfillment of Moncton

francophones' aspirations. R.A. Fréchet, B.-A. Bourgeois, Dr. L.-N. Bourque and Antoine-J. Léger, to name a few, worked to cultivate a viable francophone environment within the community. By the end of this period, they had, for the most part, succeeded.

A second group of Acadian leaders, which included father Clément Cormier, Calixte Savoie, Alfred-J. Roy and Judge Arthur LeBlanc, were developing national aspirations through Moncton-based societies and institutions. Their goals went beyond the city's boundaries, as they supported Acadian struggles affecting the entire francophone population of the Maritime Provinces. Acadian priests, bishops and the archbishop were actively involved in all the important issues dealing with the francophone population of the entire Maritime Provinces. Together, Acadian leaders developed institutional policy, originating in most cases from Moncton-based societies, which would assure an Acadian voice in the region's development.

The **Société l'Assomption's** involvement in the development of Acadian society was felt in the city and throughout the Maritime Provinces. The society played an important economic role, and helped to transform the community's environment. It also provided the necessary leadership to Acadian population when it was called upon to do so.

Moncton's growth suffered during this period from events and policies external to its control. This in turn affected the potential for growth of the francophone population within the community, and the fulfillment of Moncton's potential as a center for the development of Acadian nationalism. National ideology was more difficult to promote because of sectionalism between Acadian regions throughout the Maritimes. However, neither the traditional leadership of Acadian society, provided through Moncton-based societies, nor the ideology of Acadian survival, were as yet being rejected.

*

Notes

Chapter 4

1. Cécile-Marie Maillet, Antoine-J. Léger, premier romancier acadien. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Laval University, 1966, p. 10.
2. The St. John diocese oversaw the administration of the Moncton, as well as Westmorland County parishes, until the founding of the Archdiocese of Moncton in 1936.
3. Government of Canada, Census, 1911 and 1941.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Thérèse B. Roy, Population totale et population acadienne des provinces maritimes de 1871 à 1971, 1976, p. 5.
7. Government of Canada, Census, 1941.
8. Ibid., 1911.
9. Ibid., 1911. These statistics appear low when compared to figures for the previous decade. The 1911 figure represents population within the incorporated town of Shediac. Shediac Parish had a population of 5029 people in 1911.
10. One major reason for this level of population increase appears to be the integration of Georgetown into the City of Moncton, which occurred in 1912. Before 1912, Georgetown's population was included in the Census statistics for Moncton Parish.
11. J.-C. Vernex, "Densité ethnique et assimilation: les francophones à Moncton" in Revue de l'Université de Moncton, Vol. II, 1969, pp. 23, 24, and 158.
12. P. A. Sloat, La survivance française au Nouveau-Brunswick, M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1946, pp. 85-86. It should be noted that the anglophone population of Kent County was as affected by the economic crisis of this decade as the francophone population. Emigration statistics for Kent County attest to the extent of the crisis.
13. Ibid., pp. 85-86.

14. L.A. Machum, A History of Moncton Town and City 1855-1965, 1965, p. 209.
15. S.A. Saunders, Histoire économique des Provinces Maritimes, 1939, p. 54.
16. P. Trépanier, "Historiographie et société à propos de l'Acadie perdue de Michel Roy" in Revue de l'Université de Moncton, Vol. XII, no. 1, 1979, p. 120.
17. Roy describes the Acadian elite as an "esprit clérical fortement imprégnée du sens de la domination, consciente des problèmes au niveau de "sa" succession, très habile dans l'utilisation des renforcements négatifs, de conception étroite, dénuée d'imagination, ne tirant de l'histoire que tout juste ce qui lui était utile pour modeler sa propre image." See M. Roy, L'Acadie perdue, 1978, p. 53.
18. Ibid., pp. 124-125.
19. Ibid., pp. 103-104.
20. Ibid., p. 105.
21. L. Thériault, La question du pouvoir en Acadie, 1982, p. 148.
22. A. Even, Le territoire pilote du Nouveau-Brunswick ou les blocages culturels au développement économique. Ph.D. thesis (Economics), Université de Rennes, 1970, p. 237.
23. P. Trépanier, op. cit., p. 120.
24. L.A. Machum, op. cit., p. 262.
25. Ibid., p. 253.
26. Ibid., p. 328.
27. Ibid., p. 327.
28. Ibid., p. 328.
29. A. Boudreau, "Les caisses populaires" in Revue économique, Vol. II, no. 2, 1964, p. 23.
30. E.-J. Landry, Album-Souvenir, Cinquantième anniversaire de la fondation de la Succursale LaTour no 14 de la Société l'Assomption, n.d.
31. J.-C. Vernex, Les francophones du Nouveau-Brunswick, Vol. I, 1978, p. 297.

32. C.E.A., Calixte-F. Savoie papers.
33. C.E.A., records of **Caisses Populaires**.
34. C.E.A., Calixte-F. Savoie papers. See paper entitled: La coopération à l'Université Saint-Joseph, n.d., 2 pages.
35. J.-C. Vernex, Les francophones du Nouveau-Brunswick, 1978, p. 297.
36. D.W. MacInnes, Clerics, Fishermen, Farmers and Workers: the Antigonish Movement and Identity in Eastern Nova Scotia, 1928-29. Ph.D. thesis (sociology), McMaster University, 1978, p. 193.
37. P. Arsenault, L'établissement des caisses populaires offre un excellent moyen de relèvement économique à nos classes moyennes et pauvres. M.A. thesis (Sociology), Université Saint-Joseph, 1939, p. 18.
38. L.A. Machum, op. cit., p. 287.
39. A.-J. Léger, Les grandes lignes de l'histoire de la Société l'Assomption, 1933, pp. 147, 149 and 151.
40. Ibid., p. 229.
41. E. Daigle, Petite histoire d'une grande idée, 1978, p. 54.
42. C.E.A., Calixte-F. Savoie papers.
43. A.-J. Léger, op. cit., pp. 253, 257, 258 and 260.
44. C.E.A., Calixte-F. Savoie papers.
45. A.-J. Léger, op. cit., pp. 232-233.
46. C.-F. Savoie, Mémoires d'un nationaliste acadien, 1979, p. 187.
47. Ibid., p. 120.
48. Ibid., p. 209.
49. Refer to chapter 5.
50. C.-F. Savoie, op. cit., p. 195.
51. Ibid., p. 196.
52. Ibid., p. 199.
53. Ibid., pp. 203-205.

54. Ibid., pp. 207-208. The letter was signed by A.-J. Léger, Arthur LeBlanc, A. Tremblay and B. Bourgeois.
55. Ibid., p. 202.
56. C.E.A., Calixte-F. Savoie papers. Refer to a copy of a text of a conference dated December 4, 1961 on the occasion of the society's fiftieth anniversary.
57. C.-F. Savoie, op. cit., p. 210.
58. Ibid., p. 211. Savoie's autobiography provides detailed, if biased, information on the society's internal struggles during this period. It also offers a glimpse of the problems associated with Acadian nationalism in the first half of the twentieth century.
59. Ibid., pp. 122-126.
60. Ibid., p. 212. See also l'Évangéline for the period in question.
61. R.-J. Ravault, La Société Nationale des Acadiens. Évaluation sociologique(...) Unpublished report submitted to the Secretary of State, 1973, p. 19.
62. C.E.A., Dr. J.-E. LeBlanc papers. See letter dated November 27, 1943 from J.-Adélarde Savoie to LeBlanc.
63. C.E.A., F.-J. Comeau papers. See minutes of a meeting held in Moncton on March 6, 1945.
64. Ibid.
65. C.E.A., H.-P. LeBlanc papers. Refer to letter dated August 1, 1945 from LeBlanc to Maurice Hébert.
66. L. Thériault, L'Acadianisation de l'Église catholique en Acadie, 1763-1953 in J. Daigle, ed., Les Acadiens des Maritimes, 1980, p. 355.
67. Ibid., p. 359.
68. L.A. Machum, op. cit., p. 287.
69. C.E.A., records under the title City of Moncton. Minutes of meeting held on December 11, 1922.
70. C.E.A., F.-J. Comeau papers. See letter dated April 17, 1935.
71. L.A. Machum, op. cit., p. 334.

72. Ibid., p. 291.
73. Ibid., p. 311.
74. Ibid., pp. 329-330.
75. Ibid., p. 318.
76. Ibid., pp. 310 and 325.
77. Ibid., p. 333.
78. Ibid., pp. 232-233; 290-291; and 325-326.

Chapter 5

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During the latter part of the nineteenth century, Acadian society in the three Maritime provinces experienced a **renaissance** through which developed a national ideology which promoted the cultural survival of the Acadian community. The **conventions nationales** were the forum through which the elected representatives of Acadian villages and towns formulated and discussed national ideology, and developed an active leadership.

Historians have insisted that isolationism was an important element of Acadian cultural survival, arguing that Acadian leaders promoted agrarian pursuits and a rural lifestyle as the only means to assure national survival.¹ Acadian leaders discouraged francophone urban migration. Since the trend towards urbanization could not be stopped, Acadian leaders sought to limit the degree of Acadian participation in mainstream urban economic activities, and actively pursued creation of francophone "ghettos" as the means to restrain the impact of the dominant anglophone culture.² For the Acadian leaders of Moncton, the francophone community should be separated from anglophone and Protestant influence. Since language and religion were exposed to eroding forces in the work place, it was believed that the

home, school, Church, and other national institutions should strengthen these areas of Acadian identity, and it was within these areas that the national ideology worked in an urban context, as in the case of Moncton.

Moncton's dramatic economic expansion during the last decades of the nineteenth century, was based largely on the sustained growth of the railway industry and its allied manufactures. Economic growth resulted in an influx of labourers, including a large number of francophones. By 1900, Moncton's population had a substantial minority of french-speaking residents who became economically and culturally active in the community.

By 1914, Moncton had become a center of Acadians' reawakening.³ This had occurred in spite of Acadian leaders' perception that cities were agents of assimilation. It had become almost impossible to rally public opinion against urban communities, since Acadians, as well as anglophones, were rapidly urbanizing.⁴ Acadian leaders recognized Moncton's potential to develop into an Acadian urban base with national aspirations. Moncton was an ideal choice in several respects: it was ideally located to establish communication and transportation links to other francophone centers in the Maritimes; by the last decade of the nineteenth century, it had a firm francophone population base on which to build; and it had surrounding islands of francophone

population centers from which to draw its resources. National societies and institutions had converged in the city.

This chapter assesses Acadian participation in Moncton's economy, the extent to which the two linguistic communities coexisted within the city. Historians have previously relied almost exclusively on qualitative source material, carrying the biases of contemporary ideological positions. A more systematic approach involves an analysis of Moncton's economic structures and its urban geography to shed more light on the relative strength of nationalist rhetoric in the formation of a francophone community. In fact, Acadians showed a significant tendency to work in the same industries and to live in the same communities as their english-speaking counterparts. Extensive francophone participation in Moncton's economy: railways, industry and wholesale distribution, indicates a higher level of Acadian involvement in the community than previously believed. It could be that the isolationist argument was not widely accepted by french-speaking Monctonians.⁵ While it is impossible to measure the degree to which ideology is directly related to the economic and cultural choices made by individuals, it may be possible to present the structural limitations in which these choices were made. While the ideology of national segregation remained an important part of the late nineteenth century Acadian renaissance, it failed to play a strong role in

the actual development of a separate francophone community within the city.

Analysis of city directories allows for closer examination of the Acadians' economic status and residential patterns. In the absence of nominal census data after 1891, and in light of the excessive cost associated with the use of tax assessment records, directories provide a readily usable source for establishing trends among households. Since directories also list the names of people not property owners, such as boarders, it is a better overall sample of the work force of the Moncton's industries. Moncton was typical of other towns at this time in its publication of street directories. In addition to the name and address of the principal occupants of each house, Moncton directories indicated the residents' employers and occupations. Residents' ethnicity can be ascribed from the given and family names indicated, although it presents problems, as inter-marriage between cultural groups could blur the lines of ethnic demarcation. Residents' sex is simpler to determine, as full names are given, and female occupants were recorded with the title Mrs. or Miss. In any event, since much of the sample consists of employees in heavy industries, the majority of occupants sampled were male.

Data collection was accomplished interactively, using a micro-computer.⁶ The year, an address code, the employer,

occupation, ethnicity, and sex of each individual were entered. This study used the directories for 1896, 1911, 1920, 1930 and 1938.⁷ Rather than use a random sample of the entire population, key industries were selected as indicated by Table XIII, and their entire workforce was entered into the data base.⁸

Table XIII

Employers for which data was found, by year

Year	Industry						Self- Empld
	Munic. Gov.	ICR - CNR	Swift	Eaton	Record Fndry	Moncton Cotton	
1896	x	x			x	x	x
1911	x	x			x	x	x
1920	x	x			x		x
1930	x	x	x	x	x		x
1938	x	x	x	x	x		x

Industries chosen were: the Intercolonial Railway, later the Canadian National Railway; the T.E. Eaton Co., which opened in 1920; the Record Foundry, along with several other smaller enterprises. All self-employed liberal professionals were also included in the sample. Table XIII indicates the distribution of chosen employers during the entire period. Some are represented throughout our period, notably municipal employees and Record Foundry workers. Other industries, like Eaton's and Swift, appeared in the latter part of the period. The Intercolonial Railway was amalgamated with other existing railway lines, and finally became part of the Canadian National Railway system in

the early 1920s. This sampling resulted in a total of 11,800 cases, spread over the period, as indicated in Table XIV.

Table XIV

Breakdown of Number of Employees of Sampled Industries by Year in Moncton, 1896-1938.

Employer	Year				
	1896	1911	1920	1930	1938
ICR/CNR	650	2310	2502	1959	1387
Record Fndry	10	162	2	31	65
Self Employed	34	47	43	52	80
City (Moncton)	16	31	29	61	69
Eatons	--	--	--	844	989
Swift	--	--	--	60	153
Dominion Cotton	17	210	--	--	---
Total:	727	2760	2576	3007	2743

While a block sample allows a more complete study of the employment patterns of the industries chosen, several limits must be recognized. In the first place, all comparisons must be made between industrial sectors in the sample, and not between one or more industries in the sample and the universe population. In the second place, the sampling rate is difficult to estimate with accuracy. In very general terms, about 39% of all directory entries were selected. This estimate is misleading, since individuals could choose to not have their name published in the directories, opening the probability that this source is less than complete even for the most stable populations. Equally, many members from a single family could be included in one

directory, and not in others. Thus, directories must be used carefully since they bear an uncertain relationship to the population of Moncton. Table XV clarifies the problem.

Table XV

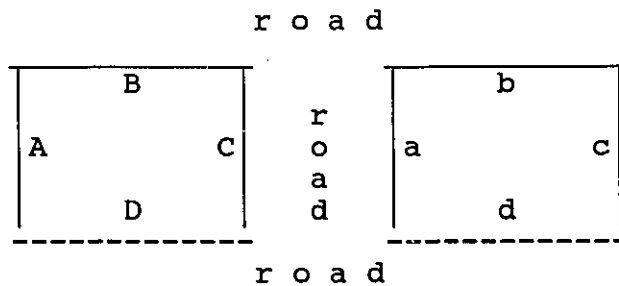
Year	n. of cases in sample	sample rate of direct.
1896	728	31%
1911	2,765	49%
1920	2,580	42%
1930	3,008	37%
1938	2,743	34%
Total	11,824	38.6%

The sample rate varies from year to year. A number of reasons can be suggested for this, including the changing fortunes of the industries under consideration and variations in the collection of the directories themselves.

The capture of occupational data and addresses involved the creation and frequent updating of code books. Each new occupation encountered was given a distinct code, resulting in over 300 different occupations. These were subsequently regrouped into socio-professional categories following the hierarchy used by Michael Katz for the Hamilton project.⁹ The limitations of the scheme are well known, but it was selected because of its relative simplicity.¹⁰ Since the data remains in its original format, other occupational categorizations could be

used as well. Appendix F shows the frequencies of all occupations grouped according to the Katz scheme.

