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THE ANTIGONISH MOVEMENT AND IDENTITY

CLERICS, FISHERMEN, FARMERS AND WORKERS:
THE ANTIGONISH MOVEMENT
AND IDENTITY IN EASTERN NOVA SCOTIA, 1928-1939

By

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ABSTRACT

The central thesis of this dissertation is that the Antigonish Movement can be understood as an instance in the sacralization of identity process. The Antigonish Movement developed within Eastern Nova Scotia during the 1930's. It was a self-help social movement characterized by an emphasis on education, as experienced in a succession of small study clubs, and an emphasis on economic co-operation, as practiced in a network of producer/consumer co-operatives. The sacralization of identity thesis simply means that a particular way of life and interpretation of reality became firmly established as a known, predictable, and socially informative pattern of existence within the region of Eastern Nova Scotia during this period.

The development of the thesis runs as follows. Identity formation is considered essential for social existence. Dramatic changes in the manner in which social existence is organized creates special problems in the maintenance of any identity formation. Turn of the century industrialization, within Eastern Nova Scotia, can be considered as that type of dramatic change which makes an identity formation precarious. The Antigonish Movement

developed within the context of these changes. The way of life and interpretation of reality it sacralized reflected the identity formations of past experience, as well as the new social realities introduced by industrialization. My investigations indicate that the Antigonish Movement reflected both a tradition based on religious/ethnic cultural formation and the modern impetus of reform liberalism, scientific rationality and democratic participation. I argue that the movement synthesized these lifestyles and made their expression possible. The latter process is that of sacralization. People, in the movement, created beliefs that symbolically expressed their co-operative existence in terms of its being "God's own work" and "essential" to the construction of democratic society. In their day to day existence, they were emotionally committed to what they considered to be "rational and scientific" principles of co-operative production/consumption. They ritualized certain key practices that were endemic to the theory and practice of good co-operation. They developed myths to both account for what they were doing and to reconcile any apparent discrepancies in their chosen lifestyles. In this way, a co-operative identity was sacralized in Eastern Nova Scotia. At the level of consciousness and within social structures, co-operative social existence assumed that predictability and permanence which is characteristic of a recognizable identity.

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My personal motivation in writing this thesis was due in some measure to the admiration I have for the work of two co-operators that were close to me. My father Charles MacInnes ran a Sundays only credit union for several years in a enlarged broom closet of a parish church located in the North-end Halifax, my uncle-by-marriage, Archie Rankin, has spent more than thirty years successfully managing co-operative stores in Inverness County, Cape Breton. This latter relationship facilitated many inroads for me into co-operative circles, and so, logically, I must thank my aunt, Mary Catherine, for having the good sense to marry such a stalwart co-operator and abettor of this research effort. Finally, I should like to thank my wife Judy and my children, Colin and Carrie, for their patience in putting up with my self-righteousness in

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CHAPTER 1

A THEORETIC INTRODUCTION TO THIS STUDY

INTRODUCTION TO THE ANTIGONISH MOVEMENT

The Antigonish Movement is the title generally given to a social movement that initially developed in the Eastern region of the Province of Nova Scotia during the 1930's. Because the direction for the movement came from the Extension Department of Saint Francis Xavier University located in Antigonish, a variety of activities throughout many localities in Atlantic Canada (and later internationally) became known as this "Antigonish Movement".¹ The movement has been characterized by its members as an "educational movement", a "co-operative movement", a "self-help movement", and a "reform movement".

The title of this dissertation says something about the components of the Antigonish Movement: clerics, fishermen, farmers, and workers. Its initial leadership was clerical. Rev. Dr. Moses M. Coady and Rev. Dr. James J. Tompkins were the major clerical leaders of the movement. There were assisted by a cadre of priests (Dr. Hugh MacPherson, Michael Gillis, James Boyle, John R. MacDonald, Miles N. Tompkins) in initiating the ideas for this movement and in organizing it within Eastern Nova Scotia.² Fishermen in

the movement formed a network of producer co-operatives intended principally for the marketing of lobster. The formal organization that arose from these ventures was United Maritime Fishermen, which is still in business today (1978). Farmers in the movement formed local producer co-operatives in conjunction with the Canadian co-operative movement.³ More importantly, farmers created consumer co-operative stores in rural areas for the purchase of agricultural supplies and general consumer items. Some industrial workers, who participated in the Antigonish Movement, formed housing co-operatives but this was atypical; more commonly workers created credit unions. This feature of the movement they shared with farmers and fishermen who also created credit unions within their communities. All participating farmers, fishermen and workers were members of study clubs. These study clubs were the major mobilization instruments used within the movement to create the organizations of producer/consumer co-operatives and credit unions.

The Antigonish Movement flourished in the 1930's in Eastern Nova Scotia. By the end of the decade it directly affected eighty communities organized into one hundred and fifty co-operative enterprises which contained an estimated twenty thousand people. During this period the movement spread outside the region to the provinces of New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, involving many more

communities and participants.

The ideas formed in the movement and its techniques have been applied internationally through the agency of the Coady International Institute formally organized in 1959. The Extension Department of Saint Francis Xavier is still in existence as are many of the co-operative organizations developed in the 1930's. The Coady Institute, the Extension Department, and the co-operative organizations existing today are the routinized institutions of a once vital social movement. It is the vitality of the 1930's that is explored in this study.

The theoretic problem which informs the direction of this dissertation on the Antigonish Movement may be an unrecognizable problem to those who participated in the movement and who came to know it well. This problem, which is to be announced below, does not reflect the characteristic concerns of the movement; "education", "reform", "self-help", "co-operation". Rather, the focus herein is on the relationship between the Antigonish Movement considered as a religious expression and the social identity of some people living in Eastern Nova Scotia. The relationship between religious expression and social identity in this context is not immediately apparent and therefore requires some explanation. In this first chapter, it is my intention to both introduce and elaborate the theoretic

basis for framing the events of the Antigonish Movement in this religious/identity relationship. Stated in its most concise form, my problem is to demonstrate that the Antigonish Movement can be understood as an instance in "the sacralization of identity" process. This terminology is borrowed directly from Hans Mol's (1976) Identity and The Sacred, as is the perspective which informs this dissertation.⁴ The task at hand is to explain the essential elements of Mol's perspective which I have adopted as a heuristic device for this study. This task can begin with an examination of the variety of perspectives sociologists have employed in the study of social movements. Here, in examining this literature, I will pay special attention to the expressed relationship theorists make between collective behaviour and the concepts of social order/social change.

COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOUR: THEORETIC ISSUES

The literature on social movements, usually considered as part of collective behaviour, comprises a sub-field in the discipline of sociology. As in other areas of sociological theory and research there has been continuous development within this field in constructing theoretical concepts and employing the same in research. In using this body of literature to put in context my approach to the Antigonish Movement, I admit to a rather pedestrian use of

the literature since I only intend to relate this material to the limited purpose of defining social movements in their relationship to a more inclusive problem in sociology, namely, that of social change. As will become evident, my treatment of the Antigoneish Movement as a social movement is hinged upon the theoretic assumption that social movements can be understood best when related to a large pattern of social change/social order.

Turner (1964: 382) contends that collective behaviour initially became a special field in sociology on the grounds that crowds, mobs, social movements appeared to represent an "apparent contrast with normal social and institutional behaviour". In the early days of its theoretic development the people involved in collective behaviours were seen by theorists as irrational and their behaviours were seen as threatening to society. This was a consequence of the seminal ^{Levinsky} contribution of Gustave LeBon in his work on The Crowd published in 1897. Currently, collective behaviour generally is considered to be rational (purposeful) and, a contributor to change within society.⁵ To explain the outline of this historical development in sociological thought I will address briefly the following theoretical contributions to this debate within the field of collective behaviour; contagion theory, convergence theory, and emergent-norm theory. My intention is to

clarify the question raised above respecting the part collective behaviour plays in creating social change. Later, when discussing the origins of social movements per se I will discuss some of the leading contemporary explanations and typologies of social movements.

Contagion theory originated with LeBon's (1960) assertion that a distinctive process operated within crowds which made men behave irrationally. LeBon characterized crowds by their "suggestibility", "unthinking copying", and "irrationality". "Crowds are as incapable of willing as of thinking for any length of time" (LeBon, 1960: 7). Contagion was a homogeneous expression of the crowd's response to "hypnotic leadership". Despite a strong rebuttal of LeBon by Freud (1960), the proposition that crowds were irrational continued in the literature well into the modern era.⁶

Oberschall (1973: 15) notes that the Chicago School theorists while breaking new theoretical ground continued with LeBon's characterization of hysterical contagion.⁷ Couch (1968: 312) makes a similar observation, and, with Oberschall (1973: 22), cites Smelser (1962) as an example of a contemporary theorist who uncritically employs LeBon's model of a hysterical crowd. In the context of this present discussion the point that must be made is that the notion of irrationality implies a political stance that

rests upon dubious empirical findings.⁸ From the early writings on the French Revolution, onwards through the era of functionalism in sociological thought, there existed a tendency to stress the equilibrium alleged to be inherent in social process. By placing emphasis on the crowd's homogeneity and irrationality, theorists were displaying a bias in favor of a concept of social order which precluded the consideration that collective behaviour could be understood as a rational response to existing institutional inadequacies.

Convergence theorists rejected the assumption that people are swept along by the crowd.⁹ Instead they postulated a thesis that individuals possess latent tendencies to behave in the way they finally behave in collective situations. In contrast to contagion theory, convergence introduces a volunteeristic motivation to explain crowd behaviour. Convergence theorists contend that contagion is only apparent; in reality personality characteristics (e.g. authoritarian personalities) lurk behind collective episodes and become manifest when individuals enter crowds or social movements.

Convergence theory research into personality characteristics, while popular after World War II, generally has not been widely circulated among contemporary sociologists who are seeking to explain more about collective behaviour

than its relation to the personalities of the participants. Convergence theory explains little about shifts in crowd behaviour (which are frequent) and it offers little insight into how the phenomena of collective behaviour can be understood as instrumental in constructing social change. The more commonly used approach today is that of emerging norm theory.

In opposition to claims made by the varieties of contagion theory, that collective behaviour is not normatively regulated, emergent-norm theorists address collective behaviour as purposeful activity directed toward the constitution of new social realities. The Chicago School tradition was initially responsible for this emphasis. Park and Burgess (1924: 924-925) argued that collective behaviour involved those "processes by which (the constituent) elements (of society) are brought together again into new relations to form new organizations and new societies." Notwithstanding the fact that Park accepted the accuracy of LeBon's description of crowd behaviour, his contribution was significant in that he articulated the relationship between social change and collective behaviour in its normal everyday aspect.¹¹ Blumer's work (1951) advanced this position further locating collective behaviour as a response to "unstructured situations" (e.g. weak social forms, ambiguous decisions, changed perspectives). By emphasizing the

disparate sources for emerging norms and the patterns of interaction in collective situations, Turner and Killian (1972) logically established the emerging norm thesis by emphasizing those features of collective behaviour which were congruent with everyday social process rather than emphasizing its irrational character.

Gusfield (1968: 445), a more recent follower in this tradition, explicitly states that his emphasis is on "the part played by social movements in the development of social change". The essential premises of emergent norm theory can be summarized as follows: given the fact that unstructured institutions imply a social diversity rather than homogeneity in society, collective behaviour may be understood as purposeful social action intended to create acceptable institutional arrangements. The Graysons (1975: 4) go further when they suggest: "In this sense, collective behaviour itself is not normless. If anything, it is a struggle against normlessness".

It should be noted that emerging norm theory finds expression in functionalist thought as well. Oberschall (1973: 22-24) suggests that while some theoretical elements respecting this diversity of social institutions are present in functionalism, they are not logically developed in theory (especially in Parsons' thought). Smelser, a student of Parsons' did write in the emergent-norm paradigm but

Oberschall (1973: 23) argues that Smelser (1962) does not adequately pursue the implications of the position:

Just when collective behaviour theorists are coming to see the continuities between everyday behaviour and routine social processes, Smelser's emphasis is on discontinuities and differences. When other sociologists are coming to see the national components in collective behaviour, Smelser's emphasis is on the non-rational components; when sociologists emphasize the diversity of beliefs, motives, perceptions in collective behaviour that lead to heterogeneity of crowd behaviour and of differential participation in social movements, Smelser emphasizes the homogenizing effects of generalized beliefs although he never goes to the LeBon extreme.

Emerging-norm theory, in its variety of forms, implies a cause for the rise of social movements. Since it argues that the fluid conditions of rapidly changing society are conducive for collective behaviours its practitioners have attempted to indicate the conditions under which such behaviours arise empirically.¹² This means that the perception of actors respecting unstructured institutional guides can be addressed empirically. The further question respecting the conditions under which these perceptions are realized in social movements can also be raised.

In the first instance it has been suggested that perceived institutional deficiencies can be understood as the basis for the mobilization of social movements. This position was initially suggested by the work of Crane

Brinton (1952) and has been elaborated for sociological use by Davies (1962: 15-19), Gurr (1970), and Morrison (1971). Davies (1962) suggests that collective outbursts come when a period of economic prosperity or social development is followed by a sudden reversal. This argument has been used to predict the instances of revolutionary social movements. The work of Gurr (1970) has confined its empirical testing to phenomena of violence and has elaborated the concept of deprivation. The major disadvantage of this position is that it cannot explain with any degree of precision when an "intolerable gap" comes to exist between expectation and need achievement except by ex post facto accounting. Correspondingly the theory has not developed an adequate explanation of mobilization within social movements.

The singular contribution Smelser (1962) has made to collective behaviour theory is his systematic treatment of the conditions leading to the mobilization of social movements. Smelser is in agreement with the essential premise of emerging-norm theory in that he understands social movements to be the "mobilization on the basis of a belief which redefines social action" (1962: 8). For Smelser, a social movement can come to exist if it meets certain structural determinants. In the research act these determinants can be laid out abstractly in such a way that they can be seen to build upon one another, going from the more general to

the specific. This he calls the value-added approach. His terminology has become standardized in describing the development of a social movement: strain, conduciveness, generalized belief, mobilization, precipitating incidents, the impact of social control. The strength of the perspective lies in its capacity to tie together the development of a movement to its existing cultural institutions and thereby see its development filtered through and mediated by the social system. Smelser's (1962) thesis contradicts a basic premise of the Chicago School tradition in that he sees collective behaviour as exceptional behaviour and not part of everyday social processes. In effect this means that he does not develop a social psychological model for social interaction within movements. His model is interactional but not at the level of individuals.

Among the theorists of social movements some commonality does exist on the importance beliefs play in social movements. Smelser's (1962) "generalized beliefs", Blumer's (1951) "ideology", Heberle's (1949) "set of constitutive ideals", Killan's (1973) "values" and the Graysons' (1975) "institutional guides" are similar in their emphasis on the role beliefs have for creating social reality. Another area of commonality is found in the emphasis on the career of social movements.¹³

Naturally, following the logic of the Chicago School, this

aspect is best expressed in their literature but others have paid special attention to the external and internal patterns of development within social movements. Ash-Garner (1972) using a Marxian perspective, constructs a number of career patterns including "altered routines", "goal displacement", "formalization", and "goal realization".

The typologies for social movements vary greatly and depend upon the theory constructed to explain social movements. For example, Smelser (1963) makes a distinction between norm-oriented movements and value-oriented movements. Wilkinson (1971: 26) suggests this "lacks a convincing rationale and could be usefully discarded". Wilkinson then goes on to construct a typology based upon the social categories of those involved, e.g. race, working class, etc. More promising are those typologies based upon the types of belief (Thrupp, 1962) or political action (Cameron, 1967). Thrupp's advantage is in writing within a tradition of scholarly works on millennialism which has defined the substantive area and has made comparative research more fruitful since the belief systems among millennial groups are similar.¹⁴ Cameron's advantage is in limiting the typology of movements to what they express about the social order, i.e. revolution, reaction, reform, cultural expression.

The relevance of this review of the literature for the Antigonish Movement is attenuated by the narrow focus

I have used to review the literature. As stated, my concern is with the relationship of social movements to social change/social order which follows upon my thesis that the Antigoneish Movement represents a sacralization of identity process. I am able to accept the general outlines of emerging-norm theory. The sacralization of identity thesis (outlined below) is consistent with the concept that social experience is diverse in its expression. The concept of differentiation, which is essential to this thesis, admits to "unstructured institutions" and the fluidity of change giving rise to social movements. The concept of sacralization implies that identity emerges within society. In saying this I must qualify this emergence by specifying the issues raised above on the homogeneity of expression, the social context for the expression, and the purposefulness of the expression. Sacralization does not imply achieved homogeneity, instead, it implies the tendency to homogeneity as an ongoing process. The sacralization of identity process is determined by what Smelser (1962) would term "components". It will be argued that the emergence of sacralized identity depends upon pre-existing identity and new features of social reality which have not crystalized as an identity. The purposefulness of the Antigoneish Movement will be addressed from the standpoint of its beliefs, patterns of commitment and everyday activities.

The major distinction that can be made between the analysis I will undertake in the following chapters and the type of analysis represented in emerging norm theory is that I intend to construct an argument based on the Antigonish Movement as a quasi-religious expression of the need for social order. Emerging-norm theorists, in contrast, would tend to understand the movement as an instance of people working out a social reform within society. Rather than emphasize the features of this reform, I find the significance of the movement to be in its establishment of a sense of place, interpretation of reality, order, or identity. In effect rather than asking the question, how was reform possible?; I ask, how is social order possible? I will elaborate my position after I introduce the following works on the Antigonish Movement.

THE CHOICE OF PERSPECTIVE: ALTERNATE EXPLANATIONS

In the early literature on the Antigonish Movement the movement has been most frequently treated as an instance of social reform.¹⁵ Two early scholars in this area, MacLellan (1935) and Timmons (1939) wrote on the relationship of the movement and adult education to new religious sentiments and social ideologies. Other works, especially MacDonald (1938), Murphy (1949), and Laidlaw (1961) were more concerned with the techniques and historical development of the movement as it reformed Eastern Nova Scotia

through cooperatives and adult education. Sowder's work (1971) on post war developments in the international aspects of the movement is based on the premise of the movement being a reform movement but this work is hopelessly flawed by both a paucity of factual information and a brevity of thought.

MacLellan's (1935) contribution is to locate the movement in the context of a general social reform in education and in the church. He does this by expressing the affinity of ideas existing in Catholic theology to the rise of the Antigonish Movement and traces this affinity through similar developments taking place in Catholic circles in the United States. MacLellan's work however does not consider the empirical development of the movement. This is true of Timmons' (1939) work, as well, although this is more than made up for by Timmons' use of extended quotations gathered in his interviews with the leaders of the movement. MacDonald (1938), therefore, represents the first attempt to describe the existence and work of the movement, at least in rudimentary form. Murphy's (1949) emphasis on study club techniques would have made her work of great value had it been based more on empirical descriptions rather than the theory of study clubs. It is Laidlaw (1961) who is responsible for putting together the best of the earlier works on the movement. Laidlaw is notable

for his attention to the chronological development of the movement, for the articulation of the philosophy of the movement and for his explanation of the techniques of the movement.

This early literature may be distinguished from the work of more recent scholars in that either the author's evident enthusiasm for the objectives of the movement or the emphasis on the movement as a social reform is missing in the more recent efforts. Among scholars in this category are Mifflin (1974), Murphy (1975), Webster (1976), and Sacoumin (1976). In contrast to the early authors, the latter have adopted contemporary social science constructs in their analyses. Mifflin (1974) provides a link between the two categories of research on the movement, in that he does take a stance on the movement as a reform movement concerned with the problems of the exploited poor but, following Wallace's line of argument on routinization (1956), he also sees the movement as having changed in its objectives. For Mifflin, as the social movement became institutionalized it moved away from its original poorer constituency into a middle class milieu. As such its mastic principles became routinized and the movement stagnant. Of all studies based on the assumption that the movement initiated reform based upon spiritual principles of social justice, Mifflin's work would appear to be most

sophisticated. With the advantage of a great deal more hindsight than the earlier works he was able to note the changes in the aims and objectives of the movement as it developed. Yet, with his immediate predecessors, he did not undertake to challenge the empirical validity of this very important assumption that a spiritual force was guiding a programme of social reform.

Sacoumin (1976) using a Marxian perspective does challenge this assumption to argue that the social structural basis (the capitalist underdevelopment of Eastern Nova Scotia) is of primary importance in the determination of the movement. In effect, Sacoumin treats the spiritual basis of reform as an epiphenomenon. Webster (1976) goes further in arguing that the Antigonish Movement was hardly influenced by a radical spirituality intent on changes, but, instead, was actually co-opting already established patterns of reform within capitalism. Murphy (1975) treats the spiritual content of the movement as ideologically flawed by a utopianism that was ill suited to the evolving economic relations within Eastern Nova Scotia. Unlike Mifflin, these three scholars see the failure of the movement not in terms of a failure of moral purpose in reform, but in terms of either an initially poorly informed sense of mission (Murphy and Webster) or, as unrelated to reform as in Sacoumin's emphasis on the structural determination

of the movement's constituency. In the conclusion (Chapter 8) these works will be evaluated in the light of the findings in this study.

This study on the Antigonish Movement, as an instance in the sacralization of identity, challenges both the assumptions of the earlier studies which perceived the movement to flow out of certain doctrines and great men as well as those more recent assumptions of Sacoumin, Murphy and Webster who locate the movement within the context of a capitalist economic system and label its efforts as failure because it did not make an adequate response to the structural conditions of capitalist relations of production. Instead, this study will discover the sociological meaning of the movement in the concept of identity as developed in the work of Hans Mol (1976). The point to be made here is that prior to the movement's development a type of societal transformation had broken down previously existing forms of identity which created a special problem for subsequent identity formation. It is the burden of my thesis to show how some people in Eastern Nova Scotia responded in the way they did and this is very much related to: 1) the type of social transformation occurring; 2) the condition of existing identity relativized by this transformation; and 3) the response of the Antigonish Movement to both of these. The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to explaining

this theoretic framework.

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

To argue that the Antigonish Movement was influenced by certain religious beliefs would be a conventional undertaking. Allen (1973), Clark (1948), Hiller (1972), Forbes (1971), and others have noted the impact of religion on such Canadian social movements as labor, the C.C.F., social credit and prohibition. To claim, however, that the movement itself was a type of religious expression is a more ambitious task. It necessitates an extension of the commonly used definitions of religion.¹⁶ For Mol, (1976: 8) religion is not characterized by exclusive reference to sacred objects, the supernatural, etc: rather, it is characterized by its sacralizing capacity through which certain patterns of existence "acquire the same taken for granted, stable, eternal quality which on the level of instinctive behaviour was acquired by the consolidation and stability of new genetic materials".¹⁷

Here religion is understood as underpinning the unifying sense of identity experienced by the members of any community. As such, at the substratum of a community's network of social relations, religion acts as a social force which stabilized corresponding constructions of social reality. Religion invests in a complex of on-going relations a community's sense of some force larger than the

sum of its members. In this, religion "sacralizes identity".

Within the framework of this concept, identity has a special meaning. Generally it refers to a role identity or a cluster of roles based either on a process of social exchange (Homans, 1961), shared expectations (Mead, 1934; Blumer, 1969; Goffman, 1963), or, from a functionalist perspective, functional requirements of social order under given social conditions (Parsons, 1968).¹⁸ For Mol, however, identity refers to the fundamental need for all members of society, under whatever social conditions, to live their social reality at the level of consciousness. It is in this sense of an underlying structure of highly variable social conditions of consciousness that identity takes a "religious" form. Whatever the specific content of its social conditions, (ethnicity, religion, etc.) a sacralized identity invests a social group with a formal unity. This formal unity can be understood as a structure of social bonds that delimits the range of possible responses to given and changing circumstances.

Put differently, identity is a condition of society, an essential (invariant) structure that fixes for visible social relations and corresponding forms of social consciousness, their limits of variation. As such, identity is not based on the social process of symbolic interaction.

It refers to underlying set of conditions invisible in itself, but visible in the structure of its effects.¹⁹

As a structural concept, identity has no clear empirical referents. However, its use in sociological analysis is well illustrated by the ethnographic tradition of community studies (Redfield, 1930; Miner, 1939; Whyte, 1943) and studies of tribal myths (Evans-Pritchard, 1956; Levi-Strauss, 1963).²⁰ This is not to imply that these and other studies of structural identity are based on the same assumptions. They are directed by a considerable range of theories about the conditions required to produce and reproduce the structure of a community. To flesh out the general theory that underlies and directs Mol's concept of identity as a "predictable niche" in "a chaotic environment of poliferated symbol systems", several principles need to be established.²¹

First of all, as societies undergo a process of structural differentiation, the possible foci of identity become more numerous. With a resulting proliferation of symbolic forms, the structural need for identity subsists and even expands, as institution after institution, movement after movement, become sacralized by religious experience.

Secondly, the concept of sacalization specified conditions of a complex process: the objectification

(symbolic projection) of socially defined, structurally limited, meanings; a commitment to rules of conduct, a way of life, grounded in a sense of community; enactment of rituals that celebrate the value of this way of life; and the construction of myths (short-hand accounts of reality) that allows members of society to live their social existence at the level of thought. These conditions of sacralization (objectification, commitment ritual, myth) provide a framework of concepts for an analysis of the process of identity-formation.

Thirdly, these four conditions of a sacralization process apply to a fundamental "dialectic" of human society. On the assumptions of an inherent (structural) tendency towards stability in social relations, Mol conceptualizes a historic development in which the social forces mobilized by changing conditions are institutionalized through a process of structural adaptation - a dialectic of (structural) differentiation and integration (identity consolidation).²² The principle of this dialectic, which we will apply to the development of the Antigoneish Movement, is clearly based on a theory of society as an organic system. As the theoretical basis of our analysis, this operative image of an organic system underlies this concept of structural identity and directs this analysis of its social and historical conditions.

Within the framework of this analysis, the central proposition advanced is that religion sacralizes identity. Such a process is more likely to happen after a period of structural differentiation. The impact of differentiation on people's lives is two-fold: it creates new forms of social existence; it challenges the cogency of the pre-existing forms. New attitudes and behaviours come into conflict with established attitudes and behaviours. When the pre-existing identity is no longer able to shape ongoing social processes it can be defined as a relativized identity. The order, boundaries and reality constructs of one way of life cannot underlie changed social circumstances. Structural differentiation implies this type of relativization. Changes in the division of labor and in the organization of society are the types of structural differentiation that are likely to eventuate initially in the processes of de-sacralization (known as relativization) and later in the sacralization of new identity.

The establishment of a new identity consolidation depends upon the expenditure of particular efforts which I have termed religious. When people make these efforts and become committed to a specific pattern and meaning of life it can be said that their identity has been sacralized. This study is based on the thesis that the Antigonish

Movement sacralized a particular social identity during a crucial period of societal transformation in Eastern Canada.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ARGUMENT

Mol's primary concern in his work Identity and the Sacred was to develop the most general outline of the role of religion in the continuing process of sacralizing identity. In effect, this means that the theory is suggestive of many avenues of investigation but, at the same time, it falls short in providing methodological strategies for applying the theory to discrete empirical events in history and contemporary life. A particular problem exists with respect to "middle range" concepts.²³

In order to create middle range concepts that might be applied to historical materials it will be convenient to present schematically the logic of the thesis. In using Mol's perspective to develop this thesis it is necessary to demonstrate the following:

- 1) structural differentiation occurred in Eastern Nova Scotia;
- 2) the existing identity was relativized;
- 3) new sacralization of identity processes emerged.

The latter proposition (3) respects the Antigoniish Movement as an instance in the sacralization of identity and properly speaking is the core of the thesis presented. Propositions (1) and (2) are intended to set up the conditions for the sacralization processes which did take place. Each proposition contains a key term which may be defined in relation to possible empirical referents. These terms are: differentiation, relativization, and sacralization.

For purposes of this research, differentiation is first limited to its most obvious forms, i.e., changes in the division of labor and changes in organizational complexity. Both imply social transition since both affect a variety of social institutions. However, since not all parts of society experience the impact of technological change and its resultant organizational complexity, occupational specialization and division of labor at the same time and in the same place, care will have to be taken to establish that structural differentiation is widely experienced. To be sure, certain innovations will have widespread social consequences. For example, population shifts are possible exemplars of structural differentiation if such are related to surplus agricultural population (out-migrants), specialized wage employment (new occupational categories) or seasonal employment (part-time wage work).

Each of these designates an organizational change complementing the change in the division of labor.

The relativization of existing identity entails some elaboration as to what focus of identity or foci of identity constituted the existing identity. Obviously many foci of identity could have had some existence. The task is therefore to limit the foci of identity to those expressions which are the most cogent expressions of the society pre-existing the Antigonish Movement.

The concept of a baseline of existing identity was meant to articulate the centrality of this identity experience. Here again, population shifts may be used to indicate the relativization of such an identity focus since the boundaries of family, community, region may be destroyed by in-migration or out-migration. If a case might be established for a religious-ethnic identity focus, then the fact of urbanization (structural differentiation) might also be seen as a source of relativization if neither religion nor ethnicity could be seen as directing the process of city making. In this way the concepts of differentiation, and relativization are related to existing identity.

Because this process of the relativization of the pre-existing identity is also a concomitant feature of the consolidation of new identity it must be sufficiently

developed in its major points. The theoretic assumption, here, is that the sacralization of identity is not arbitrarily erected but its development is inter-related with the pre-existing foci of identity. This raises a further question respecting those features of social existence which ensure that a particular identity consolidation will take place. Here, the Antigonish Movement considered as a particular focus of identity is but one of many foci of identity that came to exist in Eastern Nova Scotia. Other social movements such as Maritime Rights, temperance, populist political movements and labor organization in Eastern Nova Scotia contrast and complement the type of identity developed in the Antigonish Movement.²⁴

The logic of the sacralization of identity perspective in this concern for both pre-existing identity and contemporary identity acknowledged the continuities and discontinuities of social process. In defining identity in terms of boundaries, the perspective points to the fragilities that can exist within the frame of an identity consolidation; fragilities exposed by both differentiation (over time) and fragilities resulting from competing foci of identity in the contemporary sense. The concept of fragilities is meant to indicate the discrepancies between the explanation of reality and the day to day experience of

realities. In a sense, it resembles the Marxist concept of contradiction applied to the level of consciousness. While the acknowledgement that identity consolidation must reflect myriad social realities makes the theory more complete, it does not make it any easier to employ since it requires a broad empirical scope to demonstrate that identity construction is both built upon the past (continuity) and built as a consequence of an immediate relativization of the past (discontinuity) with the added caution that this latter relativization could sow the seeds for a variety of competing new identities (further discontinuity).

In contrast with the concepts discussed above the process of sacralization itself is perhaps the easiest set of concepts to apply to empirical data. The mechanisms of sacralization are the basis of an analysis of sacralization considered as a social process. Mol suggests that objectification, commitment, myth and ritual together constitute the sacralization process because each type of experience imbues social identity with a sacred character. Within Mol's framework, adopted for the sake of analysis, the following functional definitions are presented. In each definition the particular mechanism will be defined according to how it contributes to sacralization. Objectifications give a mundane experience a symbolic meaning by projecting everyday life situations into a transcendental framework.

Beliefs, values, interpretations of reality, whatever sentiments express the relation of the group and its experience as a group to a higher purpose might be termed an instance of objectification. Commitment embodies the psychological and social identification with a particular way of doing things. Commitment implies a pattern of behaviour that people recognize as committed behaviour. Myth reconciles the contradictions inherent in particular patterns of existence and explains or accounts for reality. At the level of belief, the existence of myth is similar to objectifications. It remains an empirical question if myth was used to reconcile, or objectification used to project everyday life. It also remains an empirical question if they were equally employed in the sacralization process. Ritual recalls the essential features of a chosen existence through its repetitive patterns. Once again, like commitment a behaviour that is able to be observed. The question of the frequency of ritual and its functional contribution to sacralization is an empirical question.

When social identities appear "almost God-given" in their essential completeness for a particular social existence, then such identity will exhibit these patterns of objectification, commitment, myth and ritual. The operationalization of these four concepts is relatively straightforward since they are not at a high level of generalization

and, once defined, may be illustrated by empirical referents.

The sacralization process, as discussed above, can therefore be understood as more than a complex of the mechanisms of sacralization relevant to existing data. In the first instance, differentiation and its related corollary the relativization of the existing identity must be demonstrated. Secondly, the relationship between the baseline of the existing identity must be related to the possible consolidation of new identities and thirdly the mechanisms of sacralization must be presented. This constitutes the essential logic of this dissertation. Accordingly the perspective taken on the Antigoneish Movement is that as a religious expression it represents an endeavor to repair a once cherished identity while enmeshed in the fragilities of an over-choice of new identity foci.

The chapters of this dissertation follow this logic. In Chapter 2 the methodology of the study will be presented. My problem here is how to organize historical materials given my theoretic perspective. Chapter 3 outlines the baseline of existing identity concluding with a description of loci differentiation; Chapter 4 isolates the church as the focus of the pre-existing identity and discusses its response to the perceived relativization of its claims; Chapter 5 presents the organization features of

the Antigonish Movement; Chapter 6, dealing with mechanisms of sacralization, constructs the major objectifications of the movement; Chapter 7 outlines the substance of the three other modes of sacralization, commitment, ritual and myth; and Chapter 8 concludes the dissertation.

NOTES

¹The most recently published academic accounts of the Antigonish Movement may be found in: G. Webster (1975), "Tignish and Antigonish: A Critique of the Antigonish Movement as a cadre for co-operation"; R. J. Sacoumin (1977), "Underdevelopment and the Structural Origins of the Antigonish Movement Co-operatives in Eastern Nova Scotia"; and, Gregory Baum (1978), "Social Catholicism in Nova Scotia: The Thirties". Recently completed but unpublished graduate research includes: F. J. Mifflin (1974), "The Antigonish Movement: A Revitalization Movement in Eastern Nova Scotia"; Murphy (1975) "The Failure of the Antigonish Movement in Larry's River"; and, R. J. Sacoumin (1976), "The Social Origins of Antigonish Co-operative Associations in Eastern Nova Scotia".

²These clerics were the most prominent leaders. Many clerics participated. In the text I have not always indicated that certain people were clerics by putting Rev. or Father before their name. The only Protestant minister involved during this period was J. D. Nelson MacDonald; the laymen that were responsible for organizing the events of the movement were A. B. MacDonald and A. S. MacIntyre of the Extension Department and Waldo Walsh, J. C. F. MacDonnell, R. J. MacSween and S. J. MacKinnon of the Provincial Department of Agriculture.

³The Canadian co-operative movement has been studied by Ian MacPherson. His book, In Search of the Co-operative Commonwealth: The Co-operative Movement in English Canada 1900-1945, is forthcoming (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart).

⁴Mol's perspective is contained in his (1976) edition of Identity and The Sacred: A Sketch for a New Social-Scientific Theory of Religion and is further addressed in two publications forthcoming in 1978, Identity and Religion: International, Cross-Cultural Approaches (London: Sage), and Appraisal and Application: Inter-Disciplinary Approaches to the Identity Theory of Religion, (The Hague: Mouton). Both are edited by Mol.

⁵Following Oberschall's comment (1973: 14) on Broom and Selznik's treatment of collective behaviour I surveyed another twelve introductory sociology textbooks to find out if some consensus had been achieved on the nature of

collective behaviour. The texts generally support my contention.

⁶Freud (1960) criticized LeBon on the grounds that LeBon's concept of leadership was in error and LeBon did not explain what held crowds together. Freud emphasized the relationship between the leader and the individual personality. As such Freud can be credited with the initial authorship of convergence theory.

⁷The Chicago school theorists I consider are Park and Burgess (1924), Blumer (1951) and later Turner and Killan (1972), Gusfield (1968).

⁸Couch (1968) demonstrates that many of the beliefs held on crowd behaviour are beliefs which have not been tested empirically. Using a limited range of data he points out that the crowd is more frequently the victim rather than the aggressor.

⁹Convergence theorists such as Cantril (1941) who studied the role of public opinion and collective excitement (e.g. lynchings), Brown (1965) on the psychology of the crowd, and Allport and Postman (1947) on rumour are examples of the convergence tradition.

¹⁰Emergent norm-theory refers to all aspects of collective behaviour. Its usefulness is more pertinent in the consideration of social movements which are characterized by more sustained patterns of interaction and more highly developed belief systems than other types of collective behaviour. Alain Touraine is quoted by Meta Spenser (1976: 303) as defining social movements as the source of new values, specifically, mediation, pressure and clarifications of the collective consciousness.

¹¹This contribution of Park is noted in the Killian (1973: 13) review of the field article. See also Oberschall (1973: 14-16).

¹²Park and Burgess (1924) were prompted to engage upon a clarification of the relationship between collective behaviour and social change because they were seeking explanation for the peculiar problems of rapid urbanization in the 1920's. This period of migration prompted by industrialization resulted in a great deal of investigation

on the impact that industrialization had for social existence. Since this industrialization was capitalistic in its relations, Polanyi's (1944) work on the "great transformation" of society is especially pertinent in understanding this process of change. Hayes (1957) and Pollack (1962) point to substantive areas of change in the United States during this period. In the Canadian context I understand Irving (1959), Morton (1950), Crysdale (1961), Allen (1973) and Lipset (1971) to be working out aspects of the same problem, i.e., the response people made to social transformation. I do not suggest that this is a conscious effort by scholars to resolve the problems associated with this period of social transformation; yet the volume of work produced would seem to necessitate an attempt to understand how a variety of social movements helped establish a number of identities throughout Canada. This study on the Antigonish Movement can be seen as a model for approaching the works already developed and re-interpreting their findings from a common perspective.

¹³The concept of a career or stages in social movements was initiated by Dawson and Gettys (1934) and further elaborated by Blumer (1951), "a movement has to be constructed and has to carve out a career in what is practically always an opposed, resistant, or lease indifferent world." For Blumer this mean a life cycle approach to movements: a progression from the preliminary stage to the popular, formal, and institutional stages. Wallace (1956) argues that social movements pass through a series of stages from steady state to steady state.

¹⁴The body of literature on millennialism includes Thrupp (1962), Cohn (1951); Worsley (1957), Wilson (1961), Knox (1961), Festinger (1956) and Lanternari (1963).

¹⁵The works cited as alternate explanations are as follows: M. MacLellan, (1935), The Catholic Church and Adult Education, Ph.D. dissertation, Catholic University of America; H. P. Timmons (1939) "An Analysis of the Religio-Cultural Aspects of the Nova Scotia Adult Education Movement", M.A. dissertation, Catholic University of America; C. P. MacDonald (1938) "The Co-operative Movement in Nova Scotia" M.A. dissertation, McGill University; M. T. Murphy (1949) "The Study Action Group in the Co-operative Movement", Ph.D. dissertation, Fordham University; F. J. Mifflin (1974) "The Antigonish Movement: A Revitalization Movement in Eastern Nova Scotia", Ph.D. dissertation, Boston College; D. Murphy (1975) "The Failure of the Antigonish

Movement in Larry's River", M.A. dissertation, Dalhousie University; R. J. Sacoumin (1976) "The Social Origins of Antigonish Co-operative Associations in Eastern Nova Scotia", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto; and, G. Webster (1976) "Tignish and Antigonish: A Critique of the Antigonish Movement as a Cadre for Co-operation" Abewit Review spring 1976; E. M. Sowder (1971); "The Present Status of the Antigonish Movement in Nova Scotia", Ph.D. dissertation, George Peabody College for Teachers.

¹⁶Definitions of religion, as used in sociology, designate the sacred character of religion, the awe attached to religious experience and the commitment to belief. To the reader it might seem that Parson's use of the concept, religion, is similar to Mol's use of the concept. This might seem to be so due to the similarity between both perspectives on the question of the function of religion with respect to integration. However, for Parsons, the symbolic function of religion is negatively affected by the process of differentiation (secularization thesis) whereas for Mol the contemporary level of differentiation does not necessitate the separation of religion from social process; instead, it assures its continuing presence.

¹⁷Mol's occasional use of comparisons with organic structure and process is evident in his use of certain biological metaphors such as this reference to the stability of new genetic materials (Mol, 1976: 5). While this may well reveal Mol's sociological background (such metaphors have been popular among functionalists) this does not mean that his concepts are predicated on that type of stasis that is usually associated with organic metaphors. When differentiation is understood as adaptation, a real change in social structure is implied such that new meanings for existence must be reconstructed in the light of such change. This Mol terms a dialectic and as such it is argued that differentiation and integration are both complementary and contradictory forces in human society.

¹⁸George Homans, Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms, (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1961); G. H. Mead, Mind, Self and Society, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934); Herbert Blumer, Symbolic Interactionism, (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1969); Erving Goffman, Stigma: Notes on the Management of a Spoiled Identity, (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1963); Talcott Parsons, "The Position of Identity in a General Theory of Action" in G. Gordon and K. Gergen, The Self in Social Interaction, (New York: Wiley, 1968).

¹⁹This perspective on identity is quite distinct from the interactionist position. Shaffir (1974: 230) one of the interactionist proponents sees identity as follows, "...the life of a group is not controlled by abstract forces but by the everyday activities of people responding to everyday threats and difficulties." W. Shaffir, Life in a Religious Community, (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1974).

²⁰The ethnographic tradition of community studies and the anthropological tradition of studies in tribal myths are central in the early development of both disciplines. The references used here are merely intended to indicate what I mean by both traditions and clearly not to exhaust the available literature. Robert Redfield, Tepoztlan: A Mexican Village, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930); Horace Miner, St.-Denis, A French Canadian Parish, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939); William F. Whyte, Street Corner Society, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943); E. Evans-Pritchard, Nuer Religion, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956); Levi-Strauss, Totemism, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963).

²¹Mol, 1976: 8.

²²Mol's concept of dialectic is essential to the understanding of this perspective since it argues that religion itself is not subsumed in dialectic but instead its continuous expression in diverse contents informs dialectic. Whenever religiously informed existence (thesis) is relativized by differentiation (antithesis) a new religiously inspired order will develop embedding these changes within a new order (synthesis).

²³Merton's (1957: 5-10) concept of "Theories of the middle range" is articulated in his major work Social Theory and Social Structure.

²⁴These movements are addressed by the following: E. R. Forbes (1975), "The Origins of the Maritime Rights Movement; E. R. Forbes (1971), "Prohibition and the Social Gospel in Nova Scotia"; A. MacKenzie, "The Rise and Fall of the Farmer-Labor Party in Nova Scotia"; D. Frank (1976) "Class Conflict in the Coal Industry: Cape Breton 1922".

Chapter 2

THE METHODOLOGY OF INQUIRY

This chapter explains my use of a research methodology that is consistent with the theoretical concerns presented in Chapter 1 and with the types of data available in the course of field research. The major sections of this chapter are those on historical methods, Part I (materials prior to the movement), Part II (materials related to the Antigonish movement), and the methodology of interviewing informants. By way of prelude to these discussions I discuss the issue of intentionality and explain why it was not central to the gathering of data.

METHOD OF ANALYSIS: INTENTIONALITY

Up to this point, the discussion of the sacralization of identity thesis has been predicated on the necessity of integration as a basic social need. Yet in any movement this requisite, while often experienced, is seldom recognized. People living in Eastern Nova Scotia were shocked, depressed, elated and made perplexed by the events taking place around them. In the Antigonish Movement there was little awareness of such a phenomenon as the sacralization of identity: instead, people "sweated out" a moral

struggle against particular foes, embraced those who stood with them in a single purpose and occasionally "damned to hell" those not so committed. It is people who create reality and they act according to the realities they experience in happy ignorance of such meta-theories as the ongoing dialectic between differentiation and integration.

The question may well be raised about the fundamental supposition that this movement, so arduously created, can be analyzed independent of these aspirations, intentions and moral convictions of its creators. To reject the volunteeristic aspect of this movement and not pay attention to the intentionality of its subjects could be interpreted as a major theoretical flaw in that creation of identity is ultimately a social activity constructed by discrete individuals in contact with each other.

To express this another way, religion might stabilize the effects of differentiation but it is men who consider themselves religious and act in a variety of ways, some like the Bishop (described in Chapter 5) with caution and others with mystic recklessness. This means that the intentions of individual subjects in creating various objectifications, in committing selves to a way of life, in constructing mythology and in ritualized activities can be studied using two different approaches. To consider their intentionality implies that it is important to understand

social process as those interactive situations wherein men create their reality. Correspondingly, to place less importance on such intentionality means a greater concern with the sociological meanings of that reality which is constructed. This study generally adopts the latter strategy which implies that there are meanings for actions which lie outside those meanings actors place upon their own activities. It may be argued that these meanings are sociological; i.e., related to the investigation of human society as an act in itself. This position is functional. It argues that there are unintended consequences for human acts which are not contained in the nature of the meanings individuals assign to these acts. Some might see this type of sociology as "a sociology of constraint" (Dawe, 1970) since it can be argued that in this perspective subjective meaning does not have to be treated as a significant variable. In response to this charge:

If...a predominant social psychological view prevails, man will appear too exclusively as a manipulator of roles and a manager of impressions rather than as the rebel brought to heel by a society which insists that he is good instead of only appearing to be that way. Mol, (1976: 60).

On the assumption that a dialectic exists between the dual needs for social integration and social differentiation (or adaptation) it follows that my methodological strategy will reflect the character of these macro issues.

Since this perspective emphasizes issues of macro-sociological analysis the need for exploring the relationship between discrete individuals in their perceptions of social reality is not as great a priority as is the need to trace out the general outlines of social meaning and order. The movement from identity consolidation to relativization and to new sacralization of identity most certainly has an underlying social psychological component but these processes must be understated if the more general process of differentiation/integration is to be addressed.

I would hope that this understatement does not permit this study to fall into the proverbial trap of dealing only with "wooden men" and with a "spirit-less" idealism which is extracted from the ferment of moral and social purpose. It is not my intention to suggest that people are driven to sacralize identity at a particular time in their history so, on occasion, I intend to let them speak to this urgency by using their own words to construct my arguments.

* HISTORICAL METHODOLOGY: PART I

To investigate a movement that took place more than forty years ago raises the problem of methods for gathering historical evidence. In effect, the major question is: what happened? This is by no means a simple question as evidenced by the voluminous writings of historians attempting to grapple with the problem of what history is.¹ The

sociologist is even more hard pressed in this respect as the work of sociology imposes upon historical materials the requisites of theory formation. Such is the case in this dissertation.

The practice of sociological history involves the selection of historical events, their arrangement in logical patterns and their ordering by some criteria of significance.² In these research activities there must be some certitude that in the selection, arrangement, and ordering of events, others may test whatever findings are brought forward in research by using the same procedures as those which were originally used to develop the thesis in question. While the identity perspective initially informs the selecting, arranging and ordering of historical events it can only do so if first, some space-time frame is imposed to set up the discussion of the movement.

The problem of identity formation in the Antigonish Movement permits some delineation of the empirical world that is to be observed. Despite the fact that the movement existed throughout the Atlantic Region and despite its continuing institutional presence today the essential period of identity consolidation can be located in the specific time frame of the period from 1913 until 1939 and in the context of Eastern Nova Scotia. There can be little doubt that the spread of the movement in the Atlantic Region

affected certain organization aspects of the movement and perhaps gave greater impact to its ascendancy in Eastern Nova Scotia by virtue of its enhanced profile in the region. However, to follow the implication of this development would mean a substantial broadening of empirical data respecting the concept of those identities pre-existing the movement. The region of Eastern Nova Scotia, where the movement began, presents enough problems respecting the empirical application of this concept as shall be indicated below. With respect to the chosen time frame (1913 to 1939) it would appear that sufficient data respecting the sacralization process within the movement can be found in the pre-war period of growth and therefore it is of little theoretic value to pursue events subsequent to this date. Because the war-time experience could have had very definite effects on the process of identity consolidation experienced in the Antigonish Movement it could well have been considered in this dissertation. However, this would have meant treating the war as another instance of differentiation with all its attendant consequences and this type of expansion seemed both unnecessary and distracting. This limits my discussion to Eastern Nova Scotia and to pre-1939 history. To further develop the period prior to 1939 requires some reference to the differentiation-integration dialectic.

The key proposition articulating the dialectic between differentiation and integration is the most problematic aspect of applying this approach to a data base. Methodologically, the operationalization of this proposition presents problems with the tremendous scope of material that must be used to assess the existence of identity before differentiation and the measurement of that kind of differentiation which would relativize this identity. To proceed towards this end I elected to develop a comprehensive knowledge of a specific period of time leading up to the Antigonish Movement. The first step in articulating the pre-existing identities was the reading of certain available material on the history of Eastern Nova Scotia prior to the early 1900's. This meant that my research on the Antigonish Movement had to be extended to a period of history that was prior to the first stirrings of the movement. While it is convenient to locate this period as the pre-1913 period, it does vary according to the experience of different groups on the frontier. In effect this period of research is concerned with the identity development of the nineteenth century. Initially the broadest of sociological concepts shaped this reading: the concept of the frontier as an adaptive phase in the settlement of this area; the concept of ethnicity as a determinant of original settlement; the concept of

specific religious belief as related to ethnicity; and the concept of institutional changes reflecting those changes in the social structure of Eastern Nova Scotia as it emerged from its frontier stage of adaptation into the age of industrial activity.³ Prior knowledge of life in Eastern Nova Scotia made these categories seem appropriate. This is more than intuition but less than scientific precision. It might be termed the art of reasonable inference based upon a certain level of previous experience in researching the general region. It is hardly replicable in the traditional social scientific sense. However, the frontier experience, ethnicity, religion, and institutional change are all related to the identity thesis in that these concepts could be used to organize the experience of frontier life according to certain ethnic and religious boundaries. These boundaries expressed the differences between respective identity consolidations on the frontier. Institutional change in frontier society could also reflect these differences according to varying modes of participation in developing institutions. The concept of the frontier, itself, might be considered a rather peculiar construct and it could be argued that commercial capitalism or traditional society might well be better sociological concepts to use since their structural implications are better understood.⁴ However, commercial capitalism emphasizes the adaptive nature

of frontier existence and leads to an over-emphasis on the economic sub-structure of society whereas traditional life implies a greater regional homogeneity that the new world experience of Eastern Nova Scotia would suggest. / The period of the frontier therefore emphasizes the setting up of life on virgin soil and the resultant divisions engendered by the features of this settlement. In identifying the frontier as an adaptive-integrative phase in the experience of a number of diverse groups I assumed that it might provide a baseline for those consolidations of identity that existed prior to industrialization. This necessitated a period of historical investigation that commenced with the first pioneers and proceeded through the subsequent phases of settlement. Essentially, this research was realized in the reading of certain available secondary sources.

Readings in the social life of Eastern Nova Scotia included the histories of communities, counties, families (genealogies), churches, parishes, industries, transportation, educational institutions, regional histories, biographies, governmental reports, novels and newspapers. / The time period, as indicated above, extended from the arrival of particular groups "on the frontier" through to the period of differentiation. / Generally, this meant the research of approximately two centuries of social

experience. The problems of selecting events, ordering behavioural patterns and ranking these patterns according to their theoretic value was made difficult by my intention to present an essential description of the various levels of identity achieved. As the weight of evidence indicated many possible foci of identity in such an extended period, further selection had to be imposed on the data. Religious and ethnic homogeneity seemed to be foci of identity that were constant in that they represented a major emphasis in the readings themselves. The geneologies, histories, newspapers and biographies reflected an experience of the frontier that was interpreted and explained according to specific religious and ethnic persuasions. Because of the overwhelming influence of the religious-ethnic fact in the literature, it seemed that the traditional identity was constructed on this platform. Here, the words "it seemed" are advisable because this developed historical sense is but a reasonable inference based upon a personal experience of reading historical materials. It could have been possible to substantiate this claim of the ascendancy of religious-ethnic variables in identity consolidation by noting that many of the authors of the relevant materials were explicitly or implicitly articulating the position of one or another ethnic or religious group. However, such would do little to counter the possible claim that what really

mediated the experience of the frontier was the question of those relations involved in economic production, and, as such, class is the most relevant category for the discussion of identity consolidation.

Certainly a logic can exist to demonstrate that religious and ethnic identities could be "manipulated" by class interests wishing to divert attention away from the reality of those particular forms of economic exploitation associated with frontier life. In my readings I did find instances of such manipulative activity. However, initially the more general religious/ethnic character of the readings and the demographic features of settlement moved me in the direction of religion and ethnicity rather than class relations. My contention that religion and ethnicity are the important bases for identity consolidation was supported by period census reports which indicate the religious and ethnic homogeneity of communal life in Eastern Nova Scotia.⁵ The evidence presented in Chapter 3 addresses this issue of homogeneity. This does not mean that the frontier was without class division; it simply means that my analysis follows upon what I consider to have been the most salient boundaries between people on the frontier, namely those of religion and ethnicity.

Once ethnicity and religion were selected as important constituents of frontier identity they were used as a

screen for the selection of further historical materials. This made the use of historical materials manageable. Here, history had to be interpreted in its most general tendencies thus restricting the discussion of those cases of alternate identity foci not based on religion/ethnicity and likewise subsuming economic relations into that order and interpretation of reality which was defined as essentially religious and ethnic in focus.

The major methodological problem that haunts the following chapter is that of the precision with which these frontier identity consolidations are described. To go beyond a simple description of the central tendencies in Eastern Nova Scotia social history would involve a rigorous approach that would hardly be suited to this present task. Theoretically, in keeping with Mol's perspective, it is only necessary to postulate the existence of some identity that is relativized by a period of differentiation. The cursory evidence would seem to suggest that such took place. Therefore, this investigation limits its pre-1913 history to create but a reasonable characterization of the social processes pre-dating the Antigonish Movement. As such, the historical methodology varies in the development of this thesis; the theoretic interests impose greater urgency in the description of one set of social relations (the movement itself) as opposed to others (pre-movement history).

The material related to the Antigonish Movement itself is therefore presented in a more rigorous fashion than that relevant to the pre-existing identity and the period of differentiation.

HISTORICAL METHODOLOGY: PART II

Chapters 4 through 7 deal with the Antigonish Movement per se. Here the sources of information are both primary and secondary. Theses, books, articles, newspapers, manuscripts and the archival collection of the Extension Department were used for this investigation as well as interviews with participants and observers of the movement.⁶

The diverse character of these sources requires an interpretation of their validity both as records of what actually happened and for their utility in this research. The proposition that is brought forward in Chapter 1 advocates treating the Antigonish Movement as an instance in the sacralization of identity. This proposition implies the investigation of three major areas: 1) the effects of the relativization of the frontier identity; 2) the emergence of a new identity focus; 3) the mechanisms employed in sacralizing the new identity.

The experience of the relativization of frontier identity may well have been diffused within Eastern Nova Scotia life. However, to clarify these effects, rather

than search out these diffused instances of a relativized identity I elected to concentrate on one institution. / The institutional church could be seen as a nexus for the transition between relativized identity and emerging identity. / This choice reflects my use of church related materials, specifically the Catholic newspapers and primary documents contained in the Extension Archives. Whatever limitations that arise from the concentration I have given these materials may be defended on the basis of the centrality of the institutional church both in the pre-existing identity and in the emergence of the Antigonish Movement. / The institutional church involved in education, health, politics, economics, community and religion provided a focus for my investigation since historically it had provided an organizational base for its faithful. / As a dominant institution it was susceptible to the effects of that relativization caused by industrialization. / Moreover, if identity was to be analysed in terms of what limits on identity foci were possible, then the church's positions might reflect what proposed options were real options and, indicate, as well, how its proposed options might exhaust or fall short of what was potential. In other words, continuities and discontinuities of identity consolidation were filtered through the church.

Given that the selection of materials for the concept of relativization were determined by the church's experience there still remained the problem of the reliability of the documents. The fact that most documentation was produced by the church makes this a problem. I had to determine what might constitute a position or positions in the church. This had to be discovered from a variety of sources produced by church experience but not ordered in any way for my use. To order this material I attempted to explore the varieties of experience within the church and relate these varieties to the consistency of the public statements made by the church. Church experience was not simple and one-directional at that time so its varieties of experience suggested possible conflict and its public efforts to maintain consistency or not be consistent would have some bearing on the origins of the movement. To facilitate this research effort I compiled biographies of clerics and laymen according to their respective positions and traced out the inter-relations of these particular people with the recognizable public positions of the church. This meant a constant questioning of where ideas came from and how particular people developed certain ideas and became related through the expression of similar ideas. The institutional church had a history of defined discourse with society and in this context, what

prompted the expansion of discourse was necessarily related to the fragilities experienced by the church at that moment in its history. These fragilities may have been repaired by both conservative and radical transformations of identity. Therefore, in the research act, it was necessary to characterize people according to their perception of existing fragilities and characterize ideas according to their approach to and resolution of exposed fragilities.

The major historical materials that were available for this task were: the Catholic newspaper, The Casket (for communication of church teaching to its constituents); the Clergy Conferences (for debates within the clergy); Johnston's History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia (for the organization of the church and its members); and private correspondence and personal accounts of the period from the Extension Archives (for establishing social connections and interpreting public statements).⁷ My selection of these sources as primary documents followed upon my intention to use the church as a forum reflecting the state of identity consolidation. Governmental sources could have been employed or even the university or certain ethnic forums but in these forums there would not exist the same reflection of the pre-existing identity that is provided by the church.⁸ Documents on the church's response to industrialization therefore were used to discuss all

these alternate foci of identity existing outside the church insofar as these documents reflect positions taken by people in the church toward government, ethnicity, education, etc. This material, presented in Chapter 4 can be developed in a far more exhaustive manner than the problems associated with outlining the pre-existing identity and the features of differentiation (Chapter 3) since the scope of research is dramatically limited to a specific organizational structure.

// Patterns of growth in the Antigonish Movement may be explored with some confidence since a wealth of information exists on the movement's growth. Since the Extension Archives kept complete records of its organization as did the Credit Union League and The Provincial Department of Marketing no serious problems arose in locating evidence of the movement's geographic and chronological development.⁹ However, the mere description of development was insufficient for my theoretic purposes. The data had to be developed in two ways. First, informal non-recorded aspects of the movement's development had to be discovered, and secondly all developments had to be characterized according to their respective identity constituencies.

The tendency for historical records to be selective recordings of formal participation (as indicated by discrete associations), rather than being records of informal

participation creates a problem in interpreting the development of a social movement. Since my focus is on the consolidation of identity, informal participation, which is generally far more widespread than formal participation, is of some consequence. My treatment of the movement includes all available instances of participation ranging from formal organizations to those social relations which were limited in their intensity and duration. In researching the spread of the movement I utilized both interviews and recorded data for whatever was known about the aspects of informal participation. For example, the mailing lists of study club leaders receiving the Extension Bulletin were taken to be indicative of this informal participation.¹⁰ The log-books of participants at conferences and short courses were also treated in a similar manner in order to determine where people came from, what ethnicity they were, and what sex they were. One reason for this attention to these features of participation was to check the instances of formal participation against those of informal participation. Since certain groups within the movement had more highly developed organizational abilities, and since the movement contained both formal and informal features, the analysis of the movement would be distorted if only the formal organizations themselves were considered.

The second problem of researching the development of

the Movement is related to this feature of organizational bias as well as to the characteristics of identities pre-existing the movement. Essentially, rural/urban differences and ethnic/religious differences express dimensions of both the pre-existing identity and its exposed fragilities. To address the development of the Antigonish Movement without articulating its rural/urban constituencies which were so different in their capacity to organize formal bodies and without indicating protestant/catholic differences would be to assume that the pre-existing identity was of no consequence to the development of the movement. It could be argued, as well, that the development of the movement should have been indicated by its deployment along occupational lines, e.g. fishermen, farmers, miners. From the identity perspective I would contend that such a division would only rest upon an opposing contention that pre-existing identity reflected class or occupation to be the focus of identity. My treatment argues that ethnicity and religion are the more common foci of identity that need be restored given the impact of industrialization. However, the separation of rural and urban constituencies does indicate the possible development of an emerging class identity (urban workers) being assumed in the identity formation of the movement.

Chapter 5 uses the available data on the empirical

existence of the Movement to discuss its formal and informal events. Ethnic, religious, urban, and rural constituencies are correlated with these formal and informal instances and with those census materials which enumerate the constituencies. Various communities were identified as being Scots Catholic, Acadian, urban etc. by virtue of their majority status or city character status (as in the case of urban areas). Homogeneity was such that usually religion/ethnicity could be established on an absolute basis (as in cases of a 90% majority). In those cases where either the community was surrounded by ethnic groups or religious groups other than that prevailing in the community, or where the community was mixed it was my tendency not to record the case as an instance of a specific ethnic or religious grouping.¹¹ This was done so that community homogeneity could be considered as a convenient expression of the pre-existing identity. Otherwise, each community had to be investigated to determine its experienced identity consolidation or, at least a sample of the communities had to be considered. Given the propensity for demographic homogeneity it seemed to be a better strategy to assume that this type of homogeneity would express a particular instance of the type of identity consolidation developed in Eastern Nova Scotia more expeditiously than would the strategy of limiting the available census and

movement data to a sample of communities. For this reason this dissertation treats every community of Eastern Nova Scotia and every instance of the Antigonish Movement in Eastern Nova Scotia when discussing its development and constituencies.¹²

The mechanisms of sacralization as developed in Chapters 6 and 7 present particular methodological problems since they represent a combination of different research tactics. Primary and secondary source material and interviews form the basis for the discussion of the sacralization process. By far the greatest amount of information is available on the objectifications of the movement. The problem was to determine if this resource corresponded with the actual expression of the sacralization process. Because objectifications and myths are more easily expressed on paper than are ritual and commitment there was a need for determining how reliable the records were as an expression of the movement. In the first place, the facility attending to the recording of objectifications may bias the research effort since what was written still remains but what was experienced is lost; and secondly, what was written may be an inaccurate expression of the movement even at the time it was written. Since people still live who participated in the movement and since people wrote letters to one another at the same time they developed

their objectifications, there is a possible check on the priority of objectifications as part of the sacralization process and a check on the veracity of those objectifications that were expressed during the course of the movement.

The more useful resource for determining the priority and veracity of objectifications was that of the extant correspondence. The thousands of letters from all people associated with the movement and available in the Extension Archives provided an invaluable means for determining what happened.¹³ Their singular usefulness comes from their private nature which insured that the background to many developments in the movement could be discussed without public scrutiny.¹⁴ Clarifications of meaning, conflicting meanings and intentions for action could be expressed privately in a way that ordinarily could not be permitted in public discussion without creating the appearances of indeciveness, rancor, and political division. While reading this correspondence, I first attempted to discover the life history of the movement.¹⁵ Once done I then related the public description of these historical events with the commentary made on the event. This was done to check the public aspects of existing data; a particular objectification may have been common to all the participants of the movement or its proclamation may have been a political statement that was not realized throughout the movement.

The priority I give to objectifications in the sacralization process does reflect the quantity of this type of data but I would argue that it indicates as well the character of the movement's leadership and their role in the development of the movement. If the academically trained clerics were dominant in articulating the content of objectifications in their respective leadership roles, then the prominence of objectifications would reflect the impact of this type of leadership. The data easily lends itself to this type of characterization since many of the articles and speeches which articulate the major objectifications of the movement are signed or are betrayed by an obvious use of clerical language or allusion. To be certain that such objectification was pervasive throughout the movement I related the participants' use of myth to these clerical objectifications on the grounds that myth can be short-hand accounts of the reality expressed in objectification. The search for the myths of the movement was pursued through the same sources available for the research of objectification, commitment and ritual. The difference was in searching out the use of those "catchy phrases" which appeared to have been both consistently used and widely used in the movement. They could be termed the universal slogans. If a phrase turned up in a number of interviews, or in the newspaper I would check its presence in other

sources paying special attention to the meanings it had in different places and among different constituencies to find out if the same idea was being expressed. It was also necessary to find out where some myths were not being expressed. Finally, I would check my understanding of the meaning of a myth with that of my informants.

In opposition to objectification, the evidence of commitment and ritual exists only partially in this correspondence. The burden of proof for such mechanisms of sacralization is found in what people then observed about the participants in the movement. Letters provide some observations but newspaper accounts of what was done and the work of reporters and authors informing the public of the movement are better sources for describing the behavioural aspects of commitment and ritual. Such is also the case with myth although, like objectifications, myth is more readily committed to paper.

The extensive quantity of material available on the Antigoneish Movement is decidedly positive in tone as befits any sacralization process. After all, if identity is to be surrounded by "don't touch sentiments" then the material to be investigated should illustrate a positive character respecting the movement's intentions and achievements. In researching the mechanisms of sacralization it is not enough to merely take notice of this positive character

which pervades the data, it is necessary to evaluate it with respect to the actual experience of sacralization. As the process of sacralization develops, the effect of greater synthesis in the movement remakes the past so that it appears to have been far more cogent as an identity consolidation than what actually transpired. The date of documentation is therefore important since it announces a stage within a process. As early as 1938 the authenticity of reports describing the movement can be questioned. In these reports, participation is indicated by its most intense level of achievement and growth indicated by the upper limits of its extension. As stated, such is expected given an identity perspective, but increasingly the research effort is fraught with that skepticism proper to impartial observation. In primary documents and in interviews I assiduously attempted to disprove the claims made in the movement. For example, if Protestant-Catholic harmony was publicly proclaimed I searched out indicators of conflict. This meant accepting the myth-making process while, at the same time, determining its success in behavioural change.

