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CATHOLIC IDEALS AND POPULIST SELF HELP: IDEOLOGY AND ACTION IN THE ANTIGONISH CO-OPERATIVE, ADULT EDUCATION MOVEMENT IN EASTERN NOVA SCOTIA, 1920-1940

by

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B.A., Simon Fraser University, 1984

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Catholic Ideals and Populist Self Help: Ideology and Action in the Antigonish Cooperative, Adult Education Movement in Eastern Nova Scotia, 1920-1940

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ABSTRACT

The focus of the thesis is the Antigonish Movement, a Catholic inspired co-operative, adult education movement in eastern Nova Scotia that substantially altered the socio-economic relationships of the farmers, fishermen, and miners within the many communities it reached. The thesis explores the relationship between the belief system of Catholic social theology and populist reform ideology in the shaping of the Antigonish Movement as a distinctive social movement. It examines the nature of the inter-relationship between ideology and organizational structure through an analysis of how both the leaders, a cadre of priest-intellectuals from St. Francis Xavier University, and the lay members of the Antigonish Movement: a) defined the socio-economic problems of eastern Nova Scotia; b) defined the solutions to these problems; c) acted as the agency of change in effecting these solutions and; d) reacted, in differing ways at the community level, to the program of cooperative action and adult education offered.

The introductory chapter situates the Antigonish Movement within the social history of the region and within the framework of Catholic theology and related social action. Next, the analytical framework employed in the thesis is located in the historico-sociological tradition of studies of religiously inspired social movements.

The substantive chapters utilize this framework in the analysis of the origins, development, and structure of the Antigonish Movement. First, the ideological basis of the

Antigonish Movement is examined. Next, the specific social technologies developed by the cadre of priest-intellectuals and Catholic lay leaders in order to implement their ideological blueprint of society are analyzed. The focus is on the relationship between this vision of a cooperative society and the methods utilized to implement it. Chapter four outlines the results of the Antigonish Movement with a critical examination of the reasons for both the successes and failures of the movement.

The conclusions focus on the ability of ideologically inspired movements to establish and maintain divergent patterns of social and economic arrangements within the constraints of a complex, rapidly industrializing society with particular emphasis on the importance of recognizing ideology as at once a source of 'blueprints' for change and a stimulus towards purposeful, programmed social action.

This thesis is dedicated to:

Mary Christine,

you knew I would write this;

and to Walter Ronald,

I wrote this for you.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis would never have been written without the support and understanding of my family; Loralee, Miranda, Sarah, Vanessa and Lloyd. The intellectual and personal support - and prodding - provided by Dr. John Whitworth is a debt I humbly acknowledge. The input of Professor R. Wyllie, and Dr. Micheal Kenny was instrumental in the development of this thesis. Jean Jordan and Chris Ward cheerfully guided me through the bureaucratic maze known as graduate studies. The financial support provided by the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, the Office of Continuing Studies, the Office of the Dean of Graduate Studies, and S.F.U. Financial Aid and Awards allowed me to feed my children during this ordeal.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE THESIS QUESTION.

The importance of religion in early twentieth century Canadian society is well documented.[1] However, this thesis is a contribution to a previously neglected area of the sociology of religion in Canada. It is an attempt to understand the relationship between the distinctive ideologies of catholic social theory and populist regionalism, and a co-operative reform and educational movement that flourished in eastern Nova Scotia from the 1920's to the 1940's. Known as the Antigonish Movement, it originated out of the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, Nova Scotia. At its peak, in 1938, it boasted over 10,000 members, 1,100 study clubs, 142 credit unions, and over 78 formal economic ventures.[2]

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1) Religion was a primary social force in Canada at the turn of the century and for several decades afterwards. The well known 'social gospel' movement that swept across North America, influenced the social fabric of the Canadian west in particular. This was an attempt by the Protestant churches to infuse Christian social principles into the new, degenerate, 'frontier' they perceived around them. The movement quickly turned to harsh criticism of society and attempts to redress the abuses of capitalism on society and the worker. The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation has honorable roots within the social gospel tradition. Several works on the social gospel are available including Richard Allen's The Social Passion, (1971), and The Social Gospel in Canada, 1975. An excellent work utilizing primary church documents is Stewart Crysdale's The Industrial Struggle and Protestant Ethics in Canada, (1961). On Catholic social activism in Canada see Baum's Catholics and Canadian Socialism, (1980).

While the movement's leadership was dominated by two men, Father Jimmy Tompkins and the Reverend Moses Coady, the remaining leadership was predominantly drawn from the many priests, nuns, and catholic lay people of the Catholic Diocese of Antigonish.[3]

To some degree, the Antigonish Movement's study clubs and co-operative ventures affected many of the farmers, fishermen, and miners of eastern Nova Scotia. Marketing co-operatives were formed by farmers and fishermen to improve prices for their goods. Advanced agricultural techniques were taught, fish canneries were opened and credit was made available. In Cape Breton, miners organized consumer co-operatives. The first non-communal co-operative housing projects in North America were established.[4] Large numbers of people within eastern Nova Scotia began to see the Antigonish Movement as a way out of the economic depression they had laboured under for decades. The Antigonish Movement, and the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier,

2) Frank Mifflen, The Antigonish Movement: A Revitalization Movement in Eastern Nova Scotia, unpublished PH.D. thesis, 1974, p. 20.)

3) See Ida Delaney, By Their Own Hands: A Fieldworker's Account of the Antigonish Movement, 1985, and Dan MacInnes, Clerics, Farmers, Fishermen, and Workers: Religion and Collectivity in the Antigonish Movement, unpublished PH.D, thesis 1978.

4) In November, 1938, the first co-operatively built and financed housing project in Canada was the Antigonish Movement inspired Tompkinsville, Nova Scotia. The instigator of this housing was J.J. Tompkins who later became a driving force in the Antigonish Movement. Creditors were so wary of this venture that Tompkins had to lend his own retirement savings to get the project off the ground. Although co-operatively built, the units then became mortgage-free private dwellings. See 'Father Jimmy Tompkins: The Reserve Mine Years', in Cape Breton's Magazine, No 16, 1977.). The concept of a continuing

where it was based, began to receive both national and international attention.[5]

This thesis explores the complex relationship between the Antigonish Movement and the social cultural context within which it grew. The general analytical concern focuses upon the relationship between ideology and social structure and social process. Specifically, this thesis examines the relationship between catholic social theology and populist reform ideology in shaping the unique features of the Extension Department of St.Francis Xavier as a cadre for social action in particular, and the Antigonish Movement as a distinctive social movement in general. Subsidiary issues include: What type of social movement was the Antigonish Movement?; What conditions, both social and cultural, led to the particular form of development that the Antigonish Movement undertook?; Where did this particular form of development lead the Antigonish Movement?; and, what organizational possibilities were precluded by this development? Finally, this thesis establishes the usefulness of a particular methodological and theoretical paradigm utilized as an analytical tool within the sociology of religion.

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housing co-operative is only two decades old in Canada. See Alexander Laidlaw, Housing You Can Afford, 1977, p.122.
5) Alexander Laidlaw, The Campus and the Community: The Global Impact of the Antigonish Movement, 1961.

OUTLINE OF THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE ANTIGONISH MOVEMENT

The decade 1910-20 saw the beginning of the Antigonish Movement in eastern Nova Scotia. One of the founders was The Reverend J.J. Tompkins, a Catholic priest, university professor, and vice-president of St.Francis Xavier University in Antigonish. The Antigonish Movement began as an adult education program in which Tompkins aimed to equip his parishioners to better themselves both economically and socially within their communities. It was:

> "....a practical program of social reform based on the principle of self education and action by the people themselves, organized in community groups."[6]

Tompkins had concrete reasons for his concerns for the people of eastern Nova Scotia. By the end of the 19th century, economic and social stagnation had settled throughout the province. Historically, Nova Scotia had the privileged position of having a major port for lumber shipping. It was this abundance of lumber which also made Nova Scotia a major wooden ship builder. Yet, the independant lifestyle of the farmers and fishermen was rapidly eroding. Farmers were 'ghettoized' into their family based subsistence landholdings unable to expand to allow a livelihood for their children, while at the same time capital intensive farming-agribusiness was developing alongside them.[7] The use of offshore trawlers and

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6) Johnson H.G., The Antigonish Movement, Unpublished lecture delivered at Acadia University, 1944, p.3.

refrigerated boats, which harvested huge quantities of fish, posed direct competition to the small fishermen. The returns received by the fishermen were steadily eroded in real dollars and the 'truck' system of dependance upon local merchants to stake them for goods increased its grip.[8]

This rural deterioration forced the people of eastern Nova Scotia in two directions. From 1871 to 1921 Nova Scotia lost through outmigration nearly half a million people.[9] Those who left their homes were predominantly from the rural areas. For example, between 1901 and 1911 in Nova Scotia, there was a decrease in the rural population of 9546 people, yet during the same decade the urban population grew by 56,745 individuals.[10] Most of the rural people lost were young workers and rural craftsmen unable to maintain themselves in the traditional manner of their family.[11]

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7) James Sacouman, Social Origins of the Antigonish Movement, unpublished PH.D. thesis, 1976, pp. 148-149.
8) During this time, the families of the farming, fishing and mining communities of Eastern Nova Scotia were heavily dependant upon the local merchant for survival. The merchant offered goods on credit to the families in return for payment in whatever primary resource the family was involved in.. In effect, the merchant received profit from both consumer sales and credit, and in reselling the fish or farm produce to wholesalers. In the mining communities, the merchant was invariably a company owned store. Called the 'truck system', this cycle of dependence was one of the most serious problems for the people of Eastern Nova Scotia. It also afforded the merchants, or company store, guaranteed high profits and a high level of community prestige and power. This thesis is informed by George Hilton's The Truck System, (1960).
9) Canada Year Book, 1908, 1916-17, 1927.
10) Ibid., 1916-17.
11) Alan Brooks, Out-Migration from the Maritime Provinces, 1860-1900: Some Preliminary Considerations, in P.A. Buckner

While the province was able to actually increase its population through a high birth rate and extensive immigration, the new settlers found their homes in the newly burgeoning urban/industrial centres. By 1911, over 11,000 foreign (sic) born and a further 4,800 U.S. born individuals were residing in Nova Scotia. Of the foreign born, over half were of European origin.[12] Finally, the saving grace for Nova Scotia's population was a birth rate that saw an excess of between 4,000-5,000 births over deaths per annum between 1911 and 1915.[13]

The second choice for eastern Nova Scotians was, like the immigrants, to seek their livelihood in the growing urban areas such as the coal mine towns and the Halifax/harbors. This meant either the loss of people from Eastern Nova Scotia to other areas of Nova Scotia such as Halifax, or their migration to the developing coal mine towns on Cape Breton Island. An indicator of the crisis of rural outmigration was the fact that more women were leaving the farms for paid work than men. By 1911, there were 94 women in rural Nova Scotia for every 100 men.[14] The rapidly expanding coal mines were financed by foreign capitalists who were determined to achieve the highest return on their investment in the shortest time.[15] Rampant and open union busting, with the blessing of the provincial government and supported by the Canadian army, coupled with bitter internal union squabbles relegated the worker to a position of

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and David Frank, Atlantic Canada after Confederation, 1985, pp. 34-63.
12) Canada Year Book, Table 18, p. 90.
13) Ibid, Table 24, p. 107.
14) Ibid., 1916-17, table 11, p. 86

extreme dependance upon the company mine, the company town, and eventually, the company union.[16]

A process of underdevelopment radically affected the farming, fishing, and mining sectors of Eastern Nova Scotia. This underdevelopment was clearly linked to the capital concentration, in external hands with external centralization, of both the fishing and mining industries. The influx of foreign capital, first into the Cape Breton mining fields, and later into the trawler fleets, created a variegated and highly dependant class structure with complex occupational overlaps that reverberated down to the level of the individual. To be only a miner or a fisherman was not enough. The farmer had either to subsidize his income by wage labour in the mines or send a family member. The miner, subject to the exigencies of both world coal prices and the seasons when unemployed, had to supplement his existence with both the traditional dory and meagre garden plot.

The precarious nature of labouring in the Cape Breton mines was clearly connected to the origins of their capital financing. External control of the coal and steel industry ensured that only extraction and primary processing took place in Eastern Nova Scotia while further secondary processing was done in remote industrial regions such as New

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15) See Paul MacEwan, Miners and Steelworkers, 1976.
16) See David Frank, "Tradition and Culture in the Cape Breton Mining Community in the Early Twentieth Century", in K. Donovan, ed., Cape Breton at 200: Historical Essays on Honour of the Island's Bicentennial, 1985; and the film, 10,000 Men, National Film Board of Canada, 1978.

England or Ontario. External control was detrimental to secondary and tertiary production. Sacouman notes:

> "...the structure of ownership of coal and steel tended to determine the extent of secondary processing of coal fired steel products".[17]

Finally, the external control over the mines eliminated any control over his [the miner's] working conditions and life situation.[18]

The fisherman was equally dependant on external factors. Not only was the market price for the independent fisherman's catch set by external monopolies, but he also had to compete with the much more efficient trawler operations. This double squeeze forced the fisherman into a vicious circle of economic dependance which he could break out of only by emigration. Sacouman, in marxist terminology, accurately summarizes the marginal nature of the local fishermen:

> "Existing minimal means of production yield minimal returns for investment in means of production. Returns were often insufficient, on the average, for even the replacement of exhausted means of production. However, in the fisheries this internal underdeveloped dilemma is [sic] aggregated by direct control by big fisheries

17) Sacouman, op. cit. p. 149.
18) Frank, op. cit., 1985, pp. 203-218, and MacEwan, op. cit., 1976.

companies over the costs and returns of fishing".[19]

In agriculture, the move towards surplus production, or cash crops, was hindered by both a lack of capital and, or because of, a lack of markets. Underdevelopment in coal and steel and the offshore harvesting of fish dried up potential markets that would be created through indigenous secondary processing. The farmer had to look off the farm for cash-generating labouring opportunities. Conversely, the seasonal nature of fishing, coupled with a foreign controlled mining industry tied to a precarious world market, forced people to fall back upon subsistence farming to a large extent. What developed within the family economy was a series of subsistence agriculture-wage labour; subsistence agriculture-independent fishing; and at times subsistence agriculture-independent fishing-wage labour combinations for a large segment of the population in Eastern Nova Scotia.[20]

This precarious mode of existence was propped and perpetuated through the extensive method of merchant credit, or truck, at the community level. The cycle of dependance on seasons, world coal prices, monopoly fish and agricultural prices, and the truck system of credit ensured the social and economic stagnation of the people of Eastern Nova Scotia.

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19) Sacouman, op. cit. p. 151.
20) Ibid., pp. 148-149.

But Eastern Nova Scotia was not only a complex structure of occupational relationships. It was also internally segmented through ethnic/religious divisions that had clear geographical representations. These ethnic/religious boundaries cut deep and wide into the class segmentation of Eastern Nova Scotia further complicating its system of social stratification and relationships. Of particular relevance to this thesis were the Scots Catholics who did not participate in the rapidly expanding industrial development of Eastern Nova Scotia. Instead, they maintained social strongholds within the more subsistence based farming and fishing areas, while the Scots Presbyterians moved quickly into wage and commercial pursuits close to, and within the urban centres. The small cadre of catholic Scottish leaders that did develop was quite important for the development of the Antigonish Movement for it was they who formed the political block that agitated behind the Antigonish Movement's leaders. In a rather classic Weberian sense, MacInnes (1978) sums up the position of these elites and why they wished for their people to move ahead and participate within the perceived fortunes of Eastern Nova Scotia industrialization;

> "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."[21]

MacInnes' assertion that the failure of the Scots Catholic leaders to move into industrial enterprise was because of their inappropriate training is questionable empirically, but he does accurately portray how these leaders saw themselves and their community in relation to Eastern Nova Scotia industrialization. It was clear to these people that the effects of outmigration were devastating. Even though this outmigration took place over several decades, the effect upon a people of close ethnic and religious affiliation was intense. The loss of one farmhouse family represented a serious decay for the immediate community. The realization that the young would leave for the urban centers of Nova Scotia or the United States when old enough gripped the hearts of the parents who often represented the last of several generations upon the soil or the sea. It was this malaise, this community fragmentation, this loss of the pastoral ideal as revered by church and polity alike that forced the leaders of the Scots Catholic community to seek out a solution. The solution, agreed upon over a series of meetings and conferences by both Scottish lay leaders, and the highly influential catholic priests of Eastern Nova Scotia, was to focus upon co-operation as a way out of this socio-economic malaise.[22] The first conference was held in 1918 and focussed upon the

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21) MacInnes, op. cit., 1978, p. 112.
22) John Glasgow, The Role of Educational and Rural Conferences in the Development of the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University, unpublished B.A. thesis, 1947.

question of access to, and the worth of education. By 1920, they were formally organized with Father Tompkins elected as President. The conference objectives for this year were to:

a) emphasize `true` education,

b) emphasize religious instruction as a basis of morality and sound education.

c) propagate Christian Social Principles and encourage their application [23]

The Antigonish Movement leadership was drawn from the many priests, nuns, and Catholic lay people of the Catholic Diocese of Antigonish.[24] However, the guiding genius came from a core group of priest/intellectuals at St. Francis Xavier University led by Father Jimmy Tompkins and the Reverend (Dr.) Moses Coady. The Reverend Coady often boasted of the `middle way` the Antigonish Movement took between `communism` and `big capitalism`.[25] To some degree, every community in eastern Nova Scotia was affected by Antigonish Movement ventures. The Antigonish Movement, and the Extension Department where it was based, began to receive both national and international attention.

But, during this time, the Antigonish Movement leaders had to deal with much more than just the plight of the people of eastern Nova Scotia. The close relationship

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23) Ibid, p. 06.
24) See Delaney, op. cit., 1985, and MacInnes, op. cit., 1978.
25) Laidlaw, ed., The Man From Margaree: Writings and Speeches of M.M. Coady, 1971. Pamphlets produced by the Extension department were clear in their ideological purpose. Some titles of popular pamphlets include:
- "The Middle Way"
- "The Lord helps Those..." (sic)
- "If We don't do it ; the Communists will!"

between the movement's leadership and the Catholic Church brought it under careful and critical scrutiny from the Bishop. There was concern that church personnel were becoming preoccupied with secular affairs at the expense of their spiritual mission. The federal government was attempting, with some degree of success as it was a source of funds, to use the Antigonish Movement to co-opt an increasingly militant group of east coast fishermen. Corporations such as Eaton's were aghast at the prospect of co-operative stores competing in their traditionally exclusive domain. This concern was translated into a strong lobby group to influence the provincial government to limit the growth of co-operatives and credit unions. Finally, unions dismissed the Antigonish Movement and its leaders as misguided and irrelevant.

In this respect, this thesis explores the complex relationship between the Antigonish Movement and the social cultural context within which it grew in an effort to address several concerns. The general analytical concern is what is the relationship between religious ideology and social structure and social process? Specifically, this thesis will analyze the relationship between Catholic social theology and populist reform ideology in shaping the unique features of the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University as a cadre for social action, and, more broadly will seek to analyze the Antigonish Movement as a distinctive social movement.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The review will examine the available writings on the Antigonish Movement and outline the theoretical and

methodological works pertinent to the thesis. Works directly related to the Antigonish Movement can be divided into two groups. First, there are the popular writings on the movement. Written in an explicitly laudatory fashion, these works reflect the perspective of the catholic lay authors. The second group consists of academic works. The most significant of these are theses, with a few articles and one chapter of a book.

a) THE POPULAR WRITINGS:

Within this category, there are those who attribute the 'success' of the Antigonish Movement to the specific qualities of its leaders. Writers such as Beck,(1935, 1940), Boyle,(1940). Herron,(1960), Landis,(1938),Theresa,(1953), and Ward, (1942), consider the success of the movement to be a direct result of the charismatic powers of its leaders. Laidlaw, (1971), attributes near evangelical powers to Moses Coady.

Other popular writers attribute the success of the movement to the social impact of the Catholic Church guided by the series of papal encyclicals, known as the social encyclicals, such as Pope Leo XIII's Rerum Novarum(1891), or Pius XI's Quadragesimo Anno(1931).[26] These writers generally accept the fundamental principle of corporatism in their analysis of the Antigonish Movement. This doctrine

26) The various social encyclicals were the definitive papal word on current social issues. The most influential encyclical in the period relevant to this thesis was Quadragesimo Anno by Pope Pius XI in 1931. This document critiqued the abuses of monopoly capitalism, condemned socialism, and advocated a 'third way', or Catholic policy, between capitalism and communism. The Catholic social teachings are of fundamental importance for this thesis-see Chapter 2. Also see Baum, op.cit., 1980, Abell op.cit., 1963, 1968, and Mueller, The Church and the Social Question, 1984.

demands a moral basis for the social and economic relationships within industrial society. Both employers and workers have an obligation toward each other in the pursuit of a 'dignified life'. But this reciprocal obligation is subservient to both groups' obligation to God and the Catholic Church. [27] In these writings, the Antigonish Movement is seen as the vehicle by means of which the farmers, fishermen, and miners of Eastern Nova Scotia could seek and implement the ideals of the social encyclicals.

One theologian, Bonacina (1951), succinctly outlines the conservative nature of this doctrine in relation to industrial society, class differences, and the primacy of the Church:

> "(The Catholic Church)... does not cure souls in vacuo. She cures them in the bodies they dwell in and amid the concrete circumstances of their material existence. The men and women who look to her for strength and guidance have to achieve salvation in the class to which they belong and in the trade or calling which they follow." [28]

Writers such as Theresa(1954), Desjardins (1960),Pluta (1974), and Pluta and Kontak (1976), regard the success of the movement as directly attributable to the power of the Church's social teachings. All of these works extoll the virtues of the independent, autonomous individual as the shaper of his own destiny. The primacy of self-help, the 'great destiny' of the common man that Pluta and Kontak

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27) Camp, Richard., The Papal Ideology of Social Reform: A Study in Historical Development, 1878-1967, 1969,pp. 24-29.
28) Conrad Bonacina, 'The Catholic Church and Modern Democracy', in Cross Currents, 1951-52, Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 12.

speak of, reflect the Catholic theological principle of the importance of the laity.[29] The layman, the dignified individual within a catholic world, receives his or her guidance through the teachings of the church. Corporatist theology demands a dual responsibility from both the Church and the individual. To use religious metaphors, the Church, as the head of the holy body can only guide that body, it is up to the body to perform the actions.[30] Finally, an activist's excellent account of the Antigonish Movement is Delaney's By Their Own Hands: A Fieldworker's Account of the Antigonish Movement (1985). This work gives a general, though optimistic, overview of the actual workings within the movement. Her book breathes life into the movement through description, story telling and anecdotes.

One important criticism of these writings is their failure to recognize the theologically stressed reciprocal basis of corporatism. They ignore, as the actual founders of the Antigonish Movement did not, the fact that the Antigonish Movement was a reaction against the abuses of industrialism and capitalism. Contradictory to their acceptance of the concept of corporatism in analyzing the movement, these writings contain no critique of the responsibility of industry and the state to the 'common man'. This thesis will consider this relationship. Despite the apparent naivety of these writings, they do give a glimmer of the importance of catholic ideology on the formation and development of the movement.