The collection of addresses presented a more difficult problem. To have assigned a separate code for each house would have been too problematic. Rather, a system was adopted in which addresses were assigned a code for even or odd sides of streets between two intersecting streets. Each block was given four distinct codes, representing the four sides of the block. Graphically, it may be represented as:

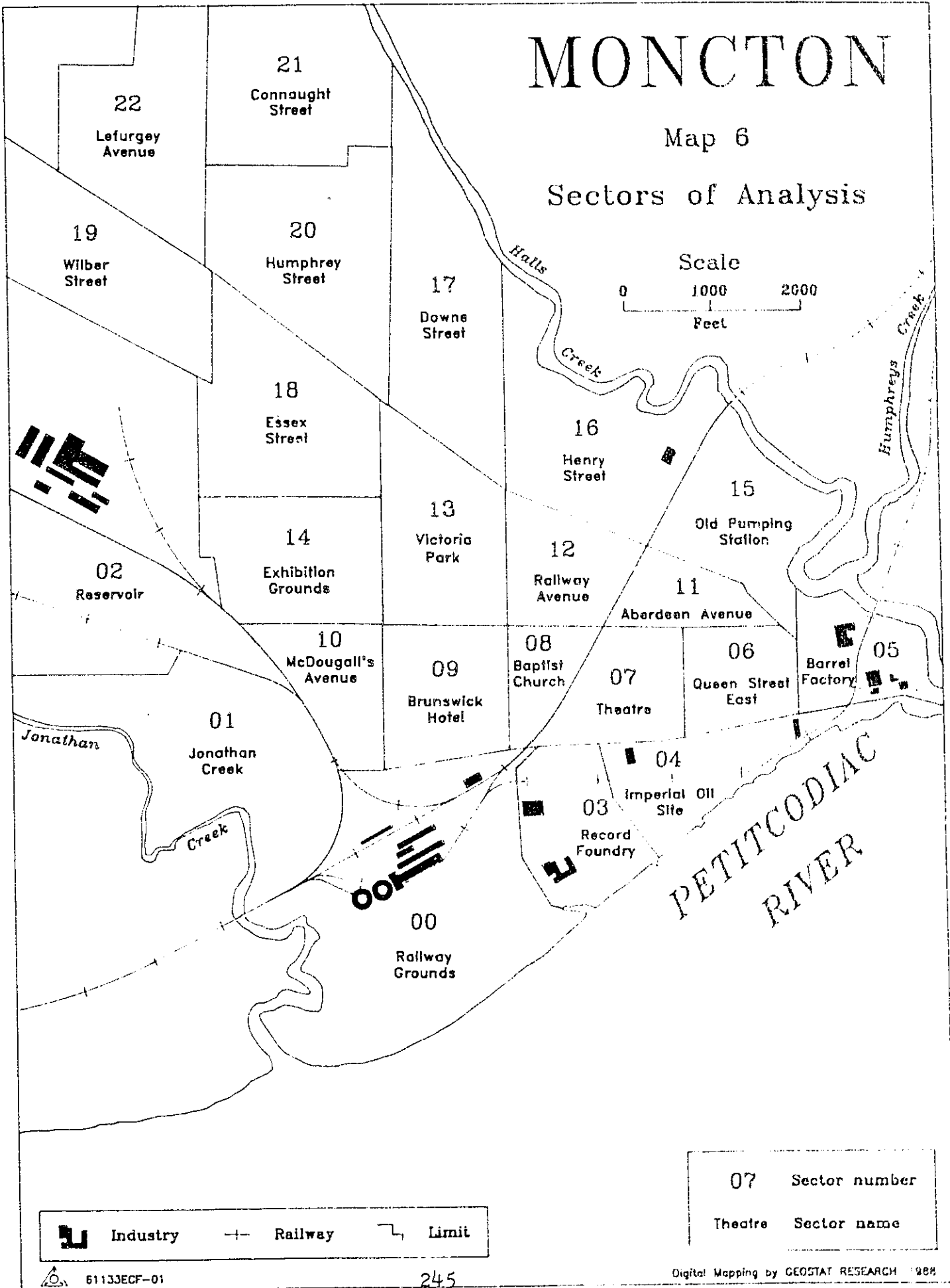





Each of ABCD and abcd received a separate code. This coding scheme conformed to the layout of the directories, which listed occupants by street address and number, while indicating all intersections. Once the data collection was completed, these codes were regrouped into more coherent "neighborhoods", as indicated by Map 6.

MONCTON

Map 6

Sectors of Analysis



	Industry		Railway		Limit
---	----------	---	---------	---	-------

07	Sector number
Theatre	Sector name

The city was divided along its major thoroughfares, but because the original codes were so numerous, corrections and alterations to the basic structure were made after the first statistics were produced. The choice of a system using very small units for addresses and occupations allowed for modifications to the coding schemes after the data was entered and preliminary statistics had been produced. For the purposes of this analysis, the city was divided into 23 sectors.

This data-set does not fully reflect the sustained growth in Moncton's population between 1896 and 1938. In fact, the sample suggests that the population grew dramatically - by 380% between 1896 and 1911 and then levelled off for the following thirty years. This reflects the fortunes of the selected industries rather than broader population trends. Table XVI compares population figures taken from the Census with the data selected from the directories.

Table XVI

Comparison of Census population and sampled
Directory workforce, Moncton, 1896-1938.*

<u>Year</u>	<u>Directory</u>	<u>Census</u>	<u>(Year)</u>
1896	728	9026	(1901)
1911	2765	11000	(1911)
1920	2580	17500	(1921)
1930	3008	20000	(1931)
1938	2743	22763	(1941)

*Source: Statistical Year-Book of Canada. Census data taken from closest available census.

The varying level of employment in the sample is directly attributable to the interplay of two industries: the railway and Eaton's, which dominated the economy of Moncton throughout our period. In 1896, 84.3% of the sample worked for the Intercolonial Railway, while the second largest employer, the city of Moncton, employed less than 8%. By 1938, railways were still the dominant economic force in Moncton. Canadian National Railways employed 50.6% of the sampled work force. Eaton's, the second largest employer, accounted for just over 36% of workers that year. In no instance during our period did any other industry employ more than 10% of the sampled labour force.

Our sample shows that the most important long-term change throughout the period was the relative instability of the railway as a major Moncton employer. The Canadian National Railways reached its maximum in 1920, when it employed 2502 workers, an astounding 97.1% of the sample for that year. This work force was almost halved over the following eighteen years, falling to 1387 employees by 1938. The decline of the railway's importance to Moncton's growth has been discussed by other historians who have suggested that this was a product of new centralizing forces coming from Central Canada, as well as a step towards economic rationalization.¹¹ Eaton's offered some replacement jobs, usually poorly paid and non-specialized positions. In 1930, Eaton's employed 844 workers; eight years later, nearly 1000. In all likelihood, the loss of railway jobs was not compensated for

by the growth of Moncton's redistribution functions, since introduction of Eaton's forced the closure of smaller retailing operations not included in this sample.¹² The replacement of railway employment by wholesale employment resulted in a certain stability in the number of jobs available to Monctonians, even during the years of recession, but the levels of jobs were probably lower.

In a town dominated by the railway and later by wholesale distribution, it is not surprising that most occupations included in our sample relate to those two sectors. The most frequently declared occupation among Monctonians was that of clerk (1597 cases), followed by brakeman (535 cases), machinist (487 cases), and carpenter (455 cases). Unfortunately, 3500 of the 11,800 cases sampled only indicated "employee" or "works" as their occupation. In most cases, they were probably employed by the railway.¹³ When plotted over time, changes in the relative size of socio-occupational categories represented in our sample suggest that during the first third of the twentieth century, the city's process of deindustrialization led to a greater fragmentation of the work force into commercial and semi-skilled occupations, and a reduction in the importance of skilled occupations.

For the entire period, the vast majority of the sample fell into Katz's classifications of clerks/commercial,

artisans/skilled labor and semiskilled workers. Liberal professions and merchants constituted less than 3% of the yearly totals, and labourers and day workers never formed more than 6.3% of the sample. Setting aside professionals (category I), and unskilled workers (category V), Table XVII traces the changing proportion of the middle categories throughout our period.

Table XVII

Labour force in selected occupational categories by year

Year	Socio-occupational category					
	II		III		IV	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
1896	24.0%	175	51.1%	372	18.7%	136
1911	17.2%	475	34.6%	958	43.7%	1207
1920	24.6%	635	38.9%	1004	29.8%	770
1930	30.1%	905	26.0%	782	35.5%	1067
1938	35.6%	975	15.2%	416	42.3%	1159

Categories are taken from Katz: II = commercial, clerical; III = skilled workers and artisans; IV = semiskilled workers.

It would seem that the size of category III decreased dramatically as a result of reduced employment in the rail industry, since the most important occupations in that category are the skilled labour directly connected to railways: brakemen, conductors, engineers, machinists and firemen. There was a relative increase in occupations of category II (clerks, stenographers, and sales personnel), and category IV (railway employees, packers and parcellers). These increases suggest that the service occupations grew as opposed to the industrial

occupations. The skilled industrial workers in category III seem to have suffered most from the decline of the railroads in Moncton, whereas service and lower skilled sectors increased over the period. The socio-occupational trends indicated by Table XVII may be more apparent than real, however. The large number of clerical workers in sector II positions were by almost every measure - be it wages, security of employment, or economic prestige in the community - fairly low level employees. Moreover, the trend within our sample over the period appears to be towards increases of female employees within category II positions, as well as within category IV positions. Table XVIII provides a breakdown by sex by year for the three middle occupational categories.

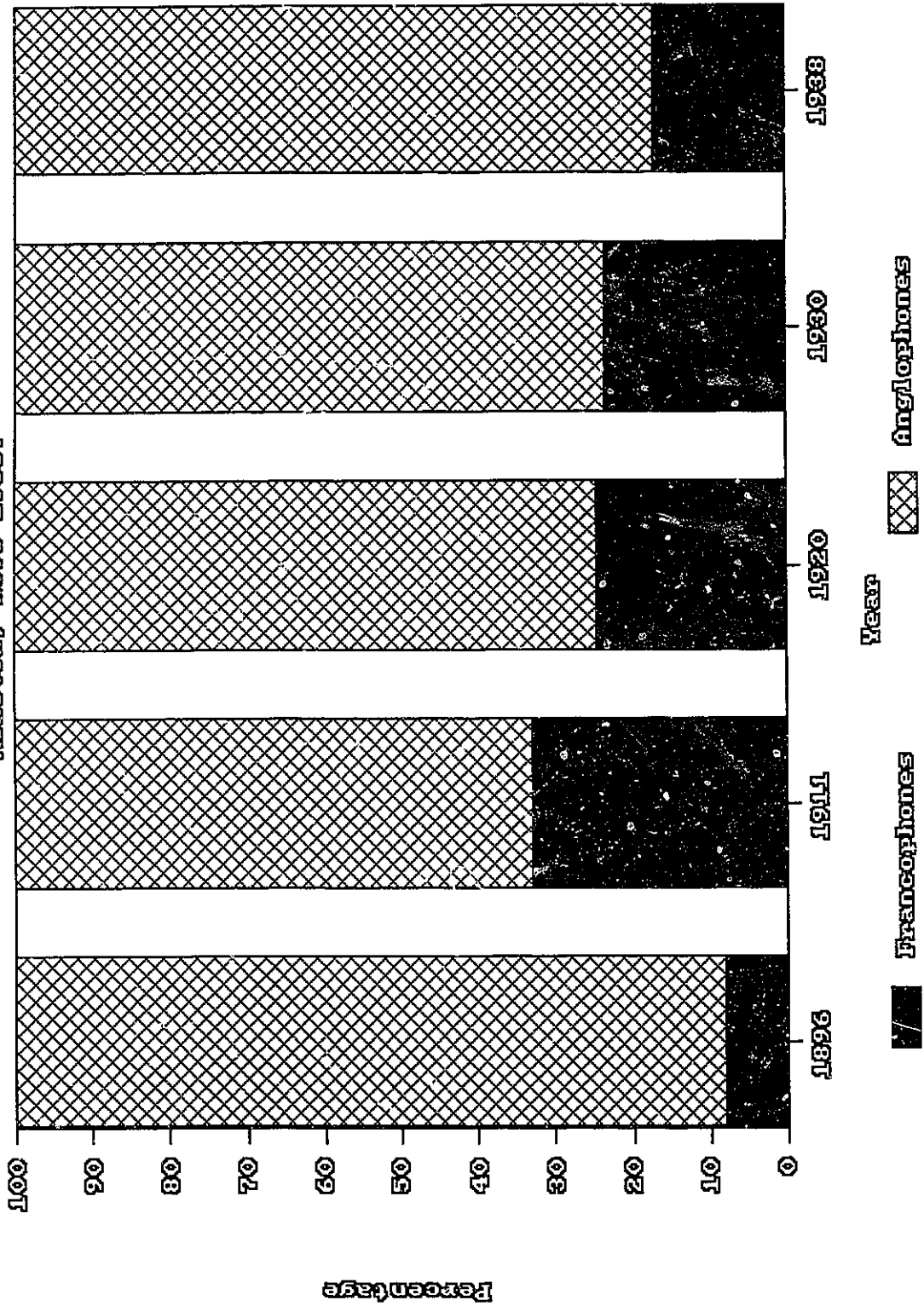
Table XVIII

Labour force in selected occupational categories by year and by gender

Year	Socio-occupational category					
	II		III		IV	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
1896	99.4%	0.6/%	99.7%	0.3%	100.0%	0.0%
1911	100.0%	0.0%	99.6%	0.4%	96.3%	3.7%
1920	77.5%	22.5%	100.0%	0.0%	99.2%	0.8%
1930	60.4%	39.6%	99.5%	0.5%	86.7%	13.3%
1938	55.7%	44.3%	98.1%	0.2%	87.7%	12.3%

The long term shifts in employment and occupational structures of our sample also had an impact on its ethnic composition. Figure XVI shows the proportion of francophones of the sample population of Moncton peaking in 1911 at just over thirty percent, gradually declining through the following three decades.

FIGURE XVI
 ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF SAMPLE POPULATION
 City Directories,
 Moncton, 1896-1938.



The reverse trend actually occurred in the population at large. Table XIX outlines the disparity between the ethnic make-up of the population of Moncton as a whole and the proportion of francophones in our selected industries.

Table XIX

Comparison of the proportion of francophones in the population of Moncton as indicated by the census and street directories sample, 1896 -- 1938.

	Directories		Sample	Census		Year
	Percentage	Actual		Percentage	Actual	
1896	8.0%	58		27.1%	1919	(1901)
1911	32.8%	906		28.9%	3280	(1911)
1920	24.5%	631		31.1%	5440	(1921)
1930	23.4%	705		33.1%	6848	(1931)
1938	17.1%	470		33.5%	7644	(1941)

Source: Government of Canada, Census, 1901-1941.

Where our sample indicates that both the proportion and absolute numbers of francophones in Moncton were in decline, the census reveals the francophone population of Moncton increasing steadily. Thus, the process of deindustrialization of Moncton seems to have had a more profound impact on francophones in our sample than on their anglophone neighbors.

This hypothesis can be tested further by examining the relationship between ethnicity, place of employment and occupational structure. The clear relationship between ethnicity and socio-occupational structure is demonstrated in Table XX.

Table XX

Occupational Hierarchy by Ethnic Origin,
Sample Population,
Moncton, 1896-1938

Occupational Category	Anglophone Percentage	Anglophone Freq.	Francophone Percentage	Francophone Freq.
I	83.5%	172	16.5%	34
II	87.2%	2762	12.8%	404
III	80.1%	2831	19.9%	702
IV	68.1%	2955	31.9%	1383
V	55.4%	288	44.6%	232
Avg. for all:	76.6%		23.4%	

The number of anglophones in the top three categories, as defined by Katz, are over-represented when compared to their overall proportion within our sample. Similarly, more francophones occupy the lower categories than would be expected from a random distribution. In fact, francophones are under-represented by almost 1/2 (12.8% against an expected 23.4%) of the category II occupations -- clerical and commercial -- while being slightly over represented in the semi-skilled, and highly over represented in the lowest category of unskilled workers. Thus, ethnicity is a moderate predictor of socio-occupational status. Within our sample population at least, francophones tended to hold employment lower down the socio-occupational scale than anglophones.