How I searched out indicators of conflict deserves special attention since it may be used to illustrate my usual approach to archival materials. It was not enough to immerse myself in the data and depend upon wit and the grace of serendipity for insight.¹⁶ Instead I used a

system of ordering data according to source. To do this I initially constructed some hypothesis on the relationships within the movement. The simplest to start with was; insiders' correspondence with other insiders will be more revealing on internal problems than insider/outsider correspondence. A crude hypothesis based on sociological observation but nevertheless a guide. I then discovered a letter which confirmed that a special "inner circle" known only to Coady and a few friends was in existence. This confirmed my hunches and also directed my attention to careful examination of the correspondence of those cited in that letter.

My hypothesis suggested that this "inner circle" would be more likely to be candid about problems than insiders who were not part of the "inner circle". Among the inner circle I found particular dyads that acted for the resolution of special problems. Hence, insiders were divided into dyads, inner circle members, and all other insiders. A similar complexity existed for outsiders given my hypothesis that their correspondence would reflect the possible good or harm they could achieve for the movement. In this respect, potential donors could be separated from reporters and in turn donors and reporters separated from sympathizers. The nature of the correspondence does follow these rough characterizations. The more sanguine

accounts of the movement are to those who might fund it or report on it and the more candid reports are on those who sympathized with the movement. Therefore, given any problem in the movement, as suggested by the data, I would use the correspondence selectively according to the order of credibility I had established. Was its discussion limited to insiders, limited to the inner circle or widely discussed? What was said in each instance to respective groupings?

To complement this approach I used other documents and interviews. I found original manuscripts especially useful if they were edited. Reading what was pencilled out gave insight into a person's first thoughts which I assume are not always the more political ones. As for informants, I found that the worst technique for uncovering problems in the movement's past was that of the direct question. Such a tactic usually resulted in an extended apology that was intended to prevent my "getting the wrong impression". In interviews, the best method was to follow up questions with those few individuals who felt they had been somehow emotionally hurt by an incident or person in the movement.

INTERVIEWS: SUPPLEMENTARY DATA

My use of the interview technique was characterized by a certain caution. The people interviewed usually were relied upon for factual and anecdotal information rather

than for what they might contribute to the discussing of sacralization. The reason for this caution was twofold:

- 1) many of those interviewed are intensely loyal to the movement (good evidence of commitment) but their loyalty may have been exaggerated by the honors given them by the Extension Department for their service to the movement;
- 2) the majority of those interviewed are now in their late seventies and eighties and are considerably removed in experience from the events of their youth. What is of importance is the actions and beliefs of yesterday when identity was consolidated and not the ruminations on those actions and beliefs. In preparation for interviewing I read the materials these informants had written or read about their activities and then attempted in the interview to request very specific information on particular situations rather than asking questions about the general activities of the movement. In fact, in some cases it was necessary to prevent informants from going through an account of what the movement was (i.e. the philosophy of the movement). These accounts appeared to have been so refined by the common synthesis which had arisen, with time, to explain the movement to neophytes that they were impediments to learning about the details of the movement. After a few interviews I was prepared for this and tried to direct attention away from such accounts.

Since each interview was approached as a singular event respecting my knowledge of the person's past role in the movement I attempted to make each experience somewhat similar by using informants to test my understanding of events and my general interpretations of the movement. At the conclusion of the interview, once I had established the fact that I knew the outlines of what had happened I would then provide an interpretation of this for the informant to comment upon and would indicate that this interpretation was my present understanding unless she/he could convince me otherwise. If the informant disagreed I would argue my case and introduce what I knew (which was, in certain areas, sometimes a great deal more than the informant since my information was fresh in mind and I had access to private papers and they did not) so that an exchange might develop. When information came forward to justify an alternate viewpoint I went back to the primary data to search for supporting evidence for the expressed contrary position. Their experience was invaluable for assigning priorities to events and people I had hastily passed over in the initial archival research. This tactic kept my account more faithful to their interpretation of what had happened; and incidentally provided me with the more satisfying moments of research.

My procedure for determining who might be interviewed followed an initial period of familiarity with archival materials. At the archives I became familiar with the recorded experiences of the participants. It was then a matter of asking contemporary Extension Department workers questions whether a particular person might be still alive and where he/she might be living. If an interview was possible I then researched the person prior to the meeting. I was able to meet thirty-three people in this way.

Because I was living in the area where the movement took place, I frequently came into conversation with people who remembered the early days of the movement or who had heard about those days from their fathers, etc. Many of these conversations would be brief exchanges and I made no effort to record them, although I regret that I was not more rigorous since the general tone of these chance interviews demonstrated a consensus on the worth of the movement. Many people were proud of their record of participation or their connection to the events. Several times I followed up leads given by these chance informants and did visit particular people for a more formal session.

The interview situation generally provided me with a feeling for participation in the movement, leads to other types of existing data and informants, first hand accounts of events in the movement, and interpretations of the

movement. I did not use the technique as much as I could have because there was a pattern of diminishing returns after a number of interviews were completed.¹⁷ The travel involved, the time expended to meet each individual person, and the fact that some memories were failing, made this technique expensive, time consuming and at times disappointing. I therefore utilized the best informants by a succession of visits. It should be pointed out that the use of this interviewing technique in the context of this research (fifty years after the fact) was contingent upon the good health of informants. Some ten of my informants have since died; this piece of research presents their last word on the topic. I would therefore argue that future research on the Antigonish Movement will reflect the loss of the interview technique.

SUMMARY

In summary, the methodological procedures used have depended upon the types of problems addressed and on the materials used. The pre-existing identity and the concept of differentiation are not rigorously pursued because the scope of such research would distract from the efforts to describe the sacralization of identity. The sacralization of identity is first located in the institutional church because of its being a nexus between pre-existing identity and that identity of the Antigonish Movement. Here the

methodological problem is determined by the type of church documents available and by the very selection of such documentation. The research into the development of the movement is characterized by a distinction between formal and informal modes of participation and by the proper determination of constituent communities. Finally, mechanisms of sacralization may be analyzed if caution is paid the priority given certain mechanisms in the literature and if the veracity of resources is checked against the tendency of the movement to surround itself with "don't touch sentiments".

NOTES

¹While the use of historical materials is seldom given prominence in sociology methods books, it has been addressed in journals and texts as a special problem in sociology. In 1976 both the British Journal of Sociology and Social Forces presented thematic issues on historical methods. In the former I found Jones (1976) and Rock (1976) to be useful; in the latter, articles by Chirot (1976), Wallerstein (1976) and Roth (1976) were of use. A standard but dated set of readings on historical methodology is that of Lipset and Hofstadter (1968). I found W. H. Walsh (1967) to be an interesting presentation of some of the trends and problems in the philosophy of history and therefore of help in locating the problem of collecting data within the context of a specific historical approach.

²Bulletin 64 of the Social Science Research Council (1954) and the Behavioral And Social Sciences Survey (1971) both address the similarities between social science and history in terms of the "selection, arrangement and ordering" of data. Problems in interpreting this data in the analysis of social change are given careful consideration in articles by Nowak (1969), and Jonas (1971).

³Ethnicity has been selected to define different groups of settlers on the frontier. At the period of first arrival they may not have considered themselves as ethnic groups; very likely such self-conscious postures developed as groups from one country became aware that others from different lands occupied the same or adjacent territories. The development of ethnicity (as opposed to transplanted cultures) was therefore variable.

⁴Mifflin (1974) nominally uses a model of traditional society as existing prior to the Antigonish Movement and Sacoumin (1976) nominally uses a model of capitalist relations to indicate the period. Neither make much explicit reference to this period prior to the movement and that is why I term their use of models "nominal".

⁵Census of Canada data was used to make the arguments of homogeneity in ethnicity and religion. The data was reported every ten years beginning in 1871 with few changes in rural census boundaries between 1881-1931.

⁶The Extension Department of Saint Francis Xavier University has collected all documentation that has survived the early years of development into a central archive. Because of Coady's keen sense of history this material is most complete for all publications related to the movement and for the correspondence between the Extension Department and its field workers and co-operative members. Carbon copies of all outgoing mail were saved as well as incoming letters. On a number of occasions Coady would write down some points "for the sake of historical accuracy". The staff also gathered a great number of newspaper clippings on the movement and saved them in scrapbooks. Because governmental reports and a variety of articles unrelated to the movement were also saved, it is possible to read the actual materials that are cited in letters and various publications. In other words, they saved the materials they used for teaching, debating and legitimating their activities.

⁷Johnston's two volume work (1960, 1971) represents a lifetime of historical activity recording the growth and development of the Diocese up to 1875. Every parish is given extensive treatment respecting their religious and social features as reported by their successive pastors. Until his death last year, Johnston was continuing this research but was limited in publishing the results due to the canonical strictures arising from the use of Vatican archives (100 year limit).

⁸The role of the Government in the Antigonish Movement will be addressed in subsequent chapters, as will the role of different ethnic groups. While I did use materials developed by government and ethnic groups, they did not exist in nearly as complete a form as did the documents assembled through the church. These complement the church-related material and in no way could replace it.

⁹The Credit Union League has an accurate record of credit union incorporation but does not have complete financial records for all the early credit unions nor does it have minutes of early meetings held in these credit unions. R. J. MacSween, formerly of the Provincial Marketing Department and an early worker in the movement, has compiled an extensive list of all co-operatives organized in Nova Scotia beginning with the 1861 co-operative at Stellarton. However, both the Credit Union League and The Department of Marketing, aside from the material cited above, have very little material that is not found in the Extension archives.

¹⁰The Extension Bulletin was published from 1933-1939 in newspaper format but existed previously as mimeographed sheets sent out from the Extension Department to study clubs.

¹¹Census boundaries need not correspond with definite communities. However, I have treated boundaries as such in compiling my information.

¹²The notion of constituency means that all communities are designated to be either rural Scots-Catholic, Acadian Catholic, Scots Protestant, mixed in ethnicity or religion, or simply urban constituencies.

¹³At no time did I endeavor to count the letters available in the Extension Archives. I could only estimate an excess of 30,000 pages. Denzin (1973: 232) indicates that "sociologists have been prone to ignore the value of the letter as a source of data". The value of the letter for this research has been considerable. While I used letters to reflect the events of the movement they could have been used to assess the inter-relations of the movement with a variety of other movements in North America and the world. Since the mechanical reproduction of letters was not permitted this activity also entailed the tedious task of manually copying quotations from letters.

¹⁴The use of private correspondence as representing the candid aspects of social situations is a tactic that is well known to followers of Goffman and his method of back room versus front room analysis: see Goffman (1959).

¹⁵By using letters to determine the events of the movement, I was in effect using a "life history" approach to the collection of data. This method, developed in the Chicago school, is usually applied to individuals. Through the letters of the movement I was constructing its events from the standpoint of documents peculiar to single individuals. Their biographies were leading me to understand what happened.

¹⁶Becker's (1972) article on "Problems of Inference and Proof in Participant Observation" is relevant to this discussion of determining the validity of data. It was his suggestion that "merely immersing oneself in data and having insight" was not a technique for research.

¹⁷All interviewing that uses a sample of respondents implies the concept of diminishing returns. Without a sample, the concept of diminishing returns has to be more carefully employed. The reason why I felt the procedure to be limited was that of the reliability of data on sacralization processes in the 1930's. The availability of other sources of data compatible with that obtained in the interviews made me then consider the time/cost factors.

CHAPTER 3

THE EXISTING IDENTITY: RELIGION AND ETHNICITY IN THE SETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF EASTERN NOVA SCOTIA

There are those who will tell you that the establishment of industry in Eastern Nova Scotia was foretold well in advance of its actual arrival. Portents of railways, mines and factories were revealed to a number of villages through the medium of such forerunners as lights flashing through the night, bumps from the underground and strange noises emanating from rural pastures.¹ Forerunners, intelligible only after the fact, could not adequately predict industrialization and this failure of the forerunners, as such, matched the inadequacy of other features of traditional culture as it became enmeshed in a new series of relationships different from those found in the experience of frontier and early settlement in Eastern Nova Scotia.²

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is developed around the analysis of two problems. The first is that of defining the region's pre-existing or frontier identity; and the second is the related problem of post-frontier differentiation. Since I argue

that identity is transformed through the agency of the Antigonish Movement it necessarily follows that I address in its particulars the character of that identity which pre-existed the Movement. What follows then is a historical description of the pre-existing identity. It shall be demonstrated that: 1) in the frontier conditions of Eastern Nova Scotia settlement was predicated on an ethnic and religious homogeneity of relatively isolated communities; 2) the conditions of settlement permitted ethnicity and religion to form boundaries around certain groups of peoples; and 3) these boundaries became weaker as local industrialization developed.

While these three points do grasp the essential outline of this chapter, they do not express fully the variety of historical nuances that must be subsumed herein under the broad strokes of identity theory. Since identity theory admits to the simultaneous presence of different levels of identity (e.g. societal, group, individual) it is possible to discuss the frontier identity on different levels. For example, my characterization of the frontier as a place of homogeneous religious-ethnic settlement is intended to indicate the widespread salience of religion and ethnicity for defining the region of Eastern Nova Scotia. At the same time, this quality of societal identity is necessarily underdeveloped since the main features of life during this period are the consolidations of meanings within groups that

are both physically and culturally isolated from one another. The proper context therefore for the discussion of identity in this chapter is that of the group.

Having said that group identity will be the focus for developing identity theory in this chapter, it is necessary to further this strategy by expressing the relationship between group identity and the available historical materials. The discussion of group identity moves from an account of its experience on the frontier (where all groups shared in a common interpretation of the salience of religion and ethnicity for establishing their respective identities) to an account of the experience of industrialization. In the process group identity can be shown to have undergone certain changes. I have referred above to the fact of homogeneous settlement and to the conditions of settlement.

The historical features of settlement and the conditions within the frontier after initial settlement may be used to develop the outlines of the specific group identities that emerged. Group identity is first related to the historical features of settlement by addressing the prior cultural identity of immigrant groups and the relationship of that identity to diverse frontier accommodations. Group identity is also related to the conditions of frontier existence. This is more comprehensive in scope since it accounts for a greater variety of historical events: 1) the

development of a Catholic Church as opposed to isolated expressions of Catholicism separated by ethnic boundaries; 2) differing accommodations (education and political representation) within the same religious groupings; 3) the ascendancy of one group over another of the same religious or ethnic grouping; 4) class differences, regional differences within similar groups.

It is therefore obvious that the initial premise of homogeneous settlement has to be tested by the historical determinations imposed on religious-ethnic boundaries. To make this task a manageable one I have elected to emphasize the Scots Catholics in this chapter. Their numerical superiority in Eastern Nova Scotia, their prominence in the Catholic Church and their relationship to the Antigonish Movement make them an appropriate choice. Other ethnic religious groups in Eastern Nova Scotia will be used to provide contrast to the Scots Catholics. In this way the principal features of the frontier identity will be illustrated through the analysis of the Scots Catholic experience per se and through the comparison of this experience with other ethnic religious groups who were similar to or divergent from Scots Catholics in Eastern Nova Scotia.

Finally, this chapter concludes with a discussion of the industrialization which occurred in Eastern Nova Scotia in the period after 1881. The immediate consequences of this transformation for the pre-existing or frontier

identity are presented. It can be stated at the outset that this transformation was characterized by a movement from separate isolated cultural groups to a more cosmopolitan integration of peoples concentrated in the urban areas. There was also a concomitant transformation in the rural areas based not so much on a similar heterogeneity of people, but on the effects that the overall rapid rural to urban transition exerted even on those cultural groups who maintained traditional religious-ethnic boundaries.

ETHNICITY AND RELIGION: SETTLEMENT

Scots Catholic Highlanders, Presbyterian Highlanders, Presbyterian Lowlanders, Irish Catholics, Acadians and Loyalists formed the major ethnic and religious groupings of the Eastern Nova Scotia frontier. The Scots formed the greatest number of new settlers.³ Their migration in a short eleven year period (1827-1838) tripled the population of Cape Breton Island (i.e., Cape Breton, Richmond, Inverness and Victoria counties).⁴ In their settlement, religion was a predominant factor in creating Catholic Inverness and Antigonish Counties and Presbyterian Pictou and Victoria Counties.⁵

Comparison of 1871 Census to 1921 Census

	% Presby- terian	% Catholic		% Presby- terian	% Catholic
Pictou			Antigonish		
1871	83	9	1871	10	84
1921	60	18	1921	8	87
Victoria			Inverness		
1871	70	24	1871	35	59
1921	57	32	1921	25	70

Evidence does exist which would indicate that this homogeneity was sometimes inspired by church leaders. Johnston (1960: 136) indicates that Catholic Bishops and priests would encourage Catholics to move away from Protestant areas. However, such prompting was hardly necessary considering the desire of both Catholics and Presbyterians to be served by their respective churches (see Cameron, 1972; Patterson, 1877; and Johnston, 1960 and 1971). The marked tendency of Catholic and Protestant centers to attract and maintain their own people is manifested by their steady homogeneous growth extending over fifty years of settlement. As indicated above, proportions of Catholics to Protestants remained somewhat constant in the strongholds of Antigonish, Inverness, Pictou and Victoria counties during this fifty year period.

Particular settlements are a better indicator of religious homogeneity. (see 1931 Census Data for Religion and

Community in Appendix B) Very often, many people emigrated from the same area of Scotland so that not only religion but even kinship (clan) was maintained in the new settlements. The genealogical histories of MacDonald, 1950 (Mabou Pioneers), MacDougall, 1922 (History of Inverness County), Rankin, 1929 (History of Antigonish County) and MacKenzie, 1930 (History of Christmas Island) provide the best record of this pattern of community settlement. These conclusions are not immediately recognizable from reading these works; it is necessary to know something about the geography of Scotland and clan affiliations to understand the consistencies of settlements in Eastern Nova Scotia. Despite this, even a facile knowledge of the first settlers given in these works indicates the consanguinity of many communities.

Scots Presbyterians stand in marked contrast to Scots Catholics by virtue of the contrast between the monolithic religious expression of the Catholics and the splits within the practice of the Presbyterian religion.⁶ While most Protestant Highlanders belonged to the Church of Scotland (identifying with the Kirk), most lowlanders and some Highlanders belonged to secessionist churches within Presbyterianism. Again, this difference is reflected in the settlement of communities. Campbell and MacLean (1974) indicate that in both Pictou and Victoria counties the

adherents of Kirk and Anti-Kirk churches formed their own rural communities.

The predominance of Acadians (invariably Catholic) in Richmond County and in the Cheticamp area of Inverness County is largely attributed to the development of the fishery there. Unlike that of the Scots, the Acadian pattern of settlement was not posited upon freedom of choice. The Acadians had predated all ethnic groups in Eastern Nova Scotia but were deported by the English from their homelands in 1755. The concentration of Acadians in the fishery indicates their veritable state of servitude to those fishing entrepreneurs who made arrangements with the Colonial Government to establish the Acadians in communities in return for the latter's work in the fishery.⁷

The Acadian people not identified with feudal-type fishing communities formed illegitimate communities, often in the least desirable areas, away from the authorities. In contrast to the communal homogeneity of many Scots Catholics, Scots Presbyterians and Catholic Acadians, the Irish and Loyalists did not generally develop settlements that were distinctively their own. With the exception of those Newfoundland Irish who did form a number of fishing communities on the north-east coast of Nova Scotia (including a concentration in the Louisburg area) and with the exception of those Loyalists and pre-Loyalists who created a small number of settlements throughout Eastern Nova Scotia,

as a rule the Irish and Loyalists settled among other ethnic groups. They were often the original landowners and sometimes the original populations in areas that were later to become Scots and Acadian strongholds. Genealogical records indicate that these Irish and Loyalists generally married among their own. This was as much a consequence of avowed Scottish and Acadian practices as any desire on the part of Irish or Loyalist to preserve their own religion or ethnicity.⁸

ETHNICITY AND RELIGION: ECONOMIC DIFFERENCES

The exploitation of the frontier resources was not equally shared by all immigrant groups. Time and location of settlement, cultural attitudes to the available resources and to a lesser extent the politics of early Nova Scotia did not permit equal access to the water-wind-wood economy that was making Nova Scotia prosperous.⁹

The economic base of Eastern Nova Scotia was principally dependent upon the sea. The flourishing salt-fish industry, lumbering, and shipbuilding were aspects of an integrated export-import based economic exchange that became increasingly reliant on the role of the entrepreneur as the contending empires of French and English domination came to leave Nova Scotia.¹⁰ The centers of commerce were sea-ports which by their very topography necessitated an isolated interior settlement. The place of agriculture in the economy

was principally that of limited production for local consumption and even then it was claimed that it was cheaper to import goods than to grow them in some areas. Cattle and dairy goods were the major agricultural products in later periods but initially the products were those of simple horticulture, potatoes, wheat, etc.. In the first days of settlement and later when settlements matured, rarely did agricultural products reach such a level of surplus that they could be generally considered for export and in those cases where such export took place it was limited to a few crops and livestock.¹¹

The concentration of commercial enterprise among certain groups (Loyalist, Presbyterian Lowlanders, a scant minority of Irish) paralleled the concentration of a subsistence economy among other groups (Scots Highlanders, Acadians, Irish). Both types of activity accentuated the natural isolation existing between land based agricultural operations and sea-going commerce. Their relationship was not interdependent, rather they were marginal to one another. The seaport could and did serve the subsistence land-owners in a limited fashion, but, by and large, the most lucrative prosecution of resources was in the sea (fishing) and in shipping (ship building and the carrier trade) so that the development of the interior (where many of the farms were) was not immediately connected with the maximum exploitation of the water-wind-wood resource.

The pre-eminence of the Loyalists in the commerce of the mid-nineteenth century can be easily explained by their early start in Nova Scotia (after 1776).¹² They were already established in various industries by the time the Highland Scots arrived, and were familiar with this type of economy for some time in their native New England. The Lowland Presbyterians did arrive at Pictou early (1773) and, in contrast to the small number of Highland Presbyterians who arrived at about the same time, were already familiar with the pursuit of commercial capitalism from their experience in the prosperous trade of the Scottish Lowlands. These Lowlanders were already democratic in spirit (electing their religious ministers), used to urban life, desirous of literacy (bible reading was general), liberal (reform-minded) in politics and, in contrast to the Scots of later migrations, were skilled in particular occupations needed in the expanding economy. As compared with the Scots Presbyterians of the Kirk, these people were far less land-conscious and traditional (they did not use Gaelic for business nor in their church services).¹³

Despite their Catholicism (Catholics were not politically emancipated in Nova Scotia until 1827), small entrepreneurial elites did develop among the Irish connected with the fishery. In a manner similar to the Loyalists they operated out of communities that were predominantly Scots or Acadian. The explanation for their role may be found in

their established adaptation to English rule and English values. Unlike the Highland Scots they had the use of the English language before coming to the new world, many were experienced in the fishery from previous experience in Newfoundland, they were settled before the Scots, and they were politically astute in dealing with the dominant English colonial government.¹⁴

What characterizes all these entrepreneurial groups is their time of settlement, their previous experience with commercial capitalism, their facility in English and their minority status. The time of settlement is an important factor because the development of the water-wind-wood economy was already underway when the mass immigration of the Scots arrived. The year 1851 is usually taken as the end of organized Scots immigration. This was but fifteen years away from the end of reciprocity which is usually taken as the denouement of this type of economy.¹⁵ Experience with commercial capitalism was greatest among the New Englanders and Lowlanders and comparatively not as well developed among the Irish.

The large groups of Scots Highlanders that migrated to Eastern Nova Scotia did not significantly engage in the prosperity of the water-wind-wood economy. Their enthusiasm was for land, land devoid of any economic activity except subsistence. This could be explained by their recent experience in the Highlands of Scotland where they fell victim

to the expropriation of landlords. Whatever the reason for this fever, it did have the effect of reducing the threat to the existing commercial class. More importantly, the developing Scots Catholic communities provided new entrepreneurial opportunities for Protestant merchants who elected to serve these new communities.¹⁶ By settling away from the Protestant strongholds, by inhabiting agricultural areas and by farming among their own, the Scots presented little challenge to the economic and social order of those most advanced in a seagoing commercial capitalism. Likewise, for Catholic Highlanders their religion did not enjoy a visible or coherent organizational presence during the initial stages of settlement.

Thus in the period of first settlement both ethnicity and religion effectively determined the existence of homogeneous communities, lifestyle, and to a lesser degree homogeneous counties. Participation in an expanding economy was differentially engaged in as dependent upon those factors cited: previous familiarity with commercial capitalism, time of settlement, and facility in English (as well as facility with the English colonial power). Scots Catholics and Acadians generally did not develop entrepreneurial elites nor marketing centers. A few of the Catholic Irish did engage in entrepreneurial positions in the fishery (most notably at Arichat and St. Peters). Despite this rare exception, the Catholics living in Eastern Nova Scotia during

this period (1773-1845) were not visibly organized as a recognizable church nor were they a threat to the Protestant economic hegemony.

RELIGION: CATHOLIC BOUNDARIES¹⁷

The Catholic church of the migrations and early settlement was a missionary church that had to resort to three different cultures for their clerics. The French from Quebec, Irish clerics, and Scots clerics ministered to the combined Catholic Acadians, Scots and Irish of Nova Scotia. The mixture was not always a happy one since neither the Irish nor the French had the use of the Gaelic language and there were simply not enough Gaelic-speaking clerics to provide for the numerically-superior Scots.¹⁸ The constant call by respective Catholic ethnic groups was for their "own" clerics.¹⁹ Despite these calls for clerics who shared in the ethos of the flock the catholicity of the church was impressed upon the early settlements.

As befits a frontier environment the missionary activity of this period demonstrates a certain informality in religious practice (excepting the "Prissy" Quebec clerics), democracy in decision making, and co-operation between clerics of different denominations.²⁰ It was not the Church of Rome but a Church of Rome in frontier conditions. The Quebec clerics, who more than others demonstrated a Romish position with respect to ritual and ceremony as well as

authority, were compromised by the exigencies of different ethnic groups used to an underground church in their previous experience in Ireland and Scotland and (for the Acadians) in Nova Scotia.²¹ This spirit of the underground, while shared by all groups seems to have been noticeably active when clerics representing their own ethnic background ministered to a community. Given the isolated patterns of ethnic settlement it could be said that, in those instances where this pattern obtained, these like-situated clerics best reinforced existing ethnic memories. On the mundane level, these clerics were best understood.

The elasticity of the Catholic Church during this period is apparent in its being able to front a missionary activity among isolated ethnic groups with an integrated ethnic clergy. This elasticity may be explained, in part, by the role Quebec ecclesiastical figures played in the determination of Catholicism in English Canada; in short, these figures permitted a great deal of local autonomy (a sensitive reflection of conditions facing Catholics outside Quebec) while taking the overall responsibility for the destiny of Roman Catholicism in Canada.²² This sense of a common spiritual destiny made Catholicism coherent even when its manifestations were spread throughout a region in such a manner that respective mission centers seemed cut off from one another by virtue of geography, language, and culture. By mid-century, when these Catholic areas achieved their own

ecclesiastical diocese, the blueprint which had been drawn by the missionary activity directed from Quebec was realized in a substantial network of parishes throughout Eastern Nova Scotia. The organizational apparatus of the Antigonish diocese formed a link between those ethnic groups which had previously been separated since Antigonish replaced Quebec as the immediate and final authority for local Catholicism. As such the Diocese of Antigonish must be considered as an essential unifying factor in the identity of respective Acadian, Irish and Scots groups. Its role in the future transformations of Eastern Nova Scotia after 1850 is therefore relevant to discussion here. // These transformations (after 1850) are largely predicated on the expanded role of Catholics in civil society, their political emancipation, representation in government, and educational advancement. /

The legally-enacted emancipation of Catholics, as equal subjects under the crown (1827), the agitation for responsible government in the colony, and the extension of formal education throughout society, affected the development of the various religious-ethnic groups. All three developments were progressively enacted over time and constituted social movements in their own right. In the context of new-world society they also reflected that type of reform which placed more emphasis on achieved rather than ascribed status. Emancipation, education, and political

self-government caused the opening up of certain key social and economic institutions and permitted a more broadly based participation in these institutions by all classes of people. Although the emphasis here is on those general transformations taking place in Eastern Nova Scotia during this period, it should be noted that within certain areas (notably Pictou-New Glasgow and Sydney-Glace Bay) further internal differentiation was occurring; coal, gypsum and other minerals were discovered in particular areas of Eastern Nova Scotia and, in these areas, although industrial activity was not significant, the variety of occupations was much further developed than in other places.²³ This meant that the local markets for agricultural production were advanced so that subsistence farming was qualitatively different in those areas adjacent to these thriving centers as opposed to more remote areas.

Since such activity was not yet of significant industrial or urban consequence in mid-century, attention will be given to those movements which were of some importance - politics and education.

MID TO LATE 19TH-CENTURY TRANSFORMATIONS: POLITICS

The political representation of Eastern Nova Scotia was initially an area captured by Protestant Lowlanders and Loyalists. The only excursion into this area was made by certain Irish politicians.²⁴ In the post-emancipation

period, the Scots Catholics and Acadians were not politically inactive; rather, with their prelates they vigorously supported various candidates with whom they found a sympathetic ear or whom they felt would provide adequate representation on a local issue. However, their efforts were not concerted. Because issues assumed a local character the early elections would often find Catholic clerics on both sides of an issue. / It wasn't until the beginnings of the industrial age (c. 1881) that the educational and political institutions of the Catholic Scots were sufficiently developed to provide candidates for a variety of municipal, provincial and federal offices. Such was the progress of their late development that, from then on, they effectively captured political power in many constituencies of Eastern Nova Scotia. /

The meteoric rise of the Scots-Catholic politician in so short a period (1851-1881) can be explained by the consequence of emancipation, the allocation of constituencies on the basis of population (and the related numeric strength of the Scots Catholics), and by the internal development of a professional class in and through local Catholic institutions.

The latter factor of the development of a professional class was a necessary but not sufficient condition for political representation; other ethnic-religious groups also developed such professional leaders through educational

institutions but did not enjoy the numeric superiority of the Scots Catholics.

MID TO LATE 19TH-CENTURY TRANSFORMATIONS: EDUCATION

Concomitant with the move towards political representation, there were efforts made to expand the availability of local educational facilities in Eastern Nova Scotia. As in politics, the entry of respective ethnic groups into public education came at different times and with different degrees of success.

The leaders in educational development were the Presbyterians (non-Kirk). As early as 1816, they developed an Academy at Pictou with the intention of producing local clerics for the Presbyterian church. The intent of the Academy was opposed by the Church of Scotland Presbyterians who believed that only clerics sent from the Kirk in Scotland qualified as ordained ministers. Nevertheless (or, because of) these confrontations the Academy became a vital center for higher education.²⁵

Since the Pictou-Academy produced many local school teachers and ministers in the early period of its history the climate of literacy was far more advanced in Presbyterian areas than in Catholic areas. The climate for reform also existed here at an earlier date. Education during the early period of the Academy's existence was affected by the pressure for political reform. Presbyterians were conducting

efforts to assure their rights as free citizens in an elected assembly against the prerogatives of the Anglican Church and the representatives of the Privy Council. It is significant in the consideration of Scots-Presbyterian versus Scots-Catholic education that the students educated at Pictou Academy undertook their studies in this highly-politicized milieu. With the exception of the free Irish, Catholics were absent from these reforms. Education associated with reform and social mobility was not initially a Catholic strength during the battles for self-government in Nova Scotia.

Scottish Catholic entry into higher education (at the same level as Pictou Academy) began in 1853.²⁶ The Arichat Academy (later Saint Francis Xavier University) was intended to develop the first years of seminary education. Secondly, it, like Pictou Academy, created a number of scholars to teach in local schools.²⁷ Until the Free School Act of 1864 the Scots Catholics were not as involved in public education and not as well represented politically as Protestants.²⁸ For the Scots Catholics representation in politics is a fairly sensitive barometer of their educational achievement. Until the founding of the Arichat Academy there is not much evidence that points to any progress on either of these levels as compared with Presbyterian Scots.

As for other Catholic ethnic groups during this period the Irish Catholics of Eastern Nova Scotia joined with the numerically greater Scots Catholics in the development of Saint Francis Xavier University while the Acadians remained isolated. The Acadians, unlike the Irish and Scots, were determined to use their native language in both public education and higher education and subsequently were generally disadvantaged in that they got very little of either.²⁹ While it is true that the larger Acadian centers, Cheticamp and Arichat, had French common schools taught by religious orders, the consistency of their development was plagued by both secular political problems emanating from Halifax and ecclesiastical staff shortages. Their political and educational interests were significantly under-represented in Eastern Nova Scotia up to and after the beginnings of industrialization.

In summary, these mid-century to late 19th-century transformations of political emancipation and representation and educational advancement may be seen to have variously affected the ethnic religious identity of Scots, Irish, and Acadians. While all these groups demonstrate a recognition of the importance of public education and a desire for political representation during this period not all realized their goals.³⁰ Politically, Scots Catholics certainly became differentiated from their Irish and Acadian brethren while Loyalists and Presbyterian Lowlanders made up for any

local diminution in their regional political control by entering the expanded political arenas opened up in the provincial capital of Halifax through Responsible Government (1848).³¹ With respect to education, the pattern of Protestant ascendancy was maintained in this area both in public education and in higher education, although Catholics under the direction of the local diocese did develop a university seminary which permitted Scots and Irish Catholics to be trained for professional life. In effect, this meant that within Catholic communities an incipient development of class based upon educational advantage was beginning to evolve.³² Incipient is perhaps the best advised word since the Protestant hegemony in the economic sphere was not altered by the progress of Catholic communities nor by the development of classes within these communities since, for the most part, these classes were based upon professional occupation rather than entrepreneurial activity.³³

MID TO LATE 19TH-CENTURY TRANSFORMATIONS:

ECONOMICS AND CONFLICT

During the period 1851-1881 a once vibrant water-wind-wood economy was experiencing definite economic shocks. At the same time this was happening Catholic communities were expanding geographically, politically and in some cases economically. These limited advances were largely due to that general process of social mobility whereby some

craftsmen-farmers increasingly developed more specialized activities, freed themselves from subsistence agriculture and engaged in wage-related occupations in the towns. After 1881 this tendency was greatly facilitated by the development of a variety of activities associated with industrial capitalism but prior to this some diversity of occupation had already developed in these communities. Although not as common, successful farming also developed a more affluent type of Scots Catholic and in a number of places agricultural societies were formed to promote their interests.

These accommodations made by Catholics in Eastern Nova Scotia encouraged conflict between Catholics and Protestants and resulted in the development of boundaries around Catholicism.³⁴ Conflict is one of the best indicators of the boundaries between groups and the respective interests encapsulated within these boundaries. Above, it has been noted that a certain religious harmony existed in the pioneer stages of social development; the exceptions pointed out were those of the Presbyterians (Secessionist versus Kirk) and some early problems between Catholic Scots and Irish. The Presbyterian conflicts were more intense in the early days of settlement and largely isolated within Pictou. The Catholic conflicts were for the most part clerical and rarely involved physical conflict. Protestant-Catholic conflict was virtually non-existent in the frontier development of Eastern Nova Scotia.

The ascent of the third Scottish Bishop of Antigonish (1852) marks a turning point in the relations between Catholic Scots and Irish and subsequently between Catholics and Protestants in Eastern Nova Scotia. Colin MacKinnon was the first locally born bishop (his predecessors MacEachern and Fraser were Highlanders) and the first trained in Rome. His jurisdiction was accepted by the Irish in Halifax who were willing to concede Eastern Nova Scotia to the Scots. As well, his reign was far more formal and established in the Catholic precepts of ecclesiastical decorum than either of his predecessors. Shortly after his investiture as Bishop the Gourley Shanty riots (1857) which occurred on the outskirts of Halifax sparked a province-wide persecution of Irish Catholics. In addressing this issue on the side of the Irish, the Bishop gave his Diocese a decidedly more Roman orientation than had been previously the case. While this new Roman Catholicism was not sufficient to unite effectively the Halifax and Antigonish Dioceses into common efforts on other fronts, it did announce a new strategy within the Church and it did articulate to Eastern Nova Scotians a more visible presence of Roman Catholicism.³⁵

As all Churches developed with their concomitant educational institutions, parish organizations, and locally-trained clergy the tendency to suspicion between denominations seems to have increased. Certainly, the public display of accommodation made by the early missionaries is

seldom found after the 1850's.

While it is convenient to locate Bishop MacKinnon and the Gourley Shanty Riots in the center of this transition to self-conscious Catholicism, other factors can be seen to have determined this response. The ultramontane spirit of Catholicism was rekindled by the plight of the Pope in Rome who had been victimized by enemies of the church in the seizure of the Papal States in 1849. This threat united Catholics. Further to this the local environment of bigotry was propitious for shoring up Catholic defences since the demographic expansion of Catholicism was identified in various quarters of Nova Scotia as a threat to existing Protestant English society. The Gourley Shanty riots drew attention to the Catholic presence and unleashed a campaign against Catholics in Nova Scotia. Largely centered at Halifax, this campaign came at a particularly vulnerable period in church history--internationally and locally. In Eastern Nova Scotia it affected the definitions Scots, Irish and Acadian Catholics had of themselves.

Perhaps what explains this shift to emphasis placed on religious boundaries (over and against ethnic boundaries) is the change in the economic climate of the province. By 1881 most counties had reached their highest level of population and land occupancy.³⁶ This occurred simultaneously with the decline of the traditional markets and economy. Commercial capitalism was becoming a less viable means of

producing wealth at the very time that subsistence farmers were becoming adapted to meeting its requirements in their own surplus production. This alone produced some competition. Secondly, the development of industrial activity, railways, manufacturing, and mining, was becoming a more important resource for exploitation. The development of these industries began to encourage the development of more heterogeneous populations. The visible development of regional Catholic institutions also permitted an easier recognition of Catholicism as a contending power. For Catholics, there was the recognition of their underdevelopment as compared with Protestants. The perception of the role of the protestant entrepreneur had also changed from the benevolent agent of early settlement to the commercial overlord.³⁷

These features of life were not so readily recognizable in the period of initial settlement when the Scots were glad to get land, the Acadians content to live without harassment, and the Irish pleased to be able to settle in Nova Scotia. Thus despite all those features of adaptation within the Catholic ethnic groups which served to differentiate them from one another, access to education and political representation, affinity to professional status, and different rates of participation in the success of commercial capitalism as dependent upon the location of community, they were all likewise united in defense of a common

religious conviction which was able to make its claims paramount in their respective constructions of identity.

STRUCTURAL DIFFERENTIATION: AN OVERVIEW

Railways, the coal-steel industry and the industrial attractions of the "Boston States" changed the demographic character of Eastern Nova Scotia in the period after 1881. Industrial growth in Nova Scotia was among the highest in Canada in the period 1881-1891.³⁸ Sydney-Glace Bay, Pictou-Stellarton and a number of smaller mining centers scattered all over Eastern Nova Scotia spurted forth in the production of minerals in anticipation of the coming of the railway. The fishing villages, mainstays of the traditional economy, commenced their decline. The farms did likewise. For those involved in subsistence agriculture, the access to wages seems to have been the single factor prompting most to leave the farm either temporarily or permanently for available wage work.

All these changes, cited in the above paragraph are related in as much as they are aspects of the more general process of industrialization. For purposes of analysis, changes in the composition of population, occupational structure and social organization of the Eastern Nova Scotia region may be considered as indicators of that pattern of structural differentiation known as industrialization. Two empirical problems attend the identification of

this period of structural differentiation: What instances of differentiation occurred? What effect did it have on existing identity? To expedite this investigation it will be convenient to treat population change as the most apparent feature of structural differentiation and thereby relate the types of population change to changes in occupational structure and social organization. Three types of population change occurred between 1881 and 1931: 1) rural to urban within the region; 2) migration away from the region to other locations; 3) proportional changes within the work force of the region. Consideration of these three areas provides an overview of the phenomenon of industrialization.

From 1881 to 1931 there was some growth in the population of Eastern Nova Scotia.³⁹ This absolute growth in population (+41212) does not indicate, however, changes in the distribution of the population. Urban areas gained considerably while rural areas lost their population. Furthermore, the urban population was concentrated in two industrial areas within the region. By 1931 the Sydney area of Cape Breton Island contained 95% of the total urban population on the island while the New Glasgow area on the mainland contained 94% of the urban mainland population of Eastern Nova Scotia. Sydney shows intercensal growth of 11, 308, 78, 27 and 2 percent while New Glasgow grew by 46,

18, 44, 41, and -1 percent in the periods 188-91, 1891-01, 1901-11, 1911-21, and 1921-31 respectively. Most of this urban growth was at the expense of rural growth. Rural decline during these same intercensal periods stands in contrast to the pattern of concentrated urban growth. In the five intercensal periods between 1881 and 1931 the rural component of the seven eastern counties declined in thirty instances out of a possible thirty-five instances. Even then, in four out of the five areas of supposed rural growth, suburban growth is responsible for the "rural" increases.

PERCENTAGE RURAL GROWTH (TOTAL GROWTH IN BRACKETS)

<u>County</u>	<u>1881-91</u>	<u>1881-01</u>	<u>1901-11</u>	<u>1911-21</u>	<u>1921-31</u>
Antigonish	-15 (-11)	-24 (-16)	-14 (-12)	- 3 (- 3)	-16 (-73)
Cape Breton	- 2 (+10)	-10 (+44)	+ 3 (49)	+ 1 (+18)	+ 2 (+ 7)
Guysborough	- 5 (- 3)	+ 5 (+ 6)	- 8 (- 7)	-10 (- 9)	- 7 (- 1)
Inverness	- 1 (+ 1)	-14 (- 6)	- 2 (+ 5)	- 1 (- 7)	- 3 (-12)
Pictou	-15 (- 3)	-13 (- 3)	-13 (+ 7)	- 1 (+14)	- 5 (- 4)
Richmond	- 5 (- 5)	- 6 (- 6)	- 2 (- 2)	- 6 (- 6)	- 3 (-11)
Victoria	- 2 (- 1)	-16 (-15)	- 5 (- 6)	-11 (-10)	+ 1 (-11)

The urban growth of Eastern Nova Scotia in the period 1881-1931 is more pronounced than that of Canada and the Province of Nova Scotia. While Canada advanced 28% and Nova Scotia advanced 31% in its urban population in the 1881-1931 period, Eastern Nova Scotia advanced 39%. By 1931 it was still less urbanized than Canada (2% less urbanized) but it had bypassed the rest of Nova Scotia (7% more urbanized).

Thus it can be seen that the first characteristic of population change in Eastern Nova Scotia during this period was that of rapid urbanization.

Even more dramatic than the urbanization of the region was the fact of out-migration from Eastern Nova Scotia.⁴⁰ Estimates of maritimers leaving rural areas in the five decades from 1881 to 1931 indicate a loss of over 100,000 persons per decade. The intercensal figures cited above testify to the contribution Eastern Nova Scotia made to this loss of the Maritime population since urban increase within the region cannot nearly account for the magnitude of rural losses. In both patterns, urbanization and out-migration, the loss of population is at the expense of rural communities.

To determine the character of the third element of population change, i.e., occupational change, some mention must be made respecting productive changes associated with industrialization. Initiating with railway development, strengthened during the period of protective tariffs, and preserved by freight assistance policies, the coal/steel industry of the Sydney and New Glasgow areas formed the base for local industrialization. In effect, this industry alone constituted industrialization.⁴¹

The expansion of this work force is demonstrated by increases in both coal and pig iron production after 1881.⁴² In 1900, 29% of 28,000 tons of Canadian pig iron

came from Eastern Nova Scotia; by 1913, 43% (480,000 tons) of Canadian pig iron was produced in this region. In 1881, 3,567 men produced 1,259,000 tons of coal; by 1927 12,522 men produced 7,126,000 tons of coal. / Most of this growth occurred in the Sydney area. It therefore can be said that industrialization/urbanization was not only isolated geographically to one principal area but it was even isolated to the coal/steel industry. In the rest of Eastern Nova Scotia, structural differentiation occurred in a different fashion.

The fishing and farming industries were being affected by changes emanating from inside the region and from outside its boundaries. In the same way that changes in monopoly capitalism affected coal/steel developments, the development of new technologies, markets, transportation networks and financial arrangements affected the practice of rural life.⁴³ The Intercontinental railway opened up the country, refrigeration permitted new methods and greater latitude in the distribution of foodstuffs, mechanization made fishing and farming more productive, and urbanization made the surplus production of food stuffs both necessary and financially rewarding.⁴⁴ With these changes came a series of structural changes in the practice of agriculture and fishing. In fishing, capital-intensive steam trawlers and refrigeration made it possible to supply

a fresh-fish market; in farming, large specialized farms produced an agricultural surplus. Monopoly capital became interested in the transportation, processing and distribution of food stuffs.⁴⁵ Both the modes of production and relations of production were changing. The decline of the family farm accurately reflects this change. In 1881 there were 20,897 occupied family farms in Eastern Nova Scotia; by 1931 there were 14,457 occupied farms.⁴⁶ Further to this, by 1940, even when a farm was in production, only 30% of the total family income was derived from farming.⁴⁷

By 1931 the amounts of improved acreage, field crops produced, livestock raised and dairy products produced in Eastern Nova Scotia were all dramatically reduced from 1881 levels.⁴⁸ Fishermen and fishing boats were also reduced in number.⁴⁹ In 1890, 13,349 fishermen worked the fishery which was almost twice the number (7,513) working in 1931. Again, the greatest change was not simply in the numbers occupied but in the type of work; the movement away from a salt cod fishery to fresh fish/lobster meant a move away from family production and a move towards plant production.⁵⁰ In both farming and fishing, technological innovation made part-time work possible since such innovations as the gasoline engine and mechanized mower reduced the time necessary for farming and fishing, as well the numbers of workers needed in the industry.⁵¹

A wide variety of social organization changes accompanied the demographic shifts in population and occupation. Both urbanization and the growth of contractual relations implied new forms of social organization. The transition from gemeinschaft relations to gesellschaft relations was characterized by changes in the quality and quantity of those new social organizations serving a diversified population. The heterogeneity of urban populations was built upon migration from different ethnic and religious communities within the region as well as emigrants from Newfoundland, the British Isles, continental Europe, and the United States.⁵² In this context voluntary forms of organization arose to replace the ministrations based upon kinship and community. In Sydney and in New Glasgow the social service organizations were inspired by both the church and the work-place.⁵³ Increasingly, the format for conducting these social relations was based upon bureaucratic principles. / A clear example of these processes was that of unionization. Neither ethnicity or religion formed the sole basis for their rise; instead, specific occupational relationships prompted associations based upon class interests.⁵⁴ These associations formed a base for charitable and fraternal assistance. They also demonstrated a tendency to use increasingly a bureaucratic format. /

The parallel for these processes in rural areas was the rise of agricultural societies and even temperance societies which were regional in character.⁵⁵ Like industrial workers, the ties of occupation provided a basis for social organization. Changes in the social organization of the family were instigated by the loss of family members in rural outmigration, by patterns of seasonal wage work apart from farming/fishing, and by adjustment to urban life.⁵⁶

Society, was being transformed; communities, families, and established ties were being changed during this period.

In summary, this process of structural differentiation meant an increase in the complexity of social structures. Urban growth, production changes, and new forms of social organization indicate this process. Its effects might be seen more clearly if the Scots are observed during this period. Their social development in 'the region' spanned the experiences of both subsistence agriculture and commercial capitalism prior to industrialization.

STRUCTURAL DIFFERENTIATION: EFFECT AND RESPONSE

The year 1891 represents the high-water mark for the occupation of agricultural lands in most counties of Eastern Nova Scotia.⁵⁷ Closer examination of this period

reveals the decline of certain traditional activities as well as the development of new economic endeavors. The timber industry was virtually finished, shipbuilding had reached its peak, trade with the West Indies and New England was in decline, and the salt-fish industry had lost significant portions of its traditional markets. On the other hand local railway construction was underway connecting Eastern Nova Scotia to the Intercontinental Railway, manufacturing of steel products had begun in the Pictou-New Glasgow and Sydney areas, and mining became more attractive due to the railway and steel production.

The rural to urban migrations might therefore seem to demonstrate the shift from commercial capitalism which could be prosecuted throughout a string of small communities along the Nova Scotia coast to industrial capitalism which was prosecuted in the mining and manufacturing urban areas. However, this apparent shift would only account for the local development of urban centers and the smaller railway towns and mining centers. In fact, after 1881, most rural peoples who left went to industrial centers located in the Eastern United States. The crisis that perpetuated these migrations might be found in the nature of subsistence agriculture which was the mainstay for most rural people living outside those few centers that flowered in the heyday of commercial capitalism.

The increases in population among these rural peoples up until 1881 was not predicated on the good practice of farming nor on the availability of rich virgin farm lands being opened up for production.⁵⁸ The pattern of family inheritance split up many farms, caused blighted land to be opened up for agriculture, and created a youthful population engaged in farm-help, fishing-help and lumbering-help. This occupational group increased its numbers with each generation born. By 1881 they formed a labor surplus. This surplus demonstrated the limited resources of subsistence agriculture when faced with an expanding population. The land which had been available was so reduced in its productive effectiveness by poor farming practices and multiple inheritance, that it could no longer permit the growth of population. By 1881 the agricultural Scots (both Catholic and Presbyterian) were in the same economic predicament as they had been in before leaving the feudal conditions in the Highlands of Scotland: small plots, limited production, and increased population. Except for the absence of the feudal lord and the presence of their ecclesiastical, educational, and political institutions, they still had some resemblance to crofters. The Scots were therefore most susceptible to the development of industry elsewhere and the promise of emigration to new areas.

In light of the attention paid Scots Catholics in the identity thesis developed herein, the following conclusions may be made with respect to the transformations in Scottish-Catholic identity as compared with Acadian identity and Scots Presbyterian identity. It would seem that the Scots Catholics' isolation of community and economic pursuit (subsistence farming-fishing) produced a faithful replica of Scottish culture as it had existed in the Highlands of Scotland. This replication was more commonly made among Catholics (and land-based Presbyterians) than among those Scots involved in commercial capitalism. In a more extreme form these boundaries likewise existed among the Acadians. The difference between Scots and Acadian identity was shaped by the political and educational environments. Here, without much agitation by Scots Catholics, opportunities for societal adaptation became generally more developed than had previously been the case. The adaptation to this environment was constructed upon the happy features of Scots Catholic identity which had hitherto existed, i.e., the pattern of homogeneous settlement. Education was likewise predicated on the desire to create certain institutions to serve an existing people who, as Scots Catholics, happened to be in the majority. For the minority Acadians such transitions did not internally inform their communities. Instead, Acadians without the numbers

to create politicians or the access to French education either retreated further into their cultural isolation, which by all appearances was true in Cheticamp and Isle Madame, or assimilated into adjacent English communities as was true in Guysborough.

Industrial capitalism in its subsequent development necessitated further adaptations especially for Scots Catholics who had been making successful accommodations. The base of commercial capital initially permitted some local diversity; however, industrial development had greater consequences for Scots-Catholic identity than for Scots Protestant identity since the former had neglected for so long an appropriate adaptation to their economic environment that they were immediately beset by the social changes extended by wage-labor. What this limited comparison implies is that not all change may relativize existing identity; some varieties of differentiation may be incorporated into identity and others may expose some fragility of existing identity in such a way that the whole identity consolidation is called into question. Such a fragility was the surplus manpower of subsistence farming.

PROGRESS: THE INITIAL RESPONSE FROM SCOTTISH LEADERS

The reactions of the Catholic Scottish leaders to progress gives some insight into another facet of the

identity constructed by Scots in Eastern Nova Scotia. It is significant that the first perceptions of this change were guardedly optimistic; the times seemed propitious for the full realization of Scots Catholic fortunes in a society that had for long held religion to be a determinant of social mobility. From among the ranks of education and "town" Scots came the call for advancement.

The educational basis of the Scots Catholic elite had been classical rather than commercial and hence their vocational aptitude tended more to such professional activities as religious ministry, law, medicine, and teaching. While such activities (excepting law) did not predispose them to engage in industrial capitalism, they did prompt a critique and evaluation of such activity. In a paternalistic sense the leaders of the day became advocates of learning English, good workmanship, the benefits of railways. Progress became their slogan. While progress often meant something more than mere economic development, the leaders were in fact mainly concerned with the raising of the community's standard of living. They formed a vanguard for bringing the Scots into the twentieth century by their etherial considerations of wealth, industrial development, and the morality of the modern age.⁵⁹

The ambiguity in the period between traditional and industrial society may be best illustrated by the efforts of one leader, the Scots Bishop, to influence the destiny of his diocese by political manipulation.⁶⁰ Bishop Cameron's (1877-1910) attempt to secure competent Catholic leadership on the provincial and federal levels was manifest in his successful efforts as Bishop of his flock to promote a Catholic, Sir J. S. Thompson, to the premiership of the Province (1880's) and Prime Minister's office of the Dominion of Canada (1890's) as the representative of the Antigonish constituency. At the expense of personal vendettas within the diocese, Cameron developed his crusade. He left for the historian the high water mark of clerical authority and privilege in Eastern Nova Scotia. The fact of his electoral success indicates the solidarity of his constituency.

It is difficult to ascertain what the motives were for the involvement of this prelate with the political leaders of his day; certainly there was much to be gained materially for the Diocese and it may be that Cameron recognized the precarious base underlying the development of Roman Catholic society in Eastern Nova Scotia. No evidence exists to confirm or refute this conjecture. More likely, Cameron and his priests were concerned with the participation of Catholics in the boom expected to come and

had little premonition of the rapid depopulation that was to follow. The steady increase in population since first settlement, and the incipient promise of industry (at the community's doorstep in the form of advancing railways), argued for the continuation of growth and development in the Diocese. It was perhaps their perception of the merits of this argument that inspired the leaders to promote progress.

While Scots paternalistic leadership exulted in the full blossom of its established prerogative, the rural strongholds of Catholic and Presbyterian Highlanders were being decimated by out-migration. Inverness, Antigonish and Victoria counties were the major contributors of manpower for the flourishing mills, mines, and factories. The cultural shock was slow developing but its effects were cathectic. Each abandoned farm and every empty house and standing barn were shooting roots deep into the hearts of the too young and the too old, left behind in the rush for the city. Those departed had sowed their last seeds in the infertile soil; ironically they sprouted, grew and reaped a harvest of despair for those who stayed. It was here that the Antigonish Movement found its roots.

NOTES

¹Creighton, 1957 (Bluenose Magic) and Fraser (1975) (Folklore of Nova Scotia) provide a number of examples of these forerunners in their respective works on the ghosts, superstitions and folklore of Nova Scotia.

²Eastern Nova Scotia, the seven Eastern Counties (Pictou, Antigonish, Guysborough, Richmond, Cape Breton, Victoria, and Inverness) or the Diocese of Antigonish form the geographic base for the consideration of this transformation from traditional to industrial society. Eastern Nova Scotia describes the area in regional terms and expresses a connotation of certain socio-economic similarities. At times, certain distinctions must be emphasized between localities and for this reason it will be necessary to discuss the respective counties. Cape Breton Island (Richmond, Cape Breton, Victoria and Inverness Counties) did not become part of Nova Scotia until 1820 and all seven county boundaries underwent changes before assuming the form cited here but this does not affect the general substance of what is presented here and hence these changes may be ignored. Finally, in the discussion of Roman Catholic ecclesiastical matters it will be convenient to refer to the area as the Diocese of Antigonish. Properly speaking the Roman Catholic Diocese of Antigonish (then called the Diocese of Arichat) did not come into being until 1845. Up until 1842 it was a subdistrict of the Diocese of Quebec and part of the Diocese of Halifax. The name change came in 1886.

³Haliburton writing in 1827 provides an interesting account of the number of Highlanders and their condition:

"The present amount of the population (Cape Breton) is estimated at thirty thousand, the greater number of whom are indigent and ignorant Scotch Highlanders, every year receiving an increase of a thousand or two fresh emigrants, usually poor and illiterate, and almost all of the Roman Catholic persuasion."

in Johnston's History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia, Vol. II, p. 31.

⁴These facts may be culled from the literature on the Scots migration to Eastern Nova Scotia. It began in 1770 and extended through to 1851. Eastern Nova Scotia received the bulk of these settlers in the peak years of the late 1820's. While Kinkaid (1964) speaks of immigration in 1758 she is referring to disbanded soldiers. By 1838 the Scots were the biggest single ethnic group in Nova Scotia (18 counties) despite the fact that they were concentrated in Eastern Nova Scotia (7 counties). MacLean and Campbell (1974) contend that the Scots were relatively evenly divided in religion (Catholic and Presbyterian). Harvey (1941) estimates the number of Scots immigrants in Cape Breton to be 12,000 between 1815 and 1838, with several thousand arriving afterwards before 1851. In 1767 there were only 700 people in Cape Breton so the Scots immigration can be claimed to have been a massive transformation.

⁵Source: Campbell and MacLean (229: 1974). They suggest the variation in proportions between 1871 and 1921 is due to the higher attrition of the Presbyterians. It can be noted that the relative proportions of Scots to others decreased as well during this period which means that there was an increase in non-Scottish Catholics as well.

⁶Cameron, 1972, (Pictou County's History) professes amazement at the loyalty of the early Church of Scotland Presbyterians to a church that gave them "no earthly advantages whatsoever". He then goes on to describe the splits within the Presbyterian Church and the subsequent unions. He is bewildered by the tenacity of the Church of Scotland adherents to resist such unions. MacLean and Campbell (1974) start with this bewilderment to develop relationships between these splits and political life in Pictou County. It is ironic that current Protestant historians still do not recognize social glue as being "advantageous".

⁷The conditions of this servitude as well as a more comprehensive history of Acadian identity may be found in MacInnes, "The Acadians: Race Memories Isolated in Small Spaces" in Campbell (1978) Banked Fires: Ethnics of Nova Scotia.

⁸MacDougall's history (1922) and Smith (1967) The Smiths of Cape Breton are illustrative of the pattern of inter-marriage among Protestants. Smith and MacDougall provide Irish genealogies with this similar tendency of inter-marriage manifested.

⁹An APEC report (1955) "The Atlantic Provinces in Relation to the Canadian Economy" seems to indicate that this "integrated" economy was widely participated in previous to Confederation. I think this claim reflects the "Maritime Rights" aspect of economic analysis (rather than a true picture of the then existing economy). Many Maritimers including at least two generations of historians like to believe that a golden age existed prior to Confederation and all shared in the wealth throughout the many coastal communities engaged in the "water" (sea-going shipping) "wind" (sail power), "wood" (wooden construction of vessels) economy. The indigence of the numerous Catholic Scots is one illustration of the inaccuracy of this myth. By 1881 the underdevelopment of Eastern Nova Scotia was already well established (see Sacoumin 1976). See Acheson (1972) for an analysis of uneven growth after the 1880's.

¹⁰While lumbering was pretty well exhausted by the 1830's (MacLean and Campbell, 1974), ship-building continued and developed in mid century and trade prospered until after the American Civil War. The salt-fish industry did not really falter in Eastern Nova Scotia until the 1880's, Watt (1963).

¹¹Graham (1963: 14-15) contends that, "Throughout most of the first half of the nineteenth century the province depended upon imports for many of its foodstuffs. Agriculture continued to lag for a number of reasons: men tended to be drawn into the more lucrative and exciting fishing, forestry, and trading activities; farming technique was poor and good roads were lacking; food could be imported easily from places where the land was more fertile. Most of the local production consisted of livestock and dairy products, areas in which foreign competition was weaker." Yet in the difference between Catholic and Presbyterian Scots further argument is needed to explain their varying rates of success. Patterson (1877) credits Pictou's success with the following reasons: 1) after the merchants' bankruptcy of 1825-26, local people were freed from the credit system, entered a cash economy and each boat owner became their own master; 2) after the end of the timber trade and a few bad years in the fishery, these activities stopped and concentration in agriculture developed for export markets; 3) Pictou as well as Sydney were made free ports (which facilitated trade) after the General Mining Association began work in these two centers in 1828. It can be noted that Catholic Scot areas were tied to a merchant credit system, not specialized in agriculture (except in parts of

Antigonish), and did not have such colonial ties so as to gain free port status.

Further to these arguments are those of Gentilcore who indicates that cultural factors also influenced the generation of a surplus for export. Gentilcore (1956) in "The Agricultural Background of Settlement in Eastern Nova Scotia" termed the Highlanders as having "small patch plots and small patch mentalities."

¹²Material on the Loyalists in Eastern Nova Scotia may be found in Smith (1967) The Smiths of Cape Breton and in Hart (1877) History of the County of Guysborough. Their role in Eastern Nova Scotia has not been as well developed as their role in the central and western portions of the province (see Clark, 1948, Church and Sect in Canada).

¹³See Cameron 1972, chapter on Religion.

¹⁴The Irish in Nova Scotia have not been known to acquiesce to the definition of their "rights" by English Authority. The large concentration of Halifax Irish developed a cogent and highly visible commercial and political class in the very midst of English prerogative. They came with the English in the founding of Halifax (1749) and were augmented by the immigrations of the post-Napoleonic period. Bishop O'Brien's (1895) work on his predecessor, Bishop Burke, makes a special point of articulating the qualities that led to Irish ascendancy as being those of aggressive confrontation and persistence in seeking justice. He faults the Diocese of Quebec for their timidity and the Scots for their docility and makes the further claim that the Irish race saved Catholicism in the Maritimes (Memoirs of Bishop Burke). A group of clerics in Quebec quickly replied to this work castigating the Irish as worldly and irascible including the venerable Bishop Burke (see, Memoires, 1895). The Irish were ambitious. Their imperialism in ecclesiastical circles goes much further than their squabbles with Antigonish over jurisdiction (one of the major squabbles of the Church in North America as indicated by the documents in Rome, see Johnston, 1960) and Irish Bishops dominated the Acadian Dioceses of New Brunswick. When Joseph Howe started his campaign against the Catholics in 1857, he was specific that only Irish Catholics were at fault and no problems existed with the Scots and Acadians (see The Religious Warfare in Nova Scotia 1855-1860 by N. Meagher). This note cannot of course do justice to the Irish presence in Nova Scotia; they were not bland people in the political arena. Some substance has to be given to their claims given the election of the first Catholic to any British Parliament

(after penal laws against Catholics) of Kavanagh from Cape Breton in 1823 (see Stewart, 1949, The Irish in Nova Scotia).

¹⁵ This is a contentious issue. Saunders (1939) The Economic History of the Maritimes makes the issue of the Elgin reciprocity treaty a major factor in the decline of the water-wind-wood economy. Others, Graham (1963) Fiscal Adjustment and Economic Development, Forsey (1926) Economic and Social Aspects of the Coal Industry as well as Acheson (1972) "The National Policy and the Industrialization of the Maritimes" argue for other factors: technological change, changes in markets, depletion of resources (especially timber), Britain's policy change and interest in Europe, Economic depression of 1873, and Canadian economic policy changes after Confederation. As one wag put it; Nova Scotia went from Wooden ships and Iron men to Iron ships and wooden men.

¹⁶ MacDougall (1922) cites, in a sympathetic manner, a number of instances of how early merchants kept the people from starving during hard winters by procuring food and distributing it among the people. He specifically says that these acts were not in the class of charitable deeds, rather, people paid for their food in the following year either through work or produce. While MacDougall pictures these events in the light of a paternalistic care and humanism there can be little doubt that hard times contributed to the cementing of relations between people and merchants. MacDougall's sympathy is also a political disposition because the growing feeling at the time he was writing (1921) was that the relations had indeed become fetters.

¹⁷ Clark's thesis (1948) on the development of sects in the Maritime Provinces provides a framework for the discussion of this problem of the church in the frontier. His contention is that the requisites of frontier life and the loss of stability occasioned by displacement from the stable folk life of New England communities caused an enthusiastic sectarian religious development among these New England pioneers in the Maritime Provinces. The forms of religious activity in the established churches were not adequate for the anomic tasks associated with frontier existence. After the frontier was conquered religion once again developed into formal social organizations (denominations) better suited to the order and stability then present in what was hitherto frontier settlements.

While Clark does not develop any empirical argument for Eastern Nova Scotia (largely because the New England migration to this area was not as well developed as to other

regions of Nova Scotia) he does raise a question concerning the development of Eastern Nova Scotia when he cites the coming of the Highland Scots to this area in the period following the close of American frontier settlement in Canada. His claim (made in passing) that their religion and ethnic ties permitted an accommodation to the frontier without any corresponding development of sects was stated without empirical verification. For Clark what differentiated the massive Scottish immigration from that of the earlier New Englanders was the coherent pattern of the Scottish religious and ethnic traditions which took root in a new environment.