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29) Pluta and Kontak, 'The Social Economics of the Antigonish Movement', in Review of Social Economics, Vol. 34, April, 1976, p. 63.
30) Mueller, op. cit. pp. 13-24.

b) ACADEMIC ARTICLES ON THE ANTIGONISH MOVEMENT:

Academic articles include Gregory Baum's Moses Coady: Critique of Capitalism (1977), and the chapter Catholics in Eastern Nova Scotia in Catholics and Canadian Socialism (1980). Shorter, though similar analyses, are in Lotz's The Antigonish Movement : A Critical Analysis, and Jamieson's Catholicism and Socialism: Antigonish --- The Two Sided Legacy (1985) The major contributions of the above authors are in placing the movement in the larger context of populist democratic politics combined with religious - particularly Catholic - activism that was sweeping North America during this era.[31] The populist characteristics of regional protest in North America have been widely documented. The sociological affinity between populist politics, religious activism, and petit-bourgeois dependant commodity producer economies is well established.[32] Discussion of religious influences on social movements in this era include Allen's work on the Social Gospel in the Canadian prairie west, and the Macpherson study of Social Credit in Alberta.[33] The larger picture of U.S. Catholic social action is contained in A. Abell's American Catholicism and Social Action : A Search for Social Justice 1865 - 1950 (1964), and American Catholic Thought on Social Questions (1960).

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31) On American Catholic social activism, see Abell, op. cit., 1963 and 1968.
32) On defining the petit-bourgeoisie, see Frank Bechhoffer and Brian Elliott's The Petit Bourgeoisie : Comparative Studies of the Uneasy Stratum, (1981); and Harriet Friedman's World Market, State and Family Farm : Bases of Household Production in the Era of Wage Labour (1978). The issue of populism is discussed at length in chapter 2.
33) Allen, op. cit., 1971 and 1975, and MacPherson's, Democracy in Alberta, 1953.

Unfortunately, academic writings specifically on the Antigonish Movement, surprisingly few in number, make only passing reference to the importance of either regional populism, catholic social action, and the newly emerging adult education theories and methodologies. This thesis attempts to redress the balance. Also, none of the above writers explore the political ramifications of the movement. Specific questions can be asked when looking at the demise of the movement and its religiously articulated, grassroots populism. For example, why did the Antigonish Movement not move into secular politics? The leaders of the Social Gospel carried their message well beyond the confines of the church into Canadian politics. The Co-Operative Commonwealth Federation was a concrete manifestation of the Social Gospel in Canada.[34] No such political action was taken by the leaders of the Antigonish Movement. The above works also do not address the fact that the critical stance of the movement concentrated exclusively on the distributors, whether of consumer goods, wholesale-marketing, or access to loans and credits.

Baum's earlier articles (1977a, 1977b), later a chapter in his book Catholics and Canadian Socialism: Political Thought in the Thirties and Forties (1980), give a concise overview of the Antigonish Movement. His book outlines the ambiguous relationship between the Canadian Catholic Church and the rapidly burgeoning urban trade unions and socialist fervor. Generally, the book is an outline of the failure of the Church to grapple with the growth of socialism and social democracy in Canada. As Baum notes, within the

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34) See Crysdale op. cit., 1961.

Antigonish Movement, leaders were loath to associate themselves with the socialist trade unionists in the Cape Breton coal fields or the recently emerging C.C.F. in the political realm.[35] However, Baum does note the importance of religion in the Antigonish Movement. Using a Weberian perspective, Baum looks at the ability of established religion to develop its own internal critical prophetic stance over and above religion as an institution:

> Religion ... produces symbols that protect the dominant social structure while at another level generating a critical spirituality that undermines the dominant structures.[36]

The moral and social fervor endemic in prophecy can, and does, act as a catalyst of change from within religious institutions. Prophecy also utilizes the existing religious symbols and language in order for both the religious institution and its members to make sense of the prophet. The prophet and the priest tend to speak the same technical language, but the meanings can and do differ.[37]

Unfortunately, Baum does not ask what happened to this critical, even prophetic, fervor within the Antigonish Movement. Also, Baum incorrectly reads a Marxist thread in the works of Coady.[38] Coady was first and foremost a Catholic priest who took his social responsibilities very seriously. There is good reason to believe that Coady's view of the individual in society was far more influenced by catholic social - and sociological - teachings than by Marx.

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35) See Baum, 1980, op. cit. pp. 200-203.
36) Gregory Baum, "Moses Coady: Critique of Capitalism", in The Chelsea Journal, Sept/Oct., 1977, p. 23.
37) See Paul Johnson, A History of Christianity, 1975
38) Baum, 1977, op. cit. p. 195.

Coady was a doctoral candidate at Catholic University when John Ryan, head of the Bishops Program of Social Reconstruction was Chairman of Sociology and Adult Education.[39] The 1921 Educational and Social Conference held in Antigonish, Nova Scotia, had John Ryan as its keynote speaker.[40] It was the people presiding over this and earlier conferences that went on to become the leaders of he Antigonish Movement.

Finally, Baum's criticism of Coady's co-operative vision is simplistic. Baum not only does not understand the relationship between co-operatives and the larger economy whether capitalist or socialist - but he also does not understand the internal workings of co-operatives. Co-operatives in China face problems similar to those of co-operatives in the West.[41] Co-operatives have distinct economic and social configurations, whether in capitalist or socialist countries.[42] However, Baum does situate the Antigonish Movement in the context of national Catholic social action. Nowhere else in Canada did Catholic social action reach such a level as in Eastern Nova Scotia.[43]

Longer, though not necessarily more comprehensive, works on the Antigonish Movement include the M.A. thesis The Failure of the Antigonish Movement in Larry's River by Murphy (1975); Webster's Tignish and Antigonish : A Critique of the Antigonish Movement as a Cadre for Co-operativism (1975) and Sharpe's book on the Prince Edward Island

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39) Abell, 1963, op. cit.
40) Frank, 1985, op. cit. p. 209, and Glasgow, op. cit. p. 8.
41) George Melnyk, The Search for Community: From Utopia to a Co-operative Society, 1985.
42) G. Fauquet, The Co-operative Sector, 1951.
43) Baum, op. cit., 1980.

situation titled A Peoples History of Prince Edward Island. (No Date) Sharpe compares the relationship between the Antigonish Movement cooperatives and earlier cooperative organizing on Prince Edward Island. All consider the movement to have been a failure, and in particular, condemn its leaders for having incorrectly perceived the economic conditions of eastern Nova Scotia. Sharpe denounces the priest leaders of the Antigonish Movement as 'servants of the bourgeois class', while Webster claims that the leadership, while of good intent, did not truly represent the people of eastern Nova Scotia.[44] Paradoxically, the emphasis upon leadership ability permeates these writings even though they all claim to take a Marxist approach. The theme of these works is that the leaders, knowingly or not, misguided the people of eastern Nova Scotia when they should have taken more appropriate action. But instead of condemning a 'failure' to move towards some linear utopia, we should instead be asking questions such as what were the specific socio-economic conditions that shaped the movement into what it actually became? Conversely, we can ask what was the prevailing ideological paradigm that in turn shaped both the Antigonish Movement and the perceptions of structural conditions upon which it was based? Specifically, the question is: What was the ideology of the Antigonish Movement and why was it so conducive to social

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44) Sharpe, A People's History of Prince Edward Island, (unknown source), Extract supplied by the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University, pp. 178, and Webster, Gary, "Tigonish and Antigonish: A Critique of the Antigonish Movement as a Cadre for Co-operativism", in, The Abegweit Review, Volume 2, Number 1, Spring, 1975 p. 96.

action in the peculiar social-economic conditions of eastern Nova Scotia?

When questions are framed this way, we can move away from a linear analysis of reform movements in capitalist society. By this, I mean that much work on social movements seems to proceed from the linear view where a) the irrational structure of capitalist society creates the impetus for social movements, and b) the world hegemony of monopoly capitalism necessarily guarantees the ultimate failure of social movements that attempt to compete within its sphere.[45] Such a perspective ignores the impact of ideas upon social organization. Much of the diversity of social movements from otherwise similar socio-economic backgrounds stems from their distinct interpretation of the world around them. This interpretation, or ethos, in turn directly influences their member's definition and appreciation of the situation and hence affects their behavior and the form and impact of the movement. Finally, such analysis does not explain why members of these movements develop such a commitment to success, whether religious or politically articulated, that leads them to defy and attempt to change apparently intransigent realities.

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45) See for example, J.A. Banks, The Sociology of Social Movements, 1972; J.R. Gusfield, Protest, Reform and Revolt: A Reader in Social Movements, 1970; Also, R.J. Byrm and R. Sacouman 1979, have recently applied this approach to the Atlantic provinces in their edited Underdevelopment and Social Movements in Canada, 1979.

c) Doctoral Theses on the Antigonish Movement

Frank Mifflen's The Antigonish Movement : A Revitalization Movement in Eastern Nova Scotia (1974) is modelled after Wallace's theory and typology of revitalization movements. This work proposes that the movement was an alternative 'cultural response' to the 'cultural distortion' of rapidly industrializing eastern Nova Scotia.[46] To Mifflen, this distortion is typified by high emigration coupled with even higher immigration out of the area, and a loss of traditional occupations such as subsistence farming and fishing to industrialized capital-intensive modes of production within these areas. This paves the way for a 'period of revitalization' where culture is open to alternative interpretations that reformulate the cultural identity into a 'new steady state' that accommodates the new industrial modes and strives for equilibrium.[47]

Mifflen's empirical study of co-operative housing as a manifestation of the 'routinization' of the movement is problematic. He takes an isolated urban example of co-operative enterprise and generalizes from this to the movement as a whole. But the Antigonish Movement was largely aimed at rural areas of eastern Nova Scotia. Next, there are problems with Wallace's model. While his typologies may have analytical utility, he does not adequately account for social transition between these typological stages. His theory lacks process. Secondly, Wallace's model precludes a study of the internal diversity

46) Mifflen, 1974, op. cit. p. 45, and A.F.C. Wallace, 'Revitalization Movements', in American Anthropologist, No. 58, April, 1956, pp. 264-281.
47) Mifflen, 1974, op. cit. pp. 36 and 45.

and dynamics within a movement. This has forced Mifflen to gloss over the internal history of the movement in order to maintain the macro-typological approach of Wallace.
Finally, Mifflen takes as fact the assumption that there was actual 'cultural distortion' amongst the farmers and fishermen of eastern Nova Scotia. As Porter has noted we tend to accept the notion of the primacy of the independent petty producer in the early twentieth century. It reflects a popular assumption, uncritically accepted by many writers who :

> " ... are nostalgic and concerned about the loss of the self-sufficient farm family and its values, which perhaps were never as dominant a characteristic of Canadian life as sometimes is assumed."[48]

On agrarian populism in the U.S., Preston makes an observation that could be applied to the Antigonish Movement:

> "While the populists' protest often focussed upon economic grievances, those grievances, when carefully examined, frequently appear to have been ill-based in economic realities. What was even more at stake was the farmers' sense of ability to control their destiny and to pursue their social role."[49]

This hypothesis will be explored in the thesis.

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48) John Porter, 'Rural Decline and the New Urban Strata', in Social and Cultural Change in Canada, Vol. 1, 1970, p. 134.
49) Robert Preston, 'The New Populism and the Old: Demands for a New International Economic Order and Agrarian Protest', in International Organization, Vol 37, No. 1, Winter, 1983, p.46.

MacInnes (1978) utilizes Hans Mol's sacralization of identity theory in analyzing the movement.[50] But, aside from MacInnes' comprehensive history of the socio-cultural conditions of eastern Nova Scotia, his use of Mols' model is essentially similar to Mifflen's routinization thesis. Both theses are subject to the criticisms outlined above. Also, both Mifflen and MacInnes accept the functionalist teleology implicit in the theories of Wallace and Mol. While both Mifflen and MacInnes see the Antigonish Movement as a religious vehicle of change, stability and order are seen as the paramount goals of the movement. As Beckford (1983), and Robertson and Holzner (1980) have noted, order is as much negotiated as it is perceived as coercive from overhead.[51] Struggles are as paramount in attempting to define what the prevailing order should be, as they are in achieving that order. The works of Mifflen and MacInnes have focussed on an assumption of a need to always seek a steady state of stability and order while neglecting to ask how such order becomes realized and accepted.

Sacouman (1976) takes a marxist approach to interpreting the movement. Discounting any religious or ideological basis of the movement, he emphasizes the:

> "... structure of capitalist underdevelopment as the primary constitutive basis for the formation of Antigonish Co-operative Movement societies in Eastern Nova Scotia."[52]

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50) MacInnes, 1978, op. cit. p. 14.
51) See James Beckford, 'The Restoration of 'Power' to the Sociology of Religion', in Sociological Analysis, 44-1, 1983, pp. 11-32, and Roland Robertson and B. Holzner, ed., Identity and Authority, 1980.
52) Sacouman, 1976, op. cit. pp. 76 and 231.

While Sacouman adequately outlines the economic pre-conditions conducive to such a movement, his perspective cannot explain not only why it was the Antigonish Movement that moved the people of eastern Nova Scotia, but also why the movement developed when it did. The economic situation of eastern Nova Scotia prevailed for several decades before the inception of the Antigonish Movement. Sacouman's emphasis on the economic conditions undermines the importance of ideology as a determinant in the shaping of the Antigonish Movement.

Finally, there is Anne McDonald's The Meaning of Liberation in Adult Education as Revealed by Moses Coady and the Antigonish Movement(1985), and Anne Armstrong's paper Masters of their own Destiny: A Comparison of the Thought of Coady and Freire, (1977).[53] The McDonald thesis postulates two dichotomous models as a basis for understanding the motivations of the Antigonish Movement's leaders. One set is that of volunteerism and community input and control; versus professionalism, institutionalism and external input and control of the movement. The second is the dilemma, which has plagued adult education and social movements, between community and social action, and individual self-help and self-realization.

McDonald's thesis clearly situates the leaders of the Antigonish Movement within the field of adult education theories. However, while she outlines at length the

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53) Armstrong, Anne, Masters of their own Destiny: A Comparison of the Thought of Coady and Friere, (working paper), University of B.C.,1977, and McDonald, Anne, The Meaning of Liberation in Asult Education as Revealed by Moses Coady and the Antigonish Movement, unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Alberta, 1985.

relevance of Father Coady's writings to the present practise of adult education, her interpretation suffers from an incomplete analysis of the social-historical underpinnings that led to the writings and theories of Coady and Tompkins. This thesis also contains the most comprehensive literature review of the Antigonish Movement to date. Armstrong's paper presents a content analysis of the writings of Moses Coady and Paulo Friere in an attempt to compare their work within the liberation tradition of adult education.

METHOD

The Antigonish Movement was heavily influenced by other political and social currents that circulated during this era. The Antigonish Movement developed out of a cultural milieu that was steeped in the traditions of catholic social theology, populist politics and the new evolutionary optimism found within theories of adult education.[54] Yet, the catalyst of successful Antigonish Movement organizing came from the Scots ethnic communities. The issue here is to develop the specific theories utilized and the interpretive schema based upon them. The specific problem is the relationship between ideology and social action.

The primary issue in this thesis with all of these traditions is ideology. What follows is an analysis of the theoretical basis utilized in order to understand the ideological impetus of each tradition. In chapter 2, an outline of each tradition is presented along with their specific relationship to the Antigonish Movement.

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54) See the following Chapter for an outline of these issues.

CONCEPTUALIZING IDEOLOGY

Ideology is more than a way of seeing the world. It also encompasses the behavioral consequences and limitations -at either the individual or social level- that a particular world view imposes upon its adherents. Ideology, whether religious or political, gives us a 'blueprint' to follow for our own lives. Just as important, this blueprint gives us a programmed series of expectations of others. An excellent work on the programmatic nature of alternative religious-ideological systems is Whitworth, 1975. Whitworth, in his analysis of three utopian communities outlines how religious and sectarian ideology becomes the 'blueprint' for individual, and social behaviour within enclosed communities.[55]

Works such as Therborn(1980) postulates a typology of ideological process as a basis for action. Ideology as a blueprint demands many things. It must attempt to ask 1) what exists, 2) what is good, and 3) what is possible.[56] To recognize what exists is to acknowledge the social world around us. In a mundane sense, it is an affirmation of not only the world, but ones place within it.

Secondly, according to ideological reasoning, human agency demands a utopia. Not only do we recognize a mundane reality, but we are critical of it. This critical stance provides the impetus for behavioral manifestations towards what is ideally desirable and yet believed possible-utopia. In essence, ideologies make empirical claims upon both the condition -what exists and what is good - and the direction

55) See John Whitworth, God's Blueprints: A Sociological Study of Three Utopian Sects, 1975.
56) Goren Therborn, The Ideology of Power and the Power of Ideology, 1980, p. 18.

of society -what is possible. The moral rhetoric that seems a necessary component of any ideology can be seen as the means for action with which to test these claims.[57] Apter, in an early but important piece, defines ideology as the guiding impetus behind the behavior of individuals in a social setting of "action-in-relation-to-principle."[58] Here, "...the vaguest of ideologies can be made to shine in the reflected glow of moral indignation"[59]

After establishing both what exists and what is good, ideology is then translated into a blueprint for action towards what is possible. Ideology is not only a reflection of the material basis of a particular class or community, it is also a theory of the capacity and potentiality of that class or community along with a critique of its ability to achieve those goals it has deemed necessary. Therborn then, succinctly demonstrates how the success of political-ideological mobilizations hinges largely on their ability to "...tap and harness the existential dimensions of human subjectivity"[60]

Finally, ideology is not to be taken as an explicitly recognized aspect of a community or class identity. Instead,

> "...ideologies are screens through which we perceive the social world. Their elements are assumptions, beliefs, explanations, values, and orientations. They are seldom taught explicitly and

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57) Clifford Geertz, Ideology as a Cultural System, in David Apter's Ideology and Discontent, 1964, p. 72.
58) Apter, op. cit. p.17.
59) Ibid. p. 16.
60) Therborn, op. cit., p. 17.

systematically. They are rather transmitted through example, conversations, and casual observation."[61]

There is ample work supporting the study of ideological systems within communities, the impact of religious ideology upon developing societies, and the ideologies of community development. Early works such as Andrain(1964) outline how the ideology and rhetoric of African leaders clearly represents, and is represented by, the type of society they wish to establish.[62] Differing definitions of democracy, socialism and liberalism, all with deep moral and ethical bases, are clearly reflected in the differing economic and social programs and structures developed within these countries. Closer to the topic of this thesis are works such as that of Sabella (1980) who analyzed the supposed inability of Peruvian fishermen to develop large-scale co-operatives.[63] Here, the ideology of co-operatives and co-operation, where the fishing economy and the boats would be controlled 'collectively' by the co-operative, was in direct contrast to a long standing tradition of independent boat ownership and the individualistic ideal -and ideology- of making one's own living.[64] Orbach (1980) demonstrates the individualistic, and situation-specific nature of fish buying and selling that often circumvented co-operative ideals.[65] Contradictory to the ideal of formal co-

61) Pat Marchak, Ideological Perspectives in Canada, 1975, p.1.
62) Charles Andrain, 'Democratic socialism: Ideologies of African Leaders', in Apter, op.cit., 1964, p. 163.
63) James Sabella, 'Jose Olaya: Analysis of a Peruvian Fishing Cooperative that Failed', in Anthropological Quarterly, Jan. 1980, Vol.53, No.1, pp. 60-61.
64) Ibid.
65) Michael Orbach, 'Fishery Cooperatives on the Chesapeake Bay: Advantage or Anachronism', in Anthropological Quarterly, Jan. 1980, Vol. 53, No. 1. p. 52.

operatives, informal co-operation was more appropriate to the socio-economic betterment, and traditional lifestyles of the fishermen.[66] Finally, on the structural effects of ideology, there is Jackson's (1972) study of community development organizations. This will be important to my methodological approach.[67]

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The Antigonish Movement, like other social movements seeking ameliorative reforms within a larger society, directed its efforts to specific 'social problems'.[68] How these social problems were defined, and who defined them are key issues here. John Jackson, whose work Community Development : Ideology and Technology (1972) this thesis is modelled upon, asks similar questions.[69] Jackson assumes that organizational activities are linked to the history and ideology of both the organization and its members. Jackson tests this assumption with a study of three separate community development agencies operating in rural Ontario. Each of these organizations - the Y.M.C.A., the Company of Young Canadians, and the office of the Agricultural and Rural Development Act - pursued differing problems and solutions that Jackson shows were clearly predicated upon the socio-historical conditions that each organization developed from. As Jackson states of his own work;

" The fundamental assumption from which this research proceeded was that organizational activity, in

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66) Ibid. p. 55.
67) John D. Jackson, Community Development, Ideology, and Technology: A Comparative Study of Three Community Development Agencies, 1972.
68) Gusfield, op. cit., 1970, and Banks, op. cit., 1972.
69) Jackson, op.cit., 1972.

this case community involvement, emerges from a complex in which an organization's major orientation arising out of the history of the organization itself is compounded with the kinds of social events the organization perceives as problematic, the way it approaches these problems, and the type of people it involves."[70]

Each of these selected organizations were involved in ameliorative activities toward problems as defined by their organizational personnel. The focus of the study was on the experience - broadly defined - of organizations, the events they defined as problematic, and the organizational approach to these problems.[71]

Particularly important here is Jackson's analytical schema. His research question posits four sets of variables. They are:

1) The existential basis of each agency,

2) The systems of thought generated by each agency,

3) The behavioral consequences of each in the field, and,

4) The effects of their activities.[72]

To Jackson, the existential base consists of the major ideological orientations of the agencies studied. Here, an understanding of how the agencies have emerged from their historical background to their internal structures is developed. Jackson posits three questions in this regard; a) from what broader social movement base did each agency develop?, b) from what general class situation did these

70) Ibid., p. IV-3.
71) Ibid., p. IV-1.
72) The following outline was extracted primarily from Ibid., pp. IV3-IV9.

agencies develop? c) What larger institutional sectors were influencing each agency and to what degree? Finally, the internal structure of the organization and how this related to agency behavior was analysed.

Systems of thought refers to the process which takes place prior to intervention with the target population. What is the specific paradigmatic process that leads to the selection of one target population over other possibilities? How does the definition of the problem come about that justifies intervention? Finally how are these systems of thought related to the agencies existential base?

The field strategies of the agencies involved are categorized as the behavioral consequences. Did these strategies involve only a specific segment of a population? How was this involvement realized? Why was there only partial involvement with the recipient population;? Was this intervention aimed at specific class, status, or power groups within the larger population? Finally, in what way was the behavior of these agencies constrained?

