Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in accordance with the requirements and regulations
of the Faculty of Theology at the University of Oxford

An analysis of grass-roots co-operative economic development in Nova Scotia and Caribbean missions (1930-1960): case studies in the light of Catholic social teaching and social capital theory

LIBRARY
DEPOSITED
THESIS
12/07
BODLEIAN OXFORD

Michael Anthony Bouzigard, S.J.
Campion Hall

D.Phil.
Trinity 2006

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

AD MAJOREM DEI GLORIAM

With profound gratitude to God, fellow Jesuits, family and benefactors of the Society of Jesus, I acknowledge all those persons who supported or facilitated this interdisciplinary research project in development studies and theology at the University of Oxford. With deep appreciation, I give abundant thanks to both Edmund Valpy K. Fitzgerald, the Professor of International Development at The Queen Elizabeth House and St. Antony's College, and Christopher Rowland, the Dean Ireland Professor of the Exegesis of Holy Scripture at The Queen's College, for their keen insight and generous supervision.

Many others contributed toward the completion of this thesis and must be recognised: *Archivists*—The hospitable assistance of Ms. Kathleen MacKenzie, St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, Nova Scotia; Rev. Fr. Gerald L. McLaughlin, S.J., Jesuit Centre in Kingston, Jamaica; Miss Noeliva Le Blanc, Chancellor of Diocese of Roseau, Dominica; Rev. Fr. Sydney C. Mifflen, Episcopal Vicar/Chancellor of Diocese of Antigonish, Nova Scotia; Rev. Anthony Kuzniewski, S.J., New England Province Archivist, College of the Holy Cross; Ms. Frances Salmon, Head of The West Indies & Special Collections, University of the West Indies, Kingston, Jamaica; and Mr. Washbourne Cuffy, Commissioner of Co-operatives, Ministry of Community Development and Gender Affairs, Government of Dominica. Each provided helpful comments and guidance in perusing the archival material incorporated within this thesis.

Co-operative Pioneers—Sr. Irene Doyle, C.S.M., Nova Scotia; Mr. Kenneth A. Richards, Dominica; and Mr. Charles Maynard, Dominica.

Jesuits and collaborators—Provincials of the New Orleans Province: Very Rev. Fr. James Bradley, S.J. and Very Rev. Fr. Alfred Kammer, S.J.; Master of Campion Hall: Rev. Dr. Gerard Hughes, S.J.; the Jesuits and staff at Campion Hall, especially Rev. Fr. Brendan Horan, S.J. , Rev. Fr. David Brown, S.J., and Miss Sheena Murphy; the Jesuit community at Boston College, Chestnut Hill, MA; the Jesuit community of the College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, MA; and the members, lay collaborators, and benefactors of the Society of Jesus of the New Orleans Province.

Diocesan Clergy—Most Rev. Gabriel Malzaire, bishop of Roseau, for his personal hospitality and assistance during my research trip to Dominica, Very Rev. Raymond G. Huntley, rector of St. Ninian Cathedral, and Rev. Fr. Alexander MacKinnon of St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia for their kind support and assistance.

Special acknowledgement must be expressed to the following: in gratitude to the many laypersons through whom I have been inspired or called to serve the poor and marginalised, particularly Michael & Rita Gamez, Jesuit Volunteer Corps members, and parishioners/staff of Our Lady of Guadalupe Church, San Antonio, Texas. To my first teachers in faith and erudition, my parents Dr. Ray & Yvonne Bouzigard, I am especially grateful for their love and for the support of my entire family.

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS 2

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS 10

THESIS ABSTRACT 12

EXTENDED ABSTRACT 13

PROLOGUE 18

CHAPTER ONE

A SOCIAL CAPITAL-SOCIAL JUSTICE NEXUS 26

1.1 Historical context: Catholic social teaching principles—the common good, subsidiarity, and solidarity—and social justice

1.2 Critical assessment of social capital theories: a modified conception

1.3 The nexus: interlink between social capital and social justice

1.3.1 Practice of Catholic co-operative pioneers and missionaries: bonding social capital linked to a principle of solidarity (social justice)

1.3.2 Authority structures: hierarchical/grass-roots decision-making (social capital) linked to a principle of subsidiarity (social justice)

1.3.3 Voluntary associations: practical, organisational structures (social capital) linked to a principle of the common good (social justice)

1.3.4 The acting person: principle of dynamism for a social capital-social justice nexus

CHAPTER TWO

THE ANTIGONISH MOVEMENT OF NOVA SCOTIA 66

2.1 Brief economic and social history of Nova Scotia, Canada/ early history of the Antigonish movement

2.1.1 Pioneers of the Antigonish movement

2.1.2 Structures and techniques for co-operative development and co-operative enterprises in Nova Scotia: 1928-1948

2.1.3 Recognition of the Antigonish movement by local hierarchy and the Holy See

2.1.4 The Antigonish movement: extension beyond Canada

2.2 Antigonish movement philosophy: influences of Catholic social teaching/ self-help and voluntary associations

2.2.1 Roots of the movement in the principles of Catholic social encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* (1891), *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931), *Mystici Corporis* (1943): links to a co-operative philosophy

2.2.2 University extension department: social capital and formation of study clubs through adult education

2.2.3 Co-operative practice

2.2.4 Co-operation with English-speaking Canadian dioceses: influence of the Antigonish movement

2.3 Challenges and critical analysis of the Antigonish movement

2.3.1 Federal and provincial government in Canada: initial support and subsequent challenge to the Antigonish movement

2.3.2 Communism: perception of the Catholic hierarchy in Canada to a Communist threat to the church and society

2.3.3 Catholic response: rural life conferences; promotion of co-operatives and formation of study clubs through Catholic social principles

2.4 Summary

CHAPTER THREE

JAMAICA 101

3.1 Concise economic and social history of Jamaica

3.1.1 Jamaica and British colonialism (1837-1938)

3.1.2 Religion in Jamaica: focus on the institutional influence of the Catholic Church

3.1.3 Labour revolts 1938: West Indies Royal Commission response/ economic and social conditions in Kingston

3.1.4 Social reform and incipient nationalism: emergence of political parties (People's National Party and Jamaican Labour Party)

3.2 Missionaries of the Society of Jesus, lay co-operators and voluntary organisations

3.2.1 St. George's College: lectures on co-operatives; Cathedral parish sodality; introduction of study clubs

3.2.2 Small-town parishes and rural missions

3.2.3 St. George's College Extension School and Co-operative Department/ Jamaica Welfare Limited: links to the Antigonish movement

3.2.4 Social justice principles and social capital formation: Catholic social teaching in Jamaica and links to Antigonish co-op practices; early collaboration between sectors of the Jamaican co-operative movement

3.3 Three sectors of the Jamaican co-operative movement: effects of collaboration, divergence, and conflict

3.3.1 Private welfare organisational contributions/ transition to colonial government structures/ social capital links to Antigonish pioneers

3.3.2 Collaboration between three sectors of the Jamaican co-operative movement

3.3.3 Initial divergence within the co-operative movement in Jamaica

3.3.4 Challenge and conflict in the co-operative movement in Jamaica: Relative autonomy of the three sectors

3.4 Summary

CHAPTER FOUR

THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, PUERTO RICO, AND DOMINICA 145

4.1 Concise economic and social history of the Dominican Republic: focus on Trujillo 1930-1961

4.2 Father Harvey (Pablo) Steele, S.F.M. and the early lay co-operators: from co-operative failures—*el campo*—to relative success—the villages

4.3 Wider Caribbean collaboration and exile by the Trujillo regime

4.4 Concise economic and social history of Puerto Rico

4.5 Reverend Joseph A. MacDonald and co-operative collaborators: Antigonish connection to Puerto Rico

4.6 University of Puerto Rico, government of Puerto Rico, the Catholic Church and early cooperators (1945-1961): academia and the middle-class/ the church and the rural poor