The frontier in Eastern Nova Scotia has to be regarded differently than the frontier of American expansion into Canada; it happened at a later period in time, geographically, it was, for the most part, a different frontier, and culturally it was a different type of frontier adaptation.

The mass immigration of ethnic-religious homogeneity permitted the settlement of Eastern Nova Scotia to proceed with the direction and support of ongoing church establishments. In Clark's terms this would be to say that stability was maintained in the context of established, inflexible and formal organizations despite the fact that the needs of frontier existence required local autonomy, separation from the demands of established structures and the enthusiasm of collective enterprise. This seems unlikely. The problem might be with Clark's model since the church sect/dichotomy is far better suited to the Anglican church as agent of the state and does not recognize the elasticity of the Roman Catholic church (outside Quebec) or the presence of the secessionist Presbyterian churches of that period.

Following the massive immigration at the turn of the century (1802-1823), the people of Eastern Nova Scotia were, for the most part, not identified with an established church, but were in fact all former members of underground or rebel churches. Hence, what did occur was a church behaviour that was by necessity less than church-like while at the same time not quite sect-like. The polarity of church-sect is not workable in this instance, although by implication the necessity for certain aspects of sect-like behaviour within the established churches is accorded to situations wherein ethnic or religious boundaries are challenged. This latter phenomenon was the previous history of Scots, Acadian and Irish people before their settlement or re-settlement in Eastern Nova Scotia.

¹⁸See Johnston (1960, 1971) for the full documentation of these problems between clerics of different ethnic groups and for cleric-people difficulties during this period.

¹⁹ Again, Johnston's work (1960, 1971) provides many examples of these petitions to the Bishop for a priest and frequently these are qualified by some ethnic or linguistic specification.

²⁰ There is a landmine of evidence in Johnston (1960, 1971) for this Protestant-Catholic accommodation: Prominent politicians of the Protestant faith feted in Antigonish and taken up on the altar during Services; Presbyterians entertaining the Bishop of Quebec during his visit, a Catholic Bishop on the Board of Pictou Academy, and the sharing of churches. MacLean and Campbell (1974) document this with stories from a variety of informants.

²¹ The amusing letters of Quebec clerics complaining about the informality of the Scots and Acadian people provides a rare insight into the differences that did exist in the religious expectations of the priest and the people. Culture intervened in the spiritual life of the Quebec cleric accustomed to thinking that the true God spoke Latin/French, and could only be worshipped in a spacious Cathedral.

²² The battle for survival in Quebec is of importance in the development of the Roman Catholic church in Eastern Nova Scotia since policy and priestly ministry were affected by changes in Quebec society. One cannot really understand the Catholicism of Eastern Canada without an understanding of the moods of the Quebec church. Yet, because these are complex, it would be best to indicate a single consistency that did appear in the Quebec-Maritime Church after the conquest: this was the mood of hesitant involvement outside her borders. Quebec permitted events to develop in areas controlled politically by the British while at the same time exerting rigid control within her own jurisdiction.

²³ The General Mining Association (a monopoly grant) commenced operations in Pictou in 1828 and in Sydney-New Waterford shortly thereafter. By 1857 the monopoly was broken up and a profusion of mines opened under local entrepreneurs. Between 1857 and 1893 twenty mines opened in the Sydney area. It was not until consolidation (monopoly) developed after 1893 that production really developed in these operations. Minerals were appearing all over Eastern Nova Scotia. A. Gesner, from Pictou, wrote Mineral Deposits of Nova Scotia in 1849 to direct the future prospectors.

²⁴See Anthony Traboulsee (1962) Lawrence Kavanagh 1764-1830, His Life and Times and Stewart (1949) The Irish in Nova Scotia for a history of these Irish politicians, Kavanagh and son as well as O'Connor Doyle, who represented Arichat in the Provincial Legislature.

²⁵Campbell and Riley (1973) in a paper "The Pictou Notables and Conflict" suggest that the conflict between Presbyterians over control of the Academy led to an enthusiastic scholarship that was essentially competitive and resulting in higher than ordinary achievement. Their proof of high achievement is derived from the unusually high representation of Pictonians in Who's Who in Canada.

²⁶It could be said that two early Catholic Academies that predated the Arichat Academy greatly influenced the calibre of Catholic teaching. Father (later Bishop) Colin MacKinnon began his grammar school at St. Andrews in 1883 and, previous to this, Father William MacLeod established a school at East Bay in 1824. However, neither was of the same quality as that of the Pictou Academy in its range of curriculum or numbers of students.

²⁷From its early days the Arichat Academy produced teachers (Johnston, 1971) and teachers were produced previously at the St. Andrews academy begun in 1838. Yet, in my reading of the literature I find more confirmation of Presbyterian constant activity in this field during the early stages of educational development and therefore greater development up to 1881.

²⁸Confirmation of this may be found in the chapter on Education in Campbell and MacLean (1974).

²⁹This does not mean that they did not try. Johnston (1971) quotes Pere Hubert Girroir (the first ordained Acadian in Eastern Nova Scotia) on the occasion of the Acadians at Arichat losing their French-speaking school: It seems to be that there is a fatality attached to the Acadian race: for since thirteen years... I...beggared myself for the education of the community, and, the moment that matters were assuming a fair state of existence, here comes a death blow that blasts all anticipations. It seems that, whenever an Acadian community is on the point of taking a position among others,

there must be something to thwart the efforts of many years. Girroir to Tupper - 1866 (in Johnston, 1971).

³⁰ In the mid-nineteenth century a number of universities were started in Nova Scotia. Whereas Kings at Windsor (1789) epitomized the dominance of the Anglican Church and Dalhousie (1828) effected the stance of the reformers and upwardly mobile elements of Nova Scotian society including a contingent from Pictou, these universities, Saint Mary's (1841), Acadia (1838), Mount Allison (1843) and Saint Francis Xavier (1853) reflected the religious convictions of the Irish Catholics, Baptists, Methodists, Scots Catholics respectively since all of these institutions were initially begun to train clerics for the local ministry.

³¹ This movement to Halifax also involved education as well as politics. From its early history Pictou was linked to Halifax by both road and sea and was geographically the closest area of Eastern Nova Scotia to this mercantile center. While I have not emphasized this geographic relationship since the religious-cultural factors are considered to be of more importance in the early distinctions between Scots Catholics and Scots Presbyterians; there can be little doubt that as time passed the access to Halifax (geographic access, political and educational access) did advance the social mobility of Pictonians.

³² Following Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade (1972) the presence of temperance societies may be used to indicate class mobility. Here again, it can be seen that temperance was first developed among the Presbyterians in Pictou (1828) during their period of rapid commercial development and followed at later periods among those Scots in the villages where agricultural production was greatest (Antigonish and Mabou) hardly reaching the subsistence rural communities. During the 1860's and 1870's it also appears to have been stronger among the Irish located in the developing mining areas of Sydney-New Waterford than among rural Scots Catholics. Data on temperance is provided by Johnston, (1971) he usually reports on its incidence in various centers and generally these reports are on Irish parishes during this period.

³³There was some consciousness of this professionalism in that such occupations were generally rated as personal, familial and institutional achievements. This might be indicated by the boast of St. Francis Xavier University in 1890.

The College calendar of 1890 pointed proudly to the distinguished men among the alumni. It boasted two bishops, 55 priests, 19 ecclesiastical students, a judge, two senators, five members of parliament, two inspectors of schools, 19 lawyers, 19 doctors, and a great many teachers. It was a credible record for the 37-year old institution. MacDonnell (1947)

³⁴Parenthetically it cannot be thought that the isolation of different cultural groups was always productive of internal harmonious relations. One illustration of how religious and ethnic homogeneity created social conflict within the frontier settlements is found in the tension generated between the Scots enthusiasm for land and their desire to live among their own. While the succession of immigrants piling in on top of already established immigrants, during the period after first settlement, would indicate a marked propensity for homogeneity it also meant that late-coming settlers would take the least desirable lands. The fact that these lands were little suited to agriculture (nor suited to any of the established industries, e.g., fishing, lumber, carrier trade) did not deter the Scots from settling in and around established relatives. Rather than go elsewhere they became litigious with one another. The extensiveness of this litigious nature indicates the price they were willing to pay to be associated with one another. (Dunn's [1953] Highland Settler notes the the litigious nature of the Scots by drawing on the letters of travellers in Eastern Nova Scotia.) Perhaps, what was litigation among their own would have been warfare with others, had they moved. Campbell and MacLean (1974) discuss the fractious role politics played in these ethnically-religious homogeneous communities. While I have not placed much consideration on these internal differences within communities it must be noted that such were important constituents of identity in that they demonstrate that such identity is not monolithic in character even when it shares many common elements.

³⁵Certainly the fact that Joe Howe, "the father of Responsible Government" and the Liberal party in Nova Scotia, mounted the campaign against Irish Catholics made this incident a real threat to Catholic gains in public life. At the same time Sir Charles Tupper proposed a party that would be dedicated to proscribing Catholics from public life in Nova Scotia (see Patterson, 1940). The affair known as the Gurlay Shanty Riots and the ensuing "campaign against the Catholics" which was accompanied by the fall of the provincial government on this religious issue perhaps highlights the changes in the social life of Nova Scotia and reveals the tendency to resist a more equitable distribution of political representation.

³⁶This date is generally true for the highest levels of population and land occupancy. See Appendix for individual counties.

³⁷Three indicators of this perception are found in the activity of Pere Fiset of Cheticamp (Acadians), the writings of Index (a nom de plume) in the Aurora and editorials in The Casket. Pere Fiset from 1892-98 attempted to release his people from the merchant's control; Index writing in 1882 advocated a similar strategy while castigating this "feudal" system which made the people "serfs" to fishing "Lords". In both cases these merchants (at Cheticamp and Arichat) were Protestant. The editorials of The Casket written in the 1880's are directly on this question of the relative influence of Catholic institutions and individuals as compared with Protestants. These editorials are, however, written from a more general perspective using data that is national rather than local.

³⁸Acheson (3: 1972).

³⁹All population statistics used here are derived from the 1931 Census of Canada.

⁴⁰"Outmigration from the Maritime Provinces, 1860-1900," is the subject of an article by Ian Brooks (1976). See Levitt (1960) for later migrations.

⁴¹References to the effects on the National Policy, the development of railroads, and preferred freight rates may be found in Acheson (1972), Archibald (1971), Forsey (1926), Frank (1976) and Cameron (1964).

⁴²The figures for pig iron production are from The Maritime Provinces in Their Relation to the National Economy of Canada (Canada, 92: 1948). Figures for coal production are from Frank (229: 1974).

⁴³Coady recognized this monopolistic tendency. "Big business, through chain stores and insurance companies, is now getting into the field of primary production and thus robbing the people of their economic independence and forcing them to go to the big cities...". Laidlaw (144:1971).

⁴⁴For materials on the intercontinental railway, refrigeration, mechanization, and urban markets see Watt (1963), and Innis (1954) for the fishing industry, and see Rankin (1932) and Stewart (1944) for farming.

⁴⁵Barrett (1976) carefully examines the development of monopoly capital in the fishing industry of Nova Scotia. Monopoly capital in agriculture was initially related to the transportation of wheat via the Canadian Pacific Railways (See Lipsett, 1971 and Hann, 1975).

⁴⁶Statistics on occupied farms are from 1931 Census of Canada, Vol. VIII: 84.

⁴⁷The figure for the percentage of income for work off the farm is derived from the 1941 Census of Canada, Vol. VIII: 144.

⁴⁸The comparison of improved acreage, livestock, field crops from 1881-1931 is presented in an Extension Department Report (1935), RG30-3/28/1064-1069.

⁴⁹The reduction in the numbers of fishermen is provided in Kontak (9: 1960) and Barrett (11: 1976).

⁵⁰The transition from family to plant production is detailed in Innis (1954).

⁵¹The increase in part-time workers is explicitly demonstrated for the Sydney area of Cape Breton in the Lewis and Hudson (1942) study.

⁵²The new immigrants to Eastern Nova Scotia are discussed in Frank (1974), MacEwan (1976), Cameron (1974). The fact that over 95% chose to live in the urban areas is noted by Lewis and Hudson (9: 1942).

⁵³For details on social service agencies, the Antigonish Casket provides an on-going account of growth, meetings and activities sponsored by Catholic parties. Cameron's (1974) account of colliers includes occupational service clubs. Dun (1953) makes reference to Scots organizations.

⁵⁴Unions and their development in Eastern Nova Scotia is best described by Frank (1974), then MacEwan (1976), then Cameron (1974).

⁵⁵See MacKenzie (1969) and Forbes (1971) for a discussion of farm groups and temperance respectively.

⁵⁶Dunn's (1953) treatment of the changing family is a literate and sensitive depiction of the changes endured in this sector of society.

⁵⁷Twenty-nine out of thirty-six counties in the Maritimes had reached their maximum number of farms by 1891. The Maritime Provinces in Their Relation to the National Economy of Canada (1948).

⁵⁸Gentilcore, (1956) describes these farm practices in some detail.

⁵⁹The assertion here is based on a reading of The Casket, the Antigonish newspaper of that period (first published in 1852 and still extant; it was the Diocesan newspaper). The period of 1899-1900 when the Inverness Railway was being built provided frequent commentary in The Casket on the development of the work as well as an encouragement of the efforts. Most important, however, were the comments made on the effects of the railway and attitudes toward the railway. From reading these accounts as well as those associated with mining industries and some manufacturing concerns I have drawn the conclusion that the actual knowledge of industrialization entertained by these writers was predicated more on the ideology of modernization rather than the physical content of industrialization. The Caskets of the turn of the century 1895-1902 which I am familiar with are more likely to be morally didactic than practically didactic. The morality taught was not always consistent; the dilemma between "progress" and "materialism" is constantly addressed. The issue of August 31, 1899 provides an illustration of this:

We are no worshipper of the shine of nineteenth century industrialism but it is here, and we have to accommodate ourselves to it. There is danger in the fire that warms us, in the electric current that lights our streets and dwellings, and in the stream that we harness...but we do not on this account forego their benefits or condemn their proper use. The essence of Americanism (i.e. materialism) is an undue reliance upon purely human means - upon the powers of man - to the disregard of means that are supernatural.

⁶⁰An account of Bishop Cameron's political interventions may be found in D. H. Gillis (1955) "Sir John Thompson and Bishop Cameron."

CHAPTER 4

RESPONSES OF THE CHURCH TO INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE IN EASTERN NOVA SCOTIA, 1899-1928¹

INTRODUCTION: IDENTITY AND AMBIGUITY

The subject of this chapter requires a rather lengthy introduction in order to locate theoretically the relationship between identity and religion in the context of change. While industrial development within Eastern Nova Scotia (1881-1921) promoted the promise of greater economic security through a technologically-advanced environmental adaptation, it created, at the same time, conflict within the ambience of traditional life styles. This transition brought a rise in the variety of social groupings suggesting the formation of those new identities based upon such new features of social existence as consumer life-styles, diverse occupational groupings, and "modern" ideological commitments. While these emerging identities still lacked the development of coherence, continuity and emotional anchorage their existence nevertheless created conflict within the established coherence, continuity, and emotional anchorage of traditional identity. In religious terms, this

is to say that the capacity for integration which previously existed in traditional religious practice was now shaken by its inadequacies in both facing the new and restoring the old. In personal terms, this could mean, on the one hand, that people experienced the despair of being "stuck" in coalfields wondering how they came to be there:

Oh, isn't it a shame for a healthy Gael living in this place to be a slave from Monday to Saturday under the heels of tyrants, when he could be happy on a handsome spreading farm with milk-cows, white sheep, hens, horses, and perhaps a car, and clean work on the surface of the earth, rather than in the black pit of misery.²

While, on the other hand, farmers ambled around vacant farms lamenting the days gone past,

Oh, I'm the worse; Oh, I'm the worse' Oh, I'm the worse as things have turned; I'm the worse since you have moved away to stay in the country of coal.³

On the group level, miners were just beginning to realize that their common occupation could be more meaningful for life in the city than either their religious or family background, while farmers were coming to realize that collective marketing practice and not subsistence production would bring the contents of the Eaton's catalogue into their homes.⁴ On the societal level, established relationships became fractious when traditional taken-for-granted meanings were shot through with such apparent contradictions as Catholic-Protestant inter-marriage, scorn for bosses in contractual relationships, and the pursuit and display of

material goods. At the same time, these new meanings which were becoming common expressions had not, as yet, crystallized into new identities.

In Eastern Nova Scotia during this period it could be said that certain urban sectors of the region were making the transition to industrial capitalism.⁵ All areas were experiencing the effects of developments in financial capitalism. Mass merchandizing, monopoly control of economic institutions, and national transportation facilities are aspects of the organizational complexity which developed in society generally, and variously affected the hitherto isolated areas of Eastern Nova Scotia. The more specialized division of labor in the industrial and mining areas is another aspect of this general process of differentiation; less spectacular, was the specialization occurring in rural areas due to the increased need for particular services (plumbing, boat engine repair, sheep farming, etc.). The term differentiation best describes these societal adaptations which promote greater organizational complexity and a more specialized division of labor. Consistent with differentiation is the relativization of existing identity and the need for new identity. This may be illustrated by contrasting rural and urban identity during this period of transition.

In the emphasis placed upon the Scots Catholics in the previous chapter (3) it was noted that isolation through

subsistence farming made possible a distinctive Catholic Highland Scottish identity in Eastern Nova Scotia. The effects of differentiation upon this identity may be seen in certain features of social existence (to be outlined below) which became evident after 1881. These features of social existence best illustrate what is being both relativized and promoted. Here, the essential point must be made that it is not particular values and specific activities that are of importance in this consideration; rather, it is the consolidation of values and activities (which are understood herein as identity) which define a people's "place" in the welter of social existence.

After 1881 significant rural and urban differences appear in Eastern Nova Scotia. These differences may be expressed in terms of population shifts and lifestyles. While rural areas had the benefits of a highly-developed sense of place; urban areas had to create such identity. If this developed "sense of place", i.e., the existing identity, may be considered as a starting point, then certain features of urban social existence may be seen as divergences from this order. For those rural people leaving for city life, these new features included wage work, contractual relations, nuclear family life, and the consumption of store goods and services.⁶ All of these features in varying degrees necessitated immediate shifts from subsistence agriculture,

kinship relations, and extended family life. To this is added the incipient development of middle-class or working-class attitudes respecting the conduct of work, home life, and consumption.

For those remaining behind "on the farm," the increasing access to such technology as boat engines, hay mowers, as well as an increased range of goods and services meant a new reliance on a money economy. The depopulation of rural areas witnessed to this need for money; many worked away "for good", i.e., forever, while others went "for a time". Both patterns demonstrated the inadequacy of subsistence farming to generate sufficient cash. For those in farming, the increasing specialization necessary for markets brought about new concerns for production and marketing which were accessible through education, advances in costly technology, and more suitable forms of social organization.⁷

An important relationship between the two spheres, rural and urban, is that of ascendancy; rural life with all its former coherence was eroded by each person leaving while the urban environment promulgated to the rural areas a seemingly indecipherable destiny bereft of coherence but pregnant with promise. The tension of the day may be indicated by the following portion of a sermon given at Christmas Island to Scots Catholics in 1915. Here, the sense of place is evident in the integration of Scottish culture ("follow

closely the fame of your ancestors"), religious conviction, stability of family, and the moral worth of agriculture:

Dear Christians, you have been chosen to magnify the name of God from the rising unto the setting of the sun, and to do this you must follow closely the fame of your ancestors. You must turn your backs on all worldly treasures should they tend to draw you from God. It is your paramount duty to propagate the children of God on earth and in Heaven according to the command given by God to our first parents immediately after their creation: "Increase and multiply and fill the earth....wherefore a man shall leave father and mother and cling to his wife." And O! My Christian friends, do what you can to keep our young men and women on the land. The farmer is a free man. He is not in subjection to any one. His wealth increases as he sleeps. Should sickness come now and then he is in no danger of dying of hunger. He gets the best prices for everything he raises, and it is greatly to the credit of yourselves and of your pastors that you are devoting great attention to the cultivation of the soil. And I say to you that it is God's work. To my sorrow I know only too well the dangers to be encountered by our youth in cities and towns. I know how difficult it is to bring up children in the love and fear of God, when Satan's snares are spread on every street corner. It is in the country districts that the firm faith is found.⁸

What was at stake was this sense of place, not only in rural areas but "in the centers of industry" as well. At the time of this sermon the ultimate meanings of a failed rural life or a promised urban life were still clouded by the counter-claims of an old identity and new meanings.

Ambiguity is a term that could be used to describe this transition between the relativization of old meanings and the pre-crystalization of new meanings.⁹ Unlike conflict,

which in an integrated order is a daily fact of social life occurring whenever competition for scarce resources is present, ambiguity relates to identity and implies that, in providing meaning, diverse standing points can come to exist. For example, as kinship was central to subsistence farming in providing insurance against failure and eliminating competition, the farmer transplanted found that union solidarity made some of the same demands on loyalty that kin once claimed in order that workers might be protected from economic failure and from each other. This transition however, if attempted in a short period of time, may result in relative being pitted against relative or relatives united against unions. Identity implies a coherence in many activities, such that incompatible elements of social existence may be resolved. Differentiation implies a succession of such elements appearing without satisfactory resolution.

Differentiation creates the possibility of more places to stand within society. This is not to say that more groups are created, but this is to say, successive differentiation has created complexity in the number of possible interpretations of existence that become available precisely because existence changes. Under these circumstances conflict then becomes more than the expression of day to day existence and includes the expression of the many ambiguities experienced in creating cogent identity in the

face of competing relativizations. A further example taken from the experience of life in Eastern Nova Scotia might clarify this point. The often cited case of the farmer who puts down his own relatives for "acting uppitty" is doing something other than expressing envy; he is defending the boundaries of his own existence by negating the symbols of cosmopolitanism evident in his relative's dress. "Fancy clothes" or a "Boston accent" express for the relative of the farmer the fact that he or she has become something else and doesn't really belong to this place any longer. The fact that this returnee-local problem was so universal and widely commented on in Eastern Nova Scotia seems to indicate the subdued intensity of this confrontation.¹⁰

 The use of the sermon cited above to illustrate certain aspects of this confrontation is consistent with the intent of this chapter. If, as is assumed here, religion sacralized identity, then this process of sacralization must have been evident in Eastern Nova Scotia during this period. Certainly, it appears to have been of concern to the institutional church.

THE INSTITUTIONAL CHURCH

 In the period 1899-1928, the Roman Catholic Diocese of Antigonish attempted to cope with the intensification of that ambiguity which was apparent in Eastern Nova Scotia. While problems of uniting the various ethnic identities had

always existed, there had always been a sufficient commonality of Catholicism present to keep the ethnic experience from assuming a pre-eminence over religion in those areas where ethnic and religious identity created conflicting allegiances. By the beginning of the First World War, the Catholic experience in Eastern Nova Scotia was predicated on the existence of diverse identities within ethnic groups (e.g., Scots as farmers--with subsistence farming contrasting market farming, as miners--with managers and workers in opposition to each--as rural people and as urban people). The very presence of these old and newly emerging identities called for some religious legitimation of respective claims and meanings. In examining the church's response to these competing claims, it is my intention to draw attention to the characteristics of the institutional church and then trace out the chronological development of its response.

In 1881, the Diocese of Antigonish was the most significant organization structure of Eastern Nova Scotia in the number of its institutions and in its geographic extension. With its episcopal headquarters in Antigonish it administered the affairs of forty-seven parishes with resident priests.

Antigonish was also the site of the diocesan university which was principally staffed by priests. Schools and

hospitals were also part of this institutional church. Johnston (551: 1971) reports that between 1877 and 1910 "four congregations of sisters working in the Diocese undertook the maintenance of eighteen schools, two hospitals and one home for the aged." During this period twenty-six new parishes came into existence. By 1928 there were seventy parishes served by ninety-three priests with an additional fifteen priests teaching at the university. These demographic features indicate only the base outlines of the significance of the institutional church.¹¹

The character of this church must also be emphasized; its principal features were its affiliation with Rome, an abundance of local clergy, and its Scottish constituency. Approximately 75% of the priests in 1928 were of Scottish ancestry with 13% Irish and 9% Acadian.¹² Ninety-seven percent were local to Eastern Nova Scotia. All priests did their seminary training outside this area either in Quebec, Halifax, Rome, or on occasion at any one of a number of seminaries in Britain, Europe, and the United States. This meant, among other things, that the clergy were in touch not only with local affairs but also with varying conditions of the church throughout the world. In this respect, Antigonish was unique as a diocese in Canada in that it was self-sufficient in priests and in contact with the universal church not only by the normal channels of communication but through the personal experience of its clergy.

With respect to the university, one further distinction respecting teaching priests must be pointed out since it bears on the quality of response Antigonish made to social transformation. In the previous chapter the political work of Bishop John Cameron was noted; his attempt to secure Catholic representation in Parliament led himself and the Diocese into national affairs. Cameron also devised a strategy of sending his most gifted priests to the most prestigious universities of the day so as to upgrade the quality of education at St. Francis Xavier University.¹³ This tactic supplemented the usual practice of sending "the gifted" to Rome for their seminary training. Since the "founders" of the Antigonish Movement had such exposure it will be convenient to briefly introduce, at this point, some of the major clerical personalities of the Antigonish Movement. Doctors J. J. Tompkins, Moses Coady, and Hugh MacPherson might be considered the major leaders ab initio while Michael Gillis, James Boyle, Miles Tompkins and John R. MacDonald were so clearly identified with the movement that they formed part of the cadre of clerics who initiated the Movement.¹⁴ Previous to the 1920's, all (save MacDonald) were overseas for seminary training, academic training, or some special fact finding related to agriculture, adult education or co-operatives. Their experience abroad was reflected in the intense discussions of 1918-1928 when the Diocese made a massive attempt to resolve the problems.

engendered by industrialization. This characteristic of the clergy as teachers and intellectuals again makes Antigonish distinctive in the Canadian context since, most often, Catholic universities have used imported intellectuals in their institutions of higher learning.

In summary, then, the Diocese of Antigonish was extended over the entire region of Eastern Nova Scotia through its parish structure; it was centralized in its administration and higher education; it was comprehensive in social services through the mediacy of its parish priests, schools and hospitals; it was generally well integrated with respect to priest-people relations since they shared ethnicity and similar social backgrounds; and finally, it contained a clerical resource of talent that may best be described as a locally-born but foreign-bred intelligentsia.

In the 1920's the institutional church, caught in a swirl of pressures from within and without, developed a forum for the debate of its relevance to a changed society and subsequently emerged with a strategy for interpreting the new age. The idea of a swirl of pressures is particularly appropriate in light of the competing foci of identity that developed at home and elsewhere to solve similar problems facing this diocese. The response of the church was gradual; it was informed by pressure from within and without. In the rest of this chapter the evolution of this response will be documented. The earliest evidence of response will

come from the turn of the century followed by the events of the gestation period 1918-1928 when the following features of response appear: The "For the People" column; The Educational Conferences; The People's School; The Merger; The Rural Conferences; The Scottish Catholic Society. These may all be seen as pressures from within: from without; the experience of the Vatican, the social aftermath of industrialization in Britain and Europe, the populism in Canada after the war; radical labor, and social gospel theology as well, moved the Diocese into action.¹⁵ A key to the understanding of the earliest response of the local church lies in one of these external sources of pressure, the Church of Rome. It set the tone for debate and guarded its right to set the limits.

THE CHURCH OF ROME AND CHANGE

If the Counter-Reformation marked the strategy of Roman Catholic practice and created the climate for Roman Catholic thought from the time of the Reformation, counter-revolution can be seen as a strategy serving the same function from the time of the industrial revolution to almost the present day.¹⁶ Both positions are of importance in discussing the religious development of the Antigonish Diocese and in articulating the intellectual thrusts that spearheaded this Diocese into creating a sensitive religious reflection of those fragilities affecting the identities of

those various groupings in Eastern Nova Scotia.

The Counter-Reformation created a climate for marked defensiveness, an emphasis on discipline and loyalty and a counter-offensive polemicism. This spirit developed in the aftermath of The Council of Trent was not so readily evident among Catholics in Eastern Nova Scotia prior to the 1850's. The contrary seems to have existed. After the mid-century point the experience of the Vatican (1849) could well have created an impetus in the revival of this spirit in Catholic dioceses throughout the world.¹⁷ Quebec seems to have followed such a course and in Eastern Nova Scotia there was a return to the purity of doctrine and severity of discipline that was once associated with the Jansenism of early missionaries.¹⁸ It is difficult to determine the extent of this austere religious practice in Eastern Nova Scotia. A number of priests in various parishes have been typified as preaching this "hell and holiness" doctrine.¹⁹ The fact that it was universal among all ethnic groups gives credence to its being a religious phase in the Church. It is possible that seminary training in Quebec exacerbated this spirit, but, whatever its origin, it resulted in a revitalized counter-reformation in Eastern Nova Scotia in the period preceding and following the societal transformation taking place after 1881.

The concrete historical events that shaped this retrenchment in the Roman Church were different from the

initial Reformation in that they were manifestly social, economic and political transformations. The proliferation of new ideas springing from industrialized centers and the threat of new ideologies created a counter-revolutionary spirit in Roman Catholicism that was not only inimical to Protestantism but suspicious of all events and interpretations of reality that fostered change. The Syllabus of Errors, Quanta Cura, and the First Vatican Council's decree on Papal Infallibility (1869) are indicators of a besieged identity as well as a besieged Papacy.²⁰ The fear of innovation, whether scientific or political, dominated the long reign of Pius IX (1846-78) and echoed throughout the whole Catholic world. A consequence of this counter-revolution following upon the Counter-Reformation was the firming up of those traditional contexts wherein the church had prospered, i.e., certain Catholic cultural groups in particular settings.²¹ The implications of this for a rural-French Quebec have become so obvious that frequently scholars have difficulty getting past the cliché and penetrating the reality of this ecclesiastical nostalgia for homogeneous peasants.²² To be sure, there is a paradox in the very existence of this nostalgia for rural romanticism since the Catholic church, as Weber noted, had originally been an urban church.²³ To unlock the paradox and penetrate the reality of the rural romanticism it is necessary to understand how threatened the Church was by such historical

urban developments as: merchants (Protestant Reformation); democrats (French Revolution); science (The Enlightenment); industry (The Industrial Revolution); and workers (The Russian Revolution) as contrasted with the stability of religiosity in rural settings among homogeneous cultural groups.

There is also considerable evidence that some Catholics did not appreciate the position taken by the Church with respect to change. Political liberty, the independence of peoples, freedom, and the spread of technical and industrial improvements were the central concerns of these Catholics spread throughout the world. Some were more implicated than others in particular areas and the "reforms" they created were variously made anathema by different pontiffs (and bishops) through the years. This phenomenon of the vanquished liberal Catholic enjoyed a certain uplifting of spirits with the ascension of Leo XIII to the Papacy. His attempts to meet modernism without denunciation produced a beginning in the social aspect of modern Catholic thought.²⁴ His major enclylical Rerum Novarum (1891) opened the doors for a variety of interpretations of the document to suit the circumstances of local dioceses or local pastors struggling against recalcitrant bishops lodged in a counter position. His insistence on the teaching of Thomistic philosophy in seminaries was a major breakthrough simply because it sent off in disrepute the meticulously argued counter-positions

and opened the possibility of a new synthesis structured on Thomism.

These reforms were reflected in the practice of Catholicism in Antigonish as they intruded upon the traditional Counter-Reformation and counter-revolution verities and unleashed the liberal attitudes of those caught in the emerging social concerns of this new society of the turn of the century.

THE CASKET: EARLY RESPONSE

The clearest indicator of the ambiguities of societal transition are found in the intellectual forum. Whereas few records exist chronicling the debate on the grass-roots level, the newspapers of the period provide a record of what some of the literati felt about what was happening around them. Analysis of the Diocesan newspaper, The Casket, yields particular insight into Eastern Nova Scotia. The year 1899-1901 was chosen for detailed analysis of content because: first, its reports are but eight to ten years after Leo XIII's encyclical, and hence should reflect a mixture of counter-revolutionary spirit and liberalism; secondly, industrial development is already underway and particular developments might elicit some comment in the paper; thirdly, it is the period before significant local social movements arise and hence, the immediate response would not be overshadowed by the prominence of a particular reform.

The Casket, at the turn of the century, served as the local paper for Scots Catholics in Eastern Nova Scotia. In particular it served the town of Antigonish and the counties of Antigonish and Inverness.²⁵ The world, as they knew it, did not warrant the addition of a correspondent to cover the industrial areas; this fact says a great deal about what they thought important.

The counter-reformation stance of Catholicism can be found in the Caskets of this period; emphasis on traditional forms of religious activity and on loyalty to the church is marked in the selected sermons reprinted as well as in the wording of obituaries.²⁶

God has given us the desire to possess truth... the failure of the unassisted human reason is evident... Let us thank God, then, every day of your lives for the faith which gives us possession of the truth concerning our origin and our destiny... Go forth... with the blessings of your true mother the Holy Catholic Church.

Excerpts from a sermon by Rev. D. Phalen reprinted in The Casket, June 22, 1899, p. 3.

The deceased died a good Christian death and was comforted by all the rites of the Holy Church. Charitable and devout he was in health a practical Catholic and in his sickness a frequent recipient of the sacraments.

October 15, 1899, p. 6.

These selections cited above are somewhat indicative of the pious aspects of loyalty. Another more interesting indicator of such loyalty is the high respect given to clergy within its pages, even to the extent that clerics are used to sell commercial goods:

Are you patronizing J. A. Currie, Tailor, Glace Bay? If not, why don't you? We wish the friends of the Casket of Glace Bay and surrounding country also to patronize him. We understand from a number of the clergy for whom he has worked, he is a first class tailor....

June 22, 1899, p. 5.

My three children were dangerously ill with diphtheria. On the advice of our priest my wife began the use of Minard's Liniment. In two hours they were greatly relieved... gratefully yours.

August 3, 1899, p. 7.

Features reporting the pious practices of the faithful appear with a taken-for-granted assumption that trends in piety are news and ought be reported as such.

Devotion to the Holy Ghost is not noticeably on the increase; but the Holy Infant of Prague is everywhere venerated.

June 29, 1900, p. 3.

The editors of the Casket would frequently cull out a score of articles from a wide variety of papers and place these throughout the paper. The editorship was therefore a screen for disseminating information from the outside world. In these reprints and in the comments attending to some reprints there is a pronounced and obvious counter reformation theology. At various times, the validity of Anglican orders, the legitimacy of Protestant worship, the decay of Protestantism, the ineptitude of Protestant morality, the fallacy of Protestant private judgement and a host of similar perceived deficiencies are presented at length and the reader is left with a host of arguments to use against the validity

of the Protestant faith.

Every sect, by its very existence, condemns and denies the Church of God, and is therefore not merely evil, but heinously so.

June 29, 1899, p. 3.

All of these (agnostics and heretics) are following the rule of faith on which Protestantism rests - Bible and private judgment. They are following it to where it logically leads, to infidelity.

August 17, 1899, p. 1.

Why has Protestantism been an utter failure in converting the heathen?

August 20, 1900, p. 1.

Speaking of polygamy, nothing is more certain than that if it is not more general among Protestant peoples today, that happy circumstance is not due to Protestantism or its founders. It is well known that the early Reformers, so called, sanctioned polygamy.

February 22, 1900, p. 1.

Protestants alone were not the sole object of the Casket's scorn. Particular trends in Catholicism are cause for the Editors to take to task some errant Catholics: a variety of apostates, American Catholics not speaking out against the American rape of the Philippines, French clerics celebrating the fall of the Bastille, the ostentation of certain Catholic funerals in New York City, and certain Catholic Newspaper that advocated "kicking paupers" to make them self-sufficient.

(we) view with...a diffident sense of silent disapproval the participation of the French clergy, whether here or in Quebec, in the annual celebration of the fall of the Bastille.

July 27, 1899, p. 4.

a nation of sheep (are American Catholics) for not speaking out against the monstrous attacks upon the Catholic colonists of the Philippines by American troops.

August 10, 1899, p. 1.

The best charity towards the chronic beggar when he asks for alms is to kick him (so reports the Milwaukee Catholic Citizen)... we say this is thinly veneered paganism.

January 6, 1900, p. 1.

The spirit is consistent, evils from without and within are noted and a counter position is taken up against them. The beauty of the reprint selections appearing in The Casket is that these positions can be undertaken over a broad range of situations without any direct reference to events within the Diocese. Hence, the vigorous counter-reformation of the newspaper was for the most part being carried on in a political vacuum. Seldom were local Protestants or local Catholics as venomously attacked.

In all of these items cited, the image produced is that of authority, tradition, pious practice, and a counter-polemicism. While my conclusions are based on subjective interpretation, it is unlikely that painstaking objective content analysis would yield a different result. There is little need to catalogue systematically elements that are in fact obvious from perusal of the newspaper at selected intervals. In matters of established dogma The Casket was steadfast; on secular matters, especially in its report on industry it appears indecisive.

The development of local industry was frequently the subject of reports from correspondents. While some enthusiastic supporters gave glowing accounts of the boom in railway development, others were not so certain that the idea of the railway was in the best interests of the people. The editorial comment on industrialization was not consistent; instead of addressing local conditions the paper constantly evoked a lament for the "jingoism" of other newspapers that mindlessly supported progress, novelties, foibles and materialism. The self-reliance, materialism and expansionism of the United states came under special attack.

The essence of Americanism consist(s) in an undue reliance upon purely human means--upon the powers of man--to the disregard of means that are supernatural.

August 31, 1899, p. 4.

One of the worst of the many evil features of American expansionism is the blasphemous readiness of its advocates to put the responsibility for its existence upon the Almighty.

August 31, 1899, p. 1.

America was frequently used as a symbol of materialism and reports on such leading financial figures as Vanderbilt (29/6/99: 3) and Russell Sage were anything but encouraging with respect to their final destiny in the hereafter, "he will bear away but the handful rags that will rot with him in his grave" (17/8/99: 1). Again, as in the case of errant Catholics and heretical Protestants few materialistic people seemed to reside close by Antigonish. This lack of reference

to the moral implications of local "progress" is striking since no little materialism is present in the reports of some Casket correspondents. It could be said that The Casket, during this period, was lenient at home and vicious away, in all its treatment of "materialism". This might indicate a "hands off" attitude toward those local entrepreneurs and politicians who were strenuously advancing their interests in the changes taking place in society. It might also indicate a profound uncertainty about the nature of progress. If anything is obvious from the editorials that addressed local industrial concerns it is the caution attending judgements and the flexibility of judgement. A few instances of this might be illustrative.

One of the major activities occurring in 1899 in rural Inverness County was the construction of the railway. Above it was cited that arguments were being made for and against the railway with the numbers of the former in the majority. Culling out some of the arguments used for railways the following appear: access to coal measures; establishment of good local markets; "in short, the founding of other Sydneys at home" (their emphasis); copper mining backed by "strong Toronto capitalists"; "boom in real estate"; wharf development; reduction of outmigration "to the mecca of young Cape Breton" (i.e., Boston); local work and wages. In contrast, news reports also indicate that railways cause the following: "farms to be cut in half"; an influx of foreign labor caused

by insulting "parasitic agents"; "contagious fevers"; poor "terms of agreement" with locals; "community rivalry"; "lower wages than is the rule"; and "roads torn up by heavy teams". It has to be noted that not once did the editors of the paper comment on these reports. Instead they expressed their concern in the editorial section in a more general manner.

The eagerness of capital to seek investment, as all the sane practical men will admit, is a good and very desirable thing so long as our present industrial system obtains. It is only through it that labour has any hope of employment. But unfortunately, the very abundance of the capital thus looking for earning power becomes a source of oppression to labour. For it results in a fight for that earning power....which cuts (labour) down to the bare point of subsistence, reducing the labourer to a condition of the most abject slavery.

August 3, 1899, p. 1.

Twenty-eight days later another perspective is introduced which is more positive to growth than the above and more materialistic but hidden in "Catholic" clothing.

The coming ten years are going to economically affect us, ecclesiastically, educationally, and industrially. There is no doubt about it. Meanwhile, it is the material side that presses most and naturally enough first; but the day is not far hence when those who have Catholic interests at heart must redouble their efforts to keep pace with the times. It may only be a vision of mine but I am willing to entertain the hope that materially, at least, the Church is about to progress greatly among us.

August 31, 1899, p. 1.

Despite the ambiguities exposed in these reports, this consistency is apparent: the church paper uses dogma to comment on the social effects of industrialization and justifies industrial activity by the morality of its acts. A high level of justification exists when Catholic interests might be advanced. Here, it must be remembered that the active promoter of such interests, Bishop John Cameron, was the Bishop of this period and his opinions are doubtlessly reflected in these writings.²⁷

What may be established by this fragmentary examination of the Diocesan paper is the tendency within the Church to set itself up as guardian of the interpretation of reality not only in the local context but in distant quarters as well. The significance of the local commentary rests in its obvious shallowness as compared with the inciting manner that foreign activities are commented upon. Although the evidence is not conclusive there is the indication that the Romish counter-reformation spirit was being transformed into a limited Catholic engagement of "progress" on the grounds that it would be in their best interests if stripped of its Protestant, American, and foreign evils. By 1913, this perception seems to have been well established.

THE FORWARD MOVEMENT: CATHOLICS TO THE FRONT

In 1913 the beginnings of a conscious movement to promote progress was evident in the Town of Antigonish. The

Forward Movement (as it became known) was reported in The Casket and vigorously promoted by a wide-range of individuals in the Town of Antigonish. Because of the type of movement it was, and because of the individuals involved, the analysis of this movement is of importance in assessing the church's position on development during this period. The Movement started in November of 1913 with an address to townspeople by an alledgedly wealthy lawyer (formerly of Antigonish) "who had made his fortune in the west".²⁸ His talk began a series of articles in The Casket, the formation of a chapter of the movement, and a spirit of optimism throughout the area. The initial direction of the movement was that of a Board of Trade or Chamber of Commerce, i.e., beautify, exploit local resources, "tolerate no knockers", look ahead, ignore the "backward-lookers". The organization of local Protestant and Catholic lawyers, merchants, clerics and successful farmers was perceived as being the first step in effecting a local prosperity similar to that developed in other areas.

The sun of progress, of development, of
prosperity is rising in the East.

November 27, 1913, p. 8.

In The Casket of (12/3/14: 2) there is recorded a drive for funds to support this organization and from this list of benefactors and from that of its executive it is apparent that the clerics of St. Francis Xavier and the Bishop are supporting the movement or association. The

programme of the movement was recorded weekly and from these reports it would appear that the initial impetus of board of trade type prosperity ("no knockers", etc.) is very quickly reformulated to include greater co-operation between the town of Antigonish and rural areas. A suggestion was made by Dr. J. J. Tompkins (then vice-president of the university) to create a "Market Day to tie the bonds of town and country" (18/12/13: 4). It was recorded that Dr. Coady (then a university professor) "full of hope and enthusiasm" suggested "some sort of co-operation in town for the handling and marketing of country products" (18/12/13: 4).

This concern was expressed shortly after the first few meetings. If some tension did exist between the concerns of the growing town and the plight of declining rural areas, this dual concern with town and country as introduced by the clerics in the movement tended to emphasize reconciliation rather than give priority to the interests of the townspeople. Judging from the reports of the first two meetings and the large body of merchants, bankers, proprietors, and craftsmen at these meetings, as well as the tone of the addresses as reported in the Casket, it is possible to suggest that the contribution of Coady and Tompkins was such that the orientation shifted to a balanced town-country emphasis. In view of the later difficulty which the Antigonish Movement had in "cracking Antigonish" with co-operative stores, this interpretation of the Tompkins-Coady

subversive influence may have some substance.²⁹ In the drive for funds most of the future leaders of the Antigonish Movement are found listed in The Casket as benefactors.³⁰ Correspondingly, the movement became increasingly interested in agricultural matters (rather than town-business concerns) as evident by their choice of speakers, the subject matter reported and its subsequent spread to rural St. Andrews and Inverness where chapters were established. After July 2, 1914 all signs of this movement disappear from the pages of The Casket.

The significance of the 1913-14 Forward movement lies in the degree of clerical participation; the co-opting of the prosperity rhetoric to include agriculture; and the early public discussion of such ideas as the role of the state as contained in Rerum Novarum, scientific agriculture, and co-operatives as solutions to the problems facing deserted rural areas.³¹

THE FORWARD MOVEMENT: UNIVERSITY CONTRIBUTIONS

The role of St. Francis Xavier University faculty in this movement in their financial and moral support and in their co-option of the movement (if indeed such could be said) was not an accidental involvement. Since 1881 this university had been steadily moving out of its Catholic-seminary environment.³² In 1881, when the university was cut off from provincial financial support it was forced to

elicit the support of parishioners in Eastern Nova Scotia to raise funds. This longstanding financial crisis of St. Francis Xavier contributed to its emergence as a place of learning because the basis of support, the people, necessitated a broader-based level of studies. With the coming of Tompkins-MacPherson and the concerted effort to build a quality Catholic university, and not a mere seminary, the financial problems were exacerbated.³³ Professors were sent away for their training to the universities of Europe, Britain and the United States and facilities were constructed to train scholars in fields other than classics or philosophy. By 1913 the change from seminary was fully effected and the educational standards of the faculty reflected the new emphasis, as did the new buildings erected on the basis of recent endowments. This institutional growth and the cultivation of a more secular intent for higher education provided a constituency within the Diocese that was far better prepared for disseminating ideas gathered elsewhere and hence better prepared to go out to the people with something other than the philosophic tenets of classical training.

The Forward Movement was the first testing ground for the public socio-economic theorizing of the intellectuals gathered at the college. Given their enthusiasm and purpose they may well have continued with the agricultural strategy had not the First World War intervened. From 1914 to 1918

the public involvement of clerics on the issues of industrialization and its consequences for rural life was primarily undertaken by Dr. Hugh MacPherson of the university who worked with the Department of Agriculture as "the only agricultural representative east of Montreal".³⁴ Group activity commenced again in 1918. This time, the group efforts were entirely from the university sector; they were literary rather than organizational; and they demonstrate that a great deal of discussion must have occurred because of the coherence and articulation of their position.

FOR THE PEOPLE

Among the savants of the Antigonish Movement there is a tendency to trace the development of the Movement to the articles written in The Casket entitled "FOR THE PEOPLE: Devoted Mainly to Social, Economic and Educational Affairs", and to the Educational Conferences that occurred shortly after the appearance of the first "For the People" column. There is also the tendency to attribute these articles and conferences to the influence of Dr. J. J. Tompkins. While contingencies are important in determining the outcome of certain events in history and while the personality of Tompkins is an important variable in the development of local attitudes the wider question of institutional development of education within the Diocese is missed by too great an emphasis on either one man or on a series of columns written

in the newspaper. What is happening during this period is the development of a new Catholic identity and the reformulation of belief in this identity. The process is complex and depends upon the relationship between the changes developing in society and the loss of societal integration resulting from these very changes.

The "For the People" column indicates that a remarkable synthesis was developing among some, however, it was not the only one developing. Others proposed solutions, as well, and as a consequence a divergence of opinion occurred in Antigonish causing a bitterness to develop within clerical ranks. To examine this development some attention must be paid to both liberal and conservative responses.

The appearance of the "For the People" column marks a definite stage in the development of published Catholic thought in Eastern Nova Scotia. While The Casket did entertain counter-reformation and counter-revolutionary attitudes during this period, at least one section was reserved for this new synthesis. What was articulated in this column, without reservation, was: economic progress is a good thing and must be especially shared in by rural areas to re-coup their losses; this type of progress demands education of a specific type (i.e., people must learn how society operates and direct their action based upon this knowledge). The

articles were signed and their authors were both clerics and laymen, professors and students. The appearance of these articles at this time (1918), the coherence in their approach to rural life, and the educational bias of the articles indicates a disciplined editorship or an atmosphere of discourse among contributors.³⁵ A common approach to the problems of society and a common solution was found in education. The bias of this collection of cleric-academics trained abroad, lay academics, agricultural experts, and parish priests was straight-forward; introduce the people to the nature of social process and discuss those particular actions deemed necessary for coping with changes in society. A social philosophy and a course of action were advocated.

The columns do not progressively address society or social practice as would a course syllabus. Instead, columns appearing in the paper from week to week varied from a discussion of the limits of laissez faire economics to an exhortation to housewives to develop crafts, to a report on co-operative banking in Quebec. Abstracting from the weekly presentations this consistency can be found in the beliefs and practices promoted, confronted and proscribed; teach the people to approach society rationally:

The object of the social study club is to study these economic relationships, to find out how this complicated system works.

February 14, 1918, p. 2.

The welfare of society concept is generated by not merely making the individual cultured and efficient but by giving him a better knowledge of the relationship existing between the individual and society and by impressing on him the fact that our social institutions are man made things subject to modification and change.

September 5, 1918, p. 2.

The didactic content is found in articles on: agricultural production; the social consequences of the Industrial Revolution; lessons in economics; the use of statistics; the condition of the fisheries; and a variety of articles on programmes of action in other areas of the world, such as Vermont, Quebec, Denmark, etc. Exhortation comes interspersed with the above material in articles urging for instance: specific practices in agricultural; study of social conditions in groups; openness to ideas; and specialization in education.

It must be noted that the central thesis informing these articles (that society operates in ways that can be made comprehensible and it is the duty of the reader to understand these operations) does not include mention of God's action and rarely appeals to ecclesiastical authority; instead, they are models of sociological and economic exegesis. The bias in the rational understanding of social process is equally applied to the problems of agriculture. The assumption that farming is inherently worthwhile is not usually addressed in romantic terms nor in moral terms; it is demonstrated to be economically important in the

development of the country and to add icing to the rational cake statistics are cited for proof. Its depressed condition in Eastern Nova Scotia was addressed in terms of the failure of society to adapt farming to the new age. Particular problems were seen to exist in education: farmers were not trained to understand those social processes occasioned by industry and hence farmers were backward and not receptive of change; farmers had not been encouraged to develop organizations for marketing nor rational production techniques; farmers were victims of an educational system that was city-oriented.³⁶

The emphasis placed upon education in the "For the People" column, which was in essence a teaching device to present an approach to societal problems, was carried on by the assembled Diocesan priests who approached the same problems in their annual Education Conferences beginning in July of 1918, six months after the appearance of the first "For the People" column.³⁷ This column published the major speeches of these conferences. Generally the articles based on these speeches argued that educational reforms would have to be implemented so as to teach new realities centered on a restructured curricula with an emphasis on agricultural techniques. They urged the re-training of teaching personnel, encouraged male teachers to replace the female-dominated school system, and argued for more emphasis on the physical features of the school and the professional status of

teaching. Rural education became the leading crusade:

rural high schools should have a strong
agricultural course so many of their
students will remain on the farms.

June 28, 1918, p. 2.

To effect this seemingly simple resolution required a complete transformation of education including such changes as: centralized rural schools; the composition of local school boards; teacher training; access of all people to higher education, including high school education; the philosophy of education for personal success or communal success; but most of all it would have to dissolve the bias within education against the practical knowledge of agriculture. The columns addressed these respective points as if they were aspects of the same problem. They argued further that it would be impossible to effect even such a minor change as a reformed curriculum sympathetic to agriculture so long as the "classical" theory of "individual development and personal success" overshadowed the "social theory of education" and "the welfare of society" (5/9/18: 2).

The difference between the Educational Conferences and the "For the People" column was the breadth of debate in each forum. In the first place, the newspaper was controlled by the printed word and hence best suited to the academics who were better trained in the liberal sciences and attitudes (the social sciences particularly). Secondly, since articles were invited, only certain people got to write for

this column. In contrast, the clergy Educational Conferences, in assembling to deal with the same material (education and rural decline), provided more evidence of the diversity within the church at this period. The religious assumptions of various parish priests were fortified by the emphasis on agriculture and they focused on the spiritual benefits of a vocation to farming. Rather than seeing the value of education in the growth of social awareness, they saw it in more utilitarian terms--keeping the boys on the farm. Since the major papers in these conferences were given by virtually the same academics writing in the "For the People" column, it is necessary to examine the minutes of these Educational and Rural Conferences to note the level of general debate.³⁸ Here, in these minutes, differences are found in the form that the presentations take. The rural priests appeared to demonstrate little bifurcation of their roles as parish priests and analysts. Missing was the objectivity of social science. They were acting as concerned priests in the awareness that the pastoral life was affected by rural depression. In the light of subsequent revelations, it is not incorrect to say that these priests were considered by the intellectuals to be part of the problem. They too did not understand society.³⁹

The articles appearing in the column, "For the People", were frequently written with such opposition in mind. Titles like, "Hobnobbing with Heretics", and

"Apathy-Efficiency and Sanctification" were no doubt perceived by the writers as being avant-garde in that they urged the values of learning from and co-operating with Protestants (heretics) and argued that apathy was not a necessary pre-condition for salvation. This accommodation-and-action orientation confronted the canons of counter-reformation practice and counter-revolutionary stasis. An article such as, "Wake Up Catholics", by its very wording recalled the perception Catholics had of themselves as separate but went on to argue that this special identity was also synonymous with backwardness in social practice. It claimed that this was a secular matter and hence could be changed without affecting religious conviction.

While The Casket did not take issue with any of the opinions expressed in "For the People" it did maintain a stance of agitated polemicism with respect to social matters in its editorials and articles. Editorials attacking social work, socialism, forms of extremism and the activities of local labour occasionally appeared on its editorial page.

Social work was considered a "Protestant concept" and "not an expression of the essence of Christianity" (17/4/19: 1); socialism fostered "wild dreams of prosperity" through government ownership (1/8/18: 1) and socialism offends when it teaches that labour is the source of wealth (19/9/18: 1); labour unions are encouraged "to rout out socialism and get rid of the men who talk of revolutions and

soviets and express sympathy for Bolshevists and Spartacans" (26/6/19: 1); and Sydney strikers are chided for walking out of a wartime industry when a German sub "cut-off (access to) Cape Breton" at the Strait of Canso (29/8/18: 1). This does not mean that The Casket sided with business, instead it attacked profiteering, money-kings, and financial oppression; it did however feel that of the two extremes, socialism and wealthy profiteering, the latter was "the lesser because it can be dealt with". (1/8/18: 1). In choosing between corruptions, they obviously felt that personal rather than systemic corruption was solvable. After 1919, when The Casket was purchased by the Diocese, these articles representing the traditional stance of Catholicism continued to appear interspersed with a series of articles representing the concerns of liberal Catholics. The latter part of 1919 and early 1920 reflects this liberal ascendancy in the editorial section of The Casket. This transition was accompanied by a change in the format of the "For the People" column. The column was termed "FOR SOCIAL BETTERMENT" and was divided into two sections, "Agriculture" and "Education". The reason for the change seems to reside in the desire to direct more emphasis on the special problems in each area. In a sense, it marks a victory for those using the newspaper as a forum for discussion since it was then obvious that the topics had become so complex and the interest so intense that the debate had outgrown the medium.

No doubt the fact that the Educational Conferences had grown in size each time they were held had done much to extend the intensity and involvement in the subjects.⁴⁰

The increased interest sparked an experiment in "going to the people" with the new ideas. While its success is questionable, The People's School deserves consideration because it is the first tangible evidence that a constituency existed for these intellectual endeavors.

THE PEOPLE'S SCHOOL

While the People's column had urged study clubs and had promoted a correspondence course, it was not until 1921 that adult education actually came into formal existence. Tompkins' pamphlet "Knowledge For The People" gives the philosophy of this undertaking. Its aims are inspired by the conviction that education provides solutions and every man has a right to such education.

Now the training given up the sixth grade can hardly be called, in any sense, an education. It is useless to talk of training the social and economic understanding and of developing those qualities that make for leadership and efficient citizenship before a certain amount of high school education has been received. It is plain, therefore, that the great bulk of our people is composed of the "rejects" and "derelicts" of our glorified and so-called democratic educational system. It is true our young men and women may go to high school and college if they choose, but it is equally true that this privilege pertains to the favored few--favored in money, favored in family connection or family tradition. The rest of the people can go to (sic)--as far as our present methods of administering

education are concerned. Need we wonder if we have a sixth-rate citizenship and sixth-rate leaders?

A New Conception of Education

The old idea conceived of education as a "ladder" the top rung of which, a scanty 5 per cent might endeavor to reach but from which 95 per cent of the people were barred because there was, as a matter of fact, no room on it for them. The new idea of education represents it as a broad "highway" along which all men should be encouraged to travel abreast as far as their powers can carry them. Let us have done with "ladders" and take our stride on the broad "highway".

It is the desire to help develop the submerged 70 to 80 per cent of our population that prompted the establishment of the People's School. It is not even generally believed that the ordinary uneducated adult is capable of being educated or worth the trouble of attempting to educate him.⁴¹

Three schools were held at Antigonish with less than an enrollment of sixty in each session, January to March of 1921 and 1922. Also, two were held in Glace Bay in 1923 and 1924.⁴² The curriculum was a mixture of social studies, agriculture, industrial problems and the traditional high-school subjects. The instruction was given by university professors, agricultural extension workers, and professionals related to certain areas of expertise. While the people's school was not a major undertaking in terms of the numbers involved, it did indicate the problems of applying an educational programme to a constituency. As Coady assessed it:

It brought the people to the university but events finally showed us that the need was to take the university to the people.

Coady, 1939; 7.

This analysis may be supplemented by another important consideration: the people's school was part of a philosophy of education that expanded in many directions. By its presence it announced the elite base of university education, the inadequacy of traditional education and the direction for future education. It is possible that these schools may have survived, even if the people had to come to the university, had not the liberal philosophy upon which they were based stretched itself to the limits of ecclesiastical approval. Tompkins and his cadre of clerics believed in education for the people but they also believed that education was necessary for leadership and such could only be possible through a reformed university network in Nova Scotia. This prompted the merger question. In the controversy that extended from 1919-1922, the clearest articulation of liberal versus conservative Catholics became apparent. The intensity of the debate disrupted the congruence that existed between both factions and created polarities in the discussion of social reform bringing to a close the People's Column, The People's School, The Education Conferences and issuing in an atmosphere of tension that gave birth to the Extension Department of the university.

THE MERGER

The issue was the merger of St. Francis Xavier with other Catholic and Protestant Universities into a non-sectarian university at Halifax. Briefly put, the cadre of clerics with Tompkins as major spokesman used The Casket (1921-22) to advance the case for a merger of universities on the grounds that only this strategy could develop the excellence necessary for scholarship and informed leaders.⁴³ The existence of small poorly-endowed Catholic and Protestant Universities was not conducive to their idea of academic pursuits. Ultimately, after much debate the issue was closed by a decree from Rome in 1922; Catholics were not to be educated in a secular environment.⁴⁴

The fact that Vice-President Tompkins accepted a posting, or more correctly an exile to a small fishing village at Dover because of his advocacy on this question is usually not thought to be of much consequence in discussing the Antigonish Movement. The contention of some, that this resulted in the cessation of "involvement" with rural questions, is untrue and smacks of the "great man" interpretation of history. The merger question is important in discussing the Antigonish Movement and Tompkins' role has been over-emphasized. Those within the church articulating an educational policy for social betterment were doing so against a background of certain changes taking place within Eastern Nova Scotia that contributed to heighten the fears

of conservative Catholics that too much was happening too soon. What appeared to be progress to some represented annihilation to others. The merger question was a symbolic issue thrust up against the aftermath of the first world war, the rise of farmer reforms, the development of socialism in Canada, the rise of militancy in labor, and a multitude of local controversies excited by social transition.⁴⁵ The context of reform had been lifted out of the ground for its original discussion, the traditional church, by this series of events which were perceived to be threatening the very existence of the church.

In effect, the synthesis created in the period from 1918 to 1922 was not realized for the possible consequence it might have on the practice of Catholicism in the Diocese; as ideas began to take effect in behaviour it seemed that other behaviours necessitated a return to traditional expressions of Catholicism. With the exception of rural education and agriculture the initial content of articles in the "For the People" column had relied upon the experiences of other cultures. Authors frequently cited such cases as the following: the development of co-operatives in the United Kingdom and Scandinavia; the extension of the university into the community in Britain, in Minnesota and in Western Canada; the utility of scientific procedures; the Vermont agricultural studies; and, the value of social-science concepts in understanding the individual and

society as taken from American sociology. As long as the matter of the putting into practice of these concepts was remote, the discussion of such alien ideas seemed acceptable.

The non-sectarian basis of true co-operation, the further departure from classical formation implied in university extension work, the cult of efficiency and rationality inherent in the scientific method, and the secular neglect of spiritual mystery encapsulated in social science could liberate some at the expense of others. When certain programmes came into being, the consequences of these ideas were better understood. The Educational Conferences produced hostility within the assembled body of priests, the People's School was received as a denigration of the quality of education, and in the merger question The Casket erupted into an acrimonious debate on the nature of higher education. If these discussions had given bad fruit when under the control of the church, then the development of similar splits among Catholics within the Diocese in situations over which the Church could exercise little control presented a moral question as to the continuance of debate. Farmer's political aspirations, co-operative marketing, industrial unions, veterans agitation and ethnic self-determination were in part Catholic-peopled movements not subject to Church control. Not only was control absent but frequently these movements rested on ideological foundations that were

considered to be bitterly opposed to Church teaching. If equilibrium was to be restored to the Church as she met this storm of diverse aspirations, those rocking the boat would have to be tossed out or calmed down. In 1922, given external threats, it was not enough to claim that the merger of universities would keep the boat on an even keel.

CONTENDING FOCI OF IDENTITY

The perception of the threat to church interests varied among the Catholic leaders in the Antigonish Diocese. Closest to home was the organization of the Farmer's party which was linked to Labor and the Veterans in Nova Scotia on a populist platform.⁴⁶ The affiliation of these groups with radical movements seems to have been the general basis for clerical attack but it is likely that other factors made the Farmer's Party less attractive to clerics. Although politics was subdued in the Antigonish Diocese among the clergy (since Bishop Cameron had died in 1910), partisan political loyalty was maintained by virtue of long standing familial attachment to a particular party. The Farmers' Party directed its criticism at both the two party system and at existing politicians who were frequently the relatives of the clergy. The existence of a third party implied that the priest-teacher-lawyer elite was not doing its job of "caring for" the local constituencies. The third party challenged the broker role played by the priest and demanded immediate

access to government. In turn, The Casket vigorously attacked the legitimacy of the third party.⁴⁷

The increasing militancy of miners and steelworkers up until the merger question constituted the greatest challenge to ecclesiastical hierarchy.⁴⁸ As moderate unions were beaten back by the militants and increasingly violent strikes increased, the spectre of Bolshevism and the Winnipeg violence became the focus of the narrow tunnel used for viewing labor unrest. Violent overthrow of government may not have been as great a fear as the loss of Catholics to militancy. This happened in two ways: moderate Catholic leaders were being passed over in favor of Protestant militants, and some Catholics were becoming increasingly militant.⁴⁹ The rights of labor could be articulated by a Catholic press while evidence of moderation was present, but increasingly after 1920, The Casket adopted a negative stance to activities in industrial Cape Breton.

The veterans themselves were a particular failure for Catholic intelligentsia. The Casket had carried on a long campaign of articles devoted to reconstruction and had foretold the consequences of not giving the veterans their due. By alignment with Farmers-Labor the veterans too implicitly cast the Church into "the enemy camp". Actually few direct hostilities were perpetrated against clerics during the 1920 election campaign. Radical leaders obviously realized that they did not have the church with them but they were most

reluctant to express publicly any hostility against clerics. An exception was made in the case of the Newspapers and the provocative allegations of the Catholic editors of The Casket were politely rebutted in union papers.⁵⁰

From the perspective of the Church, as it was then constituted, these secular movements did three things. They negated Catholic-Protestant differences; they promoted the formation of new groups based on relations of production, and they called for new varieties of leadership to solve social problems. Church boundaries around an ethnic-religious identity were weakened by the new alliances based on accommodation, competition between classes, and agitation for further social change. The Catholic elite of the Diocese, which was historically professional, tenaciously upheld the status quo through the practice of law, politics, teaching, the church and medicine. Any attack on the quality of leadership was implicitly an attack on this group even if the emphasis was placed on a leadership for change. Since the merger question specifically addressed the quality of education which had produced this elite, it was particularly suspect for a number of influential Catholics. Whatever their deficiencies, they did not present a threat to the church; their loyalty was reassuring.

After three stormy years, the merger question was brought to a halt in 1922 and Tompkins the leading exponent was placed as pastor in a small fishing village.⁵¹ The

significance of this move was that the affair was judged to be an internal disposition of the Church that could be solved by authority. The use of this authority perhaps indicates the condition of the besieged Church as they shored up defences for those threats faced from outside her boundaries.