The effects categorize the target population itself, and its response to agency intervention. In what manner was the target population steered towards specific behavioral consequences? Jackson states that his primary interest was on the relationship between the behavioral consequences, and the systems of thought and existential base. Consequently, this model places minimal emphasis on effects. Jackson was not positing a causal or deterministic model. The existential base or history of a particular agency is not to be seen as to cause that agency to define the social

problems and thus the appropriate intervention.[73] Instead, Jackson posits these four categories as an interacting system of variables. In this respect his sociology is interpretive in its analysis. He was looking at process. In his case:

> "...a process in which certain positions assumed by an agency at a certain point in time set limitations on the available alternatives with respect to a future point in time."[74]

In essence, Jackson has taken the sociological question of what is the relationship between ideology and behavioral action, and has operationalized it into a testable hypothesis.

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The following is an outline of the methodological tools formulated in order to test the theoretical premises of this thesis. The investigation of a social movement that reached its peak in membership and organization over fifty (50) years ago, has raised questions of limitations in data collection and verification. The contingency of interpreting historical data is recognized here. In a Weberian sense, the methodology of this thesis is constrained by a realization that behavior is not solely determined by ideology, or vice-versa. Guenter Roth, grappling with Max Weber's historical sociology is succinct:

> "The question of where we stand and are likely to go is dealt with on the level of situational analysis

73) Ibid., p. IV-11.
74) Ibid., p. IV-11.

and of extrapolating perceived trends. In the absence of a belief in determinism and evolutionism, this is an open-ended trend analysis. Where should we go?" [75]

The imposition of sociological theory and conceptual schemas onto the limited data gleaned from historical materials has been a long standing issue. Historical sociology involves the imposition of a sociological template upon historical data. The verifiability of historical sociology is based upon the organizing of historical events in a logical pattern of order. This pattern of course is based upon sociological concepts.[76]

Several recent studies fruitfully utilize both the theoretical and methodological approach employed in this thesis. Adriance (1985) outlines how the Church in Latin America has assisted in developing grassroots social change at the expense of the previously traditional relationship with the state and the military. Her confirmation of the positions of priest-intellectuals as links between both the church hierarchy and the laity, and as catalysts for both

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75) Roth, Guenther, 'Rationalization in Max Weber's Development of History', in S. Whimster and S. Lash, Max Weber, Rationality and Modernity, 1987, p. 89.

76) The use of historical methods in sociology has only recently been given serious attention in the texts. Such works include Abrams' Historical Sociology (1982), and Skocpol's edited Vision and Method in Historical Sociology (1984). The British Journal of Sociology and Social Forces presented thematic editions on historical sociology in 1976. Here, Chirot(1976) and Wallerstein(1976) were useful. The recently edited collection of articles by Lash and Whimster (1987) offers a contemporary look at the methodology of Max Weber. The Roth (1987) article was particularly useful. Finally, the context and techniques of historical research was informed by the small, but quite useful Using Historical Sources in Anthropology and Sociology.(Pitt,1972).

ecclesial and social change is important for my work.[77]

Levine(1978) outlines the ambiguous relationship between the front line priest and the ecclesiastical hierarchy within the Latin American Catholic Church. He shows the ambiguous position of the priesthood, and how that ambiguity translates into specific social action.[78] Beckford (1983), as mentioned earlier, brings back the concept of power to the sociology of religion. He resurrects the classic sociological concern with the intentional production of foreseen effects.[79] Going beyond the interpretation of religion as merely an "apparatus for socialization and social control supplying meaning through culture", Beckford demands that the analysis of power in religion acquires:

> "...distinct importance in its own right as a sphere of activity where efforts are deliberately made to influence, manipulate, and control peoples thoughts, feelings and actions in accordance with various religious values."[80]

Kokosalakis (1985) examines the context of the nature of the cultural and moral framework within which power struggles operate in modern society. He emphasizes the need for a cultural framework, whether articulated within a religious or patriot-mythological framework, in order for political authority to translate into political action.[81]

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77) Adrience Madelaine, "Opting for the Poor: A Social Historical Analysis of the Changing Brazilian Catholic Church", in, Sociological Analysis, 46/2, 1985, p. 132.
78) Daniel Levine, "Authority in Church and Society: Latin American Models", in, Comparative Studies in History and Society, Volume 20, #4, 1978.
79) Beckford, op. cit., p. 29.
80) Ibid., p. 29.
81) Nicos Kokosalakis, "Legitimation, Power, and Religion in Modern Society", in Sociological Analysis, p. 375.

Finally, Westhues (1983) outlines the defensive stature of organizations whose religious ethos clearly necessitates they consider religion as a paramount model for society. This thesis is a contribution to the above literature on the sociology of knowledge and the sociology of religion.[82]

The next chapter situates the Antigonish Movement within the social and intellectual ethos of the era (1910-1940). The focus is on the affinities between the concurrent phenomena of catholic social theology, rural populist unrest, ethnic identity maintenance, and adult education development, within the North American intellectual environment in general, and that of Eastern Nova Scotia, based in St. Francis of Xavier University in particular. Following Jackson's methodology, outlined above, this chapter is then devoted to the existential basis of the Antigonish Movement. Here the focus is on the articulation of key structural linkages between these intellectual currents, and the actual leaders, both within these movements, and those of the Antigonish Movement.[83]

Chapter 3 will outline the development of the formal and informal structures of the Antigonish Movement in order to determine what particular religious, economic, and occupational strata the movement did, and did not appeal to.

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82) Kenneth Westhues, 'Defensiveness and Social Structure: The Ideology of Catholic School Trustees', in, Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, Volume 20, #1, 1983, pp. 59-78.

83) For an outline, and defence, of the usefulness of this methodological paradigm in understanding the structural connections between ideology and action, See Kokosalakis op. cit. pp. 367-376.

This analysis will focus on determining the affinal relationship between the above ideologies and the social groups involved with the Antigonish Movement.

Chapter 4 will focus on the results of the Antigonish Movement. The relationship between the ideological orientations of the Antigonish Movement and its specific programs of action, and of course non-action, will be considered. The assertion presented is that the limitations, or non-actions of the Antigonish Movement stemmed directly from the movement's ideology.

The conclusion will summarize these issues with a discussion of both a re-interpretation of the origins of the Antigonish Movement, and an analysis of the theoretical and methodological paradigm utilized in the attempt to further our understanding of the relationships between ideology, particularly religious beliefs, and social behaviour.

CHAPTER TWO

THE IDEOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE ANTIGONISH MOVEMENT

Between 1910 and 1940, the concurrent manifestations of religious social activism, rural populist unrest and ethnic identity maintenance, all in the face of modernization and industrialization, were strongly representative of the social and historical changes experienced by Canada in general, and Eastern Nova Scotia in particular. Important here is that the Antigonish Movement in eastern Nova Scotia resulted from and represented a unique convergence of these phenomena. The coalescing ingredients, the catalyst of these phenomena, were the newly developed theories of adult education sweeping the continent at this time. In this chapter, an outline of these important social currents will be provided as the foundation for the analysis of the ideological basis of the Antigonish Movement.

Drawing upon Jackson's methodology, the purpose here is to outline the existential basis that created this unique movement. The following outline will establish the linkages between the above mentioned social phenomena, and the major ideological orientations of the Antigonish Movement as it emerged from this historical background. This existential base, or put simply, the social history of the era and the organization (here the Antigonish Movement), conditioned its actual experience through time.[1] It was the interrelationship of the above phenomena that led to the

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1) Jackson, op. cit., p. IV-9.

actions of the Extension Department, its leaders, and its followers.[2]

CATHOLIC SOCIAL THEORY

The first true social encyclical, Rerum Novarum (The Condition of Labour),[1891] struck at the hearts of social-catholics. It blamed the sufferings of the working class on industry and industrialists. Leo XIII, unlike his predecessors, accepted capitalism as an inevitable trend in the western world. However, Pope Leo was not critical of how capitalism produced wealth, but rather how this wealth was distributed. Rerum Novarum (The Condition of Labour) met the issues of distribution of national wealth as a problem of all nations, rich and poor, and proposed a blueprint for the inclusion of the worker with a dignified position in industrial society.[3]

Leo XIII was the Pope who inspired the Church and Catholics to champion the cause of the workingman and create a society where the Church would have relevance. He envisioned a society where justice could be achieved within the existing order when both industrialist and worker accepted their duties as partners within a corporatist society.[4]

"The great mistake made in regard to the matter now under consideration is to take up with the notion

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2) The impact of Christian social gospel on Canada's history is extensive. The protestant social gospel movement in the 1930's is a classic example. Allen has written extensively on the subject, op. cit., 1971,and 1975. See also Crysdale op. cit..

3) Camp, op. cit., p. 86.

4) Ibid., p. 91.

> that class is naturally hostile to class and the wealthy and the workingman are intended by nature to live in mutual conflict. So irrational and so false is this view, that the direct contrary is the truth...Each needs the other: Capital cannot do without Labour, nor Labour without Capital. Mutual agreement results in pleasantness of life and the beauty of good order; while perpetual conflict necessarily produces confusion and savage barbarity. Now, in preventing such strife as this and in uprooting it, the efficacy of Christian institutions is marvellous and manifold. First of all, there is no intermediary more powerful than Religion (whereof the Church is the interpreter and guardian) in drawing the rich and the poor breadwinners together, by reminding each class of its duties to the other, and especially of the obligations of justice. [5]

In 1919 Pope Benedict XV explained that the workers had a special interest in Leo XIII's encyclical, because it spoke of the reciprocal rights and duties of both workers and employers. By 1920, he exhorted that Catholics should be involved in the material conditions of the working masses, and that the clergy needed to take an interest in economic and social action.[6]

In 1931, forty years after Leo XIII's historical encyclical, Pius XI celebrated this anniversary with a new encyclical on labour questions.[7] Quadregesimo Anno (On Reconstructing the Social Order) was written during a time

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5) Quoted in Manschreck's A History of Christianity, Vol. 2, 1981, p. 385.
6) Camp, op. cit. p. 92.
7) Freemantle op. cit. p. 80.

of unrest on the European and North American continents. The Church recognized that labour was now on the defensive. Like Leo XIII, Pope Pius demanded that capitalists assume the responsibility of justice and responsibility for their workers. There was not a better time for this blueprint of social betterment, or what the pope called a 'crusade for charity". The depression was steamrolling over whole economies and millions were unemployed and on the streets. Like Leo XIII, Pius called for a corporate structure with 'just wages' based on the family's needs to maintain a dignified existence. His vision of wealth redistribution also called for the opportunity for every worker to become a property owner in order to cultivate land and shelter his family.

These pronouncements had a profound effect on the Catholic masses throughout Europe and North America. In Europe after 1878, Catholic social action groups broke out of the traditional mold of reactionary upper class intellectuals and begun to undertake serious study of the conditions of the working class. In Italy, the Opera der Congressi, traditionally the national organization for Catholic Action, "developed a second section which concerned itself with social reform and popular Christian action".[8] France, Germany, and Belgium developed influential movements with the support of the Pope. In 1890., German Catholics founded the 'Volksverein', an educational organization committed to "...the study of social problems and to the publication of pamphlets and lectures designed to educate

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8) Camp, op. cit. p. 11.

German Catholics on the social question".[9] Study congresses, mutual aid associations and labour organizations proliferated across Catholic Europe. The Pope desired and decreed hope for the establishment of organizations, true to the Catholic way, that remained independent from the state and acted as corporate intermediaries in the delivery of true Catholic social justice.

Catholics in North America were struck by the exciting 'new' social theology. It was near the second decade of this century before Catholic action took hold but it swept across the consciences of Catholic priests and laity alike.

During the first two decades of this century, Catholic action was an affirmation of reforming impetuses already in motion. As Abell notes:

> "By and large, reforming Catholics approved the crusade for protective legislation, especially the minimum wage laws, deemed essential to the realization of the 'living wage' program of Popes Leo XIII and Pius X."[10]

However, the U.S. Churches waged war on the evils of 'socialism' during this same era. In 1904, Reverend William J. Kerby, professor of sociology at the Catholic University of America, was outspoken in his condemnation of socialism "...for it is a menace, immediately, to our institutions and remotely to our faith."[11]

In order to keep the industrial working Catholics from the evils of socialism, Catholic trades unions and organizations sprang up across the country with a high level

9) Ibid, p. 12.
10) Abell, 1963, op. cit. p. 139.
11) Quoted in ibid, p. 146.

of ecclesiastical leadership and support. Catholic study clubs on social and economic conditions relating to Catholic labourers were the order of the day.[12]

The first national impetus came in 1920 with The Bishops' Program of Social Reconstruction, a comprehensive statement of where the Catholic Church should direct its social energies in the decades to come. The primary author of this document was William Ryan of the Catholic University of America in Boston. Comprehensive in scope, the Program's platform called for a 'living' minimum wage based upon need, housing programs for the working class, child labour laws, old age and unemployment insurance, and most important here, a vision of 'Co-operation and Co-partnership' for the labouring masses, and the elimination of monopolies.

Regarding the position of wage earners, the document exhorted that "the majority must somehow become owners, or at least in part, of the instruments of production."[13] This ideal was to be gained through "co-operative productive societies" which while they would involve "to a great extent the abolition of the wage system, would not mean the abolition of the private ownership."[14] Monopolies were to be dismantled so a small group of capitalists could not receive 'unearned profits'. The document re-iterated the corporate notion that:

> "...the employer has a right to get a reasonable living out of his business, but he has no right to

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12) See ibid, pp. 137-188.
13) Quoted in Abell 1968, op. cit. p. 345.
14) Ibid, pp. 347-348.

interest on his investment until his employees have obtained at least living wages."[15]

The second cornerstone document was A Basis for a Rural Program published in 1920 by E.V. O'Hara for the Catholic Educational Association. O'Hara placed the rural priest at the top of the social ladder of rural communities as the steward, or anchor, for the rural Catholic population. The rural priest would:

> "...be the centre of a Catholic colonization program; he will warn his people against the allurements of city life and encourage them to build up a rural culture worthy of the historic profession of agriculture[16]

It is interesting to note that these Catholic social currents raging within the U.S. were of greater impact upon the Catholic Church in Antigonish, Nova Scotia, than the conservative teachings of the Canadian Church. There were many reasons for this. Important here was the fact that St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish was primarily staffed with Catholic priest professors who were trained within the U.S., particularly the Catholic University of America. Moses Coady received his Doctorate of Sociology and Adult Education at this university when John Ryan was Chair of the department, and William Kirby was a professor of sociology.[17]

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15) Ibid.

16) Quoted in ibid. p. 359.

17) It should be pointed out here that the sociology taught at the Catholic University of America was a Catholic sociology as opposed to the more secular, though reformist, sociology emanating from other American universities. Catholic sociology begins from very basic assumptions of

But even before this, Father Tompkins had spent considerable time in Europe where he visited and studied the myriad of Catholic co-operative organizations and work study groups. This culminated in his attendance in 1912 at the Congress of Universities of the Empire of England where he was 'converted' to adult education as the key to social reform.[18] This conversion was clearly based on a realization of the affinities between the adult educational methodologies advocated at the time and the emphasis on co-operation and study clubs as the foundation for the advancement of catholic social theology and Thomistic ideals.

The fourth 'Educational Conference' hosted in 1921 by the Catholic Church at St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, Nova Scotia, had John Ryan as its keynote speaker.[19] The key topics of the conference were a mirror image of The Bishops Program for Social Reconstruction.[20] During this time, Dorothy Day, an internationally known Catholic social activist, made several visits to the maritimes promoting the wholesomeness of rural life and the importance of organizing rural women/wives into study and action clubs based on Catholic teachings. Both Coady and Tompkins were active participants and speakers at the ongoing parallel Catholic Conferences in the Eastern United States. The full ramifications of the structural connections between the Antigonish Movement, the Catholic

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human nature and social order based upon Catholic Christian principles. It was and is a religious sociology.

18) Mifflen, 1974, op. cit. p. 9.

19) The importance of these conferences is dealt with later in this chapter.

20) See Glasgow, 1947, op. cit.. p. 8.

Church in Antigonish, Nova Scotia, and North American Catholic social action will be dealt with in Chapter 3.

Adult Education and the Antigonish Movement

The development of adult education as a distinct discipline came of age at the turn of this century. Adult education as a discipline was a response to both the growth of universities and colleges and the burgeoning enrollments within them. The key articulater during this era of a science of higher education was Thorstein Veblen.[21] An avid proponent of a 'rationalization' of higher education, Veblen, from the newly founded New School for Social Research, propounded his ideas to students who then later became leaders in an adult education environment that reflected his evolutionary optimism. These leaders were financed by the endowments of major philanthropists such as the Carnegie Corporation, and Rockefeller Foundation. In turn, these theories struck a familiar chord with Catholic Social theories of the time and were sympathetically received by Catholic adult educators. Father Jimmy Tompkins and Reverend Moses Coady of Antigonish were no exception. Between 1918 and 1920 the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation had donated over 4 million dollars to

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21) See Veblen Thorstein, The Higher Learning in America: A Memorandum on the Conduct of Universities by Business Men, 1965. The relationship between the Carnegie Corporation and the American Association of Adult Educators is outlined in Harold Stubblefield's Towards a History of Adult Education in America: The Search for a Unifying Principle, 1988. See chapter 2, The Carnegie Corporation, the American Association for Adult Education, and the Promotion of an Idea in Adult Education, pp. 22-41.

the maritimes and Newfoundland, including substantial sums to St. Francis Xavier University for various educational ventures.[22] The Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller Foundation realized a two fold social return on their investments into the Canadian Maritimes and Newfoundland. One, it was prime ground for testing the rationalization of higher education in a rapidly industrializing and urbanizing region of North America. Second, it offered a social laboratory to test ameliorative programs that would offer the opportunity for people to better themselves individually and subvert the efforts of socialist and communist agitations in the region.

The recipient organizations were multi-faceted, yet a thread of ideological consistency was woven throughout the projects. This consistency was based upon both the rationalization of adult and higher education in the maritimes, and the opportunity to deliver programs that would promote and maintain capitalist industrialization, which was "the foundation upon which civilization itself rests."[23] The consistency of this ideological guidance within the Carnegie Corporation was reaffirmed in 1922 when acting president Henry S. Pritchett commented in his annual

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22) The economic impact upon the maritimes and Newfoundland of the Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller Foundation is extensively covered in John G. Reid's Health, Education and Economy: Philanthropic Foundations in the Atlantic Region in the 1920's and 1930's (1984); and Micheal Law's Into 'Terra Incognita': Considerations on the Timeliness and Importance of the Carnegie Corporation's Early Involvement in Adult Education (1988).

23) Andrew Carnegie quoted in Edward Kirkland's Carnegie: The Gospel of Wealth and Other Timely Essays (1962), p. 64.

report, that the foundations' monetary allocations were for the:

> "intelligent and discriminating assistance of such causes and forces in the social order as seem to promise effective service...[in any] direction that ministers to the advancement of civilization.[24]

In 1924, Father Tompkins was invited to attend a meeting of the Carnegie Corporation to discuss adult education. Here, Tompkins urged for the necessity of co-operation, credit unions, and study club techniques to create the local impetus for economic and social betterment.[25] Based on this and other meetings, the Carnegie Corporation later supplied much of the financial support to the St. Francis Xavier Extension Department, and the Antigonish Movement over the next 15 years. Between 1919 and 1940, over $129,000 was spent on St. Francis Xavier, with $65,000 going to the Extension Department.[26]

Later both Tompkins and Coady were active members of the Canadian Association of Adult Educators (C.A.A.A.), founded in 1936. Coady also served on the board of the American Association of Adult Educators. Again the Carnegie Corporation had a hand in this matter with two previously unsuccessful attempts to organize Adult Education ventures.

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24) Quoted in Reid, op. cit., p. 67.
25) Lotz and Welton in "Knowledge for the People": The Origins and Development of the Antigonish Movement, in Michael R. Welton's Knowledge for the People: The Struggle for Adult Learning in English Speaking Canada, 1828-1973, ed., O.I.S.E. Press, 1987, pp. 97-111.
26) Reid, op. cit., p. 83.

in Canada into one national association prior to 1932.[27] By 1935, the then Carnegie Corporation President, Keppell, and the American Association of Adult Education Director, Morse Cartwright, a former assistant of Keppell, were successful and the groundwork was laid for the formation of the C.A.A.A.. A committee of 17 Canadian adult educators, including A.B. MacDonald of St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department swiftly took steps to incorporate what was to be the C.A.A.A.. Corbett became the first Director and a national forum was in place for the articulation of the new gospel of adult education.

The connections between Corbett and the Antigonish Movement precede the inception of the C.A.A.A., with Coady travelling to Alberta as early as 1934 to assist Corbett in developing rural discussion groups there. The relationship lasted throughout the time of the Antigonish Movement and well into the 1950's.

POPULIST PROTEST IN THE MARITIMES.

> 'I wish he would come down with me to the shores of Nova Scotia and see conditions as they exist. We have there a great fishing industry with resources practically inexhaustible and we have a people who are adapted to the industry; yet I can take him to villages where the average earnings last year per man were less than $200.00 and those men are heads of families. Those are not isolated villages...I can point out to him reports of this government that since 1914, ten

27) Ron Faris, The Passionate Educators: Voluntary Associations and the Struggle for Control of Adult Educational Broadcasting in Canada, 1919-1952, 1975, p.21.

thousand men have been lost to the industry. I can show him villages where house after house had the windows boarded up and the occupants have gone to the United States to Gloucester and Boston".[28]

The third mobilizing factor of the Antigonish Movement was the well articulated grievances of the rural and regional leaders of the Maritimes. By the turn of the century, Canada was well underway to becoming an urban industrial country. Eastern Nova Scotia was no exception. Yet this process was not undertaken without a struggle from those who defended the virtues of rural life. The ideology of rural and petit-bourgeousie grievances articulated through a cadre of leadership, whether indigenous or imposed, has been labelled populist in the literature. Early North American writers used the term populism to describe the political agitations of the farmers and small producers at the turn of the century. Populist platforms, reflecting the voices of the rural independent producers included calls for a larger return on their crops, a return to their once dominant representation in the political sphere, protection from the consolidation of capital and its effects on their once independent rural economies, and a romantic 'harking-back' to the re-establishment of a perceived moral order in industrial capitalism.[29] While populism had its roots in the early turn of the century

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28) The Honourable Mr. Ernst, Member of Parliament, on the of the Royal Commission on Fisheries in the Maritimes and the Magdalen Islands. (The MacLean Commission), February, 27, 1928, (in) The Official Report of the Debates, House of Commons, 1927-1928, p. 814.

29) See Richard Hofstadter's 'North America' in Ionescu and Gellner's Populism, 1969, pp. 1-27.

'knee-jerk' reactions to industrializing society, it was a morally articulated ideology of demands for redress. The farmers, fishermen, and to some extent, the miners of eastern Nova Scotia, were conscious of their rapidly diminishing positions in Canadian society.

The literature on populism is wide ranging in its definitions and conclusions. There is John Conway's class reductionist approach where:

> "Populism is the political expression of the petit-bourgeoisie in the class struggle characteristic of a modernizing and developing capitalism."[30]

This approach glosses over the diversity of populist agitation within the petit-bourgeois sectors. It relegates the concept of populism to the unhelpful tautology where populism is the political articulation of the petit-bourgeousie, and the petit-bourgeoisie express themselves through populist politics.