4.7 Concise economic and social history of Dominica

4.8 Mother Mary Alicia and early lay co-operative pioneers in Dominica: focus on lower middle-class/ civil service and political aspirations of lay leaders/ formation of self-help, voluntary organisations

4.9 Summary

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS OF GRASS-ROOTS CO-OPERATIVE PRACTICES AND CATHOLIC SOCIAL PRINCIPLES 190

5.1 Grass-roots co-operative practice: an adapted enactment of Catholic social principles

5.2 Consistency in fundamental social principles and conflict within missionary grass-roots practices: a dynamic social capital-social justice nexus

5.3 Missiology and co-operative economic development

5.4 Collaborative structures and social networks with Nova Scotia: Jamaica, Puerto Rico, Dominica and the Dominican Republic; conflict in co-operative movements; reception of grass-roots co-op projects by local Catholic bishops in the Caribbean

5.5 Summary/conclusions of the analysis

CHAPTER SIX

CO-OPERATIVE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE LIGHT OF CATHOLIC SOCIAL TEACHING AND A MODIFIED SOCIAL CAPITAL PERSPECTIVE: EVALUATION OF HYPOTHESES 220

6.1 Co-operative development: authority structures and organisational practices

6.2 Collaboration, tension, and conflict: official pre-Vatican II Catholic social teaching on socioeconomic development through Catholic Action contrasted with self-help, voluntary practices by Catholic co-operative pioneers

6.3 Recognition of Catholic co-operative philosophy and grass-roots practices by local bishops and the Holy See prior to the Second Vatican Council: Canada and the Caribbean

6.4 Hypotheses and principal thesis: conclusions

CHAPTER SEVEN

GRASS-ROOTS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: HISTORICAL AFFINITIES AND DIFFERENCES—LIBERATION THEOLOGY MOVEMENTS, CHRISTIAN BASE COMMUNITIES, AND FAITH-BASED NGOs **244**

7.1 Mission and economic development: an overview following the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965)

7.2 Co-operative practices and method: an antecedent to liberation theology praxis?

7.3 Forms for socioeconomic development: co-operative aspects of Christian base communities and faith-based nongovernmental organisations (NGOs)

7.4 Overall conclusions

APPENDICES **268**

BIBLIOGRAPHY **286**

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AID	**Association for International Development**
AL	**Autograph Letter**
ALS	**Autograph Letter Signed**
B.W.I.	**British West Indies**
B.V.I.	**British Virgin Islands**
CAFOD	**Catholic Agency for Overseas Development**
C.C.F.	**Co-operative Commonwealth Federation**
C.C.C.	**Canadian Catholic Conference**
CEB	***Comunidades Eclesiales de Base*** **(Christian Base Communities)**
CELAM	***Consejo Episcopal Latinoamérica*** **(Latin American Bishops' Conference)**
C.M.	**Congregation of the Mission**
C.S.C.	**Congregation of the Holy Cross**
C.S.M.	**Congregation of Saint Martha**
C.Ss.R	**Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer**
CST	**Catholic Social Teaching**
CUNA	**Credit Union National Association**
D.Miss.	**Doctor of Missiology**
FAO	**Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations**
F.M.I.	***Fils de Marie Immaculée***
GDP	**Gross Domestic Product**
ICI	***Instituto Cooperativo Interamericano***
I.C.M.	**Missionary Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary**

I.H.M.	**Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary**
J.A.S.	**Jamaica Agricultural Society**
J.O.C.	***Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne***
JLP	**Jamaican Labour Party**
M.M.	**Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America (Maryknoll)**
n.d.	**Not Dated**
N.S.	**Nova Scotia**
O.P.	**Order of Preachers (Dominicans)**
PNP	**People's National Party**
PPD	***Partido Popular Democrático***
P.Q.	**Province of Québec**
PRRA	**Puerto Rican Emergency Relief Administration**
RG	**Record Group**
SC	**Special Collection**
S.D.B.	**Salesians of St. John Bosco**
S.F.M.	**Scarboro Foreign Mission Society**
S.J.	**Society of Jesus (Jesuits)**
St.FXU	**St. Francis Xavier University**
S.V.D	**Society of the Divine Word**
TD	**Typewritten Document**
TL	**Typewritten Letter**
TLS	**Typewritten Letter Signed**
TMs	**Typewritten Manuscript**
V.I.	**The Virgin Islands**
WICCU	**West Indies Confederation of Credit Unions**

An analysis of grass-roots co-operative economic development in Nova Scotia and Caribbean missions (1930-1960): case studies in the light of Catholic social teaching and social capital theory

Michael Anthony Bouzigard, S.J. **D.Phil.**
Campion Hall **Trinity 2006**

Thesis Abstract

In contrast to research studies, which approach Catholic social teaching (CST) as a theoretical complex, abstracted from situations in which it was applied, this thesis deliberately adapts an inductive method. Through this contextual approach attention devoted to specific co-operative projects exemplifies the extent of CST's influence. Missionary pioneers created new socioeconomic practices and mutual-aid (voluntary) associations; consequently, these democratic, co-operative practices not only enhanced social capital formation from below but also implicitly challenged a top-down formulation of the social teaching. Thus, this thesis not only analyses specific examples of grass-roots development but also intentionally approaches CST via these specific exemplifications rather than vice versa. These co-operative development projects through self-help, communitarian practices within a social capital-social justice nexus privileged the acting person over dominant collective action, offering an alternative for economic development in tension with both nationalist socialism and liberal capitalism.

Five empirical cases, primarily analysing original archival sources, demonstrate an historical interplay between formation of social capital practices and an enactment of CST principles for social justice within co-operative movements. Major findings indicate that social capital, although varied in each case, significantly contributed toward organisational capacities in sustaining grass-roots co-operative practices. Enacting social justice principles, however, proved much more complex in actuality due to divergence, tension, or conflict between multiple government, private and religious-sponsored co-operative sectors.

Extended Thesis Abstract

Historical cases—Catholic social teaching and social capital

Five case histories of grass-roots initiatives for co-operative economic development in Canada and the Caribbean add to an understanding and appreciation of mission studies (missiology) and Catholic-inspired practices[1] for social and economic change in Nova Scotia (Canada), Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, and Dominica. An analysis of co-operative social action within the historical contexts of each of these mission areas will reveal an explicit connection to the Antigonish movement of adult education for co-operative development that originated in Nova Scotia during the early 1920s. This study situates co-operative projects in an unfolding history of mission methods for socioeconomic development through personal and group practices embedded in voluntary associations, comprising potential networks for social capital formation, and linked to primary principles of Catholic social teaching.

This thesis approaches Catholic social teaching from within various social contexts in Canada and the Caribbean wherein primary principles informed grass-roots practices both by individual persons (clergy, missionaries, and laity) and collective voluntary associations, predominantly co-operatives and credit unions. In analysing primary principles of Catholic social teaching—the common good, subsidiarity, and solidarity—as exemplifications of potentially enacted social justice, in tandem with social capital theory, a more comprehensive theoretical framework grounds the interplay between CST principles and practice in the socio-political contexts of Nova

---

[1]Throughout the thesis *practice, social action,* and *social practice* denote synonyms and for the most part imply interchangeable terms unless otherwise noted within the text (e.g. personal practice distinguished from collective social action). The term *praxis*, a broader term than *practice*, denotes an ongoing reflective process engaging both social theory and social practice.

Scotia and the Caribbean from 1930 until just prior to the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965).