ETHNICITY: AN ANSWER TO SIEGE

By 1922 The Casket and the Education Conferences had spearheaded a concerted four-year drive for rural development. In this, liberal and conservative Catholics joined to promote the prospects for rural life in the new age. This accord between liberal and conservative interests was based on these rationales: for the liberals rural life was the area that was the furthest behind in the socio-economic order and represented the one which most needed reforms; for the conservatives, this areas represented the traditional context of religious devotion (in opposition to the wicked city) and they desired a return to the values which were being continuously eroded by change. However, on the question of ethnicity, the loss of particular features of traditional culture (especially the Gaelic and French languages) was inherent in both liberal and conservative strategies. While greater production could cause more to stay on the farm, the means to achieving this production, English education, could result in a diminishing of certain cultural

values. Hence conflicting loyalties were present in the consideration of reforms and in responses to change. While that educational system which had developed in the context of homogeneous ethnic communities may well have neglected the teaching of scientific agriculture and rural economics, it did represent a long history of cultural survival, community advancement, local self-determination, and successful practice (as evident in its native sons and daughters who had "gone on" to professional life). In this sense both the people and the elite "knew who they were" since the bond of community and ethnic origin was maintained in this system. The most serious cultural threats to such an integrated sense of place were those of the general use of the English language, out-migration, and the centralization of educational, political and economic institutions in larger centers. As such, the loss of native language became an important issue reflecting the loss of culture and the diminution of local authority.

In articulating these concerns, ethnicity may be understood in this theoretic perspective as offering another focus of identity to different groups within Eastern Nova Scotia. Both the Scots and Acadians participated in cultural revivals as early as the 1890's.⁵² The Acadian movement encompassed all Acadian communities in the Maritime Provinces and through a series of conferences addressed problems facing the Acadian people. The movement was heavily predicated

on religious and educational needs (more Acadian priests, an Acadian Diocese, an Acadian Bishop and higher education for Acadians), but it also addressed the question of development and the future of L'Acadie in the changing society. As the number of Acadian clerics increased in the Antigonish Diocese, the nationalism of the Acadians became more of an issue within ecclesiastical politics. The discussions of The Casket and the Educational Conferences, however, did not address these aspirations of the Acadian people neglecting, for the most part, the French language issue and the fact that the French were mainly fishermen and not farmers. In contrast to the Acadians, the Scots had the greatest number of clerics and it was their concerns that become the paramount problems within the Diocese. The Scottish revival taking place is therefore more significant since these Scots priests were often involved, as leaders, in the cultural revival as well as the rural and educational reforms.

By 1919 sufficient interest was present in the industrial and rural areas of Cape Breton to form an association (The Scottish Catholic Society) dedicated to the preservation of the Gaelic culture. This movement represents a self-conscious affirmation of a way of life that has been passed by in both the rural and industrial areas. In The Casket the news of the Gaelic revival in Scotland was reported; Gaelic newspapers and columns appeared; the university contributed to the promotion of the language (a chair

of Gaelic); and Gaelic plays and fairs were presented before the public. It was a revival that was supported by industrial people as much as by rural peoples. In contrast to Acadian nationalism, which implied a split within the Diocese and the formation of an Acadian Diocese, this revival was well received by the Bishop.⁵³ The union of rural and industrial chapters of the Scottish Catholic Society was one of the few strands uniting the majority of church members; furthermore, priests and people, lawyers, teachers, farmers and miners could join in the pursuit of a common "non-political" objectives, i.e., the restoration of a once-shared culture. Records indicating the numerical strength of the Scottish Catholic Society are not available, and it is likewise difficult to determine how active its twenty-five chapters were.⁵⁴ Its significance in my argument rests upon its resolution to become involved in the socio-economic sphere and its singular role in driving home to the ecclesiastical authorities the need for an extension service at St. Francis Xavier University. While it may well be true that the Scottish Catholic Society was characterized by more active leaders than followers and while it may be likewise true that by 1931 the association itself was on its last legs, the Society did create the necessary momentum to mount a holy campaign.

The principal goals of the Scottish Catholic Society were:

1. The preservation of the Catholic Faith among Catholic Scots, and the dissemination of a more accurate knowledge of the teachings of our holy religion among Scots who are not Catholics. 2. The removal of bias and prejudice in the study of Scottish history. 3. The advancement educationally, morally, socially, and otherwise of all Catholics of the Scottish race. 4. The preservation and study of the Gaelic language and literature, and the traditions of the Scottish race.

(p. 31 The Awakening 1923, Vol. I, No. II)

While these were the announced goals, the interpretation of the goals tended to be influenced by the rural life discussions going on in the Diocese. Such themes as indicated above in the sermon by D. M. MacAdam (the founder of the Scottish Catholic Society) are the ones which appear in the newsletter of the Scottish Catholic Society which was appropriately called The Awakening. In identifying the rural problem to be of core importance in the survival of Scottish and Catholic tradition, the Scottish Catholic Society launched upon what they called a "progressive" crusade to develop means to update agriculture and hence increase its attractiveness to a then-perceived perfidious youth. This they did through an agricultural scholarship programme, one of their first and most important group activities. The various Chapters which were generally organized by parish priests raised funds, selected young men for specialized training at the Agricultural College in Truro, and promulgated the worth of a life in agriculture. This encouragement was as characteristic of industrial-area chapters as of

rural chapters.

The relationship between the interests of parish priests, working in rural areas that were fast becoming depopulated, and their development of means to encourage further agricultural activity is readily apparent.⁵⁵ Yet, not only priests formed the Scottish Catholic Society. Here, among other Catholic professional and entrepreneurial Scots, it can be demonstrated that the consolidation of Scots Catholic identity made good economic and social sense for a society undergoing transition. If it is remembered that, for an extended period of Nova Scotian history, Scots Catholics had been prevented from holding civil office, and that their emergence into first professional and then entrepreneurial positions was only becoming consolidated in the 1920's, then it becomes apparent that ethnicity could well encompass effective political, economic and social constituencies. As the priest experienced the relative indifference to religion in urban areas and the diminution of rural religiosity due to materialism, the Scots politician faced the prospect of class lines in urban areas cutting into his religio-ethnic vote, and the few aspiring rural Scots Catholic merchants saw their potential customers being reduced by outmigration.

Yet, it was not simply economics that justified the consolidation of Scots Catholics in Eastern Nova Scotia during this period. Families were being split apart by

outmigration; there was confusion attending the plurality of moral codes being enacted; and the accumulated lore of past endeavors was being lost as young people lost their language, folklore, and sense of all things Scottish.

The Scottish Catholic Society was attempting to restore the culture through the greater use of the Gaelic language in publications, plays, and monthly meetings, and through the traditional music of the pipes and violin the, "natural and necessary development of the family spirit" (The Awakening, 1923, Vol. I, No. I, p. 13). While the family spirit was not seen as exclusively rural in character, it was thought to be most threatened in rural areas. This was felt because rural life had always been known to be the traditional stronghold for the musical and other cultural activity which assisted the development of family spirit.

The Society therefore articulated the wide array of rural values that were under siege. It developed the mechanisms by which certain features of Scottish Catholic life could be isolated and recognized as essential in their organization of a renewed Scottish Catholic identity; specifically: the family farm, language, and kinship relations. It established these objects for commitment and clarified the myths and traditional practices of the transplanted Highland life by establishing some to be particularly worthy symbols for the members of the Society. Hence, the paternalistic elite, musicians, genealogists, and clerics were

especially distinguished in the society; Gaelic became a badge of membership; and particular feast days were adopted for special Scottish occasions.⁵⁶

All of these may be regarded as symbolic boundaries which distinguished the membership of the society from those who did not participate. Yet they are also related to the larger body of Scots Catholics not directly associated with the Scottish Catholic Society through the medium of membership. In the first place the elitism of the society was natural to Scots Catholic culture; the power of example and advocacy of social leaders was not unheeded in the parochial life of the rural areas. Their leadership established among many a sense of what the appropriate attitudes might be. Secondly, the society deliberately established chapters in each of the seven counties of the Diocese, usually in the major Scots Catholic community.⁵⁷ In this, the Scottish Catholic Society saw its mission as effecting a new perception of Scots Catholicism throughout the entire area; it announced by its presence that the hitherto existing religious-ethnic identity was something that could no longer be taken for granted. In the context of this propagation, it can also be seen that the existence of the Scottish Catholic Society provided a fairly widespread forum for the discussion of rural issues and in many areas provided one of the few existing programmes addressing itself to the solution of these issues.

In its proselytizing, the Scottish Catholic Society created among its membership, and through the example of its membership, a sense of common purpose for many Catholic Scots in recognizing and defending their eroding traditions. This effectively blurred the boundaries that other foci of identity may have attempted to stabilize, and here, it is of interest to note that the membership of the society was not fractured by industrial class divisions, or between farmers, fishermen and merchants in the rural areas. Despite the anomalies in the proportion of these respective occupations in its membership, it can be said that at least some support was found within the movement from the different sectors of Scottish Catholic life. All of the following features, the support of traditional leaders, the geographic extension of the society, the forum for rural debate, and the common purpose of its membership in defending Scots Catholic traditions, permitted the Society to prepare the stage for the Antigonish Movement.

Rather than emanating from liberal sources, this revival movement was rooted in the tradition of the family farm and in a context of religiosity which was long established. At the same time, it was able to incorporate such liberal elements as scientific agriculture and mass education into its compass since these activities reflected the desire for restoring identity rather than stripping it apart. It was the priests of the Scottish Catholic Society who

continued the discussions of rural problems during the period 1922-1924 when formal discussions at Antigonish had broken down due to the animosity generated during the merger debate. These same men pressed the Bishop for a return to this forum so as to advance their interests. In this sense, the spirit of reform was not lost, but grounded in the acceptable format of rural life, religion, and Scots ethnicity.

THE RURAL CONFERENCES: REFORM THROUGH THE BACK DOOR

Coady credits Michael Gillis and John R. MacDonald with the re-establishment of the Diocesan conferences in 1924.⁵⁸ Neither priest was associated with the university, rather both were rural pastors; Gillis, moreover, was a major figure in the Scottish Catholic Society.⁵⁹ Both were aligned with Coady and Tompkins politically. In many respects these men were a nexus between liberal reform and rural romanticism. After 1924 the composition of the conferences was virtually the same as 1918-1921 and the emphasis on economic activity was still accepted as the means for rural regeneration. The clerics attending included the majority of the university staff, about thirty per cent of the parish priests, and a few laymen (reduced in number from the 1921 conference). It is certain that the merger question had left scars but the post 1924 discussions do not reflect this animosity. The attitudes expressed convey the

impression that little had actually changed in such key liberal areas as the emphasis on prosperity (rational and efficient means of production), the use of science, and the accommodation to Protestant thought and movements. What had changed was the cogency of conservative expression. The University, higher education, was established as a sacred cow not to be tampered with; the rural question was the topic for discussion; and, Scottish rural pastors took more of a leading role in delivering speeches than they had done in the earlier Educational Conferences. In a sense, the spirit of liberalism established since 1918 was co-opted to develop an essentially conservative area without regard for the wider implications of liberalism. The relationship between the cultural context of farming and the church was the conservative problem that was knocking at the door of a liberal solution. Hence forward the educational transformation expected by liberals could only be enhanced by the attempt to cope with rural problems. The University's efforts to go to the people through study clubs and Peoples' Schools, and through its own extension services, could be promoted by defining the situation according to traditional rural needs. As such, the conservative emphasis would not offend the University nor the prerogatives of the elite it served since the limits of the rural problem seemed to be established by ecclesiastical approval.

No record exists of the early Rural Conferences tackling any of those topics left dangling by the final Educational Conference of 1921. For example, there was apparently no discussion of matters like collective bargaining, history of labor unionism in Nova Scotia, or unemployment, as had taken place in the former conference. The issue was rural life and only rural life. J. J. Tompkins attending the conferences felt, "too much stress (was) being place(d) on agriculture. Prosperity depends more on industry, commerce and manufacturing."⁶⁰

Tompkins' words went unheeded. The minutes and resolutions of the successive conferences went deeper into the causes and conditions of rural life. Technical papers on farm production, population decrease, and economic theory representing a scientific value-free approach were intermingled with papers urging the romantic restoration of rural contentment, relocation of miners on farms, the beautification of rural homes, the creation of co-operation among farmers, the elimination of bachelor farms, and the location of funding for agricultural scholarships for the young men.⁶¹ Despite this liberal/conservative ambivalence in the papers, three patterns can be seen to have developed in the course of the Rural conferences: vague and simplistic solutions were dropped in favor of cogent policy; against the passion for rhetoric some action was initiated; participation increased and became more diversified.

The development of a cogent rural policy occurred despite the vague and seemingly romantic dispositions that kept reappearing in each Rural Conference. Each session illustrates this divergence. For example, while the Bishop called for efforts to get the people to brighten up their places and resettle miners on the vacant lands, Miles Tompkins was concerned with the implications of a statistical account of rural population and land holdings and Moses Coady was advocating the centralization of local school boards to effect control over educational standards. Many followed the lead of their Bishop and saw the rural problem in moral terms. Their exhortations reflect this perception in the range of solutions they proffered and in the problems they articulated: rural areas ought to create basic values, there was a need for Gaelic-speaking priests, priests ought to speak out against late marriages (and their inevitable consequences for bachelor households), priests ought to use the pulpit to castigate those parents who would express discontent and grumble about the condition of rural life before their children. While these problems were no doubt real, the solutions they implied were not aimed at the economic roots of rural decline.

The practical programmes that seemed to carry the day were not directly related to the return to moral-values issues but reflected instead the educational-economic strategy issues. The first action initiated was the

setting up of a scholarship fund for training young men at the agricultural college. This was complemented by extending the established relationships with governmental agencies in farming and fishing to include joint programmes of action.⁶² Finally, came the call for an extension department, at the university, to co-ordinate and implement the programmes they had been discussing.

By the 1928 conference, the influence of laymen directly involved in the work of farmer organization as agricultural representatives, the publication of the Royal Commission Report on the Fisheries, and the ascendancy of the economic over the moral solutions, had galvanized the conference into a specific orientation towards co-operatives and adult education for achieving the common goal of an enriched rural environment.⁶³ While the priests were familiar with the philosophy of co-operatives, it was the participating laymen who had the detailed knowledge and practical expertise in this area and it was they who gave the impetus to this aspect of policy.

THE PRACTICAL SOLUTION: EXTENSION SERVICES

The conviction that co-operative activity could only rest upon an educational effort was firmly established in the minds of those who perceived the rural problem in socio-economic terms and who were convinced that a programme of socio-economic action was necessary for its solution.

These men from 1918-1928 entertained the further conviction that the university had to initiate this activity. Tompkins made the first call to the university to provide this service in 1918:

The usefulness and influence of the university would be many times increased by the addition of a Department of Social Services for the bettering of social conditions...

The Casket, p. 6, 28/3/18.

In the first Rural Conference (1924) it was taken up again:

Be it therefore resolved that this conference request the college authorities to form a department of extension work which will organize People's Schools in the central points of the Diocese and direct study clubs in all sections.⁶⁴

In 1927 the entire deliberations of the Rural Conference were concerned with the need for an extension department to develop a programme of adult education throughout Eastern Nova Scotia. By 1928 the impatience with the procrastination of the university was obvious. Michael Gillis introduced a resolution that was politically motivated. In effect, it indicated that action was necessary and any organizational group that could accomplish a programme of adult education was welcome to undertake this work.

That whereas the economic well-being of a people depends to a large extent on their acquaintance with economic history and economic and sociological forces at work in a country; and whereas it is believed that the common worker is exploited now, because of the lack of knowledge of those forces and principles: and whereas the time would now

appear opportune for the adoption of Adult Education for the whole of Canada, and particularly for the Maritime Provinces. Therefore, be it resolved that we pledge our support to the organization that would in the opinion of a committee to be appointed by the conference best formulate a policy of Adult Education. And be it further resolved that this conference authorize the Rev. J. J. Tompkins to endeavor to interest the proper agencies in this problem. (Rev. M. Gillis, Rev. L. J. Keats)⁶⁵

Gillis and his fellow priests realized the possibility that adult education might never be realized unless more pressure than the resolutions of annual conference be placed upon the university. The university President, H. P. Macpherson, was begging off involvement, from the beginning, on the grounds of insufficient staff and resources.⁶⁶ In the context of the ambivalence of conservative support for rural life and liberal solutions, the drive for action had to appear from other constituencies.

The agitation for an extension service as expressed in the Rural Conferences created an awareness within other groups of the problems facing rural life in Eastern Nova Scotia. It is no accident that some of the prominent leaders committed to extension services within these conferences became associated with other organizations such as the Alumni of the university and the Scottish Catholic Society.⁶⁷ The perceived "solid" nature of the constituencies of these organizations made them excellent tools for political manipulation. The small cadre of clerics and

professionals that wore the same hats in all three arenas of Catholic debate and influence, The Rural Conferences, The Scottish Catholic Society, and the University (through the Alumni) were able to steer effectively both the Alumni and the Scottish Catholic Society into advocating the formation of an extension department.

The Alumni became formally committed to extension in May of 1928 and The Scottish Catholic Society pledged themselves to raise 100,000 dollars for their own extension service in July of 1928.⁶⁸ In this context the resolution of the Rural Conference of 1928 held in October may be seen as a political act. The University in November of 1928 gave in to these mounting pressures and proposed to establish an extension service.⁶⁹

This date has been taken to be the founding of the Extension Department. It was hardly the case. A paper decision only committed the university to sending a priest (Coady) away to look into extension work elsewhere. When he finally returned he was immediately borrowed by the Federal Government to organize fishermen. The actual work of the long-sought adult education programme was not begun until late in 1930. Further, this came about through the efforts of the Scottish Catholic Society which had lost all patience with the University and had threatened to develop their own extension department by intensifying their campaign to raise \$100,000 and create their own agency of

adult education.⁷⁰

It is quite probable that the notice of raising \$100,000 among the Scottish Catholics was a bluff; if so, it was indeed an effective strategy because the University, frightened that her financial base of support would be divided, hastened to make a commitment to extension by hiring a prominent layman (A. B. MacDonald) to organize the department with Moses Coady.⁷¹ The activity that followed became known as the Antigonish Movement.

SUMMARY: THE CHURCH'S RESPONSE

The Antigonish Movement may be regarded as a "solution" to the problems engendered within the Church as it confronted the effects of industrialization. While it is difficult to ascertain completely what specific behaviours of the 1918-1928 era motivated clerics to search for answers, there does seem to have existed a general feeling of concern for the decline of rural life and its associated values and to a lesser degree some concern for the conduct and conditions of industrial workers. The essential point made here is that this concern was not expressed in the same idiom; for some, the response was to interpret reality from a moral standpoint informed by traditional Church practice; and for others, it was an occasion to apply the liberal principles of education for all, rational methodology, and democratic participation to

the solution of society's ills. Coloring both perspectives were the varying concerns of diverse groups of Catholics who were engaged upon a new social existence: some oppressed, and others liberated by these new realities. The struggle for a synthesis that would respond to the greatest number and variety of such situated Catholics was a determination informed by pressures within the Church as well as events taking place outside the Church. This determination of the Church was principally one of finding an acceptable focus for identity consolidation. It involved the purposeful moral struggle of individuals in both articulating the fragilities of existing identity and the bringing about of the means by which conversion to the new interpretation of reality and commitment to the consequences of that reality could be expressed. In this sense, the clerical Church itself teased out the most acceptable facets of the new identity before legitimating it for the people.

NOTES

¹The time period used in this chapter 1899-1928 is somewhat arbitrary. Given that the chief source of documentation was The Casket weekly newspaper for the period between the rise of industry (1890's) and the appearance of the Antigonish Movement (1928). I chose to concentrate my research on 1899-1901 thinking that such a sample might reflect some of the early approaches to industrialization. My guide to the content of this paper was an elaborately constructed subject index to the content of The Casket which is kept in the St. Francis Xavier University Library. Using this index and looking for references to mining, railways and related industrial activity as well as references to the Papal Encyclical Rerum Novarum I chose this two year period for the number of such writings that seemed to be reported in this period. I scanned the index for significant events of other periods and would locate occasional articles but aside from the lead given therein to the Forward Movement 1913-14 I found that The Casket would be most useful in the period after 1918 when "For The People" was introduced. Sources after 1918 are far more extensive than The Casket and are noted below. 1928 is the end of the period chosen because it represents the formal beginning of the Antigonish Movement.

²Dunn, (1971: 131) quoting Joseph D. MacKinnon. Similar citations may be found in Chapter (9) "The Lure of the City" in Dunn.

³Dunn, (1971: 131) quoting Angus Ban MacFarlane of Margaree speaking on the depopulation of Piper's Glen.

⁴Murdoch Morrison (1842-1928) a Scottish bard (poet) had this to say of Eaton's (a Toronto based mail-order merchandizing firm):

The present-day women are certainly extravagant every time; whatever thing comes into their head, they'll always have a lust for it. But I'll tell you the truth (believe it, and don't contradict it): it's Eaton's big catalogue that left thousands so conceited.

This verse as well as those cited above in footnotes 2 and 3 were translated from the Gaelic by Charles Dunn (1971: 121).

⁵As noted in Chapter 3 these areas were Pictou-New Glasgow and Sydney-New Waterford. The Casket (13/9/00: 5) did publish one indicator of Sydney's growth, duties collected at Sydney:

1898, \$ 1,281.04

1899, 13,098.56

1900, 43,600.25

Sydney's population increased ten times its 1881 size by 1921 as the new industries developed. Full particulars on these developments are found in Acheson (1972), MacEwan (1976), and Cameron (1974). Acheson is the more general work while MacEwan is specific to industrial Cape Breton and Cameron to industrial Pictou County.

⁶The first "Duncan Report" (1926) reports on the social conditions of coal miners in Nova Scotia. Besides the individual problems of adjustment there were the many societal problems associated with rapid urban development. The "Duncan Report" is a fine chronicle of many of the ills of the day in industrial areas. This report may be found under its formal title of Report of the Royal Commission on The Coal Mining Industry in Nova Scotia.

⁷It should be noted that many forms of co-operatives pre-existed those of the Antigonish Movement. Indeed as early as 1861 Stellarton had a co-operative store and Sydney had developed a co-operative store in 1906. Both were organized by coal miners from Britain. Farmer co-operatives date back to 1908 in Eastern Nova Scotia. By 1928 close to one hundred co-operative ventures had been tried in Eastern Nova Scotia. The majority of these were ad hoc ventures organized for seasonal activity (Source: MacSween, "Co-operation in Nova Scotia", PANS).

⁸Translated from the Gaelic in the pamphlet "Centenary of the First Landing of a Catholic Bishop on the shores of the Bras D'Or Lakes, Cape Breton, 1815-1915.", p. 25.

⁹It may be symptomatic of the state of sociology but I find anomie to be too loaded a word for use here. It implies a pathology whereas I take ambiguity to imply a determination between competing definitions of reality occasioned by differentiation.

¹⁰Dunn (1971) provides many examples of city folk versus country folk. When researching my M.A. thesis, (MacInnes; 1973) I found many cases of the same condition existing today among the people of Mabou. My favorite anecdote is the comment made by one old man on his returning daughter who was living in Boston: "She's like the dog; she understands Gaelic but doesn't speak it." Generally, women were more likely than men to confront tradition by flaunting new clothes and so frequently they are the butt of most jokes.

¹¹Johnston (1971) provides the material for this discussion. He describes the history of each parish in his two volume work.

¹²Figures are taken from a list prepared by the Extension Department for their own use in 1930. (File Number RG30-3/12/64). My derivation of percentages was based on the identification of ethnicity by proper names: e.g., MacDonald, Scots; Doucet, Acadian; etc.

¹³This strategy has been credited to Cameron by A. A. Johnston (personal communication) while Edwards (1953: 58) gives more credit for the quality of St. Francis Xavier faculty to Tompkins whose recruiting motto was "Get the men", meaning the best trained; most likely Cameron's influence was most important since many had already been selectively trained overseas by Tompkins' time including Tompkins himself.

¹⁴This concept of cadre may be understood as a unified group of priests with similar political and philosophic perspectives. All informants stressed the "button-holing" tactics of Tompkins who would pick out students and young priests and direct them to specific work. Coady was such a protege of Tompkins. These priests formed a clique, were involved in meetings with one another for political action, and perceived themselves to be unified for such political action and emotional support. This is clear from a letter of Coady's to Gillis (RG 30-2/1/1441) wherein he speaks of "keeping all our top leaders on the right track, so to speak" by having a "small group within the clergy" in which "only the central fellows would know the whole gang". MacSween (1953) reports on a clandestine meeting of such a group in 1928 at St. Andrews.

From private correspondence between priests, documents and interviews the following seem to be the initial cadre of priests. J. J. Tompkins, Moses Coady, Michael

Gillis,, Miles Tompkins, James Boyle, John R. MacDonald, and perhaps T. O'C. Boyle. They were the liberals. Closely associated with this group but not as political were Hugh MacPherson, H. J. MacDonald, J. H. MacDonald, D. J. MacDonald, C. J. Connolly, and P. J. Nicholson. Tolerant of these people were J. J. Morrison and H. P. MacPherson, the Bishop and university president respectively. Hugh Somers may have been tolerant.

It will be of interest to those who best know the movement to see where various founding clerics might appear on a political spectrum. Further analysis of their politics is important but it is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

¹⁵Such were known in Antigonish as they were commented on in The Casket. Tompkins, in particular, had close ties with English Universities, The Society for The Propagation of The Faith in Rome, politicians in Ottawa, protestant churchmen including J. S. Woodsworth, and a variety of American Philanthropic Institutions including the Carnegie Corporation, the Davison Foundation, and The Sage Foundation.

¹⁶See Camp (1969) for an historical account of the papal ideology of social reform.

¹⁷Briefly this experience can be accounted for by the following events: the Vatican refusal to wage war against Austria in 1848; the denunciation of Papal infallibility by Germany and Austria in 1855; the imprisonment of The Pope in the Vatican after 1870; and the continuous abuse of Papal privilege by an aroused Italian nationalism.

¹⁸Jansenism may be defined as a stress on the more rigorous aspects of Christianity respecting sin and salvation. Its origins were French, its conviction was that man was sinful and hell was probable.

¹⁹Such was Father MacDonald of Mabou; he was one of many.

When Rev. Kenneth J. MacDonald took charge of Mabou Parish nearly sixty years ago a great number of the Scottish exiles were illiterate. There were no schools in Inverness County except dancing schools! In nearly every Scottish home there was a violin or set of bagpipes and there were musicians too such as we rarely meet with now. It took the indomitable Father

Kenneth years to suppress these dancing academics which flourished under the name of frolics, the standard form of recreation for the Scots in their exile - but there was an evil which rendered these reunions dangerous occasion of sin - the old and ever new curse - intoxicating liquor!

- - - -

Had the apostolic spirit of Father Kenneth continued in Eastern Canada, hundreds of our kinsmen might have joined the long and honored list of priests and bishops some of whom are among the most energetic and zealous in the whole Catholic world.

The Casket (3: 31/10/18)

²⁰Quanta Cura was in opposition to nationalism, socialism and modern forms of thought. Its basic premise was that "humanity had taken the wrong road"; by authority it sought to change this direction. See O'Dea (1972).

²¹Weber (1946: 370) subscribes to this position. O'Dea (1972) and Camp (1969) develop the background for the stance. It may be said that this is the orthodox position with respect to Catholicism.

²²William Ryan (1966) takes John Porter to task for committing this error in The Vertical Mosaic.

²³Weber, according to Bendix (1962: 323) "The early Christian Church was a typically urban institution. Middle-class groups are prominent in Thomas Aquinas' conception of the Church, with its degrading classification of the peasants."

²⁴My argument here is that social reform depends upon freedom from traditional solutions. Such as not possible when all new ideas were constantly under ecclesiastical attack. Catholic liberalism implies that there is an effort made "to develop attitudes and policy that while Christian in content and Catholic in emphasis, will no longer be incumbered by historically conditioned attitudes and interests not appropriate to reality." (O'Dea, 160: 1972).

²⁵Subscriber lists were published. From my familiarity with the area of Mabou, Cape Breton, I would estimate that the majority of residents living there in the 1920's

received a weekly edition of the paper. Projecting this knowledge, it is my guess that The Casket was widely read, at least in the Scottish-Catholic areas.

²⁶The obituaries are of some interest since remarks are made on the faith of the deceased. In some cases no remarks are made so it might be concluded that either little information was available or little faith. Interestingly, occupation is not as frequently mentioned as the state of one's faith as evident by practice.

²⁷Even though the Diocese did not own the newspaper it exercised control over the publisher through moral persuasion. On April 5, 1900 Bishop Cameron intervened in the fierce dispute going on within The Casket's pages on the morality and legality of the "Imperialist Boer War". Cameron closed the topic for discussion. This might be an indicator of this relationship between Catholic publisher and Bishop. Other indicators are the prominence given Church news - in the main it was a religious paper.

²⁸E. C. Gregory, K. C. had "made his fortune" in hotels, railways and the practice of law. There are indications he went bankrupt on more than one occasion (interview with A. A. MacKenzie). The Casket's account of him is rather gracious, noting the fact that he had sold portions of his property to Saint Francis Xavier University (6/11/13: 4).

²⁹A. A. MacKenzie's thesis on the Farmer Labor party (1969) notes that Antigonish town did not support the farmer's party while the country areas did vote for their candidates. Such indicates one aspect of the difference between a merchant-service town and its rural hinterland. Coady on two occasions takes issue with the reticence of Antigonish to join the Antigonish Movement. In a 1936 letter he speaks of the "strenuous opposition of the Antigonish crowd" (RG 30-2/1/2870-71) and writes Bishop John H. MacDonald in 1937 with the news: "you will be glad to know that we cracked Antigonish" (RG 30-2/1/2441).

³⁰The Casket, March 12, 1914, p. 4.

³¹The discussion of Rerum Novarum is of particular interest in this forum of the Forward Movement. It can be said that this Papal Encyclical was the first liberal Catholic document of the modern age. The discussion of the role

of the state in society was as much directed at the use of government to temper the spirit of capitalism as it was directed against the control of society by the state (i.e., socialism). This position as a secular philosophy has been termed reformed liberalism in the United States (see Hays, (1957) for an elaboration of its major concerns).

³²See MacDonell (1947) The early history of Saint Francis Xavier University.

³³Campaigns for funding the university were held throughout Eastern Nova Scotia in 1881, 1907 (\$100,000), 1914 (\$300,000) and 1920 (\$500,000).

³⁴This was in 1915. The quotation is from an interview with another pioneer in the field, F. Waldo Walsh, who began work in the early 1920's. In the rural areas MacPherson was known as the "wool priest" because of his efforts to get efficient methods of raising sheep and better marketing arrangements for shipping sheep to Montreal.

³⁵The contributors were the friends of J. J. Tompkins: his fellow priests; students; and lay academics. Tompkins directed these people to research special topics and in certain instances encouraged the development of mini-lecture series like that of Sommerville on the social effects of the Industrial Revolution or Bucknell on British History. Both of these men were personally recruited by Tompkins for Saint Francis Xavier from England.

³⁶At times the tone was biting in the assessment of farm practice.

a stagnant country is generally kept so by the fact that the progressives leave and the drowsy ones stay home and rest or keep on goose-stepping down the old rut that their grandfather's trod since the good old inexpensive days of pine-knot illumination.

The Casket, August 1, 1917, p. 2.

Such language was rare; usually arguments were more tempered and exhortations such as "Produce and Save", "Prepare for Spring" and "Avoid Waste" were the headlines of lead articles on good agricultural practice.

³⁷See, "The Role of the Educational and Rural Conferences in the Development of the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University" for an account of these

meetings. (Glasgow: 1947).

³⁸Especially helpful are the minutes prepared by John R. MacDonald of these conferences. At Coady's request these minutes were sent to the Extension Department in 1938 and are now located in its archives (RG 30-3/28/1-36).

³⁹There is no doubt that not only certain priests but also some teaching sisters were "part of the problem" in the development of the Antigonish Movement. From Coady to Poirier in 1939 this indictment of clerics is made:

Things are going pretty well, but we have a lot to do yet. The attitude of a few of these clergymen is terrible. We can understand why such a thing as the Spanish Revolution is possible when we consider the cheapness and lack of fidelity of these representatives of the people. If the priests of this country can be bought and unblushingly line up stupidly with the vested interests, then what can we expect? If the priests do not understand at this time what is for the good of the masses, how can we legitimately criticize our poor people for not understanding our program? It is next to a miracle that the people are doing as well as they are after going through a period in which even their religious leaders have sold them out. MG 20/1/1809.

⁴⁰From Glasgow (1947) indications of growth in size are: the first educational conference was attended by "the clergy of the diocese and professors of Saint Francis Xavier University"; the second was similar with the exception of at least one visiting priest; the third included "a number of participants from outside the Diocese including a few laymen; the fourth and final conference included a greater number of laymen and the largest number in toto.

⁴¹Taken from Tompkins' introduction to the pamphlet "Knowledge for the People". The title of this introduction is "The Highway versus The Ladder."

⁴²Glasgow (1947) details the course content of these schools, the instructors, and the number of participants. Not very much is known about the Glace Bay People's Schools and I am inclined to believe that they were more academic than agricultural as they were held in an industrial area. It seems that they were not very successful. They were conducted by T. O'R. Boyle.

⁴³ Tompkins began the attack on local higher education in the "For The People" column. When he became editor of The Casket this attack moved to the front page. Later he continued with a series of letters to the editor signed "Catholic". These were responded to in each issue by supporters and detractors of Tompkins' position. The letters became substantially enlarged and provocative as time went on: with respect to higher education,

Protestants stand together, Catholics pull apart (16/1/1919);

The interests of the Catholic Church were injuriously affected by our backwardness (23/1/1919);

reasons for Catholic backwardness were given in the Jan. 30th issue including historic, sociological and economic reasons and concluding with the statement, "Let no inane vaporings as to our superior educational status blind us any longer. I would be ludicrous if it were not so pathetic to view the self-complacency and self-glorification of those who tell us of the phenomenal advancement made by Catholics in higher education in the past 25 years or so. (30/1/1919);

we have mistaken quantity for quality, and five or six sputtering tallow candles for the true lamp of learning (a reference to the six maritime Universities) (30/1/1919).

By April "Catholic was on the defensive and he produced figures to demonstrate his claim that Catholics were backward (10/4/1919) and the Catholic universities were financially and academically impoverished (15/5/1919).

The controversy in The Casket was eventually ended by the new Editor of The Casket, R. F. Phalen, who wrote the President of the University, H. P. MacPherson, in 1922, assuring him that "we shall have no (more) letters" on the merger and that The Casket would support the Bishop and "not allow others to get entirely away with their nonsense". (RG 5/9/16108) A good account of the arguments used for and against merger may be found in MacDougall's (1922) History of Inverness County, an unlikely place for such a document especially as it was reprinted in its entirety, at the end of a work that dealt mainly with genealogical and historical materials.

⁴⁴Letter of Arch Bishop P. D. Maria of Rome to Arch-Bishop Edward McCarthy of Halifax "by order of the sacred congregation of seminary and university studies...the question must be answered in the negative." Oct. 15, 1923.

⁴⁵To document these "local controversies" requires a comparison of problems experienced by veterans, farmers, miners, municipalities, etc. during this period. One example was urban boot-legging which was widely commented on in the industrial area papers, another was the increase in property crime. "Racketeering" was the name given to these deviant activities of both the working and professional classes.

⁴⁶MacKenzie's (1969) thesis on The Farmer Labor Party of 1920 is the best account of this movement. The party was a cross-section of very different groups and keeping internal order was a major problem they experienced. However, a populist perception of the little man and the possibility of political reform did carry them as a unit into an election with some measure of public support (six members elected).

⁴⁷Editorials between Sept. 11, 1919 and Mar. 7, 1921 on nine occasions supported the two party system and denigrate the third party system. One priest, J. J. MacKinnon, did write a letter taking exception to the partisan stance of The Casket.

⁴⁸Strikes took place in industrial Cape Breton on three occasions in the period 1882-1909 and in each case troops had been called in to assist "the civil power". After 1920 the intensity of the strikes from 1923-26 made the previous history of labor seem tame in comparison. MacEwan (1976), Frank (1974), and MacGillvray (1971) provide accounts of the insurgence of labor during the early 1920's.

⁴⁹This was especially true of the 1909 strike wherein the moderate PWA union, whose leader was Scottish Catholic (S. B. MacNeil) was rejected for the UMW whose leader was a newly arrived Scots Protestant (J. B. MacLaughlin).

⁵⁰In a cautious rebuttal of the pastor of Sacred Heart Parish who preached against the militancy of workers, the labor paper, The Maritime Labor Herald, had this to say:

It is well known that infallibility is only for the Pope on questions of faith or morals ...pronouncements of the lesser clergy are not infallible. (Nov. 18, 1922)

The Labor Herald on Dec. 23, 1922 also respectably requested "all those in opposition to this paper on religious grounds" to read the "5th chapter of Acts".

⁵¹ Tompkins was not the only cleric sent to a rural parish. Boyle, MacDonald and Gillis were considered to be de facto exiles after the merger question. I have not been able to find out what position Coady took on this issue or even if he had one at all. The significance of this is that he may well have stayed out of the in-fighting and hence increased his acceptability to both sides (which made him a good candidate for the future leadership of the movement). His sabbatical to the Catholic University of America also occurred within the merger period 1919-1922.

⁵² The Acadians began in 1881 meeting at Memrancook in New Brunswick for the first Societe Nationale des Acadiens. This was in response to the renaissance in Quebec and the congress of 1880 at Quebec. Further meetings of this Acadian society took place in 1884 (at Miscouche, N. B.), in 1890 (at Church Point, N. S.), in 1900 (at Arichat, N. S.), 1905 (Caraguet, N. B.), 1908 (Saint Basile, N. B.), 1912 (Tignish, P. E. I.), 1913 (Church Point, N. S.) and 1921 (Grand-Pre, N. S.). The Scots did not form such a nationalistic organization as the SNA but concentrated instead on Gaelic and the expression of Scottish culture. Dunn (1971) indicates that this revival was based on Gaelic newspapers, plays, festivals, and an interest in historic and contemporary relations between Scotland and Nova Scotia.

⁵³ The Acadians called for their own diocese in the SNA convention of 1900 at Arichat, Cape Breton.

⁵⁴ Mosgladh (The Awakening), the journal of this society, never reports more than one hundred delegates to the annual convention. In 1928 they claim to have had increased membership by 281 but nowhere is there given a figure of membership previous to this period. Since the vast majority of delegates to the annual convention are priests it is very difficult to determine exactly how active this organization was aside from these clerics who seemed to do most of the work. The only indicator of its size is the number of copies printed of its newsletter. There were 750 printed in 1928.

⁵⁵The parish priests of every Scottish Parish attended the annual conferences. They also edited the newsletter and formed a majority of the officers of the society. They controlled the Scottish Catholic Society in much the same way that the university priests controlled the Educational Conferences.

⁵⁶The concern for the professional class and professional status is reflected in the composition of the Scottish Catholic Society. 51% of the original 73 founders were professional people, 28% were of the managerial and proprietary class and 18% were farmers, workers and tradesmen. 82% of the officers over a five year period were professionals (including priests as professionals). As for the priests, they represented 39% of all the founders and 41% of the officers. Source: The Awakening 1923-1928.

⁵⁷In Pictou and Guysborough Counties they located only in the chief Scottish Catholic centers, Lismore (80% Scots and 63% Catholic) and Giants Lake (69% Scots and 71% Catholic) respectively. In the other five counties they had far more chapters on account of the number of Scots Catholic communities.

⁵⁸Letter of Coady to R. J. MacSween, Mar. 4, 1953 (RG 30-3/25/1619).

⁵⁹He edited the paper, was an officer and was reported to be the "soul" of the organization along with two other pastors D. M. MacAdam and A. R. MacDonald (Interview with Archie MacKenzie).

⁶⁰Minutes of the Rural Conferences, Jan. 25, 1924 (RG 30-2/1/2413), as contained in a letter to Coady from J. R. MacDonald dated Feb. 12, 1938.

⁶¹The cause of this diversity may well have sprung out of the forum established by the Scottish Catholic Society for rural pastors. By 1924 they had far more familiarity with the issues and no doubt were more willing to express their opinions as opposed to passively accepting the formulations of the academics.

⁶²This was an important step in the development of the Antigonish Movement and will be addressed in the following chapters. The relationship with the Agricultural College at Truro was well established by 1928. The work of Doctor Hugh

MacPherson, the partial funding of the People's School by the Agricultural College and the scholarship programme conducted by the Scottish Catholic Society for this center closely associated the Diocese with the professional agronomists. This meant a connection with government and the civil service since the Agricultural College was an agency of The Department of Agriculture. In 1927 similar links were made with the federal Department of Fisheries at Ottawa and in 1928 the Diocese lent the services of a priest to the Department of Fisheries to teach a course in Halifax.

⁶³The leading laymen were R. J. MacSween, J. C. F. MacDowell, S. J. MacKinnon and A. B. MacDonald. All had backgrounds in agriculture and were trained at Truro.

The MacLean Commission, or The Royal Commission on the Fisheries of The Maritime Provinces (1928) has been seen as a key factor in the call to action since a major recommendation of The Report was the organization of co-operatives for fishermen.

⁶⁴Resolution 1, First Annual Rural Conference, (RG 30-3/28/4).

⁶⁵Resolution 8, Sixth Annual Rural Conference, (RG 30-3/28/30).

⁶⁶As late as October 1928, MacPherson, the president of the university, was warning the Scottish Catholic Society that changes "would be slow" in the educational system (The Awakening, 3: Oct. 1928). Coady claims that MacPherson would never have moved on his own to create extension (Coady to MacSween, RG 30-3/25/1619) and interviews with informants are similar in disposition; the university was reluctant to institute such a programme.

⁶⁷Reading the resolutions of the three bodies, Rural Conferences, Alumni Association, and Scottish Catholic Society it is striking how often Michael Gillis, John R. MacDonald, and A. B. MacDonald (a layman and Coady's chief manager) are featured in promoting extension services. Tompkin's effect is also notable in the journal of the students at the university, The Nexus. From 1924 to 1928 this student paper has at least one article per issue on the "rural problem".

⁶⁸The Alumni meeting minutes of May 16, 1928 gives their statement of intent; The Awakening of July 1928

announced the intention of the Scottish Catholic Society to begin their own extension programme.

⁶⁹The minutes of the Board of Governors of St. Francis Xavier University, Nov. 27, 1928.

⁷⁰Interestingly, they reported a 50% increase in membership during this period which would mean that their drive for funds was underway. R. J. MacSween's article "The Part Played by the Scottish Society of Canada in The Establishment of The St. F. X. Extension Department" details the plotting and politics of prodding the university into action.

⁷¹Before MacDonald accepted the position he checked with the Cape Breton parish priests to make sure that they would support him at St. Francis Xavier. Such was the suspicion of the university at this point that these priests were inclined to interpret any move by the university as a delaying tactic. (MacSween, ibid.).

CHAPTER 5

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MOVEMENT: 1929 TO 1938

This chapter deals with three problems. The first is suggested by Hans Mol's discussion of marginality and charisma (Mol 1976: 31-54). Here, Mol addresses the relationship between marginality and differentiation in opposition to that relationship between charisma and integration. Marginality and its associated freedom from the internal constraints associated with boundaries around an identity makes possible skepticism and innovation. In contrast, Mol argues that charisma makes possible the welding together of the old and the new because charisma is usually found in that type of trusted leadership that reflects a synthesis of both old and new and is able to project a reliable account of this synthesis to a constituency. Such leadership arises out of a traditional rather than a marginal milieu. Since many of the leaders of the Antigonish Movement could be considered marginal, at least in comparison to the traditional clergy, how could such a movement take root in eastern Nova Scotia? My response is to identify the traditional clergy as the important instigators of co-operative activity on the grass roots level, while making the further claim that the marginal clerics provided the reform ideology

and initiated the contacts with those external institutions which affected the growth of the movement.

The second problem, and the one which is the major focus of the chapter, involves the organization of the movement in the period 1928-1939. In keeping with the expressed concern of this work on identity, the analysis of the movement proceeds along the lines of the participation of diverse groups within the movement (ethnic, religious, rural/urban). The initial participation of groups in the movement, the expanding constituency of the movement over time, and the differences between groups in their mode of participation in the movement are considered.

The final problem addressed is that of the common identity of the respective groups participating in the movement. Here, it is argued that the emergence of new patterns of consumption in industrial society provided a slender bond linking all groups.

MARGINALITY AND THE IDEOLOGY OF REFORM

The Antigonish Movement was initially a movement within the clergy of the Diocese of Antigonish. The cadre of clerics that evolved through the period of the 1920's was distinguished from their brother priests by virtue of their previous training and by the coherence of their developing philosophy. Synonymous with the movement are the clerics J. J. Tompkins, M. M. Coady and the layman A. B.

MacDonald. They were the ring-leaders, the most visible agents of the new philosophy and they have captured the attention of those who have followed the movement. The conventional wisdom of the local Antigonish area is that Tompkins was the "idea man", Coady the man who gave the ideas "hands and feet", and MacDonald the organizational wizard of the Extension Department of Saint Francis Xavier University.¹

In light of what has been written above on the role of the Scottish Catholic Society, it would seem paradoxical that two of the perceived "saviors" of the Scots Catholic Diocese were men with Irish backgrounds. Tompkins and Coady were double first cousins from the Margaree area of Cape Breton; Coady himself took pride in tracing their common ancestry back to "those rebels" who came to Cape Breton in 1799 following the 1798 civil rebellion against the English in Ireland.² In Chapter 2 it was noted that the Irish in Nova Scotia's history had occupied the role of agent-provocateur for Catholic rights, while the Scots had not generally employed such a confrontation strategy. Tompkins most certainly was an Irishman of this type; in certain circumstances Coady was more so the Irishman. Ethnicity may not have been the significant factor in creating the marginality of the leadership cadre but it does deserve consideration. Of the first generation liberal leadership cadre, five of the eight clerics were of Irish

backgrounds (Coady, J. J. Tompkins, Miles Tompkins, James Boyle, T. O. C. Boyle). Only Hugh MacPherson, Michael Gillis and John R. MacDonald were Scots, and even then MacDonald was Scots/Irish. The identification of this cadre as the new liberals in the Catholic tradition is based upon their expressed sentiments and acts and their correspondence with one another.³ The fact that a significant percent of these leaders were Irish has to be analysed in the light of the composition of the Diocese. Since only sixteen of the total (118) Antigonish clerics were Irish, and since the Irish had for long been subject to the discipline of Scots prelates, it is possible that the large number of liberal leaders with Irish backgrounds is not a simple contingency. The Antigonish Diocese was a Scottish stronghold and the professional elite of the Diocese trained at St. Francis Xavier University was familial in character. Brothers of priests were doctors, lawyers and teachers and, on a few occasions, merchants. The affectations of the elite were tied into the Scottish rather than the Irish culture and hence any critique of the established order and its foremost institution (Saint Francis Xavier) was implicitly a critique of Scottish ascendancy. It has been shown that the merger question was directed at the question of local leadership. Symbolically, the merger question was one of escape from one type of accommodation that Catholic Eastern Nova Scotia had made

to North American society. This accommodation was based on the social ascendancy of a professional class developed through higher education rather than through the development of the "masses". The trappings of the Scottish heritage legitimated these conditions of the status quo. The poet, Kenneth Leslie, speaking through the miners of Cape Breton saw this clearly in his work "O'Malley to the Reds" (written for Father Coady of Antigonish).⁴ In the poem Leslie describes the meeting of O'Malley (Coady) with radical miners. The section quoted here is apropos to the use of ethnic sentiments to stifle militancy. The speaker is a Scottish miner addressing O'Malley (Coady) at a meeting.

Then, faces screwed to hunger's pain,
 we chorused brave and rarely,
 and doffed our bonnets in the rain,
 with 'Wae's me for Prince Charlie!'
 We should have blushed for very shame
 to hear the Forty Five extolled
 that set the lairdie's pride of name
 against the merchant's pride of gold.

When hunger slacked its final notch,
 to eat we kenneled with the hounds
 of Cumberland: we joined the 'Watch'.
 To eat we piped the bloody rounds
 of Empire, toted Geordie's chain
 across the seas and back again.
 With oatmeal porridge in the pot
 with kilts and crying pipes they caught
 the hungry sentimental Scot!
 A bit of colored yarn the lure
 for silly fish and simple poor.

So everywhere the world around
 with tinsel thongs we slaves are bound.
 And that, God's messenger, is why
 we weigh your words before we buy.

Among informants interviewed there were few who accepted this interpretation of Irish background as being important in the marginality of the leadership cadre of the Antigonish Movement.⁵ Informants were more likely to cite the foreign training of the cadre as being the important source of the unique character of this group. While all diocesan clerics had received a university and seminary education and hence all were "removed" from the people by virtue of this experience, the leaders of the Movement had been trained in a variety of ways that further separated them from their fellow priests. This separation was dramatized by the question of the merger which reinforced the marginality of the clerical cadre since generally the supporters of merger were the academic liberal priests. Finally, the perceived "exiles" of J. J. Tompkins, John R. MacDonald, James Boyle, Michael Gillis and perhaps T. O. C. Boyle, and Miles Tompkins after the merger further set apart these men.

There is reason to believe that these transfers of clerical university teachers to parishes, which took place between the years 1921-1924, were prompted by reasons other than this question of the merger. It was not unusual then for priests to receive a parish after a period at the university; it was a means of keeping the priestly ministry uppermost in the minds of men who were perceived to be ordained for this type of activity. Yet, J. R. MacDonald,

sent to the parish at Georgeville, thought it was on account of the support he gave the merger that he was sent to this area rather than to Antigonish; Michael Gillis in Boisdale referred to himself as being in exile from Antigonish; and as for such teachers as James Boyle, T. O'C. Boyle, and M. N. Tompkins, they had been all supporters of merger and all delegated to parish work during the time of this question or shortly thereafter. Without access to Diocesan archives it is impossible to tell if these events were co-incidental. What these events did develop was a grass-roots enactment of the philosophy developed previous to this period. In their parishes at Canso (J. J. Tompkins), Boisdale (M. Gillis), Georgeville (J. R. MacDonald), Harve Boucher (J. Boyle), and Glace Bay (M. Tompkins), these priests during the mid-1920's spread their concerns to the people they had previously been speaking of from the university ecclesiastical center of Antigonish town.

While such marginality may have greatly contributed to the synthesis developed, and to the motivation for reform, it does not adequately address the problem of this chapter; i.e., how the ideas took root in behaviour. The dynamic that best explains this is the relationship of this marginality to traditional identity.

MARGINALITY AND IDENTITY

The cadre of clerics, who initially developed the approach of a university for the people, and those same

priests who involved themselves in the social and economic lives of their parishioners, were marginal in the diocese by virtue of their training, philosophy (their advocacy of liberal Catholicism), and in certain cases by their ethnicity. They were, nevertheless, involved in roles that were well established and integrated into the communities they served. Their position, based on the authority of the past, permitted them to command the respect of the people through the medium of the priestly office which they extended to include a new involvement in the secular affairs of the region.⁶ It was within the institutional setting of the Church that the new ideology and practice of the Anti-gonish Movement was developing and the point must be made that the drama of the perceived "exile" did not detract from the fundamental allegiance that the supporters of liberal Catholicism had to their Church. This means that those involved were either more committed to the Church than to their reforms or they were convinced that they could only reform through the Church, even if that Church was hesitant in accepting these reforms. In this respect, it is of interest to note that J. J. Tompkins (at his parish in Canso) opposed the setting up of a university extension service from 1922 to 1930.⁷ Little evidence is available to indicate why Tompkins felt this way but it seems quite likely that Tompkins felt that any moves made by the University during this period (i.e., "going to the people")

would be compromised by those very powers that had brought the earlier reforms to a complete halt.

The crucial variable that permitted the rooting of the movement in the lives of the people was the activity of rural pastors concerned with the decline of their respective parishes. It was they who agitated for action and they who defined the problem and urged the question of extension services. Reducing the state of the question to the level of the problems of rural Catholic parishes meant that the ideology of reform would be co-opted by the concerns of those parish priests who were perceived to be more interested in the spiritual lives of their flock than in the underlying conditions of this spiritual existence. It was this type of direction that Tompkins possibly feared.⁸

However, it would appear that in this case of the Antigonish Movement, ideas had to be broken off from their source of marginality in order to become embedded in the perceptions of the priesthood in general and through them in the people of the parishes. What had to be relocated was the boundaries of the church's activities. It is possible that these boundaries were perceived by some to be outstripped by the action of those clerics who had been disposed to creating further changes in the institutional order without repairing the existing fragilities of that order.

This question of the difference between the conservative emphasis on reform as directed by rural pastors and the

liberal emphasis on reform articulated by the leadership cadre was extremely difficult to fully document. The Education Conferences and the Rural Conferences provided some information on the differences. More important sources of information would be the letters of complaint that rural pastors might have directed against the interests of the leadership cadre. These are only available in the Diocesan Archive and even admitting to their existence, they would be very few in number since Bishop Morrison had a deliberate policy of avoiding writing communications "of a negative nature" (communication from A. A. Johnston). Despite this episcopal caution, I have found in the Extension Archives a number of references made by Coady et al to the effect that some clerics, including rural pastors, were in opposition to the work of the movement. Based on this evidence as well as that evidence indicating support from rural pastors it is possible to argue that the divisions of the clergy ranged from the liberal cadre, to rural pastors supporting this cadre, to rural pastors opposed to the ideas of the cadre but supportive of rural reform, and finally to those opposed to clerical involvement in these issues.

The method of testing this hypothesis was through interviews with informants familiar with the clerics of that period. This was not completely reliable since I did expect some informants to gloss over the perceived failings of the past now that the movement has been established as a

"good thing". However, despite the occasional duplicity respecting the character of some deceased clerics, I was able to present informants with a complete list of the 1928 clergy and solicit their opinions as to the variety of positions that existed. At the same time I was able to discuss with my informants the hypothesis that rural pastors legitimated the need for rural reform. Here given access to the names of all clerics and refreshed by this aid to their memory, these informants assured me that many priests who were not "vocal" supporters of the leadership cadre, nevertheless, did articulate the need for reform and did cooperate in these reforms. The informants knew who had helped them and who had not helped; the former they remembered with smiles and stories and the latter they passed over quietly in the interviews. They especially remembered rural pastors for their respective abilities in getting people out to meetings, providing management for local co-operatives, and for hosting visiting Extension workers at the Parish glebe house. The most interesting type of comment made about a number of the rural pastors is especially relevant here, "He didn't know much about it but he was willing and would do whatever we asked." When I inquired as to why such men would be willing, I was told that they were concerned about their parish and would do "whatever seemed like a good idea" for its betterment. This type of sentiment exposes the division between those who generated

the ideology of reform (the leadership cadre) and those who developed its spirit in their parishes. It is my contention that this spirit of reform was released only when it appeared to be under some form of traditional clerical authority. The "exile" did this in two ways: 1) it established limits for innovative Catholic liberalism; 2) it sent the core of the leadership cadre into parishes and made them part of the traditional Catholic lifestyle.

When Coady was appointed Head of Extension in 1920, it was an appointment made by the Bishop through the University. The authority of the Church was visibly behind the developments that were to take place and hence the appeal to any development dependent upon outside institutions (the proposed University of Halifax) or outside ideas (advocated by men trained in such a setting) was rejected for development through the Church.

It is indeed ironical that the first major impetus to the starting up of this work was directed from outside the Church, was not related to farming and was only somewhat related to the Scots. The Federal Government borrowed the services of Coady shortly after his return from that sabbatical leave, wherein he was to learn extension techniques (1928-29), and put him to work organizing fishermen throughout Eastern Nova Scotia and Northern New Brunswick (1929-30). His efforts here had a profound effect on the latter direction of the Movement, but during this 1929-30

period, as has been shown in the previous chapter, the supporters of extension services were exasperated by the perceived perfidity of the Diocese in not buckling down to the type of extension service they had been requesting. In 1930 with the hiring of A. B. MacDonald and the availability of Coady, this type of service was finally undertaken with the co-operation of the parish priests of many communities who had awaited anxiously the inauguration of a programme.

THE AFFINITY OF INTERESTS

It was argued immediately above that marginality is related to the development of reform ideology but is not sufficient for the implementation of reform. It was the traditional relations between priests and people which finally permitted the movement to become established. This analysis, however, does not take into account one important characteristic of marginality and its relation to outside influences and that is the relative strengths of the constituencies that are intersected by these marginal men. The influence of the Federal Government and Provincial Government bears upon this discussion of marginality. The resources of these governments and the direction of these resources in the definition of rural life are aspects of the social environment that very much affected the character of the Antigonish Movement. The respective Provincial and Federal Governments of the 1930's were not the "big

government" forms that are known at present; they were however in the process of developing more comprehensive social programmes and their role in the 1930's would expand significantly in the direction of intervention in the economy. With this more widespread transformation in mind it is now possible to reconsider the relationship of government to marginality in the implementation of the Antigonish Movement.

The evidence indicates that the marginal leadership cadre had the best contacts with government agencies; governmental agencies were poorly prepared for grass-roots activities due to their limited resource of civil servants; parish priests had the best organizational structure in Eastern Nova Scotia and the least contact with the civil servants in governmental agencies.⁹ The Antigonish Movement considered as identity consolidation demonstrates the manner in which these discrete features of social existence may be integrated.

Coady's work with the fishermen and A. B. MacDonald's experience in agriculture created a bond between Extension efforts and the Governmental departments of farming and fishing in both the Provincial and Federal Governments.¹⁰ The nature of the organizational work that both men had carried out prior to 1930 had also created ties with the national co-operative movement and those institutions created by this movement. In the case of agriculture the

bond was greatest since the influence of Dr. Hugh MacPherson (Little Doc Hugh) had created exceptionally strong ties between St. F. X. and the Provincial School of Agriculture at Truro. The Provincial Agricultural Representatives themselves were Catholic Scots and proteges of the founding fathers. Tompkins influenced A. B. MacDonald to go to Truro after graduating from St. F. X. MacDonald, in turn, influenced Waldo Walsh. Little Doc Hugh influenced Miles Tompkins and J. C. F. MacDonnell. Michael Gillis influenced S. J. MacKinnon and R. J. MacSween.¹¹ These agricultural agents, especially Walsh, MacDonnell, MacKinnon, and MacSween became de facto agents for the Extension Department while employed as civil servants.¹²

The affinity between the efforts of Government and Extension was based upon the perceived need to develop primary production and concomitant markets in fishing and farming.¹³ Although Government had been engaged in these efforts prior to 1930 the effort to organize farm marketing in Eastern Nova Scotia had been plagued by the seasonal ad hoc nature of the spring buying and fall shipping clubs, as well as by the few workers involved in actually organizing farmers. Some measure of success had attended these efforts but their victories were tinged always with the possibility that in the following Spring the phoenix of co-operation would not arise from the ashes of the previous fall. Many did not.¹⁴

During this period, co-operatives were tentatively espoused by some within Government (both Federal and Provincial). The reasons for their apparent goodwill are varied: first, the 1920's elections of populist parties in Canada had contained planks for furthering co-operation in buying and marketing and hence its promotion was a popular move; secondly, since the production of quality farm goods was not sufficiently advanced to develop either local or export markets, it was thought that proper motivation could be stimulated by the higher financial rewards available through co-operative marketing; thirdly, the vested interests most affected by co-operation were not powerful enough to cause the Government to go contrary to public opinion.¹⁵

While increased production, grading of products for quality and co-operative marketing were familiar concepts to some people in Eastern Nova Scotia, they had not gained any widespread institutional footing until the advent of the Antigonish Movement. Although the Antigonish Movement followed the Government into these organizational efforts, it gave these efforts a driving force that the handful of agricultural representatives could not have elicited on their own. That force was simply the involvement of the apparatus of the Church and the University in these activities. Whereas the Government worked with citizens and could be said to build policy on the cynicism of voters, the

Church was traditionally perceived to be working for the objectives of eternal salvation. What had been constructed in the Acadian, Scots and Irish parishes during the period of settlement was a spirituality that was other-worldly. While an argument can be made that this core of spirituality was compromised by such historical events as the partisan politics of Bishop Cameron and by the growing class differences between the professional elite and the industrial working class, it would be incorrect to assume that the Catholic people of Eastern Nova Scotia did not experience a faith mediated by their priests.¹⁶ By addressing economic issues, priests expressed a dual involvement in the lives of the parishioners, i.e., a concern for both spiritual and temporal welfare. The force that was exerted therefore was a force based on the developed strength of an other-worldly faith that was transferred to the secular realm.

What permitted this affinity of interests between parish clergy, university clerics and government agronomists to take root in new behaviours was that identity which pre-existed these new social arrangements. The ecclesiastical structure of parishes with a potential worker (the priest) in each parish was obviously far better equipped for organizational purposes than a handful of government workers. Yet, to utilize effectively this power the people had to be prepared to accept the clerics' involvement in this activity, and the priests had to be prepared to enter the secular

world. The threat to existing identity had provided the stimulus. In effect the parishes were the most propitious locations for the beginnings of the movement. It was around these centers that the distinctive study clubs of the Antigonish Movement began.¹⁷

Before moving into the discussion of study clubs and other phases of the movement the question raised at the outset of this chapter on marginality/charisma may now be summarized. Following Mol (1976) there should have been a clear separation of the experiences of marginality and charisma. Marginality contributes to differentiation since marginal people are by definition at the fringes of the logic of an identity boundary and hence more likely to develop counter positions and innovations. Charisma is at the core of identity consolidation since it welds together the old and the new. The concept of marginality has been useful in understanding how the leadership cadre broke away from the traditional concerns of the church. Their marginality (developed through education, occupation, and perhaps ethnicity) may have been influential in the ideas they expressed and in their commitment to liberal reforms. At the same time these very men were also priests and their priesthood seems to have been of some consequence when faced with the dictates of traditional authority since they accepted this authority over the changes they had been advocating.

After this period the issue of marginality seems to be subsumed in the church since traditional authority adopted a position that was congruent with the intents of the reform-minded. The charisma of leadership became invested in one man, Coady (as will be emphasized in subsequent chapters) and his leadership affected parish priests (traditional authority) as much as it did the rank and file. This transition between marginality and charisma might be therefore more apparent than real since the process I have described demonstrates that the clerics of that time were not truly marginal since the effect of their involvement was a consistent development of the new based upon the old. At the same time, given the evidence for some marginality, it might be that the separation between the concepts is not as clear cut as Mol (1976) would indicate. The usefulness of the distinction is in its emphasis on the generation of reform ideology as opposed to the incorporation of the ideology.

STUDY CLUBS: "THE FIRST SHOT"

The leaders of the Antigonish Movement consistently acknowledged that the study club was responsible for the success of the movement. The development of the study club was an outcome of Coady's initial involvement with government organizational attempts in produce marketing. The two-man Extension Department of Coady and MacDonald realized that they did not have the professionally trained people

needed to organize effectively the large number of communities in the farming areas since they were already over-committed in maintaining the 1929-30 work Coady had done for government in the fishing areas. Nor could they presume the good will of all the clergy in this work. Despite the widespread support of the rural clergy some parishes had priests who were not interested, others were opposed; in the University the same conditions obtained. Because parish priests in some areas were as likely to oppose the movement as to support its efforts, the study clubs were as much a means of getting past those parish priests not sympathetic to their interests as they were an effective strategy for capitalizing on the availability of those priests who were known to be interested.

Initially, the local autonomy of each chapter was encouraged; people were asked to organize themselves and direct themselves. The two man Extension Department saw its role as creating the "need" for study. This Coady and A. B. MacDonald did in a series of meetings.¹⁸ Usually these meetings were urged by the resident parish priest and hence the study clubs followed that path of least resistance going to those areas where parish priests were keen advocates of their message. Later, mechanisms for directing and centralizing these study clubs were developed (such as guided topics for discussion, regional meetings and annual Diocesan conferences) but initially, in the late Spring of

1931, the study club was an ad hoc strategy designed to "light small fires". It was a hope more than a tried technique.

As Coady and A. B. MacDonald went from community to community they assembled a coterie of local priests, teachers and their allies in the agricultural field to "drive home" their message of community organization around a particular problem. Before and after these rallies the parish priests, teachers, and agricultural representatives were asked to ferret out local leadership candidates from the rank and file for the study club programme and encourage these leaders to start discussion of local problems. By the end of 1931 approximately 173 study clubs were reputedly in existence and the movement was underway.

The study clubs themselves were but an introduction to the array of co-operative techniques that characterized the Antigonish Movement. The data would indicate that these informal clubs, or kitchen meetings, generally preceded the more formally established credit unions and co-operatives (stores, fish plants, buying clubs, etc.). The extension of study clubs throughout Eastern Nova Scotia varies. As well, the successful transformation from informal study club to formal economic organization varies.¹⁹ Precisely because this transition of study club to economic organization was difficult, the strategy was to promote local expert leadership through the short courses at Antigonish.