Other writers, such as Laclau, seek to look at ideology as a means of understanding the myriad of 'populisms'. While still drawing upon marxist categories, he bases his argument upon the premise that populism does not arise when classes are merely dominated by others. Instead, it is an ideological manifestation of who the 'people' are, and what

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30) Conway, in 'The Nature of Populism: A Clarification', in, Studies in Political Economy, no. 13, Spring 1984, p. 140. Other works include Margaret Canovan's Populism, 1984; Goodwyn's Democratic Promise, 1976; Hick's The Populist Revolt, 1962; North's Growth and Welfare in the American Past, 1966; and Preston, .1983, op. cit.. Critical surveys of the literature include Allcock's 'Populism': a Brief Biography 1971; and Athey's Populism: Some Recent Studies 1984.

the 'people' demand in a confrontation with industrialization. The confrontation then is between this perceived peoples and a power bloc. Laclau argues that to understand populism in its many guises, we must accept that:

> "...classes exist at the ideological and political level in process of articulation and not of reduction."[31]

However, Laclau's polemical move away from a reductionist class analysis of populism relegates his argument to the unverifiable realm of a reified ideology. The position of this thesis in accepting populism as a concept for understanding petit-bourgeoisie grievances follows Nico Mouzelis' critique of Laclau. Mouzelis asks that we look at the specific structural underpinnings of populist parties.[32] The examination of the organizational structures of populist parties and ideologies, and their relationship to the larger society allow us to understand the basis of populism.[33]

The Antigonish Movement was born out of the populist demands for socioeconomic redress within eastern Nova Scotia. The demands came from varying sectors that both competed and intersected with each other. The agitations of the leaders of the Cape Breton coal miners openly espoused communism and the overthrow of the external monopolies controlling the mines. J.B. McLachlan, the labour leader of the Cape Breton miners, had visited Lenin's new Russia and

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31) Ernesto Laclau, Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory, 1977, p.161.
32) Nico Mouzelis, Ideology and Class Politics: A Critique of Ernesto Laclau, 1978, p.51.
33) Ibid, p.53.

found it the utopia for his men. McLachlan had little time for the co-operative organizing ventures undertaken within the mining communities both before and after the inception of the Antigonish Movement. Instead, McLachlan's miners confirmed their radical stance regarding the Cape Breton labour situation with reports from returning W.W.I veterans on the newly emerging socialist experiments in Europe.[34]

The labour crisis in Cape Breton, fueled by brutal state intervention and a utopian vision of the workers place in society, coalesced with the parallel crisis within the rural farming and fishing society. Both groups, labour in reaction to external ownership and control of the Cape Breton mining industry, and the farmers and fishermen reacting to the perceived loss of their cherised values of rural autonomy, clashed with the rapidly industrializing and urbanizing existence being thrust upon them from the outside. The outcome was a tenuous alliance between labour and farmers at the provincial political level with a large undercurrent of populist support. The platform of what was to become the Farmer Labour Movement consisted of classic populist demands for a return to the perceived pre-eminence of the rural social and political arena, the reversal of the waves of outward emigration of the sons and daughters of the region's families, and for a new rural economy safe from the inroads of external mining and fishing capital, federal and provincial ministries, and the consolidated consumer merchants who were perceived as taking over the economies of

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34) See George Rawlyk 'The Farmer Labour Movement and the Failure of Socialism in Nova Scotia' (p 30) in Essays on the Left by Laurier LaPierre (ed) 1971.

the rural villages and mining towns.[35] The populist agitation leading up to the the inception of the Antigonish Movement falls clearly within the conceptual demands of what Goren Therborn calls 'mobilization by revival'.[36]

Scots in Groups: Ethnicity in Eastern Nova Scotia

Early settlements in eastern Nova Scotia reflect the ethnic, religious and kinship patterns of newly settled immigrants.[37] Catholic and Presbyterian Scots Highlanders, Presbyterian Lowlanders, Irish Catholics, Acadians and Loyalists formed the major ethnic and religious groupings.

While kinship-clan affiliation informed settlement patterns, religion was the predominant factor.[38] Based on the 1921 Census, four of the seven counties within eastern Nova Scotia were of predominantly one religious denominational orientation.

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35) Ibid, p. 32.

36) Therborne, Goren., The Ideology of Power and the Power of Ideology (1980), p.121.

37) An extensive outline of the early settlement patterns in eastern Nova Scotia is found in the MacInnes thesis op. cit., See pp. 78-80. An extensive outline of Scottish settlement and influence on Nova Scotia can be found in Campbell and MacLean's Beyond the Atlantic Roar: A Study of Nova Scotia Scots (1974). The close kinship networks of the Scots within these communities are examined in D.G. Whidden's The History of Antigonish (1934), and Reverend D.J. Rankins, A History of the County of Antigonish, Nova Scotia(1929).

38) One derives a feel of the importance of kinship identity maintenance as a factor of generational community cohesion from reading various published genealogical histories of eastern Nova Scotia. See Whidden op. cit., and Rankin op. cit..

1921 CENSUS (%)

	Presbyterian	Catholic
PICTOU	60	18
VICTORIA	57	32
ANTIGONISH	08	87
INVERNESS	25	70

The Acadians, whose forced settlement dated earlier than that of the above settlers, were predominantly represented in fishing communities of Richmond County and in the Cheticamp area of Inverness. Yet the beginnings of concerted attempts to develop ethnic identity, through ethnic clubs, language schools, and church organizing, were in direct response to the rapid depopulation of the eastern counties to serve both the newly forming industries in the urban sectors of Nova Scotia and Eastern Nova Scotia and the burgeoning mining towns of Cape Breton Island.[38]

1871-1931 POPULATION SHIFTS % + or - (extracted from MacInnes, Appendix A, pp 450)

PICTOU	urban	+ 181
	rural	- 35
VICTORIA		- 30
ANTIGONISH		- 39
INVERNESS		- 11
CAPE BRETON	urban	+1476
	rural	+ 04
GUYSBOROUGH		- 07
RICHMOND		- 23

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39) On this mass exodus, particularly of rural craftsmen, see Alan Brookes' 'Outmigration from the Maritime Provinces 1860-1900: Some Preliminary Considerations' (in) P.A. Buckner and David Frank., (ed) Atlantic Canada After Confederation (1985) pp. 34-63.

This population decrease was more than a slow general loss within the rural town and countryside. It was a direct attack upon the weekly head count of the parish church, it whittled away the hope for a proud future of those whose past was defined by the proud history of their clan genealogy, and it was the malaise felt by the community when they heard the hammers upon the wooden shutters of their neighbor's homes. The heart felt loss of a 'communal homogeneity' to use MacInnes' term, set the community leaders to work - local leaders, merchants, and rural parish priests - to create a renewed identity based upon the pristine ideals of rural, ethnic identity, and of course the Catholic faith. This 'communal homogeneity' of the counties became fertile ground for organizing on an ethnic level. What developed were a myriad of local Scottish Societies and Clubs to address these grievances.[40] Two groups in particular, the St. Francis Xavier University Alumnae Society, and the newly formed Scottish Catholic Society became the centres of debate and calls for action on the 'plight' of eastern Nova Scotia.[41] Both of these societies accepted the issue of rural and regional redress and showed

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40) The importance of education, particularly adult education techniques as a mobilizing factor in ethnic groups and movements is discussed in R. Paulston's (ed) Other Dreams, Other Schools: Folk Colleges in Social And Ethnic Movements.(1980) In this collection, Paulston and D.Lejeune develop a methodology of analysis on the role of education in social movements in the article "A Methodology for Studying Education in Social Movements. pp. 26-54.

41) See J.R. McSween, The Role Played by the Scottish Society of Canada in the Development of the St. Francis Xavier Extension Department,(unpublished Manuscript) available in the St. Francis Xavier University Library

clear affinities with the proposals put forth by J.J. Tompkins that St. Francis Xavier University should take a central role in this fight. Coady and Tompkins had ties to both of these societies, and Tompkins heavily influenced the view of the regional Catholic newspaper, The Casket, on how rural redress should be undertaken.[42]

PRECONDITIONS OF THE ANTIGONISH MOVEMENT

The four major ideological currents previously described - catholic social theology, rural populist protest, adult education, and ethnic identity maintenance and renewal - took root and blossomed in the region. During 1915-1928, these currents manifested themselves in the daily political and social life of eastern Nova Scotia in a myriad of ways. The major institutional manifestations were the Catholic Educational Conferences, the development of the Scots-Catholic Forward Movement, originating in Antigonish, provincial demands for redress with the inception of the Farmer Labour Party, church embattlement over schemes to develop a university amalgamation as favoured by the Carnegie Corporation, the development of the Scottish

42) The Casket published weekly in Antigonish, was the leading Catholic newspaper of eastern Nova Scotia. Purchased in 1915 by the Church, it was considered a forum for the dissemination of a Catholic perspective on the local, regional and national issues of the day. The Casket took a conservative stance, informed by Church tradition on most matters. However, rural issues such as agriculture and education took on a decidedly liberal flavour, still within catholic traditions, of which J.J. Tompkins was the newspaper's major voice. Tompkins was editor of The Casket for several years prior to 1922 and was prolific in his submissions on these issues. Past issues of The Casket are at the St. Francis Xavier Library

Catholic Society, and the introduction of adult education techniques into the region. While all of these issues overlap, for purposes of analysis each will be considered for its merits as a stepping stone in the development of what was to be considered the answer to the socioeconomic problems of eastern Nova Scotia - the founding of the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier and the inception of the Antigonish Movement.

THE FORWARD MOVEMENT

On November 11, 1913, a local meeting was held in Antigonish attended by many of the local merchants, bankers, land owners and local priests of the area. The focus of the meeting was the necessity to rejuvenate the local social and economic interests of the community.[43] Soon after, a series of discussions began in The Casket, organization was undertaken, and the Forward Movement was formed in Antigonish.

However, the original merchant concerns of the town of Antigonish, for the town was a service and supply centre for the county, were quickly usurped by the larger concern for rural and agricultural issues. During these meetings, the two main protagonists for rural and agricultural concerns were J.J. Tompkins and Moses Coady. At this time Tompkins was a Vice President of St. Francis Xavier University and Coady was a Professor. It was clear their presence lent much weight to redefining the issues to include rural and agricultural matters. Speakers were brought in on these

43) The Casket, November 11th, 1913. The Forward Movement was well documented in the Casket from November 1913 until the movement's demise in the summer of 1914.

subjects along with discussions on the Church, state and society as outlined in Pope Leo XIII's Rerum Novarum. These early meetings quickly became testing grounds for the promotion of tentative theories and solutions such as scientific agriculture and training, marketing co-operatives, and methods of rural re-population.

Specific plans of action included a "market day to tie the bonds of town and country" advocated by Tompkins, and co-operative measures between town and country were advocated by Coady to develop local markets for regional produce.[44] The town of Antigonish prospered from having its own university and being the seat of the Catholic Archdiocese of the county, as well from being the market distribution centre for much of the region of eastern Nova Scotia. However, the Forward Movement demanded a more equitable sharing of the wealth for the rurality with its emphasis on both rural and town co-operation for mutual benefit. A drive for funds was instituted for the Forward Movement, and it is interesting to note that most of the future leaders of the Antigonish Movement, including Tompkins and Coady, were contributors.[45]

However, soon after the inception of the Forward Movement, many of the town merchants and leaders lost their enthusiasm. Redefining the issues so that they centered on rural redress was too much to expect of the town merchants who profited from their position as suppliers to the region, and by the summer of 1914 the Forward Movement all but died within the town of Antigonish. Yet chapters of the movement

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44) The Casket, December 18th, 1913, p. 04
45) The Casket, March 12th, 1914

sprang up in the predominantly rural counties of St. Andrews and Inverness.

The perceptions of the town leaders, and those who articulated the grievances of the rurality, particularly in respect to expectations of the town merchants in developing solutions for the rural areas, brought out in stark relief the merchant and service nature of the town and the merchants own view of their place in relation to the rurality they served.

Rural economic redress was not on the agenda for these merchants, and they expressed their animosity toward these views, and towards the clergy who advocated these views, by voting with their feet. With the downfall of the town of Antigonish's Forward Movement, The Casket soon lost interest in the venture.

Soon afterward World War I began and it was not until 1918 that a concerted program of rural action was again undertaken by this cadre of priest-intellectuals in Antigonish. But the seed had been planted.

THE RURAL AND EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCES

> "Economic projects must be used to work out the principles of Christianity, just as our Lord used the simple concrete things of life to make His teachings clear to the people. He expressed the hope that the discussions at the conference would bring forth a definite plan of action for putting the Pope's program into practise."[46]

46) Minutes of the Opening Address of the Rural and Industrial Conference, Moses Coady, 1933, quoted in Glasgow, op. cit., p. 13.

In 1918, The Casket resumed its position as a Catholic interpreter of the social effects of industrialization and urbanization. Generally, the editorship of The Casket did not question whether industrialization, and eastern Nova Scotia s place within it, was good or evil but rather what was to be their place within industrialization and how could they further the interests of Catholics within it.

This concern was given a focus in 1918 with the beginning of a series of weekly articles in The Casket titled "For the People: Devoted Mainly to Social, Economic and Educational Affairs". Initially, these articles were guided by Father Tompkins although he did not himself author them. The writers were selected and invited to publish their views on appropriate topics. The focus again was upon the scientific, educational approach towards the ills of eastern Nova Scotia with a particular emphasis on the need for the redress of rural grievances. Second, the importance of education, of adult education, was coalescing into the prime vehicle for redressing these grievances. The contributors were generally fellow clergy and professors, and laymen and students suggesting a corporate intellectual environment reflecting the current social ideas prevalent within St. Francis Xavier itself. Very quickly, a coherent social philosophy had developed, along with a specific plan of action to correct the evils besetting eastern Nova Scotia.

This philosophy was based upon the acceptance of industrialization as bringing progress and change, the speed of which demanded the reins of Catholic social theology and whose wayward direction needed the corrective curb of a

populist articulated demand for rural redress. Adult Education methodologies, with a disciplined approach derived from the newly emerging schools of thought in the U.S., along with the honorable history within the Church of study and social action clubs influenced the priest-intellectuals of St. Francis Xavier as the means to effect social change. These methodologies merged with the purposeful attempts at ethnic identity maintenance by the Scots Catholic societies that sprang up all over eastern Nova Scotia.

Education was the answer for the farmer, fisherman, and miner to pull himself out of the morass of economic stagnation, and the study club was chosen as the method in which this educational process was to be disseminated.

> "The object of the social study club is to study these economic relationships, to find out how this complicated system works.[47]

The first Educational Conference was held in Antigonish on July 18, 1918 just a few months after For the People was first published in The Casket. The audience and participants made up a who's who of the Antigonish clergy and St. Francis Xavier professors. From the beginning it was the priest-intellectuals who dominated these Conferences both in numbers, and in setting the agenda. The entire Conference was devoted to rural grade and college education. As was presented in articles in The Casket's For the People, by this time the general philosophy and methodologies towards regional socioeconomic redress clearly articulated and reflected the agenda of this Conference.

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47) The Casket. For the People, February 14th, 1918. p 02

The 1919 and 1920 Conferences were a continuation of this theme but in 1920, the Conference was formalized, with J.J. Tompkins elected President for next year. 1921 saw the first calls for practical action. The stated objectives of the conference included the emphasis of true education , religious instruction as a basis of morality and sound education and importantly, to propagate Christian Social Principles and encourage their application.[48] The two methods advocated were the use of study clubs and a concerted use of the press.

1922 saw the widening of the Conference's mandate to include several social concerns and its name became the 'Educational and Social Conference'. The topics this year included better housing, social insurance, collective bargaining, remedies for unemployment, and one session titled 'the hierarchy of the United States and social work'. This Conference also formally acknowledged the importance of J.J. Tompkins' proposal for a Peoples' School, where promising young people from parishes would be brought to the university for the first practical application in teaching the philosophies and methods developed by the leaders during this time.[49]

However, at the same time, rumblings were heard throughout this Conference, regarding the much publicised university merger issue that had caused dissension between the more liberal elements of the eastern Nova Scotian Catholic intellectual cadres and their conservative counterparts. Soon after this Conference, Tompkins and

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48) Glascow, op. cit. p 06
49) Ibid, p 08.

several other priest-intellectuals were transferred to remote parishes, and the impetus for continuation went with them.

The issue of the university merger proposal was of major importance in the creation of the Antigonish Movement. In 1922, the Carnegie Corporation commissioned a report on the maritime universities and colleges. By this time the Carnegie Corporation had donated over 1.5 million dollars to maritime educational institutes. In 1919, through direct lobbying with his colleagues at the Corporation, Tompkins received $50,000.00 dollars for a Chair in French at St. Francis Xavier University.[50] The report recommended that the maritime colleges be centralized in a federation with a major university located in Halifax. The Carnegie Corporation was convinced that large scale centralizing schemes, aimed at modernizing higher education in the maritimes, would bring them up to the standards of their U.S. counterparts.[51] Then Vice President of St. Francis Xavier, Tompkins and many other faculty members and administrators enthusiastically endorsed the report and began lobbying administration and the Board of Governors for its support and implementation. However, Tompkins was only able to reach the liberal sectors of the university, particularly new members that he had recently hired after undertaking a long fundraising campaign for several years. Interestingly, this liberal element were also the cadre of progressive priest/intellectuals who worked with Tompkins in

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50) See Reid, op. cit., p. 69.

51) William. S Learned and Kenneth C.M. Sill, Education in the Maritime Provinces of Canda., The Carnegie Corporation, New York, 1922, p. 48.

the development of the early People's Schools, and wrote articles in the 'For the People' column of The Casket.

But this strong support from the liberal sectors of the university was met with equal resistance from the rest of the university community. Tensions rose to such a level that Bishop Morrison, an opponent of the report, commissioned his own report to be presented to the university Board. This report, strongly critical of the Carnegie report argued not only against federation, but it strongly criticized the new rationalization movement of higher education in the United States.[52] The Carnegie Corporation was singled out for extensive criticisms. A particular irony of this report was the use of the writings of Thorstein Veblen, a guru of the new adult education movement emanating from the United States and embraced by Tompkins, to justify their rejection of the Carnegie federation proposal.[53]

Soon after, the Bishop removed Tompkins as Vice President of the university, along with several other liberal priest/intellectuals, and relegated them to remote parishes within the Archdiocese. Tompkins was to remain a parish priest for the rest of his life and the federation issue died. During this controversy, Moses Coady was in the United States studying co-operative and adult education groups and returned unscathed from this issue.

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52) See, A Report on the Proposed Federation of the Maritime Universities Submitted to the Governors of St. Francis Xavier College by a Committee Appointed by His Lordship Bishop Morrison, St. Francis Xavier University Archives, 1922.

53) Ibid., pp 8-10.

This exile did not stop Tompkin s agitations for his people. Instead, it created the opportunity for Tompkins to test his theories at the community level. Under his guidance, the people of Canso and little Dover successfully petitioned to have a road built. He negotiated a seven hundred dollar loan, and with a further three hundred dollar loan from his retirement fund, helped the people build their own co-operative lobster cannery. The men cut the timbers, hauled stones for the foundations, and in 1930 the cannery commenced operations. After one year of operation, the cannery earned enough money to pay off the entire loans, and give the fishermen an extra two cents a pound for their catch. Between 1930 and 1937, the return on lobster catches increased from six cents to twenty cents a pound through co-operative canning and marketing. Tompkins also brought in goats for fresh milk and people formed buying clubs to cut the cost of fishing material and community purchases.

This experience taught Father Tompkins why his earlier efforts to relate adult education to community renewal had failed. It was this parish experience that led to his realization that the university had to come to the community, not the people to the university. This experience left a stamp on the later developments of what was to become the Antigonish Movement.

After a few years in Canso for Tompkins, and an equal exile for many of his colleagues, the political divisions in Antigonish had died down somewhat and efforts were undertaken to resurrect the now defunct Conferences in Antigonish. In 1924, the First Rural Conference was organized and again the agenda s topics were focussed on

agricultural and rural issues. Now one level removed from the higher echelons of St. Francis Xavier University, the participants were predominantly college faculty, diocese clergy, and a few laymen.[54] This gathering called for agricultural education to keep people on the farms, and articulated the first organized call for the development of a 'department of extension work' with St. Francis Xavier to organize 'People Schools' and study clubs throughout the diocese.[55] By 1924, the demands for rural and regional redress were reshaped into demands for adult educational programs that would emphasize the relation between education and economic and social progress.[56]

1925 and 1926 saw an extension of these concerns that included a motion to raise money through the diocese parishes to send 25 'good men' each year to the Agricultural College in Nova Scotia, calls for the formation of an extension department, and demands for college curriculum emphasis on rural matters within the diocese.[57]

The Seventh Rural Conference (1927) expanded its mandate and for the first time concerned itself with the industrial workers and fishermen of the region. By this time The MacLean Royal Commission on Fisheries had been completed, and the Conference delegates agitated for the implementation of its recommendations on organizing the maritime fishermen into co-operative associations.[58] This agitation by the spokespeople of the region, the parish

54) Glasgow, op. cit., p. 14.
55) Ibid., p. 16.
56) Ibid., p. 18.
57) Ibid., pp. 19-20.
58) The origins and importanee of the MacLean Commission is the subject of a later section of this chapter

priests, the priest-intellectuals, the leaders of the Scots-Catholic Society, and the St. Francis Xavier University Alumnae, all active participants over the years of these conferences, coalesced into a strong demand for the return of a rural primacy to their region. But these groups and leaders were not only articulators of these grievances, over the course of several years they had developed a vision of how this re-organization of their society could be undertaken. They had a plan. That plan involved a specific form of adult education, whose leadership was to be drawn from the ranks of clergy and laity, government officials, and identified rural leaders, which was to be taken to the people under the institutional guidance of an Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University.

The Founding of the Antigonish Movement

July 1st, 1927 was the Diamond Jubilee Anniversary of Canada as a nation. Celebrations were planned or already underway across Canada. However, in Little Dover, Canso, the mood was anything but festive. Immediately prior to this national celebration, Tompkins was again agitating for a Royal Commission on the plight of the fishermen, this time at an annual retreat of forty priests. A meeting was called of the parish region together with invited newspaper reporters. The general consensus was that Canada had bypassed Canso and was shamefully ignoring the farmers and fishermen of the region. A plan of action was decided upon, and a telegram was dispatched to the Canadian Parliament outlining the reasons why there would be no festivities in Canso. Even though the House of Commons was

not sitting at this time, the uproar in the press forced the government to take action. During the parliamentary break, the government formed the Royal Commission on Fisheries in the Maritimes and the Magdelene Islands (The MacLean Commission) at a cost of $100,000 dollars.