Table XXI provides a numerical breakdown of our sample population by ethnicity, year and category of employment.

Table XXI

Ethnic composition of socio-occupational categories, sample population, Moncton, 1896-1938.

Category	1896	1911	1920	1930	1938
I. Anglo.	28	34	22	33	55
Franco.	2	6	5	5	16
II. Anglo.	166	406	524	787	878
Franco.	9	69	111	118	97
III. Anglo.	351	727	826	589	337
Franco.	21	231	178	193	79
IV. Anglo.	114	653	525	757	906
Franco.	22	554	245	310	252
V. Anglo.	10	30	47	119	80
Franco.	2	45	92	70	23

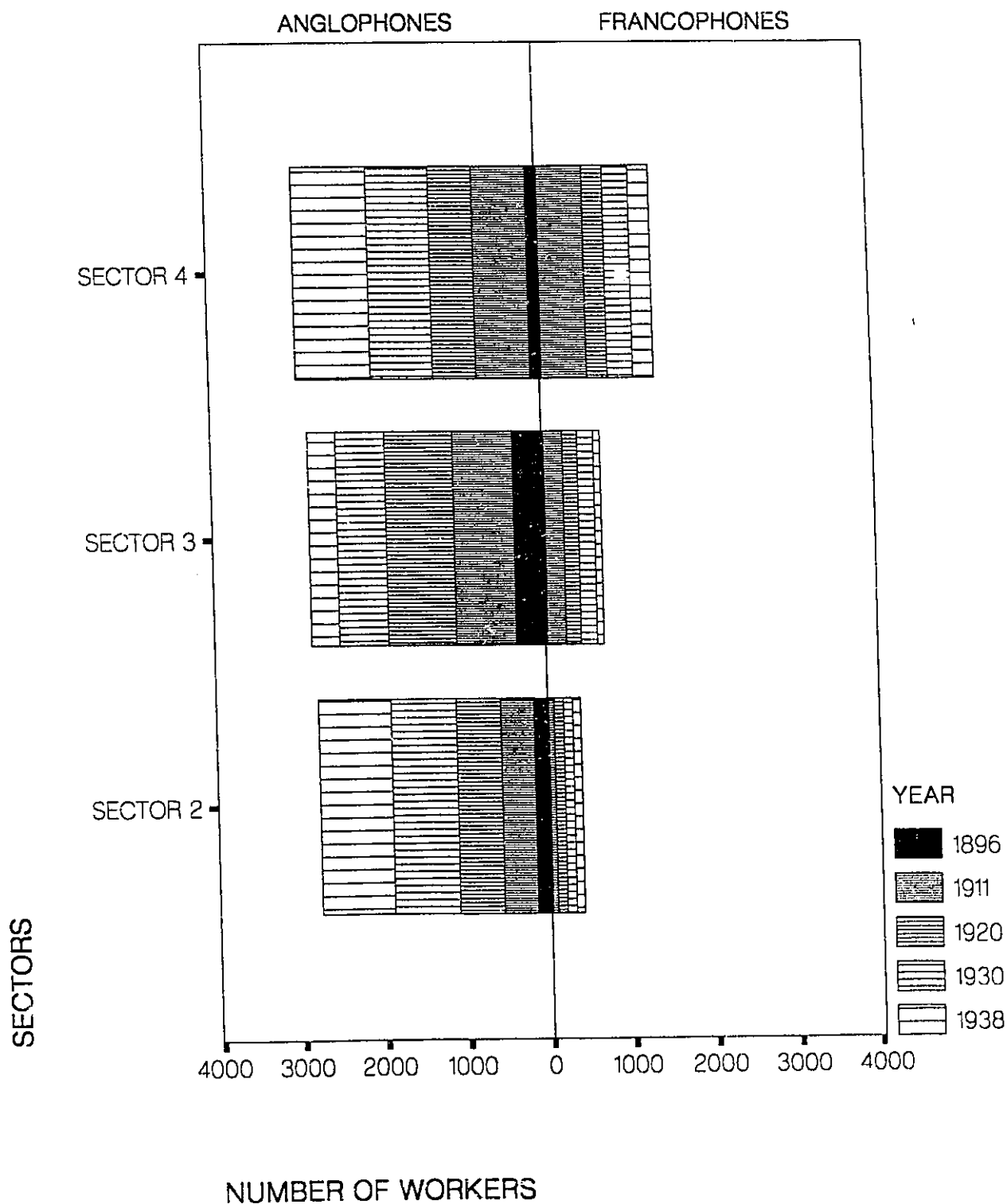
It shows that francophones lost proportionately more jobs in the skilled labour sector (category III) than did their english-speaking counterparts, and they were not re-employed in the service and re-distribution sectors which grew to replace the industrial jobs within our sample. Table XXI also shows that while anglophones employed in sectors II and IV increased steadily from 1911 to 1938, francophones either decreased in number or experienced only very limited growth.

This general hypothesis is confirmed when the impact of deindustrialization on Moncton after 1911 is examined. Declining levels of employment in sector III had more effect on francophones than anglophones. In the period between 1911 and

1938, employment of anglophones in these positions declined by a little over half (53.6%) while francophone employment fell by more than two thirds (65.8%). Francophones did not benefit from employment in newer sectors of the economy. Anglophone employees increased by 216% from 1911 to 1938 in category II, while francophone employees increased by only 71%. And francophones became increasingly under-represented in category II as the process of deindustrialization continued, falling from 14.5% of the total number of employees in 1911, to 9.9% in 1938. A similar process is noted for Category IV. The number of anglophone employees increased by 139% from 1911 to 1938, while the number of francophones fell by 54.5% in the same period. This suggests that francophones were more strongly affected by the impact of declining employment in rail occupations. A graphic representation of the trends indicated by Table XXI is provided in Figure XVII.

FIGURE XVII SOCIO-OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES

BY ETHNICITY



SOURCE: Moncton Sample Population - City Directories

The ICR/CNR employed francophones at a greater rate than their proportion of our sample workers throughout the period under consideration. Table XXII indicates that the work force of the Intercolonial and the Canadian National Railways was never composed of fewer than 302 francophones, or 21.8% of its employees, after 1911. The proportion of francophone employees in these industries almost reached thirty percent twice: 29.3% in 1911, and 29.6% in 1930.

Table XXII

Anglophone and francophone employment in Selected industries for Moncton, 1896-1938.

Employer	1896	1911	1920	1930	1938
ICR-CNR.					
Anglo.	601	1633	1885	1379	1085
Franco.	49	677	617	581	302
Eaton's					
Anglo.	--	--	--	768	909
Franco.	--	--	--	76	79
Dominion Cotton Mills Co.					
Anglo.	11	31	--	--	--
Franco.	6	179	--	--	--
Swift Meat Packing Co.					
Anglo.	--	--	--	51	120
Franco.	--	--	--	9	33
Record Foundry					
Anglo.	9	120	--	16	46
Franco.	1	42	--	15	19

The Dominion Cotton Mills Co. employed extremely high levels of francophones. In 1911, the last year of operations that were

collected, francophones constituted 85.2% of its work force. Not surprisingly considering the nature of this industry, francophone employees of the Dominion Cotton Mills were mostly category IV workers. In 1911, 168 of the 179 francophones employed within this industry were employed within category IV. Anglophones, although dramatically under-represented within this industry, followed the same trend: of the 31 anglophone workers in 1911, 27 were category IV workers.

The Dominion Cotton Mills Co. also employed large numbers of women within its workforce; in 1911, 141 of the 210 employees were female. In fact, this industry's tendency to hire women francophones in lower categories of employment supports the available qualitative source material for the period which states that the female workforce was made up of young, unmarried women seeking employment only until such time as they married.

The Record Foundry employed a substantial proportion of francophones in 1930, almost attaining an even split between both ethnic groups. By 1938, francophones constituted just under thirty percent of the Record Foundry workforce.

The T.E. Eaton Co. systematically employed anglophones. In 1930, the proportion of francophones in the Eaton's work force was a mere 9%, and even this percentage dropped to 8% in 1938. The Swift Meat Packing Co. is another, though less extreme,

example of apparent systematic selection of anglophone workers. Francophones in this industry constituted 15% of the total workforce in 1930, rising to 21% in 1938.

Thus, while established industries -- especially the railways -- seemed to maintain equitable employment of francophones as a proportion of their total work forces, later established industries, particularly Eaton's, did not hire nearly as many. In absolute numbers, the employment of francophones in the larger industries making up our sample decreased during the period. In all likelihood, these people drifted to marginal employment in smaller industries and commercial establishments, or became chronically un/under-employed. The fact that francophones relied on municipal assistance in larger numbers than did their english-speaking counterparts during the early depression years, as stated in chapter III, supports the hypothesis that francophones as an ethnic group felt the repercussions of the city's dismal economic performance more strongly than anglophones.

The importance of ethnicity is also noticeable in occupational hierarchies within Moncton's two major employers: Eaton's and the railways, where more anglophones than francophones were employed in the higher occupational categories. Table XXII indicates the proportion of francophone employment by socio-occupational categories in these two industries.

Table XXIII

Francophones by Socio-occupational category
at T.E. Eaton Co. and the ICR/CNR,
Moncton, 1911-1938.

	1911		1920		1930		1938	
	CNR	Eaton	CNR	Eaton	CNR	Eaton	CNR	Eaton
I	.1%	-	0%	-	0%	0%	0%	0%
II	8.9%	-	17.2%	-	11.9%	56.6%	8.9%	74.4%
III	31.0%	-	28.7%	-	29.6%	1.3%	12.6%	3.8%
IV	53.5%	-	39.2%	-	48.0%	35.5%	76.2%	21.8%
V	6.5%	-	14.9%	-	9.0%	6.6%	1.7%	0%

Table XXIV provides a similar table for anglophones employed in the socio-occupational categories of our sample, and allows for a closer examination of the trends in employment as it relates to ethnicity.

Table XXIV

Anglophones by Socio-occupational category
at T.E. Eaton Co. and the ICR/CNR,
Moncton, 1911-1938.

	1911		1920		1930		1938	
	CNR	Eaton	CNR	Eaton	CNR	Eaton	CNR	Eaton
I	0.0%	-	0.1%	-	0.2%	0.0%	0.3%	0.1%
II	21.9%	-	26.6%	-	21.8%	57.0%	17.2%	67.2%
III	40.4%	-	43.2%	-	36.8%	6.0%	19.6%	6.1%
IV	35.7%	-	27.5%	-	37.3%	28.9%	60.7%	25.9%
V	1.8%	-	2.4%	-	2.8%	7.4%	1.3%	0.0%

Only one francophone ever occupied an elite occupation at Eaton's or the railways, compared with ten anglophones who held category I positions within these two industries for the same period. Similarly, fewer francophones than anglophones employed

at the ICR/CNR held sector II occupations, and their proportion declined during the 1920s and 1930s. In 1920, 17.2% of francophones employed at the railway worked in category II occupations, compared with 26.6% of their anglophone colleagues. By 1938, less than 10% of francophones worked in this clerical sector within this industry. The striking increase between 1920 and 1938 in the proportion of francophones working in sector IV occupations at the CNR is not matched by anglophone levels in this sector, which rose from 35% in 1911, to 61% in 1938. Thus, even when francophones were maintaining employment levels in the railway industry, they fell into lower socio-occupational classes more quickly than their anglophone colleagues.

Quite a different process is evident at Eaton's. When francophones managed to find employment in this intensively clerical industry, they tended to hold the same occupations as anglophones. The nature of this industry meant that most positions were non specialized: service and clerical jobs. Only 6.0% and 6.1% of anglophones employed at Eaton's in 1930 and 1938 respectively, worked in sector III occupations. Francophones occupied only 1.3% and 3.8% of sector III occupations for those same years. Table XXIII indicates that in 1930, 56% of francophones employed at Eatons held occupations in sector II. By 1938, 74% of francophone employees occupied positions in this sector. This compares favorably with the 57% and the 67.2% of anglophones in sector II positions in 1930 and 1938 respectively,

as indicated in Table XXIV. However, francophones did not hold as many sector IV positions as anglophones: 35% of francophones, compared with 28.9% of anglophones, employed at Eaton's in 1930, worked in semi-skilled occupations. By 1938, the proportion within our sample had declined for both linguistic groups: 21.8% of francophones, and 25.9% of anglophones, worked in sector IV occupations. It seems that francophones had difficulty landing a job at Eaton's in Moncton. Once employed there, however, they tended to do as well as the majority of their anglophone colleagues within the company.

The distinction within our sample between anglophone and francophone workers suggest that francophones systematically did not avoid employment in the principal industries of the city. Rather, francophones showed a willingness to work in all industries that would hire them. It is striking that the overall proportion of francophone workers in our sample drops during the second half of our period, by which time the rhetoric surrounding Acadian participation in urban pursuits was weakening, rather than during the upsurge of nationalism at the turn of the century. This suggests that a lack of proportionate Acadian participation in the economy of Moncton was due to economic or social factors rather than to ideological or national pressures. The economic forces at play during the second half of our period seem to have pushed francophones into lower occupational levels than anglophones at the railways, and systematically deprived

francophones of employment at such anglophone dominated industries as Eaton's.

However, the ethnic geography of our sample supports Acadian nationalistic ideals of ethnic segregation, for neighborhoods were dominated by either anglophones or francophones. While ethnic concentrations probably were not developed in response to Acadian nationalist rhetoric, our sample supports their description of how francophones should regroup in an urban center. Thus, if francophones did not accept nationalist ideology concerning participation in the economic functions of Moncton, their neighborhoods became an important expression of their solidarity as a group.

As the period progressed, employees in our sample spread gradually throughout the city.¹⁴ While this was probably the result of the growth of the city's population, which is not clearly reflected in our sample, it suggests that factors other than place of employment were important determinants for place of residence. The city's major industries: the ICR/CNR, the T.E. Eaton Co., the Record Foundry, and Swift Meat Packing Co., all bordered the Petitcodiac River. The sole exception was the ICR/CNR workshops established on the outskirts of the city after the 1906 fire had destroyed most of their facilities along the Petitcodiac River.