In order to promote the necessary enthusiasm, regional meetings and expanded Diocesan conferences were likewise held.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MOVEMENT: PROCEDURE

To trace the phases of the movement, it is analytically helpful to separate the aids to co-operative activity, i.e., study clubs, short courses, general meetings and annual congresses, from the economic activities themselves, i.e., credit unions, co-operative stores, fish plants, etc.²⁰ Here it may be seen that differences could exist between those communities or groups more involved in the aids to co-operation as opposed to those involved in economic co-operation itself. To explain these differences attention shall be directed toward the religious, ethnic and rural/urban distribution of the movement. To facilitate this task I have recorded the incidence of every known group activity of the Antigonish Movement in the period 1931-1939 in correlation with the 1931 Canada census divisions of Eastern Nova Scotia. The religious and ethnic majorities of such census divisions were determined as well as their rural/urban status. All told, there are 192 census divisions and 241 cases of group organization which I consider during this period of 1930 to 1939.

One general characteristic of the data about to be discussed would indicate that the informal structures were more widely participated in than the formal structures. It was easier to get people out to a meeting or even a study

club than to commit them to actual membership in a co-operative or credit union. The number of study clubs reported (by community) are significantly higher than the number of communities having credit unions or co-operatives. If again, the informal structures were regarded by the Extension Department as educational aids there can be an additional reason for the difference between formal and informal organization. It would appear that the Extension Department considered itself to be prima facie, the educational arm of the movement for economic co-operation and as such utilized the informal techniques of study clubs and general meetings to make possible a general acceptance of the theory of economic co-operation even among those who might be only marginally involved.

Despite this intention of the Extension Department to reach all within the region other conditions obtained to create more involvement among certain groups in the educational techniques rather than in the organizational programmes. The movement did not simply emanate from the Extension Department at Antigonish; it was directed by the demands of certain localities and this direction can best be seen by a breakdown of the movement into its respective phases, study clubs, short courses, congresses, credit unions and co-operatives. However, before beginning this more detailed analysis it would be helpful to present more explicit information on the religious, ethnic and urban/

rural constituency of the Antigonish Diocese in 1931 when action was initiated.

The Roman Catholic population of Eastern Nova Scotia in 1931 was almost 50% of the total population and the Scots represented the highest proportion (41%) of this total.

Figure 1
Population, Seven Eastern Counties,
By Ethnicity and Religion 1931²¹

Total	196,115	100%	97,887 Roman Catholic	100%
Scots	93,552	48%	40,619	41%
English	41,448	21%	8,842	9%
French	23,839	12%	22,262	23%
Irish	22,473	11%	18,071	18%
Others	14,803	8%	7,649	8%

To supplement these statistics it must be remembered that the Scots and Acadians formed relatively homogeneous Catholic communities (see Appendix B) while the Irish and English seldom formed a majority in any one community. Furthermore, certain counties were almost totally Catholic: (e.g. Inverness County, 75% Catholic with 59% of the total population of the county being Scots Catholic; Antigonish County, 87% Catholic with 58% Scots Catholic; and, Richmond County, 79% Catholic with 74% Acadian Catholic).

Taking religion and ethnicity together the Scots Catholics form the majority in 39 out of the 173 census divisions considered, while the Acadians Catholics form the

majority in 19 census divisions. This is to say that the composition of these groups in a particular census division is greater than 50% of the population in both religion and ethnicity; often it is above 80% (see Appendix B). Irish Catholics form such a majority in only 2 divisions. Protestant Scots form a majority in 65 divisions and Protestant English form a majority in 8 instances. Of the total 173 communities 50 are considered to be heterogeneous in religion and ethnic composition.²²

The rural/urban breakdown of the total population would indicate a 50/50 split of the total population but this is due to the concentration in the Sydney-Glace Bay and Pictou-New Glasgow areas. In fact Antigonish County was (81% rural), Guysborough County was (81% rural), Inverness was (76% rural), Richmond County was (100% rural) and Victoria County was (100% rural). While the data generally indicate that the Antigonish Movement was constructed around a rural and religious basis, its path was not consistent with the demographic distribution of rural Catholics; ethnicity was the intervening variable and the Scots were initially the chosen people. This can be demonstrated by the analysis of the various phases of the movement.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MOVEMENT:

INFORMAL AIDS TO CO-OPERATION

The study clubs were considered to be the essential starting point for any co-operative society. In order to locate these clubs empirically by community it has been necessary to use the only source available, the mailing lists kept by the Extension Department for sending out materials to club leaders. Unfortunately these lists are only in existence for the three-year period 1932-1934. The breakdown in Figure 2 indicates the distribution of study club leaders by ethnicity, and rural/urban distribution.

Figure 2
Study Clubs, Percent of Annual Total by
Ethnic Communities²³

	32	33	34
Scots	75	43	45
Acadians	17	12	15
Other	8	18	15
All Rural	100	73	75
Urban	-	27	25
Total (Number)	24	60	47

Less reliance is placed upon the reported study clubs that the Extension Department alleged to be in existence since they do not specify community. Since they do specify county, they are of some use and are reported in Figure 3.

Figure 3

Study Clubs: Percent of Annual Total by County²⁴

% Scots	% RC		1931		1932		1933		1934	
			R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U
58	87	Antigonish	35	-	26	-	13	-	17	-
23	36	Guysborough	4	-	5	-	8	-	8	1
64	20	Pictou	3	-	2	-	3	6	4	4
63	71	Inverness	27	-	32	-	27	-	20	1
25	79	Richmond	17	-	15	-	10	-	9	-
68	33	Victoria	11	-	6	-	8	-	7	-
41	54	Cape Breton	11	-	14	-	9	16	10	18
		TOTAL	100	-	100	-	78	22	75	25
		NUMBER	176	-	385	-	697	197	585	196

R (rural), U (urban)

Bearing in mind that it is not possible to determine the actual number of study clubs in each community from the mailing lists of only the club leaders, it is highly probable that the list of leaders represents, at least, the establishment of clubs in those communities (Figure 2) where these leaders lived. The lists make it possible to pinpoint the location, if not the breadth of study club activity. Since each leader was sent a number of study club bulletins it is possible that these leaders were the agents for a number of clubs in their nearby communities. Such an interpretation would account for the obvious discrepancy between the mailing list clubs (Figure 2) and those reported in Figure 3.²⁵ However, I tend to think that Figure 3 represents an exaggeration.²⁶ Even so, the figures given by the Extension Department, at least proportionately, are

consistent with those of the mailing lists. Because of the specificity of these mailing lists, they give a more definite indication of who was being contacted. Figure 3 may be taken therefore as the breadth or extension of these contacts in the counties.

The study club leaders of 1932 were located primarily in rural Scottish Catholic Inverness (75% Catholic, 76% rural) and Antigonish (87% Catholic, 81% rural) Counties. Of the 24 communities represented on these mailing lists, 63% were located in these predominantly Scots Catholic counties and furthermore were located in Scots Catholic communities within these counties with the leaders of these clubs being almost entirely Scots Catholic. Three more clubs served Scots Catholic communities in rural parts of Cape Breton County which means that a total of 75% of all communities served were Scots Catholic. Four Acadian communities had study club leaders, one Scots Presbyterian community had a club (the leaders in this case, were all Catholic) and one other community (where Irish Catholics were numerous but not the majority in the community) had a number of club leaders. Since 91% of all leaders listed were rural Catholic Scots and 75% of all communities Scots Catholic it could be said that the initial impetus was directed at this group. It is not surprising that this determination of communities had followed the various locations of the Scottish Catholic Society (and its devoted coterie of priests)

spread throughout Antigonish, Inverness and Cape Breton.²⁷ The fact that no urban study clubs were developed up to this point (1932) reflects both the concern with the traditional hinterland of Scots Catholicism and the rural expertise of the Extension workers.

After 1932 the movement became increasingly diversified with an increase in Acadian communities, rural heterogeneous communities (i.e., those other than Scots Catholic and Acadian) and with urban communities. Of the 60 communities having study club leaders in 1933, 43% are located in Scots Catholic communities, 12% are located in Acadian communities, 27% are urban based and the remainder (18%) are located in rural heterogeneous communities (Scots, Irish, Acadian and English with mixed religious populations). The percentage of leaders with Scottish surnames drops to 75%.

In 1933 the women of many communities had begun forming study clubs in both rural and urban areas. The support for these clubs was strongest in the Catholic Scots rural areas. The women formed 33% of the total number of study clubs for the year 1933 and 31% for the following year (1934). The addition of these clubs came at the same period as the development of urban study clubs and thus this introduction represents a major breakthrough in the range of Extension activity since their development was contingent upon organizational changes in the composition of both the Extension staff and the direction of its activities. Prior to

1934 the emphasis was almost exclusively on rural primary industries (especially farming and fishing). With the inclusion of urban peoples and women, different activities and interests created a wider focus for the movement. Female home economists, female writers, and labor leaders were brought into the movement to develop these constituencies. From this period on, Extension becomes concerned with a wider range of problems facing the general population of the Diocese rather than solely with those affecting rural life.²⁸

Although conflicting sets of study club figures exist for the year 1934 (compare Figures 2 and 3 with Figure 8) there appears to have been a decrease for this year.²⁹ The evidence indicating that a decrease occurred rests on my examination of deletions from the lists of leaders. Some study club leaders disappeared from the mailing lists without any immediate organized body to replace them.³⁰ It would seem then, that these clubs existed ab initio on paper only. Frequently, on the advice of the parish priest or agricultural representative, names would be placed on the lists with the hope that certain individuals would blossom into community leaders. Later, the names would have to be deleted. Many names appearing on the early lists were later deleted and this perhaps reflects the enthusiasm of the clerical cadre outstripping the enthusiasm of the people. An enthusiasm for things Scottish, as found in the Scottish

Catholic Society, did not necessarily mean a corresponding enthusiasm to discuss economic matters, even if the language of discussion were Gaelic.

Some clubs disappeared for other reasons. The formal organization of credit unions and co-operatives in any one community reduced the total number of clubs within that community by centralizing its membership in the new organization. Since these study clubs were seen by some as only a means to an end, i.e., education for self-organization, many small clubs disappeared in this process. In this respect, attention may be paid to the rate and time of development from informal study clubs to formal organization.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MOVEMENT: FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS

Study clubs existing prior to 1934 may be categorized according to their relative success in achieving formal structures and in the time spent in the formative stage of study clubs. Every recorded urban study club of 1933-34 developed a credit union and did so in an average of 1.5 years after first beginning their club.³¹ Compared with this, 78% of heterogeneous rural communities having study clubs developed credit unions before 1938 and they did this in an average of 3.2 years. Scots Catholic rural communities developed credit unions in 87% of the communities having study clubs prior to 1934 and spent an average of 2.7 years to do so, while the Acadians developed credit unions in all communities having clubs and took an average of 3.1 years to

complete this transition.

To interpret these figures in the context of study club development I shall dispense with such concerns as the need for credit unions or the availability of cash in order to discuss the relevant study club factors that are present. It can be argued that this organizational transition was less affected by the temper of the various clubs than by the assistance given to the clubs to develop the more formal structures of credit unions. Technical assistance (drawing up constitutions, etc.) was facilitated in urban areas by geography (it was easier to organize people in a number of places located in the same area than to organize the disparate primary producers) and technical assistance was also facilitated by the use of English.³² The interesting case of the reduced effectiveness of credit union transition in heterogeneous communities seems to argue for a different interpretation of their activities. In some rural areas the geographic factor and language factor were not as important as the religious and ethnic composition of the population in promoting and organizing credit union activity. The insistent urgings of those parish priests known to the Extension workers was heeded first during the busy period of 1933-36 when credit unions were springing up throughout Eastern Nova Scotia.

Figure 4

Percent Credit Unions by Ethnicity, Rural/Urban³³

	33	34	35	36	37	38
Scots	31	24	29	26	24	25
Acadians	6	3	6	16	14	15
Other	12	5	6	15	24	25
Rural	50	32	41	57	63	65
Urban	<u>50</u>	<u>68</u>	<u>59</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>35</u>
Total (N)	16	37	51	74	98	103

Figure 4 would indicate that, as compared with the data on study clubs, the rural Scottish Catholic communities are not nearly as much over-represented. The urban areas come closer to representing their distribution of the total population, i.e., 50% rural, 50% urban. The data on urban credit unions 1933-35 also demonstrates the celerity with which urban communities adopted credit unions after they were first introduced. As time passed it is apparent that the Antigonish Movement expanded its organizational work of credit unions into essentially non-Scottish Catholic areas. Such was not the case in the development of its leadership courses.

INFORMAL DEVELOPMENT: SHORT COURSES, DIOCESAN CONFERENCES

Methods for training the leaders of study clubs and for generating enthusiasm among the rank and file were developed by 1932. The leadership training short courses and the clergy conferences (open to the public) were means of centralizing the movement by bringing together the many

people involved. At Antigonish, they either studied or discussed, in some detail, the goals of the new society that was to be achieved through co-operative activity. Log books were kept of the participants in both activities.³⁴

The proportional participation of certain ethnic groups and rural/urban participation may be ascertained from the short course log books by: a) matching ethnic participation against that proportion of total Catholics (in Eastern Nova Scotia) that the group represents; b) by matching urban participation against rural participation.

Figure 5

Short Course Attendance By Religion,
Ethnicity, Rural/Urban Differences

	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938
Roman Catholic 50%	-	81	73	-	93	92	81
Protestant 50%		19	27		7	8	19
Scots 41%	57	49	66	51	72	60	50
Irish 18%	13	19	14	18	9	24	12
Acadian 23%	15	11	5	3	5	0	7
Other	15	21	15	28	14	16	30
Rural 50%	92	82	84	59	68	12	17
Urban 50%	8	14	11	33	29	21	14
Other	0	4	5	8	3	67	30
Total	60	85	44	39	63	76	132

Other in Ethnicity indicates those not Scots, Acadian or Irish.

Other in rural/urban indicates those not from Eastern Nova Scotia.

Total = Number of participants.

Here it can be seen that the Scots are consistently above the figure of 41% which represents their proportion of total Catholics. The Irish during this period (1932-38) fall below their proportion of 18% (of total Catholics). Since the courses were usually for primary producers and since the Irish were concentrated in the industrial areas (or Cape Breton) they generally did not find these courses suited for their occupations. Almost all the Irish that did attend were from the fishing communities of Guysborough. The Acadians, however, fall far below any proportional participation ratio. Since these courses, after 1934, concentrated on aspects of the fishery, it might be expected that the Acadian participation would be higher given their involvement in the industry.³⁵ Undoubtedly, language was a problem, yet, it has also been seen above that the Acadian communities had far fewer study clubs than Scots even in those areas where the Acadian population was large, e.g., Richmond County (79% Catholic, 74% Acadian).

To explain the varied participation of these groups it is necessary to understand the methods by which individuals were selected to participate. The selection process was essentially a referral method. Parish priests, agricultural workers, and Extension staff were on the lookout for "bright young men" who would benefit from the courses. Since the Scottish Catholic Society had been already involved in a similar pursuit and since it was a

leading advocate of the Extension Department, the priests within the society complied more readily with the request for men from the parishes. Furthermore, Scots agricultural representatives had close connections with Scots communities. It can be expected that, excepting the Guysborough Shore, where Tompkins had established an enthusiastic Irish response and excepting such people as Boyle at Harve Boucher and Forrest at Larry's River the referral system was top-heavy with Scots.³⁶

The social mobility of those taking the courses also has to be evaluated in order to determine the varied rates of participation. While this is difficult to determine (due to incomplete data) there is one indicator available. The educational level of participants ranges from grade 5 completed to college degree completed with Grade 10 completed the modal grade completed. Considering that these men were either primary producers or workers in industry (a minority) this Grade 10 level is very high for the period. The short courses may well have represented to these men a means of social advancement and here it is significant that the Acadians may have held back from participating simply because the thought of going to "the university" exacerbated their difficulties in speaking in English. Subjectively, among Scots, the taking of short courses was a source of pride and not a few respondents mentioned that they had taken the short course.³⁷ This is not surprising when one

considers the long history of doctors, lawyers, politicians, priests, and teachers educated at Saint Francis Xavier University, the site of the courses. While it cannot be suggested that these short courses were simply a back door to status, it must be remembered that their appeal would be high among the Scots who had traditionally placed a high value on professional training. These factors taken together perhaps indicate the predominance of Scots among those taking the short courses.

The large number of "others" (see Figure 5) taking the courses in 1937 and 1938 were fishermen from Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland and New Brunswick.³⁸ While the curriculum was still focused on the primary industries, separate sections for workers were developed at Antigonish in the 1935 short course. See urban increase 1935 to 1937 in Figure 5. After 1937 the industrial workers of Cape Breton received lectures in their own area and this permitted Antigonish to retain its original rural focus in the short courses.³⁹

The Diocesan conferences can be shown to exhibit some characteristics of the developing constituency of the movement. The people coming to these conferences in the years 1934-38 were generally rural Scots; some rural Irish (fishermen), and some urban industrial workers also attended. The proportion of males to females decreases over the five years. The log books also indicate that

progressively a greater number of outsiders were attending the yearly sessions. The number of people from Eastern Nova Scotia was 86% in 1934 and 45% in 1938. Few Acadians and few from the Protestant County of Pictou attended. Some Protestants from Guysborough County were regularly in attendance.

Figure 6

Diocesan Conferences 1934-38.

Percent Attendance by Male/Female,

Rural/Urban and Local/Non-Local Differences.⁴⁰

	<u>1934</u>	<u>1935</u>	<u>1936</u>	<u>1937</u>	<u>1938</u>
Male	87	62	52	62	48
Female	13	38	48	38	52
Rural	73	68	79	76	80
Urban	27	32	21	24	20
Local	86	76	64	59	45
Non-Local	14	24	36	41	55
Total	203	300	617	392	543

Total indicates number of participants.

These data indicate that, while there was a consistently rural aspect to the movement, the inclusion of women represents emphasis on matters other than organizational techniques (in farming and fishing). The presence of outsiders indicates that the movement was attracting attention outside Eastern Nova Scotia. The absence of Protestants indicates that it was failing to secure all constituencies within the area. In interpreting this data, it needs to be

remembered that conferences given in English largely by Roman Catholic Clerics and devoted to rural concerns would not gain much of a following among French-speaking people, Protestants, and urban workers. While people from the Extension Department dominated these conferences, the conferences were still associated with the annual clergy conferences begun in 1918 and the tenor of remarks indicate that the "romantic" concern for the rural areas had not been extinguished.⁴¹ By 1934 the title of Rural Conferences was changed to the Rural and Industrial Conferences to accommodate the concerns of the Cape Breton industrial area. Changes in the location of the conferences also occurred and they were held at Sydney as well as Antigonish (data for Sydney participants is not available). The Antigonish conferences, like the short courses, may have been perceived as devoted to rural problems and this may explain the low rates of urban participation.

FORMAL DEVELOPMENT: CO-OPERATIVE ACTIVITIES

The organization of credit unions was the principal task of 1933-34. It was a distinctive task of the Extension Department, unlike the organization of farm and fishery co-operatives where Government agents and national co-operative representatives were active. In Catholic communities, initially, many of the credit unions operated in parish buildings and parish priests were not infrequently the keepers of the books (but not necessarily the bookkeepers).⁴²

In urban areas men with union experience and resources were sometimes able to utilize union facilities but, here too, church facilities were used for the credit unions. Of the sixteen credit unions certified in 1933, the greatest majority of the members were Catholic and this is true even for the urban areas where the credit unions had gotten off to such an auspicious beginning. A comparison of study club participation with credit union participation demonstrates this accelerated beginning in the urban areas. While only 31% of the credit unions appear in the Scots Catholic rural communities during the first year of operation (where 43% of the study clubs existed), 50% of all credit unions appear in the urban areas (which have only 27% of the study clubs). By the following year (1934), 24% of the credit unions are Scots Catholic (45% of all study clubs) and 68% are urban credit unions (25% of study clubs). The relationship between study clubs and credit unions therefore merits closer investigation.

This examination of the relationship between study clubs and the subsequent development of credit unions has been introduced above; now, to elaborate further. The median time for the transition of all study clubs to credit union organization in the period 1933-1938 was 2.6 years. Urban study clubs fell far below the mean (1.5 years) and all rural communities were above the mean (3.2 years). To account for these differences mention has been made of

technical assistance, geographic problems encountered in organization, language problems and the possible bias toward organizing rural heterogeneous communities. To explain the alacrity of the industrial areas in setting up credit unions and the initial success of credit unions in these areas necessitates appeal to another factor; the experienced need for credit facilities.

The credit union idea seems to have been especially appropriate to an industrial setting undergoing a high rate of unemployment. Unemployment during this period was estimated to be from 30% to 40% due to slow downs in production and labor difficulties (black-listing).⁴³ While both the industrial and the rural areas were strapped for cash, the difference was that many people in the industrial areas had not the resources (housing, subsistence agriculture) that were available in the rural areas. Nor did they have the merchant credit system as did the rural areas. They therefore experienced the need for money on the level of the "bare essentials". Their involvement in a cash economy was qualitatively different than that of a rural farm-fishing population and their needs different. Furthermore, they were more sophisticated in handling money, and organizing themselves.

What accompanied this type of credit union activity in these industrial areas was a spirit of good-will towards the Antigonish Movement making it possible for the

development of other programmes. This atmosphere of goodwill shall be explored in the following chapter, as well as in the concluding chapter since it is an issue of some concern to those who have viewed the Antigonish Movement as a co-opting influence on radical labor.

Even by 1938, when the rural/urban proportion of credit unions had changed to 65% rural and 35% urban, the type of credit unions existing still reflected the peculiar urban needs since the urban credit unions were far larger and more active than the rural credit unions.⁴⁴ The development of rural credit unions must not, however, be underestimated since the extension of the idea from Scots Catholic communities to a broader-based ethnic and religious population (including Acadian increases and heterogeneous increases) would demonstrate that the need for credit was consistently experienced throughout all sectors of life in Eastern Nova Scotia.

In contrast to credit unions, the co-operatives (producers, stores, etc.) ventured by rural communities far outnumbered urban attempts.

Figure 7

Percent Cooperatives by Ethnicity & Rural/Urban⁴⁵

Year	32	33	34	35	36	37	38
Scots		18	20	25	29	26	31
Acadians	67	55	45	39	33	39	33
Other	33	27	30	25	19	19	22
Rural	100	27	95	89	81	84	86
Urban	-	-	5	11	19	16	14
Total (N.)	3	11	20	28	42	54	64

This is not surprising when it is noted that the major effort in organizing primary producers was in the area of co-operative marketing. Both farmers and fishermen needed markets for their products. The small number of co-operatives that developed in urban areas were consumer co-operatives; either housing co-operatives or stores.⁴⁶ While the latter use of consumer co-operatives indicates some similarity between both rural and urban groups of consumers (since stores were prevalent in rural areas) a difference did exist in setting up rural co-operatives as opposed to urban co-operatives. Rural producer co-operatives escaped from the merchant credit system by the collective purchasing of a limited number of supplies and by collective marketing of produce; both worked together. They were able to develop a clientele and bring about a dual producer-consumer co-operative. The variety of urban competition and the lack of a collective production capacity in urban areas made their stores more specialized and more

difficult to develop.

The co-operatives were, to an extent, tangential activities of the extension department. Unlike the study clubs, leadership courses, and even credit unions, the co-operatives were as much associated with government and the wider co-operative movement as with the Extension Department itself. While there can be no doubt, that without both the enthusiasm and the organizational base provided, these co-operatives would not have flourished; it is difficult to interpret every instance of co-operative development as emanating from the work of Extension. Certainly the fishing co-operatives were contingent upon the direction given by government to the United Maritime Fishermen.⁴⁷ Since it was the Acadians that formed the highest proportion of fishing communities, their representation in co-operation during this period is higher than that of other rural groups. This involvement is as much a consequence of governmental interest in the fishery as in any determination of the Extension Department.⁴⁸

The above data on the period of development (1931-38) would seem to indicate that there was a social movement taking place in Eastern Nova Scotia during this period. Figure 8 (below) indicates that the growth of this movement was rapid. Such growth was a consequence of the expanding constituency of the movement; a constituency based upon more

universalistic characteristics than the unity of Catholicism,
Scottishness and rural life.

Figure 8

Growth Movement Through Published Report of Extension Department⁴⁹

	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938
Study Clubs	173	179	300	650	940	860	1013	1100
Members	1383	1500	5250	7256	10650	8460	10000	10000
Credit Unions		8	19	27	45	65	90	142
Members				5716	5760	12000	-	28000 ⁺
Co-op Stores		2	4	6	8	18	25	39
Co-op Buying Clubs				3	10	5	3	4
Co-op Fish Plants			3	5	5	10	11	11
Lobster		3	8	12	14	17	17	17
Other Co-ops				2	2	2	7	7
Short Course			86	44	30	63	78	132 (500) *
General Meetings (Att.)	192 14856	280 20476	380 23000	500 25000	450 27000	470 43000#		
Staff (Full)		3	4	5	5	5	7	11
Part Time		2	2	2	3	4	9	4

⁺28,000 includes the whole of Nova Scotia.

*500 are reported to take short courses in Industrial Cape Breton.

#The figure of 18,000 is given for Eastern Nova Scotia.

Figure 8 illustrates the presence of a diversified co-operative movement. While it was diversified in its activity its membership shows some consistencies that are not related to co-operative activity per se. Catholicism was a major determinant of the activity of the movement in the period from 1932-1938. Protestant census ridings are virtually ignored up until 1935 and, even then, are overshadowed by the Catholic thrust of the movement.⁵⁰ In the affinity between the various activities of the movement and certain groups it has been noted: that Scots Catholics are more deeply involved in study clubs, leadership courses, and annual conferences than other groups; that industrial areas are more attracted to credit unions; that Acadians are over-represented in fishery co-operatives; and that rural areas, generally, are the sites for most activities of the movement. The data would also indicate that the movement expanded its constituency so that new areas of interest developed as new territories and groups were included. This flexibility was a consequence of the educational strategy of the Extension Department since this body created a methodology for social action without suggesting the problems for action. These were generated from local experience.⁵¹ This tactic of the Extension Department permitted a variety of local expressions of co-operation to be assumed under a general mantle of economic-co-operation. The problem this presents for identity theory is two-fold: 1) The explanation

of the repair of existing group boundaries and correspondingly the explanation of the strengthening of new forms of social existence expressed as boundaries; and, 2) the explanation of a common identity of economic co-operation linking such a variety of groups.

IDENTITY AND TRANSITION

The Antigonish Movement sacralized an emerging identity. On the societal, group, and individual levels change had introduced new activities and conceptions of self, group, and society. The means of identity formation, sacralization, or the social process of making the transitory appear permanent, the mundane sacred and the arbitrary absolute, was not however the intended end of this movement. The leaders of the movement intended to educate people and organize them into economic co-operatives. These ends were manifest to both the people and the priests involved. Yet, given the analysis of the constituency presented above, it appears that the one common characteristic of such disparate groups as fishermen, miners, farmers, and women was their common aspiration to what we now know as a consuming culture. This does not mean that this vision of life was seen clearly in the 1930's, nor that all equally shared in the vision. It does imply that all generally recognized that a change in material welfare was both desired and possible. "Desired" connotes a cultural value

change while "possible" indicates a structural change within society. The core of the new identity was predicated on the affirmation of people desiring these new possibilities. In affirming a people's desire for new social possibilities, the Antigonish Movement was able to transcend differences between groups precisely because of the grasp it demonstrated of the new social environment and through its cathectic capacity to obtain commitment to this interpretation of reality. At the core of this grasp of reality were a series of coherent objectifications. These will be examined in the next chapter (6). The explanation of its cathexis is found in the manner in which the movement resolved a relativized identity and crystalized a new identity into an acceptable focus for commitment. Commitment will be studied in the chapter following my analysis of objectifications (7). The problem that concludes this chapter is that of explaining one aspect of the sacralization of identity process expressed by the Antigonish Movement. In suggesting that the "consuming culture" is a common thread in the identity of the variety of participants I attach great importance to the common experience that all shared in this period of change. I understand industrialization to be the major determinant of this change since industrialization most affected the possibilities and desirability of the increased consumption of goods.

INDUSTRIALIZATION AND CONSUMPTION

By the 1930's technological development in farming and fishing had been underway in Eastern Nova Scotia for almost fifty years.⁵² At first, it was called for by a voice in the wilderness, then by a chorus, and by 1930 technological farming and fishing had apostles in every village. Fishing and farming technology here benefitted from industrial activities elsewhere with definite local adaptations being made with each passing year, e.g., use of car engines in boats, mowing machines, chemical fertilizers, etc..

At the same time the problem arising from the new modes of production, i.e., the relations of production, were being addressed. When marketing of goods (particularly farm products) became more generally possible through enhanced urban markets and the facility of rail shipment, the role of the existing farming entrepreneur (the merchant) and his traditional relationship to producers came under attack from farmers, sympathetic voluntary organizations and a variety of politicians. At the same time, Federal and Provincial Governments were concerned with such long term problems as the quality of agriculture production and such short term concerns as election to office in an age of populist sentimentry. Increased governmental involvement created new relations between small producers and the practice of marketing which was, hitherto, controlled by a plethora of small independent merchants throughout Eastern Nova Scotia.

Merchant credit-control effectively was precluding the development of a cash economy. For example, the volume of Eaton's catalogue sales was adversely affected by the caprice of these merchants since the farmers and fishermen did not have enough cash to regularly purchase these items.⁵³ In this small way, the relations of the previously existing stage of commercial capitalism was hindering the development of corporate capital. In a more important sense, practices of primary production and marketing lagged behind urban development and export needs.

To stimulate both marketing and production, the example of Western Grain Co-operatives had made the government aware of the potential for a centralized strength in primary production through co-operatives. Stability within the food production industry, wider distribution of different food-stuffs, and goods for export were as important reasons for governmental involvement in co-operatives as any potential increased return to farmers-fishermen.

In this sense, the aspirations of rural people for consumer items, and for more expensive technology through the medium of cash, were not solely needs that filtered down from segments of an industrialized society, but in fact society itself was becoming industrialized. As outmigration had once characterized the response of rural traditional peoples to an industrial society developing elsewhere (which in turn changed that hinterland) co-operation was the

reflection of the encroachment of industrial society into the rural areas of Eastern Nova Scotia. It need not have taken this form, this was the singular contribution of the Antigonish Movement. Efficiency in farm production and consumption of industrial goods are but aspects of the new structural relations between the rural and urban components of a society that had, at one time, existed in relatively separate realms.

Problems of adaptation in the industrial sectors of Eastern Nova Scotia were different from those of the rural areas. The primary urban problems of the 1920's were: the guarantee of work in industrial production; and, the provision of adequate social returns from this work. Secondly, many social problems characteristic of rapid urbanization affected the industrial area of Cape Breton as indicated by the Duncan Reports on Coal Mining.⁵⁴ However, in contrast to the workers in rural areas where technology, social organization, and higher returns on production were all equally poorly developed, the urban workers of Eastern Nova Scotia had long shared a history of organized struggle to articulate and receive the goods of industrial society. In this sense an industrial identity in the urban areas was more sharply defined than in rural areas despite the fact that the radical left had been broken in the struggle, the American Unions had proven unfaithful, and government had co-opted the unions by promises of reform.⁵⁵ The fact that

their union organization did not always withstand the onslaught of competing forces is not at issue here. What is significant is that organized workers were a recognized force within society, capable of articulating their aspirations and able to inculcate individuals into industrial realities. One of these realities was their position in society as a social class.

In the 1930's, like farmers and fishermen, some miners and steel workers were caught in the vice of a quasi-barter system centering on the provision of company housing and goods. During periods of labor strikes these workers were particularly susceptible to the "rights" of their employers to refuse them entry into these homes and the use of company stores. Unlike farmers, industrial workers also experienced a peculiar frustration through unemployment (caused by coal/steel slowdowns in production after 1920) and uncertainty about the future of their chosen life-styles. This same economic depression reduced the already slender returns to farmers and fishermen as well; but, in contrast to what happened to urban workers, it did not put them out of work nor reduce their production. In fact, it did the opposite, since the depression solved some problems for rural peoples in creating a hiatus in outmigration. Without the depression it would have made little sense to local people to invest in rural production since the experience of the past fifty years had been one of continuous

rural decline.

Paradoxically, if the great depression of the 1930's gave some hope to the rural sector by promising that more could be obtained at home than away, at the same time it crushed the dreams of many who had left for the cities. The disparate social settings existing in Eastern Nova Scotia during the 1930's ranged from the salubrious changes resulting from the development of rural technology to the crushed aspirations of unemployed industrial workers. With such differences existing, the concept of consumer aspirations, as a focus for identity, needs be considered as variable. The history of Eastern Nova Scotia would indicate that the promise of the good life (i.e., the myths developing out of industrialization) was not equally shared in by rural and urban groups, yet by the 1930's under the sting of depression the boundaries between rural and urban were collapsing to permit effectively the same promise to be shared by all. This promise of the 1930's that came shining through the bleak haze of economic depression was simply this: rural life had an opportunity to catch the already achieved but since broken promise of the industrial areas. The galloping steed of capitalist expansion had raced into Eastern Nova Scotia during the 1890's, had stumbled, but nevertheless had left behind a technological path. Thus, it was both the spirit and the fact of technology that permitted the spread of consumer aspirations. Although it existed at the margins

of corporate capitalism, and in the fringes of industrial society, it affected the experience of identity.

The argument might be made that this identity had been in existence some time before the Antigonish Movement, and hence any explanation of the Antigonish Movement sacralizing such identity is an ex post facto explanation that says little about identity or the ability of movements to sacralize such. Above, it has been mentioned that other movements had addressed particular groups in Eastern Nova Scotia (e.g., radical labor, farmers parties, ethnic groups) and it is possible and likely that each, in turn, sharpened an awareness of boundaries around particular groups. However, what was not articulated up to the time of the Antigonish Movement was the sharing of a variety of sectors in a new economic order that had come into existence and it is likely that this articulation was not possible previous to this period since the maturity of identity had not penetrated the rural areas in the way it had taken over the urban areas. It is safe to say that religion only began to mobilize its resources when the latter became apparent.

The Antigonish Movement made these aspirations a focus of its activity, clarifying them, implementing them in action, and stamping them with the approval of the institutional church, "the natural order of the universe," and "the desire of Almighty God." It would be a ringing blasphemy to the intentionality of the leaders to indicate that such

activity was directed, solely, at the spread of a consumer culture. "The good and abundant life" which Moses Coady promulgated to the people of Eastern Nova Scotia was anything but the legitimization of materialism. Education, as conceived by the Extension Department, was not education for acquisition. In contrast, consumption and production of goods as economic activities were understood to be expressions of a new society; a reformed society wherein the allocation of resources was contingent upon the ideal of service to man rather than the exploitation of man. This vision forms the content for the next chapter; it leaves unresolved for the present the larger question: "Would the vision have become realized had the fishermen not wanted a better price for their catch?"

NOTES

¹These three men are most frequently mentioned as the leaders of the Antigonish Movement. Coady is by far the best known. He played the role of the dynamic leader, publicist, (author of Masters of Their Own Destiny) and director of the Extension Department. A. B. MacDonald was his practical organization man who supervised the actual implementation and supervision of the economic organizations created. In contrast to both, Tompkins was neither a man of the public domain nor very practical. He was small in stature, spoke with a shrill voice, appeared to be constantly agitated when speaking and figuratively exploded with ideas. His role after 1930 was local organization at Canso and Reserve; these were situations wherein he excelled given his enthusiasm and uncanny ability to attract capable disciples to do his leg-work. It was his expression "give ideas hands and feet". His major contribution was as advisor to Coady, MacDonald et al. From his letters one gets the impression he knew of no other mood than the imperative. Coady's genius was unlike that of Tompkins; Coady may have inherited a remarkable synthesis of ideas but he impressed upon these ideas his ability to popularize them and translate even the loftiest into the vernacular of fishermen and farmers.

²Further to this, both were born in the same house in Margaree. M. N. Tompkins was a first cousin to both. The genealogy of these men may be found in MacDougall (409: 1922) who credits the progenitor of the Coady-Tompkins line, one Mogue Doyle, with the following professional descendants, 15 priests, 16 nuns, 6 doctors and 3 lawyers.

³Little Doc Hugh, or "the wool priest" had a most retiring manner and thereby escaped a great deal of notice. Unlike the splashy Coady and agitated Tompkins he went about his work in quiet. His most notable activity during the course of the movement was his humorous articles on agriculture written for the Extension Bulletin. His initial contribution has been frequently overlooked as he later worked in the shadow of Tompkins, then Coady-MacDonald. Rev. A. A. Johnston (the Diocesan historian) has informed me that Little Doc Hugh got Tompkins interested in agriculture as early as 1915.

⁴Leslie (1972) O'Malley to the Reds and Other Poems.

⁵Perhaps this is due to the fact that the majority of these informants were Scots. Most likely, few have thought about it; one who has, A. A. MacKenzie, who is writing a work on the Irish in Eastern Nova Scotia, has agreed with my interpretation on this point and has indicated that the role of the Irish in the Diocese has been under-emphasized (Comments made on a paper I presented to the Canadian Association for Scottish Studies June 2, 1977, "The Scottish Catholic Society and the Antigonish Movement").

⁶This is not to say that Scots clerics were not previously involved in secular affairs. The history of each parish would indicate the opposite. The emphasis here is on the economic affairs of the region which constituted a greater involvement as opposed to isolated individual involvement on the parish level.

⁷"Dr. Tompkins knew nothing about the discussion circle nor the application of economic co-operation to the educational process...this study action group is the technique of the present day Extension Department which Dr. Tompkins did not found, and the founding of which he opposed from 1922-1930." (RG 30-1/4543) Dr. M. M. Coady to Student.

⁸A. B. MacDonald confided to Tompkins after the 1931 Rural Conference that the Bishop (Morrison) "butted in" on the issue of colonization and "was agitated over the fact that Protestants were getting in here" and generally "interfered with our meeting". (RG 30-2/2/2358).

Striking up a committee to explore temperance in Eastern Nova Scotia, as was done in the 1930 Rural Conference, or setting up a rural Catholic colonization scheme (1931), was not the Tompkins, Coady, MacDonald idea of tackling the social question.

⁹Waldo Walsh is currently writing his memoirs on the civil service and agriculture during this period. Walsh became Deputy Minister of Marketing after 1934 in the Provincial Government. He was an invaluable informant of mine while I was researching this period.

¹⁰MacDonald organized the hog producers of Ontario into a co-operative during the early 20's returning to Antigonish as an Inspector of Schools with the intention of upgrading the curriculum to include agriculture. Coady, as mentioned organized the fishermen of the Eastern shoreline

of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick into co-operatives from 1929 to 1930.

¹¹This line of descent was supplied by Rev. J. J. Hugh Gillis who presented a radio programme carried by C. J. F. X. in 1958 on agricultural representatives, "Some Friends of Our Farmers".

¹²This is evident through their correspondence with Coady and with the Department of Agriculture at Halifax. J. C. F. MacDonnell, for one, continued working for Extension even after being laid off by the Civil Service until such time as Coady got him re-hired through Walsh at Halifax. This co-operation led Coady to say "the Marketing Division and Agricultural Division work hand in hand with us" (RG 30-2/1/4521).

¹³Good (1958), Farmer Citizen provides the background for governmental interest and involvement.

¹⁴R. J. MacSween's history of co-operatives in Nova Scotia, "Co-operation in Nova Scotia" records the failure of these enterprises.

¹⁵Small merchants reduced in influence by social change had very little political clout by the 1930's. They did attack co-operatives and this opposition was strenuous at times. However, they could not influence the direction of Government, at this time, especially after the Royal Commission on Price Spreads of 1934 which was most complementary to their business ethics.

¹⁶This was equally true of the industrial areas as it was of rural areas. Catholicism, in opposition to other religions, emphasized the authority of its clergy respecting faith and morals. The administration of the sacraments of Baptism, Matrimony, and The Eucharist were clerical activities. Even "radical trades-union men" attended church. A point made by Alex MacIntyre in his account of personal conversion "From Communism to Christianity".

¹⁷Coady argued that parish priests provided the basic grass-roots support for the movement. "I would feel compelled to make it clear that the whole movement came from the priests, chiefly country Parish Priests and one or two from the College and that they succeeded in spite of the 'higher ups.'" Coady to T. O. C. Boyle, 1931, RG 30-2/1/764.

¹⁸Most informants remember Coady's oratory during these meetings. He was remembered as a "giant of a man" with a "booming voice" that swept the hall. There can be little doubt that Coady was charismatic; or as informants reported, they were "impressed".

¹⁹The distinction between formal and informal simply indicates the organizational complexity of the respective activities. Credit Unions and co-operatives were legal entities with constitutions; study clubs, congresses, short courses and general meetings may well have been formally administered in certain circumstances yet they were neither legal bodies nor were they permanently constructed.

²⁰The expression, "phases of the movement" is not meant to focus exclusive concentration on the idea that the collectivity of interests became progressively established over time. This is the approach used by Gusfield (1968). My intention is to separate certain aspects of the movement not in terms of the organic build-up of the entity but considered as discrete parts of the whole. In a sense I do approximate Gusfield's concept of phases since I do describe the initial period of study clubs then the credit union period and finally the expanded constituency period, but this is due on a chronological basis rather than with any consideration of its organic consistency.

²¹Source: Census of Canada 1931, Tables 33 and 42. All percentages are derived from these sources.

²²This figure to 50 heterogeneous census districts includes six Roman Catholic Indian reserves and one Roman Catholic English Community.

²³Figures obtained from mailing lists (RG 30-3/12/1-29).

²⁴From Terrance Thompson, The Maritime Farmer, Oct. 2, 1935 who credits the Extension Department for the figures given. Percent Scots and percent Catholics are mine taken from the 1931 Canada Census.

²⁵Beside the name of each person receiving information from the Extension Department is a number which indicates how many parcels of literature ought be sent, e.g. J. R. MacDonald (4). This may be taken as the number of study clubs in each area. Accordingly there would be 232

study clubs in 1932. Thompson's list indicates 385 and The Extension Report of 1938 indicates 179. Whatever the actual number, they must have been in contact with the Extension Department and this mailing list provides the only evidence of the relationship.

²⁶My reason for thinking this source to be exaggerated is due to the light-handed manner with which the Extension Department kept records of study clubs and their reluctance to identify closely the movement with specific constituencies. To admit to the early alignment with Scottish Catholic communities would have been political suicide for a movement that considered itself non-sectarian. Hence, I suspect that published study club figures are "cooked" to appear more universalistic than they actually were.

²⁷Of the twenty-one communities that contained chapters of the Scottish Catholic Society seventeen were subsequently organized in 1932 to host the kitchen study clubs of the Antigonish Movement. These seventeen communities represent a total of 80% of the total study club organizations conducted by the Antigonish extension department in its first year of operation. In the following year, although this type of activity expanded considerably, all Scottish Catholic Society chapters (save one) received study club organizations.

²⁸These concerns had been addressed previously but not acted upon in any organizational manner. The work of Alex S. MacIntyre among urban workers in 1933, J. J. Tompkins in Reserve Mines housing in 1935, and Sister Marie Michael among women, are responsible for directing the spread of the movement into new areas. George Boyle and Tat Sears became the literary arm of the movement at the same time, through the Extension Bulletin.

²⁹1934 represents a curious year in extension activity as many activities seem to trail off during this year including study clubs and credit unions. The fact that the Extension Department reports increase in these activities per Figure 8 is not consistent with their own mailing lists. Thompson's report (cited above) nor the official list of credit unions respecting their date of incorporation (Nova Scotia Credit Union League).

³⁰These names were crossed off the original lists. Sometimes other names would be added which would indicate

new leaders, and sometimes the community would appear to be unrepresented after particular deletions of leaders.

³¹ Figures cited are based on my calculations respecting initial appearance of study club and subsequent appearance of Credit Union charter.

³² Here, it is of interest to note that the Antigonish Movement did not engage the expertise of the French Canadian Caisse Populaire in spreading Credit Unions. Instead, they employed an American lawyer, Bergengren, as their expert in technical matters and used their own workers to organize the respective credit unions.

³³ Figures based upon charter dates as supplied by the Nova Scotia Credit Union League.

³⁴ St. Francis Xavier University Extension Archives. Short Course Log Book. The procedure used to identify ethnicity, was surname identification. Religion, education, and residence were specified in the log. Figure 5 is based upon my calculations of the names registered.

³⁵ The Federal Department of Fisheries sponsored these courses after 1934.

³⁶ It has to be remembered that the Scottish Catholic Society had already been organized to pick out young men for further education in agricultural studies.

³⁷ Usually informants recalled these short courses in some detail and they could recall their classmates, instructors, and even some of the lessons.

³⁸ The Extension Department was requested to organize in Prince Edward Island in 1936, in Newfoundland in 1937, and in New Brunswick they were active since Coady's work of 1930.

³⁹ The leadership courses began at Sydney in 1938 with an initial enrollment of 500 participants.

⁴⁰ Figures cited are calculated for ethnicity by surnames as given in the roll book of conference participants. Rural/urban determined by place of residence given, as well as local/non-local. Women determined by first name, and by title, if given. All initials given, e.g. S. P. MacNeil

were considered male since such was generally a male prerogative in Eastern Nova Scotia at that time.

⁴¹Jean Teresa Chisholm's essay, "The Role of the Rural and Industrial Conferences in the Program of the Extension Department of Saint Francis Xavier University", covers the content of these meetings. My use of the term romantic covers the early meetings, particularly, and relates mostly to the utterances of a minority of clerics including the Bishop.

⁴²An interesting case of one custodian of the books was related by R. J. MacSween now with the N. S. Credit Union League. It seems one cleric, asked to keep the books in the glebe house, resented the work of certain parishioners involved in the movement and unceremoniously threw the ledgers out into the street. Coady had to make an emergency visit to the community to restore peace and assure the financial stability of the organization.

⁴³See MacEwan (1976) for details on these slowdowns, blacklisting and unemployment.

⁴⁴Source: Comparison of members and assets of industrial versus rural credit unions for the years 1934 (RG 35-3/4/517), 1936 (RG 35-3/4/535-536).

⁴⁵Calculations based on R. J. MacSween's inventory of co-operatives reported in "Co-operation in Nova Scotia" n.d.

⁴⁶Housing co-operatives were the most successful urban activity in the field of economic self-help. Arnold (1940) reports on one urban housing project in her work "The Story of Tompkinsville". Miffelen (1975) makes housing the basis for his empirical test of the routinization of the movement; a rather odd choice since it was specific to urban areas alone.

⁴⁷The United Maritime Fishermen used the Extension Department as their educational arm. This organization, still existing and known as the UMF, was effectively created by Coady in the 1929-30 period.

⁴⁸"Government interest" refers to the commitment of the Federal Government to support inshore fishermen in organizing marketing co-operatives. This commitment followed upon the receipt of the MacLean Commission of 1928.

⁴⁹Source: Extension Archives (RG 30-3/25/897).

⁵⁰My calculations indicate that few Scottish Protestant census divisions had study clubs, credit unions, or Antigonish co-operatives before 1935. The fact that they were encouraged to stay out of Pictou County probably accounts for such neglect. Only 13 forms of co-operative activity directed from Antigonish appear in this county prior to 1939. In Guysborough and Victoria Counties more activity takes place due to the fishery in Guysborough and the influence of U.M.F. and due to J. D. N. MacDonald, a United Church minister, in Victoria County.

⁵¹Tompkins termed this "Find your own lobster" after the experience at Canso where the fishermen, annoyed at the low returns on their lobster catch got the inspiration to create lobster co-operatives for marketing and processing their catch.

⁵²S. J. MacKinnon, a former agricultural representative, informed me that his father was the sole graduate of the Truro Agricultural College living in Cape Breton in the early 1880's. At that time MacKinnon relates that his father's call for scientific farming was "a voice in the wilderness". He was among the first to buy new implements and try new fertilizers.

⁵³In this context it must be remembered that the range of goods carried by the merchant was extremely limited. As S. J. MacKinnon reported: "In Ingonish one man went to purchase his son a first communion outfit and the merchant handed him all he had in the store, a pair of overalls, size 7 or whatever."

⁵⁴Nova Scotia Report of the Royal Commission on the Coal Mining Industry of Nova Scotia 1926, 1932.

⁵⁵See MacEwan (1976) for the account of "the breaking of" radical labor, the "unfaithfulness" of the American U.M.W. during labor unrest, and the Harrington Conservative Government and "co-option" of reform.

CHAPTER 6

OBJECTIFICATIONS OF THE ANTIGONISH MOVEMENT

Loving parents have been fearfully awaiting the day when loved ones must leave for goodness-knows-where to make a living for themselves or to help relieve the family debts. This disrupting process has become a part of our chaotic lives, continuously upheaving our most sacred instincts and preventing that wholesome and normal attachment to home and country that should characterize a smoothly running society. "Family Life and Economic Security" Mary MacMillan (1936: 2)

INTRODUCTION

This plaintive note forms an appropriate beginning for this chapter. The aim here is to discuss one aspect of the sacralization process involved in the Antigonish Movement, i.e., objectifications defined as transcendental projections of everyday reality. The emphasis in this chapter is on the fit between certain objectifications of the movement and the new social existence brought about through industrialization.¹ As indicated in Chapter 1, objectifications or transcendental projections, are part of the more general process of the sacralization of identity.

Society in change presents many possibilities of social existence. Through objectification, these possibilities are limited by the framework of specific identity

consolidations which appear to have some divine significance or, at least, some urgent sense of manifest destiny.

Through objectification a particular life experience is demonstrated to be consistent with the intentions of the Gods themselves so that this experience of social existence appears to have been divinely ordained to happen. This appeal to the Almighty has the potential of demanding commitment to a way of life. While the appeal to transcendence is a religious act it can also be understood as happening in the creation of secular identity. When convincing arguments are constructed to demonstrate that lifestyles are necessarily related to higher purposes there exists an appeal to the transcendental. Some appeals are more cogent than others and do affect the sacralization process. This analysis of the objectifications of the Antigoneish Movement attempts to detail these objectifications in this chapter and in the next chapter establish their appeal.

It must be noted that objectifications (or, in other words, the projections of mundane reality into transcendental significance) may or may not reflect the social realities of an existing society. This is to say that particular identity consolidations achieved may be matched or mismatched with the tenor of social process. Some, within society, may react to change by further isolation into groupings established in the period pre-existing change, and hence refuse the cogency of successive societal adaptations. Their

relevance to society, expressed by withdrawal, requires a series of objectifications which explain the cosmic significance of their withdrawal. The concept of a chosen people directed by a severe or friendly God might be part of such phenomena.

On the other hand, objectifications may be related to the consequences of that differentiation which has relativized a pre-existing identity and created new forms of identity consolidation so that new interpretations of transcendental reality are required to locate identity in a new conception of an ordained order; a conception wherein both the cogency of adaptation and the requisites of identity consolidation are both addressed.

I suggest that the Antigoneish Movement provides an illustration of the latter process. The identity sacralized is partially achieved through certain objectifications which located an identity in the context of pervasive social change. My discussion of these Antigoneish Movement objectifications

includes the following aspects: their explanation of life in society (the individual/society relationship), their means of changing this life (education), their strategy for new existence (economic co-operation), and their expression of the goals of the new existence (the good and abundant life).

The fit between identity and the objectifications of the movement will be expanded in this chapter to discuss the relationship of constituencies in the movement (rural peoples, women, labor, religious-ethnic groups) to these objectifications. Finally in this chapter there is a section on the relationship between those institutional arrangements affected by the organization of the Extension Department and the effect this had on the development of certain objectifications. I have chosen to put this section on organizational requisites at the conclusion of the chapter because the analysis that is to follow immediately is based upon those factors related to the identity of the people rather than being based upon the institutional arrangements that underlie the development of the extension programme. In opposition to all those forces (institutional arrangements) that could be utilized to explain the direction of human activity, the focus herein is on a more general tendency of social process during this period. This tendency is the attempt at integration afforded by the existence of the Movement rather than on the institutional

pressures affecting the character of the movement.

OBJECTIFICATIONS OF THE MOVEMENT

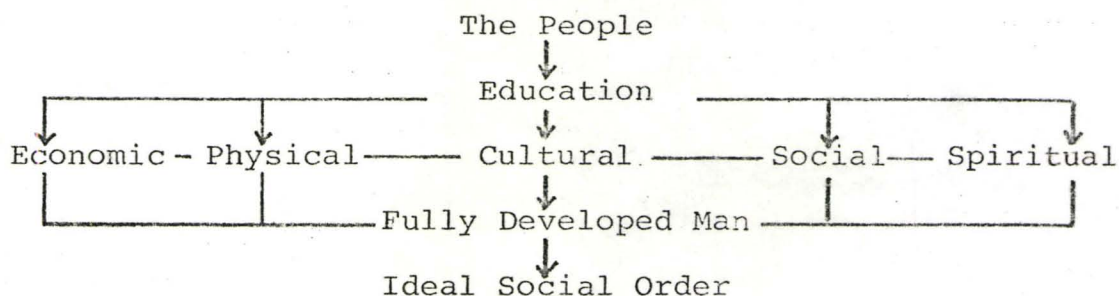
When the mundane events of everyday existence are understood as part of a more encompassing and coherent divine or cosmic order the existing reality can be said to have been projected into a transcendental realm. For example, the expression, God the Father, provides such a focus for the existence of many people. These people see their lives as eventful in the eyes of an all-knowing God. From the writings of those involved in the Antigonish Movement, a number of objectifications may be shown to have been projections of co-operative experience into a transcendental order.

To initiate this inquiry, these writings may be introduced as being of two types: a) what was said to the people; b) what was said about what was said to the people.² What was said to the people is generally found in pamphlets, newspaper articles, mimeographed instructions, recorded speeches and letters. Letters, newspapers (from areas outside Eastern Nova Scotia) and secondary sources (biographies, histories, reports) provide the basis for what was said about the movement by those involved. In this latter category, the phrase, "The Philosophy of the Antigonish Movement" has often been used to articulate the basis of the movement. It provides a good introduction to the concept of

objectifications.

Over time a certain standardization can be found in this philosophy (among the different writers) and a simplified format of this philosophy was mimeographed and widely disseminated. As such the philosophy combines what the authors thought themselves to be doing as well as what they, reflectively, did say to the people. It appeared as such.³

Philosophy of the Antigonish Movement



There are three major elements in this philosophy of the Antigonish Movement that are expressed in the extant speeches, papers and letters. The nature of the individual/society relationship was addressed, means of effecting change in society announced (education and economic co-operation) and the optimum social order was articulated. The above cited mimeographed sheet was a widely circulated reminder of these elements.

COSMOLOGY: INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY

The discussion of the nature of the individual was generally couched in the language inspired by Catholic thought (specifically Thomas Aquinas).⁴ The dignity of the individual person emanated from the divine creation of the individual soul and the subsequent relationship of this created soul to God. Mankind was thought to be blessed.

Man occupies the highest position among the beings of this world. He is the connecting link between earth and heaven; he participates in the qualities of both worlds, spiritual and material. Although man is indebted to his material and social environment for some of his characteristics, still each person is a spiritual independent being....

"The Philosophy of the Antigonish Movement"
D. J. MacDonald (1942: 15)

While the awareness of this spiritual condition may have created enthusiasm among clerics schooled in theology, and perhaps among some Catholic laity, it was not sufficient to stand alone in the welter of the public forum. Hence, the conception of God-given dignity was reinforced by a continuous contrast with the perceived abject condition of man subject to those socially created impersonal forces that attempted to undermine his dignity and determine his existence. The principal causes of man's loss of dignity, and correspondingly his free will and self-determination, were those economic forces within society that caused the individual to be enslaved by ignorance and need. To

substantiate further the claim of individual dignity, a more secular conception of man which hinged man's personal pre-eminence on his political relationships in a democratic society was used to augment the spiritual foundation.

The problem is to save Democracy and Christian civilization. ...The great battle for social integration today is being fought out in that vast sector of human society which lies between the state at one extreme and the individual on the other. It is in this sector that democracy and Christian civilization will win or lose. (His emphasis) "A Middle Way", James Boyle (1939: 2)

While the individual self in the spiritual realm was the principle cog in the transcendental relationship between God and man, such self-hood could be expressed only in social terms since society was conceived to be the natural environment for personal development.

People in society bear relations to society that parts do to the whole. These relations involve a certain subjection and obligation. Each must regulate his actions with due regard for the common good of the whole, and the common good takes precedence according to the natural law over the individual good. "The Philosophy of the Antigonish Movement" D. J. MacDonald (1942: 12)

In religious terms, personal sanctity was not enough and hardly possible if society were a society of slaves. If the people were to advance (spiritually and socially), i.e., if the conditions for spiritual growth (personal sanctity) and social growth (an order conducive to Christian life) were to develop, it was believed that society must be founded on certain principles of organic unity, democratic process

(including an educated body politic) and economic justice. Against these principles, there stood the weight of the current social order:

...men have become nurslings of nebulous markets...skills have been depleted and ingenuity killed.

Extension Bulletin, 18/11/1938, p. 4.

...with the coming of Humanism and capitalism the Christian structure of society was blasted. In the Christian age the rationality of man's economic action did not depend on economic considerations alone. Economic action was the result of religious and social thought. With the decline of faith and the breaking away from the unity in a spiritual ideal, there was a corresponding decline of the economic spirit and a turning towards rugged individualism in spiritual as well as temporal matters. With the end of the Christian Age and the beginning of the Capitalistic Era the organic relationships between people disappeared.

Extension Bulletin, 2/5/1936, p. 1.

The organic notion of society, expressed in papal encyclicals, called for a unity of the constituency, a unity that was both vertical (oriented towards heaven) and horizontal (oriented towards society), a unity of all groups torn apart by competing interests.⁵ In the lexicon of Antigoneish rhetoric, the perception of disunity was focused on those forces which tore at the fabric of this intended social order; i.e., the forces of capitalism (rugged individualism and corporate monopoly capitalism) and those of collectivism. In the first instance it was thought that the exaggerated rugged individualism of capitalism emphasized the values of

personal profit at the expense of the common good, and resulted in competition and strife between men and the exploitation of man against man. In collectivism, they felt that the emphasis was placed on the good of the state. As such, they argued that the impersonal administration of such states routed the freedom and self-determination of the individual which thereby dissolved a necessary moral condition of salvation, i.e., free will.

If man were to develop in society, both men and society would have to change. Man had to realize his possibilities and society would have to create the forum for these expressions of the new man. The attack in defence of the individual and society was waged on two fronts: the self could be redeemed through education by becoming aware of possibilities and stripped of the enslavements of the past; society could be made whole by the peoples' enactment of social justice, i.e., economic social justice would promote harmony between all the parts of society.

In presenting this to the people, the leaders of the movement seemed to have placed far more emphasis on educating the individual rather than reforming social institutions. Coady, himself, saw part of his role to be the shaking up of individual lethargies and he used the tactic of attacking the "status quo" and the "vested interests" to "swing people" over to the new outlook. Except for the persistent critique of the abuses of capitalism, these sporadic attacks

on the existing institutions were seldom sustained attempts to promote reform of particular groups. It was the conviction of the leaders that the self, awakened through education, would develop the strategies for co-operative economic institutions. The effect of this would be greater individual commitment to all social processes, and an economic democracy that would necessitate an institutional reform embedded in a new order; this was thought preferable to a reform that was simply a superficial attempt to repair the inadequacies of the status quo.

Because of this conviction that selves were awakened by education, the people were placed "on the uppermost rung" in the philosophy of the Antigonish Movement; it was through the people that the dynamic of liberating self-society was thought most promising for both the growth of personal sanctity and the spread of social harmony.

In establishing the people and the process of their liberation as central to the movement it was also necessary to indicate who might be against the intended spirit of co-operative enterprise. Aside from the general anti-capitalist bias and the cathartic value of these attacks, there did exist a favorite group of whipping boys. Educational institutions were frequently the objects of criticism as were the "vested interests". Among the latter were the media, politicians, merchants, and "unthinking good folk" who were all equally to blame for wittingly or unwittingly

pursuing the dubious values of a corrupt economic order. At various times Catholic and Protestant congregations were held up to the same criticism as was the effete lifestyle of the "golfball chasing bourgeoisie." Unions (concentrating solely on wage benefits) and familial land tenure practices (corrupted by an excessive individualism) came under fire. All were utilized as examples of the mis-direction of social process. Their public exposure was encouraged by the editors of the Extension Bulletin who had called for "Witnesses of the truth":

We need manuscripts...that express some phase of Christian Social Reconstruction...we want exposes of the craven spirit that centralized industrialism has brought on the people. We want writing that opposes impersonalism in economics and shows forth the value and need of fellowship and co-operative building to meet the menaces of the age.

The Extension Bulletin, 6/1/1939, p. 4.

While the historical direction of society (industrialization) is frequently cited as a source of chaos in human relationships, the essential point is made that the historical direction ought not be reversed but needs be understood and its attending abuses corrected. Such insight and reform then could bring about a more equitable society. This task of creating society began with education.

EDUCATION: THE MEANS TO NEW CONSCIOUSNESS

The traditional conception of man and society in the Antigonish Movement was derived from religious teaching and strengthened by those secular beliefs (liberalism) of North American society respecting political self-determination and social equality.⁶ This conception of education and social reform, however, does not spring from any established Catholic ideological framework that existed immediately previous to this period. Mass education, especially adult education, and church-directed social reform were generally Protestant or secular in origin.⁷

The mass education articulated in the movement was principally concerned with teaching society. In contrast to the philosophic and theological explanations of traditional Catholicism, its normative content was derived from organizational requisites rather than spiritual values, and its subject matter was based more on the observations derived from scientific procedure than on theologically derived first principles:

It (the Antigonish Movement) is a concrete program devised to meet a concrete social and economic condition. It is, we believe, a scientific program, which will eventually guarantee a society in which there will be social justice based on divine charity. Many years of scientific study were necessary before our program attained its present form, and the men who laid its foundations...did not waste time and energy investigating the sources of social and economic theories. Instead they investigated and tested the theories, and when the ideas proved to be

(1) intrinsically good and (2) feasible, they were added to the blueprint.

"A Programme for Eastern Canada",
M. J. MacKinnon, (1937: 5)

It (adult education) must be prepared to accept truth where it finds it.

"The Future of the Antigonish Movement"
J. J. Tompkins, (1938: 4)

While it is true that this education was often secular in content it can be seen that the matrix of legitimation behind its promulgation was spiritual in character.

The problem of how society operated was central to this education and such forces as free enterprise, the industrial revolution, technological change, etc. were considered for the part they played in shaping the social order. Moral judgements are, of course, frequently interspersed in this training but what was essentially being "hammered home" was the idea that society works in and through certain laws generated by the historical conditions of social evolution. It was the conviction of the Antigonish leaders that traditional education had failed to teach the people the reality of these forces shaping their lives.

If this power, known as Education, were functioning in the interests of the unsullied truth and in accordance with the principles of the Natural Law and Social Justice, there would be no necessity to demand social change, for true education would provide for such change. ...The truth is unfortunately, that Education, kidnapped by the forces of reaction, is now disguised as the legitimate and sole offspring of the new profit system, and

functions mainly for the perpetuation and protection of the economic and social system of individual capitalism. Instead of being in the vanguard of social and spiritual progress, the school and its official leaders are but marionettes on the mimic stage of finance capitalism, manipulated by the unseen strings of economic depotism. Education has become a glorified wooden Charlie McCarthy re-echoing the voice of the financial ventriloquists who monopolize our wealth and determine our destiny."

"Education for Social Change."

M. A. MacLellan, (1938: 1)

The instructions encompassed theories from psychology, sociology and economics. They used these disciplines selectively in as much as their findings were related to co-operative activities. Co-operation could therefore be presented as a cogent means of organized production and consumption that was scientifically established in economics, psychology and sociology. If co-operation was based on Social Justice and "scientific" theory, then the competing forces of capitalism were based on avarice and exploitation. The belief seems to have been that the people could come to understand these "realities" through this new education and this knowledge would eventuate in the freedom of the people. Hence, it is obvious that this social science orientation was predicated on an ideology of social science rather than in implementation of social science in the program. Notwithstanding the limits of ~~this~~ orientation, there is the obvious implication that the movement was teaching people that social process was created not by accident or

predestination but by socially-constructed covenants and it was possible to capture these covenants and make them anew in the mould of both Divine reason and secular rationality. On the basis of what the movement taught, it was possible to accept scientific technology and scientific procedures while rejecting, at the same time, the perceived negative effects of these developments.

It was thought that the individual, unfettered from the chains of ignorance, might learn to co-operate with the new technology in the context of occupational groups related to other groups within society.⁸ The benefit of this new direction in human life, a life characterized by co-operative social enterprise that was both productive and satisfying, was encapsulated in the phrase "the good and abundant life".⁹ It was toward this objective that all activity was directed. Before it could be achieved it was thought that people must practice the new economics.