This theoretical frame, which I call a social capital-social justice nexus, will trace, on one hand, these three principles of Catholic social teaching in local contexts while acknowledging a hierarchical provenance and promulgation as the Holy See's response to social conditions particularly in Europe. On the other hand, by juxtaposing these same principles with a critique of social capital, I define a modified conception of social capital as follows: availability of both embedded and autonomous social resources within specific, social networks mobilised by group practices for social justice.[2] In contrast, to top-down formulations of Catholic social teaching principles, social capital formation within this research study intentionally focuses on an historical analysis of social practices not only between individuals but also within and across collective, voluntary associations organised for co-operative development and enacted for social justice. Analysis of social principles and practices through a social capital-social justice nexus, having both affinity for and yet acting as a critique of economic personalism,[3] further demonstrates a dynamic process in formation of newer mission practices for co-operative economic development.

---

[2]*Social networks* refers throughout the thesis to localised [intra-group and inter-group] relationships fostered within particular organisational structures and characterised by a continuum from weak to strong interpersonal bonding and/or bridging through social ties.

[3]*Economic personalism* as an academic link between economics and moral theology broadly refers to "a useful methodological framework from which the relation between objective moral values and subjective economic valuations can be obtained…as a practical…nexus between the acting person's experience, human value, dignity, and self-interests, on one hand; and society, the experience of people acting with others as an extended social order, on the other," at 29, in Gregory M. A. Gronbacher (1998), "The Need for Economic Personalism," *Journal of Markets & Morality* 1 (1): 1-34.

Thesis statement and research hypotheses

This research study offers the following as a statement of its *principal thesis*: Caribbean missionaries and self-help associations—adapting grass-roots, study club practices from the Antigonish movement of Nova Scotia and incorporating CST principles into their organisational structures—advanced newer forms of co-operative economic development through their mission projects.

A *first hypothesis* proposes that the study club[4] served as a primary structure and method of mutual association, in contrast to secondary structures of traditional schools and parishes, toward bonding and bridging group members for social capital formation. A *second hypothesis* follows as a complement of the first: By enacting principles of the common good, subsidiarity, and solidarity—inclusive of social capital formation—Catholic co-operative pioneers engaged in grass-roots practices for social justice, which privileged human dignity and liberty of the acting person over collective associations. Finally, a *third hypothesis* considers the effects of these co-operative movements: In Nova Scotia and the Caribbean, Catholic co-operative collaborators—clergy, missionaries, and laity—through self-help, democratic social practices claimed specific recognition and support from the local hierarchy and the Holy See.

---

[4]A group method/structure—*the study club*—served to organise persons who could not attend traditional lectures in regular schools. A typical study club consisted of three to no more than twelve persons meeting once a week in order to discuss a mutually-agreed topic aimed toward socioeconomic advancement of a particular group (e.g. farmers, fishermen, labourers).

Contributions of the thesis

Primary findings of this thesis include the following: First, Catholic social teaching principles in each case informed co-operative practices through study clubs organised for co-operative economic development within the socio-political context of each colonial island. Second, despite innovations through greater lay leadership and an ecumenical, organisational inclusiveness, these bottom-up co-operative practices had no deep influence on hierarchical attitudes or action toward formulation of Catholic social teaching. Third, these missionary, grass-roots projects received only mixed or limited ecclesial recognition and tenuous support by the local hierarchy in the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, and Dominica; whereas, in Nova Scotia and Jamaica, official approbation by both the local hierarchy and the Holy See manifested direct acknowledgement of the co-operative practices promoted by Catholic diocesan clergy, laity, and missionaries. Finally, the Catholic contribution toward co-operative economic development in the Caribbean, with the exception of Puerto Rico, emerged primarily as grass-roots social movements organised through a dominant study club structural method inclusive of social capital formation, engendering both adapted and newer forms of self-help, democratic practices aimed at enacting social justice.

A major conclusion of the thesis recognises that grass-roots organisers including clergy, laity, and missionaries advocated and advanced within co-operative development projects relevant principles of CST; whereas, the bishops, although recognising valuable contributions by these co-op pioneers, in the majority of cases refrained from officially promoting or adapting these self-help contributions within local pastoral and social teaching. Another key conclusion of this research study, although cognisant of the acting person both in dignity and liberty within individual and

collective practices, offers an important critique of the dominant scholarly viewpoint within economic personalism. Challenging a dominant reliance on free-market economic principles while also critiquing a preference for economic development offered by nationalist socialism, the thesis demonstrates that democratic, communitarian economic principles and practices inclusive of social capital neither marginalise the contributions of the individual, as an acting person, nor sacrifice personal property and human liberty within particular Caribbean societies.

PROLOGUE

P-1 Rationale of the thesis: purpose and methods

P-1.1 Nexus between Catholic social teaching principles and grass-roots practices

The purpose of this research study seeks to understand the interplay between Catholic social teaching principles and grass-roots practices of Catholic co-operative pioneers through voluntary, mutual associations inclusive of social capital. First, a practical, educational method located within a specific social structure, in particular the study club, serves as a primary means for bottom-up organisation contrasted with traditional educational institutions and parochial ecclesial structures. Second, extending a study of Catholic social teaching from a predominate abstract, ahistorical focus, the thesis contributes to an analysis of the social teaching through contextual, historical cases linking Catholic social principles and practice. Third, as a consequence of this interaction between principles and practice, another aim of this study traces the socioeconomic advances of these co-operative development projects acknowledged by local Catholic hierarchies as ecumenical, lay-organised associations prior to the Second Vatican Council. Finally, the effects of collaboration and/or conflict within and between the multiple sectors of the respective co-operative movements in Canada and the Caribbean comprise a further objective of this thesis.

P-1.2 Research methods

P-1.2.1 Historical method: contextual social practice

Within a theoretical frame of the social capital-social justice nexus, a method utilising, critiquing, and analysing primary, archival sources; autobiographical accounts of co-operative/credit union practices by their members; and open-ended, semi-structured personal interviews not only provides a depth of focus but also situates the contextual practices in relation to more theoretical principles of Catholic social teaching. Unlike academic disciplines of social ethics or social philosophy, this interdisciplinary thesis linking mission studies (missiology) and socio-economics,[5] through an historical approach, offers a practical analysis of the following: the various social practices for co-operative economic development by government/private sector members and Catholic clergy, missionaries, or laity; the mutual involvement and relevance of social capital formation among Catholic voluntary associations for this development; and socioeconomic effects of their collective social action incorporating Catholic social teaching principles for social justice within their organisational structures.

First, the link between Catholic social principles and co-operative development practice within specific, historical contexts purposely proposes a practical, inductive method to Catholic social teaching, an intentional alternative to the primarily abstract, deductive theological-ethical or philosophical studies almost exclusively found within the academic literature. Second, a focus on social action of Catholic clergy in Canada,

---

[5]The term *socio-economics* in this thesis refers not only to social phenomena analysed through the discipline of economics but also historical, political and in a limited sense philosophical categories affecting the economy. In addition, *socio-economics or social economics* herein builds upon an intellectual tradition rooted in the "religious normative" thought of scholars: Charles de Coux (1787-1864); Alban de Villenueve-Bargemont (1784-1864); and Charles Antoine, S.J. (1847-1921). The works of these scholars are discussed more fully by Kevin E. Schmiesing (2001), "The Context of Economic Personalism," *Journal of Markets & Morality* 4 (2):176-193.

missionaries in the Caribbean, and lay co-operators in both regions situates multiple actors and their socioeconomic projects within co-operative movements by combining an analysis of Catholic social teaching principles with a critical assessment of social capital theory.