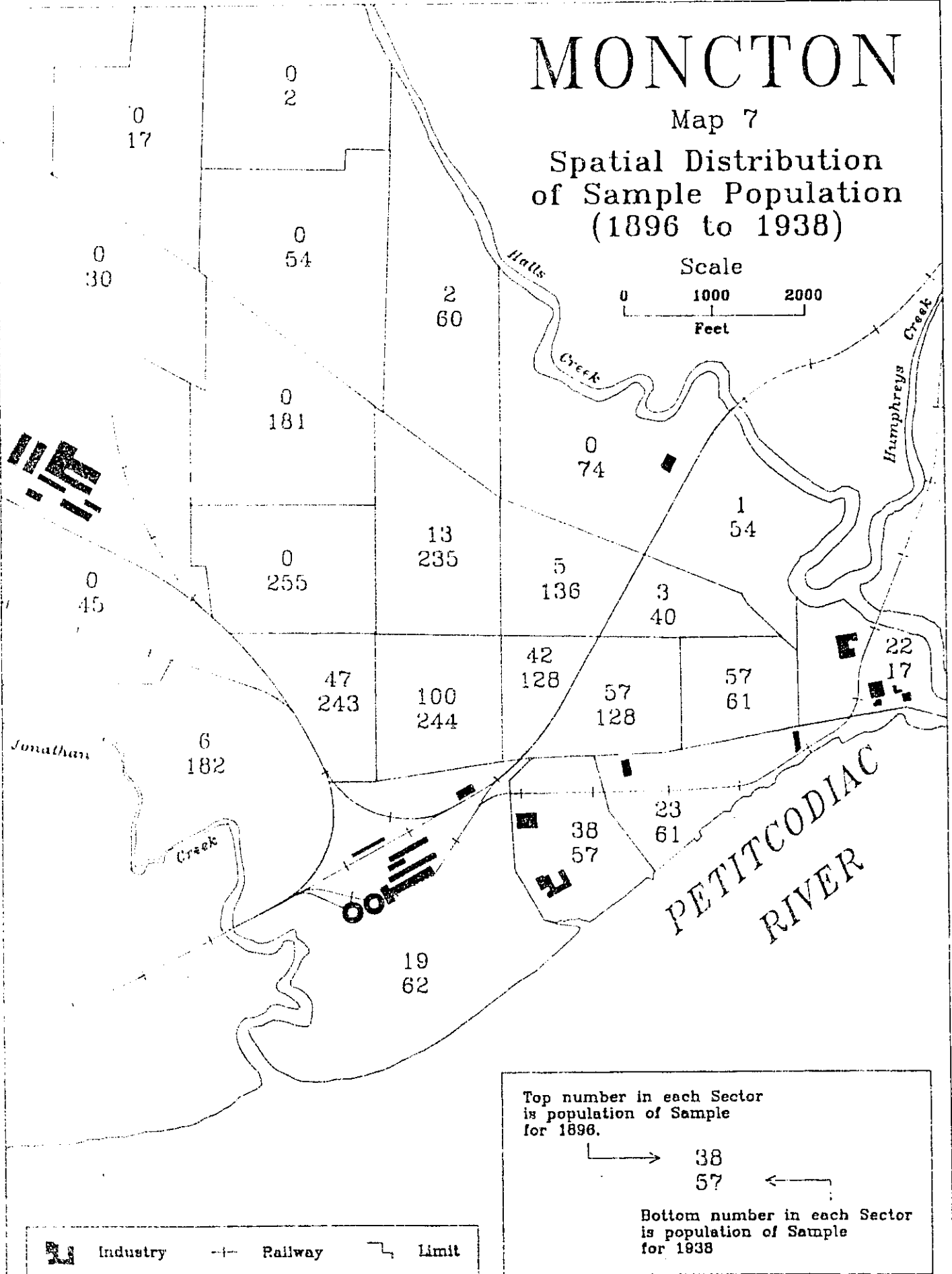
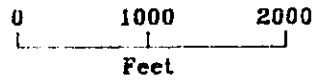
Map 7 indicates the progressive settlement of the northern and western areas of the city, which was probably due in part to the relocation of the railway workshops there. It must be noted, however, that the sample presents some problems in interpretation. Sector 03, (see Map 6) which contained the Record Foundry and Eaton's, had a wildly fluctuating population: from 38 in 1896 up to 230 in 1911, then down to 57 in 1938. This, of course, may be a consequence of commercial development replacing residential housing in the neighborhood. But it may also reflect important changes in the residential preferences of the people making up the sample.

MONCTON

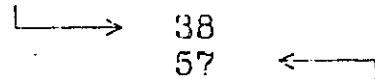
Map 7

Spatial Distribution
of Sample Population
(1896 to 1938)

Scale



Top number in each Sector
is population of Sample
for 1896.



Bottom number in each Sector
is population of Sample
for 1938

Industry Railway Limit

The highest concentration of francophones in our sample seems to have been in the east end of the city, along the river from the CNR grounds to the Barrel Factory (see Map 6) at the extreme east end of the city. The clearest method of demonstrating these areas of concentration is by measuring the degree to which a target group, in this case francophones, is over or under-represented in a particular area of the city in relation to the entire sample population. For example, in 1911, 32.6% of our total sample were francophones, yet they constituted 85.6% of the population in the zone around the barrel factory; the index of representation is equal to +162.5. Similarly, in the same year francophones were distinctly under-represented in the zone surrounding the Baptist Church sector (see Map 6), where they constituted only 13.3% of the population, resulting in an index of representation of -59.2. In our analysis, the higher the index score, the more over-represented the target population was in relation to the entire sample. A perfectly proportioned representation would receive a score of zero.¹⁵ Applying this index to the geographic distribution of francophones in Moncton (see Maps 8 and 9) reveals interesting developments in the ethnic and social structures of the city during our period.

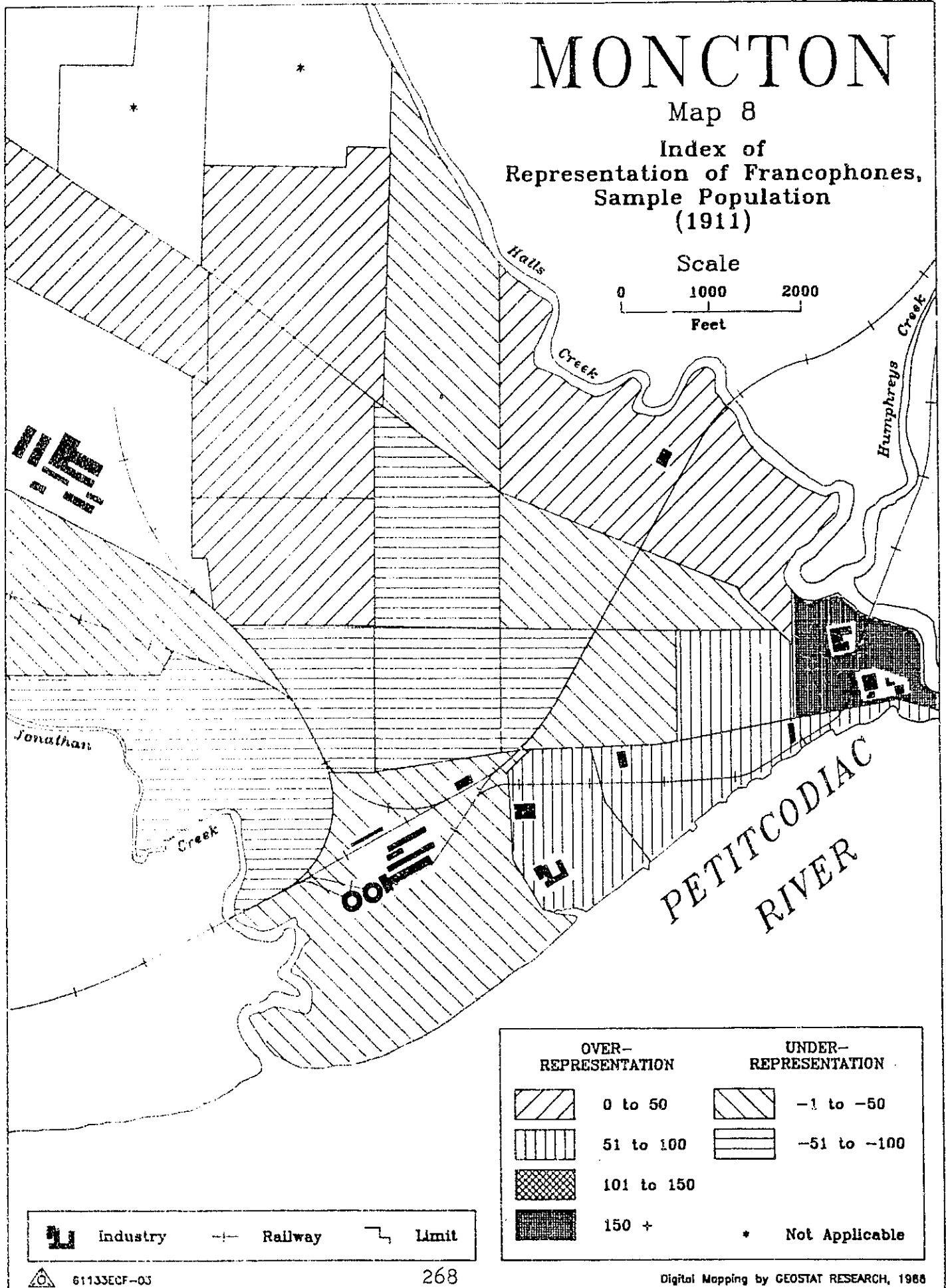
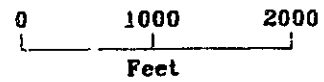
Over-representation of francophones in the east end of Moncton was maintained from 1911 to 1938.¹⁶ Maps 8 and 9 even suggest that the concentration of francophones in the east end tended to increase between these two target years.

MONCTON

Map 8

Index of
Representation of Francophones,
Sample Population
(1911)

Scale



OVER-REPRESENTATION		UNDER-REPRESENTATION	
	0 to 50		-1 to -50
	51 to 100		-51 to -100
	101 to 150		
	150 +		
		*	Not Applicable

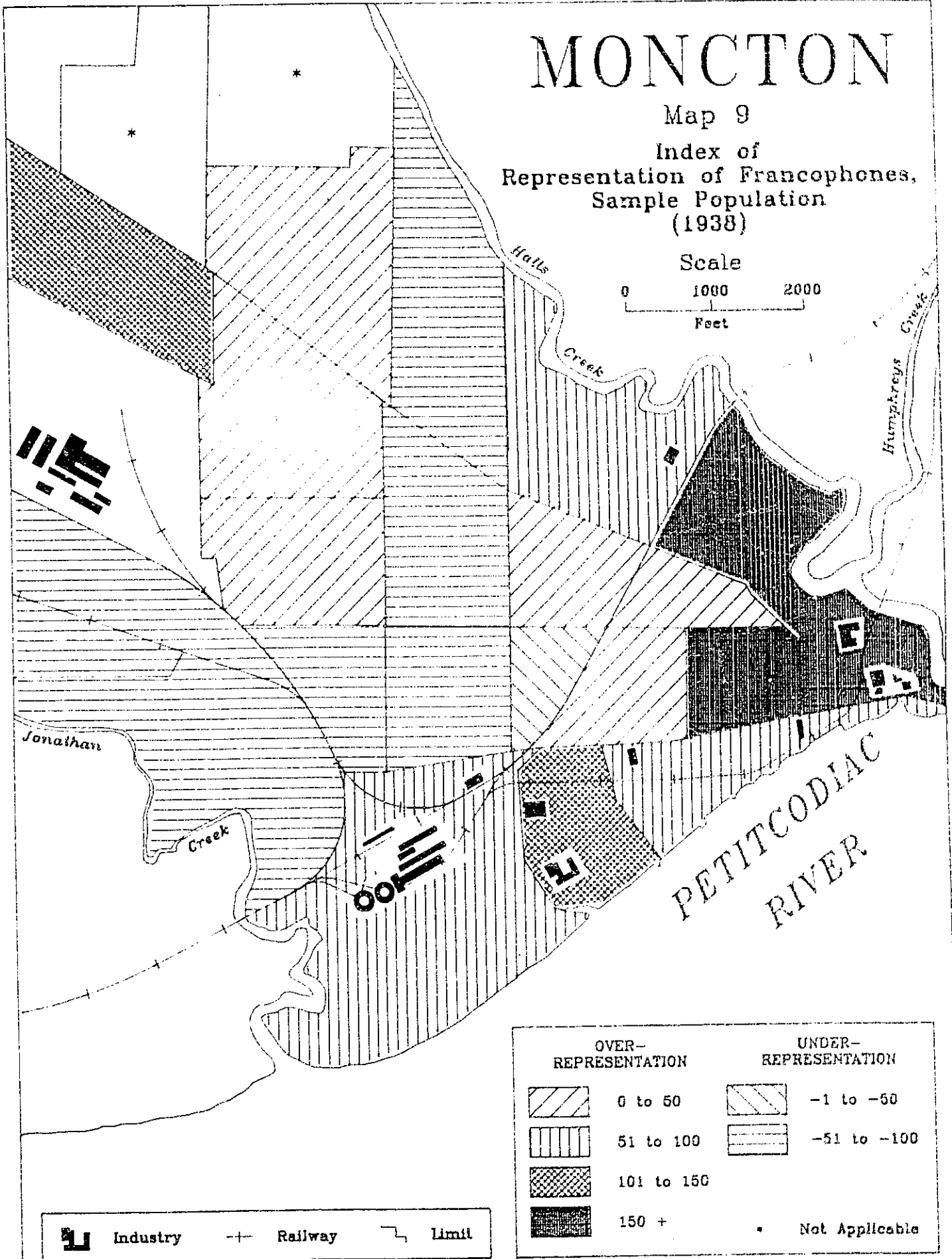
	Industry		Railway		Limit
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MONCTON

Map 9

Index of
Representation of Francophones,
Sample Population
(1938)

Scale



OVER-REPRESENTATION		UNDER-REPRESENTATION	
	0 to 50		-1 to -50
	51 to 100		-51 to -100
	101 to 150		
	150 +		
			Not Applicable

Industry
 Railway
 Limit

In 1911, five of the eight sectors situated east of the railway had positive indices of representation, thus indicating an over-representation of francophones. By 1938, all of the eight sectors east of the railway had an over-representation of francophones. Furthermore, the size of the francophone population in these sectors confirms the dominant role they played there. In 1911, 85.6% of the 125 individuals living in the sector 05, the Barrel Factory (see Map 6) were francophone, while 64.8% of the 230 inhabitants around the Record Foundry sector were francophone. However, the increases in the degree of over-representation of francophones in the east end of the city suggested by Maps 8 and 9 may be misleading since the east end of the city lost population rapidly during the period between 1911 and 1938. Only two of its eight sectors had more inhabitants in 1938 than in 1911. The decreasing proportion of francophones in the total sample must also be taken into consideration. Within these eight sectors, the number of francophones declined from 861 in 1911 to 393 in 1938. A reduced number of francophones remained in these commercial and industrial sectors of the city, and while francophones maintained their relative proportion in areas of domination, they lost the cultural strength offered by larger concentrations.

Between 1911 and 1938, francophones also moved into the north-western extremities of the city, into relatively depopulated sectors, around sectors 19 and 20: Wilber and

Humphrey Streets (see Map 6).¹⁷ In 1938, eleven of the thirty residents of the Wilber Street neighborhood were francophones, resulting in an index of representation of +122.4. The significance of this north-westerly movement is difficult to gauge, but there seems to have been a process of diffusion of the francophone population throughout the city, with the exception of certain anglophone-dominated areas, including the districts immediately west of the railway, and the Victoria Park neighborhood. This may be explained by the fact that francophones moved away from the commercial sectors bordering the Petitcodiac River into relatively cheap suburban areas, probably following jobs in the newly established ICR-CNR workshops. In 1911, all the francophones living in the Wilber and Humphrey Street neighborhoods worked at the ICR.¹⁸ While there was a movement of francophones into suburban areas within the city core, its total significance may be somewhat limited, since the total number of residents in these sectors remained low. Only one sector in this area, around the Essex Street sector, had a population greater than 100 by 1938.

The converse concentration of anglophones in the areas immediately west of the railway tracks dividing the city is also evident in Maps 8 and 9. The most notable feature of sectors where anglophones dominate, or where there is only a small degree of francophone over-representation, is that the population remained relatively stable between 1911 and 1938. The Brunswick

Hotel sector, for instance, was inhabited by 287 people in 1911, and by 244 people in 1938. Francophones constituted 10.8% of the 1911 population, and 5.7% of the 1938 figure. The same stability is evident for other anglophone residential areas. The McDougall Avenue sector had a population of 258 in 1911, 6.2% of whom were francophone, and a population of 243 in 1938, 12.3% of whom were francophone. Similar population stability occurred in the western section of the city, where there were proportionately smaller levels of over-representation of francophones. The Exhibition Grounds sector had a relatively weak over-representation of francophones: +13.1 in 1911, and +26.0 in 1938. The total population of this sector remained very stable through the period, falling only slightly from 263 people in 1911, to 255 people in 1938. These areas were first settled by anglophones. If they retained a degree of stability unknown in the francophone sectors, it was probably due to the relative prosperity of their residents.

The geographic disparities in the wealth of Moncton's inhabitants can be approximated by examining the distribution of the sample's occupational structure throughout the city. Of the 11,800 cases within our sample, 750 people, or 6.4%, lived outside the city limits, in outlying suburbs such as Lewisville, Humphrey's Mills, Leger's Corner (Dieppe) and Sunny Brae. The vast majority of these people were employed in lower socio-occupational groups. In 1911, 94% of suburban residents were

employed in category IV occupations, as compared to 43.7% of the entire urban sample. The percentage of suburban residents employed in this category fell to 67.1% in 1930, while the rate for the entire urban sample remained more or less stable, at 35.5%.