ECONOMICS: THE PRACTICE OF MAN IN SOCIETY

An article in January 10th edition of the Extension Bulletin of 1936 indicates the relation of religion to the new economics. Agreeing with R. H. Tawney, the Extension Bulletin notes that "religion has been converted from the keystone which holds together the social edifice, into one department within it, and the idea of a rule of right is replaced by economic expediency as the arbiter of policy and

criterion of conduct." For the movement, economic activity invariably meant co-operation in production and consumption. It entailed the proposed programme: private ownership of the modes of production at the level of the independent commodity producer (farmers, and fishermen); some governmental ownership (transportation facilities and utilities); and, the nationalization of some key industries (coal and steel potentially). The implementation of this economic action was guided by religious and social principles.

At the root of all economics there is the conception of a standard of living and... all the elements of a standard of living are not found in purely economic factors. You can't measure all life in terms of money. The character and habits of people, their beliefs and their outlook, the philosophic and theological principles they accept and the ideals they aspire to - all these play a fundamental part in determining the set-up they will support in the economic sphere.
 "Christian Principles Underlying the Antigonish Movement", John R. MacDonald (1948: 2)

The consensus of opinion expressed was that the present "set-up" was not conducive to that "standard of living" deemed necessary for the full development of Christian life. As Coady noted:

...the social environment has proven in the last few years the old theological doctrine that is true in the Christian theology of all sects, that men cannot live in the proximate occasion of sin and not fall into sin. If the people are treated unjustly, if Christian charity is lacking in those who run economic society, then the people will inevitably, as history testifies, revolt.

...Therefore, fixing up the economic is a main way and perhaps the only way to ensure law and order and decency in the world

(RG 30-2/1/1233)

On other occasions this was repeated even more explicitly by stating that all history was economic history and the economic is at the basis of everything.¹⁰ There was no questioning the supposition that material advances were necessary. Economic co-operation was thought to be the medium for such material advances while at the same time being the expression of sound moral principles respecting both individuals and society. Furthermore, economic co-operation could liberate people from "the occasions of sin" which was their expression for the old economic order.

...if the people want to exercise some measure of control over their own interests and their own business, they must first, through the medium of an alliance of co-operatives, secure control of the business which they themselves create.

T. O. 'R. Boyle (RG 30-3/28/228).

Given this tendency to locate economic activity in the context of moral principles regulating man's relationship to man and their relation to a Christian God it is not surprising that the end of such activity was specified as the good and abundant life.

THE GOOD AND ABUNDANT LIFE

It is significant that the good and abundant life always existed as an end point in the scheme of the Antigonish

Movement. It was the promise of the future, not obtained by a "boom psychology" nor the "temptation of easy wealth."

Farming is a vocation, a way of life, and not a device to gather gold. The get rich quick fever has ruined some good farming areas...we believe that excess commercialism tends to proletarianize rural peoples.
Extension Bulletin, 4/2/1937, p. 4.

It (the Movement) should be small. It is for poor people. There is no boom psychology, no inflated prosperity in co-operation.
Extension Bulletin, 9/10/1936, p. 4.

The good and abundant life was vague enough to mean anything to the various persons that heard the phrase used. Yet, it did have certain limitations on its definitions. For the good and abundant life to exist, people would have to be educated (have an idea of what society was, ought to be, and their role in making an ought into an is), economically involved in society (through ownership, increased scientific production and expanded consumption of social goods), and be possessed of those institutions which enabled harmony in society the vested interests identified through the educational program would have to submit to the manifest needs of the people.

There is not much value in talking of education for social change unless there are available the instruments for enacting social change. It is something like expecting a carpenter to work without tools. The instruments for this socialized education are already available and functioning. They are those effective agencies of co-operation, known as credit unions, which socialize the financial activities of man; consumer

co-operatives which socialize their buying;
 co-operative marketing agencies which
 socialize their selling and so forth.
 ...Accordingly, the educational plans drawn
 by the architects of another social era
 Must be reconstructed and education will be
 conceived as the constant means of living
 life well and nobly...
 "Education for Social Change"
 M. A. MacLellan, (1938: 3).

These four elements: (1) the people, (2) education,
 (3) economic co-operation, and (4) the good and abundant
 life form the essence of the philosophy of the Movement. In
 summary, they may be expressed as the following objectifica-
 tions:

- a) There is a capacity existing within the people for spiritual and material success; this capacity is religiously and secularly established as both a right and a facility of man.;
- b) Inherent in the educational process is the capacity for understanding the direction of society. Such understanding will promote a concomitant desire for reform of this direction. A true education does both.;
- c) Economic co-operation can transform the economic order while using principles derived from Christian precepts and basic sociology.;
- d) There is an optimum social order that can be achieved which will fulfill the needs of the individual and society in such a way that Divine Justice and Scientific Rationality will both be served and implemented.

The unity of these objectifications is evident: starting with the individual and his Christian potential the capacity of a sociologically informed education is seen as a

certain liberator of Christian self-hood because it explains the reality of secular society in which man as independently-created soul exists. Society corrupted by an economic fallacy is seen as necessarily restored by a programme of action inspired by true education that is both sociologically and morally informed, i.e., economic co-operation. With a good and abundant life afforded by such economic co-operation man is restored to grace, as God intended, society is restored in its pristine order, and the forces of science and rationality are subsumed to the good of the whole rather than used by the few against the many. At this level of interpretation the leaders of the Antigonish Movement had no doubts that their programme was bound to succeed. It was "in the cosmic cards" that these were the elements necessary for social and moral reconstruction.¹¹

The Apostles went out without any apparently formulated economic doctrine but with tremendous convictions about the dignity of man, the worth of human personality and of the human soul. Before them political, social, and economic kingdoms crumbled. If we, in our day, have a society that is pagan and reeking with injustice it is logical to expect that the same thing should happen now if we take our religion seriously. It seems to me that Christianity is the instrument that will do the job provided that there is real Christianity amongst us. We must today do more than talk platitudes and formulate metaphysical theories.

"Address to Rural Life Conference"
J. J. Tompkins, (1939: 7)

With such optimism in the cosmic forces underlying the development of the movement, it is not surprising that the leaders held great expectations for the ultimate significance of the movement. Early in its development the movement was felt to be a laboratory for social justice, a witness to the rest of the world that it was possible to rebuild society from the "fringes in" rather than through the increasingly devastating metropolis-hinterland exploitation of industrialism.¹²

Make no mistake about it that the world is changing fast and with all the technological advances of our day, these isolated communities are going to come into their own and be flourishing places in the not too distant future. The old idea of progress through industrial centers quickly created is gone. We have to build from the fringes in. Coady to Edwards, June 5, 1941. (RG-30-2/1/888)

As education, at home, was seen as a means of breaking down that local prejudice which conspired against co-operation, it was expected that the good and abundant life that would proceed from co-operative social activity would educate the rest of North America and the world to the possibilities of a global existence based on these principles.

I appeal to my audience here present and within reach of my voice...that each one is an apostle of this work. To us the torch is handed. Let us hold it high and pass it on to illumine those who sit in economic and social darkness. If we have not one amongst us with the zeal, the courage and the energy of Peter the Hermit who awakened Europe to a frenzy so that it threw its

chivalry across a continent to the Holy Land,
as a group working toward the attainment of
our ideals we can effect results even
astounding to ourselves.

"Some Wider Aspects of Co-operation",
R. L. MacDonald (1937: 10)

It can therefore be said that a fifth latent element of the philosophy of the movement was that it had ultimate significance for life on earth. This was the "big picture" that Coady often spoke of; it was, in effect, a transcendental projection of their activities into the realm of human history and social evolution.

APPEALS TO THE CONSTITUENCIES

The discussion of these objectifications would be incomplete without inquiry into the response of the various constituencies of the movement. Objectifications in themselves are vague and their tendency is to encompass the entire movement; the grasp of values associated with these objectifications is less vague. These latter values were formulated for the respective farming, fishing and industrial populations and were means of bringing the etherial philosophy of self help and social co-operation down to the level of a particular sector of the community.

RURAL APPEALS

The lure of the city and the perceived indignity of farm labor (among the young) was thought to be responsible for the disenchantment with farm life.

For a hundred years the flesh pots of Egypt have taken their yearly toll--the country side has been desolated while its people have been dancing to a pagan ritual at the feet of the golden calf. But alas! The gold has lost its lustre. The unnatural, artificial, hurly-burly life of the big city has soured, and once again necessity ordains that the people return to the land.... (The author laments that young men are still)...continually reaching out into the void for a substance which is not there--continually reaching out for some magic carpet that will waft them away to some enchanted land where the squealing of the pigs and the mooing of the cows will be heard no more.

"Factors Shaping a New Age in Rural Life",
P. MacKenzie Campbell, (1938: 2)

This breakdown of the moral fibre of the people was accompanied by a corresponding "proletarianization" of farm life, by the threat of impersonal forces of large-scale marketing and by the actions of particular groups who utilized farm life for their "own ends" without proportionate returns to the farmers themselves.¹³ Hence, the failure of farm life was thought to be a social and personal failure caused by such factors as personal avarice and misdirection, impersonal economic forces, and exploitive relations between groups.

People in the movement made the effort to reassert that farming was a vocation in life blessed by God and deemed necessary for human existence (so necessary that workers were chosen by a divine call for the work). They intended to construct the means for efficiency in production and greater return on production without compromise to

the forces of monopoly control and technical efficiency that the profit system advocated. Finally, they divested themselves and others of the myths surrounding the immutability of those vested interests that profited from the maintenance of the status quo.¹⁴

The vocation of farming required scientific skills, hence farming was elevated to a quasi-professional status; the construction of social systems of co-operation required intensive manpower involved in training farmers, hence farm life was thought to be worth such investment and the presence of agricultural representatives and extension workers made this investment obvious; and the elimination of exploitive relationships created a moral struggle which made possible a cohesion of those farmers seeking liberation. The farm population (which includes fishermen) became the vanguard for the movement. The choice of this constituency was, at various times, romantically inspired, religiously inspired and economically inspired. It was an affair of the heart, the soul and the purse:

A rural community thus organized (i.e., co-operatively) can have as intensive a life as any urban center. They had it in the days of old in Ireland and Scotland under the clan system which was aristocratic in its leadership but truly democratic in its economic basis, as they selected the most powerful as chief, but the land was the property of the clan. It formed a community with the strongest kind of communal spirit.

"Some Wider Aspects of Co-operation"
R. L. MacDonald, (1937: 9)

...those great factories of God--the soil, the sea, the sky, the forests, the kingdom of plants and animals. These factories are the real workshops of men. In them there is no need for sit-downs. In them is the true capital of the workers; the tiller is owner. There are no conflicts between capital and labor. They are a kind of capital that asks no interest. The wheat does not exact usury to ripen, nor the seed to send up its shoots.

Extension Bulletin, 27/3/1937, p. 4.

...urban industrialism is not a complete way of living...short of rural re-establishment there appears to be no lasting solution to the fluctuations of industry. We need co-operative communities on the land....

Extension Bulletin, 4/11/1938, p. 4.

In essence, the message promulgated was that rural life was appropriate for the modern age in its production and in its rewards; furthermore, it could also restore the modern age because it was furthest removed from the indiscriminate forces of the industrial age that had created so much chaos in human relationships. For them, the fate of humanity was seen reflected in the barometer of rural existence. While credit unions and co-operatives could increase the productivity and rewards of rural life giving new life to the depleted and hitherto ruinous subsistence farming-fishing life style, they could also effect a prosperity in a sector of the country that had been by-passed and among a people that would otherwise be "pawns for unscrupulous ideologies". It was their conviction that the reconstruction of farm life was a pressing social requisite indispensable to future order in society.

THE URBAN APPEAL

With such a pronounced emphasis on rural life it is little wonder that the movement was not in harmony with industry. Rather than catching the beat of the industrial heartland of Eastern Nova Scotia the industrial areas were often held up to be the bad examples of what untrampled change could wreak upon the people.

A true community is well nigh impossible under conditions of modern urbanism. The competition for jobs, for livelihoods, the enslavement of gadgetry, and the overmastering insecurity throws up conditions wherein a man may well be tempted to cut his best pal's throat as an alternative to starvation. "Labor Needs Organic Power", G. Boyle, (1938: 11)

The fluctuations of capitalism in the industrial sector made the spokesmen of the movement feel that industrial life (in itself) was an incomplete mode of existence at best.¹⁵

For the past number of years farmers who refused to think for themselves squatted in the coal fields and called themselves miners. It has been known for a long time that there were about three thousand men too many in the coal fields. Things will never be right until they come down to a proper working basis. Coady to Tompkins, 24th Feb., 1932 (RG 30-3/4/3654)

Moving away from the opinions of some that industrial workers were not truly productive, were falsely called to their work, and difficult to organize for co-operatives (they already had unions), there seems to have

developed among the majority a more moderate stance and rapprochement with the industrial sector as the movement progressed. Initially the basis for the union was found in the similarities of farm and city consumption and the possibility of farm marketing.

No matter what diversity of interests may exist in productive enterprise, all classes and groups are on common ground as consumers. Farmers, fishermen and industrial workers have identical interests as users of consumer goods, and on this fact rests in great measure the hope of achieving greater solidarity among the groups.

"Vocational Groups"

T. O'R. Boyle et. al. (1933: 4)

Yet, the move to urban areas was also due, in part, to the serendipity of urban credit-union success, to some extent on the urgings of urban parish priests, the determination of the Bishop to apply the programme to urban problems and the general recognition of the urban condition as a trouble spot within the church.¹⁶ Despite the move into urban areas, the ambiguity towards the industrial sector was deeply ingrained, splitting Coady and Tompkins as well as many others in the movement. While Tompkins pressed for farm-labor solidarity, Coady was reluctant to identify these elements as he was apprehensive about the effects that industrial strikes would have on the movement.¹⁷ Further difficulties existed within the established co-operatives in the industrial areas since these were not enthusiastic supporters of the type of co-operation emanating

from Catholic Antigonish.¹⁸ An indication of the caution attending activity in the industrial areas is given by this curious addendum to an advertisement for short courses in the industrial areas, "we have no intention of educating men away from their class".¹⁹

Because of the tendency within the movement to misrepresent industrial life, and because the Extension Department was received by some sectors of labour with reserve at best and frequently with hostility, it might be said that the objectifications of the movement gave little legitimacy to the type of life men lived therein; in fact they seemed to deny its legitimacy.²⁰

Yet, other factors intervene to make the above type of analysis shallow. Any success in the industrial sector was indeed perceived to be but a partial victory, since such did not noticeably affect the direction of industrial social life experienced there and for this reason an essential ingredient of the total philosophy was lacking. While some economic liberation was possible through credit unions, co-operative stores and housing, the actual economic production of the coal-steel industries would be little affected by a strategy of economic co-operation. Rather, success in industrial areas seems to have been of great symbolic value for the movement itself. While in latter years this perceived success was greatly

over-emphasized and exaggerated, beyond even reasonable hyperbole, the situation in the 1930's was such that urban Cape Breton presented a formidable challenge to the church.²¹ To be sure, the rights of labor, and the response of Leo XIII to labor, had been discussed since the "For the People Column" of 1918 but, generally, this was done in the pastoral setting of Antigonish and not in the midst of the social agitation of strikes, police violence, and communist rhetoric in industrial Cape Breton.

The objectifications of the Antigonish Movement as related to industrial activity were out of synchronization with the grass roots of such activity if such is considered to have been a class struggle. Once the movement was established this challenge of the industrial areas became more insistent from the priests stationed there and from the people who had experienced the neglect of church involvement. While it could be said that very little attention had been placed upon the problems peculiar to industrial life and the many Catholics "uprooted" for this work were living at the periphery of expressed Catholic sentiment the situation was even worse since some clergy had been in opposition to certain forms of union development in this area and many had suspicions about the direction of union activity.²² In effect, the Church was more often reactionary than supportive. Coady lamented that it was the

fear of communism and the effect of the depression that motivated her response to conditions which had existed for some years.²³

The entrance into the industrial sector was tentatively discussed at the 1932 Rural and Industrial Conference where a discussion took place as to when Extension should develop an urban base. At that time a former union "radical" was invited to attend the meeting and his recollection was that he was appalled at the ignorance of the industrial areas as expressed by those at the meeting. At the same time he was impressed by the ideas and possibilities of the movement, and it is largely through this notable convert, (A. S. MacIntyre) that the subsequent development of the industrial areas took place. The significance of his conversion was that a public figure, known to be a fighter for the worker, found extension work to be a suitable vehicle for furthering these aims.²⁴ In a sense, he announced to others that this Extension work meant that the church (religion) was on the side of the worker and identified with their struggles.

Good Catholic men shed tears over the thought that the ordinary procedure, so far advocated by churchmen was not sufficiently strong to lift the industrial workers out of the sad plight into which they had fallen through no fault of their own. If anyone could indicate to these men a program adequate to solve the present problems of the people, even in the remote future, they would be satisfied to suffer,

rovided they could see the end of the way.
 "Catholic Social Action" M. M. Coady
 (1933: 12)

It was not until this programme became realized through the extension department (in the person of MacIntyre, Coady and Tompkins) that such a thing could be said as "the Church is with us". The fact that only a few priests had been sympathetic in the past and that major leaders of the left were Protestant had created an historical embarrassment for those Catholic union organizers who had entered the fray without the solace of religious support.²⁵ This tension was apparent.

We found ourselves faced with barbed wire, machine guns, rifles, bayonets, mounted police and the rest. To make matters worse, the workers found themselves without friends. They found the press, the politicians, the professional men, the pulpit not excepted; all were turned against the miners and the steel workers who were struggling for justice. "From Communism to Christianity", A. S. MacIntyre (1938: 20)

There also seems to have existed a need for a more moderate approach to industrial relations. The early 1930's witnessed a significant diminution in the labor unrest that had characterized the early and mid-twenties in industrial Cape Breton. Even during this period when red flags proclaimed the ascendancy of militant leaders there are many indicators that the supposed revolutionary consciousness of workers was not deeply rooted. For some Catholics, the hard-line stance of the left was unacceptable,

for others it was attractive only because it offered the only source of support given that politicians, the clergy, and moderate unions would not enter the fray on the side of the workers. Further to this was the paradox of radical leadership co-existing with traditional religious belief. The radical press frequently would use biblical quotations to support their positions; their criticism of reactionary clerics was tempered and never venomous; and many radicals continued to attend church services.²⁶

It is this ambiguity that hints at the receptivity for the "middle road" (between capitalism and communism) promised by the Antigonish Movement. In contrast to other European countries where church attendance dropped off among the urban workers, and where the transformation of workers into more radical postures was more deeply entrenched in the social process, the radicalization of the Cape Breton worker rested upon a religious faith that still had not been shaken from its more recent rural underpinnings (where church attendance was almost universal).

The "middle road" concept then became a major objectification that was peculiarly suited to the industrial areas. The phrase "middle road" was that of James Boyle (who no doubt was familiar with its prior use in Sweden):

The material organization found in the ideologies of the Right (Capitalism) and Left (Bolshevism) cannot save civilization. ...The greatest foes of democracy

are the reactionaries and the wolves of Big Business, and not Stalin, Hitler and company." "A Middle Way" James Boyle, (1939: 1)

If the intent of this above cited quotation was to identify the church with industrial workers, then the use of the word "wolves" was not ill-advised since industrial workers in Cape Breton called their most despised boss of the 1920's "Roy the Wolf."²⁷ Along with the physical presence of the movement as seen in credit unions and co-operative house construction this "middle road" concept projected the struggle of the workers into a new relationship with religious activity and terminology and created for the industrial workers the instrumentality of the parish and priest in the conduct of their social affairs.

In summary then, the industrial constituency could not find solace in many aspects of the philosophy of the movement but was able to utilize the movement effectively through the latter's support and legitimation of the workers' aspirations for a better life. These aspirations had hitherto been neglected by the church in the long history of struggle for a decent life in the industrial areas and the more immediate needs created by economic depression.²⁸ Although not the chosen people, they could be understood as being "of the people" and therefore were able to be educated to grasp the reality of the existing society. They could become potential allies in social

reform and co-operators in the new society that was hoped would take root in Eastern Nova Scotia.

THE APPEAL TO WOMEN

This constituency overlaps both rural and urban sectors but forms a discrete part of the movement with its own limited series of objectifications that are of some interest in that they reflect the broad base of the principle objectifications.

Women were actively encouraged to take part in the movement because they were seen as an indispensable force in creating the conditions for family life deemed suitable for the development of individual initiative and self reliance. Aside from their contribution to family life they were also seen as partners in the co-operative endeavor. This partnership was intended to be of such intensity that the traditional role of woman, keeper of the home, would be expanded outside the home.

...the time is past when a woman can consider her duty done when she centers all her concern on her immediate home and family. She must do her share in building a society that will provide a full and abundant life for her sons and daughters. "The Woman Speakes Her Mind" Sister Marie Michael, (1942: 5)

Particular mention must be made of the forceful manner in which the young ladies who participated in the debate acquitted themselves.

They revealed the tremendous possibilities that lie before women in social and educational work in this part of the country.
The Casket, 24/9/1933.

"Girls" who had left home to work away became transformed into "heroines" of family life who willingly sacrificed their lives so as the family farm could continue through their monthly financial contributions from the city. The city was spoken of as lonely and impersonal; work there as servile and not dignified. This sharply contrasts with the legacy of Eastern Nova Scotia; women returning home from the "Boston States" were overbearing in their adornment and supercilious in their bearing.²⁹ To call these "belles" heroines cuts across the pettiness of the former criticisms and exposes the reality that such women were indeed (despite their ostentatious appearance) an overlooked and vital asset to the maintenance of many rural families caught in the squeeze of a limited cash economy. Up to this time the question of "money from the girls away" was seldom a matter for discussion (it was potentially embarrassing to families and men in particular); now, when the call for "exposes of the craven spirit of centralized industry" was heard, the women were able to address those points that previously were muted by male pride and communal convention.

The women of the movement accepted the traditional role of women (defenders of the home), articulated the submerged role of women (financial supporters of the rural

family), and demanded that women become educated to understand society so that they could join men "at the throttle" of the changes in society.³⁰ It can be said that they had to demand attention because they were not always taken seriously by the men, and they felt that existing women organizations were often co-opted by the very institutional bodies that were creating resistance to reform.

The place of women in the movement was assured by their employment (as volunteers and paid staff) as extension workers and as writers. The leaders of the movement defended their attention to women's extension-activity against the predilections of Governmental funding which was sceptical of the importance granted to women (wives of fishermen).³¹ In rebuttal to detractors, it was claimed that women were the key to rural reform. This was based on the fear that the obvious deprivations faced by women in traditional society would make them advocates of out-migration unless social reconstruction took place at home. In fact, women could and did leave home; the problem was how to keep them satisfied given the comparative lack of household facilities (electricity, plumbing, roads) in rural areas. It was felt that satisfaction could be made possible with a commitment to rural prosperity engineered by social co-operation and by the actual participation of women in the work. Hence, wives of fishermen and farmers

were encouraged to discuss issues related to their role in rural society and to implement programmes relative to the findings of the scientific principles of home economics at home (nutrition, budgeting, etc.) as well as to be cognizant of the problems faced by their husbands in production and marketing.

In summary, it can be said that the affairs of the home, the traditional stronghold of women, were made central to the intended social process, while, at the same time, the importance of women as partners in co-operation was projected beyond the home into a more contemporary posture of women effecting social reform.

ETHNICITY

Ethnicity is scarcely ever mentioned in the releases from the Extension Department. With only a few exceptions, there is seldom any direct reference to ethnic groups. Acadian communities are reported as Acadian communities and sometimes the adjective Scots will be used when speaking of a Scots community but generally there are few references and hence few objectifications that are overtly pitched at these constituencies. In practice, attention was paid to Scottish communities and comparative inattention paid to Acadian communities. Privately, the leaders were aware that different responses to their work developed as a result of ethnicity, yet objectifications were not based on

these differences.³² It would appear that the notions of the primacy of the people and the efficacy of education could be used internally within groups to motivate Scots, Acadians, or Irish but this ethnic dynamic was rarely publicly articulated by organizers. It did exist sub rosa, as is evident by the organizational relationship of the Extension Department to the Scottish Catholic Society and the Societe de St. Pierre, (Acadians at Cheticamp).³³

The choice, not to be specific about ethnicity, reflects the perceived distances that would have to be bridged to bring together Acadians, Scots, Irish and heterogeneous ethnic communities under an ethnically-inspired philosophy. The very opposite tactic was necessitated for social co-operation; differences in language and custom created the possibility for mis-understanding, prejudice and non-co-operation and hence were part of the traditional culture that had to be overcome through education so that the commonalities of rural economic co-operation could be seen. With respect to ethnicity then, the very fact that it was not emphasized makes it a negative type of objectification, i.e., racial or ethnic boundaries are subsumed in the concept of the people. Scots, Acadian, and Irish are bounded by rural commonalities and this emphasis dissipates the concern with that which separates them, i.e., their ethnicity. This is apparent in the literature published by

Extension. In the letters of Coady and other leaders it is supported by their insistence that the Acadians not be permitted to construct co-operatives on their own and apart from the movement because there should be no such thing as Acadian co-operatives, Scots co-operatives, etc. It was peoples' co-operatives they wanted.³⁴

I want to say to you that, in my opinion, these fellows are only hurting their own cause. If they sincerely desired the advancement of the French language and culture, they would not pursue this course (Independent Acadian Co-operatives) which is bound to divide even their own ranks. If I have read history right, a people whose language and culture dominates other cultures and holds its own with other cultures, has got to be advanced by men bold enough to mix on even terms with all comers. ...these hot headed fellows who are dragging the language and racial fight into the sacred field of the economic life of the common people, are going to split their own ranks. Coady to Chiasson, 1947. (RG 30-2/1/1050Z)

In the same manner the religious constituency of the movement was expected to be non-sectarian. Here again, the commonality of the people is made evident but like the Acadians (who participated but were, nevertheless, de facto cut off from many activities) the Protestants, by and large, were hindered by the trappings of the clergy and institutional basis of the movement. To discuss this question further, I must return to a problem raised above concerning the relationship of objectifications to the pressure groups involved in the direction of the movement.

OBJECTIFICATIONS: PRESSURES ON THE MOVEMENT

To enumerate the sources of pressure upon the Antigonish Movement, it is convenient to consider sponsorship, funding, and participation as the three internal areas of possible influence. The sponsorship of the movement was primarily undertaken by the Roman Catholic Diocese of Antigonish, specifically through the agency of the Catholic university, Saint Francis Xavier. The various parish priests might also be taken as sponsors, especially those most concerned with the rural question. Funding came from three major sources, the university (Diocese), government, and the private funding of the Carnegie Corporation.³⁵ Private contributions from other sources were not significant up to 1938. Participation in the movement has already been discussed with reference to urban/rural, ethnicity and women. It should be pointed out that each of these sectors had its own advocates of their home constituencies. As such, it was possible for a wide spectrum of political and social opinion to be entertained by those participants who considered themselves part of the movement. The pedantic eloquence of rural romantics could very easily come up against the hot breath of the "young turks" committed to the overthrow of capitalism; such was the variation in the published materials. Contrast these expressions:

We have had dinned into our ears in the past
twenty years a great deal about the romance

of industry and big business...we have lost sight of the Romance and drama of organic life; we have also lost the vision of the productive power that lies hidden in the organism as manifested in unnumbered forms in the plant and animal kingdoms and associated with life on the land. Here are the great facets of abounding life renewed each year. Here is the true arena of liberty, variety and adventure. Here is the new frontier of science. Here is work for all. "Labor Needs Organic Power", George Boyle (1938: 7)

Working class people who attended the Rural and Industrial Conference at Antigonish have carried to their home discussion circles the vision of a new democracy. The common man, side swiped and ditched by a war-mongering capitalist prosperity said to be returning from somewhere begins to see that the substance of self-government is the economic. Extension Bulletin, 9/10/1936, p. 1.

For we do not deem it to be the special adornment of education that it should refrain from the manifest urgency of our time. That urgency is the fall of capitalism. Extension Bulletin, 9/10/1936, p. 4.

The strength of the Antigonish Movement is attested to by its disparate sponsorship, funding and participation. Yet it cannot be said that the movement was able to escape unscathed from such a precarious unity of groups.

The case of the Protestant response is a good example. The leaders of the movement evidently were interested in developing a constituency of both Catholics and Protestants while some of their sponsors were not enthusiastic about this prospect.³⁶ Carnegie and Governmental monies made this imperative even if the Extension Department

itself did not want a Protestant base. The track records of Coady and Tompkins would make it apparent that they themselves were personally committed to a wider universe of discourse than were the more parochial Catholic clergy of the period.³⁷ The recruitment of Protestant clergymen, the use of neutral phrase "Seven Eastern Counties" (instead of the partisan phrase, "the Diocese") and the continuous reference to the non-sectarian character of the movement can be construed as honest attempts to break down the bigotries indigenous to sectarian expression and thereby permit the rational pursuit of common goals.³⁸

To keep down sectarianism we say that right reason is all that is needed to run a credit union etc..... It would be the duty of each religion to make of its members decent citizens, loyal, honest, etc. But! They would not bring their Methodism or their Catholicism into the running of the credit union.
J. J. Tompkins, in Timmons (1939: 36-37)

This concern with rational procedures in the operation of co-operatives is quite suited to addressing the inefficiencies associated with the patronage, paternalism, and kinship ties of traditional society as the existence of these types of "prejudices" were perceived to be an obvious impediment to co-operative production, marketing and consumption. In these co-operative activities, members were encouraged to self-reliance on the basis of equality in the group (one-man, one-vote) and loyalty to the group (rather than to the political party or extended family clan). The

question remains as to why this concern with rational procedures should have been extended into Catholic-Protestant relations. The logic for the extension does not flow out of those Catholic principles of self-society which enlightened the major objectifications of the movement but rather flows out of those concomitant secular principles concerning the nature of production in society and the organization of peoples in this production.³⁹ In the educational format of the movement, the emphasis was placed upon the concept of rural people (hence both Catholic and Protestant) as being victims of the forces of relentless industrial centralization. This higher order introduction to the nature of social process had the effect of reducing the emphasis on boundaries that were, in part, the historical products of a prosperity conditioned by religious differences. In this emphasis, Protestants shared with Catholics in the notion of "the people" because some Protestants were seen to share in the Catholic economic predicament.

Thus a union of all the lobster canneries in Nova Scotia on a co-operative basis would not only serve to obviate local jealousies and rivalry among one another, but by virtue of a wider perspective the united organization would soon outgrow the parochial attitude and become actuated by ideals of service and justice to all elements of the community.
 "Vocational Groups" T. O'R. Boyle et al.,
 (1933: 4)

Protestants could also be potential rivals.⁴⁰ The accommodation to Protestants was therefore a fragile union based on non-sectarian funding, rational principles of social development, some fear of potential backlash, and a genuine intent to reduce bigotry. At times, however, the accommodation was reduced to a form of tokenism since at times this marriage was perceived to be prompted more by the shotgun of financial backing than from any deep-seated conviction that the chosen ones could include those who, in recent memory, were referred to as heretics and non-believers.⁴¹ It was not always an easy chore to make the Antigonish Movement appear non-sectarian.

These pressures of holding together the chosen people created continuous tension since the work of the movement did not always meet with unanimous acceptance. Salve was constantly at hand (in the person of Coady) to heal the wounds opened by sponsors, funding agencies and participants. At various times the Bishop, rural pastors, Acadians, union leaders, priests from other dioceses, Protestant clerics, the two governments, the Carnegie Corporation, and local politicians demanded explanations for the expressed sentiments and activities of the movement.⁴² Not always were the core objectifications of the movement at issue but even in answer to minor criticisms of individuals and events Coady was always able to make appeal

to "the needs of the people", the precarious base of existing democracy, the inspiration of education, and the promise of "the good and abundant life" for the people. He almost always made these ideas sound good, even for the person who had initially forged the criticism. To a protestant minister he appealed to scripture, to a government member he appealed to a contended electorate and to financial interests he appealed to the need for industrial harmony. People/education/co-operation/good life, was the only thread in the bolt of letters written by Coady over a period of thirty years in response to the critics of the movement.⁴³

Despite the fact that the speeches of the Rural and Industrial Conferences, the Extension Bulletin, and the pamphlets of the movement provide many instances of the explanation and defence of the movements "mastic principles", it is Coady's correspondence which ultimately best defines the boundaries expressed in the objectifications of the movement since it was Coady, in consultation with others, who answered the incoming mail.⁴⁴ Here, in this correspondence, the consistency of principles may be found. The institutional pressures are apparent, but, invariably, were answered within the ambit of those abstract principles at the core of the movement; Christian social justice theology, scientific rationality, and liberal ideology. To

the traditional Catholic the movement was represented as Christ's work; to the secular man committed to science, it was the application of rational principles based upon a sociological paradigm of man in society; and to the reform liberal of the 1930's it represented capitalist reform, democratic process and educational achievement.

SACRALIZATION THROUGH OBJECTIFICATIONS

The philosophy of the movement was more than simply a coherent unity of thoughts anchored in a concrete technique for social change. This philosophy (spoken of as objectifications) implies a relationship between the identity needs of the people of Eastern Nova Scotia and the potency of the movement in responding to those needs.

Such potential, expressed in objectifications, would be able to project the varied events taking place in every day life into a transcendental reference wherein order and immutability would seem to be imposed upon this reality. The reality of people's lives was often expressed in terms that evoked the confusion, chaos and enslavement resulting from the transformations in the social order. In concrete terms this meant such things as the loss of children from the home, the diminished usefulness of kinship ties in production (machinery was a far more efficient strategy for production), and the mingling of different peoples in a work atmosphere (especially in industrial areas). If one

considers that each of these represents a concomitant loss of values as boundaries around family, kinship, religion, and ethnicity are dissolved by new activities, then it becomes apparent that any movement which either helps to repair these boundaries or seeks to bless the newly-created boundaries could be a welcomed means of restoring security on the personal, and group levels.

The success of the Antigonish Movement may, in part, be measured by such activity. The philosophy (considered above) may now be analysed with this process of sacralization (articulation of a reinforcement of boundaries around identity) in mind. The sacred and secular legitimation of the worth of the people was derived from both the traditional springs of Catholicism and the incipient secular religion of North America, i.e., the cult of democratically enshrined rights. Together, they created a spirit, in Eastern Nova Scotia, that people could become "masters of their own destiny".⁴⁵ This effectively meant that prosperity, without social or moral enslavement, was possible for the farmer (previously without markets and skills to market), the fisherman (subject to the control of merchants) and the worker (unemployed in the city). This promise of prosperity was guaranteed: first, by the power invested in the people; secondly, by the unfailing potency of education; and thirdly, by the nature of social process itself.

Their hope in the nature of social process belied a blend of moral optimism and sociological exegesis. They believed society to be organically constructed and argued that the integration of society could be consciously imposed. As the dissolution of society came about through those who worked against the natural order, this same order would assist those intending to work within its mandates. As society was not thought to be blessed with the facility of self-regulation, it could only become whole again, "as God intended it" through the agency of the people working from Christian principles applied to the rationality of science. For them the rebuilding of the dissolved society could come potentially from both revolution and from the "cosmic cards". The rebuilding through revolution (which they did not want) was thought possible when the system of social distribution was corrupted by capitalistic excess. Here they explained change by a social science construct. On the other hand, rebuilding came from the Holy Spirit (or as Coady put it from the "cosmic cards") when God intervened to lead men to do this work of social reform. In this respect, they looked upon the depression as both a failure in the capitalistic system of economics (social-science construct) and as a vindication of the Holy Spirit (cosmic cards) for the abuses caused by this way of life.

The enthusiasm for rebuilding society did not mean

that the advanced technology associated with capitalism had to be dismissed along with the evils of modern capitalistic society. From a spiritual standpoint they charged that the fallen nature of society had created aberrations in a thing (technology) that could have served mankind generally rather than particularly through the wealthy class. In this manner, the need for technology was presented as a spiritual campaign to rectify the displaced use and intentions of these good works and share them with all men; technology need not be merely a more efficient means of material prosperity, nor need it be the exclusive tool of the Social Darwinists.⁴⁶

Therefore, with all the reservations that could be mustered concerning the mis-spent energies of men in their drive for material prosperity and with a corresponding enthusiasm for extending this prosperity into those areas left behind by this social process, the movement perceived itself suited to take upon its shoulders the social redemption of society, i.e., regulate the organism in disequilibrium. The human scale of activity in farming had to be preserved, women had to be liberated from their servitude to poverty and the people of the urban areas had to live with the reality that since the promises of industrial life were shallow they would have to do more for themselves than organize for higher wages.

The objectification of the movement assured people that their work was important because it assured them that the pursuit of prosperity was indispensable to good order in society, in rural life as well as in urban life. That same need for cash which formerly had caused a break-up of families through out-migration, separation from kin in work relations, and militant worker/management conflict now became embedded in organizations, blessed by priests, projected into "God's plan" and made the underpinnings of "true democracy".

In all of this, the archimedian point or lever for the words of the men of Antigonish was the established religious base of community life. The religious emphasis is constant and the speeches and newspapers are filled with biblical allusions. Yet while building upon a shared religious expression there is always the implication that this movement represents a change in religious practice because of its insistence on returning to the teachings of Christ. It is not insignificant that the word Christian takes pre-eminence over Catholic in discussing the teachings of Christ. The monopoly of a Catholic interpretation is therefore broken by this transformation so that the boundaries around religious experience can be broadened and turned away from the long history of a priestly ministry that was not inspired by a concern for the social

teaching of Christ.

When a thing becomes over institutionalized, it tends to become sterile. It seems to me that this is what happened to formal education. We might well ask ourselves if something similar has not happened to those religious people who sit back, at times like these, when so many millions have become ...homeless waifs of a hit and miss industrialism. "The Future of the Antigoneish Movement." Tompkins (n.d.)

The new idea of the people, education and society could hardly be introduced through the medium of a religious expression that was congruent with the very organization of society which was thought to have helped enslave the people. By returning to Christ, the traditional religious expressions were able to be utilized without any apparent change in the status of religious expression, in fact, it was often argued that this new expression could bring more men back into the church.⁴⁷ This change in the relevance of religion (i.e. more concern with the horizontal of social aspect of religion than with the vertical expression such as personal sin and salvation) was not only an internal change in the religious experience of Catholics, it also permitted dialogue with those Protestants who were also adopting this new focus of religious expression. Far more congruence could therefore be found between certain Catholics and Protestants who thought in this manner, than between members of the same faith. This caused traditional boundaries to be less defensible while at the same time

making a social justice form of religion more universally practiced throughout the different sectors of society in Eastern Nova Scotia, i.e., rural, urban, Catholic, Protestant, Acadian etc.

The moral force of this social justice type of religious expression seems to have developed tremendous appeal through the Antigonish Movement. It was pounced upon by Catholics from around the world, especially admired by Protestants, and emulated by the new generation of clergy that came later from within the Diocese to take up their priestly duties.⁴⁸ Aside from all those writing and speaking in the movement, it is difficult to say if the enthusiasm it attracted, in so many other areas of the world, was matched by the people of Eastern Nova Scotia. Certainly a social-justice gospel replete with biblical quotations was an effective stick to chase the merchants and other "vested interests" off those pedestals constructed on the tenets of an other-worldly religion. It is difficult to judge if this became part of the expression of the people themselves. This will have to be discussed further under the Chapter heading, commitment.

In summary then, the Antigonish Movement as a movement promulgated certain beliefs which were potentially able to legitimate the aspirations of farmers, fishermen and women as they attempted to gain that prosperity offered

by technological advance and its concomitant social change; industrial workers found themselves the beneficiaries of these beliefs through the extension of the movement into their lives to combat the existing extremism of competing ideologies and to fulfill the expectations of those Catholics who required a religious expression that was not informed by the fragilities of rural existence. All found themselves partners in a struggle to create a new society that insured human dignity and harmony between groups through economic co-operation.

For objectifications to be socially realized there must be evidence of commitment. Without this philosophy of the Antigonish Movement might have simply been an intellectual exercise. As well it need not be pointed out that the contents of this chapter were not always explicitly understood by the rank and file in the movement. Instead, short hand accounts of verities, myths, upon which the movement hinged, were often used. To firm up belief, and to identify one's commitment, certain practices characteristic of the movement became ritualized and thereby witnessed to selves and others the existence of the new order. These sacralizing tendencies of commitment, myth and ritual, will be addressed in the following chapter.

NOTES

¹Hans Mol's (1976: 202-225) discussion on objectification forms the theoretic basis for my approach to this problem. His emphasis that sacralization, considered as process, provides a more reliable indicator of religion than the sacred/mundane dichotomy is reflected in this chapter in my attempt to demonstrate that the Antigonish Movement was projecting the new realities of social existence into a transcendental framework constructed around social justice theology, liberal ideology, and scientific rationality. While social justice theology appears closest to religious expression, as we usually understand the phrase, liberalism, and scientific rationality also exhibit sacralizing tendencies. The reader need not be reminded that education "saves" and science "saves"; neither Dewey nor Comte has been forgotten in the modern world.

²This distinction was of great significance while gathering data. In reporting this data its significance has been underplayed. The reasoning for this procedure is related to the character of researching objectification. In religious terms objectifications are known as faith, theology and dogma. People believe, speculate about belief and articulate certain core beliefs as indispensable. For the most part, what was directly said to the people of Eastern Nova Scotia has been lost. A large part of what remains is that written for select audiences concerning what was supposedly said to the people in the many meetings held throughout Eastern Nova Scotia. The most reliable indicators of what actually was said is contained in the speeches at the Rural and Industrial Conferences and in the Extension Bulletin. These, however, are more formally delivered than the ad hoc deliveries of the small kitchen meetings and general meetings. Working with the only material available (as cited in the text) it was necessary to cross-reference the various elements of the philosophy through the leaders of the movement to make sure that it reflected the ideas of more than one man. Likewise, it was necessary to determine if any differences existed between the reflective speeches made concerning the movement and the actual speeches given within the movement. In reporting these objectifications I am aware that differences exist between theology and faith which is to say that the objectifications reported are frequently the most highly

developed beliefs contained within the movement, i.e., analogous to theology. I am convinced that, at the level of leadership, these beliefs were shared and that for the most part they were consistently imparted to the people. However, the coherence of belief and the nuance of belief as experienced by the theologian is not equally shared by the believer. For this reason the function of myth (short hand accounts) is necessary to complete the analysis of objectifications. Because the myths generally reflect the more highly developed objectifications it may be said that what was said to the people and what was said about what was said to the people differ only in the expression of the material rather than in the content. It was only through such comparison that I could be sure that the objectifications I reported were central to the movement and not intellectual games, isolated individual dispositions, or propaganda for outside audiences. It can also be noted that the majority of quotations used in this chapter are taken from materials used in the public domain.

³J. D. Nelson MacDonald has in his possession the original poster that was used in the Rural and Industrial Conference of 1938 to explain this philosophy (seen during interview).

⁴In Chapter 3 it was noted that the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas, the medieval theologian, was universally employed in the Catholic Church after the time of Leo XIII. Bendix (1962: 323) quotes Weber as indicating that Thomas Aquinas' conception of the church made prominent middle-class groups at the expense of the peasantry of the period. Thomas could be considered the philosopher-theologian of Catholic social mobility.

⁵While Rerum Novarum and Quadregesimo Anno are the best examples of this organic unity applied to social settings the more mystical expression of unity was promulgated in 1933 Mysteri Corporis. This encyclical expressed the idea that all Christians were as one in the "body of Christ" or, as it became known, in the mystical body. This expression was a favorite of Tompkins who immediately saw the relationship between economic co-operation and the "mystical body".

⁶By liberalism I mean the ideas of universal education, economic reform in the system of capitalism, and socio-political equality. In other words, the spirit of the 1920's in North America covers the area of middle class

aspiration. Stewart Crysdale (1973) describes this as a "modern ideology".

⁷ Social Gospel theology developed earlier in Protestant Churches than in Catholic circles generally. See E. P. Thompson (1963) for its experience in Britain, Allen (1973) for Canada, and Hopkins (1940) for America. Mass adult education, as known in Antigonish, had its roots in Oxford University, the Chautaugua Institutes, the University of Wisconsin and the University of Alberta. No Catholic institution was used for resource people, nor for ideas in adult education; they were non-existent.

⁸ Occupational groups are a special usage of the papal encyclical Quadregesimo Anno. The main idea was to construct a type of organic solidarity within society based upon just relations between occupational groups. The meaning of this concept was not always clear to the readers of this encyclical and hence the idea of occupational groups was variously used. Rather than cause a debate within the movements on exactly what was meant Coady insisted they soft-peddle the concept of occupational groups because of the implicit hierarchical nature of society implied.

I do not want to have any ecclesiastical controversy afterwards with regard to the vocational group idea suggested by the pope. It is a question concerning vocational groups and corporatism. I have my own views about these things...

(Coady to Boyle RG 30-2/1/782)

⁹ This phrase was coined by Coady. It was a slogan of the movement and appears frequently in the literature.

¹⁰ Coady to Sister Anselm "instead of pious platitudes ...the economic as the basis of everything was brought out" (RG 30-2/1/35). "History is always economic history" quoted from Extension Bulletin, "In the Interests of Labor" 8/11/38, p. 4.

¹¹ "In the cosmic cards" was another phrase coined by Coady. Sister Anselm (1963: 11) reports it enjoyed special use when the movement seemed to fail or was under criticism. "The Antigonish Idea and Social Welfare"

¹²"...to attain any significance our activities must embrace an area that represents the interwoven interests of all our people, primary producers and industrial workers and it must be large enough to bring results. Eastern Canada is just such an area." Extension Bulletin, 3/3/39, p. 2.

¹³Proletarianization was the term used to describe the impact of a wage economy on rural areas and the shift from independent primary production to employment by agricultural or fishing companies. Somebody was reading Marx.

¹⁴The tactic of attacking the merchant groups as parasites was previously employed by the Grange in Ontario, likewise the emphasis on the holiness of farm life. See Hann (1975) "Farmers Confront Industrialism".

¹⁵The reader is reminded that the steel-coal industry was in continuous decline from 1920 through to the late 1930's.

¹⁶A letter from Bishop Morrison to H.P. MacPherson, University President, to prepare a report for the Canadian Conference of Bishops in 1933 on the relation between the Antigonish Movement and communism in industrial Cape Breton (RG 30-2/1/3268) produced a report on the situation entitled "Catholic Social Action" written by Coady but left unsigned. Although principally intended for Canadian Bishops it was later published by the Extension Department.

¹⁷Letter of A. B. MacDonald to Tompkins RG 30-2/2/2358 for Coady's position. Tompkins position found in a letter of Tompkins to Coady "we must have labor and fishermen together" RG 30-2/2/2367h.

¹⁸The established co-operatives came from those British Miners of the turn of the century who were Protestant and not enthusiastic about joining forces with Antigonish. See MacPherson (1975: 73) "The British Canadian must be brought in...this silly prejudice against Antigonish must be rooted out. Its all damn fine to be English. But it's hell to be obstinate." Hollett to A. B. MacDonald quoted by MacPherson.

¹⁹Quotation from the Extension Bulletin 18/11/38, p. 3.

²⁰When speaking to a rural audience it was almost necessary to put down urban life. Hence, separate spheres of emphasis were engendered in the movement which sometimes overlapped with embarrassing results.

²¹After 1940, articles on the Antigonish Movement appear which speak to the success the movement had in "beating back" communism. While these make delightful reading since their inaccuracies increase in proportion to their geographic distance from Eastern Nova Scotia, they are for the most part historically flawed. Of particular interest is the numbers of "reds" reported marching in the May Day parades of the 1920's. The range is one thousand to ten thousand. Such revisionist writing was partially responsible for the movement becoming known as an anti-communist campaign.

²²The Casket and The Maritime Labor Herald present contrasting views on labor in the 1920's. While not attacking all labor organization, The Casket was not patient with the "excesses" of labor unrest. J. H. Nicholson and Alexander MacDonald Thompson were two urban clerics that were known to be unsympathetic to labor, see Nova Scotia Miner 5/4/1930 for Nicholson and Maritime Labor Herald 18/11/1922 for Thompson.

²³Quoted in Sister Anselm (1963: 10) and repeated often in letters to co-workers. "Depression and fear of Communism have done more for social justice than any reasoned presentation of the rights of the common people."

²⁴MacIntyre's radical credentials were substantial: president of the "red local" (Phalen Local) 1916-17; district vice-president 1919-23; leader of the movement while Livingstone and MacLaughlin were jailed for union activity in 1923; county president of the Canadian Labor Party 1918-25 and president of the Maritime Labor Herald 1918-24. Source: Coady to St. John's Telegram, RG 30-2/1/3074. It should be noted that MacIntyre was castigated by the Nova Scotia Miner in 1930 (25/1/1930, p. 4), for attempting to get reinstated for work in the mines so it would appear he was "out of the radical fold" before 1932 when the Extension Department came to Glace Bay. Further to this attack his old local came to his defence in the same paper (8/2/1930, p. 3) claiming that the paper misrepresented MacIntyre because "he did not follow the party line".

²⁵My reading of the labor papers revealed only a few occasions whereby the papers praised clerics for speaking from the pulpit on their defence. In The Maritime Labor Herald of May 6, 1922 Father MacAdam (Scottish Catholic Society Founder) and Rev. Neil Herman "of the Protestant Church" are praised. In July 1 of the same year they warn clerics that "hostility creates an incentive among workers to be radical". Dr. Clarence MacKinnon of the Presbyterian Church is noted for his "Winnipeg Connections" (meaning Woodsworth) and was one cleric that was well received by Labor.

²⁶A. J. MacNeil "a church going man" typified the spirit of radical christianity when he claimed that his attack on clerics was prompted by his religious convictions as much as his union activity. (29/3/1930 and 5/4/1930 in The Nova Scotia Miner).

²⁷Roy Wolvin came to Cape Breton from Montreal in 1919 to take over BESCO (British Empire Steel and Coal Company).

Now of all the bosses that e'er was cursed,
 Roy the Wolfe was call'd (sic) the worst.
 He was the leading parasite,
 That fed on workers, day and night;
 Greedy, growling, wolf for more;
 He stole the bread from the worker's door;
 Dawn Fraser in MacEwan (1976: 61)

Wolfin left Cape Breton in 1926.

²⁸The fact that the President of Saint Francis Xavier, H. P. MacPherson, served on the two Duncan Royal Commissions investigating the coal industry of Nova Scotia meant that the church had access to this information since MacPherson was also Coady's boss and the Bishop's principal assistant during this period. Coady's correspondence to Tompkins, especially RG-3/4/3654, indicates he talked with MacPherson about the work of the Royal Commission.

²⁹See Chapter 3 for discussion of this phenomenon of the "Boston belles".

³⁰Phrase quoted from Sister Marie Michael's paper at the 1942 Rural and Industrial Conference. "The Woman Speaks Her Mind" (1942: 6)

³¹"We feel that for the rehabilitation of the fishermen, the women are all important." Coady to Department of Fisheries, RG 30-2/1/1206.

³²Correspondence between different people in the movement indicates that the leadership was well aware of ethnic differences, i.e., numerous comments are made related to the success of fishery cooperatives among the Acadians.

³³The Societe de St. Pierre at Cheticamp organized local general meetings and study clubs for the Acadians. This society later ran into difficulty with the Antigonish leaders over the direction of the movement as the society was nationalistic in sentiment and more concerned with the unity of Acadian co-operatives rather than the unity of the region of Eastern Nova Scotia. Alexander Boudreau a leading figure in this society informed me that Coady and Tompkins were "alright" but the Bishop and others were most unsympathetic to Acadian needs (personal interview). Considering that Boudreau felt that he was fired from his position with the Department of Agriculture in 1933 on Coady's insistence. This compliment, perhaps, expresses the way Coady was able to placate various people within the movement. Coady fired Boudreau through the Department of Agriculture because he felt Boudreau was bringing up the "divisive" racial question.

³⁴Alexander Boudreau denies the allegation that he and his brother Patrick were planning to merge the Acadian fishing co-operatives (UMF) with the Quebec co-operative organizations (personal interview). Coady seems to have believed it and sent a worker into Cheticamp to investigate and report back to him (RG 30-3/2/7349-54). The report indicates that the Boudreaus were creating a "tangled mess" of racial prejudice, and were claiming Quebec to be superior to Antigonish in directing French co-operatives.

³⁵Revenue and Expenditures for the Extension Department:

	<u>1929-34</u>	<u>1934-39</u>
Carnegie Corporation	29,500	27,382.20
Other Donations	5,311.03	9,373.93
Sale of Pamphlets	334.70	1,843.52
Balance paid by university	<u>17,998.97</u>	65,647.59
Dominion Department of Fisheries	53,144.70	<u>25,094.49</u>
		129,341.73

(source: RG 30-3/25/1439).

³⁶The Bishop (Morrison) was anxious about Protestant's "getting in" as cited above in the MacDonald-Tompkins letter; Coady was criticized by an influential Halifax cleric for permitting Protestants to play prominent roles in the Rural and Industrial Conference of 1937. Quinan to Coady (RG 30-2/1/4167).

³⁷It must be remembered that Coady and Tompkins had always "hobnobbed with heretics" in university circles and especially among those who desired to forward the movement. The latter included a significant number of Protestant churchmen as well as Protestant educators, co-operators, etc. Excepting a few instances these churchmen were not from Eastern Nova Scotia. It is significant that the Russell Sage Foundation put Tompkins onto Filine, the Jewish philanthropist, and his assistant Bergengren as the source for credit union expertise (RG 30-3/4/2314). Harvard, Dalhousie, and Mount Allison gave Tompkins honorary degrees and it was a young Talcott Parsons that met Tompkins and showed him around Boston before the ceremony (Boyle, 1953: 209). Details like these which indicate the relations of these Catholic priests to Protestant institutions and other religious personalities are quite extensive and could best illustrate my contention that these men were committed to a wider universe of discourse than that of the Catholic world.

³⁸J. D. Nelson MacDonald, and Norman MacKenzie were the most prominent clergy of non-Catholic faiths that supported the work of the Antigonish Movement and worked within the movement. J. D. Nelson MacDonald became an outcast among a number of clerics of his faith (United Church), at one point, for his work in the movement United Churchman 20/10/1948. This was temporary; later he became the model after which others followed. Allen's work (1973) on the Protestant social gospel makes few references to situations east of Kingston, Ontario. He had good reason since few Protestant clerics in Eastern Nova Scotia except for MacDonald, MacKenzie and Clarence MacKinnon were committed to any type of social reform other than prohibition.

³⁹This is also in accord with the first Rochdale principle of "open membership" which forms the secular basis for the international co-operative movement. As such, it was a necessary condition for linking the Antigonish Movement to other co-operative bodies.

⁴⁰Initially the Antigonish Movement was requested not to go into Pictou County to organize co-operatives. Alexander MacKay was already at work there but this does not mean it was his group that prevented Coady from organizing. Archie MacLean informs me that it was a coalition of merchants and politicians that prevented Coady from entering Pictou County (personal interview); MacLean suspects that religion was used to cover economic interests. Coady felt it was political pressure that prevented entry (RG 30-2/1/1057ii).

⁴¹The role of Protestant Extension workers is of particular interest. Usually, such workers were assigned to Protestant areas and some tokenism seems to have been employed in determining how many of these workers would be employed at any one time (interview with Archie MacLean but my interpretation of data).

⁴²A number of items of correspondence to Coady from these respective sources, at various periods, would indicate this type of response.

⁴³These letters which have been preserved in carbon copy form number several thousand. Coady took pains to keep the record straight and had a keen sense of history and the significance of his work so he saved all the relevant materials, letters, etc. Reading Coady's mail took six weeks alone.

⁴⁴Coady would sometimes write Michael Gillis, J. J. Tompkins or others for advice on how to handle particular problems. His tactic of calling in the Extension staff for a discussion of problems and his subsequent lifting of their ideas and using them as if they were his own made his letters and speeches a reflection of his colleagues' ideas. This information was collaborated by all who worked with Coady and all whom I had the opportunity of interviewing.

⁴⁵Masters of Their Own Destiny was the title of Coady's work on the Antigonish Movement.

⁴⁶My use of the term Social Darwinists is not consistent with the lexicon of the movement. Instead of referring to this philosophy by name, the leaders of the movement would speak of rugged individualism, exploitation, materialistic greed, and the perversity of one against all.

These elements comprise the essence of the Social Darwinist conception of society and my use here is intended to summarize these elements into a recognizable theory of social existence. I am surprised that the term only appeared once in the literature on the movement.

⁴⁷"We...are convinced that (the movement is) not only the expression of real religion in the economic and social fields but also has a real influence on organized religion." Coady to Arnett, RG 30-2/1/76.

⁴⁸The international response to the Antigonish Movement was the subject of a pamphlet recording the citations given the movement by various international notables. "The Antigonish Movement; Tributes by Leaders in Church and State."

CHAPTER 7

COMMITMENT, RITUAL AND MYTH:

THE LIVES OF THE CO-OPERATORS

In this chapter it is my intention to demonstrate that the emerging identity of Eastern Nova Scotians centered, in part, around the practice of "co-operation". In a large number of communities, the practices and beliefs of economic co-operation provided both order and continuity in the interpretation of reality. This is to say that certain types of newly-established behaviour became directed and predictable. Under economic co-operation the actions and aspirations for several goals, such as increased material prosperity, a sense of community purpose, democratic participation in education and economic affairs, and a liberal philosophy of social equality, were established in the individual and social life of Eastern Nova Scotia. Part of the process by which such order became established was through commitment, ritual and myth. These might be seen as socially-enacted translations of the rarefied realm of objectifications which informed this co-operative movement.¹

What needs be demonstrated in this chapter is the

relationship between these three mechanisms of the sacralization process and the "identity" of the co-operators. The delineation of this relationship can be empirically found: in the emotional attachment of the people to co-operation (commitment); those repetitive patterns of behaviour that reinforce belief in co-operation and witness this belief to self and others (ritual); and in the shorthand accounts of the message of co-operation which provide the people with a conceptual clarity of the programme and which establish their place in the programme (myths). If, indeed, these three mechanisms of sacralization were operating in the lives of the co-operators the consequence would surely be an enhanced social predictability both in normative regulations and in the establishment of social institutions. As such, this co-operative identity can be seen as a focus for a variety of social activities and sentiments.

In speaking of co-operation as a way of life, it can be seen that such a focus of existence is sacralized, or, in other words, is set apart from other possibilities of existence. In effect, co-operation became surrounded by certain "don't touch" sentiments which expressed the reverence and awe that was thought to be due the practice of co-operation. In this sense, economic co-operation was for some the "revealed truth" of the 1930's in Eastern Nova Scotia.

The data which exist to demonstrate the processes of sacralization can be found in several places: in the speeches, newspaper articles, and letters of the participants; in interviews with the participants; in the records of various co-operative organizations; and, in the contemporary reports written by outsiders during that period. Of particular note in this latter instance is the work of Leo Ward (1942) who made an extensive tour of co-operatives in the Atlantic Provinces.

I have gone to over forty centers...to miners, industrial workers, farmers, lumbermen and fishermen, and with some toning down of the matter by a couple of leaders, the composite picture should be a just view of the Nova Scotia co-operative movement as it gets into the lives of the people (my emphasis).
Ward (1942: X)

The fact that Ward uses direct quotations from his informants makes his work a catalogue of interviews of the period and for this reason it is utilized extensively in this chapter.

Although personal interviews with participants of the movement have provided me with a feel for the sense of communitas experienced in the 1930's, it was not my research tactic to rely upon these interviews for the evidence of the then existing attitudes to co-operation. The reason for this (as expressed in Chapter 2) is that many of these informants are the elder statesmen of the movement and, to this day, reflect positively on the movement.² The

validity of their reconstructed feelings is therefore at issue since it is possible that their current attitudes do not reflect the experience of that period which is of interest here. From these interviews, certain practices can be brought forward as examples of commitment and ritual but it is possible that today's myths are subject to the weight of the past forty years; they represent, instead, the remnants and favorite recollections of a past and hence are invalidated by this very process of selectivity.

Therefore to determine what took place in all three levels of sacralization, it has been more beneficial to read those letters, newspapers and reported accounts available during that period. There is selectivity here, as well, but the process of selectivity is more apt to be a socially-constructed account rather than a subjective account. This is to say that what was said in the 1930's had to be accounted for in the public domain. Fowler's (1938) book written four years before Ward is a case in point. In a book review carried in the Extension Bulletin his perception of events was criticized as being far too optimistic and selective:

the author does not seem to sense the great gulf that has to be bridged between the ideals of the propagandists of the movement, on the one hand, and the hard realities of the administrator on the other.

Extension Bulletin, 18/10/1938, p. 2.

The "Tour of Nova Scotia Co-operatives", a pamphlet written

to discuss the progress of co-operatives in 1938, makes several references to the over-blown descriptions of some co-operative communities. I take these examples of restraint to be indicative of some measure of control over what was said about the movement. This does not mean that what was said in public was true: it merely means that this kind of truth which originated in a definite social context is more acceptable for the research problem than the truth uttered by individuals removed in time from the events they describe.

This method of selecting data does not solve the problem of public falsehoods which are socially constructed. W. I. Thomas' well known adage that the consequences of belief are more important objects for investigation than the actual truth of certain propositions is helpful since it directs our attention to the "realizing potency" of beliefs. At the same time socially constructed public falsehoods are of interest in that they expose certain problems within the movement that required special treatment. By comparison of private and public documents it appears that some situations were projected into the public view in a more optimistic manner than what might have been justified given the existing circumstances. Such falsehoods are therefore special data cases. The criterion for determining such information is the aforesaid observation of

discrepancies between public information and private correspondence. Using such a check provides a means for understanding the then-existing cogency of co-operative identity as opposed to the projected and aspired-for level of identity consolidation. Despite these special cases it is my contention that, in the following analysis of commitment, ritual and myth, a cogent identity can be said to have existed in the movement.

COMMITMENT: MEMBERSHIP

A priori, a necessary condition for co-operative commitment is the membership of the people in co-operative associations. The empirical question of participation in the movement can first be addressed. As indicated in Chapter 5, Eastern Nova Scotia, as a region, enjoyed a broadly-based network of co-operative stores, wholesale marketing agencies, credit unions, and co-op factories by the year 1938.

Co-operatives were organized for credit, creamery production, milk pasturizing, fertilizer purchase, turkey production, egg marketing, pulpwood and pit prop marketing, pickled and salt fish marketing, canned lobster production, housing, hospital insurance, funeral insurance, and the construction of schools, fish buildings, meeting areas, and wharves.³ The extension of co-operatives into these disparate areas of consumption, production, marketing, and

social services indicates the spirit of the time when the practitioners of co-operation were so committed to the strategy of co-operation that they were willing to employ it in any likely endeavor. An illustration of this is found in Canso where co-operatives were formed to bring in goats from British Columbia to provide a local supply of milk for the children; mink were captured to create co-operative mink ranches; and the family blueberry outings were organized into blueberry canneries.⁴ Such enthusiasm, spread throughout the region, indicates one aspect of commitment; a "good idea" was variously employed to solve a variety of socio-economic problems. The further question raised is that of the extent of membership throughout the region.

Chapter 5 would indicate that all aspects of the movement, both the informal study clubs, short courses and general meetings, and the formal co-operative organizations were subscribed to by different groups within Eastern Nova Scotia. Here, in discussing commitment, some attention can be given to the quality of this membership growth in order to demonstrate the enthusiastic commitment to co-operatives. The available data would seem to indicate that, besides the extension of co-operatives into diverse areas of social existence, the growth of these co-operatives was rapid and sustained in the period up to 1938. Credit unions are particularly illustrative. Although the data are incomplete

for the period between the appearance of the first credit unions and 1938 some reliable materials have been located on membership for the years 1934-36.⁵ For the twenty-nine credit unions listed, the rate of increase in membership for rural credit unions is 79% and for urban credit unions is 106% during this two year period. There are twice as many urban credit unions as rural credit unions. Only two credit unions failed during this period; they actually never did get started.⁶

In Chapter 5 the successful development of urban credit unions was introduced. This success may be better indicated by analysis of the materials presented in the Extension pamphlet "We Learn by Doing". From the capsule histories of each industrial credit union given in this pamphlet, it would appear that, of the 15 industrial credit unions in industrial Cape Breton for which complete data was given, the total founding membership in the period 1932-1937 was 759 people. The modal figure for founding a credit union would be 50 people. Eleven of the fifteen appear at or below the mode. The total dollar shares of these fifteen credit unions, founded between 1932 and 1937, was \$2635, or, a modal share of \$175.73 a credit union and \$3.47 per member. These credit unions may be said to have had small beginnings, both in the number of members (50) and in the personal investment of their members (\$3.47). By 1939

according to the figures indicated in the pamphlet cited, the credit union membership of these fifteen organizations had swelled twelve-fold to 9,727 members, or an average membership of 648 per credit union. It can be noted here that the two credit unions started in 1937 had tripled in membership while the four begun in 1933 had increased to thirty times their original size. The shares of the fifteen credit unions represent an even greater increase. The 1939 shares of \$334,505, averaging \$22,300 per credit union and \$34.39 per member would indicate a substantial increase in the financial participation of individuals in credit unions since the average share per member is ten times that of the founding members. Of the seven credit unions appearing above the mode of \$22,300 one was founded in 1935, two in 1934, and two in 1933. This would indicate that rapid growth was more pronounced in some rather than others. The pattern of growth was sustained in all fifteen which would indicate, that in this area of co-operative activity, commitment to credit unions appears established. The question, however, is commitment to a new identity. This discussion of the membership of urban credit unions forms but only a part of the greater process of boundaries around an identity that is regional in character and not limited to mere participation in one formal organization. In Chapter 5 it was noted that all producer co-operatives and the majority of consumer

co-operatives were based in rural areas.