P-1.2.2 Critical method: principles of Catholic social teaching and critique of social capital theory

Official modern Catholic social teaching (CST)[6] promulgated primarily, yet not exclusively, through papal encyclicals has been commonly examined either in its doctrinal, philosophical, or ethical perspectives. In the corpus of modern Catholic social teaching, the popes from Leo XIII to Pius XII reacted to the unfolding reality of industrial capitalism and political liberalism within the social context of late nineteenth century and early twentieth century Europe. Primarily encompassing economic, political, and social problems, resulting from the Enlightenment, French Revolution, and Industrial Revolution since the eighteenth century, Catholic social teaching, nonetheless, has more ancient roots both within Scripture and in a natural law tradition emerging from the influence of Thomas Aquinas. Still, Catholic social teaching, as argued by scholars Michael Schuck and Joe Holland, manifests "an underlying unity and coherence in its constitutive, internal principles."[7]

---

[6]Most scholars date the beginning of modern Catholic social teaching with Pope Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum* (1891). However, an important counter-point by Michael J. Schuck argues that "by limiting analysis to a conventionally designated set of 'social' encyclicals, previous commentators have missed other letters of social relevance which aid interpretation of papal social thought as a whole": quoted in Michael J. Schuck (1987), "The Context and Coherence of Roman Catholic Encyclical Social Teaching: 1740-1987," doctoral dissertation, the Divinity School, University of Chicago, 5. I will distinguish papal encyclicals, conciliar and episcopal documents, as "Catholic social teaching," from a broader corpus, which encompasses writings by theologians/ other scholars as well as contributions from social/religious voluntary associations (both leaders and members), as "Catholic social thought."

[7]Joe Holland (2003), *Modern Catholic Social Teaching The Popes Confront the Industrial Age 1740-1958*, (New York: Paulist Press), 1-16.

One Catholic social ethicist, John Coleman, contends that Catholic social teaching reflects "a sort of unity based on its Janus-faced opposition both to liberalism and socialism."[8] Coleman views the originality of CST, arising from its social location, as an emerging response to liberalism and socialism during the late nineteenth century. He states, "Responding to real social movements for social change both within and without the church, Catholic social teaching came up with a distinctive and original social ideology."[9] Other scholars seek a thematic or integrating idea as a unitive link of coherence. David Hollenbach, for example, locates the integrating idea of CST in human dignity and a developing sense of human rights, including political and social rights; Michael Schuck in a communitarian ethic; or Donal Dorr in a preferential option for the poor.[10] Bayer, however, argues that "all of these approaches lack an authentic historical consciousness and methodology."[11]

In contrast, Charles E. Curran, a Christian social ethicist, approaches CST in a manner that "emphasizes methodology and systematic understanding of the various teachings proposed in the context of historical developments that have occurred in this body of teaching."[12] Whereas John A. Coleman stresses unity and coherence, Curran distinguishes discontinuities as ostensibly more characteristic of the social teaching than any overall continuity. Both scholars accept historical consciousness and development

---

[8]John A. Coleman, S.J., ed. (1991), *One Hundred Years of Catholic Social Thought: Celebration and Challenge*, (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books), 25.

[9]Ibid.

[10]David Hollenbach (1979), *Claims in Conflict: Retrieving and Renewing the Catholic Human Rights Tradition*, (New York: Paulist Press); Michael J. Schuck (1991), *That They May Be One: The Social Teaching of the Papal Encyclicals, 1740-1989*, (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press); Donal Dorr (1992), *Option for the Poor: A Hundred Years of Catholic Social Teaching* revised edition, (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books).

[11]Richard C. Bayer (1996), "The Coherence of Catholic Social Thought: Toward a Theology of Involvement," *Horizons* 23: 72-85.

[12]Charles E. Curran (2002), *Catholic Social Teaching 1891-Present: A Historical, Theological, and Ethical Analysis*, (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press), 8.

within the teaching, and yet, proffer disparate critiques of the underlying reasons for the changes or shift within Catholic social teaching. In doing so, Coleman focuses primarily on a Eurocentric perspective while Curran, like Holland, emphatically locates his thought within the social perspective of the United States. In the end, both Coleman and Curran expound upon the documents comprising the corpus of CST while only cursorily suggesting any influence by a broader Catholic social thought that includes an explicit historical and direct social practice rooted in faith.[13]

Social capital formation primarily highlights reciprocity in relationships and availability of resources through collective social networks. Membership in a social group that provides access to resources suggests that conflict and power disputes will arise within and across social networks. Most social capital theories, in themselves, do not adequately address issues of conflict and power differentials within and across groups. An interface between social justice and social capital—the common good linked with shared group resources; subsidiarity with a bridging form of social capital; and solidarity with a bonding form of social capital—provide analytically-paired concepts in the social capital-social justice nexus to account for differences in conflict/collaboration and diffusion of authority/power. Hence, a critical approach toward dominant social capital theories in the academic literature when analysed alongside Catholic social teaching principles more fully manifests the complexities inherent within voluntary associations formed for co-operative economic development.

---

[13]From a search of Dissertation Abstracts Online, only the following study approaches Catholic social teaching explicitly from a broader field of Catholic social thought while also accounting for an historically-located Catholic social action: Brian Francis Hogan (1986), "Salted With Fire: Studies In Catholic Social Thought And Action In Ontario 1931-1961," Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Department of History, University of Toronto.

P-2 Thesis structure

The structure of this thesis comprises three major parts: Part I— explication of a theoretical social capital-social justice nexus; Part II—empirical cases of the Antigonish movement and those Caribbean co-operative movements of Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, and Dominica affiliated with one another and the movement in Nova Scotia; and Part III—contributions of grass-roots co-operative economic development: historical affinities and differences to more recent religious-based movements for socioeconomic change (e.g. Christian base communities, faith-based NGOs, and liberation theology movements).

Part I includes the theoretical framework of the thesis in a single chapter. Chapter one, itself, divides into three sections. First, section 1.1 offers the historical context and socio-political background in Europe for Catholic social teaching beginning with the papal encyclical *Rerum Novarum* of Pope Leo XIII and proceeding to the social encyclicals of Pope Pius XI (*Quadragesimo Anno*) and Pope Pius XII (*Mystici Corporis Christi*) and their collaborators in writing these official documents. Second, section 1.1 outlines three primary principles of Catholic social teaching—the common good, subsidiarity, and solidarity—as practical, organisational components for an enacted social justice.

Chapter one, section 1.2, presents a critical assessment and modified conceptual alternative to current social capital theory, inclusive of bonding and bridging forms of social capital, in relation to CST principles for social justice. In section 1.3, an interlink between social justice and social capital—which I call the social capital-social justice nexus—frames the acting person as both an individual and as a member of voluntary associations seeking social justice through collective social practices for co-operative

economic development. Section 1.3 further subdivides the framework of the social capital-social justice nexus into four subsections: (1.3.1) social practices of Catholic co-operative pioneers and missionaries: bonding social capital linked to a principle of solidarity (social justice); (1.3.2) authority structures: horizontal/grassroots decision-making (social capital) linked to a principle of subsidiarity (social justice); (1.3.3) voluntary associations: practical, organisational structures (social capital) linked to principle of the common good (social justice); and (1.3.4) the acting person: principle of dynamism for a social capital-social justice nexus.

Part II of the thesis elucidates and briefly offers an initial, critical analysis of the five case studies for co-operative development: Chapter two—Antigonish movement of Nova Scotia, Canada; chapter three—Jamaica; chapter four—the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, and Dominica. Chapters in Part II outline and develop the following general topic areas for each case: (1) brief economic and social history; (2) co-operative movement history; grass-roots social action; Catholic pioneers of co-operative economic development (voluntary associations and organisational structures); (3) collaboration, conflicts, and critical analysis of social networks within, across, and outside the co-operative movement; and (4) a general summary.