Similar concentrations of occupational groups are evident within the city's boundaries. The most striking example is the extensive concentration of people in category I occupations, liberal professionals and merchants, in three sectors of the city. The Theatre sector had a large number of professionals and merchants. In 1938, 30 people in category I occupations lived in this district, almost 50% of all professionals in Moncton. The two adjacent sectors: Brunswick Hotel and McDougall Avenue sectors (see Map 6), also had large concentrations of professionals and merchants. It can safely be suggested that the commercial core of the city ran east-west, crossing the railway, and that the city's ethnic demarcation is situated along the CNR tracks. Not one single francophone professional or merchant gave an address in either of these two sectors. Francophone professionals usually worked and lived in the Theatre district. In 1911, 23.5% of professionals in the Theatre district were francophone, and this proportion increased to 40% by 1938. This sector's concentration of francophones in category I occupations was most pronounced in 1938, when only two francophone professionals lived in other sections. Francophone professionals

tended to settle in the sector of the commercial district closest to areas with high concentrations of francophones.

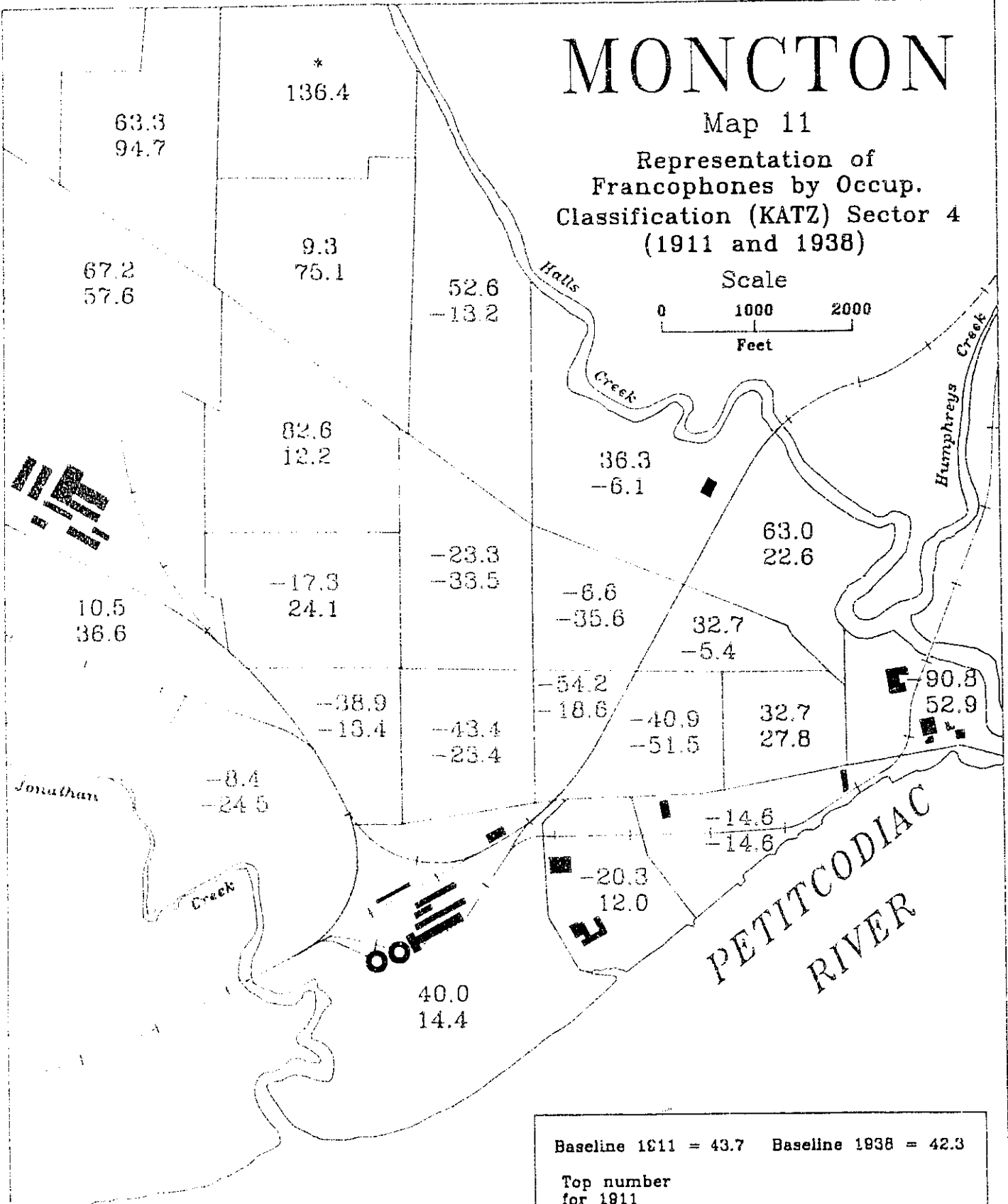
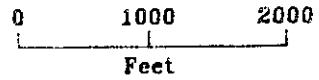
Similar distribution patterns for categories II, III and IV are also apparent. Maps 10 and 11 indicate the index of over-representation for occupational categories II and IV in 1911 and 1938, respectively.

MONCTON

Map 11

Representation of Francophones by Occup. Classification (KATZ) Sector 4 (1911 and 1938)

Scale



Baseline 1911 = 43.7 Baseline 1938 = 42.3

Top number for 1911 → 52.6

← -13.2 Bottom number for 1938

* Not Applicable

Industry
 Railway
 Limit

In 1911, people in category II occupations tended to be over-represented in the anglophone sectors immediately surrounding the commercial district. In fact, all sectors where category II occupations were over-represented in 1911 had a dominant anglophone population. As expected, this distribution pattern was less apparent in 1938. That year, five of the nine districts with an over-represented group in category II occupations, were francophone sectors. This apparent breakdown of the ethnic-occupational neighborhood was partially due to the outflow of people from east end francophone sectors towards the north-west. The absolute number of individuals employed in category II occupations living in anglophone districts was 346 in 1911, and 191 in 1938. In both years, anglophone districts had more people in category II occupations than did francophone sectors of the city. The strength of ethnic-occupational sectors in the city broke down as the industrial sector within our sample declined.

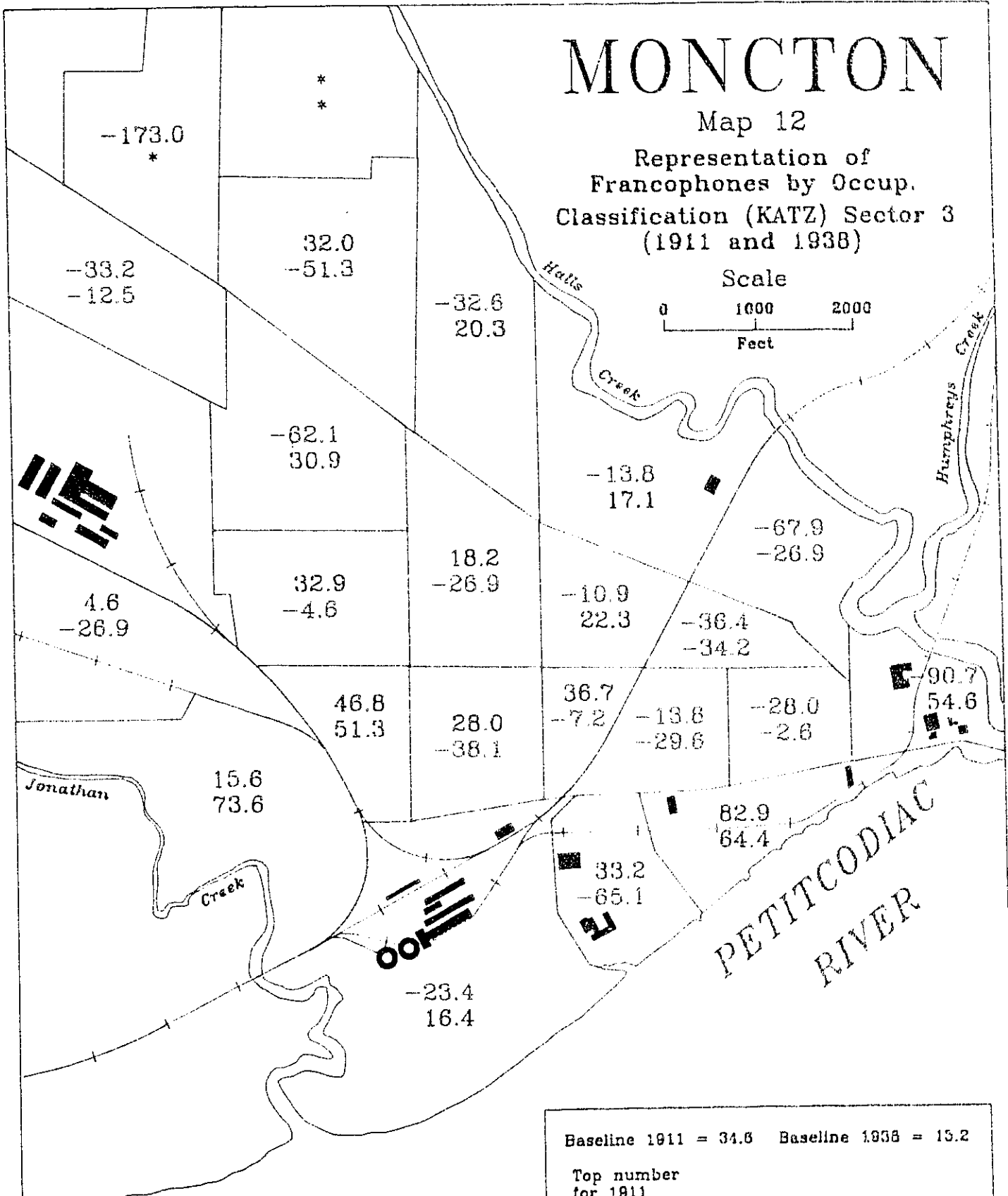
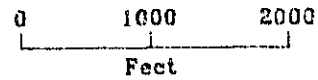
Workers in category IV occupations tended to settle on the city's periphery, particularly in the newer, north-western sectors around the ICR/CNR workshops. In 1938, all of the sectors adjoining the workshops had an over-representation of category IV workers, which was not the case for category III workers. Map 12 shows category III workers spread throughout the city, with concentrations appearing in both older, more established areas, and in the newer sectors.

MONCTON

Map 12

Representation of
Francophones by Occup.
Classification (KATZ) Sector 3
(1911 and 1938)

Scale



Baseline 1911 = 34.6 Baseline 1938 = 15.2

Top number
for 1911

→ 28.0

-38.1 ←

Bottom number
for 1938

* Not Applicable

Industry
 Railway
 Limit

This may have been due to the relatively smaller number of skilled workers and artisans remaining in 1938. Only 15.2% of our sample were category III workers that year. Three sectors maintained an over-representation of Category III workers between 1911 and 1938: two sectors between the CNR grounds and workshops, and a third along the river, in the Imperial Oil sector of the city (see Map 6). There seems to be some correlation between the over-representation of occupational categories and the ethnic composition of neighborhoods. The concentration of category IV workers around the CNR workshops in 1938 is matched by similar over-representation of francophones in these neighborhoods. But the relationship between ethnicity, occupation, and residence is more evident in category II than in categories III and IV.

A much stronger case can be made for the interaction of employer and ethnicity as determinants of area of residence. The clearest example is the 1911 work force of the Dominion Cotton Mills Co. in 1911. The factory, located in the extreme east end of the city (see Map 2), employed 210 workers, 179 or 85.3% of whom were francophone. Half lived in the same sector as the factory, and another third lived in the Queen Street sector immediately adjoining (see Map 6), both strongly francophone districts.

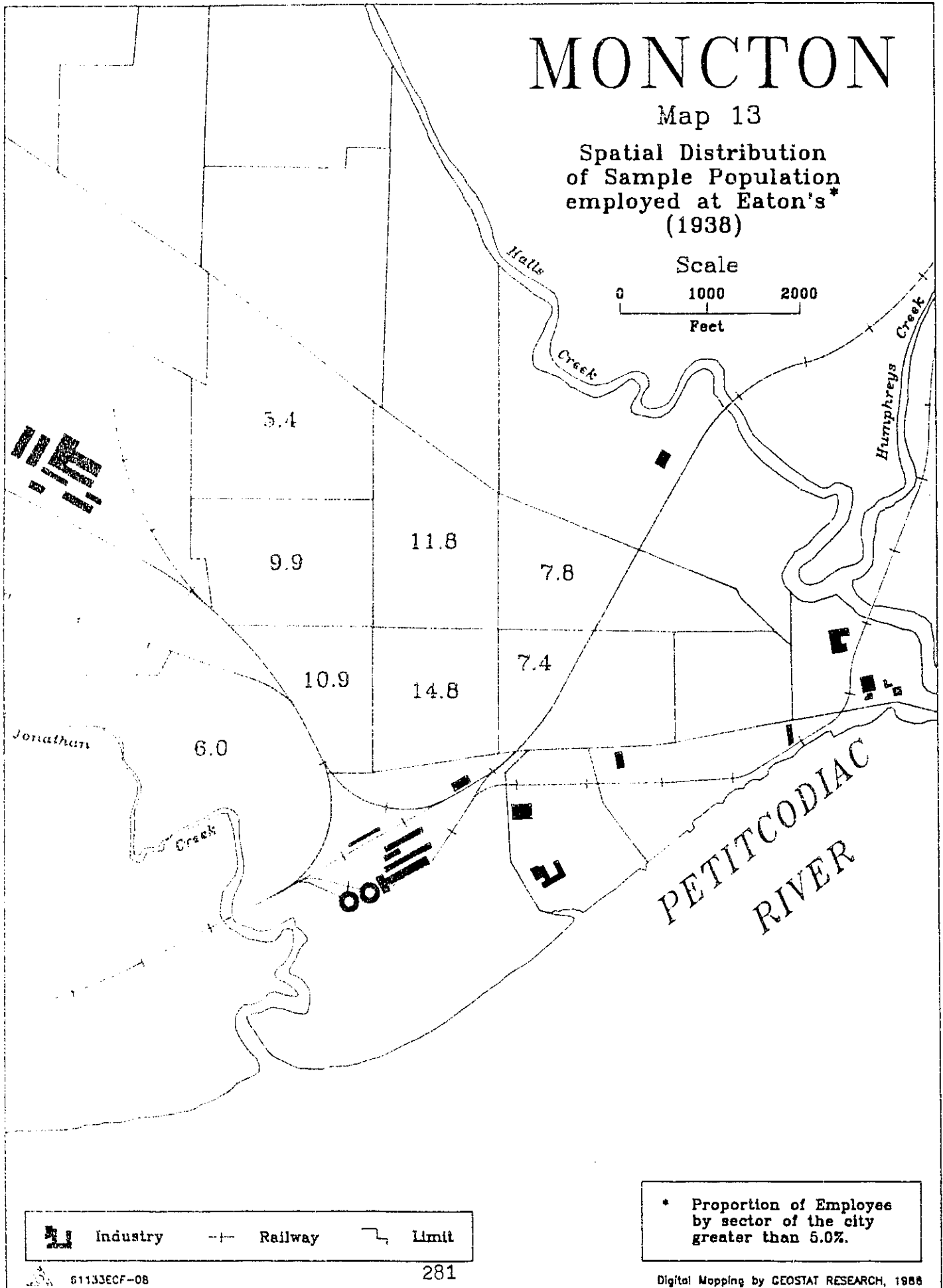
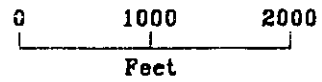
Not surprisingly, employees working for the railways and Eaton's tended to be less concentrated in areas immediately adjoining their place of employment. As indicated by Map 13, Eaton employees in 1938 lived mostly in the anglophone-dominated sectors of the city, west and north of the railway, avoiding the more commercially oriented east end, which was closer to their place of employment. The largely anglophone work force of Eaton's came from well established anglophone composed of workers in the higher occupational categories.