In the 1940 Report of Co-operatives in Nova Scotia, 58 co-operative organizations associated with the Anti-gonish Movement are recorded for the area of Eastern Nova Scotia.⁷ They represent total assets of \$412,547 and are comprised of 6633 registered members with a mean net worth per member of \$62.20. Eighty-eight percent of all these (58) co-operative organizations were rural and sixty percent of all co-operatives were consumer stores, the remainder being fishery production co-operatives, saw mills, etc. These figures only represent co-operatives that made reports of their net worth and membership to the Nova Scotia Department of Agriculture and hence do not reflect all co-operative activity.

The optimum methodology for interpreting the extent of membership for all forms of co-operative activity would be to contrast the membership of all co-operative organizations with that of the general population. This could have been accomplished had not the following conditions intervened. First complete data on all the organizations are not available, especially data on all forms of social service co-operatives and on some purchasing co-operatives in agriculture and fishing. Secondly, social clubs, parishes, occupational groups, and small communities formed credit unions and co-operatives for a restricted constituency which makes the task of comparison with the general

population difficult unless the full particulars of the respective entities may be ascertained. Finally, since credit unions and co-operatives were but part of a programme which included an indefinite membership of study clubs, general meetings, and unincorporated social co-operatives formed on an ad hoc basis, it would be misleading to quantify only the membership of the incorporated organizational aspects of the movement since the latter might well represent only the tip of the iceberg known as the Antigonish Movement.⁸ Therefore, it would seem that the quantitative data on membership, which are at best only partially available, are insufficient to illustrate the commitment found in the various aspects of the movement. I shall now proceed to explore the qualitative data to define commitment in relation to identity.

COMMITMENT: BELONGING⁹

Commitment to a programme of action ought to produce changes in behaviour. The establishment of co-operatives and other projects of the movement would indicate that such new behaviours did take place. Individuals and groups not only changed their behaviour but considered this change to be a significant part of their lives. This is to say that people in the movement witnessed to others the salubrious effects of education and co-operation. Such is illustrated by a correspondent's account of a study club meeting.

now there are some people who would laugh at what they so far have accomplished and call it insignificant [saved \$12.00 through co-operative buying]. There are some who would ridicule and boo them for their tiny efforts, but I, for one, would not stand in front of those forgotten men when their meeting is over and boo them when they yelled three cheers for Co-operation.

Extension Bulletin, 15/4/1938, p. 8.

J. J. Tompkins writing to Coady (RG 30-2/2/2367g-h) testifies to the change he noted in individuals in the programme, remarking that one member "is a different man" and another "has developed into a real fighter". This is echoed in the Forty-seventh Annual Report of the Nova Scotia Farmer's Association (1943) where testimonials are given to the "articulate young men" of Eastern Nova Scotia and their "torrents of oratory" developed through the Antigonish Movement. An agricultural representative, at Mabou, marvels that the "community presented him with their plan of what they thought Mabou needed most," (his emphasis)

At last we have found a community where we play our proper role as technical advisers (sic) and no longer need to be self-salesmen.

Extension Bulletin, 15/4/1938, p. 5.

These types of testimonials appear consistently in the speeches, correspondence and newspapers. They do more than record and promote the development of the movement; they provide indications of how people committed themselves to co-operation. "Three cheers", "torrents of oratory", and a measure of self-determination would indicate that, in

some places, people considered themselves to be identified with co-operation and were made anew by this identification. While such testimonials are extensive in the literature their general tenor may be schematically presented by the following examples. Dunc Currie, a co-operative home builder, claims that co-operatives made him get along better with others.

If any body had told me that I would work for the other fellow - for nothing! - that I'd do work on his house when it was his shift at the mine, and that he'd work for me, I wouldn't have believed one word, and I'd have laughed at him.

Ward (1942: 103)

A. R. MacKillop, a study club leader, writes to The Casket (22/3/1933, p. 10) claiming the study club movement to be "wonderful in that it has created such sociability among the country people". Frank H. MacDonald, steelworker, speaking of the study clubs he is involved with appeals for further assistance from the Extension Department (RG 30-3/2/6543) because "working men get better acquainted with each other" and the clubs "offer viable opposition to certain groups of a communistic nature". T. Archie Moore, farmer, exults that co-operatives permit an openness to marketing since farmers need no longer practice that secrecy of marketing which demanded that the farmer "get his stuff away at night, under cover of darkness" (Farmer's Co-op Organization, Newsletter, 29/8/1936). William

Feltmate, fisherman, in a long testimonial presented at the 1938 Rural and Industrial Conference claims that he is no longer an "individual fighter" but now fights collectively, that there is more than dollars and cents involved in co-operation: "it teaches us to trust one another" and "transact business...in peace and harmony with one another". To dramatize his case he compares his lot with that of his father.

Again let me tell you that through organization we got study clubs started, and along with the things I told you they have resulted in old and young men learning to read and write, which is one of God's greatest blessings. It is only those who have no education who see the great need of it today. When I look back into the past I remember that my old dad, of the twenty-six letters of the alphabet, knew only three--and these were his initials. He used them on his buoys and on the end corks of his nets. For forty years he piled his fish on the local fish dealer's wharf. He never had the opportunity of finding the cost of one hundred and twenty pounds of fish at sixty cents per hundred; he could not do it at the point of a gun. I ask you, without casting any reflections on the fish buyer, do you really think poor old dad got a square deal? If he did, he died and never knew it.

Feltmate in Tour, (1938: 40).

The spirit of co-operation was also credited with: being an "effective psychology for drunkenness" (Extension Bulletin, 7/1/1938); taking people off relief (Extension Bulletin, 15/5/1936); increasing the farmers' awareness of consumer demands for quality farm goods ("Co-operative Marketing of Livestock in Canada", p. 5); and creating a

more ecumenical Christianity, (Boyle, 1953: 147).

While all of these varied changes were occasionally remarked upon, one consistency that almost always appears is that of the material advancement brought about by co-operation. The following paragraph is indicative of many appearing in the literature.

...everything has changed. There is a credit union and there are co-operative fisheries, a canning factory for lobster and for fish. The fishermen now have contact with the markets by long-distance wire. They sell their catches for more than ten times what they formerly got. The school and the teachers have alike materially improved. The fishermen ply their trade in decent boats. The roads have been rebuilt and there are community gardens.

All this is symbolic of what has been going on all over eastern Nova Scotia. Bergengren (1945: 127).

The data would indicate that, while people proclaimed many positive and very few negative consequences resulting from co-operation, they generally became so fixated on the immediately apparent material benefits that frequently they felt compelled to make the further claim that material advancement alone did not encompass the benefits of the co-operative spirit. In short, they felt co-operation changed people as much as it changed economic circumstances.

Even if all their co-operatives were to fail (financially) tomorrow, they will never be the same again.

A. S. MacIntyre, "The Social Aspects of Co-operatives" (RG 30-3/2/518-530).

To examine further this type of commitment which was considered within the movement to be the best expression of the Antigonish Movement, it is necessary to develop a concept of what was considered to be the essential character of co-operation. Here, commitment may be best understood as it was expressed in the lives of those who approximated the shared ideals of "good co-operation". Likewise, the inability of individuals and groups to realize commitment within the movement may be documented.

THE GOOD CO-OPERATOR: THE MOVEMENT'S IDEAL

To be a "good co-operator" meant more than simply to conduct business with or in a co-operative organization; it meant being a certain kind of person or certain type of community with a commitment to a particular way of life.

The "good co-operator" is a phrase that rolled off the tongue of every person interviewed; it constantly appears in the literature, and, more than any other indicator, its use embodies the commitment espoused by the Antigonish way. My use of the term includes the notion of good co-operation being a social as well as an individual phenomena. I shall demonstrate below that such was implicit in the movement--even though their use of the phrase "good co-operator" was usually specific to individuals, e.g.:

To become a good co-operator takes very definite schooling of the will. A man has to learn to get along with his fellows, etc....

Boyle (1941: 147).

From available speeches, and articles, and from its use in interviews these features of the good co-operator appear. A good co-operator is informed, sacrifices personal interests for the co-operative way of life and is enthusiastic about his work.

What this means in theoretical terms is that good co-operators create a community of discourse which informs their action so that certain types of activities are renounced and others advocated, that good co-operators invest their resources in the group and demonstrate the value of their investment by sacrifice, and that the work of co-operation prompts an enthusiasm which characterizes their activity as being special and out of the ordinary. Each concept may be treated in turn as they relate to individual co-operators.¹⁰

GOOD CO-OPERATORS: THE INFORMED

Usually good co-operators of the rank and file were developed in the study clubs where high priority was placed upon the study of community problems with a view to organization. Such men were convinced that the community takes precedence over any interest group and the best form of organization possible is self-directed economic organization (or co-operation). This was the foundation of the good co-operator but the super-structure was built upon

that enlightenment developed through education. Certain truths were mastered as being of logical necessity for any subsequent development of co-operation as a way of life. Each truth implied some required behaviour; hence "truths were mastered" by commitment to co-operation. Examples of such truths were found in the Rochdale Principles which formed the basis for co-operatives.¹¹ Commitment to co-operation meant that "business" was not "business" in the usual individualist sense.¹² Rather than self-interest, rational efficiency, or profit being the principle for economic action, the needs of the community including its non-economic needs was thought to be the *raison d'être* for co-operation. Rochdale Principle number 2, democratic control (one member, one vote) as adhered to in the various co-operatives indicates the salience of the group over vested interests and individuals. Principle number 1, open membership, rather than respecting boundaries around races, religion, or status implies that economic co-operation was an expression of man's common lot. An equalitarian ethos was a necessary condition of co-operators. A good co-operator therefore was one who erected upon a fundamental commitment to community the conviction that this commitment was only served when all were able to participate and all participated equally.

Because of the potential chaos that could result from a misuse of these organizing and operating principles, it was thought necessary that all co-operators follow the Rochdale Principles as the primary education principles. It was the good co-operator who understood them and could apply them in the promulgation and defense of the co-operative life. Hence good co-operators were informed about the difficulties inherent in promoting co-operation. Many other foci of identity could appeal to a co-operative constituency and reduce the vitality of co-operative business or tempt the people to develop "abnormal" co-operative practices. The good co-operator, as an informed person, could re-direct the poorly motivated and refute heresies that developed from within and without co-operatives. The good co-operator had "the big picture".¹³ He knew the place of co-operatives in the world order and measured other organizations and value systems against the possible long term efficacy of co-operation. Good co-operators, then, had opinions and arguments against certain competing strategies. This consensus seems to have developed among those of the co-operative mind with respect to these competing foci of identity: organized labor failed in its social consciousness by too great a concern with wages; political parties divide the people, are captured by vested interests and co-opt real reform; uneducated co-operators are ghosts that haunt with their inevitable

failures; paternalistic elites create rosy cover-ups of the real interests of the people; boom-psychology is a delusion introduced by industrialism; and rugged individualists are predators of common interests.¹⁴ A good co-operator knew the delusions of easy wealth, political patronage, paternalism, unrestrained private enterprise, and ill considered co-operation. In effect, this meant that many of the traditional safeguards provided by ingratiation with political and social leaders had to be renounced since such ingratiation involved the segmentation of community and a selective meeting out of privilege.¹⁵ In short, because the informed co-operator was an apologist for a cause he was not always a mild man; part of his mission was to locate the weakness of other strategies and thereby promote the boundaries established by co-operation. At various times weaker co-operative brethren were attacked, "other-worldly" clerics, merchants, politicians, newspapers, radicals who felt that co-operation was an ineffective social reform, and always the present economic order and defenders of the status quo.¹⁶ Such attacks may be seen as the development of boundaries around co-operative identity, i.e., what co-operation was in opposition to what others were.

While every co-operator was expected to be fully informed regarding the social nature of co-operation and the possible threats to co-operation, it can be said that

what clearly distinguished some co-operators from others was their level of information/belief. The taking of short courses, attendance at study clubs, reading the Extension Bulletin were methods of developing this critical type of co-operator. Despite these possibilities many co-operators were ignorant of the philosophy of co-operation and were continuously charged by others with being merely interested in the tangible benefits resulting from co-operation; they were labelled "co-operators in name only".

An important split in rural areas between "good co-operators" and "co-operators, in name only" was evident in the attitude towards the quality of goods produced. Good co-operators were convinced that progress in marketing could only be developed through quality production. This further distinguished good co-operators as those who were competent in the art of primary resource skills. Since they perceived the problem of producing goods in "drips and drabs" to be central to the difficulty of producing quality goods, it was considered imperative to be knowledgeable about both the production and flow of goods to market. Good co-operators were both those advocating new methods as well as those who lined up with the experts against the haphazard methods of those farmers and fishermen lacking in commitment to the modern interpretation of their respective occupations.¹⁷

Because the informed co-operator represents a particularly high degree of commitment through his study of co-operative phenomena and his proselytizing and defense of co-operation, it can be said that he was best represented in the leaders of the movement, the agricultural representatives, the extension workers, managers of the stores, study club leaders and among the most committed of the rank and file. Fowler indicates that the rank and file did participate as impressive expert witnesses at the Rural and Industrial Conferences.

Gathered there were nearly a thousand visitors. Some of them had come from western and southern sections of the United States to observe what was happening in Nova Scotia.

One by one the assembled visitors heard the humble fishermen and farmers, delegates to the Conference, make their reports of action and progress. They saw there what they afterward admitted was the most dramatic parade of speakers they had ever heard: men and women who had come up out of ignorance and poverty to speak with intelligent power and clarity. Fowler, (1938: 63).

This was not a single instance of informed co-operators from the rank and file selected to speak before mass audiences. The Farmer's Convention (cited above), the 1938 Conference on the Fisheries, and the Rural and Industrial Conferences all made use of farmers and fishermen "telling their story".¹⁸ In the general meetings and study clubs it was the usual procedure; such that outside observers waxed enthusiastically and embarrassingly about the erudition of

"simple fishermen".¹⁹ In this respect the commitment indicated by information was not restricted to the leadership of the movement.

OUTSIDERS: THE REALLY INFORMED²⁰

The interplay of leadership of the movement and the rank and file co-operators with outside experts and interested spectators forms a very important element in the commitment of those in the movement. Almost from the beginning the movement was noticed and commented upon locally, nationally and internationally. At the Rural and Industrial Conferences, clerics, social reformers, news reporters, politicians and academics came to observe what was happening in Nova Scotia. Tompkins' and Coady's connections in the United States made much of this overt interest possible since they worked through the people at the Carnegie Corporation, Russell Sage Foundation, and the Davidson Foundation to contact interested people that might help the movement.²¹ The effect was a groundswell of favorable publicity and the acknowledgment that the movement was indeed significant. Here visiting social leaders were testifying to an essential premise that operated at the base of identity consolidation, i.e., that the individual participants and the movement was part of something greater than themselves. At first, the outside response was through the provincial press, then politicians

including governmental ministers, then the foreign press including the B.B.C. and the New York Times, and by 1938 "the Pope himself" was lauding the worth of the movement.²² As the national magazines, describing the movement, came into homes and the car loads of "important" American visitors made the tour of rural and urban communities the concept of a regional movement became more firmly embedded in the minds of the people. The very presence of these outsiders emphasized the holistic rather than local character of co-operation; it was thought to be a feature of life all over Eastern Nova Scotia.²³

at Antigonish's small Roman Catholic St. Francis Xavier University were 1,000 people...among them 250 clergymen and educators from the U.S....to attend a Rural and Industrial Conference, to behold how the 100% Christian economics of co-operation had put the whole region on its feet.

Time Magazine 2-/8/1938.

One of the essential features of any identity consolidation is the perception of uniqueness and the ultimate significance of such uniqueness. In this dissertation such has usually been addressed as boundaries or don't-touch sentiments. In Eastern Nova Scotia informed outsiders were proclaiming the uniqueness and the significance of the unity of a whole series of local co-operatives. Their presence, without doubt, helped shape the internal character of commitment, especially, as it related to the idea that good

co-operation was a social phenomenon that escaped the boundaries of relatively isolated rural communities. Informed co-operators already knew that the idea of co-operation had such a regional character. Despite all the rhetorical support they enjoyed from the outsiders, they were not always able to convince the respective co-operative communities to work together.

Similar to the outsiders witness to regional co-operation were those instances of co-operators from communities within the region who would rally together to support a feeble co-operative in another community. Here, it may be said that the informed co-operator was the loudest advocate of subduing the short-term interests of local co-operatives in order to promote co-operation effectively in the region. This quality of the good co-operator, therefore, was not as much an individual characteristic (although individuals with the "big picture" had it) but a communal characteristic of co-operative organizations in their relations with one another in a common movement. In the initial effort to establish co-operatives this communal character was, of course, not as important a focus for commitment since local co-operatives would first have to be established before respective co-operatives could relate to each other.

SACRIFICE: THE GOOD CO-OPERATOR

While many did not enjoy the skills, education, or interest to become good co-operators in the intellectual and proselytizing tradition, many were glad to follow co-operation for a variety of reasons and to sacrifice for the aims of the local co-operatives. It is this group that represent the everyday practice of commitment. The volunteers who built the co-operative buildings, those generally attending the study clubs, and those who gave their support to the rallies were perceived to be good co-operators.

Nine years ago the Judique Co-op Soc. Ltd. began business. The carpenters were still working on the store. A shipment of drugs and groceries came in during the day. A number of good co-operators were hauling gravel to put around the store premises. The new manager was at hand, it was his first experience in store work and he was green as grass.
(RG 30-3/2/7472)

Then they (people of Louisdale) decided to build a store, the men bringing shares of lumber and the women helping with labor and supplies; everything except glass and shingles was home made.
Ward, (1942: 76)

Tonight people are coming to see if they can pump some life into (the Inverness co-operative)...co-operators from Cheticamp, Belle Marche, Grand Etang, St. Joseph du Moine and the Margarees.
Ward, (1942: 158)

While the leaders of the movement in their private correspondence frequently upheld the model of the moral-intellectual co-operator and stressed the need for study

clubs to educate this type of person for action; it would appear that the actual experience of many of these clubs was far from intellectual but instead galvanized around local issues and needs. The character assassination of the merchant and the related needs for better prices for fish and a source of cheap credit did as much for commitment here as the convictions espoused by the well-informed. William Feltmate speaks estatically about the dollar returns on the lobster catch realized by co-operation:

Oh, boy! How I turned that envelope around! (The First cash return on organized marketing of lobster) I didn't know which end to open. I was afraid I might open the wrong end, but finally I summed up the courage and opened it. There was a cheque in it for thirty-two dollars. (\$22.20 greater than merchant's price)
Extension Bulletin, 5/10/1937, p. 5.

The report on co-operative marketing in "A Tour of Nova Scotia Co-ops" indicates that in the co-operative village of Harve Boucher, co-op lobster marketing members received "two cents a pound more than the unorganized coast" and they had "the tidy sum of \$10,800. as a surplus...one need not assume the role of a prophet to foretell the spread of this movement...." (Coady in Tour, 1938: 10)

The film made by the National Film Board, in the late 1940's on the Antigonish Movement "The Rising Tide" devotes considerable footage to the old merchant system replaced by a depicted orderly involvement of the community in the

construction of fish factories and stores. This is consistent with the literature of the movement which consistently played off increased lobster prices against a tight-fisted merchant or "middleman".

Louisdale men received \$10.00 a cord (pulpwood) where in the old middlemen days the highest price ever obtained was \$3.75.
Brooks in Tour (1938: 31)

this company (fish merchants, Robin Jones and Whitman) followed the fishermen everywhere in Maritime Canada and left behind them: a standard of living that approached degradation.

M. M. Coady (RG 30/3/2/325).

With the merchant, it was either fish or starve, and we got left"
quoted in N.F.B. "Moses Coady"

The need for cash and the resentment of the merchant's prerogatives therefore made some people disposed to follow co-operatives. These co-operators, acting without the benefit of "the big picture" did the vast majority of co-operative work. They did so by following the rules (created by others); they were the faithful multitude who could be deemed good co-operators by virtue of their consistency and perseverance in this faith. Like that of the intellectual co-operators, the faithful co-operators shared in the experience of sacrifice.

Essentially their sacrifice was that of faith in a new system of business that differed from traditional practice. With the merchant system, goods were supplied on

credit and when produce was brought to the merchant the bills were paid, i.e., transferred to the other side of the ledger. Under co-operation, as practiced in Eastern Nova Scotia, there was not credit. Furthermore, there was a delay between the actual time of marketing to the co-operative and such time as the co-operative sold the catch in distant markets. This meant that one was "short" while this process was going on and still there was no credit in the interval. Finally, the co-operatives always bought and sold "at the going rates" which necessarily meant the prevailing merchant's rates. At the end of the year surplus value was returned as rebate to the owners of the co-operatives. In the meantime there was little difference in price between co-ops and merchants and usually there was less variety at the co-operatives. With respect to the latter point, one cleric informed me that he "had to force himself to patronize" the local co-operative at Arichat.

The issue of credit demanded the most sacrifice. One of the interviews cited in Ward illustrates this problem:

It (co-operation) has helped the men...and its a wonder that any men continue to hold out and won't join the co-operatives. It's that they get credit. Credit, they (the merchants) promise them credit...
Ward, (1942: 157)

Coady in Masters of Their Own Destiny indicates that merchants also attacked co-operatives on the credit issue.

The merchants "feel that after they have carried so many people for such a long time, it is ungrateful of the people to seek to establish their own business" (Coady, 1939: 85). J. A. Stewart, a merchant at St. Peters, questioned the morality of saving money in credit unions when so much money was owed the merchant. He announced a threat to "cut off credit union members at his store". (Extension Scrapbook, news clipping, n.d.) Of all problems generated in the co-operatives this issue of credit would appear to be the leading source of complaint. A. B. MacDonald (Coady's assistant) spent a great deal of his energy at various local co-operatives arguing the cause of no credit in the co-operatives (see Ward, 1942: 61). The fact that so many co-operatives did become established at least for a period on a cash basis is one of the major indicators that this sacrifice was characteristic of the first co-operators who had been long accustomed to a barter economy.²⁴

Another indicator of sacrifice was engendered by the price cutting attacks of merchants and their attempts to lock-out co-operators.

As soon as the news got around that we had received thirty-two dollars for one crate of lobsters, the trouble started. There was a meeting of the packers. They decided that they would not buy our small lobsters if we shipped our market ones.
Feltmate, in Tour (1938: 39)

...the private interests are using another tactic that is difficult to counter. While the miller's list price to the wholesale co-op is between \$8.75 and \$9.00, individual Cape Breton co-operatives have been offered the best grade...at \$7.50.

Extension Bulletin, 19/11/1938, p. 2.

Other accounts of merchant activity include selling rotten apples to the co-operatives (RG 30-3/2/10861), collusion to fix prices for lobster at higher levels than co-operatives (RG 30-2/1/3594), and attacks on the integrity of co-operative citizenship (Extension Scrapbook from 1934, Richmond County Record). In this respect such opposition would seem to have been ineffective since Brooks reports that at L'Andoise, "Not more than 10% of the fishermen proved disloyal by weakening to bids of those who would kill off the new co-operation." (in Tour, 1938: 31)

Harve Boucher was noted to be a place of "outstanding loyalty"; "They, would not sell a lobster to any outsider, no matter at what price", (RG 30-3/2/6146). D. J. MacEachern, an extension worker, in a report on the Cape Breton Co-operative Fisheries (RG 30-3/2/6280) notes this distribution among co-operative fishermen: 48% full co-operation, 37% partial co-operation, and 20% very little co-operation in lobster marketing.

It is obvious that credit and price-cutting attacks required sacrifice; as such, those committed to co-operation distinguished themselves from merchant-client relations and internally from their "weaker brethern" in search of credit

or better prices. It must be remembered that in the early days of co-operative organizations many did not understand why co-operatives couldn't give credit, or why they had to wait for market returns. The initial sacrifice from many co-operators was that of acting on faith. For many, the charisma of Coady was, perhaps, essential for grounding this faith. Such was illustrated by A. S. MacIntyre (in Tour, 1938: 23):

Someone asked, "What will we put in these credit unions?" Father Coady said, "You don't understand, but if you do what I say, you will understand. How many here will volunteer to organize groups?" Names were taken, mine among them. We organized ten study groups.

The sustained development of co-operatives would indicate that such faith accompanied by the type of sacrifice indicated above did become rooted in Eastern Nova Scotia in the period prior to 1939. While these forms of commitment were the most necessary for the very development of co-operation they were not the only sacrifices made by the rank and file.

Other financial sacrifices were entailed in the support of the Extension Department, and the personal saving of money in local credit unions. Extension files indicate that collections were taken up in various parishes for the work of the Extension Department (RG 30-2/1/1232); certain individuals financed projects such as the parish wardens

of Harve Boucher, and particular parish priests; and occasionally some small contributions were made that illustrate the poignancy of personal indigence and sacrifice in the 1930's.²⁵

Dear Dr. Coady

This is to let you know that my son Angus left home to make money to pay our bills for we could not pay them on the farm this year as prices are to (sic) low. Will likely be home this winter. Will send 15¢.

Your humble servant,

John H. _____.

(Extension Files, not numbered)

The personal saving of money in the credit unions might not appear to be an example of sacrifice. Then again, the saving of ten cents, or, a quarter weekly, during this period frequently meant going without such valued items as a drink or tobacco.

Every time we met some one said, "We can't save if we don't earn." We talked it over and found that some of it went for pool, for movies, for card games, and perhaps most of it for rum. We decided that 25¢ a week would go into the study club.

A. S. MacIntyre in Tour, (1938: 24).

The height of financial sacrifice was to turn back into the co-operative store the yearly rebate so as to further the development of the store. In some communities this was done unanimously at the general meeting, but these instances are only rarely found in the Extension files although the instances where this was done were loudly proclaimed at each Rural and Industrial meeting.²⁶

Other types of sacrifice are evident in the lives of the co-operators other than those relating to financial matters. The starting-up of co-operatives caused rifts within some communities resulting in divisions of friends, kin, and even family. Sometimes a certain loss of status was involved since "the better people" were not infrequently against the co-operatives (especially in certain Protestant areas).²⁷ When the battle lines were formed some traditional loyalties became difficult to reconcile with co-operation. Ward (1942: 118) documents the lot of the husband whose wife was "no co-operator"; J. D. N. MacDonald, Protestant minister and fieldworker, in an interview recalled how "his front pew emptied" as he became progressively involved in the movement; A. S. MacIntyre recalled that his former union associates were reluctant to let him speak at a union meeting (RG 30-3/8/385) after he "went over" to co-operatives.

The clerics of Eastern Nova Scotia form a special case of sacrifice in their commitment to the co-operative way. They were forced into a defensive posture on account of their involvement in economic matters, became subject to criticism from within and without (the church), and they found that the work of co-operative organizing was usually in addition to their regular duties as priests. Charges of materialism, consorting with Protestants and communistic

clerics were not uncommon responses from fellow churchmen and leading citizens. R. B. Bennet, then prime minister of Canada, is reported to have said to Tompkins "It is in Soviet Russia you belong, not in the priesthood of the Catholic Church" (Alex Laidlaw, 1967: 11); Fr. Quinan of Halifax wrote the Bishop of Antigonish advising him that "Coady should stay in Eastern Nova Scotia" (RG 30-2/1/3605), Quinan accused Coady of "transforming Christianity into Economics" (RG 30-2/1/3606), and neglecting those "Catholic rights we have struggled for"; Nickerson, fish processor at Lunenburg, termed Coady "a parasitic functionary" (RG 30-2/1/1161t); and from the other side, Michael Gillis reports in a letter to Coady that "some of our rural pastors are hopeless" because they are failing to lead the co-operative movement (RG 30-2/1/1392). Coady summarized the feelings that opposing clerics had concerning the movement:

The priests of southern Nova Scotia in those days were not anxious for us to go in. Not one of them ever invited us. Furthermore, not only southern Nova Scotia but in the diocese of Antigonish there were many priests in the fishing villages who were not anxious to see us come in with our "odious philosophy. (RG 30-2/1/1057ii)

The priests shared with the agricultural workers and extension workers the burden of expertise. The roads of Eastern Nova Scotia were criss-crossed by these men who carried the whole weight of disseminating information to the widely-scattered community co-operatives.²⁸ To

develop on the local level, promote unity on the regional level and to insure the integration of a myriad of economic activities, these men were constantly visiting communities, patching up differences, training managers and book-keepers and rekindling enthusiasm. These volunteers and paid workers spend many nights on the road constructing the legal basis for hundreds of credit unions, arbitrating the problems of those "over their heads" and attending "interminable meetings" dealing with "the same problems, night after night". Accounts from informants indicate that many weekends and evenings were spent away from home. Alex Laidlaw, one of these expert co-operators, in speaking of how the movement eventually "weakened," notes that this strategy of beginning in the local community and solving problems at this end of society necessitated "countless small units of organization which could be kept alive, only with a great amount of effort" (Laidlaw, 1967: 18). The schedule of meetings recorded by extension workers in the 1940's indicates this effort as the usual workload was thirty communities monthly (Work Sheets, Extension Files). For some, this was a decided sacrifice since the pay was never good as the ideas they were promulgating.²⁹ Waldo Walsh recorded the activity of J. C. F. MacDonell, agricultural representative, as follows:

Very few realized the hours he put in.
Nothing stopped him--cold, mud, slush acted

as a challenge and spurred him on... He made millions but not like the traditional kind who made it for themselves--he made it for the little people whom he so loved. The Casket, March 25, 1976.³⁰

ENTHUSIASM: THE GOOD CO-OPERATOR

It can be readily seen that the leaders of the Antigonish Movement shared in a spirit of enthusiasm for their work. They were captivated by the message of co-operation and took every opportunity to spread their message. Informants recall humorous anecdotes of how some would use any occasion; pulpit, casual and formal meetings, banquets and even wakes, to take the floor and say a few words about co-operation. Waldo Walsh is still doing this as evident by the plug for the distribution of wealth in the above cited obituary.

The enthusiasm of co-operation was both individual and social; from the "standing up for co-operation" at general meetings to "three cheers" and "torrents of oratory" to the "foment" of whole communities it was apparent that commitment was established in the co-operative idea. Brooks (in Tour, 1938) notes that a number of communities were totally co-operative, meaning that they had 80 to 95 percent co-operative membership. In the following paragraphs these perceptions of enthusiasm may be used to indicate the communal aspects of the phenomena:

More has happened in the last six months than in all our previous history. The movement has

spread to Newfoundland, P. E. I. and New Brunswick. It is going like a prairie fire. We think nothing can stop us now. There are fourteen new stores in process of formation in this end of the province alone.

Coady (RG 30-2/1/857)

people are going wild on the Extension materials (i.e. readings)
Tompkins (RG 30/-2/4104)

Take a trip with us some time, and go as we go, from group to group, seeing fishermen studying on Ile Madame, and farmers studying in St. Andrews, miners in Caledonia, meeting hundreds and hundreds of people scattered over the province, all awakened...

Extension Bulletin, 15/5/1936

The country today, intellectually is like the sea when it gets lashed up by the winds. Its raging and boiling over with activity. West Arichat has a store and a credit union; Petit de Grat has a lobster factory and a store, a fish plant and a credit union; D'Escousse has a store, credit union and last winter got the fever to build a co-operative ice house so suddenly that they went to the woods and in five days got out the green timber and put up a sixty foot plant. Activity was in the air, we could smell the balsam up in Louisdale.
Report to 1937 Rural and Industrial Conferences.

Such is enthusiasm when men use green lumber to build. It recalls the critique made by a visiting Latin American priest who claimed the movement to be based more on enthusiasm than technique.³¹ J. R. Kidd, the Canadian historian of adult education noted this tendency within the movement:

Those in the Antigonish Movement have many virtues but detached objectivity is not as high on the list as are such attributes as zeal, determination, vigour, ingenuity, magnetism, enthusiasm.
(in Laidlaw, 1961: 11)

The detached objectivity, which Kidd feels to have been lacking in the Antigonish Movement, would have been of little utility in the creation of identity. Kidd's perspective, on adult education as a professional discipline, does not permit him to see the place of such enthusiasm in the creation of identity since for him it implicitly detracts from the merits of a programme of adult education.³² In contrast, it is my contention that the "critical scrutiny and rigorous evaluation" of the movement that Kidd calls for, in the sentence immediately following the quotation cited, must deal with enthusiasm for what it represents in itself and not as an aberration in the development of a working strategy of adult education. Enthusiasm permits identity to become consolidated and embedded in the emotions of the participants of a movement. Detached objectivity is a luxury permitted to spectators. The detached observers of the 1930's were those who wagged their fingers and pointed out that green lumber was inappropriate for construction.

In this respect it can be noted that enthusiasm was not always forthcoming from the university, parish priests, and in the various co-operative communities.³³ It was hardly

universal since representatives in some areas were calling for increases in enthusiasm (RG 30-2/1/1) and appealed to extension leaders to send workers to their areas to rekindle the "missionary spirit of the early days" (RG 30-2/2/1303).

I realize that we must be charged with enthusiasm before we can tackle our problems in the right way.

Study Club Leader to Coady (RG 30-3/2/7972)

The character of enthusiasm differed as well as its intensity. The militancy of some clerics was informed by an expressed belief that co-operation was an expression of "God's own work". It was a "sword upon the earth" separating the clerics committed to justice and those committed to other-worldly religion.³⁴ The militancy of the laymen cooperative leaders in the field was fueled, at times, by some expression of this spirituality but most often it rested upon the prospective triumph over material conditions, over privation, and over exploitation that could be remedied by both economic co-operation and by better procedures for the production and marketing of rural goods. Their zeal sometimes led them to overestimate the ability of the farmers to produce these commodities, as indicated in this letter of one rural pastor.

What we want here first is to learn how to grow successfully and efficiently farm products, not to market but to eat. Do you get me? Then if we can first learn how to fill our cellars, we shall consider the best

way to handle the overflow by good marketing.

J. B. Kyte to A. B. MacDonald
(RG 30-2/2/1150)

Whether the enthusiasm was predicated on Gods' work, scientific agriculture, or mixtures of both, there is evidence to indicate that it filtered down to the rank and file who took up the words of the leaders to describe their involvement in the movement. Thus, the people's stories, especially those of the Rural and Industrial Conferences and those recorded by Ward (1942), are coloured by these phrases of "God's work" and "proper method."

Given the range and extent of this enthusiasm it is not surprising to find within the movement a consistent tendency to interpret the universe as unfolding under the aegis of co-operation. The following are some examples the co-operative way was announced to be a true expression of God's will; the movement was seen to be of world significance in saving the little man; and the Maritime Provinces were thought to be a laboratory for "a great social experiment" that would recreate democracy in the world.³⁵ While it is true that these interpretations are more characteristic of the leadership of the movement, there also did exist at the community level a frequent use of rhetoric that recreated the history of each community into a pre- and post co-operative period. This was an important feature of every community report, it appears in the film "The Rising

Tide" and in most of the early reports on Extension activity including the "Tour of Nova Scotia Co-ops." In the section below on myths this feature shall be elaborated on since it is more suited to the discussion of myth rather than enthusiasm. In this context of enthusiasm, the tendency to recreate history according to the happy effects of co-operation on community life was usually articulated whenever a group of people rejoiced at the founding of their own co-operative.

Today (in Mabou) there is better community feeling than ever; original hostilities have largely passed out.
Brooks in Tour, (1938: 27).

In sum, commitment to a new co-operative identity is indicated by the quality of membership in the movement especially in the range of co-operative activity, the rapid growth of co-operatives, and the sustained development of established co-operatives. It is further indicated by the character of the good co-operator; in the educational formation of co-operators, the sacrifices made to create co-operatives, and the enthusiasm demonstrated in their work. In this people distinguished themselves from others and formed boundaries around a specific concept of existence through the process of commitment to co-operation.

RITUAL: REPETITIVE ACTIONS THAT KEPT
CO-OPERATION BEFORE THE PEOPLE

Ritualistic activity appears in both co-operative activity per se and in other activities that were not strictly a part of co-operation but which were informed by the movement. In co-operative activities, the various rituals that developed helped to place individuals in the work of co-operation by defining what was perceived to be proper behavior while at the same time bringing home to people the principles and beliefs which this behaviour stood for in the movement.

The "share" is one such example of this process. People purchased shares in their store at the beginning of its operation. Subsequent purchases or sales to the store became additional partial shares in the business. In the first film made on the movement (The Rising Tide) the fisherman receives his receipt (share) from a clerk with a smile on his face, folds it and places it in his pocket. This recreation of this simple process of purchase was indicative of the daily activity made meaningful to those people belonging to co-operatives. The practice was frequently spoken of in glowing terms which would indicate that the significance of the share was realized, if not always in the act itself, at least in reference to the act. Merchant-client relations of course did not have the feature

of the share nor the related dividend. The ritual that governed these relations was that of the transfer of accounts in the ledger, a perceived mysterious process that was controlled by the merchant since it was in his keeping and it masked both the real rates of interest charged for credit and his volume of business. In contrast, the share as ritual, was common to both the store and the individual co-operator and the dividend was based upon the volume of business transacted which was disclosed in the public annual meetings. In this way the mystery of economic transactions was made understandable since not only individual transactions but the communal transactions of the co-operative became comprehensible. As such the group identity of co-operators, related to economic self-determination, became established in and through these business transactions centered on the share and dividend. The repetitive pattern of the actions which contained these new meanings may be considered ritualistic in the sense that each action affirmed the distinctiveness of co-operation.

The case of ritualized business transactions is even stronger with respect to credit unions. Ten cents or a quarter a week was a practice shared by many people who quite regularly would make their weekly saving and have their book marked indicating their personal saving ability and investment in community credit. Behind both types of

share activities was the belief that small economic transactions led ultimately to the control of financial institutions by the people, or more specifically, that these transactions would bring the economy under community control. It also meant that one could secure loans from the credit union. In the spring, a \$25.00 loan meant that rope and twine for lobster traps could be co-operatively purchased at a lower price than from the merchant. The loan itself was also insured by the spirit of the credit union which ideally would take care of members who encountered particular problems of repayment.

A few facts will bring out the Christian character of credit unionism. A young man in a local community wanted to buy a truck. He had some money, but not enough, and so he borrowed \$500 from the credit union. Shortly after this he took a hemorrhage and it was discovered that he had tuberculosis and he had to be sent to a sanitarium. In these circumstances the directors devised a plan to help themselves and to help the sick man as well. They hired a man to drive the truck. The result was that eventually the credit union was reimbursed and when that was done they kept on working the truck and helped to pay the man's expenses at the sanitarium. The credit union made it possible for the people of this community to be charitable in a new way. They could act as the Good Samaritan to their unfortunate brother by turning this new social force into the direction of charity. "The Antigonish Way" (1943: 61)

Saving and repaying loans were therefore investments in a collectivity that was greater than the assets of a particular member. The problems of "selfish members" who

used the credit unions only for loans highlights the day to day activity of the many who consistently supported the credit union. Ward (1942: 68) indicates one instance of a meeting where this problem was addressed:

"What do you do with lazy members?"

Director: We have decided to interview them one by one! If they don't pay on their shares, we have decided not to lend to them. A. B. (MacDonald) says: "You can always find someone in the community to write a polite saucy letter....Now that five dollar member--selfishness is prompting him, and we don't want any selfishness in our credit unions."

It would seem that the savings/loan ratio was more inclined to be disposed toward more loans than savings in the early credit unions. A reverse occurs ten years after the founding of the first credit unions. A 1934 Report (RG30-3/4/1517) indicates that total loans exceeded savings in the first twenty-seven credit unions. A 1943 Report (RG30-3/4/55) indicates not only the reverse but savings are twice that of loans in 66 credit unions. While a number of factors can account for this, not the least of which is the upswing in the economy due to the war effort, it must be noted that, in the interim, credit unions did not fail due to any lack of share capital. Of course the ritualistic concept of 25 cents weekly had long evaporated in these later credit unions but the question can be raised as to the early effects of such saving on the later success of credit unions in maintaining financial solvency. The

psychology of ritual is such that it reinforces commitment through practice in the Durkheimian sense of binding men to a particular group. Practically speaking, this ritual also functioned to realize a particular type of social existence, i.e. viable economic co-operatives.

The use of cash in co-operatives has been mentioned above. As an unaccustomed rural business practice, its employment may also be seen as somewhat ritualistic since it highlighted the distinctiveness of co-operation. Likewise the co-operative business meetings promoted a distinctiveness based upon the sociability ritual which followed these meetings. Singsongs, conversation, and dances were associated with general meetings and as such may be considered to have reinforced the communal aspects of co-operation developed in the business practices themselves. This tactic was advised by the Extension Department in their study club manual and its practice was widespread.

With respect to the conduct of the meetings themselves particular strategies were employed to permit the widest possible participation. These meetings introduced the methodology of business meetings to rural communities wherein all members were encouraged to have an equal say in the proceedings and equal vote in the determinations of business. While it is not difficult to conceive of parliamentary procedure as ritual, it needs to be pointed out

that the novelty of this experience in the context of conducting a business is significant. People had to learn to speak in public. The study clubs had already encountered this difficulty and had instituted a method of soliciting comment. ("Well, what have you got to say?") would be asked of the "quiet ones". In getting people to participate, and not leave the running of the store or credit union to the manager, certain rituals of soliciting comment became part of each public meeting. It was expected that anyone could be called upon to say something or do some particular task, such as thanking the guest speaker. The significance of this from the perspective of the movement was that it was a "peoples' movement and if people were to democratically run their affairs, this ritualized form of participation was necessary. Furthermore, there was a realization that some might sit back and say nothing at the meeting but speak quite freely outside about what they did not like. Speaking out was a means of ensuring social control. More common, however, there was a reluctance to speak simply because most farmers and fishermen perceived themselves to be under-educated for this type of public display. The ritualistic soliciting of comment was an educational device as well as a means of stressing the importance of unlettered discourse in a society where the only public men were the professionally trained. Hence,

open meetings provided one of the most satisfying accomplishments for the movement since it has frequently been cited that these meetings created a level of articulation among farmers and fishermen that had never been previously experienced. As one informant said, "even the stutterers got up". The oratory of the people was an opening up and realization of the expectation articulated by the extension department that adult education could be effective in creating "new men".³⁶ Study clubs to promote public literacy, organized an extensive programme of public debating among young and developed inter-community and regional debates on topics related to rural life.³⁷ Drama was encouraged and was in several areas taken up in the form of one-act plays dramatizing co-operatives.³⁸ Some co-operative stores put aside a part of the store for conversation so that the people would feel free to socialize while shopping.

In the rural areas where there were few social gatherings (aside from house calls, wakes, weddings and Sunday church) these social activities fostered an environment for sociability, a channel of activity for the young, and a sense of community. Testimonials to this new spirit of community were forthcoming from communities that enjoyed such fringe benefits of co-operation. In communities where the vitality of social life was being sapped by out-migration, these socials brought to mind the attractiveness

of community life as opposed to the alternative of urban existence.

Other established rituals were also employed by the co-operators. Wakes, weddings, and picnics became a means of meeting people and demonstrating solidarity with co-operators. The leaders of co-operatives (managers, field workers) were usually in attendance at most of these activities. Here, relationships of kin or friendship were extended to include the relationship of co-operative membership which provided a new motivation for attending family celebrations or sorrows.

Of all the ritualistic activities in the movement the one that appears to be most conspicuously a part of every gathering is that of trotting out the myths of the movement. The reports of study clubs, the newspapers, the speeches of the annual conferences, and the reports of outsiders reflect a host of similar expressions that comprise a litany of co-operation. This aspect of ritual can be explained more fully under its own subtitle.

In summary, ritual forms an important means of recreating in daily life the aims of co-operation. Their forms vary: the act of purchase of goods and sales understood as "share" (in the business); saving a dime a week to attain financial independence; experience in public speaking as participants; social activities recreating a sense

of community; demonstrating solidarity by attendance at family gatherings; and, the reiteration of myths at public gatherings.

MYTHS: SHORT-HAND ACCOUNTS OF THE ANTIGONISH MOVEMENT

Although Coady hoped that someday everyman would be a philosopher of co-operation and saw the prospect for an enlightened population, he and the other leaders of the movement realized that the movement was best expressed in simple and "manageable truths" that could be popularly conceived and promulgated. Coady was immensely successful in creating and popularizing a rhetoric for the movement through his cherished "nuggets". These concise statements of reality became standardized through their use in particular types of situations. Because Coady was not alone in creating these statements, the process of myth-making becomes worthy of attention here. It is certain that the leadership and the literary publicists of the movement created many of the slogans but they also passed on the well-turned phrases they heard in various communities. These myths did become part of the interpretations of co-operative reality throughout Eastern Nova Scotia.

Myth functions to integrate various strains of existence into a coherent account of reality. It creates a conceptual clarity permitting action to take place. Correspondingly, myth orders a variety of actions which would

otherwise be thought to be haphazard or futile. For people to develop co-operatives in Eastern Nova Scotia some myths would have had to develop to foster enthusiasm (motivation) and reconcile apparent disorder. It is this aspect of myth that is expressed here.

The synthesizing function of myth is clearly expressed in the case-history approach of each co-operative community. In the previous section, this case history phenomenon was related to commitment. "The Rising Tide" (N.F.B.) provides a vivid instance of this approach to history when it depicts a rural fishing community caught in the grip of fatalism and poverty and subject to the abuses of an impersonal economic order. Out of this chaos, the idea of adult education emerges, and from this springs forth co-operatives or self help enterprises wherein people are enabled to become masters of their own destiny. This myth appears most frequently in the literature dealing with co-operative communities, the names change and characters differ but the essential core of chaos, birth and evolution is developed. All reality is explained in terms of co-operation, various prophets are given their due and diverse elaborations are added but this type of synthetic myth best expressed the beginning, middle and end of the new existence.

In its more generalized form the myth would be presented as this:

The co-operatives are building on the ruins and ashes of what failed to keep up a solvent people. They are just in their infancy...co-operators are building for the long haul, for they know what has been accomplished elsewhere in reconstructing deserted villages and a broken down rural life.

Extension Bulletin 4/2/1938, p. 1.

The history of each community of noted progress, Dover, Judique, Mabou, Larry's River, Louisdale, Canso, Grand Etang, Harve Boucher, Johnstown, Glace Bay, Reserve, Baddeck, would become collapsed into a sketch portraying the victory of the people over their conditions of poverty and apathy. The repetitions of names in litany-like fashion made it appear that things were happening in these areas that were extraordinary. Some standardization is evident in the litanies much like that of the traditional Catholic litany.³⁹ Particular villages, like saints, represented specific problems or constituencies. For Protestants there was Baddeck; for labor, Reserve; for Scots, Judique; for fishermen, Canso; for Acadians, Grand Etang. Each represented the power of co-operation over deplorable local conditions.

In addition to the overall synthesizing myth a number of supplemental myths were developed to reinforce specific categories of behaviour. While there are many

examples of these myths, there are several that can be elaborated which are characteristic of most co-operatives and which indicate the general process.

These myths attend to specific problems such as:

1) the motivation for action in the midst of fatalism; 2) the potential of the unlettered individual; 3) the articulation of community problems in practical terms; and efficacy of community organization; 4) perseverance in co-operation.

1) The people who attended study clubs and lived in a co-operative way of life were those who had the experience of "seeing the ghost", feeling the "rawhide lash" and discovering "divine discontent".⁴⁰ Not all would recognize these terms but they could certainly remember the experience. To stimulate an audience to action it was usual to show the ghost of what could be, apply the rawhide lash to laziness and fatalism, and shake them spiritually into moral co-operative consciousness. The conversion process was expected to follow this kind of an oratorical and emotional performance. Many, in fact, credit their conversion to this type of experience and in turn used it themselves or requested the more competent to use it on others.⁴¹ Coady was most often the one sought out to stimulate an audience.

once you heard him (Coady), you were never the same again.

A. Hogan, M. P. in N.F.B. "Moses Coady"

a great man, like a big hen, you felt like getting under his wings for protection.
Joe Laben in N.F.B. "Moses Coady"

There can be little doubt this "big powerful man" made many people into believers that both his role and his mission were divinely ordained. There are far too many references to his stature and the effect he had on people to consider him as anything but charismatic in Weber's sense, i.e., originally sent by God. In effect, a man ordained to the Catholic priesthood told mostly Catholic people that they had to wake up and follow him so they could determine their own affairs. When Coady referred to the first general meeting at West Bay Road in 1930 he termed it "the first shot fired." The myth generated was that the movement was an economic revolution which demanded full participation. Ward (1942: 93) illustrates the necessity of such commitment as being a life or death affair in this conversation with a group of miners. The miners here are quoting Tompkins, the other major leader:

A fellow comes to him (Tompkins) in confession, a Newfoundlander, and Dr. Tompkins says, "Are you in the credit union? and he thinks it's a lodging house and says, "No, I boards at Pat Gallant's." And he says to another fellow, "You in the co-op?" and he's not. "And not in the credit union either? Well you might as well be dead!"

2) The answer to "divine discontent" was invariably education. "Old dogs can learn new tricks" became the

slogan for the Canso area but such a feeling was expressed in other places. Education "unleashes" potential and directs the converted. The slogan "ideas have hands and feet" best expressed this militant type of education which could develop practical responses to life's problems.

Here, the myths developed around aging fishermen in Canso who were learning to read and write and winning prizes for spelling in their elementary classes. These headlines appeared in the Halifax paper "Prize winning student at Little Dover is 62 years of age" and "Happiest man in Cape Breton has learned to read and write at 76" (Extension Scrapbook, news clippings).

3) Supposing that fatalism was subdued, and education unleashed, there still remained the question of determining which practicality was worthy organizing around. "Find your Lobster" would be the answer of the initiated, or in other words, use the example of the past co-operative experiences to determine which needs will produce the satisfactory results necessary for stirring up widespread enthusiasm. Another way of expressing this was "apply the formula". Particular success stories of the movement as told by the co-operators of Little Dover, Johnstown, Grand Etang and a number of other communities became models of the methodology necessary for success. They became the hagiographies of blessed deeds and their names became

synonymous with the efficacy of the co-operative way. Each rally was a celebration of their financial reports and each co-operator from these communities shone with the halo of their accomplishments. The myth lay in the belief that every small community was a potential Little Dover; in reality the myth was far more powerful than the reality since its effectiveness lasted long after failures appeared in the model communities.⁴²

4) Perseverance in co-operation was somewhat problematic and so the usual recourse in those times when difficulties were encountered was to argue the case of the "long haul". Economic co-operation was slow, temporary setbacks certain, enemies numerous, the uncommitted numerous, and hence the building of co-operatives was not for immediate gratification but in creating institutions for the people. There was implicit in this idea of the long haul the conviction that co-operatives provided a permanence beyond the fluctuations of the present day and that faith would be rewarded eventually in the creation of the new reality of universal co-operation.

These four central myths (of "divine discontent", "teaching old dogs new tricks", "applying the formula", and gearing up for "the long haul") form the core of the co-operative strategy and explain the essential processes of the movement in terms of the potential opposition of apathy,

inability, lack of a proven methodology and fickleness. They relate to the instigation, development and sustenance of co-operation. Ward's (1942) interviews reflect a veritable string of these myths as related by co-operators all over Eastern Nova Scotia.

Myth also sublimated conflicts occurring within the membership of the movement. The sources of conflict attended to by myths are: religious and ethnic relations; political differences respecting the use of violence; and rural/urban differences.

Myth-making in response to these problems was characterized by an articulated optimism respecting the salubrious potentiation of the movement to resolve a wide spectrum of public disaffection. While this optimism was a universal response it did take various forms according to the source of conflict.

PROTESTANT-CATHOLIC MYTHS

The myth-making which developed around the possible sources of conflict within the movement may be understood as response to those competing foci of identity which could undercut the fullest expression of the people's allegiance to co-operation. "There is no Catholic or Methodist way to catch fish" underscores the prerogatives of fishing co-operatively as against sectarian demands. The frequency of this maxim increased in proportion to the cosmopolitan

nature of the audience. It reached its highest form in the annual conferences where many non-Catholics were present; but in certain communities (such as those in Guysborough, Victoria, Pictou and Cape Breton counties) it was part of the local vocabulary. Favorable accounts of the increase in religious tolerance were cited in extension reports to emphasize the non-denominational aspect of the movement (this provided best access to funding).

"Why," said this speaker with a smile, "I came up here tonight with Father Forest of Port Felix. That couldn't have happened twenty years ago. In the old days, people of different faiths kept strictly to themselves. A meeting like this would have been impossible."

Halifax Herald, 8/10/1935.

Although this was the usual public pronouncement, there are indications that the unity of Protestants and Catholics was not as blissful as the publicists made it appear. Coady wrote Michaud (Minister of Fisheries) in 1936 to hire a non-Catholic "to mitigate the feeling of the movement being a Catholic movement" (RG 30-2/1/3086) and wrote Innes (Deputy Minister of Agriculture) assuring him that "all the Catholic forces back him." (RG 30-2/1/2975). At the Forty-seventh annual meeting of the Nova Scotia Farmer's Association a farmer testified that the local minister "quickly squashed the study clubs" in one area (1943: 104). This is consistent with the lack of extension activity in Protestant Pictou County in the early stages of the movement. Later,

when the movement went to Pictou, Coady privately accused the Protestant clergy of siding with the vested interests (Coady to Tompkins RG 30-2/1/4135). Ward reports (1942) a whole string of good Catholic-Protestant relations and then quotes "some Catholics at Iona" to this effect: "There are no co-operators at Baddeck; they don't understand it." At the same time, Baddeck was touted as one of the model Protestant co-operatives. Pursuing the point further, Ward quotes Mary Arnold (the advisor to the miners on the housing co-operatives) as saying, "The Catholics and the Quakers can do this but the others never can." Ward's work is one of the very few public documents where this candid picture of the relations between Catholic and Protestants in the movement appears. Even here it appears against the background of the usual myths. Despite all protestations to the contrary, the movement was generally understood in the province of Nova Scotia as emanating from a Catholic source; a good example of this is the August 12th, 1938 edition of the Protestant-owned Halifax newspaper, The Herald. There, a not too subtle reminder of religious authority is presented to the readers by reporting the general conference of that year with front-page coverage featuring a picture of the local Bishop (Morrison) dressed in his prelate's robes over this headline, "Bishop says Antigonish Movement Non-Political". Non-political, maybe, but by implication

certainly not non-denominational!

"There is no Methodist or Catholic way to catch fish" certainly attempted to heal this breach as did all the testimonials of Protestant-Catholic relationships engaged in the common movement and it is possible that this was as much believed as it was proclaimed. Most importantly, it legitimated Protestant-Catholic relations for those who most wanted to expand the horizons imposed by the sectarian traditions in many communities.

ETHNIC MYTHS: (OR LACK THEREOF)

Ethnicity is a peculiar type of concern for the myth makers. If there was a tradition of problems in Protestant-Catholic relations, there was no developed tradition of inter-racial bigotry in recent memory. It was there, but not prominent.⁴³ For this reason, ethnicity does not appear overtly in myths except when praising the great works of the Scots, Acadians, and on occasion Blacks, and English, for certain endeavors where these groups formed co-operative organizations. However, ethnicity was a sub-rosa concern as is evident from the sharp distinction between public expression and private correspondence. The phrase "the people" or "the little man" or "common lot" was used to obscure all boundaries and relativize the ultimate importance of particular ethnic responses to co-operation. The similarities of the fisherman and the grasp

of these similarities formed the basis for co-operation. Ethnicity is used to demonstrate that such boundaries had fallen and men were working together despite the fact that certainly the Acadians were anything but happy with the consistency of English instruction used by the Antigonish leaders.

These principles have been continuously drilled into the people of eastern Canada and as a result, irrespective of race or creed, they are working harmoniously in the various economic ventures sponsored by the Department. We have at last found a common denominator in this Maritime Country to which all can be reduced for the good of the whole. Protestant and Catholics, English and French find here a common platform on which they need not sacrifice any of their principles or ambitions....

Extension Report, 1939 RG 30-3/25/892.

At the time this was written, it is true that the major Acadian drive for independence (during the mid-1940's) within the movement had not occurred. However, sustained rumblings of Acadian discontent with English-speaking extension workers had occurred and some action had been taken by Acadian co-operatives to force Antigonish to be more sympathetic to their francophone ambitions. Correspondence of 1932 (RG 30-2/1/1484) and (RG 30-2/1/1649) recognizes the problems of obtaining French-speaking workers and presenting French materials. Despite this a qualified French-speaking Acadian was by-passed for an open position in Extension (1933) which caused some resentment among

Acadians at Cheticamp (interview with Alexander J. Boudreau). However, despite this incident which later became prominent in the threat of Acadian separation, the evidence would indicate that the Federal Government translated Extension materials (RG 30-2/1/3087) and the Acadian clerics, Forest, Poirier, Leblanc, Boudreau, and DeCoste were in constant communication with the Extension Department and were earnest promoters of the movement. Even after the split of the 1940's which resembled more a momentary insurrection than a division within the movement, as it was confined mostly to Cheticamp and parts of New Brunswick, the myth of continuous harmonious relations continued to be promulgated by the Extension Department. Most people interviewed denied any rift ever existed. If so, it is difficult to interpret Coady sending Joseph Gaudreau to Cheticamp to investigate the "tangled mess" (RG 30-3/2/7349-54) caused by the independent Acadian short course of 1947, and his correspondence with Chiasson (1947) accusing "hot headed fellows (of) dragging the language and racial fight into the sacred field of the economic life of the common people (intending) to split their own ranks" (RG 30-2/1/10572). The very fact that the issues raised at Cheticamp in the 1940's were language, Protestant involvement, and the neglect of Acadian interests would highlight the importance of myth development in the movement respecting

the commonality of rural peoples. Initially, enthusiasm may very well have masked the problems associated with de-emphasizing ethnic boundaries. Again, since the initial activities of the movement were community based rather than based on the entire region, and furthermore were based on fishing which was an Acadian strength it would not have been as necessary to de-emphasize ethnic boundaries at the beginning of the movement. It would have been most surprising if the Acadians had not put up any resistance to the development of the "common man" myth in the movement after their long history of boundary maintenance in Nova Scotia. Considered as a foci of identity, the Antigonish Movement would necessarily relativize certain traditional claims of the Acadian people respecting their independence while at the same time responding to very definite problems engendered by Acadians in a changing society. The intention of the Acadian division of the 1940's was to capture part of the Antigonish Movement and make it Acadian in leadership and in its future direction. Such a rift indicates the variation in the compelling quality of myths; not all the myths of the movement were able to explain the new reality effectively to the various groupings which made up the movement and perhaps the "common man" myth was one of the weakest myths in explanatory value since it most directly confronted the established tradition of racial and

religious divisions.⁴⁴

THE MIDDLE WAY MYTH

The myth that the Antigonish Movement was a "middle way" between collectivism (totalitarianism) and rugged individualism (private enterprise run "amuck") was another attempt to heal the potential split of those who advocated reform by violence and those who advocated reform by peaceful means. It presumed that extreme political solutions of right or left were perverted responses to the same problem, that of a decent existence. The "middle way" was the democratic way, the way of the man with a stake in society, usually in the form of some ownership of the means of production through economic co-operation. Against violence, totalitarian social injustice, and the perceived pattern of political co-optation by vested interests, it promoted the seizing of democratic institutions by economic organization. It presumed that "middle way" results were long term in their consequence, as opposed to short term violent upheavals, that democracy earned was democracy cherished, and the economic organizations could change the structure of capitalism in North America. The true revolt was knowledge for the people, not control over people nor anarchy among the people, but direction from the people. While the sources for the middle way are many, this truncated version from the Extension Bulletin presents its major elements.

In a society which would save its liberty, the state is not a detached deity.... It is rather the fruition of those other organisms within itself, which enlighten it, mould it, motivate it, and put into its hands the instruments with which it can work: the state is the people.

...Before the state can become the instrument of a free society, the economic man has to be unscrambled--the powers of the few difused among the many.... (In contrast with) "the errors of Russian bolshevism"... the first scientific principle of economic reform is Gradualism. We go along in our leaky boat while getting together the materials for a better one.

Extension Bulletin, 12/3/1937, p. 2.

We feel, then, that co-operative business, well established in this country, would be the great antitoxin that would do more to cure the ills of society than all the palliatives that have been so far suggested.

Extension Bulletin, 7/1/1938, p. 3.

The "middle way" myth was chiefly articulated in the industrial areas where communist strategies were perceived to vie with what reforms were intended by the movement. Because the level of debate was sharpened in the industrial areas by the tradition of union activity and was significantly more complex than either the Catholic-Protestant name calling and the sub rosa ethnic conflicts (isolated to Acadians), the "middle way" myth became one of the more developed mythologies in the movement.

To be effective, the "middle way" had to produce results for the workers. Usually, the credit union, which provided loans to workers subject to layoffs and slowdowns in their employment, was acknowledged as being effective.

"We Learn by Doing" is a pamphlet devoted to the efficacy of credit unions in Industrial areas. Housing, a considerable problem in industrial Cape Breton, was another effective means of supplying workers with a recognized necessity.

Rocky land, a pig and a home-made house would hardly be taken as symbols of resurrection and salvation, and yet in a way they have remade the lives of these eleven families (of the co-operative housing group).
Ward (1942: 99).

Never (did I expect to own a home) nor a pig or a chicken. And never hoped any of us, to own anything, or never thought of it.
Joe Laben in Ward (1942: 100).

Where the myth develops is not in the results but in the perception that such results are the consequences of a synthesis between capitalist and communist excesses. The "middle way" explained what was wrong with both approaches and offered a solution that combined a limited private ownership with the communality and social justice of communism. The Extension Bulletin expressed the "middle way" myth by attacking both capitalism and communism as they existed:

The Capitalistic Christian will tell you then that Christ did have lovely ideas, which was quite natural to a Divine Being, but they just weren't practical.

Of course Christ was not radical. He was only making little jokes when he said those things about the rich.

Extension Bulletin 20/12/1935, p. 2.

In turn "the power of communism, lies in what it has taken from Christianity. Rid it of materialism and its emphasis on the class struggle and through the debris of usurury eaten centuries the body of medieval Christendom begins dimly to take shape." (Extension Bulletin, 12/2/37, p. 4). From this it would seem that the myth of the "middle way" was for the most part grounded in Christianity and especially relevant for industrial workers since they were most familiar with both capitalism and communism as ideas. Coady in 1932 claimed "the miners are swinging to us in great numbers" (RG 30-2/1/481) and in 1937 Tompkins wrote Coady claiming "about 30 miners of the ultra radical group in Reserve are coming to us in neat shape and are going to attend the course" (RG 30-2/1/4166). These features of conversion were looked upon as very significant achievements of the "middle way" philosophy and, as shall be seen in the conclusion, formed the basis for an expanded myth of what the Antigonish Movement could accomplish in the world arena. At home, the myth encapsulated a moderate stance toward social reform based upon a voluntary collectivity of interests informed by Christian principles. As such, it reconciled for some the discrepancies between a history of radical labor unrest and a corresponding chronicle of institutional apathy to the plight of the working man.

MYTH OF RURAL/URBAN CONSUMERS

Rural/urban differences within the movement created problems in creating adequate sublimating myths. Here much ambiguity exists and it can be said that seldom were co-operators able to go further in this area than simply emphasize the unity of all as consumers or their transcendental unity in "the mystical body of Christ" (see Chapter 6 on objectifications). Rural-producer co-operatives as contrasted with urban-consumer co-operatives are a case in point. One group organized to get better prices and the other to lower prices. They were not united against a common enemy since the merchant of commercial capitalism was the scapegoat in rural areas and the absentee monopoly capitalist of industrial capitalism (as well as communist radicals) the bête noir of the urban areas. The concept of "the people," considered as the potential producers and consumers of a co-operative society, formed the basis for a mythology, but "the people" were not specified to any degree except in the case of their common consumption of goods. Despite the fact that the Extension Department was proclaiming its urban success in public, its private soul-searching indicates that the urban areas had not developed:

How to educate farmers and fisherman is pretty well known but no effective method has yet been work out (1937) for urban dwellers. (RG 30-3/8/90).

We are not having the same success with our individual study clubs that we had in the past due largely to the fact that the people are working steadier now (1938) and are better off than at any time since the war.... A. S. Macintyre to Coady (RG 30-2/1/2745);

The co-op housing group members of the past have not, in general, become very interested in and have not given much support to the other aspects of the co-operative movement. (RG 30-312/1203.