However, there were further undercurrents that led to this quick decision. The government of the day was under the leadership of William Lyon MacKenzie King, who had intimate knowledge of the unrest fomenting in the maritimes. The factions and bitter labour strikes of the Cape Breton miners were no news to King, who, in 1900, at the tender age of 26 was appointed Deputy Minister of Labour and in 1909 1911 held the portfolio of the Minister of Labour.[59] During this time, the use of federal troops to break the Cape Breton strikes was commonplace. After his government's defeat, King was hired by the Rockefeller family as a labour relations advisor. This was just after the 1914 Ludlow Massacre in Colorado in which 13 strikers were killed. The Rockefeller family were the leading industrialists in Colorado at this time and were the major shareholders of these mines.[60]

King's tenure in the Labour Ministry afforded him considerable knowledge of the labour situation within the Cape Breton coalfields and also of the United Mine Workers. The U.M.W. had made considerable inroads into the Cape Breton coalfields and was the union on strike against the Rockefellers. During King's early meetings with the

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59) See David Nock's The Intimate Connections: Links Between the Political and Economic Systems in Canadian Federal Politics, Ph.D dissertation, (1976)

60) Ibid., p. 162.

Rockefellers he outlined his vision of a philosophy of labour and management that led to his being hired:

> "...purely economic questions were easily adjusted, that it was the personal antagonisms and matters arising out of prejudice and individual antipathies which were the ones which caused the most concern."[61]

Soon after his hiring, King devised a plan of company unionism, known as the 'Rockefeller Plan', which lasted over 20 years in Colorado until the state disallowed company unions in the 1930's. At the outset, King denounced the United Mine Workers as:

> "...actually the hidden enemies of labour, obstructing the efforts of Mr. Rockefeller to uplift and reward the men in Colorado who foolishly went on strike."[62]

During this period King had developed an extensive network of contacts with U.S. industrialists, including Andrew Carnegie. Carnegie tried to recruit him as a director of the Carnegie Corporation at $25,000.00 per year, but King rejected this offer to return to political life in Canada. If he had accepted this offer he would have had immense control over all of the other Carnegie endowments, which of course included the millions pumped into the maritimes.[63]

Now Prime Minister, in 1927 it was bad enough for King and his government to have to contend with the decades long strife in the Cape Breton coalfields. In addition it seemed

61) Quoted in Ibid., p. 165.
62) Quoted in Ibid., p. 168.
63) Ibid.

that the fishermen were not only agitating but they had public sympathy behind them.

The Royal Commission was born out of this situation and its recommendations were far reaching. On May 7th, 1928, the Report was tabled in the House of Commons and soon afterwards the federal government agreed to help the fishermen.[64] The major recommendations called for the fishermen to organize and to develop co-operatives and marketing structures that would benefit them financially. This was good news to King who, when Deputy Minister of Labour, had acquired extensive knowledge of the abilities and limitations of co-operative organizing. In 1907, he participated in a House of Commons Committee on just these issues.[65] One of the witnesses who spoke before the Commission was Moses Coady who pleaded for the development of fishing co-operatives.[66] Within a year, the federal government had Coady on the payroll of the Department of Fisheries as an organizor of fishing co-operatives. In a short time, lobster canning factories, and marketing co-operatives sprung up along the maritime coastline and in 1930, the United Maritime Fisheries, a centralized selling

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64.) See the Parliamentary Debates op. cit., February 24th, 1928, pp. 782-783. The Royal Commission was the subject of extensive debate during the spring of this year. See Ibid January 27, 1928 p 07, February 24, 1928, pp. 782-783, February 27, 1928 p. 814, and May 07, 1928, p. 1087

65) King's involvement is seen in the Reports of the Special Committee of the House of Commons to whom was Refered Bill # 2, an Act Respecting Industrial and Co-operative Societies. Ottawa, 1907. pp. 77-78.

66) Ian MacPherson, Patterns in the Maritime Co-operative Movement, 1900-1945, (in) Acadiensis, Fall, 1975; Volume 1, Number 1, p. 79.

and purchasing organization was formed. The United Maritimes Fisheries grew steadily in the 1930's and became the central co-operative marketer of a wide range of fish and seafoods through bulk sales to distant markets.[67]

THE EXTENSION DEPARTMENT OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER UNIVERSITY

> "St. Francis Xavier has put new life into a dying fishing industry, restored idle farmers, and stamped out Communism in industrial Cape Breton, once a hot-bed of radical activity."[68]

All of the events described above, the agitations of the liberal, catholic, priest/intellectuals, the organizing of the Scottish Catholic Societies, the implementation of the MacLean Commission recommendations, and the ever increasing stature of the Rural and Industrial Conferences, converged in 1928 forming a set of conditions ripe with opportunity.[69] These structural preconditions, as argued earlier, were predicated on the affinal relationships developed between catholic social theology, populist grievances, ethnic identity maintenance and adult education theories that had developed in the region.

Between 1927-1928, the Scottish Catholic Society applied significant pressure on the university's Board of Governors, and heavily influenced the St. Francis Xavier Alumni Association to follow up on the now well articulated

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67) Ibid.
68) How F.X. Saved The Maritimes, MacLean's Magazine, June, 1, 1953, p. 25.
69) One report claims that the annual Rural and Industrial Conference attracted "...nearly a thousand visitors", See Bertram Fowler, The Lord Helps Those... How The People of Nova Scotia Are Solving Their Problems Through Co-operation, 1938, p. 63.

demands for an extension department at St. Francis Xavier University that would implement a populist based adult educational program within eastern Nova Scotia.

Within both structures the Scottish Catholic Society found sympathetic ears. First, there was an overlap of membership, and second, both organizations were well aware of the conditions that had developed that would make such a department successful in fulfilling its mandate. Finally, the Society galvanized the university into action by publicly announcing, in The Casket, its intentions to compete with St. Francis Xavier in raising funds for its own extension program.[70]

This threat of a competition for funds ($100,000.00) forced the university Board of Governors into action and in 1928 the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier was founded.[71] Moses Coady was plucked from his position as organizer with the federal Fisheries Department and appointed the Extension Department's first Director. In 1929, the Extension Department opened its doors.[72]

DISCUSSION

Previous analysts have given the date of 1930 as the formal beginning of the Antigonish Movement.[73] MacInnes does give a comprehensive outline of the role of both the Rural and Industrial Conferences and the Scottish Catholic Societies in the development of the Antigonish Movement.

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70) See MacInnes, The Role of the Scottish Catholic Society in the Determination of the Antigonish Movement, (in) Scottish Tradition, VII/VIII, 1977-78, pp. 25-46.
71) St. Francis Xavier University Archives, RG30-A/1/2726.
72) Ibid..
73) See, for example, Mifflen, 1974, op. cit., and Sacouman, 1976, op. cit..

However, the ideological underpinnings of Catholic social theology, populist political redress, ethnic identity maintenance, and adult education theories had a substantive effect upon the shaping of what was to become the Antigonish Movement. These ideologies focussed upon the ills of society from a particular vantage point of reform. The priest/intellectual elites within St. Francis Xavier, the members of the Scottish Catholic Societies and their benefactors, the Carnegies and Rockefellers, had a particularly conservative view of society. The abuses of industrialization were met head on with a reforming fervor in which this cadre demanded a fair settlement for its people in eastern Nova Scotia. These elites saw opportunities for their people within the capitalist-industrial framework that otherwise were passing them by.

What was needed was a way of bringing to the people a method by which they could recognize and act on these perceived opportunities. Adult Education through the formal structure of St. Francis Xavier University was the answer. This institution gave the legitimacy needed to tap into a society organized through the structure of religious and ethnic homogeneity. With this legitimation, the priest/intellectuals could draw upon the long existing networks utilizing the intermediaries of the rural parish priests and the community based Scots Catholic Societies. After 1929, the Extension Department took full advantage of these networks, and the vibrant growth of the Antigonish Movement was predicated upon these already existing structures.

Chapter 3 will outline the Antigonish Movement after the formal inception of the Extension Department of St Francis Xavier University. The focus will be on the relationships between the formal ideology of the extension department, as defined by its organizational objectives, and the reality of growth both within eastern Nova Scotia, and later as the movement took on an imperialist mode and ventured into other provinces.

CHAPTER THREE

IDEOLOGY AND ADULT EDUCATION: THE SOCIAL TECHNOLOGIES OF THE ANTIGONISH MOVEMENT

> "I have one comment to make, namely, that most of the adult education from that part of the world (due no doubt to the success of the Antigonish Movement experiments) seems to be confused as to objective...It does not shock me in the least that oyster culture and religion and art in the home should be combined in one program as they are on Prince Edward Island but on the other hand I think that this mixture is in a sense evidence that the Maritime Provinces and Newfoundland are exceptional and quite unlike the situations we met in the United States. The economic urge is exceedingly strong and I am not at all sure that the interest manifested in education is not largely a reflection of the enlightened self-interest of the people translated into terms of bettering themselves."[1]

The inception of the Extension Department reflects a coalescence of distinct religious, cultural and political currents of the time. The Antigonish Movement emanating from this Department was a child of the ideologies of catholic social theory, populist grievance, ethnic identity maintenance and adult education theories. Tompkins and Coady were prophets of the need for an amalgam of a

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1) Moses Cartwright, advisor to the Carnegie Corporation to F.P. Keppell, Carnegie Corporation Director, April 1936, quoted in Reid, op. cit. p. 64

peculiarly Catholic social theology that was to be presented to the people through the new technologies of adult education. This prophecy translated into active leadership in the Rural and Industrial Conferences, the development of the weekly column, "For The People" in The Casket, and the implementation of the short lived Peoples's schools. The realization that their region was being bypassed by rapid industrialization, with all of its perceived benefits, created the atmosphere for populist demands for a return of the social primacy of their rural flock. The Forward Movement, the Scots-Catholic society, the Rural and Industrial Conferences, and the populist political agitations leading to the MacLean Commission on Fisheries, were actions reflecting this recognition of the eroding position of the farmers and fishermen of eastern Nova Scotia. It was action predicated on a relative deprivation of the rural people in eastern Nova Scotia. Their lot was a miserable existence of subsistence before industrialization, yet it was industrialization that gave the farmers and fishermen the ability to develop and articulate a coherent sense of their own position in the larger society. Once this comparison was made the reaction and corresponding demands for redress were swift and consistent.

The following outline of the objectives and goals, or principles of the movement, and of the strategies or social technologies employed by the movement is situated within the above context. This chapter will outline the specific programs and actions undertaken by the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University. The first section will introduce the formal philosophical objectives as defined by

the Antigonish Movement leaders. Next a descriptive analysis of the operation of the Antigonish Movement- of which the 1929 formal inception of the Extension Department marks the beginning- will be outlined. The social technologies derived from adult education, that the Extension Department developed as the tools with which it constructed its ameliorative reformist movement, are discussed. The remainder of the chapter is devoted to a critical discussion of the program and its philosophy in order to further an understanding of the ideology behind this social phenomenon.

> "Religion is not an opiate. It is food and drink. It is more vivifying and more energizing than the thin gruel of materialistic philosophy...This has been part of the sin of our age. We ignored the spiritual for the material good. The great accomplishment of the new age will be to restore the spiritual by using the material as it ought to be used, a means to a higher end.[2]

The principles of the Antigonish Movement were not fully articulated by the leadership until the program was well on its way to being defined as a success.[3] This success forced Coady and Tompkins to present their philosophy, albeit in an ex post facto fashion, and to

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2) Moses Coady in Masters of Their Own Destiny, 1939, pp 142-43.

3) This growth is presented and discussed in chapter four.

justify their radical step into the realm of education and co-operation.[4]

Harry Johnson, in an unpublished manuscript extrapolates six basic principles of the movement:

1) the primacy of the individual
2) social reform and change must come through education
3) education must begin with the economic sector
4) education must be undertaken through group action.
5) effective social reform involves fundamental changes in social and economic institutions
6) the primacy of promoting the full and abundant life for all.[5]

The ordering of these principles is important. The ultimate aim of this movement was, within an equally balanced capitalist/co-operative/state driven economy, the good and abundant life for all. However, unlike the errors of communism, this restructuring of society had to come about through the primacy of the individual and his place within the social order. The inherent worth of each individual, a sacred concept within a catholic corporate world, was not to be immersed in collective action. Rather collective action was to spring forth from man once he was sufficiently educated about the world surrounding him:

"You must have faith that uneducated men can learn and can educate themselves. You must have faith that

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4) See for example Coady, Ibid.; and Coady and Associates, The Antigonish Way, educational pamphlet, Extension Department, St. Francis Xavier University, 1943.
5) These principles have been extrapolated by others, for example Johnson, op. cit., 1944; Laidlaw, op. cit., 1974; and Sowder's The Present Status of the Antigonish Movement in Nova Scotia, 1967, unpublished doctoral dissertation.

> the people will develop their own leader. You must have faith enough to trust the average man for the general direction of activities - if you will expose him to the ways and means of self-help".[6]

The impetus for reform and social action were predicated upon both a specific form of knowledge, and a specific method of attaining this knowledge. Both the form of knowledge and the methodologies of dissemination were uncritically accepted by the leaders and followers of the Antigonish Movement. However, the benefits of participation, the good and abundant life, were something tangible that motivated both the leaders and the followers of this movement towards this utopia. This utopia was the corporate world of cooperatives where each individual knew his place, yet also knew that his place was to be decided by his own actions and those of his fellow men through education and co-operation.

> "It may be then, the unique destiny of the Adult Education Movement to bridge the breach between religion and economies---as modern research is bridging the breach between religion and science."[7]

The newly founded Extension Department did not have to go shopping for a plan of action nor hammer out its mandate. The previous decade of organizing, studying, and writing had established this mandate. Both Coady and A.B. MacDonald immediately set to the task of implementing their program of

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6) J.J. Tompkins quoted in Landis 'Teacher of Fishermen by the Sea', in the Journal of Adult Education, X, Oct 1938, p.414.

7) J.J. Tompkins in 'The Future of the Antigonish Movement' Extension Department Pamphlet, 1938 p. 2.

study and action among the farmers and fishermen, and later the miners of eastern Nova Scotia.

The social technologies utilized were predicated upon a combination of the organizing techniques prevalent within the Catholic Church and other religious groups, and adult education circles.

Although not in chronological order and recognizing the overlapping nature, the techniques used by the Extension Department consisted of the following:

1) The Mass Meeting
2) The Study Club
3) Kitchen Meetings
4) Leadership Schools
5) Training Courses and Programs
6) Short Courses
7) Week-end Institutes
8) Radio Broadcasting
9) Television
10) Industrial Study Groups and Classes
11) Conferences
12) Rallies
13) Literature and pamphlet production, publication and distribution.[8]

The model of co-operative organizing adopted by the Extension Department was based upon the earliest co-operative organization in Rochdale, England. J. D. MacIntyre, in one pamphlet distributed by the Extension

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8) See George Topshee's 'The Antigonish Way: Its Program and Techniques', in The Antigonish Way (full text of nine addresses), Toronto, the Radio League of St. Micheal, 1955. no publisher cited. Address delivered on Trans-Canada Catholic Broadcast, and Delaney op. cit..

Department summarizes the co-operative philosophy based upon the Rochdale pioneers:

> "The principles and techniques on which all co-operative action is based are the Rochdale Principles. These had their origin in Rochdale an industrial town in the Northern Midlands of England. There in 1843, twenty-eight debt ridden factory workers, after much discussion decided that the only escape from poverty was to pool their efforts and open their own consumer store. These Rochdale pioneers adopted the following simple but important democratic rules upon which all co-operative action has been founded:
>
> (1) One Member - One Vote
>
> (2) No discrimination on basis of race, nationality, politics, or religion
>
> (3) Open membership
>
> (4) Profits are returned to members on the basis of volume of business done with co-operative
>
> (5) Limited interest on capital
>
> (6) Cash trading
>
> (7) Continuous education."[9]

Co-operative membership was not only for personal economic benefit, but was to be considered as a means by which collective action could improve the position of members as a group. While the benefits to the individual may have been obvious, the rewards of co-operative action

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9) J. D. MacIntyre, Co-operative Housing Handbook, Extension Department, St. Francis Xavier University, 1938, pp. 2-3. The Extension Department considered the Rochdale co-operative experiment as the pinnacle of co-operative philosophy and principles. The Rochdale Co-operative was cited in most of the Extension Department's publicatons, and was a topic of discussion in all of the study clubs.

for the group was the focus of educational programming. In order to understand the "big picture" of co-operative organizing, as Coady put it, members had to be well informed on economics, politics, and philosophy as a basis for co-operative organizing in the credit, consumer, marketing, distribution and manufacturing sectors. Education was to be the method by which the individual would emerge from the shadowy cave of economic subordination. Further education would also motivate the individual to lead his brothers out of economic subjugation and into the co-operative utopia.

THE MASS MEETING

The educational program was first introduced to the community through a general meeting. With Coady and MacDonald as the initial staff, the early stages of Extension Department fieldwork focussed upon the rural areas where meetings were held in the schoolhouse, or the parish or community hall. Much fanfare preceded such a meeting, with notices sent to the parish priest and the local Scots-Catholic associations in expectation that these groups would drum up attendance for the meeting. Television and radios were unheard of in these days.

One factor contributing to community enthusiasm was the entertainment factor of a learned university professor/priest speaking in the community. During these meetings, considered the special forum of Moses Coady, an outline of the Extension Department plans for education and co-operative formation was presented. Coady was well known for his oratorial skills which combined religious fervor,

intellectual substance and a homespun populist, regional flair that easily caught the attention of his audience.[10]

THE STUDY GROUP

After the 'Big Speech', facilitated by the fieldworkers, the audience would form into small groups of about ten people to organize meeting/study groups sessions in their homes. Literature was handed out, along with a series of questions that the group were to study. Each group received the same literature and questions. After a period of these study club meetings, the entire committed members of the community would re-assemble at the schoolhouse or hall. This time the several study clubs compared their answers based on literature and questions received as the basis for further group action.

A few weeks later, at the second general meeting, further organization ensued with the study clubs electing an executive consisting of a president, a vice-president, a secretary, and a treasurer. At this point they were called the Associated Study Clubs. Reports were then given by the study club leaders, who were chosen by their group, and further correspondence and literature from the Extension Department was distributed.

By this time, the groups were primed for co-operative action. Again under the guidance of the Extension Department, the clubs were then introduced to the theories and principles of co-operative and credit union organizing.

In 1933, the Extension Department directed a program involving the formation of women's clubs. Officially known

10) See for example Delaney op. cit., p. 43.

as 'Women's Work', the clubs concentrated on subjects deemed to be of special interest to women. Often these clubs would parallel the traditional study groups and a woman could be a member of both. The study and discussions in the Women's Work circles focussed on the woman's primary role as the homemaker. The discussion topics, supplemented by the Extension Department publication arm, included homemaking, nutrition, handicrafts, household consumer education and self-sufficiency in food production.[11]

As the Extension Department's activities grew, they widened their mandate and moved into the industrial mining and steel processing communities of Cape Breton Island. The industrial study groups undertook similar approaches as the earlier rural clubs, but with an emphasis on consumer co-operation and credit unions.

THE CONFERENCES

This growth demanded ever widening levels of bureaucracy to be dealt with by the Extension Department. Although they grew along side the success of the co-operative ventures, control and decision making problems led to the implementation of semi-annual conferences. As one former fieldworker describes it:

> "Then came conferences of all kinds. There were conferences of directors on a regional basis, store managers' conferences, handicraft conferences, and educational conferences."[12]

RALLIES

11) Delaney op. cit., p. 105.
12) Ibid., p.45.

In order to generate, or regenerate, enthusiasm for the educational programs, the Extension Department would hold rallies. This was an assembly of all the study clubs and co-operative organizations within a specific region. Representatives outside of the program such as agriculture fieldworkers, and union representatives would also attend.[13] These rallies were the basis of renewed enthusiasm and commitment by the people involved in the Antigonish Movement. Coady's speeches gave these rallies the zeal of a revival meeting or barn burner. However, these rallies were important elements in keeping the co-operative program on track.

FORMAL ADULT EDUCATION

The growth of the Antigonish Movement, with the corresponding organizational complexity it entailed necessitated the development of formal training programs for the leaders and activists who were taking on ever increasing levels of responsibility. The Extension Department responded by offering on-site short courses, training programs and weekend institutes and leadership schools at St. Francis Xavier University.

The formal education programs delivered the skills and expertise such as accounting, financial management, organizing, and leadership to the co-operative activists.

PUBLISHING AND LITERATURE DISSEMINATION

The publishing arm of the Extension Department developed alongside the growth of the Antigonish Movement.

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13) Ibid.

Initially, the Extension Department operated as a clearinghouse for the literature disseminated to the study clubs. Books on scientific agriculture, co-operatives, and marketing were the mainstay. Within a couple of years however, specific topics and issues were identified and the Extension Department staff began to author and distribute small pamphlets. This publishing venture grew into hundreds of articles and pamphlets.

Often referred to as the 'credit union catechism', one of the first pamphlets written was called the 'Credit Union'. Credit unions were new in english speaking Canada, so the existing literature lacked a specific 'how to' focuss. The pragmatic focus of this pamphlet became the model for all of the later literature produced by the Extension Department. Pamphlets such as 'Shopping Basket Economics', starring Mrs. Consumer were written for the wives and daughters of the men involved in the study clubs. '25¢ a Week' outlined the success of the early years of the Coady Credit Union which began out of a study club in New Aberdeen in 1933. By 1941, the Coady Credit Union had loaned out over $105,000 for that year[14]. These pamphlets were written with an exhortative 'you can do it too!' message, along with specific programs of action, blueprint style, for the readers to undertake. Demand for study club participants to undertake political and economic studies as a basis for understanding their own position within the social and economic framework of Canadian society were supplemented with articles and pamphlets outlining the motives and philosophy of the Antigonish Movement. Titles

14) Delaney, Ida, '25¢ a Week' St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department pamphlet, no date.

such as 'If We Don't Do It; The Communists Will!' defined the parameters of the studies undertaken while titles such as 'The Middle Way' or 'The Lord Helps Those...' (sic) articulated the methods and techniques with which the Antigonish Movement participants were to shape their destiny.

The speeches of the Rural and Industrial Conference were recorded and published in pamphlet form and distributed to study clubs, along with reports from the provincial and regional co-operative conferences.[15]

At its peak, the Extension Department was reproducing hundreds of articles, periodicals, pamphlets, and lessons for use in the study clubs. Examples of topics included consumer education, scientific agriculture, co-operative marketing, Catholic social philosophy, hygiene, animal husbandry, co-operative economics and religious instruction. For the most part, pamphlet reproduction was done by hand on a mimeograph and distributed through the postal system.

In order to adequately cover the growth of the programs and to articulate the Extension Department's evolving philosophy, a journal was begun in 1933. Initially called the Extension Bulletin, it quickly became an important source of literature of the study clubs by informing the members of the Extension Department's philosophy and objectives, and carrying news from the study clubs, the new credit unions, and the co-operative stores. Soon after its inception, the Bulletin began coverage of industrial and labour matters, women's and domestic issues, and incorporated much of the material generated from the annual

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15) Delaney, 1985, op. cit., p. 46.

Rural and Industrial Conferences.[16] In 1938, a professional writer/editor was hired. In 1939 the journal was renamed the Maritime Co-Operator with ownership of the publication transferred from the Extension Department to the organizing co-operatives under the incorporated publishing house, Maritime Co-operative Printers.