MONCTON

Map 13

Spatial Distribution
of Sample Population
employed at Eaton's*
(1938)

Scale



Industry Railway Limit

* Proportion of Employees
by sector of the city
greater than 5.0%.

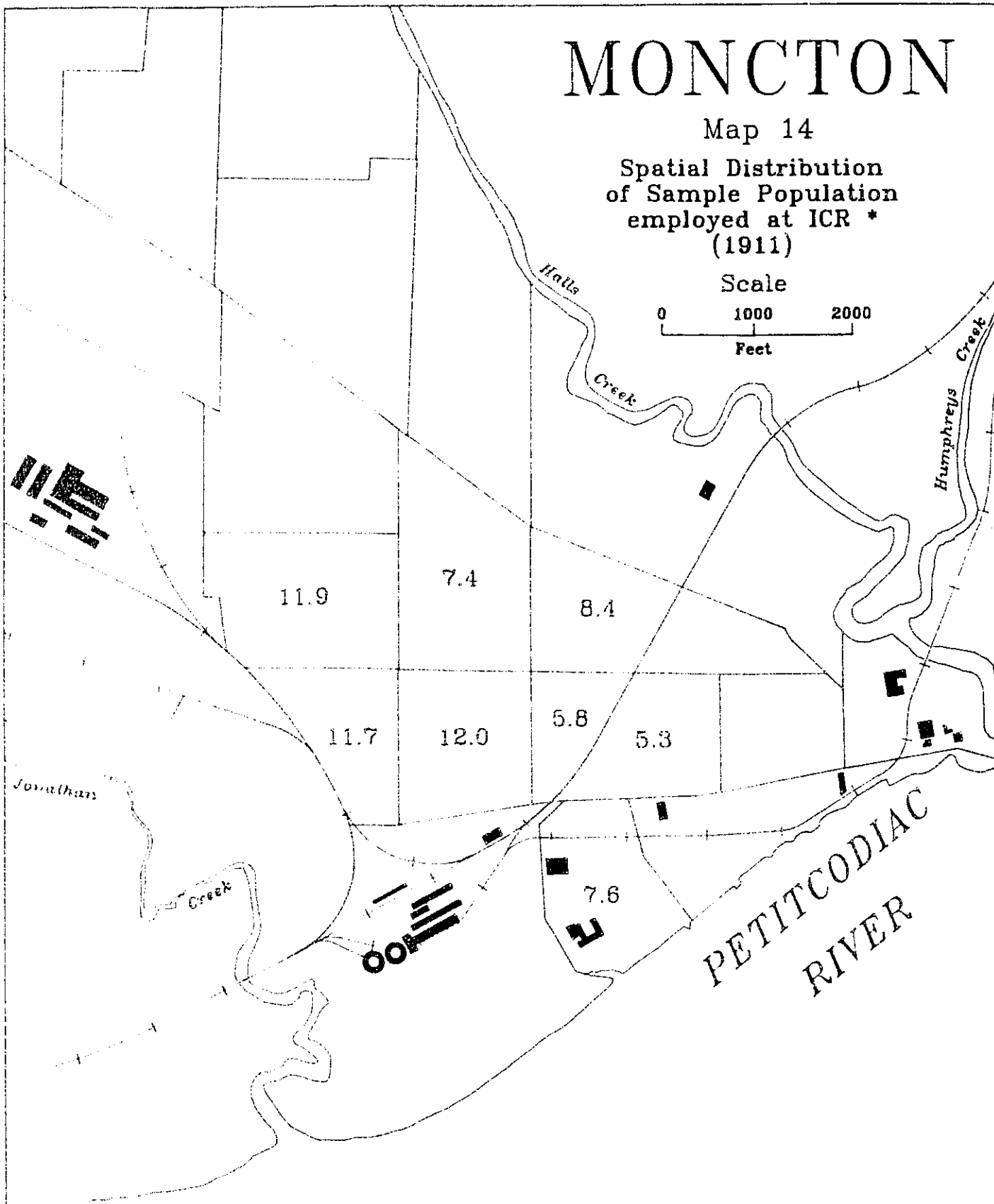
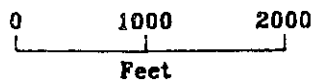
Maps 14 and 15 clearly show the shift of railway employees from the city's east end towards the western sectors between 1911 and 1938. This probably resulted from the establishment of the workshops at that edge of the city, as well as from a general tendency to settle the more outlying areas. In 1911, the Record Foundry and the Theatre sectors contained more than 5.0% of the work force of the ICR. However, in 1938, no concentrations of 5.0% or greater of rail employees are found east of the tracks that divided the city.¹⁹

MONCTON

Map 14

Spatial Distribution
of Sample Population
employed at ICR *
(1911)

Scale



Industry Railway Limit

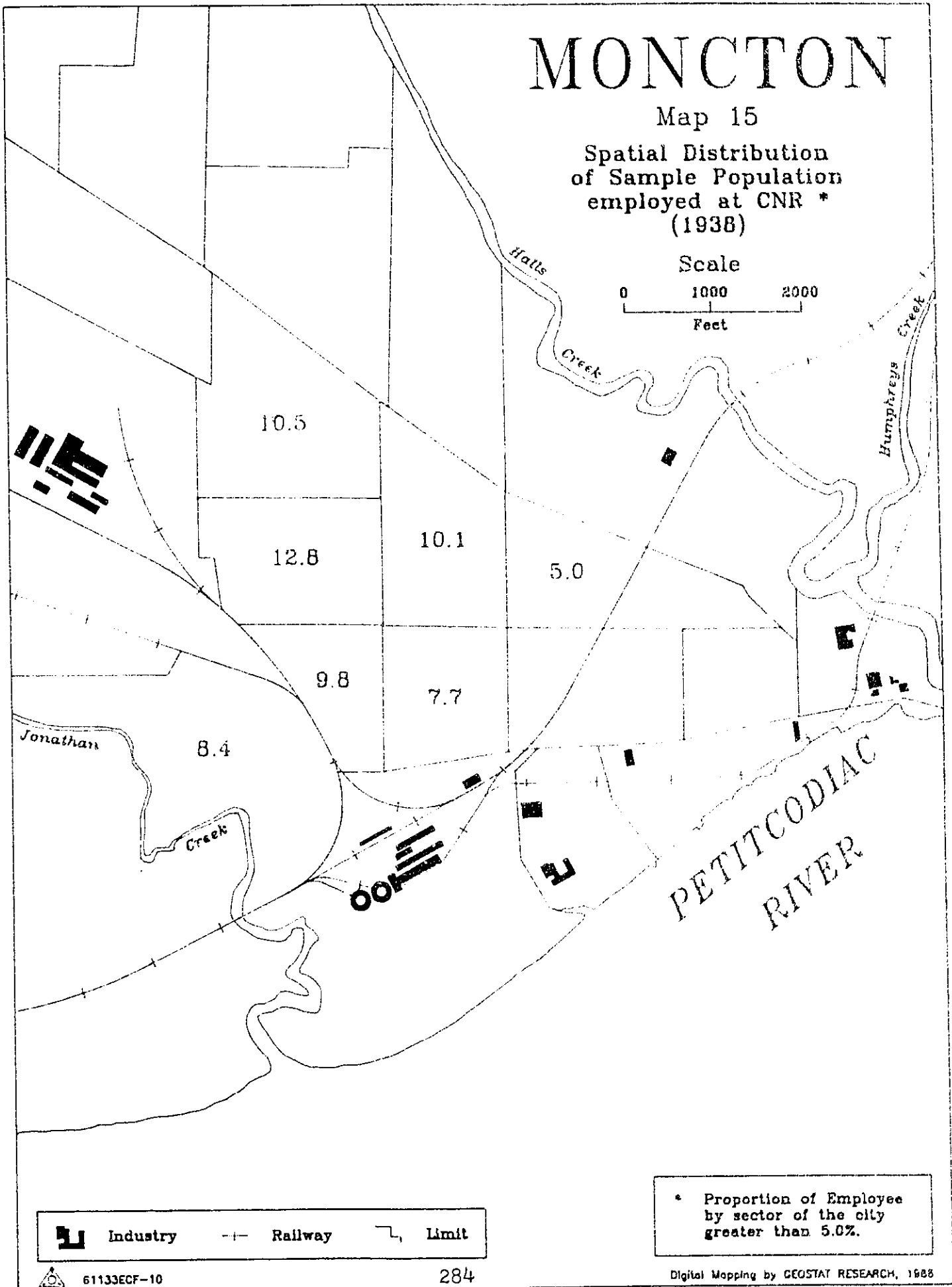
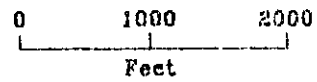
* Proportion of Employee by sector of the city greater than 5.0%.

MONCTON

Map 15

Spatial Distribution
of Sample Population
employed at CNR *
(1938)

Scale



Industry Railway Limit

* Proportion of Employee by sector of the city greater than 5.0%.

In order to preserve the identity of the cultural minority and encourage self-sufficiency in an urban environment, Acadian nationalists stressed creation of separate francophone cultural and institutional structures. However, our study shows that the Acadian nationalists' message received a mixed reception from francophones living in Moncton. Francophones worked in large numbers for the railways and other economic interests whenever possible, leaving only when forces beyond their control intervened. Economic recession was one such factor. Another factor that forced francophones out of the principal industries of the city was deindustrialization. Replacement jobs created by Eaton's in wholesale and redistribution did not go to francophones. As the Acadian proportion of the total population remained stable or increased, they must have moved into more marginal areas of employment in smaller industries not included in our sample. The under-representation of francophones in some of the city's key industries towards the end of the period may also have been a question of dominant work language. In the direction the city's economy was taking, certain functions may simply have required a higher degree of functional literacy in the english language than most Acadians were capable of. The increasing difficulties of finding employment within key sectors of Moncton's economy may eventually have resulted in the creation of francophone businesses, so favored by Acadian nationalists at the turn of the century.

Data on Moncton's urban geography is more difficult to interpret. Acadian nationalists' vision of francophone ghettos was realized to some extent, but certainly not in the fashion they had wished. The francophone sections of Moncton were the least stable, and seemingly least desirable, areas of the city. The east end became increasingly commercial throughout this period, forcing or, at the very least, encouraging the residents to move to outlying areas. Both occupation and place of employment continued to be important determinants of residence. However, ethnicity seems to have been the most important initial factor in selection of residence, although its importance may have declined during the period under consideration. While the city could easily be divided into anglophone and francophone districts in 1911, ethnic concentration was less evident in 1938. This may have resulted from a declining number of francophones in our sample, or from the transfer of francophones from the east end to more outlying sectors of the city. The integration of Acadians into the urban ecological system seems to have led to breakdown of francophone ghettos as the decades progressed.

*

Notes

Chapter 5

1. Martin Spigelman explained that isolationism developed as a result of the expulsion of the Acadian people. Thankful to be back, terrified of the British, and afraid of alarming the anglophone majority, Acadians created self-sufficient and secure communities of their own, hidden from the outside world. Spigelman added that the colonial governments attempted to exclude Acadians from the educational system and from administrative positions. He concludes that Acadians gradually accepted their isolation from the anglophone and protestant dominated society in the Maritimes. Although by the end of the nineteenth century, Acadians generally viewed their isolation as the one and only effective guarantee for their survival, they began to realize the degrading position of exclusion into which they had been forced. See Martin Spigelman, The Acadian Renaissance and the Development of Acadien-Canadien Relations, 1864-1912, Ph.D. thesis, Dalhousie University, 1975, pp. 5, 20 and 23.

2. Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language, Second Edition, defined ghetto as "any section of a city in which many members of some minority group live, or to which they are restricted as by economic pressure or social discrimination."

3. A. Bernard wrote extensively on the subject of Acadian nationalism and **la question de survivance**. On twentieth century Acadian nationalism, he stated that: "Moncton, centre ferroviaire et commercial du pays, devient vite la position-clé du peuple acadien des Provinces Maritimes, et les années 1908-1915 que nous évoquons présentement constituent le point tournant de l'histoire acadienne au vingtième siècle." See A. Bernard, La renaissance acadienne au xx^e siècle, Comité de la survivance Française, 1949, pp. 19-20.

4. In an essay entitled "Conflict ethnique et lutte de classes dans la question acadienne", published in Cahiers, Société historique acadienne, Vol. X, no. 3 (Sept. 1979), J.-W. LaPierre noted the francophone movement towards cities in the early twentieth century, which led to acculturation and the integration of the francophone population into the urban ecological system. LaPierre maintains that the highly educated Acadians of Moncton succeeded in maintaining a distinct cultural system, characterized by the French language and Catholic religion.

5. M. Spigelman, op. cit., p. 202. Spigelman explained that the ideals espoused by Acadian nationalists were not necessarily accepted by urban Acadians:

Many working class Acadians wanted their children to know English, and perhaps even become anglophones, so as to advance in a predominantly Anglo-Saxon milieu. However such anglicization would only weaken the elite's constituency. Hence the members of the elite actively sought ideological (...) and institutional (...) frameworks which could promote their personal objectives while at the same time maintain group cohesion.

6. See Mark Olsen, "DATCOL4: Interactive Data Collector for Historians", Computers and the Humanities, Vol. 19, no. 3, 1985. Collected data was subsequently transmitted to the University of Ottawa mainframe for statistical analysis.

7. The five directories were chosen for their proximity to other events or transformations that we wished to analyze. The 1896 directory was chosen to gauge the influx of francophones into the region, and provide an indication of the impact of the National Policy. The 1911 directory continues the first period of this study, and represents information on the beginnings of the process of deindustrialization. The 1920 directory was chosen because of the important transformations in Moncton's economy brought on by the post-war economy. The 1930 and 1938 directories were chosen in order to assess the importance of the depression and the impact of Moncton's period of deindustrialization on the Acadian community.

8. These employers are the Municipal Government, the Intercolonial/ Canadian National Railways, the Swift Meat Packing Co., the T.E. Eaton Co., whose Atlantic headquarters were situated in Moncton, the Record Foundry, the Dominion Cotton Mills Co., and self-employed professionals. Two factors dictated this choice of employers: a) their relative importance to Moncton's economy, and b) the francophone minority's involvement in the municipal government and liberal professions.

9. The social-professional dictionary used for this study was originally created by a team of American researchers, including Michael Katz, in their study of five preindustrial towns. See Theodore Hershberg, Michael Katz, Stuart Blumin, Lawrence Glasco and Clyde Griffen, "Occupation and Ethnicity in Five Nineteenth-Century Cities: a Collaborative Inquiry", Historical Methods, Vol. VIII, no. 3, (June 1974), pp. 174-216, and Michael Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada-West. Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City, 1975. The categories are as follows:

1. professionals;
2. commercial, clerical;
3. skilled workers, artisans;
4. semiskilled workers;
5. laborers;
6. unclassifiable.

10. Katz cautions that his occupational dictionary might require reworking before applying it to an industrialized population. While we are aware of its limitations, the classification seems to be reasonable when applied to the population of Moncton during the first half of the twentieth century. Also see Thomas Smith's "Reconstructing Occupational Structures: The Case of the Ambiguous Artisans" in Historical Methods Newsletter, Vol. 8, no. 3, June, 1975, pp. 134-145. G. Bouchard and C. Pouyez point out that an important problem in the construction of a socio-occupational dictionary is the confusion between technical and social aspects of work. Both confer differing levels of remuneration, prestige and occupational status. Bouchard and Pouyez suggest that a dictionary should not attempt to create a hierarchy of occupations, but rather group occupations in a strictly functional manner. See Gérard Bouchard and Christian Pouyez, "Les catégories socio-professionnelles: une nouvelle grille et classement" in Labour/ Le Travail, Vol. 15, Spring, 1985, pp. 145-163. This approach is not applicable to our study, since we are assessing the relative impact of ethnicity on the formation of social hierarchies.