Part III, also within three chapters, offers a more in-depth analysis of the case histories for co-operative economic development in the light of Catholic social teaching and social capital theory inclusive of the contributions of Catholic missionary practices toward co-operative economic development. Chapter five divided into five sections analyses the following: (5.1) grass-roots practices and an adapted enactment of primary Catholic social principles; (5.2) consistency in fundamental Catholic social principles and conflict within missionary grass-roots practices viewed within the perspective of the social capital-social justice nexus; (5.3) social justice and socioeconomic

development: interlink between missiology and co-operative development practices; (5.4) collaborative structures and social networks with Antigonish, Nova Scotia: Jamaica, Puerto Rico, Dominica and the Dominican Republic; conflict within the co-operative movements; local Catholic hierarchy attitudes and policy toward mutual-aid (voluntary) organisations; (5.5) conclusions of the analysis.

Chapter six evaluates within four sections the co-operative movement case studies in relation to the three research hypotheses as follows: (6.1) co-operative economic development authority structures (bottom-up/horizontal vs. top-down/hierarchical) and organisational practices; (6.2) tensions between pre-Vatican II Catholic social teaching on socioeconomic development through Catholic Action and the self-help, voluntary grass-roots practices by Catholic co-operative pioneers and their collaborators; (6.3) ecclesial recognition of Catholic co-operative practices by local bishops and the Holy See prior to the Second Vatican Council; and (6.4) findings/ conclusions of the research hypotheses and principal thesis.

Finally, chapter seven presents a concluding assessment of this research study and offers areas for further research. This final chapter divides into four sections: (7.1) mission and economic development: an overview after the Second Vatican Council (7.2) co-operative practices and methods: an antecedent to liberation theology praxis?; (7.3) forms of socioeconomic development: co-operative aspects of Christian base communities and faith-based nongovernmental organisations (NGOs); and (7.4) overall conclusions.

PART I- CHAPTER ONE

A SOCIAL CAPITAL—SOCIAL JUSTICE NEXUS: LINKING THEORETICAL PRINCIPLES AND GRASS-ROOTS PRACTICE

In the first section of this chapter, I will outline an overview of the wider historical background and context in which Catholic social encyclicals—Pius XI's *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931) and Pius XII's *Mystici Corporis Christi* (1943)—developed or engendered three primary social principles: the common good, subsidiarity, and solidarity. I will argue that these CST principles provided a foundation for enacted social justice by Catholic pioneers of co-operative economic development in Nova Scotia and the Caribbean.

Section two of the chapter begins with a concise and critical assessment of current social capital theories. In this section, I will argue that social capital conceptually entails an availability of both embedded and autonomous social resources in specific, social networks (specifically those engaged in co-operative economic practice) mobilised by group action for social justice. Moreover, social capital formation offers depth to an analysis of both interpersonal relations and communal social structures aimed at social justice.

Finally, in a third section, a social capital-social justice nexus outlines a theoretical framework examining interactions between principles and practice [against those critics discussed in section 1.2 who argue that social capital theories are either static, tautological, or both]. The remainder of section 1.3 will demonstrate how the nexus provides a test for the following three hypotheses: (1) the study club, in contrast to traditional parishes or schools, served as a primary structure and method for social capital formation; (2) enacting CST principles, Catholic co-operative pioneers engaged

in grass-roots practices for social justice, which privileged human dignity and liberty of the acting person over collective associations; and (3) the socioeconomic effects of these self-help, democratic social practices received ecclesial recognition by local hierarchies and the Holy See.

In Part II of the thesis in chapters two through four, a social capital-social justice nexus frames the interplay between CST principles and grass-roots practices within an analysis of the five specific case studies of co-operative development: Nova Scotia, Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, and Dominica. Part III, chapter five, of the thesis will both test the hypotheses and analyse these five cases followed by a comprehensive discussion in chapter six of the final results and conclusions to the three hypotheses. In testing how co-operative development principles and practices correspond to the three social justice principles and social capital formation practices the following will be considered: multiple social networks (bonding/bridging social capital forms), authority/power structure (hierarchical/grass-roots decision-making), and organisational structure (democratic, self-help study clubs and rural/social life conferences).

1.1 Historical context: Catholic social teaching principles—the common good, subsidiarity, and solidarity—and social justice

Arising from a social tradition partially as a response to the Protestant Reformation (1517), the formation of a new missionary religious order as the Society of Jesus (1540), and the emergence of rationalism during the Enlightenment (17th-18th centuries), modern Catholic social teaching, in reacting to antimonarchical events of the French Revolution (1789), proposed a developing body of thought on social, political,

and economic changes particularly within Europe. Popes through means of an encyclical officially pronounced social statements which would eventually be recognised by many Catholic scholars (those named above in the prologue) as comprising a body of doctrine called Catholic social teaching.

In effect, the responses given by Pope Gregory XVI and Pope Pius IX to the social changes presaged by the French and Industrial Revolutions signalled an acknowledgement by the Catholic Church of the challenges—the rise of socialism, communism, and fascism—that had been wrought, in various forms, within Europe by the late nineteenth century. Still, the groundbreaking response to the situation of the working classes during Pope Leo XIII's papacy (1878-1903) underscored the Catholic Church's initial position on modern *economic* questions of this period. Indeed, Pope Leo XIII, commonly attributed as the inaugurator of the modern social encyclical in the late nineteenth century, positioned the hierarchy to preserve the independence of the church in addressing the challenges of poverty while, at the same time, holding the state within a properly circumscribed sphere of influence.[14] He proclaimed in *Rerum Novarum* (1891):

> For no practical solution [to the social question] will ever be found without the assistance of religion and the Church…the Church improves and ameliorates the condition of the workingman by numerous useful organizations…and considers that for this purpose recourse should be had, in due measure and degree, to the intervention of the law and of State authority (no. 15)…By the State we here understand, not the particular form of government prevailing in this or that nation, but the State as rightly apprehended; that is to say, any government conformable in its institutions to right reason and the natural law. (no. 32) [15]

---

[14]Charles Curran (2002), *Catholic Social Teaching 1891-Present: A Historical, Theological, and Ethical Analysis*, (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press), 4-6.

[15]Pope Leo XIII (1990), *Rerum Novarum* (15 May 1891), in Claudia Carlen, I.H.M., ed., *The Papal Encyclicals 1878-1903*, (Raleigh, NC: The Pierian Press), 241-261. Subsequent quotations of this encyclical cite the paragraph numbers.

In recognising its positive responsibilities while also delimiting the power and influence of the state, Pope Leo XIII maintained certain distinctions between church and state through principles rooted in natural law theory. Moreover, he believed, albeit in hubris, that the church possessed the sole answer and correct response to the social question of the day—workers' conditions and poverty.

In searching for a compromise position between liberal capitalism and socialism, Leo XIII preferred a cadre of Catholic voluntary organisations—often based upon an idea of the medieval guild system throughout Europe—under the leadership of the clergy. *Rerum Novarum*, indeed, had been written within the context of a newly unified Italy, growing industrialisation, and the creation of the Italian Socialist party in 1891. In his paternalistic outlook toward both the state and the individual, Leo XIII, externalising his suspicions of democracy, preferred to rule in his accustomed monarchical manner.

Although the underlying philosophical and theological principles contained within the Leonine social encyclicals reflected a return to the scholastic tradition of St. Thomas Aquinas, as envisioned in *Aeterni Patris* (1879) underscoring the pope's opinion that the errors of the modern world stemmed from false philosophy, the historical context of the late nineteenth century equally shaped the response of the church to the workers' situation.[16] The rise of socialism, perceived as threatening a natural right to private property[17] as rooted in natural law, called for a strong response from the church. Indeed, while severely critical of the abuses of liberal capitalism, the

---

[16]Joe Holland (2003), *Modern Catholic Social Teaching The Popes Confront the Industrial Age 1740-1958*, (New York: Paulist Press), 172-174.