With the change of name to the Maritime Co-operator, the journal now became the organ for the Antigonish Movement which had by now reached its peak in membership. As one former fieldworker states, the Maritime Co-operator would:

> "..bring together the common interests of labour, farmers, and fishermen in the Maritimes. It was to have a section dedicated to the cause of labour. It would campaign for a revitalized rural economy and culture. It would furnish the driving force that would move people to build co-operative institutions. It will fight the battle of the people on all fronts."[17]

RADIO AND TELEVISION

By the late 1930's, the Canadian Association of Adult Educators (C.A.A.E.) had become a dominant influence in the programming of the newly formed Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (C.B.C.). Both Coady and A.B. MacDonald were executives on the C.A.A.E., and it was not long before their adult education philosophies and populist co-operative ambitions found a place on C.B.C. Radio.[18]

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16) Ibid., pp. 49. Past issues of the Extension Bulletin, and The Maritime Co-operator are located in the St. Francis Xavier University Library.
17) Ibid. p. 50.
18) On the relationship between the Canadian Association of Adult Educators and the founding and development of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, see Ron Faris' The

However, Coady and the Extension Department did not pioneer the use of radio broadcasting in the field of adult education and co-operation in Canada. J.T. Croteau, professor of economics at St. Dunstan s University in neighboring Prince Edward Island first began educational broadcasting for the study clubs on the island.[19] Croteau, the driving force for the Antigonish Movement on P.E.I., had a close relationship with the St. Francis Xavier Extension Department. Croteau formed the Adult Education League on Prince Edward Island as a parallel to St. Francis Xavier s Extension Department. In 1935 he began short broadcasts on a small, independent station for P.E.I. study club groups, and by 1936 plans were in the works for a super broadcast series, and the newly formed C.B.C. was approached for reserved radio time.[20]

The Adult Education League was successful and the C.B.C. granted two 15 minute periods per week with an independent station granting a further 15 minute period per week. In January 1937, the Adult Education League began its series of three 15 minute broadcasts a week which continued until April of that year.[21]

Passionate Educators: Voluntary Associations and the Struggle for Control of Adult Educational Broadcasting in Canada 1919-1952, 1975.

19) The history of the co-operative movement in Prince Edward Island and Croteau s involvment, is the basis of his popular history, Cradled in The Waves: The Story of a Peoples' Co-operative Achievment in Economic Betterment on Prince Edward Island, Canada, 1951. J.T. Croteau received a doctoral degree in economics from The Catholic University of America before his placement in 1933 in Prince Edward Island.

20) Ibid., p. 57.

21) Ibid., p. 58.

Enthused by the success of the Prince Edward Island experiment the St. Francis Xavier Extension Department moved into radio broadcasting in 1937. The C.A.A.E. organized a series of broadcasts entitled "Life and Learning" for January 1938. Coady was a keynote speaker of this series. The C.B.C.-C.A.A.E.-Antigonish Movement alliance was strengthened through the development of such programs as the National Farm Radio Forum, and the Citizen's Forum.[22] Much later, in 1955, the C.B.C. devoted national air time for a series of special addresses from professors of St. Francis Xavier University titled 'The Antigonish Way'.

However, in 1943, the Extension Department's realization of the full potential of radio broadcasting was put into full effect with the funding of Radio CJFX in Antigonish, Nova Scotia, to spread the word.[23] By this time, the social technologies developed by the Extension Department to spread the gospel of the Antigonish Way were complete and in place. The growing complexity and volume of the methods utilized by the Extension Department reflected the growth and complexity of the Antigonish Movement.

This growth is the subject of the next chapter. What follows is a discussion of how the principles and techniques of The Antigonish Movement followed a clear, if somewhat unarticulated, ideological purpose that created the circumstances for very specific forms of social action, and non-action in Eastern Nova Scotia.

ADULT EDUCATION AS IDEOLOGICAL PURPOSE

22) Faris, op. cit., pp. 94-95.
23) Lotz, Jim., 'The Antigonish Movement, A Critical Analysis' in Studies in Adult Education., Volume 5, Number 2, Oct. 1973.

> "...[S]ome will brand our education on economics as propaganda. We are tempted to believe that such an accusation might itself be propaganda for the status quo. The teacher who refused to criticize conditions as they are invites suspicion, looks dangerously like a paid agent of the vested interests. If it is propaganda to point out the eternally right and basic relations of man to man in society, then I am a propagandist".[24]

Prior to the 1929 inception of the Extension Department, a reformulation of catholic social ideology was occurring amongst a large segment of the priest/intellectual elites representing St. Francis Xavier University, and educated laypersons representing the St. Francis Xavier Alumni Association and the Scots-Catholic Society in Eastern Nova Scotia. This new liberal approach towards the society around them was a clear reflection of the ongoing intellectual currents within the university where they had trained, and the professional circles where they were active members.

The social theologies emanating out of the Catholic University of America, had a strong influence on this cadre of regional leaders. New theories of adult education from Britain, Denmark, and the United States, particularly the New School for Social Research, created an optimism regarding the potential social impact of adult education that was almost millennial in its fervor. Articles in the 'For the People' column of The Casket drew upon co-operative and adult education experiences in the United Kingdom, the

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24) Coady, Masters of Their Own Destiny, 1939., p. 112.

implementation of scientific agriculture in the United States, and extension programs in the Canadian Prairies.

Reflecting the reformist influence of early American sociology, the 'For the People' articles were as much an exhortative vision of what society should be, as a social scientific explanation of what society was. The unique feature of this newly evolved liberal interpretation of the socio-economic situation in Eastern Nova Scotia was the emphasis on rural issues as opposed to labour and industrialization. The definition of the problems of eastern Nova Scotia as predominantly rural in focus was a direct reflection of the existential situation within which the priest/intellectuals, and educated laity lived their daily lives.

Pluta and Kontak argue that the philosophy of the leaders of the Antigonish Movement was based upon two premises:

> 1) the equality and inherent worth of every individual regardless of race, religion, or colour.
> 2) the inability in society as it is presently structured for each individual to develop his full potential.[25]

As I have demonstrated in Chapter II, these premises were interwoven with a sociological assumption of a harmonious, corporate society based upon catholic social

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25) Pluta I., and Kontak, W., 'The Philosophy and approach of the Antigonish Movement to the Problems of Development'. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of Latin American Studies., 1973., p. 02.

theology.[26] According to the leaders of the Antigonish Movement, such a corporate society was not then in place in eastern Nova Scotia. Establishing such a society was to be the mandate of the Antigonish Movement through the methods of adult education, group action and co-operativism. Through these methods, the farmers, fishermen and labourers of eastern Nova Scotia would develop their full potential within society. At the same time, corporations, unions and other organizations would, through the checks of government, the Church and a healthy co-operative sector, fulfill their obligations towards the industrial and primary producers.[27]

Through study and informed group action, the development of co-operative enterprises would arise as the intermediary organizations that would allow the individual full economic participation in society. Coady's vision of the need for a restructured society based on a large co-operative sector as the means towards individual fulfillment was clear:

> "Co-operation will give the people a measure of economic independence but it will do something infinitely greater than this. It will condition them to the point where they are able to manipulate effectively the other forces that should operate in a democratic society.[28]

The Antigonish Movement was not so much concerned with any radical re-orientation of society, but rather with changing the opportunities of the individual actors within

26) Whether this philosophy was realized in fact is the subject of Chapter 4.
27) Coady op. cit., pp 120-121.
28) Ibid., p 125.

the society. True education, a peoples education was the answer, and this was what the Extension Department aimed to provide. However, the educational and social goals of the Antigonish Movement leaders were more than ameliorative, for their goal was to create the conditions whereby the people themselves would redress the imbalances of society. In this sense the Antigonish Movement, while conservative by nature, was emancipatory in ambition.

> "We need therefore, a new kind of education that will give people life where they are and through the calling in which they find themselves."[29]

Thus the function of the Extension Department was to create the conditions for an emancipatory process by which the farmers, fishermen, and labourers could better their position in life while at the same time maintaining their place in life. This view of the relationship between individual opportunity and corporate responsibility, and the ability to create an enhancement of democracy within society was a primary ideological steering mechanism for the educational program of the Antigonish Movement. It offered tangible goals, and a programme of action towards the attainment of those goals, for distinct occupational sectors within eastern Nova Scotia. It also marginalized the calls and stirrings of the radical labour movement on Cape Breton Island. Catholic social theology developed in Europe and the United States as much in response to socialist or communist ideologies as to the abuses suffered from rampant

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29) Coady quoted in Laidlaw, 1971, op. cit., p. 102.

capitalism and industrialization.[30] The Antigonish Movement afforded the unique opportunity to put catholic social theology to the test as a viable alternative to socialism. As Coady states:

> "The inevitability of the Marxian way is a false assumption, one of those fine bits of absolutizing that does not fit the fact. By intelligent individual and group action, the masses can repossess the earth. The democratic formula of which economic co-operation is a vital part, is adequate. It takes the appeal out of the Marxian call to arms and says instead 'Workers of the world arise! You need not be proletarians'."[31]

The key to individual emancipation, a return to democracy, and the elimination of the class of propertyless wage-earners, would result from the ability of all men to become property and industrial owners through co-operative enterprise.

What must be considered is the question of how the ideology of the Antigonish Movement developed into the rather narrow definition of both the problems of the people of Eastern Nova Scotia and of course the corresponding narrow definitions of the solutions to those problems. The delineation of two distinct strands of priestly activism; that of the more conservative rural parish priest, whose participation in the Antigonish Movement varied considerably, and the more consistent participation and commitment of the priest/intellectuals who formed the

30) See Chapter two.
31) Coady op. cit., p. 138.

leadership cadre of the Antigonish Movement, must be brought into context with their relationship to the Church. The appointment of Coady to the position of Director of the Extension Department was directly from the office of the Bishop of the Archdiocese. The Church was making it very clear that the social and educational agitations arising from the several constituencies within the Diocese were to be kept within both the traditional confines of Catholic teachings and were to be guided by the historical episcopacy of Church authority.

The appointment of Coady as Director of the Extension Department also involved the removal of Coady as an organizer of fishery co-operatives for the federal government. It was the culmination of a series of actions by the Diocesan leadership of which the university merger debate and the parish exile of several of the liberal priest/intellectuals were a prominent part, to ensure that the rising tide of liberal social activism would be focussed, and if necessary mitigated, through the formal channels of the episcopal hierarchy. As far as Bishop Morrison was concerned, whatever was to come out of the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University, it was to be decidedly Catholic.[32]

The early period of extension department organizing, confined to rural areas, focussed upon group action in the

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32) Bishop Morrison's concern was that education within the Diocese, particularly adult education, had to at all times remain faithful to the Church. As the Chairperson of the first and subsequent Educational Conferences held in Antigonish from 1918 to 1921, Bishop Morrison left the stamp of the Church on the agenda and topics of the conferences. See Peter Nearings, He Loved the Church: The Biography of Bishop John R. MacDonald, 1975, p. 69.

areas of credit and co-operative purchasing. The first organized venture of most of the study club groups was the development of a community credit union. Credit, or rather the lack of it, coupled with the usurious terms extracted for credit from company stores or payment plan furniture stores, was a problem close to the hearts of farmers, fishermen, and labourers. A lack of cash flow meant the inability to purchase seed, so it was given on credit by a local merchant, or clothing the children for school before a fish harvest meant being dependant on the merchant. The rural farmers and fishermen directly suffered under the burden of credit and the promise of freedom through the 'credit union' was an exciting prospect.

After extensive preparation and groundwork indoctrinating the community in the benefits of a credit union, the next question was, where do the savings come from?

The Extension Department's answer to the question of saving was two fold. One, any amount, even a penny, was to be considered an honorable deposit for the building of a credit union. For example, the Cheticamp Credit Union collected a deposit of 10 cents every second Sunday before church service.[33]

Second, finding a regular sum of money for deposit into the credit union became an integral part of the educational program. Brochures were produced and distributed on the subject of women's roles. It was taken for granted that the woman's primary function was as the homemaker, but the fieldworkers retranslated this mundane reality into an

33) Delaney, op. cit., p. 69.

acceptance by the woman of her place of importance as the primary spender of the family income where household saving and thrift were her responsibility. Early topics for discussion in the study clubs included consumer education and self-sufficiency in food production.

> "Along with the exhortation to save, the Extension program taught another important credit union principle. This was that every community had within itself the resources to take care of the ordinary short term needs of its people. Those who were planning a credit union had to believe this or the struggle with dimes and quarters would be useless."[34]

During the early phases of study club organizing, the Extension Department actively lobbied the provincial government to enact credit union legislation. St. Francis Xavier invited Roy F. Bergengren up to Nova Scotia between 1930 and 1932 to help develop the methodologies of organizing credit unions.

Bergengren was a pioneer organizer of credit unions in the United States and spoke on this topic at several Rural and Industrial Conferences.[35] By 1932, the Extension Department succeeded in its attempt to have provincial credit union legislation enacted. The previous two years of study club organizing by the Extension Department laid the groundwork for the implementation of rural credit unions.

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34) Ibid., p. 70.
35) Kay Desjardins, Voices Crying to the World, in Catholic Rural Life, Volume 9, 1960, p. 10.

After 1932, they were to become one of the most successful organizing ventures of the Extension Department.[36]

The Extension Department's move into actual co-operatives was somewhat more problematic. The fieldworkers realized that the differing constituencies in eastern Nova Scotia - farmers, fishermen, and labourers - demanded differing forms of co-operative enterprise. For the farmers and fishermen, the co-operative organizing focussed on the marketing and distribution of their products. However, for the miners and steelworkers on Cape Breton Island, the only available niche for co-operative organizing was in the consumer goods arena. Also, unlike the farmers and fishermen, where the delivery of the gospel of co-operativism was unhindered by competing ideological positions, any moves into the industrial towns of Cape Breton met with the resistance of the companies who usually owned the store, or the merchant if he was an independent, and with the open hostility of the radical union leadership.[37]

However, the fieldworkers were able to largely circumvent the hostile reactions of the union leadership through their use of the parish priests, and the local Scots-Catholic Societies to bring their program direct to the miners and steelworkers.

It was in the organizing of study clubs, credit unions and co-operatives that the Antigonish fieldworkers were most

36) An analysis of the growth of study clubs, co operatives, and credit unions in eastern Nova Scotia is presented in Chapter 4 of this thesis.
37) The position of the radical union leadership on Cape Breton Island is discussed in Chapter 2. Chapter 4 of this thesis outlines the reaction of the Cape Breton union leadership to Antigonish co-operative organizing.

successful. The church intellectuals, and their fieldworkers were able to achieve this success at the community level through the use of intermediary organizations such as the church parish or the Scots-Catholic Societies already in place. The success of the Antigonish Movement was predicated upon their ability to tap into these organizations and rally their members towards the Antigonish co-operative cause. The success of these organizational endeavors are the subject of the next chapter. The actual development of the co-operatives, and their relationship with these secondary organizations will be analyzed in order to confirm the thesis argument. That is, it was the distinct ideological program of the Antigonish Movement, highly compatible with the ethos of the secondary organizations already in place at the community level in eastern Nova Scotia, that led to the success of this adult education and co-operative organizing program.

CHAPTER FOUR

IDEOLOGY AND ACTION: RESULTS AND NON-RESULTS OF THE ANTIGONISH MOVEMENT

The continual agitation of Tompkins and later Coady during the years preceding the formation of the Extension Department was to bear immediate fruit. The People's School, the Forward Movement, and the success of the Scots-Catholic Society were the experimental groundwork which Coady was to draw upon as new Director of the Extension Department. This was in addition to the experience Coady had gained through his federal appointment as an organizer of fishing co-operatives. Also, the leaders of what was to become the Antigonish Movement were those in closest contact with the secular affairs of provincial and federal agencies. Coady's tenure as a federal fisheries organizer, MacDonald and MacPherson's provincially funded extension work with the farmers and producers, and later Alex MacIntyre's connections with the Cape Breton radical union movement were the bases of contact with governmental ministries, and the labour unions that directed both political and financial support towards the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University.

Just as important, all the above leaders were Catholic, Coady and Tompkins having held leadership positions within the academic structure of St. Francis Xavier University, the St. Francis Xavier Alumni Association, the Rural and Industrial Conferences, and the Scots-Catholic Society. Alex MacIntyre, blacklisted from the entire mining industry along the eastern seaboard, converted from communism to

catholicism, and brought this zeal, tempered through co-operative ideology back to the miners and steelworkers who still held him in high respect.[1] A.B. MacDonald, and Hugh MacPherson were, at various times, fieldworkers of the provincial agriculture department, and faculty members of the Agricultural College in Truro, Nova Scotia.

The above leadership connections formed the basis of an alliance between federal and provincial ministries, St. Francis Xavier University, and the various Scots-Catholic leadership organizations found at the community level. This alliance, with the financial and structural aid of the Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations, generated the impetus necessary to gather the fruits of the decade long organizing, educating, and agitating by these leaders.

This chapter will consider the results of the Antigonish Movement organizing from its inception in 1930, to its height in 1939. The purpose of this chapter is to outline the affinities between the structural and ideological steering mechanisms of the St. Francis Xavier Extension Department and leaders, and the communities within which the Antigonish Movement gained a foothold. Following, an outline of the communities, particularly in Eastern Nova Scotia, within which the Antigonish Movement organizing attempts failed, or were never introduced will be presented. Finally, the author will present a discussion on this formation and growth, or lack thereof, focussing on the relationship between the ideology of the Antigonish Movement and the social structural conditions present within the

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1) Alex MacIntyre gives an account of his conversion in the Extension Department article From Communism to Christianity. (No Date).

communities. In essence, the question of to-whom did the Antigonish Movement not appeal is as important as to whom it did appeal.[2]

Ideology and Action: Results of the Antigonish Movement

GROWTH OF THE ANTIGONISH MOVEMENT

	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 Courses	-	-	86	44	30	63	78	132 (500)*
General Meeting (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[3]

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2) Most of the figures given in this section have been researched and presented in the two doctoral theses in sociology written by Sacouman and MacInnes. However, the author verified these figures with the 1931 Census data, Extension Department, and secondary sources.
3) See Extension Department Report, Extension Archives (RG30-3/3/25/897).

In 1931, Roman Catholics made up almost half of the population of eastern Nova Scotia. 42% of the total population were of Scots ancestry, the majority of these being Catholic. The other two major ethnic groups were French (23% of the total population) and Irish (18%). However, as MacInnes points out, the Scots and the Acadians formed relatively homogeneous communities.[4] For example, in Eastern Nova Scotia, Inverness County was 75% Catholic with 59% of the county being Scots-Catholic; Antigonish County was 87% Catholic with 56% Scots-Catholic; and Richmond County with 79% Catholic and 74% Acadian Catholic.

Further, the rural/urban split in Eastern Nova Scotia was almost 50/50 due primarily to large concentrations of miners and labourers in the Sydney and Pictou areas on Cape Breton Island. The mainland was primarily rural with Antigonish and Guysborough at over 80% rural; Inverness at over 75% rural; and Richmond and Victoria Counties approximating 100% rural.

The constituencies of the Extension Department were either based within regions with an almost exclusively urban, or rural population. Yet both constituencies maintained a high level of ethnic and religious homogeneity.

The Early Years

Considering the leaders of the Antigonish Movement's backgrounds, it is not surprising that the first attempts at organizing were within the rural sectors. By 1932, study clubs were based primarily in rural Inverness and Antigonish. Both of these counties held high levels of

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4) MacInnes, op cit., 1971, p. 332.

Scots-Catholic populations (Inverness: 75% Catholic, 76% rural; Antigonish: 87% Catholic, 81% rural).[5] Including the three study clubs in the rural areas of Cape Breton County, a total of 75% of the communities served were Scots-Catholic, and all of them were rural.[6] In 1933, Alex MacIntrye was hired to organize the miners. This same year, women's study clubs were introduced into the communities.[7]

The transition from study clubs to co-operative ventures was relatively successful. All of the urban study clubs created a credit union within about two years, and over 85% of the Scots-Catholic rural community study clubs moved on to credit union formation. In contrast, the more heterogeneous rural communities took much longer and had a lower success rate in credit union formation.[8] However, even though these credit unions had Charters, and were formally lodged with the provincial government, they remained, at least for the first several years, very small and with minimal financial resources. Since the purpose of the study clubs was a consciousness raising exercise on the virtues of cooperative organizing, they were transitory in nature. Several clubs within a community would be lost with the inception of a credit union or cooperative enterprise.

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5) Ibid, p. 236.
6) Ibid, p. 237.
7) Ibid, p. 238. There has been very little written on the impact of women fieldworkers and women study club members on the Antigonish Movement. A sense of the importance of women, particularly Catholic Sisters, in the development of the Antigonish Movement can be gleaned from the article by Sister Sarah MacPherson, 'Religious Women in Nova Scotia: A Struggle for Autonomy. A Sketch of the Sisters of St. Martha of Antigonish, Nova Scotia 1900-1960', 1984, and Ida Delaney's Book, By Their Own Hands: A Fieldworkers Account of the Antigonish Movement, op cit., 1985.
8) MacInnes, op cit., p. 239.

The growth in numbers of the study clubs reflected the growth of Extension Department organizing across eastern Nova Scotia.[9]

Although the organizing of study clubs and credit unions did, to some extent, move beyond the boundaries of the Scots-Catholic communities, such was not the case with the adult education techniques of the Extension Department. Seminars, short courses, and literature were developed as early as 1932 and were a primary organizational means for maintaining contact between the study clubs, their leaders, and the Extension Department.

Yet, the vast majority of the men, and later women, involved were from primarily Catholic communities, and Scots-Catholics still represented a majority. The ratio between rural and urban participants in the short course and conference participation also reflects the early subject emphasis on rural matters. Between 1932 and 1936, the majority of the study group leaders and participants were from rural areas. It was only in 1937 and 1938 that urban participants became actively involved in the adult education ventures of the Extension Department.

Also, the representation of participants from outside Eastern Nova Scotia from 1932 to 1938 reflects the increasing popularity and reputation the Antigonish Movement was gaining outside of Eastern Nova Scotia. In 1932, all of the participants were from within Eastern Nova Scotia, yet by 1937, the majority were external participants. However, Catholics remained the majority of these external participants[10]

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9) See 15¢ a Day, Extension Department, (no date).
10) MacInnes., op cit., p. 242.

The key issues here are; why did the Antigonish Movement appeal to distinct religious and ethnic groups; what brought the urban co-operators into the movement; and why were Scots Catholics overly represented in both the formal co-operative ventures, and almost exclusively in the adult education programs? Other concerns include; why was there a steady decline of participation in these programs within Eastern Nova Scotia while outside participation increased? Why did the Extension Department cease its adult education programs such as short courses, and leadership program after 1938? Finally, why did the Antigonish Movement stagnate after 1940?

After the appointment of Moses Coady, as Director of the Extension Department, the legitimation process of a previously marginal social philosophy and intended plan of action of the priest/intellectuals was complete. The Catholic Church had placed a seal of approval on the co-operative, adult education vision of these leaders and the doors were opened to undertake action. This Episcopal stamp allowed the rural parish priests, who previously largely remained aloof from this program, to facilitate the organizing endeavors of the Extension Department. With the Church's blessing, the rural parish priests now had a Catholic method of bettering the economic situation of their flock. In turn, the Extension Department now had the ability to tap into a ready made organizational structure that commanded much prestige and influence at the community level.