11. E. R. Forbes, Maritime Rights, The Maritime Rights Movement, 1919-1927. A Study in Canadian Regionalism, 1979, p. 26. Forbes states that the removal of the headquarters to Toronto was "a glaring example of metropolitan consolidation at its worst". The effect on Moncton was at best an economic loss of railway administrative staff and an eventual decline or removal of the repair shops, and at worst a disruption of traditional and locally set freight schedules, affecting manufacturers, farmers, fishermen, lumbermen, and other producers.

12. J.E. Belliveau, The Monctonians, Volume II, 1982, p. 135.

13. These were included in the occupational dictionary under category IV because over 90% of both "employees" and "works" referred to the rail industry. Katz includes "railroad worker" as an unspecified employee in his fourth category of workers. See Michael Katz, The people..., p.347.

14. This scattering of the population is clearly indicated when Multiple Classification Analysis is used to compare the ethnic composition of Moncton sectors and occupations within our sample. MCA allows the researcher to control the effect of a number of variables, and displays the effect of selected ranges of values. The ETA² produced by MCA is a relative value of the degree of interrelation between two or more variables corrected for the action of other values. The degree of significance of the relationship between ethnicity and residence declined markedly during our period.

Relationship between Ethnicity and Residence for
Moncton, 1911-1938.

Year	Unadjusted ETA	Multiple Regression
1911	.49	.51
1920	.41	.43
1930	.34	.36
1938	.31	.32

The ETA score fell from .49 in 1911 to .31 in 1938, representing a significant and steady decline in the degree of interrelation between ethnicity and residence. While weaker in 1938, however, the relationships between ethnicity and residence are still important.

15. The use of this method as applied to voter turnout is discussed in David DeBrou, "Voter Turnout in Haute-Ville de Québec", unpublished paper presented to the annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, Winnipeg, 1986, pp. 13-17. See also Sidney Verba and Norman H. Nie, Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality, p.96ff. DeBrou suggests that the index of representation should be calculated as follows:

$$PR = \frac{(X_a - Y_a)}{X_a} \times 100$$

where: PR = ratio of over- or under-representation,
X_a = proportion of group x within category a,
Y_a = proportion of total population within category a.

Applied to the first example in our text, the formula works as follows:

$$PR = \frac{(85.6 - 32.6)}{32.6} \times 100$$

This very simple statistical test enables us to calculate the difference between expected and actual frequencies. In our case, expected against actual proportions of ethnic or occupational groups within the defined sectors of the city.

16. The 1896 directory was not used since the small number of francophones in the population would give misleading results.

17. In a study of ethnic density in Moncton for the period from 1941 to 1961, J.-C. Vernex stated that concentrations of francophones were still evident in certain areas of the city, particularly in the eastern section of Moncton, between Hall's Creek and Botsford and between Main Street and the Petitcodiac River, as well as in the north-west sections of the city, in the suburban area called Parkton. See J.-C. Vernex, "Densité ethnique et assimilation: les francophones à Moncton" in Revue de l'Université de Moncton, Vol. 2, no. 3, 1969, p. 158.

18. It is impossible to determine from our source whether an employee worked at the main ICR/CNR grounds, which were situated along the Petitcodiac River, or at the railway workshops, situated in the north-western section of the city. The workshops would have employed more highly skilled labourers involved in such operations as brass molding, drafting, sheet metal working or repairing engines and freight cars.

19. In 1938, CNR employees had definitely moved out of the east end of the city. The breakdown is as follows:

Sector 8003 (Record Foundry):	1.8%
Sector 8004 (Imperial Oil):	1.6%
Sector 8005 (Barrel Factory):	1.1%
Sector 8006 (Queen Street):	2.6%
Sector 8007 (Theatre):	2.8%
Sector 8008 (Baptist Church):	4.1%
Sector 8011 (Aberdeen School):	1.1%
Sector 8015 (Old Pumping Station):	2.6%

Conclusion

*

The Maritime Provinces' economic development for the period 1870 to 1937 relied in large measure upon national policies. Moncton's economic growth resulted from the same external stimulus. Arrival of the Intercolonial Railway in 1870 signalled the beginning of economic prosperity, assuring a transportation and communication link by land between Moncton and other Maritime centers, as well as between the Maritime region and the rest of the country. It also provided important employment opportunities for Moncton's workers. Implementation of the National Policy in 1879 promoted new industries. Capital was transferred from the resource-extraction sector of the economy to manufacturing, the entire region participating in the process of industrialization. Moncton's business and political leaders promoted a community spirit of enterprise which emphasized their city's industrial potential.

During the second phase of Canada's industrialization which occurred after 1890, the Maritime economy was affected by industrial and financial consolidation. The Maritime Provinces participated only marginally in this second phase, as national

firms absorbed Maritime industries. By 1914, the region was characterized as a branch-plant economy. Moncton's prosperity was equally threatened by industrial consolidation. The Sugar Refinery and the Moncton Cotton Mfg. Co. were absorbed by Central Canadian manufacturing interests during this period; their operations ceased soon afterwards. The establishment of regional branch offices, such as T.E. Eaton Co., Massey-Fergusson, and Kraft, ultimately limited local firms' ability to compete in regional markets.

Formation of the Canadian National Railway system, and its absorption of the I.C.R. also caused hardship to the region's economy during this period, because of the substantial increases in freight rates which were put into effect soon after. Although local politicians fought to preserve transportation policies adapted to regional requirements, they ultimately failed. During the post World War One period, regional consciousness was reinforced by the inability to obtain fiscal reform, and by the general state of economic recession. The Maritime Rights Movement was one manifestation of regional dissatisfaction.

Moncton may have fared better than other centers within the region during this latter period, since the presence of the railway permitted its transformation into a regional distribution center. National firms used the railway to transport their products into the region and to their final destinations. These

firms opened warehousing facilities in Moncton and, in the case of Eaton's, a catalogue mail order house, to store goods destined for the entire Maritime region. Moncton's distribution functions expanded throughout this period.

Moncton businessmen and politicians continued to promote the railway to its full potential, attempting to adapt the city's economic functions to transformations occurring throughout the region. To a certain extent, their support of Moncton's expanding distribution functions was the only possible way to minimize the effects of deindustrialization on the city's economy. The city's new economic functions may have been insufficient to ensure long-term economic growth, since Moncton's role as a distribution center did not necessarily promote growth in other sectors of the city's economy. Yet Moncton's future was tied into its regional functions. It became known as the **Hub** of the Maritimes, and the city's new distribution functions were promoted to their full potential. The community had nonetheless to cope with general economic recession after 1914, which worsened into a general depression during the 1930s. Moncton's municipal government coped as best it could with high levels of unemployment: it implemented direct relief assistance, as well as public works programs, for its unemployed citizens.

The period from 1870 to 1937 was also marked by the Acadian society's cultural **renaissance**. The National Conventions,

sponsored by the **Société nationale l'Assomption**, were the stepping stone for the promotion of a national ideology for collective survival. The **Société nationale l'Assomption** provided the leadership necessary for the diffusion of Acadian national aspirations.

Moncton became an important francophone urban center during this period. Acadians integrated into the urban environment, and influenced the city's economic, social, political, and cultural makeup. Their participation in the city's economic development was recognized by the rapid growth of the **Société l'Assomption**, as well as by Acadian involvement and promotion of Moncton's co-operative societies and credit unions. Moncton's francophone component succeeded in creating a framework for Acadian development within the city, while remaining loyal to values which had been defined by Acadian nationalists of late nineteenth century. Acadians struggled for the division of the St. Bernard Parish, which was achieved with the founding of the Assumption Parish in 1914. Acadians continued to promote the recognition of their growing importance within the Catholic community in Moncton and the surrounding towns and villages. In 1936, this goal was achieved with the creation of the Moncton Archdiocese, which served the French-Catholic needs of south-eastern New Brunswick. By the end of this period, the city had become the center for institutional and national activism, a role which was confirmed during the following decades.

Moncton fulfilled the needs of the modernizing Acadian society. Several national institutions and societies were established in Moncton during this period: the **Société nationale l'Assomption**, two French newspapers: l'Évangéline and l'Acadien, as well as the **Société l'Assomption**. These institutions encompassed the nucleus of the elite responsible for interpreting and adapting the national ideology of survival. The establishment of these permanent institutions in Moncton was a recognition of the community's expanding importance to the Acadian community of the Maritime Provinces. Their presence within the city influenced the nature of the community's development, and their importance in terms of leadership transcended city boundaries and extended throughout the Maritime Provinces. Thus, Moncton acquired a metropolitan role within the Acadian community of the Maritime Provinces.

The transformations occurring in Moncton were possible because of dramatic increases in its population base. Both francophones and anglophones had migrated into the city because of employment opportunities offered by the railway and by the increasing number of industrial and commercial establishments. Between 1871 and 1941, Moncton's population increased from 600 to 22,763 people. By the end of the period, francophones constituted 33.5% of the city's population.

The extent to which these two ethnic components coexisted within the community was examined using City Directories to analyze the interrelationship between ethnicity, occupation, place of employment, and residence within the community. Industries which reflected the occupational and social/ethnic complexity of the community were selected. Our sample first revealed ethnic residential patterns within the city for the period 1896 to 1938. Francophones dominated the poorer east end of the city, while anglophones were over represented in Moncton's more established west end, although ethnic segregation in both cases may have eased during the latter years.

As a rule, anglophones held jobs in higher occupational categories than did francophones. Throughout our period, anglophones clearly dominated category I occupations (professionals), and were over-represented in categories II (commercial, clerical), and IV (semiskilled workers). Francophones held more category III occupations (skilled workers and artisans) in 1911 than their proportion within the sample warranted, although employment levels in this category had fallen dramatically for both ethnic groups by 1938. Our sample shows a direct relationship between ethnicity and occupation in Moncton throughout our period.

The relationship between ethnicity and place of employment was also evident. Our sample indicated that Moncton's

transformations affected its socio-occupational structure within the industries selected for analysis. Overall, francophones appeared to have fared worse than anglophones within these industries during the period of economic transformations which occurred after the turn of the century. By 1938 ethnicity remained an important factor in measuring stability and success.

Acadians in Moncton had developed strong attachments to the community throughout the decades. A Moncton-based francophone elite was active in promoting the development of a framework of francophone institutions and societies, as well as the growth of businesses and industries, thus facilitating the Acadians' integration into the urban environment. They actively promoted social programs and economic growth for the city; community-based goals avoided ethnic divisions within the community. Another level of leadership, emanating from the Acadian national institutions headquartered in Moncton, promoted policies aimed at the larger Acadian community of the Maritime Provinces. These two levels of leadership worked hand in hand to assure for Moncton its growing importance as a center of Acadian collective strength.

*

Appendix A

Industries in Moncton, 1878-1884.*

Name of Industry	# Hands employed		Capital Invested \$	Output \$	Date of Establishment
	1878	1884			
Moncton Agricultual Implement Co.	--	15	15,000.	17,000.	1884
Higgins & Co. boot and shoe manufacturer	--	5	600.	3,000.	1879
O'Neil & Crue, boot & shoe factory & tannery	6	8	5,000.	10,000.	1871
D. Presley, builder	4	20	4,000.	15,000.	1876
A. McDonald, builder	--	6	2,000.	6,700.	1884
R.C. Donald, builder	--	7	2,500.	7,800.	1881
Cummins Estate, brickyard	20	40	5,000.	8,000.	1859
Thibodeau & Cornea, brickyard	--	20	2,500.	4,000.	1881
Moncton Cotton Manuf.	--	171	240,000.	150,000.	1882
G. Crandall, confectioner	--	6	2,000.	10,000.	1882

Name of Industry	# Hands employed		Capital Invested \$	Output \$	Date of Establishment
	1878	1884			
McSweeney Bros., clothiers	20	20	6,000.	10,000.	1868
J.H. Marks, carriage factory	10	14	7,500.	15,000.	1873
Record Foundry & Machine Shop	27	42	35,000.	55,000.	1853
J.R. Foster, flour mills	--	6	14,000.	8,000.	1881
M.J. Ayer, harness maker--		6	1,500.	6,000.	1881
Moncton Universal Knitting Machine Co.	--	36	30,000.	15,000.	1882
Knitting Machine Shop	--	8	7,000.	-----	1883
G. T. Harrop, laundry	--	5	300.	1,000.	1884
Peter's Combi- nation Lock Co.	--	50	140,000.	50,000.	1880
J. Weir, Moncton Machine Shop	8	10	10,000.	5,000.	1857
H. G. & F. A. Marr, milliners	--	18	5,000.	6,500.	1880
Ferguson & Watson, plumbers, gas fitters & steam fitters	2	6	5,000.	8,000.	1878

Name of Industry	# Hands employed		Capital Invested \$	Output \$	Date of Establishment
	1878	1884			
O.K. Rogers, painter	2	5	400.	4,000.	----
Lea & Rogers, sash, door & blind factory & planing mill --		23	9,000.	15,000.	1883
Peters Bros., sash, door & blind factory & planing mill --		70	8,000.	60,000.	1881
J. & S. Winter, stove, furnace, range &c., manuf.	2	9	8,000.	17,000.	1876
L. Estano, stove & tinware manuf.	--	5	3,000.	5,600.	1881
J. Howard, soap factory	--	6	2,500.	20,000.	1883
W. S. Torrie, soap factory	7	7	5,000.	6,000.	1862
J. Humphrey, saw mill	10	18	20,000.	60,000.	----
Moncton Sugar Refining Co.	--	80	150,000.	1,250,000.	1880
E.C. Cale, tailor	--	20	3,000.	12,000.	1879
W.T. Newman, tailor	--	11	1,500.	7,000.	1883
J.W. Whitehead, tailor	--	14	3,000.	14,000.	1881
J.M. Ross, tailor	8	19	6,000.	18,000.	1877

Name of Industry	# Hands employed		Capital Invested \$	Output \$	Date of Establishment
	1878	1884			
J. Flannigan, tailor	--	8	1,000.	4,000.	1882
Humphrey & Snow, woolen mills	--	20	30,000.	20,000.	1882

* Source: Government of Canada, Sessional Papers, 1885, Vol. 10, no. 37. Reports Relative to Manufacturing Industries in Existence in Canada, pp. 180-183. Industries listed here employed a minimum of five people in 1884. The railways were not included in the 1885 report.

Appendix B

Political Profiles, Members of Legislative Assembly

Westmorland Co. and Moncton City.*

1870-1914.**

<u>Name/Party</u>	<u>M.L.A.</u>	<u>Municip. Politics</u>	<u>Federal Politics</u>	<u>Profession</u>	<u>Moncton Resident</u>
C.A. Black(C)	1882-86	yes	no	M.D.	no
F.B. Black(C)	1912-17	yes	yes	Business	no
J.L. Black(C)	1878-82 1886-90	yes	no	Lumber- milling	no
A.B. Copp(L)	1901-1912	yes	yes	Law	no
D.L. Hannington(C)	1870-74 1878-92	no	no	Law	no
J.A. Humphrey(C)	1872-78 1882-89	no	no	Business	yes
W.H. Humphrey(C)	1899-03 1912-17	no	no	Business	yes
A.E. Killam(L)	1878-82 1883-90 1892-95 1895-97	no	no	Construction	yes
P.A. Landry(L)	1870-74 1878-83	no	yes	Law	no
C.M. Léger(L)	1903-12	no	no	Merchant	no
P.G. Mahoney(C)	1912-16	yes	no	Merchant	no
O.M. Melanson(C)	1890-92 1899-03 1912-17	yes	no	Merchant	no
J.A. McQueen(L)	1891-92	yes	no	Merchant & Sheriff	no

<u>Name/Party</u>	<u>M.L.A.</u>	<u>Municip. Politics</u>	<u>Federal Politics</u>	<u>Profession</u>	<u>Moncton Resident</u>
H.A. Powell(C)	1890-95	no	yes	Law	no
O.B. Price(C)	1912-17	no	yes	Dentist	yes
A.D. Richard(L)	1882-92 1895-99	yes	no	Law	no
C.W. Robinson(L)	1897-12	yes	yes	Law & Business	yes
J.W.Y. Smith(C)	1892-95	no	no	Grocer	yes
H.T. Stevens(C)	1890-91	yes	no	Teacher & Journalist	yes
F.W. Sumner(C)	1895-99	yes	no	Business	yes
F.J. Sweeney(L)	1903-12	no	no	Teacher & Law	yes
W.W. Wells(L)	1892-01	no	no	Law	no

* The city of Moncton acquired a seat in 1912, following a rearrangement in provincial constituencies.