[17]Pope Leo XIII understood private property as rooted within natural law, in human nature itself, and so as a human right; whereas, Thomas Aquinas' own conception of private property and its relation to natural law differed. Aquinas viewed the need for private property as not rooted in human nature *per se* but only as "what rational beings conclude as an addition to the natural law." Thomas Aquinas (1975), *Summa Theologiae* IIaIIae, q.66, a.2, ad. 1, trans. Marcus Lefébure, O.P., (London: Blackfriars). Also Curran (2002), 174-179.

first draft of *Rerum Novarum*, as noted by Michael Walsh, unabashedly criticised, but did not condemn, socialism. Yet Leo XIII feared that, by not condemning socialism, he would signal an approval for Catholics to join the incipient socialist movements burgeoning throughout Italy at this time.[18] Thus the final draft of the encyclical stressed a natural law conception of private property over socialist forms of ownership.

By the close of the nineteenth century and continuing into the early twentieth century, the Catholic Church had cooperated with reactionary groups like the Fribourg Union (1884) and Action Française in Switzerland and France respectively; it also compromised with Fascist movements in Italy under Benito Mussolini (e.g. Lateran Pacts-1929) and in Spain with Francisco Franco (Nationalist Movement/ Civil War 1936-1939).[19] Counterrevolutionary adherents found leaders in Charles Maurras and René La Tour du Pin. For example, La Tour du Pin, as a radical conservative leader of the Fribourg Union, desired to conserve corporatist medieval structures by "break[ing] with liberalism, in religion, in economy, and in politics."[20] Action Française, while using the church to further its own goals, had almost been, but not officially, condemned by Pope Pius X. Yet, in 1926, despite intervention by Jacques Maritain on behalf of Charles Maurras, Pius XI finally condemned the movement: "Catholics are

---

[18]Michael Walsh (1998), "Laying the Foundations: from *Rerum Novarum* to the Second Vatican Council," in Paul Vallely, ed., *The New Politics: Catholic Social Teaching for the Twenty-First Century*, (London: SCM Press), 28-41.

[19]Pius XI (7 June 1929), *Trattato Fra La Santa Sede E L'Italia* , *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* XXI:209-295. Pius XI (14 Sept. 1936), *Sermo, Acta Apostolicae Sedis* XXVIII:380. The pope blessed the Catholic members of the National Movement under Francisco Franco: "those with the difficult and dangerous task of defending and restoring the rights and honour of God and religion, that is to say, the rights and dignity of men's consciences."

[20]René de la Tour du Pin (n.d.), *Vers un Ordre Social Chrétien*, (Paris), vii.

not permitted to adhere to the school of those who place the interests of parties above religion and make religion the servant of those interests."[21]

Suspicious of independent social action by laypersons, Pope Leo XIII called for priests to lead the formation of lay groups that would actively respond to the dominant social issues, such as labour conditions, through the formation of workers' associations. Although similar groups had been created under the guidance and approval of local bishops in individual dioceses as early as the 1860s, an official universal recognition of larger Catholic social movements, particularly Catholic Action and the Jocist movement, predominated during the papacy of Pope Pius XI (1922-1939). Jocists, as a specialised movement of Catholic Action, rallied Catholic youth around the goal of changing economic and social institutions through an organised technique of "see, judge, act." Founded by a Belgian, Joseph Cardijn, the young workers' movement offered "a specialised method of social action in line with other more hierarchically approved manifestations of Catholic Action, like *Azione Cattolica* (Italian Catholic Action)."[22]

Within the principles of Catholic social teaching, principally subsidiarity, Catholic Action was perceived as clerical control of a subservient laity; whereas, the church's actual stance toward political parties and organisations in countries like Italy Germany, Spain, or Belgium reflected ongoing suspicion of both direct clerical and lay Catholic involvement. In fact, Horn and Gerard, have argued that "Left Catholicism,"

---

[21]Suprema Sacra Congregatio S. Officii, *Decretum* (29 Dec. 1926), *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* XVIII: 529-530. Also Ernst Nolte (1965), *Three Faces of Fascism: Action Française, Italian Fascism, National Socialism*, trans. Leila Vennewitz, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson), 76-77.

[22]Henry Somerville (1933), *Studies In The Catholic Social Movement*, (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, Ltd.), 118-124. Jocism, as a movement primarily in Belgium and France, in the form of the J.O.C. (*Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne*) aimed at developing the "whole person of the adolescent through religious, intellectual, moral, vocational, and social formation," 119. Yet after only a few months, nine-tenths of boys and girls aged fourteen through twenty-five formed by the movement had given up religious practice. Also Curran (2002), 31-32.

including organisations and political groups sympathetic to socialist and fascist ideology, emerged from Catholic Action groups rather than through significant support of Catholic workers' movements. Indeed, the complex nature of "Left Catholic movements" demonstrated direct, political involvement of Catholic Action groups in several European countries. For example, Horn and Gerard have cited "the close connection in Italy between Communists and Catholics and a unique political Catholicism in France."[23]

From a theological perspective, Pope Pius XI viewed the work of such movements as the continuation of the work and ministry of the early church—notably imitating the fellow workers of St. Paul—in continuing the mission of Jesus to the marginalised within society. In the encyclicals *Ubi arcano Dei* (1922) and *Non abbiamo bisogno* (1931), Pius XI provided the rationale for Catholic Action as "the participation and collaboration of the laity with the Apostolic hierarchy."[24] Catholic theologians of the time also promoted the work of Catholic Action by stressing that its members were rooted within the church as the mystic body of Christ. A.M. Crofts, O.P., one such theologian, explicated the social mission of Catholic Action as follows:

> No real progress can be made towards a well-planned campaign for Catholic Action until the laity are widely and thoroughly instructed in the meaning of the mystic Body of Christ.[25]

For Pius XI and many Catholic theologians, an all-inclusive purpose, diffusion of responsibility, and social cohesion of the members of Catholic Action and other voluntary associations emerge from the common good, subsidiarity, and solidarity—

---

[23]Gerd-Rainer Horn and Emmanuel Gerard, eds. (2001), Left *Catholicism 1943-1955 Catholics and Society in Western Europe at the Point of Liberation*, (Leuven: Leuven University Press), 10.

[24]Pope Pius XI (23 Dec. 1922), *Ubi arcano Dei, Acta Apostolicae Sedis* XIV: 695. Pope Pius XI (29 June 1931), *Non abbiamo bisogno*, *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* XXIII: 285-312. Quotation cited from par. 5.

[25]A.M. Crofts, O.P. (1936), *Catholic Social Action*, (London: Alexander Ouseley Limited), 23.

principles developed and given official church approval in an encyclical commemorating the fortieth anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*.

In *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931)[26], Pius XI reiterated and extended the teaching of Leo XIII regarding these three key principles within the corpus of Catholic social teaching: the common good, subsidiarity, and solidarity. Although the popes outlined their understanding of these principles to support their own plans for social reconstruction, the principles themselves provide an opening for multiple, concrete applications.

As will be demonstrated in the five historical case studies in chapters two through four, these three CST principles when enacted as grass-roots practices for co-operative economic development provided an impetus for both personal and communal action which privileges a person's dignity and freedom. A distinction must be made between practices by an individual as an acting person and those practices achieved through collective action. Catholic social teaching, in general, privileges both human dignity and liberty of the person. For instance, the principles of solidarity and the common good serve the ends of the human person; whereas, the principle of subsidiarity protects the individual person against control by collective action and allows a person freedom for individual decisions. I will argue that grass-roots practices, which enacted these CST principles, privileged both the dignity and freedom of the individual person through Catholic-sponsored co-operative associations contrasted with other hierarchically-controlled private associations, like most Catholic Action groups, or top-down oversight by government co-operatives.