Parallelling the local Catholic Parish were the Scots-Catholic Societies in the community. Many of the

participants in these Societies were also connected to St. Francis Xavier either directly, or through its Alumnae Association.[11] The Scots-Catholic Societies reached their peak in both membership and chapters in 1931; the year of the formal, institionalized beginning of the Antigonish Movement. The bulk of the members of the Societies, attesting to their connection with the St. Francis Xavier Alumnae Association, consisted of professional, managerial and propertied people. Farmers and rural tradespersons represented a minority in the Society membership lists. Parish priests were active in the Societies thus constituting a clear link between the local parish Church, the Scots-Catholic Societies, the Alumnae Association, and the Faculty of St. Francis Xavier University.

The author outlined in chapter two how important these organizations were in lobbying for an Extension Department at St. Francis Xavier University. After its inception the Extension Department made good use of the Scots-Catholic Societies. There was a major Chapter of the Society in every county in Eastern Nova Scotia. The 1931 peak of growth of the Scots-Catholic Societies also represented a saturation point of these societies organizing capabilities within Eastern Nova Scotia. But this peak represented the first step of the Extension Department organizing.[12]

11) See Edwards, William., The MacPherson-Tompkins Era of St. Francis of Xavier University, 1964, and MacInnes, 1977-78, op. cit.

12) Whether the introduction of the Antigonish Movement into Eastern Nova Scotia was a causal factor in the Scots-Catholic Societies demise is open to conjecture. The author did not have the opportunity to gain access to the Scots-Catholic archives. However, the imperialist nature of the Extension Department's organizing techniques may well have superimposed a differing mandate upon the Societies and their members.

This success in organizing within Scots-Catholic communities reflected the culmination of a long term legitimation process of bringing the Catholic social theories and adult education programs within the parameters of the Church.

However, at the level of the farmer, fisherman, or miner, whether or not the program was Catholic took second place to its obvious tangible rewards. This was reflected in the later participation by Acadian and more heterogeneous Protestant communities. At first, the Acadian communities took advantage of the Antigonish Movement. In 1933, while Acadians represented 23% of the population in Eastern Nova Scotia, there were only 6 credit unions within the Acadian communities. But by 1938, Acadians had organized 15 credit unions yet other non-Scots-Catholic communities, particularly Protestant, had 25 established. Yet, even this modest growth of actual study club and credit union formation was not reflected in Acadian participation in the short courses, leadership seminars, and conferences. Again reflecting the early enthusiasm of the Acadians in 1932, of a total of 60 participants enrolled in short courses at the St. Francis Xavier Extension Department, 15 were Acadian. By 1937, with over 76 participants, none were Acadian. In 1938, the final year of the adult education program there were 7 Acadians out of 132 participants.[13]

An even starker measure of the exclusive nature of the Antigonish Movement was the fact that, although there was a large Black population within eastern Nova Scotia, only one Black fisheries co-operative was established. This was in

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13) MacInnes.,op. cit., 1977-78, p. 242.

Big Bras D'Or, a predominantly Scots-Catholic community. The Black fishermen's co-operative was established in 1936, two years after Scots-Catholic fishermen established an Antigonish inspired co-operative in the community.[14] The rural/urban differences show an equally exclusive focus not only of target populations, but in participation and results. From 1931 to 1934, the growth of study clubs ranged from 100% rural in 1931-32, to 75% rural in 1934. Actual numbers are revealing. 176 rural study clubs were organized in 1931, and 385 in 1932, with no urban participation. After the Extension Department hired Alex MacIntyre in 1935, urban organizing grew rapidly, yet the numbers never came close to reflecting the almost 50/50 split in the rural/urban population of Eastern Nova Scotia. This same lack of participation is reflected in the rural/urban differences in the adult education programs held at the Extension Department. Urban participation rates never reached over 20% of total attendance until the last year, 1938, when 500 people were reported to have attended Extension Department organized study clubs for the first time in the industrial community of Cape Breton Island.[15] This same year marked the demise of the adult educational programs out of the St. Francis Xavier Extension Department.[16]

14) Considering the almost non-existent organizing within the Black communities, it is questionable whether this cooperative resulted from active Extension Department agitation, or, if it was a case of relative deprivation where the Black fishermen became tired of watching their Scots- Catholic neighbors walking down the wharf with cash jingling in their pockets.

15) Extension Department Report.,Extension Archives., op cit..

16) A discussion of this demise is presented later in this chapter.

Between 1931 and 1938, the Antigonish Movement took hold of Eastern Nova Scotia in a manner that was felt throughout the seven counties. Initial organizing by the Extension Department was aimed at the constituency of the Archdiocese. The Extension Department effectively harnessed the resources of a series of intermediary organizations, such as the Scots-Catholic Societies, the parish Church, and the governmental agencies, and superimposed their mandate upon them. The primary structure here was the Catholic Church. Moses Coady and his staff of fieldworkers took advantage of these intermediary organizations aligned with the Church, and the impact of the Extension Department's ideology was seen in the success they achieved within the Scots-Catholic communities.[17] The lower levels of success within the urban Acadian and the most heterogeneous religious and ethnic communities reflected a corresponding lack of intermediary organizations needed both for organizing capabilities, and for legitimation purposes. The lower levels of organizing success, and at times a complete inability to organize within the Acadian, urban, and more heterogeneous communities resulted from first, a lack of intermediary organizations within these communities that could channel the ideological and methodological enterprise of the Antigonish Movement, and second, the presence of competing intermediary organizations and ideologies within

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17) The governmental agencies cannot be seen as intermediary organizations of the Church, yet their independance was tempered by the fact that the active governmental fieldworkers were Catholics with close personal and professional ties to the leadership cadre of the Extension Department.

these communities. This is the subject of the following section of this chapter.

Ideology and Non-Action: Failures of the Antigonish Movement

Analyzing the development and growth of the Antigonish Movement has been the subject of several studies, including this thesis.[18] What has not been considered, is why the Antigonish Movement suffered lower levels of success, and even failures, in certain communities.[19] This section will give examples of where the Antigonish Movement clashed with the communities they hoped to win over to their co-operative vision.

One of the clearest examples of the varying success of the Antigonish Movement within communities was with the french speaking Acadians. It has been outlined above how not only were the ventures of the Antigonish Movement into the Acadian communities only very partially successful, but the Acadian involvement in the St. Francis Xavier short courses, leadership courses, and Conferences was virtually non-existent. This did not mean that the Acadian farmers, and particularly the fishermen, did not organize co-operatives, rather, the extensive organizing that took place paralleled and at times overlapped with the Antigonish Movement.

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18) See Chapter 1, Review of the Literature.
19) One reason for this lack of analysis of the failures of the Antigonish Movement is the corresponding lack of information available on this issue within the Extension Department Archives. This could be attributed to the fact that the Archives consist of predominantly bureaucratic and administrative papers and letters. Because the paperwork within the Extension Department would begin after the formation of study clubs, any history of non-action or failure would not be contained in the Archives.

For example, on Cheticamp Island, in the Cape Breton region, study groups, credit unions, and even co-operatives were being organized indigenously from 1934 to 1943 with little help from, and indeed a degree of animosity between this community and the leaders of the Antigonish Movement. Alex John Boudreau, appointed provincial agricultural representative in 1934 to Cheticamp, was instrumental in organizing the farmers and fishermen into co-operative marketing. Instead of looking to the Extension Department for help, Boudreau approached the province of Quebec, where the history of credit union (caisse populaires) organizing went back to the turn of the century.[20] In 1938, Boudreau travelled to the Gaspe coast, and with the help of parish priests, selected 54 young people for leadership courses. These potential co-operative organizers, financed by the government of Quebec, were taken to St. Anne, Quebec for five days of leadership training.[21]

Boudreau's major grievance (which he shared with many Acadian community leaders) was what he perceived to be the arrogance of the Antigonish Movement regarding the Acadian language, and culture:

> "And I never appreciated, particularly at that time, the complete ignorance- particularly of Dr. Coady and St. Francis Xavier people- of the French language. ...the whole Antigonish Establishment, including the

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20) The history of the Quebec credit union movement can be found in George Boyle's popular history, The Poor Man a Prayer: The Story of Credit Union Beginnings, 1951.

21) See 'With Alex John Boudreau, Cheticamp Island', in Cape Breton's Magazine, Number 32, p. 9. At this time, Boudreau estimated that 70% of the people within his jurisdiction would not speak, or even understand English., Ibid, p. 11

Bishop, had become sincerely convinced that there was no need for any French language in the Diocese of Antigonish."[22]

What Boudreau did, without the Extension Department's blessing, was to take literature on study clubs and caisse populaires along with most of the Extension Department literature translated into French by Boudreau himself, for the Acadian study clubs.

When Coady tried to impose an English speaking field worker upon the Cheticamp community, a conflict ensued between the Acadian community and the Extension Department:

> "Dr. Coady, whom I admire, tried to appoint a fellow from Mabou who couldn't speak one word of French to direct my study clubs in English. And I told him I couldn't accept. My answer was "I'm going to meet him and tell him to stay home." Oh boy, that was quite a fight, because Dr. Coady was not an easy man to deal with. But I didn't do that on my own. All my people, and the priest from the top down, were completely against that because they knew in English it wouldn't do a damn thing for us. So, anyway, he didn't come."[23]

Coady did not take lightly to Boudreau's refusal to embrace the Antigonish Movement and twice lobbied to have him fired from his position as agricultural representative.[24]

This cultural imperialism on the part of the Extension Department was also reflected in the choice of the credit

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22) A.J. Boudreau quoted in Cape Breton's Magazine, p. 11.
23) Boudreau, quoted in Ibid., p. 11.
24) Ibid., p. 13.

union expert who was hired to supervise initial training and organizing. Coady brought Roy Bergrensen up from the United States, yet the maritime provinces' neighbors in Quebec were already benefitting from a highly successful credit union movement. The caisse populaire, begun at the turn of the century, numbered almost two hundred when the Extension Department was formed.[25] The irony was that the Quebec credit union movement became the model for the United States Movement.

The institutional arrogance of the Extension Department, propelled by a vision of a correct society, also created problems on Prince Edward Island. J.T. Croteau, who also worked within the Island's Catholic Church and the Catholic St. Dunstan's University to promote credit unions and co-operatives, clashed with Coady and the Extension Department when they attempted to move into the Island. Without any consultation with Croteau, the Catholic Bishop, or the President of St. Dunstan University, the Extension Department negotiated a grant from the Dominion (federal) Fisheries to develop and conduct an extension and co-operative program among the Prince Edward Island fishermen.[26] The leaders of the Prince Edward Island co-operative ventures, including the Bishop, Reverend Boyle, an avid supporter of the co-operative movement, refused to allow Coady and A.B. MacDonald to undertake this program:

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25) See Moody and Fite, The Credit Union Movement: Origins and Development, 1971, pp. 18-25, 78-80, and Boyle, op. cit., 1951,p. 201. By 1948, there were over a thousand caisse populares in Quebec with 200 million dollars in assets. Boyle, ibid..

26) J.T. Croteau in Cradled in the Waves, op. cit. pp138-139.

> . . .I consulted with Dr. Murphy and the Bishop. Neither of them liked the arrangement one bit. They resented St. Francis Xavier proceeding to set up a programme on the Island without any preliminary consultation with the Island leaders."[27]

Coady's connections with the federal government gave him access to this money, and the government at first refused to fund the program for the Island fishermen unless it was handled out of the St. Francis Xavier Extension Department. Croteau and the Bishop finally gained control of the funding with only two months left in the grant, and were only then able to start organizing the fishermen.

Much earlier, the co-operative vision offered by Coady had caused Prince Edward Island fishermen to separate from the United Maritime Fishermen, organized by Coady, when he was a federal organizer prior to his posting with the Extension Department in 1930. The Prince Edward Island fishermen broke from the maritime organization within one year of its inception, and limped along at a regional level until 1944, when the St. Dunstan's Extension Department re-organized them as a co-operative association.[28]

The Extension Department faced similar problems in western Canada, as in Saskatchewan, where the Canadian co-operative Federation was still receiving a cool reception from the Catholic Church, and in Alberta, where credit union and co-operative organizing was co-opted by Aberhart and his Social Credit movement.[29] There were minor successes in

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27) Ibid., p. 138.
28) Ibid., pp. 86-87.
29) William Ryan, of the Catholic University in Boston and Coady's mentor, considered the C.C.F. dangerous communists, and Coady's friend in Alberta, Corbett, a leader of co-

British Columbia when the Extension Department joined forces with Gordon Shrum of the University of B.C. to organize credit unions and co-operatives among the coastal fishermen.[30] However, the program died out within two years, and the co-operative movement was viewed with suspicion and a degree of hostility by the Catholic Church in B.C..[31]

Within Nova Scotia, the Antigonish Movement could not move into some of the southern areas of the province, due to open hostility towards the Extension Department by the Catholic Bishop of Halifax.[32] The Bishop flatly stated that his parishioners were not to become involved with the Antigonish Movement. What was interesting was that the Extension Department complied and did not make any organizing attempts within this region of Nova Scotia. This was unlike the Extension Department's inroads into the industrial mining communities of Cape Breton Island where the miners and steel workers union leaders were openly hostile to the Antigonish Movement.

Again, the success of Coady and his associates in organizing appears to have been largely dependent on the existence of sympathetic intermediary organizations based

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operative organizing in the Province, left in disgust in 1934 and took the position as the first Director of the Canadian Association of Adult Education. See Faris op. cit., pp. 21-22, and Gregory Baum's 'Canadian Catholic Social Thought', paper presented at the J.S. Woodsworth Conference, 1988. At the 1932 Rural and Industrial Conference in Antigonish the Executive recommended an 'impartial study of the new political party, the C.C.F.'. However, this study was never undertaken. See Glasgow, op. cit., p. 7.

30) See Shrum, Gordon, 'Among Canada's West Coast Fishermen', Journal of Adult Education, XII, October, 1940.

31) Baum, Gregory, 1988, op. cit..

32) MacInnes, 1978, op. cit..

upon religion and ethnicity. The Scots-Catholic societies were strongly represented within the communities of Eastern Nova Scotia and in many of these communities the miners were practising Catholics.[33] With the help of the parish priests, and the Scots-Catholic Societies, Coady circumvented the militant union leadership and gained direct access to their members. In many cases, the initial meetings were organized with the help of the local Catholic union members, thus extending the level of credibility of the Extension Department, and were held in the local union Halls.[34] At one meeting, at the Phalen Local, where A.J. MacIntyre had been a member, the miners unanimously voted a resolution giving Coady the privilege of attending any meeting as a member.[35]

But the success of the Antigonish Movement in the industrial sectors was based on a decade long struggle between the liberal priest-intellectuals and the radical labour leaders. In 1920, Tompkins wrote to John Ryan of the Catholic University of America outlining his concerns:

> "The labour element in our Industrial centres is getting out of hand and their leaders are a bad sort. They are, of course, desirous of helping the men and are actually helping them. Catholics have scarcely awakened to the necessity of preparing leaders. Our conference intends to take up some aspects of the Labour problem and at least try to impress upon all concerned that it is about time for Catholics in these parts to take a

33) MacInnes., 1977-78, op cit., p. 43, and Frank, David., 1985. op cit., pp 204-205.
34) Delaney, Ida., op cit., pp 44-46.
35) Ibid., p. 46.

strong and intelligent stand on the questions that are agitating the Labor world."[36]

Between 1920 and 1930, Tompkins continually attempted to accomodate the labour leaders. In 1921, with John Ryan as guest speaker, the Conference included key Catholic labour leaders such as District 26 vice president William Delaney.[37] The early Peoples' Schools, conducted by Tompkins, held classes in Glace Bay in 1923-24. In 1925, Tompkins sent letters to J.B. McLachlan proposing a joint Labour College for the Cape Breton miners. But by this time, Tompkins was in virtual exile in Canso, and nothing came of this proposal.

By 1932, buoyed by the success of their rural endeavours, Coady and his associates within the Extension Department took a differing tactic to move the Church into action in the industrial regions. At the 1932 Rural and Industrial Conference where John Ryan was again a keynote speaker, Alex MacIntyre gave a rousing speech on the dangers of communism and appealed to the Church leaders to undertake the responsibility of stemming this rising tide. Later that fall, MacIntyre was hired by the Extension Department to undertake study club and co-operative organizing within the industrial regions.

Another factor working against the success of the Antigonish Movement in the industrial sectors were long established co-operative organizations already operating independently of the Extension Department. The largest of

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36) J.J. Tompkins, to John Ryan, quoted in Frank op cit., p 209.
37) Ibid..

these, the British Canadian, was established by immigrant miners from Scotland and England who brought with them a history of labour, political, and co-operative organizing. Beginning in 1905, by 1930 it had nearly 3,500 members and annual sales of almost 1.5 million dollars.[38] From 1917 on, it was the largest consumer co-operative in North America. While the British Canadian was wholly owned by the miners, like the leaders of the Antigonish Movement, its leaders took a very conservative stance towards the radical labour leadership within the regions. The managers of the British Canadian stores were predominantly imported from British, through arrangements with major British tea and jam distributors.[39] All of the leaders of the British Canadian, and the majority of its members were Protestant, and both Coady and Tompkins felt this was the primary reason for their refusal to join the Antigonish Movement. The Antigonish Movement's growth in the industrial sectors parallelled that of the British Canadian, and by 1934, the Extension Department wanted to develop co-operatives at the wholesale level. But the British Canadian had already developed an extensive volume buying system and was not interested. As one Antigonish Movement member put it when writing to A.B. MacDonald at the Extension Department:

> "The British Canadian MUST be brought in...this silly prejudice against us must be rooted out. Its all damn fine to be English. But its hell to be obstinate."[40]

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38) See MacPherson., 1975., op cit., p. 10.
39) Ibid., p. 09.
40) L.R. Hollet to A.B. MacDonald, 1935, quoted in Ibid., p. 13.

The Extension Department's relationship with the British Canadian remained tense thoughout the period of expansion of the Antigonish Movement, and the department's leaders assumed that the best thing the British Canadian could do was to allow itself to be subsumed within the Antigonish Movement. Like the situation on Prince Edward Island and within the Acadian communities, the Extension Department leadership believed they held the correct vision of a co-operative society along with the appropriate methods to create this society.

When they came against differing views, the Extension Department leadership could, and did, attempt to use their contacts both within the Church and with the provincial and federal ministries, to get their way. Coady's attempts to get the Acadian organizer fired, and their initial refusal to give up federal funds to the local leaders on Prince Edward Island are examples of this.

But Coady's knowledge and use of governmental agencies did not include allowing the Antigonish Movement to take a political stand of any sort outside of co-operative organizing. To Coady, the Antigonish Movement was to remain neutral in politics and religion:

> "Neutrality in religion, race, and politics is a fundamental principle of co-operation. In our program of adult education and economic co-operation we adhere to this most scrupulously".[41]

The Extension Department staff and fieldworkers were not allowed to become involved in organized politics. In 1941, a losing liberal provincial candidate complained to-

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41) Coady quoted in Mifflen, 1974., p. 95.

the University President that an Extension fieldworker had actively participated in a C.C.F. campaign on election day.

With the threat of a loss of governmental support of the Extension Department, Coady investigated the allegation without informing the fieldworker. Coady was able to confirm the allegation as groundless, but he did undertake damage control to maintain the policy of neutrality. He wrote to the Minister of Fisheries stating:

> "It has been our policy from the very beginning to be neutral in politics. All our workers have been advised to this effect. ...[I] have continuously in my speeches among the miners and steelworkers of Cape Breton pointed out that our movement is educational and economic. Moreover, I have stressed the fallacy of putting too much emphasis on political action. This, I have said, is too easy to be effective. ...Political action to the organized looks like a quick remedy but there is nothing quick about it."[42]

Extension staff were to act as facilitators of social and economic change for the people. To Coady, only after this process was undertaken, would the people be capable of moving towards political action. But this action could only come from the people. This view of the necessity for political neutrality was not shared by many in the co-operative movement. The C.C.F. was a product of the Protestant social gospel and co-operative movements on the prairies. C.C.F. leaders viewed political action as a necessary extension of co-operative organizing.

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42) Extension Archives., MG 20/1/1646., also quoted in Mifflen., 1975., op cit., p. 96.

Coady's neighbors on Prince Edward Island also showed enthusiasm for the benefits of political activism. Through organizing and lobbying, Croteau and his staff at St. Dunstan's University were able to receive political dividends for their members. In 1944, Croteau asked every co-operative member to send a letter to their member of parliament protesting the stalling of legislation they were attempting to have enacted. The letters were sent, and it was pointed out to the liberal Premier that co-operative and credit union members represented about 13% of the total Island voters. In a quick about face, Premier Jones offered to give the Credit Union League and the Co-operative Union an annual grant that would give them full autonomy over their operations.[43] Shortly thereafter, A.B. MacDonald, Coady's former fieldworker, and now Secretary General of the Co-operative union of Canada, called this action:

> "...The greatest triumph of democratic action in the co-operative movement which I have seen."[44]

The ongoing attempts by Coady and his colleagues to steer the Antigonish Movement along a 'politically neutral' path reflected their concern for the financial survival of the Extension Department.[45] The fact that a large chunk of the Extension Department's funding came from direct governmental grants forced Coady and his colleagues to keep their activism within the confines of educational and co-

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43) Croteau., 1951., op. cit., pp 126-127.
44) Quoted in Ibid., p. 127.
45) Coady's idea of political neutrality was itself based upon his acceptance of the status quo. Considering the conservative underpinnings of the Antigonish Movement, this was in itself a political stance.

operative programmes. It was well known that Coady was a liberal in his personal politics, and was concerned that the Antigonish Movement might become co-opted by the social democratic movement, including the C.C.F., currently sweeping Canada. In 1933, J.S. Woodsworth, then C.C.F. leader, paid a visit to the Cape Breton region in order to bolster the chances of his candidates in the area. Yet at the same time, Canadian Catholic authorities were outspoken in their condemnation of all socialist parties, including the C.C.F..[46] Although the Extension Department, and its fieldworkers remained aloof from the political winds within the Cape Breton region, the organizations the miners developed within the Antigonish Movement, with the emphasis on study clubs and adult education, created an impetus conducive to C.C.F. politics. Many of the miners and steelworkers directly involved in the Antigonish Movement eventually made the leap into politics and became active 'C.C.F.er's'.[47]

Discussion

The development and growth of the Antigonish Movement was clearly affected, positively and adversely, by both the political and cultural climates within the distinct regions of eastern Nova Scotia, and by the vision of a Catholic corporate society articulated by Coady and his collegues

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46) See Baum., 1980., op. cit., Chapter 3.
47) Earle, M and Gamberg, H., 'The United Mine Workers and the Coming of the C.C.F. to Cape Breton', in Acadiensis, Fall 1989, p. 11. The United Mine Workers in the Cape Breton region were the first union to affiliate with the C.C.F.. The affiliation was endorsed at the rank and file level thus giving an enthusiastic army of election workers to the C.C.F. within the Cape Breton region., Ibid., p.3.

within the Extension Department. As often as not, this vision was a key factor in the clashes between the Extension Department leaders, and labour and co-operative organizers at the regional level. In spite of these problems, the Extension Department was successful in superimposing its mandate on these diverse sectors. Yet, the adult education component, considered by the Antigonish Movement as the cornerstone towards this new society, suffered with this success. Acadians were always seriously under-represented at the courses, seminars, and Conferences. Coady went out of his way to ensure that English was to be the language of co-operation. To the Acadians, the only promising aspect of the Antigonish Movement was the actual development of study clubs, credit unions, and co-operatives. As I have shown earlier in this chapter with the Cheticamp region, even this was given grudgingly by Coady. Even with the large Black population in Nova Scotia, the Antigonish Movement was only capable of developing one co-operative in Big Bras D'or. This was only accomplished two years after a fish co-operative was organized for Scots-Catholic fishermen within the same small community.