** Source: J.C. and H.B. Graves, New Brunswick Political Biography. Unpublished compilation of biographic notes, P.A.N.B., n.d.

Appendix C

Political Profiles, M.P.s

Westmorland County: 1870-1914.*

<u>Name/Party</u>	<u>M.P.</u>	<u>Municip. Politics</u>	<u>Provinc. Politics</u>	<u>Profession</u>	<u>Moncton Resident</u>
A.J. Smith(L)	1867-82	no	yes	Law	no
J. Wood(L)	1882-95	?	?	Business	no
H.A. Powell(C)	1895-00	no	yes	Law	no
H.Robert Emmerson(L)	1900-14	no	yes	?	no

* Source: J.C. and H.B. Graves, New Brunswick Political Biography. Unpublished compilation of biographic notes, P.A.N.B., n.d.

Appendix D
 Political Profiles, M.L.A.s
 Westmorland Co. and Moncton City
 1914-1937.*

<u>Name/Party</u>	<u>M.L.A.</u>	<u>Municipal Politics</u>	<u>Federal Politics</u>	<u>Profession</u>	<u>Moncton Resident</u>
C.H. Blakeny(L)	1935-48	yes	no	Business	yes
O.B. Price(C)	1912-17	no	yes	Dentist	yes
E.A. Reilly(C)	1924-35	yes	no	Law	yes
C.W. Robinson(L)	1917-24	yes	yes	Law/Business	yes

* Source: J.C. and H.B. Graves, New Brunswick Political Biography. Unpublished compilation of biographic notes. P.A.N.B., n.d.

Appendix E

Political Profiles, M.P.s

Westmorland County, 1914-1937.*

<u>Name/Party</u>	<u>M.P.</u>	<u>Municipal Politics</u>	<u>Prov. Politics</u>	<u>Profession</u>	<u>Moncton Resident</u>
A.B. Copp(L)	1915-25	yes	yes	Law	no
H.Read Emmerson(L)	1935-49	no	?	?	no
H.Robert Emmerson(L)	1900-14	no	yes	??	no
O.B. Price(C)	1925-35	no	yes	Dentist	yes

* Source: J.C. and H. B. Graves, New Brunswick Political Biography. Unpublished compilation of biographic notes. P.A.N.B., n.d.

Appendix F

Occupational Classifications according to Katz System.*

Category One

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Code Number</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
ATTORNEY	127.	9
BARRISTER	123.	67
CHIROPRACTOR	207.	8
COALMAN	272.	1
DOCTOR	144.	10
GENERAL DRT	259.	1
LIVESTOCK BUYER	231.	2
MAYOR	170.	3
NOTARY	326.	1
OPTICIAN PHYSICIAN	139.	6
OPTOMETRIST CHIRO	186.	3
OSTEOPATH	208.	4
PHYSICIAN	128.	72
POLICE MAGISTRATE	236.	2
PRESIDENT RECORD FOUNDRY	324.	1
REGULAR COUNSEL	211.	1
SOLICITOR	187.	4
V.P.GEN. MGR.	238.	1
VET SURGEON	145.	10

* Frequencies indicated are cumulative; they indicate the number of times each occupation was indicated in our sample industries for 1896, 1911, 1920, 1930, and 1938.

Category Two

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Code Number</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
ACCOUNTANT	131.	30
ADVERTISING AGENT	50.	1
ADVERTISING MANAGER	318.	1
AGENT	179.	5
AGENT BAGAGE	278.	2
AGENT FUEL	302.	1
AGENT TERMINAL	226.	1
AIRBRAKE INSPECTOR	319.	1
ARCHITECT	160.	13
ASSESSOR CITY	308.	3
AUDITOR	171.	14
BAGAGE MASTER	25.	15
BOILER INSPECTOR	80.	3
BOOK KEEPER	163.	7
BRAKE INSPECTOR	67.	2
BRAKEMASTER	109.	1
BRIDGE BUILDER	314.	1
BRIDGE DISPATCHER	16.	1
BRIDGE INSPECTOR	91.	2
BUILDING INSPECTOR	281.	2
CAR CHECKER	65.	8
CAR INSPECTOR	79.	35
CASHIER	70.	48
CAST FOREMAN	290.	1
CASTING INSPECTOR	136.	2
CHAIRMAN ASSESSORS	232.	2
CHECKER	196.	15
CHIEF CLERK	2.	27
CHIEF CLERK ASSIST	295.	1
CHIEF DISPATCHER	15.	4
CHIEF DRAUGHTSMAN	280.	1
CHIEF ELECTRICIAN	124.	1
CHIEF ENGINEER	1.	5
CHIEF FIRE DEPT	216.	1
CHIEF POLICE	129.	6
CHIEF TIMEKEEPER	284.	1
CIVIL ENGINEER	37.	39
CLAIM INVESTIGATOR	292.	3
CLERK	3.	1597
CLERK FREIGHT HOUSE	11.	1
CLERK OFFICE	134.	1
CLERK POLICE COURT	141.	4
CLERK SHIPPING	165.	2
CLERK TREASURER	138.	4

CONTRACTOR	328.	1
CREDIT MANAGER	168.	2
DENTIST	122.	49
DEPARTMENT HEAD	150.	57
DEPUTY RECEIVER TAX	198.	2
DETECTIVE	317.	1
DISPATCHER CLERK	203.	9
DISPLAY ARTIST	242.	1
DISTRICT MED HEALTH	327.	1
ELECTRICAL SUPT	72.	1
FOREMAN	6.	133
FOREMAN BLACKSMITH	10.	2
FOREMAN CARPENTER	110.	1
FOREMAN FENDERSHOP	106.	1
FOREMAN GENERAL, CAR	114.	2
FOREMAN GEN LOCOMOTIVE	115.	1
FOREMAN JUNCTION HOUSE	89.	2
FOREMAN MASON	270.	1
FOREMAN MECHANIC	71.	1
FOREMAN PAINT DEPT	59.	2
FOREMAN PITT	118.	1
FOREMAN REPAIR SHOP	75.	2
FOREMAN SECRETARY	108.	1
FOREMAN SECTION	33.	11
FOREMAN SHOP	7.	1
FREIGHT AGENT	29.	7
FREIGHT CHECKER	64.	3
FREIGHT CLAIM AGENT	121.	3
FREIGHT FOREMAN	276.	1
FREIGHT INSPECTOR	282.	1
GEN BAG AGENT	38.	2
GEN FREIGHT AGENT	51.	1
GEN PASSENGER AGENT	85.	5
GENERAL SUPT.	104.	2
INSPECTOR	63.	21
INSPECTOR ENGINE	294.	2
INSPECTOR WELDING	205.	2
INVESTIGATOR	228.	1
LEDGER KEEPER	154.	30
LOCOMOTIVE TESTER	99.	2
MAIL CLERK	13.	9
MANAGER	229.	6
MANAGER GENERAL	197.	7
MANAGER MAIN STORE	214.	1
MARSHALL	329.	1
MASTER MECHANIC	193.	7
MECHANICAL SUPT.	311.	1
NEWS AGENT	32.	2
OFFICE MANAGER	158.	4
PASS AGENT	258.	6
PAYMASTER	130.	5
PLANT SUPERVISOR	241.	1

POLICE INSPECTOR	182.	4
RECEIVER	194.	4
RECEIVING CLERK	191.	1
ROAD MASTER	247.	4
SALES MANAGER	195.	2
SALESLADY	149.	260
SCALE INSPECTOR	237.	4
SEC. GEN. TRAFFIC MGR.	111.	2
SEC. PROVID. FUND	90.	1
SECRETARY	88.	3
SERGEANT	140.	2
SHIPPER	174.	11
STATION MASTER	273.	2
STENO	45.	228
STOCK KEEPER	162.	88
STORE KEEPER	34.	23
STOREMAN	39.	27
STREET FOREMAN	201.	3
SUPERINTENDANT	133.	19
SUPERVISOR	233.	3
SUPT CAR SERVICE	52.	4
SUPT MOTIVE POWER	43.	4
SUPT SHOP	209.	1
SURVEYOR	315.	1
TANK INSPECTOR	78.	1
TAX COLLECTOR CITY	303.	2
TELEGRAPH OPERATOR	17.	15
TELLER	212.	2
TICKET AGENT	86.	4
TICKET WRITER	235.	1
TIMEKEEPER	96.	16
TRACK MASTER	35.	5
TRAFFIC AUDITOR	120.	2
TRAFFIC MANAGER	105.	2
TRANSLATOR	206.	3
TRAVEL AGENT	119.	2
TRAVEL AUDITOR	76.	4
TREASURER	87.	1
TYPIST	148.	62
WATER FOREMAN	234.	1
WEAVER FOREMAN	269.	1
WEIGHT INSPECTOR	309.	1
YARDMASTER	44.	6

Category Three

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Code Number</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
APPRENTICE SUPERV	222.	1
ASSISTANT SUPT	204.	7
ASST BAG MASTER	66.	2
ASST FOREMAN	219.	4
ASST MANAGER	217.	3
ASST SALES MGR	277.	1
ASST. SUPT. MOTIVE POWER	60.	1
ASST. TREASURER	310.	1
BAGAGEMAN	286.	2
BRAKING MACHINE OPERATOR	243.	1
BLACKSMITH	8.	143
BOILER MAKER	18.	77
BRAKEMAN	23.	535
BRASS FINISHER	36.	3
BRASS MOULDER	97.	2
BUTCHER	147.	26
CABINET MAKER	306.	1
CAR BUILDER	331.	1
CAR CLEANER	112.	7
CAR MAN	27.	57
CAR REPAIRER	58.	18
CARPENTER	4.	455
CONDUCTOR	19.	212
CONSTABLE	161.	15
COOK	199.	3
COPPERSMITH	46.	4
CRANE TENDER	95.	2
CRANEMAN	101.	10
DEPARTMENT ASSISTAN	156.	56
DESKMAN POLICE STAT	181.	1
DRAFTSMAN	155.	7
DRAUGHTSMAN	74.	16
DRESS MAKER	293.	1
DRILLER	275.	2
DRIVER	5.	89
DRIVER FIRE DEPT	202.	22
ELECTRICAL ENGINEER	296.	4
ELECTRICAL WELDER	298.	2
ELECTRICAL WORKER	28.	7
ELECTRICIAN	47.	39
ELECTROPLATTER	210.	2
ELEVATOR OPERATOR	167.	6
ENGINEER	73.	151
ENGRAVER	325.	1

FIREMAN	9.	246
FIREMAN CITY	135.	2
FITTER	93.	10
GAS MAN	57.	2
LAMP FITTER	98.	2
LINEMAN	142.	9
LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEER	189.	124
LOCOMOTIVE FIREMAN	291.	2
MACHINIST	24.	487
MASON	321.	1
MECHANIC	173.	153
METAL WORKER	261.	1
MOTORMAN	322.	2
MOULDER	68.	89
MULTIGRAPHER	215.	1
NICKEL PLATER	245.	2
OPERATOR	316.	3
PAINTER	20.	129
PATTERN MAKER	62.	9
PIPE FITTER	55.	35
PLUMBER	83.	10
POLICE MATRON	227.	1
POLICE OFFICER	256.	5
POLICEMAN	255.	19
POLISHING	137.	12
POWER MECHANICAL OPERATOR	249.	2
RADIOTRICIAN	224.	5
SCALE REPAIRER	94.	1
SECTION MAN	48.	25
SHEETMETAL WORKER	184.	7
SHOEMAKER	251.	1
SPINNER	264.	5
SPOOLER	268.	1
STA. ENGINEER	42.	9
STATIONARY FIREMAN	12.	2
STEAM FITTER	221.	2
STEAMSHOVEL ENGINEER	297.	1
STONEMASON	102.	4
STOVE FITTER	126.	21
SWITCHMAN	107.	15
TELEPHONE OPERATOR	153.	10
TENDER FITTER	288.	2
TINSMITH	31.	35
UPHOLSTERER	82.	15
WELDER	183.	9
WINDER	267.	1
WOOD MACHINIST	260.	4

Category Four

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Code Number</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
ASST ENGINEER	218.	3
BANK MESSENGER	254.	1
BLACKSMITH HELPER	178.	15
BOILER MAKER HELPER	113.	11
CALL BOY	41.	2
CAR PORTER	84.	1
CARDER	320.	2
CARETAKER	164.	20
CARPENTER APPRENTI	299.	5
CARPET LAYER	166.	1
CHARGE HAND	26.	14
CHAUFFEUR	190.	4
CLEANER	301.	3
CRATER	246.	3
DOFFER	266.	1
DOORMAN	175.	3
ELECTRICIAN ASSIST	188.	5
EMPLOYEE (RAILWAY)	125.	3211
ENGINEER HELPER	239.	3
FREIGHT PORTER	56.	4
GATEMAN	279.	6
JANITOR	100.	7
KITCHEN HELPER	180.	1
LABOR ORGANIZER	289.	1
LAWN TENDER	312.	1
LOADER	307.	1
LOOM WORKER	263.	3
MACH APPRENTICE	252.	36
MACHINE HAND	81.	13
MACHINE MAN	77.	22
MACHINE OPERATOR	169.	2
MECHANIC HELPER	177.	21
MESSENGER	200.	44
MULEBOY	265.	1
PACKER	151.	141
PARCELLER	146.	186
PORTER	248.	18
RED CAP	220.	1
RESTAURANT	116.	1
SAND CUTTER	159.	1
SIGNAL MAINTAINER	323.	1
STABLEMAN	287.	2

TEAMSTER	274.	8
TOOL CHECKER	271.	1
TOOL DRESSER	285.	1
TRACKMAN	49.	38
TRAIN DISPATCHER	69.	7
TRAINMAN	213.	26
TRUCK DRIVER	225.	6
TRUCKER	185.	5
TUBE CLEANER	300.	1
WAGON MAN	192.	9
WAITRESS	157.	23
WATCHMAN	40.	32
WEAVER	262.	4
WIPER	14.	11
WIREMAN	283.	3
WKS (RAILWAY)	30.	342

Category Five

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Code Number</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
UNEMPLOYED	0.	4
FILLER	250.	62
LABORER	21.	454

Unclassified

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Code Number</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
APPRENTICE	223.	26
CHARWOMEN	53.	2
CITY STIPENDIARY	313.	2
EMPLOYEE CITY	143.	1
HELPER	152.	7
MILLINER	305.	4
NURSE	240.	3
POLICE DEPARTMENT	54.	5
SEAMSTRESS	244.	3
SEMAPHORE	330.	1
SIGNAL DEPT	230.	1
SLASHER	332.	1
TESTER	304.	1
WINDOW DRESSER	257.	2
YARD OFFICE	253.	2

Appendix G

Address codes for each directory entry was subsequently recoded into neighborhood sections of the city as indicated in Map 6. The sectors were drawn up using natural boundaries, such as rivers and railroad lines, and using major streets or boulevards. Twenty-two sectors were created for the city proper, and another six for suburban zones. For this study, only the city codes are used extensively. The following table indicates the area code and sector's name. The latter was drawn from any local feature.

<u>Code</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Code</u>	<u>Name</u>
8000	Railway Grounds	8014	Exhibition Grounds
8001	Jonathan Creek	8015	Old Pumping Station
8002	Reservoir	8016	Henry Street
8003	Record Foundry	8017	Downe Street
8004	Imperial Oil Site	8018	Essex Street
8005	Barrel Factory	8019	Wilber Street
8006	Queen Street East	8020	Humphrey Street
8007	Theatre	8021	Connaught Street
8008	Baptist Church	8022	Lefurgey Avenue
8009	Brunswick Hotel		
8010	McDougall's Avenue		
8011	Aberdeen School		
8012	Railway Avenue		
8013	Victoria Park		

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