---

[26]Pope Pius XI (1990), *Quadragesimo Anno* (15 May 1931), in Claudia Carlen, I.H.M., ed., *The Papal Encyclicals 1903-1939*, (Raleigh, NC: The Pierian Press), 415-443. Subsequent quotations cite the paragraph numbers of this encyclical.

While Pius XI issued his teaching within the context of a world-wide depression following the stock market crash in 1929, he also continued the policy of a tightly defined hierarchical church. The lay apostolate reflected this outlook through an emphasis on clerical, ecclesial leadership. However, a theological elucidation of the lay apostolate provided some room for free and competent action by laypersons themselves:

> The Christian takes his share in it, not so much because he is invited and exhorted to do so by the Vicar of Christ; rather he is so invited and exhorted because of what is in him by grace…so the lay apostle is also divinely constituted.[27]

By virtue of a person's baptism and confirmation, two sacraments of initiation into the church, the grace given by God not only incorporates an individual as a member of the mystic body of Christ but also intensifies the action of participation within the life and mission of the church. The life and mission of the church actualise these principles of the common good, subsidiarity, and solidarity through a reflective social practice (or praxis) of its members: persons, clergy and laity, united as one body in Christ.

These social principles and their relationship to the world, state, and society are officially outlined within *Quadragesimo Anno*. Pope Pius XI emphasised that the harmony of a social order, based upon mutual help and service, should result in a single organism or common body "while chief consideration ought to be given to the weak and the poor" (no. 25). First, in recognising that every person, family, and voluntary association in society be allowed to pursue a fullness of well-being—viz., principle of the common good—Pius XI restated the positive requirements of this principle vis-à-vis the state:

> With regard to civil authority, Leo XIII, boldly breaking through the confines imposed by Liberalism, fearlessly taught that government must not be thought a mere guardian of law

---

[27]Crofts (1936), 38.

> and of good order, but rather must put forth every effort so that "through the entire scheme of laws and institutions…both public and individual well-being may develop spontaneously out of the very structure and administration of the State." (quoted from *Rerum Novarum*, no. 48) Just freedom of action must, of course, be left both to individual citizens and to families, yet only on condition that the common good be preserved and wrong to any individual be abolished. (no. 25)

Second, the principle of the common good aided in setting the boundaries for the church's response to concrete social and economic issues: "private ownership," "just distribution of wealth," and "just wages" (no. 74-75, no. 110). In regard to private ownership, Pius XI clearly outlined the importance of both an individual perspective on personal ownership and a social character of property:

> It follows from the twofold character of ownership, which we have termed individual and social, that men must take into account in this matter not only their own advantage but also the common good. (no.49)

Claiming authority and jurisdiction over social and economic questions that encompass moral issues, Pope Pius XI, although recognising principles proper to both economic activity and moral discipline, also argued that right reason demonstrates that the economic order depends on the moral law [meaning from his viewpoint the natural law as a person's participation in God's eternal law]. In regard to distribution of property and wealth, rather than privileging one social class (wealthy or working class), Pius XI delineated the boundaries of the state by emphasising the common good:

> …the riches that economic-social developments constantly increase ought to be so distributed among individual persons and classes that the common advantage of all, which Leo XIII had praised, will be safeguarded; in other words, that the common good of all society will be kept inviolate. (no. 57)

In order to achieve this social order according to the principle of the common good, Pius XI disapproved of a strict adherence to liberal capitalism, characterised as marginalising the social so as to exalt the individual person, and condemned

communism and nationalist socialism, viewed as sacrificing the individual for the collective, which Leo XIII had similarly taught in *Rerum Novarum*.

The organic model of a hierarchical social order—critically regarded as overly optimistic particularly by Marxist and nationalist socialist parties—called for the cooperation of all social classes working toward reform in society. In contrast, the principles for social change rooted in social-class conflict proposed by Marxists and secular socialists were viewed as inchoate, according to Catholic social teaching, because a restructuring of the social order cannot be accomplished without social cohesion achieved through the relative contributions of each person and by all social groups comprising the social order, a view of the human person and society also entirely representative within economic personalism. In effect, authentic reform of the social order also required the consideration of the proper roles of the state, community, and the individual person. Reflecting CST in offering general principles without taking concrete manifestations of the social and political order (e.g. political parties, democracy) into account, Pius XI, nonetheless, stressed the importance of intermediate, voluntary associations in lieu of advocating solutions through political parties.

Organisations and institutions of the state and the community cannot usurp those responsibilities outside their respective, legitimate domains Pius XI argued. Hence the social encyclical, *Quadragesimo Anno*, clarified the principle of subsidiarity:

> …that most weighty principle…fixed and unshaken in social philosophy: Just as it is gravely wrong to take from individuals what they can accomplish by their own initiative and industry and give it to the community, so, also it is an injustice and at the same time a grave evil and a disturbance of right order to assign to a greater and higher association what lesser and subordinate organizations can do. For every social activity ought of its very nature to furnish help [*subsidium*] to the members of the body social, and never destroy and absorb them. (no. 79)

The principle of subsidiarity, on one hand, recognises the self-responsibility of persons as individuals and as members of social groups (e.g. families, voluntary associations, communities) in cases where they are capable of self-help. Yet, on the other hand, subsidiarity as a principle permits, even obliges, the state to assist persons and social groups in cases where they are no longer able to aid themselves or in cases where the common good would be better served.

This connection or link between the principle of the common good and the principle of subsidiarity mutually considers which social-structural association (i.e. family, voluntary group or state organisation) offers the best help for pursuing the well-being of all in a society in a particular context. In addition, the principle of subsidiarity both acknowledges top-down assistance by the state and larger organisations and protects bottom-up, grass-roots actions of small social groups and individual persons from being arrogated by larger organisations. Such vertical, bi-directional (top-down/bottom-up) connections between state and civil society [those intermediate associations which facilitate interaction between the state and the individual person] encompass the social relations between differing levels of state organisations and between various levels of voluntary associations in civil society; however, a principle is still necessary to account for the social relations among similar levels of the state and civil society as well as the social relations between persons themselves.

The principle of solidarity—whereby the social nature of a person leads one into relationship with other persons—primarily focuses on the horizontal social connections between persons, themselves, within families, and/or across similar voluntary associations. This conception of solidarity also encompasses the labour of a person and the social relations inherent within work. Indeed, *Quadragesimo Anno* emphasises the social character of work itself:

> It is obvious that, as in the case of ownership, so in the case of work, especially work hired out to others, there is a social aspect also to be considered in addition to the personal or individual aspect. For man's productive effort cannot yield its fruits unless a truly social and organic body exists, unless a social and juridical order watches over the exercise of work, unless the various occupations, being interdependent, cooperate with and mutually complete one another, and, what is still more important, unless mind, material things, and work combine and form as it were a single whole. Therefore, where the social and individual nature of work is neglected, it will be impossible to evaluate work justly and pay it according to justice. (no. 69)

This multiple characterisation of personal labour and its social aspect serves as the linkage between the principles of solidarity, subsidiarity, and the common good which informs grass-roots practices for social justice of co-operative economic development promoted by the Catholic pioneers in Nova Scotia and the Caribbean.

In general, persons work not only for their own good but for the good of all in society—enacting a principle of the common good. In entering into social relationships with one another, persons may freely decide on a specific work in which they will engage expressive of one's personal liberty. Enacting a principle of subsidiarity, persons without coercion from the state or large organisations and through a principle of solidarity choose the form of labour in which they will engage. In addition, these same persons may organise themselves into voluntary social groups (e.g. workers' unions, co-operative societies, worker-owner partnerships) that will strive not only to meet their own personal material needs but also to contribute toward the good of each and everyone in society (common good).