Coady's deference to the Bishop of Halifax also indicates how he was constrained by the Church hierarchy. In 1938, Coady transfered the costs of the educational component of the Antigonish Movement onto the co-operative organizations. This was seen as necessary to maintain a link between the co-operative movement and adult education. However, by 1938, the majority of the participants of the adult educational programs were from outside of eastern Nova Scotia. This meant that the perennially cash strapped

Extension Department was financing educational programs for people outside of the Antigonish Catholic Diocese to which they were accountable. All that remained of the adult education component after 1938 were the annual Rural/Industrial Conferences. After this transfer, most of the co-operatives did not fulfill their obligations towards adult education.

This shift of clientele from predominantly eastern Nova Scotians to outside participants also reflected the fact that the movement had reached a saturation point within the region. This was confirmed when by the 1940's, the Extension Department shifted its focus from Eastern Nova Scotia to the national and international co-operative scene. For the people of Eastern Nova Scotia, the Extension Department was relegated to becoming a clearing house for information.

The peak of the Antigonish Movement represented the point when their organizing attempts, and abilities, could not extend past the intermediary organizations, such as the parish and Scots-Catholic Societies, and impose their ideology and social technologies upon the larger social structure. The Antigonish Movement faltered when it came up against differing cultural and ideological milieux that it was not equipped, ideologically or organizationally, to win over to its vision of a corporate Catholic co-operative society.

The concluding chapter will situate this argument within the context of previous works on the Antigonish Movement, and within the theoretical and methodological framework utilized in the thesis. In essence, this analysis

complements the previous works on the Antigonish Movement, but emphasizes how the ideology of this movement must be considered as a factor in creating the conditions both for its success, and to some extent, its demise.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS

> "[T]here is more real Adult Education at the pit-heads, down in the mines, out among the fishermen's shacks, along the wharves, and wherever the farmers gather to sit and talk in the evenings, than you can get from one hundred thousand dollars worth of formalized formal courses. It springs from the hearts and pains of the people. The former doesn't fill an empty pantry, it doesn't bring milk and food and health back to babies blighted with malnutrition already in their toddling years. We want ideas with marrow in them."[1]

In this thesis an attempt was made to show how ideology affects social behavior. In this respect, one of the primary steering mechanisms in the inception, growth, and demise of the Antigonish Movement were its ideological underpinnings. Drawing upon Jackson's methodology, it was shown how the behavioral consequences of an organization, in this case the Extension Department, are linked to the organization's existential base, or social history.[2] The ideological basis of the Antigonish Movement was populist, regional protest leavened with Catholic social theology. This unique symbiosis of ideologies was translated into a plan of action through the distinct social technologies of

1) Father Jimmy Tompkins, 1938 from The Future of the Antigonish Movement, Extension Department pamphlet, 1938, p. 03.

2) See Chapter 1: Methodology.

adult education and co-operative organizing. Finally, it was presented to the people through intermediary organizations such as the rural and urban Catholic parish priests, Scots-Catholic Societies, and, to a lesser degree, the Cape Breton Labour locals. It was populist regional protest undertaken by the farmers, fishermen, and miners, in an attempt to articulate their concern that eastern Nova Scotia was a region rapidly declining in population and prosperity. The farmers, fishermen and miners were all victims of a rapidly industrializing society that gutted both their communities and their standard of living. Their grievances, articulated through populist protest, demanded a return to a moral and social order in which rurality and individual dignity were pre-eminent.

It was a cry that did not go unheeded by the traditional leaders of this ethnically and religiously homogeneous region. The priest/intellectuals and Catholic lay leaders, all with deep kinship roots within the region, began to act, to agitate, and to give a focus to these grievances. Over the course of a decade, these Catholic leaders created both a new vision, or blueprint of their society and a specific method of creating this society. Their vision was based on a new social theology reverberating through the Catholic Church. Its roots were found in the papal social encyclicals, such as Rerum Novarum (The Condition of Labour), and Quadragesimo Anno (On Reconstructing the Social Order).

This new vision of society reflected the Catholic corporatist assumptions that every individual can, and should, achieve salvation within their own calling, and that

these callings are based upon an organic dependence and responsibility.

The priest/intellectuals of St. Francis Xavier University discovered the affinities between the new theories and methodologies of adult education and co-operative organizing, and the history of Catholic social action based on education and agitation. Here was the opportunity to offer a Catholic method of economic, social, and religious renewal to their people.

The remainder of this chapter will analyze the theoretical and methodological approach of a) the ideology of the Antigonish Movement, and b) how this ideology became translated into purposeful, programmed social action. Finally, the author will situate this study within the academic tradition of sociology in general, and the literature on the Antigonish Movement in particular.

The Antigonish Movement as a Religiously Inspired Movement

While the Antigonish Movement was not a religious movement per se, it was decidedly influenced by a particular world view articulated by the Roman Catholic Church. In one sense, this influence situates the Antigonish Movement as one of many attempts, by differing religous denominations, to create a new social order based on religous social theology. Camp, Mueller, and Abell have shown that the Catholic Church had attempted to make inroads into the rural and labour arenas for several decades prior to the ineeption of the Antigonish Movement. Also the formation of the caisse populaires in Quebec was predicated on Catholic

teachings.[3] In the 1920's, at the same time as the leaders of the Antigonish Movement were beginning to formulate their vision and plan of action for eastern Nova Scotia, the Protestant Social Gospel movement was sweeping western Canada and parts of Ontario.[4] William Aberhart's Social Credit doctrine appealed directly to the predominantly rural producers of Alberta who laboured under a widespread predeliction for prophetic religion:

> "...Alberta, as a community, [was] far more receptive than was England to a monetary reform doctrine with spiritual overtones."[5]

The Catholic leaders of eastern Nova Scotia superimposed an ecclesial mandate upon the unique social and material circumstances of their region. But instead of ignoring these circumstances, these leaders usurped them, retranslated them into Catholic problems with Catholic solutions, and articulated them at a level of discourse understandable to the people.

Adrience, in her study Opting for the Poor: A Social-Historical Analysis of the Changing Brazilian Church, offers a similar interpretation of how the Church, in this case the 'front-line' parish priests, have subsumed the existential oppression of their people, into a Catholic interpretation with Catholic answers.[6] Like the leaders of the Antigonish Movement, these parish priests were frequently at odds with the ecclesiastical authorities regarding both their

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3) Camp, op. cit., Mueller, op. cit., and Abell, 1963, and 1968, op. cit..
4) See Boyle., 1951, op. cit.
5) See Allen., 1971 and 1975, op. cit..
6) MacPherson, C.B., 1953, op. cit., p. 48.

interpretation of their society and their activism within it.

The vision of society presented by the leaders of the Antigonish Movement, while conducive to Catholic social theology, also represented the social relations of the people of eastern Nova Scotia. Moses Coady, who had read Marx during his doctoral studies, understood the class relationships that had developed, and were maturing alongside industrial capitalism. What Coady rejected was any stirrings for an elimination of class in favour of the Catholic view of a harmonious corporate society.[7] As the spokesperson of the Antigonish Movement, Coady demanded instead an emancipation of classes where, through co-operative action and ownership, farmers and fishermen could lead the 'good and abundant life', and labourers 'need not be proletarians'.[8] People could be free and independant within their calling.[9]

Coady, Tompkins, and their colleagues never deviated from the vision of society presented in Catholic social teachings. This Catholic vision was of primary importance in their successful organizing within eastern Nova Scotia. But, as I outlined in Chapter four, this vision, and plan of action appealed primarily, if not exclusively, to a Catholic constituency. Yet, this vision was even too narrow for some Catholics within the region, such as the Acadians, who, while accepting the organizing techniques and promised

7) Adrience, op. cit., An interesting question following from this analysis is what effect the history of Catholic social theology and action in Europe and North America has had on the contemporary Catholic intellectual and activist traditions in Latin America known as 'liberation theology'.
8) Coady in Laidlaw, 1961, op. cit., p. 138.
9) Ibid.

results of what the Extension Department offered, refused to be gathered into the fold of the Movement.

When it came time for the Extension Department to expand into the urban, and non-Catholic arenas, this Catholic vision became problematic. As a social activist, Coady's co-operative vision necessarily interacted upon the political realm. However, as a Catholic priest, Coady rejected any political activism in favour of institutional linkages between the Extension Department and governmental agencies.[10] This meant bypassing the public political and labour forums in favour of grassroots action that would, in Coady and Tompkins view, create the necessary impetus for the people themselves to undertake political action.

The primacy of the Catholic priest as community leader, which Coady and Tompkins took for granted, was also consonant with Catholic social teachings. Not only was the Catholic priest considered the natural representative of his community, but the rural parish priest was to be held in the highest esteem within the leadership hierarchy as the steward of a pristine, Catholic society.[11] This view of the primacy of the rurality within eastern Nova Scotia, accepted by Coady and Tompkins, was reflected in the predeliction of the Extention Department to focus upon the rural farmers and fishermen.

In essence, while the Catholic view of a corporate society was a factor in the initial success of the Antigonish Movement, particularly in the rural areas, it became problematic when the Extension Department attempted to move into other arenas and regions where such a view was

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10) See page 125, footnote 45.
11) Abell, 1968, op. cit., p. 345.

not held. It circumscribed the Extension Department's success with the Acadians, Protestant communities, and many of the mining communities in Cape Breton. This corporatist vision further inhibited action and success when the Extension Department began its 'imperialist' mode and attempted to organize outside of eastern Nova Scotia.

The Antigonish Movement as a Populist Movement

There has only been one previous writer on the Antigonish Movement who has defined it as populist.[12] However, this definition is superficial, with Lotz explaining the Antigonish Movement as populist with single phrases such as, 'the Antigonish Movement was basically a populist one,' or, 'Coady's approach was populist in style.'[13] Lotz's interpretation of the Antigonish Movement as populist is based on Coady's 'popular' style with people of eastern Nova Scotia, and on his emphasis on grassroots action.

In this thesis, I attempted to confirm the academic tradition that defines 'populism' as a distinct political phenomena based on the grievances of the petit-bourgeoisie articulated by leaders who, although closely aligned with the petit-bourgeoisie were not themselves representative of this stratum. This thesis represents a confirmation that 'populism', as a theory not only interprets the existential grievances of the petit-bourgeoisie, but also accounts for

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12) See E.V. O'Hara's 'A Basis for Rural Program' 1920, published by the Catholic Educational Association, reprinted in Abell, 1968, op. cit., p. 355.
13) See Lotz, Jim., The Antigonish Movement, A Critical Analysis, 1973., p. 106, and The Historical and Social Setting of the Antigonish Movement, 1975, p. 113.

the diversity of ways in which these grievances are presented by this strata and their leaders, and how they in turn acted upon these grievances. The Antigonish Movement represented an answer to populist political agitation that reflected the unique material and social circumstances of this region. Its success also reflected the appositeness of the ideology of the movement's leaders as a response to the grievances of the farmers, fishermen, and labourers of eastern Nova Scotia.[14]

All of the leaders of the Antigonish Movement, and most of the Extension Department staff had a strong lineage of kinship, religion, and history within eastern Nova Scotia. However, they were not directly representative of farmers, fishermen, and labourers.[15] They were, for example, highly educated priests, university professors and adminstrators, governmental inspectors and agricultural college instructors, and executives within the adult education movement. Unlike the people they purported to represent, they were well travelled, well read, and highly articulate. These leaders all represented the liberal side of Catholicism. This was reflected in their agreement that it was co-operativism, based upon Catholic social principles that would save their people. This did not represent a 'failure' of these leaders, as argued by writers such as

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14) The inclusion of the Cape Breton labourers with the farmers and fishermen is based on the fact that the miners were drawn predominantly from the farming and fishing communities within the maritimes and still spent much of their time - during strikes or long layoffs - working the land and water. See the Introduction, Outline of the Early Development of the Antigonish Movement.

15) Even Alex MacIntyre spent several years as an executive of the miner unions before he was blacklisted and became an Extension Department fieldworker.

Murphy and Webster; rather, it represented a distinct world view reflective of the existential conditions of both the leaders of the Antigonish Movement, and their followers.[16]

The Antigonish Movement was only capable of bringing some, albeit a large segment, of the farmers, fishermen, and labourers into its fold as enthusiastic members. But the social and economic grievances held by those outside of this fold were essentially the same as those of persons within the Antigonish Movement. The answer to these grievances, as articulated by the Extension Department, appealed only to a distinct segment within this strata. These were primarily rural Scots-Catholics. There were groups such as the Acadians, and the P.E.I. fishermen, who accepted the benefits of co-operatives and credit unions, developed parallel organizations, but rejected the adult educational component of the Antigonish Movement.

Adult education in the Antigonish Movement was the ideological steering mechanism that both enlightened the people to their oppression, and justified their position within their occupations. The cadre of priest/intellectuals, and Catholic lay leaders were, in the 1920's, the key voices of the concerns of the farmers and fishermen. These concerns were translated into political grievances through the Rural and Industrial Conferences, in The Casket, to the federal government - particularly the Dominion Ministry of Fisheries, and in the early Forward Movement. These concerns and grievances were broadly similar to those of other populist movements of the era, but

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16) The implicit arguement of a 'failure' on the part of the leaders of the Antigonish Movement, is prevalent in the works of Murphy, 1975 op. cit. and Webster, 1975, op. cit..

the singularly unique aspect of the Antigonish Movement was how it dealt with these political issues.[17]

The stage was set after Coady was hired by the federal government, embarrassed by the publicity of the plight of fishermen that was made public by this cadre, to transform these political grievances into practical - and politically astute - results by organizing the fishermen into co-operative organizations. Both this cadre of leaders and the government received what they wanted. With the inception of the Extension Department a year later, substantially funded by the Carnegie Corporation and the federal government, this same cadre now had the capability to further remove the issues of the farmers, fishermen and labourers from the public, political realm, into community level co-operative organizing.

The Antigonish Movement was a manifestation of the successful endeavors by its leaders to transform populist political grievances to the level of indiyidual, and community self help. True to Catholic social teachings, the Antigonish Movement promoted corporate social relations within this strata, with the responsibility for self help, even emancipation, relegated to the level of the individual. The basis for an acceptance of this corporate view by the people of eastern Nova Scotia was adult education. In turn, adult education was the de-politicising element that transformed populist political grievances into an ameliorative social movement. The extensive endeavors by the leaders within the Extension Department to remain

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17) For example, on the early C.C.F., and populist farmer agitations in the United States, see Conway, op. cit. and Canovan, op. cit..

politically neutral (in terms of their own conceptions) was defended on the basis that it was the people themselves who, after appropriate adult education, would undertake political action. As early as 1921, Tompkins quoted Dr. Kandel, leader of the British Workers' Educational Association, to illustrate what adult education represented:

> "It is animated by the aim of providing the best opportunities for equipping the individual with the physical, moral, and intellectual training that makes for good citizenship, that prepares for the freedom and responsibilities of adult life."[18]

The fact that both the new Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, and the radical miners' unions were gaining footholds in the region was not lost on the Antigonish Movement's leaders when defining the purpose of adult education.

Quite unlike other populist movements, that either developed into political organizations, were co-opted into the traditional political realm, or were suppressed, the Antigonish Movement accepted only a partial co-optation as it went its independant path.[19] This partial co-optation, or put bluntly, acceptance of support from state and private agencies whose interests reflected the status quo, was predicated on the affinities of these agencies to the Catholic corporative view of society the Antigonish Movement was attempting to establish. Yet while the corporate co-

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18) Knowledge for the People., 1921, p. 21.
19) For discussions of what happens to populist movements, as a result of their distinctive social and cultural underpinnings, see Canovan, op. cit., and Dix, Robert, Populism: Authoritarian and Democratic, 1985.

operative utopia was the goal, the method remained adult education.

This thesis establishes the link between ideology, as both a way of seeing what society is, and, of course, what society should be, and the actual methods utilized in the attempts to realize this goal. The methods undertaken, or social technologies, arise out of this ethos and are themselves a product of the social environment. The Antigonish Movement leaders were drawn towards adult education and co-operative organizing because of its honorable history within Catholic social activism. The fact that adult education had also recently become an accepted discipline (with a developing theoretical and methodological rigour), particularly in North American Catholic Universities, re-enforced the decision of the Antigonish Movement leaders that it was Adult Education that would allow the Catholic Archdiocese, the Catholic St. Francis Xavier University, and of course this cadre of priest/intellectuals to have a significant impact upon Catholic life within their region.

The initial success of these organizing endeavors was also reflective of the intimate knowledge these leaders had of the region and its peoples' grievances. Other writers on co-operatives such as Sabella and Orbach confirm that the forms and successes of co-operative organizing are predicated on the specific sociological circumstances of both the region, and the groups involved.[20] Following this tradition of analysis, the thesis examined the social history behind the inception of the Antigonish Movement in

20) See Chapter One, Literature Review, and Sabella op. cit., and Orbach, op. cit..

order to determine the factors that led to its particular levels of success, and non-success, within eastern Nova Scotia.

It was determined that the Antigonish Movement, like many ideologically inspired movements, utilized intermediary organizations conducive to both their world view, and plan of action. The success of the Antigonish Movement was predicated on the fact that these organizations were already well established within the region thus allowing a conduit to directly access the people in order to implement the social technologies of adult education and co-operative organizing. These intermediary organizations also allowed the Extension Department, with differing levels of success, to circumvent competing ideologies within this region and impose their own blueprint based upon Catholic social teachings.

After 1940, the Antigonish Movement essentially stagnated at the level of then current co-operative organizing endeavors. The education component was gone, and study clubs were not being formed. MacInnes, following Hans Mol, called this a 're-sacralization of identity' where the new identity established for the people of eastern Nova Scotia resulted in the movement's decline. Mifflen considers the demise of the Antigonish Movement as directly attributable to the institutionalization it suffered from. This analysis of the ideology of the movement, drawing upon Jackson's pragmatic framework and focussing upon the social history (existential basis), the intellectual framework (systems of thought), and the behavioral consequences, does not refute these conclusions. The focus is how this demise

came about. The results imply that the Extension Departments ideological underpinnings, unique social technologies, and use of intermediary organizations not only enhanced the movement's growth, but were important in constraining that growth into distinct activities within distinct communities. When this movement reached a saturation point within the ethnic and religious communities acceptant of its world view, it faltered. When the Antigonish Movement attempted to move beyond these communities, its vision of the world clashed with competing visions of what the world was, and what it could be. Yet to this day, fishermen, farmers, and labourers benefit from the credit unions and co-operative organizations created by the Antigonish Movement.

Reconciling Previous Works on the Antigonish Movement

The works of MacInnes and Mifflen, as outlined in the literature review, argue that the Antigonish Movement arose from 'cultural distortion', and the need for a 're-sacralization of identity' that would answer the existential crises imposed upon the farmers, fishermen and labourers of eastern Nova Scotia. Sacouman, undertaking a pro-active marxist approach, extensively analyzes the economic preconditions of the region and how this situation created the impetus for co-operative organizing at the level of the petit bourgeoisie.

However, this thesis instead examined the specific ideological underpinnings of the Antigonish Movement in order to understand not only how this movement arose, but why it followed its unique path of organizational, and social behavior. In this sense, this work confirms the

writings of Mifflen, MacInnes and Baum. Its divergence occurs in the analysis of the ideological underpinnings that created the Extension Department and thus the Antigonish Movement. It questions the functionalist teleology of Mifflen and MacInnes that the reconstituting of a social order was a given fact. Instead, drawing upon the methodological approach of Jackson, and the theoretical demands of Beckford, this thesis shows that this new order arose out of a long history of negotiation and struggle of which the outcome was a new blueprint of social order based upon Catholic social theology.[21]

It also takes issue with Sacouman's discounting of ideology as a primary force in the development of the Antigonish Movement. There is no doubt that the 'structure of capitalist underdevelopment' was a, not the, 'primary constitutive basis' in the formation of the Antigonish Movement.[22] Both the history of capitalist underdevelopment and non-Antigonish Movement co-operative organizing precedes this movement. Sacouman does not reconcile these issues in his arguments. The research undertaken for this thesis shows that the timing of the Antigonish Movement was directly attributable to the arrival of a distinct cadre of leaders with a distinct ideology. The leaders of the Extension Department fully understood both the abuses capitalism was heaping upon their people, and the opportunities available for this strata through the use of the social technologies of adult education and co-operative organizing. The primary focus of this thesis was to examine the social history that led to the ability of this cadre to

21) Ibid, and Jackson, op. cit., and Beckford, op. cit..
22) See Chapter One, and Sacouman, op. cit., p. 76.

implement this blueprint of society among the people of Eastern Nova Scotia.

The contribution of this thesis to the sociological literature lies in its confirmation that ideology is at once a source of blueprints for change and a stimulus towards purposeful, programmed social action.

Research Implications and the Antigonish Movement Today

There are several questions still unanswered by this thesis, and by previous studies of the Antigonish Movement. The impact, and important place of women is an issue yet to be dealt with. The relationships between the Extension Department, and the many professional and governmental agencies it interacted with deserves further consideration. The contemporary legacy of the Antigonish Movement has yet to be examined. The impending release of the Antigonish Archdiocese archives will provide material which should lead to a clearer understanding of the problematic relationship that occurred between the leaders and the Church before and during the life of the Antigonish Movement.

Finally, soon after the 1959 death of Moses Coady, St. Francis Xavier established the Coady International Institute. Today with substantial Canadian governmental funds, the Coady Institute exports the 'third way' of co-operativism to third world countries. In 1973, the Extension Department and the Coady Institute were combined. The Extension Department now focuses upon community economic development within eastern Nova Scotia. The recent history of both organizations, particularly how they reconcile with

or diverge with the early history of the Antigonish Movement, would be an interesting subject for study.

The impact of the Antigonish Movement, in varying degrees, was felt across Canada. In eastern Nova Scotia, it touched the majority of people in some way. Its legacy remains with Canada today. The Extension Department leaders left a stamp on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the adult education movement, and the credit union and co-operative movement. It is now influencing potential leaders in the third world. To a large extent, during the period 1920-1940, Catholic social theology did touch upon Canadian society.

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