For public consumption, rural and urban peoples were united as consumers and as "the little people". They shared in the enthusiastic planning of the proposed Eastern Co-operative Wholesale, the master co-operative meant to integrate all aspects of co-operation in Eastern Nova Scotia. The organization meetings of the Eastern Co-operative Wholesale embody the myth of this urban/rural communality in their minutes.⁴⁵ These meetings, begun in 1937 and sponsored by delegates from all co-operatives in the areas, had the sole objective of creating unity in the movement through a central wholesale organization. They never did develop on the scale imagined because certain urban co-operatives were unwilling to sacrifice their preferred status with the established wholesalers to assist the smaller rural co-operatives. The important point, however, is that it was the non-Antigonish co-operatives that prevented the realization of this objective. With respect to the identity of co-operation within the movement,

the myth of urban/rural communality seems to have been sustained since the older (1906) and more established British Co-operative Society was cast as the villain.

Perhaps, the most serious obstacle was the attitude of the larger co-operative society. At present it enjoys trade privileges with a number of manufacturers and its representatives did not feel the society as a whole would be willing to sacrifice immediate for ultimate gains....

Extension Bulletin, 21/5/1937, p. 2.

This concern with a regional organization in Eastern Nova Scotia was maintained within the movement until the late 1950's when Eastern Co-operative Services was established. It demonstrates the hold that the myth of a common consumer response had upon the members of the movement.⁴⁶ Without such a myth there would have been little connection between the rural and urban phases of the movement.

In summary, myths synthesize or integrate the various strains of reality in the Antigonish Movement by first explaining how the movement creates order out of the chaos of the past and how it may develop communities in the present. Myths sublimate the major conflicts experienced in the movement reflecting these conflicts in an air of optimism that emphasizes the permanence inherent in co-operation and relativizing the state of flux attending to present efforts and conflicts.

CONCLUSION

The mechanisms of sacralization discussed in this chapter, i.e., commitment, ritual, and myth, may be understood to have existed within the co-operative movement. These processes of social existence are evident in the commitment of people to specific values and behaviours, in the ritualistic enactment of highly symbolic behaviours and in the mythology developed to bring together diverse strains of social existence into a common experience of co-operation. Co-operation represents the major elements of the new identity being sacralized in these processes. The core of the new identity was the democratic participation in a collective educational and economic programme intended to inform a social system that social justice is the primary objective of both individual and social existence. The Antigonish movement did not create this new identity. It had already existed in a sometimes confused and unformulated state in the personal aspirations of a variety of people including farmers, fishermen's wives, miners, etc. The movement did consolidate the elements of the new identity into a coherence not previously experienced. Before the Antigonish movement, people desired social justice, co-operatives, democratic procedures, and further education. Certainly, they had some measure of each in their respective groupings; however, what informed each previous focus

of identity prior to the Antigonish Movement was the integration of the social unit as it was created in response to a historical period of differentiation. With the coming of urbanization and industrialization, these foci of identity were "blasted" (as Coady would say) so that some new focus of existence would have to locate people in social existence with the same fixity of purpose that was once provided by ethnic or religious boundaries. The democratic format of the movement was one element of this new identity that was peculiarly suited to the impact of this new differentiation as was the emphasis on education. Through the process of sacralization described in this chapter a number of people came to consider themselves as liberally informed, scientific, democratic, productive, just, and Christian. In short they were co-operators. Even their enemies recognized this.

The fishermen know that the less help they hire the greater will be their net returns, consequently they will willingly lend a hand to do work which others would have to pay for, therefore it is readily seen that the independent fish buyer...is finding himself in business without profit or forced out of business. Submission of Halifax Board of Trade to Royal Commission on Co-operatives RG 30-3/2/3394 (My emphasis).

NOTES

¹Mol (1976) does not treat all four mechanisms of sacralization with equal weight and does make distinctions between them as they are applied to an empirical situation. I have found it convenient to treat objectifications as the most developed form of ideology similar to the role theology plays in religious development (as the expert's arena), and in turn discuss commitment, ritual and myth as the layman's mode of sacralization.

²The loyalty to Saint Francis Xavier University and the movement was well established among my informants. No doubt the honoring of "the rank and file" with honorary degrees helped cement this loyalty even though its original attempt was to signify the commitment of the university to the "little man" (RG 30-2/1/755). It is another indicator of their commitment that, even now, they do not like to discuss some of the negative features of the movement.

³The range of these co-operatives was derived by noting the appearance of each type of co-operative that appeared in the extension files. Some are briefly mentioned in private correspondence and no other record of their existence is available.

⁴These co-operatives were not formally listed but are known because of Boyle's (1953) account of Tompkins' life wherein he describes goat, mink and blueberry co-operatives.

⁵Data on credit unions in the extension files are not well organized. The Reports of yearly progress are not consistent in what they list and appear to have been updated occasionally as evident by pencil corrections. One story told about A. B. MacDonald would seem to confirm their attitude to exact records. He delivered a ten page report on credit union development (supposedly in Amherst, N. S.) using ten blank pages to read his figures on membership, assets and loans; he had lost the original figures en route.

⁶These credit unions, Educational at Sydney and St. Agnes at Little Dover never did submit information to the extension department. They did have charters, Educational 3/10/1934-4/8/1961 and St. Agnes 13/5/1933 to 5/1/1956 but I have not found evidence on their financial reports.

⁷Nova Scotia Department of Agriculture, Markets Branch, 1940 Report on Co-operative Associations in Nova Scotia.

⁸I asked informants to guess what percentage of Eastern Nova Scotia was affected by the Antigonish movement. The answers varied; one said, "Why all, of course, whether you were in it or not"; others did attempt a percentile ranging from 25 to 50 percent with the added caution that it was much greater in some areas.

⁹My use of certain phrases in quotation indicates a phraseology that is commonplace in the movement. The criterion for selecting quotations to illustrate points was determined by the incidence of particular sentiments in a variety of sources. Often any one of a number of quotations could have been used so I generally used the one most available at the time I was writing the passage.

¹⁰Kanter's work (1972) especially Chapter 4, helped in the preparation of this section. Her concepts of sacrifice enhancing value and renunciation relinquishing relationships that are potentially disruptive to group relations are found in the text in my discussion of sacrifice and the proselytizing stance of the informed co-operators.

¹¹The Rochdale Principles may be found in the Canadian Co-op Digest April, 1960 or in any work on co-operatives. They are the internationally approved co-operative principles and aside from the first four, open membership, democratic control, distribution of surplus to the members in proportion to their transactions and limited interest on capital, have been undergoing change according to the extension of the movement into different cultures.

¹²After the 1940's there developed some serious splits in the movement respecting this ethic of "business is not business." Better trained managers took the stance that co-operative business is business, a position that caused many of the first generation leaders to fly into

diatribes about the founding principles (RG 30-3/2/346). Credit unions went in the same commercial direction (RG 30-2/1/2922).

¹³The "big picture" might be explained as having the same conception of co-operation as those who actually developed the underlying objectifications of the movement. In religious terms it wasn't the man who memorized his catechism, but the one who so knew his God that all else fell into place.

¹⁴Reading of the Extension Bulletin weekly permitted the good co-operator to know his opponents. Not a single issue went by without some elaboration of the deceits and delusions of competing programmes of action. Each opponent cited in the text was featured in the Extension Bulletin, some appeared in each issue and others were featured when need arose.

¹⁵The renunciation of politics was thought to be necessary for all within the movement but especially applicable to any worker employed by the Extension Department. On occasion, Coady had to verify the neutrality of his staff to others who felt they were taking sides. This was especially difficult when the one being attacked happened to be a politician or politician's friend.

¹⁶The boundary maintenance developed through these attacks on the movement's enemies was not artificial. Coady was aware of a number of plots to destroy the movement by sacking friendly fishery ministers (RG 30-2/1/1822) on the federal level, thus removing the source of funding, or by banning the movement in certain areas (RG 30-21/1/1057ii) or by manipulation of the Department of Agriculture which was sympathetic to the movement (RG 30-2/1/139).

¹⁷The quality of goods produced and the problem of "dribbly production" were special concerns of the Federal Department of Fisheries and the Provincial Department of Agriculture. When the Premier of the Province, Angus L. MacDonald, came out in favor of the movement he specified this issue:

There is no doubt in my mind about the wisdom of co-operation. And the time has come when not only the lumbermen but all the primary industries of one province should organize themselves in a co-operative basis not only with regard to prices, but also with regard

to quality and standards.
Halifax Herald, 13/1/1934.

¹⁸The minutes of the Nova Scotia Farmers Association 1943; The Proceedings of the Nova Scotia Fisheries Conference, 1938 and the accounts of the Rural and Industrial Conferences given by Glasgow (1948).

¹⁹The rhetoric used to describe "simple fishermen" was a source of embarrassment to Extension workers since it made them appear responsible for disseminating such information. The Extension Bulletin of 18/10/1938 termed these accounts "Exaggerations" in an editorial written on the subject.

²⁰"Outsiders: The really informed" is an appropriate title for this section since the long-standing joke in many parts of Eastern Nova Scotia is to define "expert" as somebody from away.

²¹Tompkins had been involved with the Carnegie Foundation from 1918 when he received money for a chair in French at St. Francis Xavier (RG 30-2/1/741). Coady through Tompkins got the Carnegie people to partially fund the Extension Department, 25% of all expenditures in the period up to 1939 (RG 30-3/25/1439). The Davidson Foundation provided the money for Coady to write Masters of Their Own Destiny (RG 30-2/1/7) and it was the Carnegie people who put Tompkins in touch with the Russell Sage Foundation (Ward 86: 1942). A fair portion of both Coady's and Tompkins' correspondence is to friends at these philanthropic centers. Parenthetically, it may be noted that Mrs. Andrew Carnegie gave her late husband's fur coat to Tompkins to ward off the Cape Breton cold.

²²The Extension Scrapbook, available at the university archives, documents the reporting of the Antigonish Movement in the press. I took notes for the period prior to 1939 from a total of thirty different newspapers including the New York Times; London Times, New Zealand Tablet, Louisville Courier-Journal, and Ottawa Citizen. In the Pope's message it is clear that the reputation of the movement was established by 1938.

I speak of your effort in the social sphere,
which far and wide, is known by common
designation as the Antigonish Movement...
The Holy Father gladly adds, to the general

expression of admiration and congratulation, his own expression of praise.
 Pope Pius XI as communicated by Pacelli (later Pope Pius XII) in "Tributes by Leaders of Church and State."

²³ There seems to have developed in the movement a tendency to present the more salubrious effects of co-operation and a corresponding screening of information. While at the archives, I noted a number of examples where original texts had been rephrased to present a slightly different impression of a situation. For example, if some negative comment was made about the loyalty of a specific group it would be slightly altered to read in a more general fashion. This protective custody of public information was extended to outsiders. It would seem that the outsiders would stop first at Antigonish and there be shown the large map of co-operatives kept at the Extension Center and from this physical piece of evidence the unity of the movement would appear to be a more accomplished fact than what was really established. Further to this they were escorted to the more impressive co-operative communities. Because of this selectivity, these outsiders were often given the idealized "big picture" and hence grasped a conception of co-operation that was more indicative of the leadership rather than the "frank and file." This impression has been collaborated by some informants.

²⁴ Cash trading at co-operatives may very well have selected out the more affluent for co-operative membership. In the only study of merchants' books and co-operative books (Rankin, 1977) which is inconclusive on this point, there would appear to be more teachers and better-off families in the co-operative at Judique and more people from the "back woods" remaining faithful to the local merchant, D. D. MacDonald.

²⁵ Some parish priests gave money or loans to community co-operatives. A. A. Johnston informed me that Decoste at Grand Etang cashed in his life insurance (\$600.), and Charles MacDonald at Bridgeport gave \$5000 for A. B. MacDonald's salary. Tompkins provided seed money at Little Dover (Boyle, 164: 1953), and the parish wardens gave a loan of \$2500.00 at Harve Boucher (RG 30-3/2/6146). In 1939 Coady addressed a memo to "two or three of his friends among the priests" requesting money (RG 30-2/1/1929). He sent out more than two or three letters (more like twenty) but there is no record of a reply. Many priests working as part-time extension workers did not charge for their expenses so this

was a form of indirect subsidy.

²⁶The return of the dividend to the store would cause some dissension at co-operative stores between good co-operators and their "weaker brethren". An informant told me that he had to urge one business to "quiet down" the discussion of such a practice lest it "turn away" some members. Generally, it was safer to return the dividend.

²⁷Protestant groups at Baddeck town seemed to have not been very interested in co-operatives: "not one person in the town of Baddeck has ever drawn a co-operative breath" (Ward, 1942: 131). In Pictou the co-operatives had pre-existed the Antigonish movement with strong Protestant leadership in Alexander MacKay. There, they didn't welcome Antigonish co-operatives initially.

²⁸The mythology of the road in the work of the extension worker is well developed in the lore of the movement but nowhere does it reach greater heights than in Mike MacKinnon's radio broadcast (1955) of Coady "by horse and sleigh, in his old Buick, through storms, with frozen fingers, through ditches, dragging his horse through the snow, not eating or sleeping, and finally injury caused him to rest." There at J. L. Chiasson's glebe house, while convalescing, he made Chiasson a "convert" to co-operation. The similarity to St. Paul need not be pointed out; Mike MacKinnon, Coady's successor as Head of Extension, was said to have idolized Coady. If so, he was more subdued than A. S. MacIntyre in language since the citation in the text quoting MacIntyre, i.e., "You don't understand etc." recalls to mind that New Testament passage "You do not understand, but if you do what the master commands..."

²⁹Extension workers' salaries were not high. Fishery workers were paid 60-90 dollars monthly (RG 30-3/1/3175) in 1939. The nuns working at Extension as well as the priests were paid annual salaries of 200-300 for nuns and 400-1000 for priests. A. B. MacDonald, the layman and assistant to Coady, was paid \$4000. per annum plus expenses from 1930-1934. Coady received \$1000. plus expenses. J. C. F. MacDonnell when laid off in 1932 worked six months without salary. (W. Walsh informant).

³⁰At J. C. F. MacDonnell's funeral (which occurred while I was at Antigonish doing fieldwork) the evidence of loyalty to this man who had helped develop co-operatives

was quite apparent. The church was filled with grey heads and there were few aside from the immediate family under the age of forty. I was fortunate in having a friend there who knew many of the people at the church because of his own work in the movement and therefore able to put faces on many of the men I had not already met. The funeral attracted mostly men; of the three hundred there, some 90% were male. They came from all over Eastern Nova Scotia and afterwards the clusters of men in the churchyard gave the impression that they certainly knew one another.

³¹The Latin American priest was a visitor and student at the Coady Institute (begun in 1959) "St. F. X. is long on philosophy but short on technical knowledge" RG 30-3/1/2834.

³²Kidd's perspective on adult education may be found in Kidd (1956) Adult Education In the Canadian University. His concern may be termed academic in that he emphasizes the history of its development and evaluates the successive strategies of adult education.

³³The role of the university has generally been interpreted as being very positive to the establishment of Extension services. Coady states such in Masters of Their Own Destiny (1939: 14). However, despite the public salutes, the background politics would indicate that not all were pleased with its commitment. Coady himself rejoiced against his "critics" that the 1935 enrollment figures proved that the University would not be diminished by the presence of extension services (RG 30-2/1/2432). In 1938 and 1939, I.Q. tests were administered to fishermen on short courses and their scores calculated to demonstrate that they were college material. Whom were they convincing with such results? As there is no indication of what was done with these results it is not possible to say whether or not they were offered as proof to university officials that fishermen were "worth educating". The reason I suspect that the university continued to drag its heels in the support of extension services is this letter from Michael Gillis to Coady written in 1952:

(There has been) little expenditure in the past twenty-five years on the Extension Department; (it has gone) for the greater advancement and power of the five per-centers.

(RG 30-2/1/1441).

This is to say that the academic portion of the university received most of the money. As I was not permitted to compare figures for the extension with those of the university, I am not able to determine what portion of the total budget was spent for extension services. See also Shook's (1971: 90) comment on the split between the new president (1936) of the University, D. J. MacDonald, and Coady on the "burden" of extension.

³⁴This quotation from Coady illustrates his response to other worldly religion.

In justification of your stand you refer to Luke 12-13 and 15-21. In my travels over North America I have constantly met with clergymen who threw up to me still more powerful excerpts of scripture against this effort to raise the economic standard of the people. They cited "The poor you have always with you," or again, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His Justice and all these things will be added unto you." To cite these passages in justification of the poverty and suffering of our primary producers and in justification of the slum conditions in which the proletarian masses live in our cities, is nothing short of monstrous hypocrisy.

RG 30-2/1/1223.

³⁵Tompkins' enthusiasm even extended into steel and coal co-operatives; "it is just a matter of time and effort before they can study and run steel mines, coal mines and factories." (Extension Scrapbook, Unidentified News Clipping). In 1933 there was an attempt to run a co-operative coal mine in the Town of Inverness. The parish priest, R. L. MacDonald (a long time co-operator from the early 1920's when he was president of the Nova Scotia Farmers' Association), attempted to take over the mines that were closed down by private operators. The venture was an unmitigated financial and social disaster causing Catholic-Protestant strife, family feuding and inter-union rivalry. The only work done on this episode is by MacKinnon (1977) and like the Rankin (1977) paper, the results of her investigation are not conclusive. It was impossible to find a single item on this episode in the extension archives aside from a vague reference in one piece of correspondence. By far, it was the most painful co-operative experience in Eastern Nova Scotia and MacKinnon found it very difficult to research in 1976-77 since "nobody wanted to bring up that dirt."

³⁶The Antigonish Movement produced many leaders for other organizations in Eastern Nova Scotia and for national and international bodies as well. At least, its promotions indicate that the movement took credit for producing these men: labor leaders, governmental ministers, politicians, United Nations consultants, executives on international and national co-operative and credit union organizations, and a variety of community leaders were produced in the study clubs. Item RG 30-3/27/13 provides a list of famous "graduates".

³⁷The topics and rules for conducting these debates were sent out from the Extension Department and first employed in the study clubs in 1933, then in communities, then in regional competitions and finally in the Rural and Industrial Conferences (1934-1938). MacDonald (1939:51-52) gives a description of the debates and a list of "approved" topics.

³⁸Some of these dramatic presentations were simply "study clubs in action" (Poster For 1937 Rural and Industrial Conference). The Extension Bulletin of 18/3/1938 indicates that three plays produced were "City Versus Country", "Country Joys" and "The Miner's Wife". Timmons (1939: 12) in his M.A. thesis takes the dramatic content of the plays rather seriously:

Although the members of the Adult Education Movement have so far produced no startling results in dramatics it has been demonstrated that they are interested in this line of endeavor and have made sincere efforts. This in itself is evidence of a cultural advance.

Using Mol's perspective, I think the plays indicate the contribution that art, considered as a projection of reality, can contribute to identity consolidation. As a social form the plays were meant to grasp certain truths and present them in an atmosphere of "suspended disbelief" (T. S. Eliot). What farmer could actually use the expression "country joys?" The stage could get away with such an idealized presentation precisely because it was the stage. In turn, this type of dramatic presentation permitted another perspective on the movement to come before the people and, as such, offered another vehicle for emotional response.

³⁹The Catholic Litany of the Saints was usually recited at wakes. Its format consisted, in part, of appeals to be delivered from fire; floods; pestilence; etc. In

like manner, Louisdale delivered people from the dole, Cheticamp from the merchant, etc.

⁴⁰"Divine discontent" was a rhetorical way of attacking the problem of defeatism, apathy, or fatalism that has been so commonly noted among oppressed populations. Oscar Lewis hung a title on it, "The Culture of Poverty".

⁴¹Conversion to co-operation after listening to Coady speak was not entirely due to his oratory. Part of the activity that closely followed his address was due to the fact that his talk was used as the beginning of a new study club and hence it seemed that everybody was going out afterwards and starting up some form of co-operative activity. Waldo Walsh informed me that the spade work for such organization was frequently done well in advance of Coady's arrival and significant work was done after he left. However, his arrival was usually co-incident with a burst of activity which made him eagerly sought after.

⁴²Little Dover, as a model co-operative community, seems to have peaked very quickly. The first indication is the very early admonition not to expect too much of the movement given the terrific odds faced at Little Dover. Later when enthusiasm seems altogether diminished the Extension Department ceases to use it to illustrate good co-operation except in a historical sense. The outside publicists, not up to date on events, continued to cite the case. Brooks reports the Little Dover leaders to declare that their community "has been played up too much" (in Tour, 1938: 32).

⁴³An extension worker currently employed at St. Francis Xavier pointed out to me that Coady and Tompkins must have bypassed the poorest area of Eastern Nova Scotia countless times, i.e. the Black settlements of Guysborough County. This worker found it "mystifying" as to why these areas were never involved in the movement when the very physical condition of their settlement called for address.

⁴⁴It should be pointed out that the Scots did not have the same problem as the Acadians since language was not at issue and they formed the majority ethnic group in the movement.

⁴⁵The Minutes for the organization of a co-operative wholesale for Eastern Nova Scotia are found in RG 30-3/7/1594-1628.

⁴⁶Eastern Co-operative Services began in 1940 but this was only the union of five stores in Antigonish County with services extended into East Pictou and Guysborough Counties. (RG 30-3/2/3998). In 1957 the merger of Eastern Co-operative Services with Cape Breton Co-operative Services came about (RG 30-3/2/3918) which made this organization the first to unite the rural and urban co-operatives of Eastern Nova Scotia into a producer-consumer wholesale and marketing co-operative.

CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This dissertation has explored the Antigonish Movement as an instance in the sacralization of identity process. In this final chapter it is my intention to review my use of this theoretical framework with a view to assessing the strengths and weaknesses of the identity approach. The first section of the chapter will be the review of the framework; the second will be the assessment of the framework as indicated by a comparison of my findings with those of other studies; the third will be my evaluation of the framework.

REVIEW OF THE THEORY AND ITS EMPLOYMENT

The term sacralization is used to indicate the process of identity reinforcement. Identity connotes the meanings of a sense of place, boundaries, shared order, interpretation of reality and social integration. The use of the concept sacralization in connection with that of identity is based on the assumption that identity is fragile and needs reinforcement. The cogency of an identity consolidation is thought to be especially affected by change in society. Not all change affects identity but changes in the organizational complexity of society and changes in the

division of labor do affect the interpretations of reality that have existed prior to change. This type of change has been termed differentiation. Differentiation produces new varieties of social existence. These new varieties of existence can relativize the meanings attached to the then existing identity in such a way that the existing identity is not able to incorporate this type of change into its framework. The resulting development of an acceptance focus for identity for any society, group within society (or individual) depends upon the strength of the existing identity, the impact of the new expressions of social existence and the relations between both. When a focus for identity consolidation is articulated it then becomes possible to reinforce the emergency identity with the same enthusiasm that was once given to the prior existing identity. Under some circumstances this is helped when the focus of identity is reflective of the old and new. Identity becomes sacralized: when people project their experiences into a transcendental frame of reference; when they emotionally commit themselves to a way of life and its meanings, when they enact rituals expressive of their chosen lifestyle; and when they employ myths to resolve the conflicts and ambiguities expressed in their interpretations of reality. In its broadest form, this is the essential framework of the identity perspective.

As applied to this dissertation this framework may

be stated parsimoniously as follows: given the differentiation introduced to Eastern Nova Scotia by turn of the century industrialization, the Antigonish Movement may be understood as having consolidated elements of both the new and the traditional identities of many in Eastern Nova Scotia through its focus on a co-operative identity.

Chapter 3 of this dissertation has attempted to inform the reader that prior to industrialization certain identities, formed around religious and ethnic foci did exist in Eastern Nova Scotia. The social development of the Eastern Nova Scotia frontier was characterized by differences between identity consolidations Scots versus Acadian settlement, etc., and Scots Catholic versus Scots Presbyterian settlement, etc. What people on the frontier shared was an understanding that religion and ethnicity were meaningful in creating their lives.

The old order build-up through the frontier and settlement stages of identity consolidation was "blasted" by the impact of industrialization which appeared in two forms, rural depopulation and the local development of industrial centers (including rural-urban transportation facilities, rural wage-employment, and marketing of primary products).¹

Chapter 4 has developed the response of the Catholic Church to industrialization. It was in this context that

the Antigonish Movement was formed and here, within Catholicism, the intensity of an internal debate between both liberal and conservative responses to the changing world achieved the widest local audience. The importance of this chapter is in demonstrating that the idea of co-operation proceeded from those within the traditional order who were conversant with the industrial age and its related emphasis on democracy, scientific rationality, and social reform. The success of these men was demonstrated to have been due to both their being co-opted by, and in turn, co-opting the established institutions which articulated the boundaries of traditional identity rather than through any successful confrontation with the representative institutions of this identity.

In Chapter 5 it was demonstrated that, as expected, rural Scottish Catholic communities provided the initial basis for the introduction of the movement's educational activities. In this chapter the spread of the movement to various constituencies of Eastern Nova Scotia and the spread of diverse aspects of co-operation are presented to establish the fact that economic co-operation did, in fact, occur among those who had traditionally been separated by the boundaries of their respective foci of identity.

Chapters 6 and 7 establish the Antigonish Movement as a means of sacralizing a co-operative identity. Here

the major emphasis was placed on the manner in which the co-operative identity became established throughout Eastern Nova Scotia. Despite the competing claims of alternate foci of identity including religion, ethnicity, radical labour, socialism, and free enterprize "individualism", co-operatives became a way of life.

Given this brief summary of the contents, can this data be reconstructed in any other format to determine the validity of this presentation? My argument that differentiation occurred, that the church responded to it and that the movement sacralized a new identity may be interpreted from slightly different and radically different perspectives. To assess the framework within the context of the contributions that others have made to the study of the Antigonish Movement, I shall discuss the findings of this dissertation in the light of the following; Murphy (1975), Sharpe (1976), Webster (1975), MacPherson (1975), Mifflin (1974), Baum (1978), and Sacoumin (1976).²

IDENTITY: AN ASSESSMENT THROUGH OTHERS

The first group addressed is that of Murphy (1975), Sharpe (1976); and Webster (1975). While all these authors have not committed equal amounts of time to researching the movement, they variously stress the failure of the Antigonish Movement. Murphy (1975) uses the term "failure" in the title of her thesis as she documents the case history

of Larry's River, Guysborough County, to be one of the failures of the movement. Webster (1975) and Sharpe (1976) see the philosophy of the leadership cadre to be a cause of the movement's failure. For Murphy (1975), Webster (1975) and Sharpe (1976) the failure of the Antigonish Movement is directly related to its approach to capitalism; it does not go far enough in changing the system. Before beginning my assessment of their observations, it might be noted that my perspective on the sacralization of identity has not considered the question whether or not this social movement made Eastern Nova Scotia a better place in which to live, if by that is meant that the movement advanced a more efficient or more equitably distributed economic system; rather, I have argued solely on the grounds of the movement embedding change in a new order which was characterized by economic co-operation.

CAPITALISM AND COOPERATIVE IDENTITY

Because the Antigonish Movement so clearly articulated the desire for a good and abundant life some scholars have taken the people of the movement at their word and have attempted to assess why such a life did not come to fruition. Murphy's thesis (1975) on the failure of the movement in the community of Larry's River and Webster's paper (1975) on the movement contend that the movement failed in this activity because it did not grasp the true

nature of the economic order and hence its reforms were but mere palliatives to an on-going capitalist domination:

Essentially the Antigonish Movement promised a new society without demanding any basic structural changes in the existing social organization. Murphy (1975: 78).

Webster (1975: 3) isolates the leadership and puts the blame on them for not making an objective analysis of real problems "despite (their) good will":

A cadre may be recruited inside or outside the group or class primarily in need of change, but its spirit must be with that group or class and its thought and activity must be with that group or class and its thought and activity must help that group to achieve real progress consistent with an objective analysis of its real problems and its real needs.

Both of these writers are similar in that they expected the Antigonish Movement to be related to the phenomenon of capitalism and they measure its success by its approximation to what they claim to be the objective conditions of society, i.e. the relations of monopoly capital. Sharpe (1976: 178) is even more strident in his expectations of the leadership cadre:

Historically, the servants of the bourgeois class, the priests in Antigonish preached that the co-operatives would bring the same results as those endorsed by the communists but without violence. In the end, by not confronting capitalism by not recognizing that true co-operativism and capitalism cannot co-exist, the Antigonish Movement failed...it helped alleviate the worst abuses of capitalism without changing the basic social structure.

Since both Webster and Sharpe are known to have done very little research on the Antigonish Movement it might appear that these are straw men I have used to refute a position. Indeed their knowledge per se is not at issue here but their interpretation of the movement. Murphy (1975) who did study the movement in more detailed fashion presents a similar interpretation. An example is her concluding argument (1975: 79):

Under the guise of a radical movement aiming to better the lives of the people, the Antigonish Movement propagandized for small changes to reform the existing capitalist society.

Since I have found this type of statement to be frequently employed by a number of contemporary graduate students of Atlantic Canada, I feel that some response is necessary despite the limited substance present in the work of its proponents, Murphy, Sharpe and Webster.³ It would seem that many who make such an interpretation claim to be operating from a Marxist approach. If examined carefully, what they are saying, in effect, is: the Antigonish Movement is of interest as a reform movement, but its reforms did not meet with the expected results since the movement did not alter the structure of capitalism. This structure arbitrates the success of reform movements. For these scholars, co-operation, which I take to be a type of identity consolidation, is implied to be a form of false

consciousness. It should be noted that all three avoid using this word; instead, Murphy refers to the "utopian ideology" of the movement throughout her work, while Webster (1975: 3) implies a naivete on the part of the leaders and Sharpe (1976: 178) imputes a clerical cynicism (class manipulation?).

In contrast to this argument that assesses the Antigonish Movement from the stance of capitalist development I contend that the need for identity consolidation represents a major portion of one dynamic of the Antigonish Movement and has to be investigated as such. If identity consolidation is necessary for society it matters not that the society be capitalist or communist. Identity theory demonstrates that people construct the features of society with what is then available; identity does not "fall from the sky". That passage of time which has demonstrated that one type of identity consolidation cannot resolve those fragilities imposed by further societal adaptation might mean that the Antigonish Movement was not prophetic but this says little about its role as healer.

The type of identity consolidation represented in the Antigonish Movement focuses on the problem of the transition from an almost feudal variety of commercial capitalism to one of its modern variants, i.e. a form of industrial monopoly capitalism. As such, the need for

social integration in the new order, which they themselves historically had been creating, necessitated the social ammunition to repair those broken down boundaries which had developed in the era of commercial capitalism and which were eclipsed by industrialization while creating at the same time a place to stand within this new order being created. To the reader, this might imply that identity consolidation merely accommodates the exigencies of a changing economic order. This is only partially true since, at the same time, identity consolidation prevents further differentiation. In this respect, the movement kept the people "down on the farm" and may even have encapsulated rural communities into an attitude of local co-operation rather than regional co-operation, but it can be suggested that these were important needs that people experienced during this period.

The co-operatives which met the needs of many during this period did represent alternate relations of production in society and therefore did stand in contrast to the prevailing capitalist logic. The concerns of Murphy (1975), Webster (1975), and Sharpe (1976) rest upon this perception of the movement: it did face the conditions of life in capitalist society. I suggest that it did much more. The fact that the movement did not focus identity exclusively on the overthrow of capitalism would seem to

indicate that its identity consolidation admitted a broader focus for the then existing social needs through co-operative reform rather than through the further structural change that would accompany the overthrow of capitalism. The Antigonish Movement can be understood as something other than an episode in the history of unrelenting monopoly capitalism. Those critiques of the movement, which note the failure of the movement to respond to monopoly capitalism by further adaptations in the social structure, fail to recognize the social urgency involved in repairing traditional boundaries and welding new meanings into a coherent system of meaning because their perspective does not respect the validity of such process as a meaningful event in itself. I therefore would agree with Murphy, Webster and Sharpe in their contention that the Antigonish Movement did not alter capitalism and did represent limited reforms in capitalism, however, I do not think such analysis tells us what the movement was. If anything, this research demonstrates the inadequacies of the concept of "false consciousness".

Sacoumin's (1976) approach to the Antigonish Movement is not predicated on proving its failure to adapt to monopoly capital. Instead Sacoumin, using a Marxist perspective, rightfully noted the major weaknesses of previous casual approaches to the movement in their consistent

disregard of social structural factors:

This dual stress upon generalized distress and dynamic leadership has led to the neglect of those social structural factors which may have underpinned the presence or absence of receptivity to the movements co-operative programme among Eastern Nova Scotians. Sacoumin (1976: 9).

The structure of capitalist underdevelopment in ENS (sic) is the primary constitutive social basis for the formation of Antigonish Movement co-operative societies in ENS (sic). Sacoumin (1976: 76).

Accordingly, Sacoumin finds that co-operative organizations are "over-represented among coal and steel and fishery subdivisions and middle range farming subdivisions" while "greatly under-represented among farming subdivisions". The major difficulty with his findings are that they represent only the instances of incorporated co-operatives and neglect the investigation of all other aspects of the movement. Because Sacoumin disregards all the study club formations and informal rural activity associated with the movement his exact correlations sometimes appear more distorted than revealing. His implicit contention that incorporated co-operatives are the best indicators of the movement over-emphasizes the success of urban areas in creating formal organizations without any corresponding indication of the spirit manifested in rural communities where participation in the movement was proportionately much greater.

Granting this, the problem of receptivity may still be posed to determine why these "over" and "under" representations did occur. What Sacoumin effectively does is demonstrate that co-operative activity was most pronounced in the sectors of Eastern Nova Scotia that were most affected by differentiation, i.e., coal/steel, fisheries, and middle range farming. Incidentally, this evidence confirms my central proposition that differentiation necessitates integration.

Rather than use Sacoumin's findings to substantiate my thesis, I look to his work for some contrast with my procedure. Sacoumin's perspective was most useful in comparing rural fishing and farming co-operatives since he demonstrates that differences in the economic activity of these sectors was a determinant in the formation of incorporated co-operatives.⁴ Because I was not working with economic sectors this point of view is missing in this dissertation. This may indicate an attempt on my part to explain too much by the sacralization thesis rather than cross cutting my perspective with the type of questions introduced by economic relations. It is not the fact that Sacoumin explains the difference between fishing and farming communities that is problematic to this work; it is that my line of research did not uncover this problem as being significant. In this way, Sacoumin's work is a

singular advance over the previously mentioned Murphy (1975), Webster (1975) and Sharpe (1976) since it argues from empirical evidence for a Marxist interpretation rather than from ideological conviction. Despite all the reservations I entertain on the limited selection of data used by Sacoumin and the mechanistic posture he assigns the development of movement, the existence of his interpretation challenges the completeness of this explanation.⁵

On the other hand, Sacoumin does experience some difficulty in the range of explanations he is able to use. Ethnicity and religion are used only to footnote anomalies in the data such as in the explanation for the "under-representative" farm co-operatives. It would not be unfair to say that he is unable to explain differences between Acadian, Scots Catholic, and all Protestant communities, in their response to co-operation even though they were all "equally underdeveloped" fishing communities. Here the identity perspective has a decided edge since the underdevelopment thesis of Sacoumin spends little energy tracing out why patterns of religious and ethnic meaning could and did affect the disposition of the movement.

MACPHERSON, BAUM AND MIFFLIN: ALTERNATE VIEWPOINTS

Others, not operating from a Marxist perspective have also attempted to assess the Antigonish Movement. MacPherson (1975: 83) is correct in noting that:

...the coherent Philosophy of the men from Antigonish should not be taken to mean that Maritime co-operators, as a group, were a united and harmonious whole.

From an identity perspective this observation does not mean that identity was not sacralized; merely, that organizational efficiency was not assured. Such is clearly MacPherson's concern when he states (1975: 81):

...the sense of personal responsibility and institutional loyalties the coops had done so much to stimulate among its leaders and members became an obstacle to their further development.

MacPherson sees the optimal development of co-operatives to be regional in character. In Chapter 7 I have addressed this point indicating that co-operative identity worked best on the community level which MacPherson seems to indicate as well. Once again, if identity is used as the perspective for viewing the Antigonish Movement, the failure of the movement to address itself to certain organizational prerequisites is not of great consequence for understanding the movement since it best achieved the consolidation of identity apart from the holistic needs of regional co-operation. Nevertheless, MacPherson's work does point out a deficiency in this dissertation. His concern with comparative organizational strengths in Eastern and Western Canada permitted him to inquire into the difference between the respective movements. In contrast to this work he is able to say something about these differences (which I have

not even addressed) and he does give reasons for the growth of regional co-operatives in the west as opposed to those of Atlantic Canada. It is his comparative methodology which presents the most appeal for the further employment of this identity perspective.

While another more recent study of the Antigonish Movement would also indicate that the Movement failed to achieve some expected determination the study is more important for its emphasis on the moral purpose inherent in the movement. Baum's (1978) account takes the prophetic/priestly stance to the question of religion's role in social experience indicating that:

religion...produces symbols that protect the dominant social structures while at another level generating a critical spirituality that undermines the dominant structures.
Baum (1978: 2)

For Baum, the Antigonish Movement is clearly a case of the latter; however, he finds some difficulty in the movement's lack of commitment to any socialist party (1978: 19)

Hence to promote a co-operative movement while at the same time refusing to identify with the socialist party may well be a basic contradiction.

In making this assessment Baum like MacPherson uses his knowledge of co-operation in the Canadian west (where such identification did take place). Baum understands the ideologies of co-operation and socialism to be compatible

to the extent that the expression of one could entail the expression of the other. Given the treatment of identity herein such merging has been demonstrated to be consistent with an identity consolidation which could incorporate the new elements of social existence into a comprehensive interpretation of reality.

While it is true that prophetic religious symbols can use both co-operation and socialism to undermine the dominant structures it is necessary to understand this type of possible merger within the context of Eastern Nova Scotian experience. Socialism, as a political expression, was isolated to urban Cape Breton. Like co-operation its experience was international and its guiding principles were humanistic. Unlike co-operation, socialism had been declared unacceptable for Catholics by a succession of Roman Pontiffs. The problem with incorporating socialism into the Antigonish Movement's objectifications was, therefore, one of interpreting its local experience and its religious proscription. They are related since the support of local socialism meant the support of an isolated experience while rejecting at the same time an authority within universal Catholicism. My contention is that prophetic religious symbols can challenge dominant social structures but their expression is part of a general process of sacralization which combines elements of old and

new lifestyles. Prophetic symbols are not unlimited in their social applicability. Instead, they are realized only through their sensitive reflection of those tensions arising from the synthesis of a relativized identity and an emerging lifestyle.⁶

In reading a previous draft of this work, Baum expressed reservations concerning the lack of emphasis I have placed on the intended consequences of the movement. Baum would have me ask the question: What can be said about the moral struggle co-operatives made to create a better life?⁷ While I understand this question and would argue that scholarship must account for the consequences of moral struggles, this type of question still implies that what I am postulating respecting the social cogency of identity consolidation was not as great a moral problem for the people involved as was the development of a prophetic symbolism urging greater justice in social distribution. Humanitarian and Christian values might well be offended by the use of the identity perspective since such an abomination as Franco's Spain can be shown to have functioned very well in providing for many a place to stand and for assuring boundaries around a fascist identity. For Baum there is good religion and bad religion; from an identity perspective both may be seen as instruments in accomplishing the same thing, i.e. the sacralization of

identity.

In the context of this discussion of the reform character of the movement, Mifflin's thesis (1974) will be considered for its similarity to Baum's concern with reform. Mifflin (1974: 30) follows the proposition that "the movement went through a process of adaptation, compromise and eventual institutionalization...from steady state to steady state". This approach makes the assumption that some form of steady state equilibrium precedes and follows the movement. In a manner of speaking, this approximates my conception of identity with this important difference: for Mifflin the movement itself introduces differentiation within society and resolves such differentiation through institutionalization in order to once again achieve a steady state in society. Despite a thorny methodological problem respecting Mifflin's choice of co-operative housing groups as the sole indicator of institutionalization, the thesis develops the conclusion that over a forty year period the movement became far more middle class in its co-operative membership and hence turned away from its original goals.⁸ This concern with goals would approximate Baum's concern since at least there is the recognition that certain goals of social redistribution had existed even though they had become lost in the course of institutionalization. It differs from Baum in that such institutionalization is

seen as a necessary stage in social development.

Both Mifflin and Baum would argue with this dissertation since reform, emanating from prophetic religious symbols or from revitalization within society, is not taken to be the defining characteristic of the Antigonish Movement. In defense of my position that the Antigonish Movement worked to consolidate identity, I am aware that such is hardly satisfying to those who would like to know how reform comes about and how it passes. Since Mifflin (1974) and Baum (1978) attempt to advance our knowledge of these processes in the Antigonish Movement, they at least seriously raise the question. Baum's notion of a prophetic religion providing symbols for undermining dominant structures might be of use to this perspective if it can be established that such symbols become the central focus in creating an interpretation of reality; at the same time, prophecy can be rejected and this also has to be explained as well.

SUMMARY EVALUATION

In summary, the above abbreviated treatment of the work of other scholars on the Antigonish Movement demonstrates these problems for my use of the identity perspective. 1) The experience of capitalism may be related to the movement to determine what consequences it had on the formation of the movement (Webster, 1975; Sharpe, 1976; Murphy, 1975); the differences in the respective modes of production may also be examined to determine the relationship of

production to co-operative development (Sacoumin, 1976):

2) The movement can be compared with instances of co-operative development elsewhere (MacPherson, 1975). 3) The movement may be analyzed from the standpoint of the intentions of its participants in their attempts to bring about social reform (Mifflin, 1974; Baum, 1978).

Above I have stated that these points raise problems for my use of the identity perspective. Some of the problems can be resolved by directed research within the perspective and others challenge the perspective for its choice of problems. Research could be directed to solve the problem of a comparative strategy for co-operative identity. It would be an interesting problem for the identity perspective and would develop a better understanding of co-operative identity and its relations to the existing culture. Research must be directed at the elaboration of the concept of differentiation. Certain changes in the mode of production would assuredly create those types of new realities that are of interest to the identity perspective. In this work I treated all rural areas alike (including all farm operations and fishermen) and surely such is a rather simplistic treatment of the diversity attending these sectors. I was able to justify this on the grounds that rural/urban differences were significant and best illustrated the dynamic of differentiation but at the

same time I did miss some subtleties of rural existence which may well have affected the course of the movement. I do not suggest that if more emphasis is placed on economic sectors then specific modes of production will correlate with specific identity responses, this would be an equally simplistic reduction of the identity experience. Such an equation would assign priority to economic variables to the exclusion of others. This does not mean that the concept of differentiation need not be sharpened; it does if the sacralization of identity is to be fully explored.

Capitalist relations of production can be handled within an identity perspective if treated like other foci of identity. Such relations may be hypothesized as impinging on other foci of identity in as much as they might be a dominant form of societal integration. The assumption that this dominance dispells the ability of groups within society to sacralize identity independent of capitalist relations has to be questioned. In part, this dissertation questions this assumption by its emphasis on the sacralization of co-operative identity. The argument used herein may have been stronger if capitalist relations had been considered. Such could have made the distinctions between societal identity and group identity clearer in the dissertation. It may have also developed a better conception of the region of Eastern Nova Scotia and its

underdevelopment.

The problem of the intentionality of the participants in the movement and their concept of reform is one that finds curious expression in this dissertation. I am aware of some ambivalence in my treatment of the participants. I take seriously their expressions of intent (especially in Chapter 4) and pay attention to the meanings they had for their actions. At the same time the drift of the thesis itself is away from these types of considerations and toward the process of sacralization which is based on the needs of the social group to establish meaning or identity. In the course of the dissertation, I have not been able to escape this dilemma except by resorting to a loose stratagem of assuming that individual meanings for action reflected the social need for identity. This is indeed precarious and only acceptable when such expressions are so widespread that consensus seems to have been present. As such, the role of prophetic leadership is underplayed in my treatment unless it had some reference to the process of identity consolidation. In sum, this problem of intentionality does challenge the identity perspective to devise an acceptable social psychology.

POSTSCRIPT ON FUTURE RESEARCH

This summary of the strengths and weaknesses of identity perspective concludes this dissertation. After four years of experience with the perspective, some notes ought to be made to alert others of its good points and pit-falls. It is obvious that the identity perspective presents a wide scope for research activity. A variety of social phenomena may be investigated under this rubric and the major problem is in limiting the problems to be considered. For this reason, it is difficult to manage this perspective since it was developed as a macro theory intent on explaining religious experience in society. Questions on social change, order, and their "dialectical" relationship are proper to this perspective. Such covers human experience. In a manner similar to "grand theory" it generates some of the same problems attending the imprecision of definition and higher level abstractions. This means that the initial experience with data can be quite soul destroying. Unlike other paradigms that have been well developed for field research, this perspective has not yet admitted its coterie of academic disciples.

Identity theory does sensitize the researcher to the problem of achieving order in the context of social change. It would be possible to expand this dissertation to consider the transformation of Canadian society through the analysis

of the many foci of identity that developed in response to industrialization during the 1920's and 1930's. The C.C.F., farmers' parties, union activity, prohibition, United Church union, the Reconstruction Party, Maritime Rights movement, and co-operatives could be investigated as possible instances of the sacralization of specific group identities. This research could be guided by the question of those similarities expressed in these movements. Did they entertain beliefs based on scientific rationality, democratic participation and reform liberalism? If so, then it would be possible to construct some idea of the type of societal identity developed in Canada in response to turn of the century industrialization. Here two cautions have to be mentioned: 1) the sacralization of identity may not have been as fully developed from one movement to the next; 2) the institutionalization of the movement may vary. I mention these cautions since this study of the Antigonish Movement is incomplete on these points. In fact, co-operative identity was characteristic of some and not all living in Eastern Nova Scotia. In its institutionalized form today, it differs from the experience of the 1930's.

In concluding this study I should like to direct attention to the institutionalized form of the movement as it exists today with some admittedly gratuitous advice

based on my investigations.⁹ I would contend that it would be best if the Extension Department of Saint Francis Xavier University could forget about rehashing the principles of the Antigonish Movement. Indeed, it might be more to their advantage if they forgot about the movement. The problem with the belaboured philosophy which they trot out so frequently today is that it is anachronistic. The vitality of the 1930's consisted of creating a response to the conditions of a relativized social order and an emerging new reality. Further differentiation has taken place since that time. Instead of responding to this differentiation with beliefs that express the fragilities of this new reality and the state of the by-passed co-operatives the "keepers of the light" at Antigonish have been involved in a constant process of revisionism whereby they appear to be far more concerned with presenting the movement, as it existed, to the world, rather than responding to the exigencies of this world. Identity can become fossilized. When this happens, further adaptation is hampered. In the context of institutionalized social movements, this, of course, presents another research problem.

NOTES

¹The word "blasted" was used frequently by Coady in describing the same events.

²Murphy (1975) "The Failure of the Antigonish Movement in Larry's River" represents an M.A. dissertation with research concentrated on one community; MacPherson (1975) has completed Ph.D. level research on co-operatives in Canada and this reference is to an article arising from this research "Patterns in the Maritime Co-operative Movement, 1900-1945", Sharpe (1976) discusses the Antigonish Movement in passing in his work The People's History of Prince Edward Island; Webster (1975) has presented a number of papers on the relationship between co-operation in Prince Edward Island (Tignish) and Antigonish as well as this article "Tignish and Antigonish: A Critique of the Antigonish Movement as a Cadre for Co-operativism", however, he does not seem to have done any amount of substantial research on Antigonish; Mifflin completed his Ph.D. dissertation on the Antigonish Movement using archival sources and a limited sample of co-operative activities, "The Antigonish Movement: A Revitalization Movement in Eastern Nova Scotia". Baum's (1978) research on the movement was part of a larger study he is doing on prophetic modes of Catholicism in Canada "Social Catholicism in Nova Scotia: The Thirties"; Sacoumin (1976) completed his Ph.D. dissertation on the movement, "Social Origins of the Antigonish Movement in Eastern Nova Scotia", and is currently doing further research on other Nova Scotia co-operatives.

³The sentiments of these graduate students are only partially evident in the literature. Barrett's excellent thesis (1976) on the fishing industry of Nova Scotia quotes Murphy (1975) with approval and Sacoumin's interview with The Fourth Estate (1975) reflects a similar perspective on the structural problems associated with achieving economic co-operation in a capitalist system. My argument that this interpretation is widespread rests upon public and private discussions of the movement held at Dalhousie University, Saint Francis Xavier, Saint Mary's, Acadia and the Maritime School of Social Work.

⁴It has been established (Chapter 5) that a major reason for the difference between farm/fish co-operative growth was the involvement of government in establishing

fishing co-operatives through the Extension Department. This fact would invalidate Sacoumin's argument unless the features of governmental influence could be shown to be congruent with underdevelopment. It has not invalidated my arguments since I have argued that the increased role of government was incorporated into the co-operative synthesis.

⁵The major advantage in Sacoumin's (1976) approach is the method of establishing the objective criteria of economic substructure with incidents of formal co-operation to determine what patterns might have existed. In this Sacoumin has been successful, but the task did not permit other types of research questions to be raised. This is understandable since all research is undertaken on the assumption of defining the area. However, Sacoumin's virtual lack of research on the social activities associated with the movement creates an impression that the Antigonish Movement was a somnolent appendage of the economy awakened only when underdevelopment reached a critical stage.

⁶R. A. Levitas (1977) in an article entitled, "Some Problems of Aim-Centered Models of Social Movements" deals with the problem of the merger of Christian Socialism and co-operatives in England. Levitas argues that volunteerism as related to intended beliefs has to be located within a social context. His argument goes further to reject too deterministic a notion of the power of social contexts to ultimately shape belief. He proposes a dialectical approach to volunteerism and determinism.

⁷Baum's position on the ambiguity of religion is more fully developed in his work, Religion and Alienation (1975).

⁸I would argue that housing co-operatives (an urban activity) was not the best indicator of the Antigonish Movement because they were isolated to urban areas and even then were not that characteristic of the events of the movement. By choosing housing Mifflin emphasizes those who were most likely to be developing middle class values, i.e. urban workers. Subsistence farmers and fishermen had further to go in this direction and Mifflin errs in omitting them from his analysis.

⁹A central concern in the course of this research has been precisely that of explaining to others the

relevance of this movement for moral experience today. Such has not been necessary from the strictly academic standpoint since this dissertation has the mandate of contributing to sociological discourse which commonly defines itself to be outside the realm of moral debate. My conversations with Gary Webster, Jim Sacoumin, Frank Mifflin, Gregory Baum and others, both academics and non-academics, would hardly indicate that the objective sociological posture was used when discussing what we were doing. While it is not frequently mentioned that people engaged in research are subjectively committed to the ultimate moral significance of their research, it has been my experience that moral questions were over-represented in conversation as compared with methodological questions. This I take to be a feature of private informal communication as opposed to public formal communication and it might be explained by the medium of conversational exchange. However, if the subjective admiration of the moral efforts made by people in the 1930's is more than simply a convenient conversational tactic, then, it can be expected that theoretic constructs will be coloured by the sentiments of the sociologist. This should not be all that surprising, since it is certainly true that people do not create social movements to be objectively studied at some future time; they create them to live and their living may be of consequence for our lives. We are hardly impervious to this feature of research even if it is not directly addressed in formal presentations.

APPENDIX A

Table 1: Percent¹ Ethnic² and Religions³ Distribution and
Population Change 1871-1931 by County

	S	A	I	E	O	C	A	U/P	B	O	Pop
Antigonish (10,073)	<u>58</u>	22	12	5	3	<u>87</u>	2	10	2	0	-39
Cape Breton (69,265) Urban	<u>38</u>	6	15	30	11	<u>52</u>	13	28	3	4	+1476
(23,154) Rural	<u>49</u>	10	14	19	8	<u>58</u>	9	29	3	1	+4
Guysborough (15,443)	23	11	17	<u>34</u>	15	<u>36</u>	21	20	21	2	-7
Inverness (21,055)	<u>63</u>	17	5	7	8	<u>71</u>	0	27	1	1	-11
Pictou (23,571) Urban	<u>56</u>	6	10	21	7	26	12	<u>55</u>	5	2	+181
(15,447) Rural	<u>76</u>	3	5	10	6	10	7	<u>80</u>	2	1	-35
Richmond (11,098)	25	<u>59</u>	7	6	3	<u>79</u>	2	18	0	1	-23
Victoria (8,009)	<u>68</u>	2	5	24	1	33	8	<u>56</u>	0	3	-30

1. Source: Tables 12, 32, 42, 1931 Census of Canada, percentages mine.
2. S = Scots; A = Acadians; I = Irish; E = English; O = Others.
3. C = Catholic; A = Anglican; U/P = United and Presbyterian; B = Baptists; O = Others.
4. Majority ethnicity/religious denomination underlined.
5. Population of County in parenthesis.

Table 2: Chapters of Scottish Catholic Society¹, % Scots,
% Catholic, % Population Change² and Year of
First Study Club Development³

		Rank ⁴	% Scots	% RC	Pop	1932	1933
1	Sydney Mines	-	43	48	+81	X	
2	Iona	1	90	99	+ 1	X	
3	Glace Bay	-	43	52	+88		X
4	Sydney	-	36	49	+93	X	
5	Christmas Island	1	97	99	-35	X	
6	New Waterford	-	38	72	+28		X
7	East Bay	3	95	99	-83	X	
8	Boisdale	4	96	91	-50	X	
9	Big Pond	5	84	100	-42	X	
10	Red Island	1	83	98	-52	X	
11	Mira	7	90	73	-24		X
12	Creignish	2	94	93	-55	X	
13	S.W. Margaree	9	61	98	-26	X	
14	Judique	1	95	100	-48	X	
15	Inverness	-	73	72	+91	X	
16	Glencoe	7	80	80	-29	X	
17	Bay St. Lawrence	2	55	77	-10	X	
18	Port Hawkesbury	-	56	53	+35	X	
19	Port Hood	-	82	76	+12	X	
20	St. Andrews	7	77	97	-44	X	
21	Lakedale	1	69	71	- 7		X
22	Lismore	1	80	63	-52		
23	Arisaig	1	96	100	-71	X	
24	Maryvale	2	96	91	-62	X	
25	St. Joseph's	5	86	84	-42		X

1. Chapters of Scottish Catholic Society as listed in
RG 30-3/25/1626, Extension Archives.
2. % Scots, Catholic, population change 1871-1931 are my
percentages based on Tables 32, 42, 12 of 1931 Census of
Canada.
3. Study Club developments based upon mailing lists of the
Extension Bulletin 1932-1933.
4. Rank means the ordering of that community in relation
to all other Scots Catholic communities in its respec-
tive county (urban communities are not ordered).

APPENDIX B

- 1 a. Communities, appearing in Tables 1-5 represent census districts rather than actual communities.
- b. These communities (census districts) are identified as being of a specific ethnic/religious character on the basis of the majority status of an ethnic group/religious denomination in the community. The term Protestant applied to communities indicates the predominance of a single religious denomination, e.g. United Church, Anglican, etc.; the term Protestant applied to counties indicates all those not Catholic.
- c. Data on Ethnicity are derived from Table 32 and data on Religion derived from Table 42 of the 1931 Census.
- d. Population change reflects the 1871-1931 census returns excepting those cases where other time periods are used in Table 12 of the 1931 Census. Such exceptions are marked N.A. in Tables 1-5.
- e. Antigonish directed activities (1932-39) covers the material on study clubs, credit unions, and all forms of co-operatives that are listed in the following sources: the Extension Mailing Lists for Study Clubs; Co-operatives in Nova Scotia by R. J. MacSween; the Credit Union Charter List published by the Nova Scotia Credit Union League.

- f. Each instance of co-operative activity appearing on the above lists was located in the census district that corresponded with the community cited on the lists.
- g. All percentages were determined by myself based upon the use of the 1931 Census of Canada.

Table 1: Rural Scots Protestant Communities in
Eastern Nova Scotia and Their Participation in
Antigonish Directed Co-operative Activity¹

Community	% Scots	% Prot.	1871-1931 % Change	Antigonish Activity 32-39
Antigonish Co.	58	13	-39	0
South River	78	49	-71	0
Cape Breton Co.	41	46	+249	
Bateston	58	58	-42	0
Catalone	89	52	-54	0
Enon	94	46	-58	0
Gabarus	74	75	-28	0
Hillside	65	55	-48	0
Trout Brook	92	64	-55	0
Guysborough Co.	23	64	- 7	1
Caledonia	79	58	+4	0
Glenelg	60	42	-39	0
Goshen	58	41	- 9	1
Sherbrooke	57	49	-45	0
Inverness Co.	63	29	-11	8
Lake Ainslie (E)	94	48	-57	0
Orangedale	94	60	-10	2
Pleasant Bay	68	76	+50	0
River Denys	93	38	-50	4
West Bay	91	51	-53	1
Whycogomagh (N)	85	59	-60	1
Pictou Co.	64	74	+21	6
Abercombie	52	42	+30	0
Barney River	85	77	-45	0
Bridgeville	77	61	-61	0
Caribou River	79	71	-14	0
Churchill	72	58	+52	0
Dalhousie	85	61	-59	0
East River	66	51	-48	0
Eureka	76	57	N.A.	0
Fisher's Grant	68	72	-41	0
Fraser's Mnt.	70	44	+88	0
Gairloch	88	81	-58	0
Garden of Eden	96	92	-51	0
Green Hill	82	64	-47	0
Hopewell	86	54	-26	0
Little Harbour	88	78	-17	0
Lorne	89	57	-48	0
McLellan's Brook	81	81	-50	0

Table 1 (Cont'd.)

Community	% Scots	% Prot.	1871-1931 % Change	Antigonish Activity 32-39
McLellan's Mnt.	77	75	N.A.	0
Merigomish	72	60	-52	2
Middle River	78	70	-36	0
Mill Brook	93	72	-64	0
Mount Thom	88	51	-63	0
Pictou Island	91	66	+51	0
River John	53	43	-36	0
River John (W)	83	61	62	0
Riverton	77	54	N.A.	0
Scotchill	84	59	N.A.	0
Scotsburn	83	58	N.A.	1
Sunnybrae	91	76	-33	0
Thorburn	70	70	+20	3
Toney River	83	77	-33	0
Wentworth Grant	91	78	-61	0
Richmond Co.	25	21	-23	1
Black River	83	60	-62	0
Framboise	84	55	-14	1
Grand River	85	61	-46	0
Loch Lomond	96	82	-58	0
Victoria Co.	68	67	-30	10
Baddeck	84	44	N.A.	5
Baddeck Center	83	45	N.A.	0
Big Baddeck	80	54	-62	0
Big Bras D'Or	78	68	N.A.	2
Boularderie	93	47	N.A.	0
Englishtown	88	58	-54	0
Little Narrows	90	88	-48	0
Middle River	95	63	-55	1
New Campbellton	97	62	-57	1
North River	94	70	-54	1
North Shore	99	71	-43	0
South Gut	92	54	-53	0

TOTAL: 65 Scots Protestant communities

(26)

Table 2: Rural Scots Catholic Communities in
Eastern Nova Scotia and Their Participation in
Antigonish Directed Co-operative Activity

Community	Scots	& R. C.	1871-1931 % Change	Antigonish Activity 32-39
Antigonish Co.	58	87	-39	(16)
Antigonish Rural	73	61	-75	0
Arisaig	96	100	-71	4
Cape George	88	86	-59	2
Heatherton	50	84	-42	2
Lochaber	78	44	-44	3
Maryvale	96	91	-62	0
Morristown	80	98	-58	1
North Grant	76	72	-46	0
St. Andrews	77	97	-44	2
St. Joseph (N)	94	73	N.A.	1
St. Joseph (S)	78	95	N.A.	1
South River	97	96	-57	0
Cape Breton Co.	41	54	+249	17
Boisdale	96	91	-50	2
East Bay (N)	95	99	-83	2
Frenchvale	86	92	-44	2
George River	62	52	-33	0
Grand Narrows	97	99	-35	2
Big Pond	84	100	-42	3
East Bay (S)	96	99	-54	0
Grand Mira	90	73	-24	2
Reserve	51	81	-47	4
Guysborough Co.	23	36	-7	0
Lakedale	69	71	-7	0
Inverness Co.	63	71	-11	(16)
Broad Cove	93	99	-32	2
Creignish	94	93	-55	1
Glencoe	80	80	-29	1
Hillsborough	73	50	-38	0
Judique	95	100	-48	5
Lake Ainsle (W)	96	81	-50	1
Margaree Har. (W)	74	63	-62	0
Margaree S.W.	61	98	-26	4
Poplar Grove	88	92	-41	2
Port Hood Rural	87	88	-11	0
Strathlorne	95	62	-37	0
River Inhabitants	93	68	-63	0

Table 2 (Cont'd.)

Community	Scots	& R. C.	1871-1931 % Change	Antigonish Activity 32-39
Pictou Co.	64	26	+21	(1)
Bailey's Brook	80	63	-52	1
Richmond Co.	25	79	-23	0
Red Islands	83	98	-52	0
Victoria Co.	68	33	-30	(8)
Bay St. Lawrence	55	77	-10	2
Iona	90	99	+1	4
Washabuck	94	100	-49	2
TOTAL: 39 Scots R. C. communities				(58)

Table 3: Rural Acadian Catholic Communities in
Eastern Nova Scotia and Their Participation in
Antigonish Directed Co-operative Activity

Community	Acad.	& R. C.	1871-1931 % Change	Antigonish Activity 32-39
Antigonish Co.	22	87	-39	(8)
Harve Boucher	70	99	-20	2
Linwood	66	88	-53	0
Pomquet	77	99	-37	3
Tracadie	60	88	-20	3
Guysborough Co.	11	36	-7	(11)
Charlo's Cove	86	100	+33	2
Larry's River	83	85	+25	4
Port Felix	88	100	+2	5
Inverness Co.	17	71	-11	(10)
Cheticamp	99	99	+49	9
Margaree Har. (E)	90	94	-44	1
St. Joseph	94	98	+44	0
Richmond Co.	59	79	-23	(20)
Arichat (E)	63	82	-46	2
Petit de Grat	85	96	-26	3
Arichat (W)	89	96	-48	3
D'Escousse	75	86	-39	3
Inhabitants River	55	83	+24	1
L'Ardoise	82	94	+2	3
Poulamon	95	99	-6	3
River Bourgeois	80	87	+6	2
Rockdale	86	100	-10	0
19 Acadian Catholic communities				(49)

Table 4: Total Rural Communities by Religion and
 Ethnicity and Their Participation in
 Antigonish Directed Co-operative Activity

	Communities	No. Activities	Participation Ratio
Antigonish Co.	18	24	1.3
Scots Protestant	1	0	0
Scots Catholic	12	16	1.3
Acadian Catholic	4	8	2
Others	1	0	0
Cape Breton Co.	27	29	1.1
Scots Protestant	6	0	0
Scots Catholic	9	17	1.9
Others	12	12	1
Guysborough Co.	31	29	.9
Scots Protestant	4	1	.3
Scots Catholic	1	0	0
Acadian Catholic	3	11	3.7
Others	23	16	.7
Inverness Co.	24	36	1.5
Scots Protestant	6	8	1.3
Scots Catholic	12	16	1.3
Acadian Catholic	3	10	3.3
Others	3	2	.7
Pictou Co.	38	7	.2
Scots Protestant	32	6	.2
Scots Catholic	1	1	1
Others	5	0	0
Richmond Co.	17	27	1.6
Scots Protestant	4	1	.3
Scots Catholic	1	0	0
Acadian Catholic	9	20	2.2
Others	3	6	2
Victoria Co.	18	27	1.5
Scots Protestant	12	10	.8
Scots Catholic	3	8	2.7
Others	3	9	3

Table 4 (Cont'd.)

	Communities	No. Activities	Participation Ratio
TOTALS:			
Scots Protestant	65	26	.4
Scots Catholic	39	58	1.5
Acadian Catholic	19	49	2.6
Others	50	45	.9
Total	173	178	1

Table 5: Urban Communities in
 Eastern Nova Scotia and Their Participation in
 Antigonish Directed Co-operative Activities
 (Majority Ethnic and Religious Divisions Noted)

	% Majority Ethnic ¹	% Majority Religion ²	Antigonish Activities 32-39
Antigonish Co. Antigonish	65 S	82 C	3
Cape Breton Co.			
North Sydney	68 E	39 C	2
Sydney Mines	43 S	48 C	2
Sydney	36 S	49 C	9
Dominion	50 S	75 C	3
Glace Bay	43 S	52 C	12
Louisburg	45 E	45 A	2
New Waterford	38 S	72 C	4
Guysborough Co.			
Canso	46 E	61 C	7
Mulgrave	41 S	64 C	1
Inverness Co.			
Inverness	73 S	72 C	4
Port Hawkesbury	56 S	53 C	1
Port Hood	82 S	76 C	3
Pictou Co.			
New Glasgow	55 S	30 U	3
Pictou	52 S	31 U	1
Stellarton	60 S	32 U	1
Trenton	52 S	38 U	1
Westville	60 S	38 U	1
TOTAL:			
Urban Centers		18	60

1. S = Scots; E = English; A = Acadians.

2. A = Anglicans; U = United Church; C = Catholics.

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