The success of these various labour structures, however, depends upon openness to the common good, the integrity of subsidiarity, and the strength of solidarity. Privileging one social class over another; maintaining hierarchical control at the expense of horizontal decision-making; and dissembling personal trust or shared social

responsibility reflect a tendency toward social isolation and lack of social cohesion not only in regard to labour but also in promotion of just socioeconomic structures by the state and civil society.

Yet, in the eight instances of "social justice"—a term first here introduced into the corpus of official Catholic social teaching—in *Quadragesimo Anno*, Pius XI links social justice to the following themes: wages/rights of personal property; the needs of the common good; and social charity (i.e. solidarity) [*Acta Apostolicae Sedis* (1931) XXIII: 177-228]. While acknowledging a necessary link between a principle of the common good and social justice, Pius XI privileges a hierarchical social structure wherein the wealthy provide for the common good through social charity: "the rich are bound by a very grave precept to practice almsgiving, beneficence, and munificence" (no. 50). Despite attention to the issues of private property and just wages affirming the interests of the working classes, Pius XI argued that employers and large property owners (wealthy class) must be mutually solicitous: "one class is forbidden to exclude the other from sharing in the benefits. Hence the class of the wealthy violates this law no less, when, as if free from care on account of its wealth, it thinks it the right order of things for it to get everything and the worker nothing…" (no. 57). Still, as Joe Holland notes, Pius XI implemented a socioeconomic strategy "reaching out to the expanding industrial working class by support for unions and for social-welfare intervention by a reformed liberal state."[28] However, Pius XI's conception of social justice maintained an affinity for the hierarchical, aristocratic voluntary associations (i.e. guilds) of pre-modern Christendom. Notwithstanding papal objections, the social practice of clergy and laity in Europe promoted the formation of Catholic political parties, which Pius XI sought to suppress; whereas, in Nova Scotia and the Caribbean, grass-roots voluntary

---

[28]Holland (2003), 294.

organisations comprising both clergy and laity focussed on immediate socioeconomic needs as perceived by persons themselves and in collaboration with other, non-Catholic organisations for co-operative development.

A social justice that emphasises not only a principle of the common good, as does Pius XI's conception, but also includes principles of subsidiarity and solidarity balances mutual social responsibility between both owners and workers as well as toward others in society. Moreover, the latter two principles grasp the multiplicity of social relations (viz. varying authority structures and social networks) as opposed to a papal preference for an almost exclusive top-down, hierarchical approach toward social-structural relations. Finally, all three principles when enacted can account for an authentic, diffusive potentiality for shared authority and power across social classes.

In addition to his focus on aforementioned economic and social issues of the early twentieth century, Pius XI condemned communism, especially in its Bolshevik form following the Russian Revolution (1917), acknowledging a fracturing of socialism into different strands since the late nineteenth century. Yet, he also suggested that certain forms of "more moderate socialism will no longer differ from the desires and demands of those who are striving to remold [*sic*] human society on the basis of Christian principles" (no. 114). While not condemning absolutely all forms of socialism, Pius XI allowed some space for socialism contingent upon acceptance of some key Christian principles. Nonetheless, unwilling to sacrifice Christian principles prohibiting class war (mutual hatred) or abolition of private property (except for certain forms of property deemed reserved to the state), official Catholic social teaching during the 1930s, following its predecessors, strongly rejected socialism in any form: "as a doctrine, or an historical fact, or a movement" [no. 117; also Curran (2002), 199-200]. In the end, the socialist conception of society could not be reconciled to the Christian

understanding of society—one that affirms an ordering toward and an end for both the human person and society in God.

Reiterating key ideas of his predecessors, Pope Pius XII in *Mystici Corporis Christi* (1943) upheld the hierarchical and organic structure of the Catholic Church. By further developing the idea of the mystical body of Christ, Pius XII stressed the duties of all its members toward those whose needs were not being served:

> Seeing Christ in the Church—…they will take to their hearts those members who are the object of our Saviour's special love: the weak, the wounded, and the sick who are in need of material or spiritual assistance; children whose innocence is so easily exposed to danger…and the poor, in helping whom we recognize, as it were, through His supreme mercy, the very person of Jesus Christ. (no. 93) [29]

In addition to respecting hierarchically-directed labours by Catholic Action groups, the pope exhorted all members of the mystical body of Christ of their responsibility of "working hard and constantly for the building up and increase of this Body." Moreover, he iterated, those members of pious associations must "realize that their energetic zeal is of the highest importance and of the greatest weight."[30]

During the 1940s, various sodality[31] groups in the Caribbean and Catholic Action associations perused and debated the significance of *Mystici Corporis* for concrete daily life. These groups initially gathered for shared, religious reflection and formed social bonds through their associations directed toward achieving social justice in their local contexts. Through mutual trust and cohesive purpose, characteristic of social capital formation, some of these same voluntary associations mobilised

---

[29]Pope Pius XII (1990), *Mystici Corporis Christi* (29 June 1943), in Claudia Carlen, I.H.M., ed., *The Papal Encyclicals 1939-1958*, (Raleigh, NC: The Pierian Press), 37-63. Subsequent quotations will cite the paragraph numbers.

[30]Ibid., no. 98.

[31]A sodality group's purpose serves to combine Christian action and prayer by sharing one's faith within a particular community. First sodality of Our Lady had been started by the Society of Jesus in Rome-1563. Further information on sodalities in E. Villaret (1957), *Abridged History of the Sodality of Our Lady*, trans. W.J. Young (St. Louis: National Sodality Service Center Archives).

themselves for direct, grass-roots social practice while others maintained a more traditional social charity approach with continued reliance on clerical-directed social action in Caribbean contexts.

In contrast, the experience of the French and Belgian *Mouvement Populaire des Familles* and the emergence of worker priests evinced the development of new apostolic commitments and a renewed focus on social mission inspired by both "Left Catholic" theory and practice. All of these movements, in due course, extended previous Catholic movements such as the *Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne* of the 1920s and the thought of Jacques Maritain, particularly in *Humanisme integral*, during the mid-1930s.[32] While Horn and Gerard have compiled, analysed, and critiqued the influence of these left-leaning movements on Catholic thought and praxis in Europe, this thesis extends a similar approach to Catholic movements in Canada and the Caribbean. In Europe, the complexities, conflict, and eventual compromise with or condemnation of these radical movements by the Catholic hierarchy attested to a rather precarious relationship resulting in the marginalisation of these movements by the church at the end of the 1950s.

In contrast to a European context, I will argue that the case studies for Canada and the Caribbean offered a more positive interaction between CST principles—the common good, subsidiarity, solidarity—and a social practice embedded within study clubs that formed co-operatives and credit unions. This social practice, it will be further argued, achieved particular, albeit limited, forms of social capital created within the primarily Catholic Antigonish movement of Nova Scotia and the Catholic inspired co-operative movements in various Caribbean islands directly connected to the Antigonish movement. These movements, unlike their European counterparts, appeared more

---

[32]Gerd-Rainer Horn (2001), "Left Catholicism in Western Europe in the 1940s," in Gerd-Rainer Horn and Emmanuel Gerard, eds., *Left Catholicism 1943-1955 Catholics and Society in Western Europe at the Point of Liberation*, (Leuven: Leuven University Press), 16. Also Holland (2003), 224-229.

sympathetic to participatory democracy and, like their European confreres, accepted a moderate socialism that neither rejected personal ownership of property nor arrogated personal liberty of the acting person through collective social action or by government fiat.

In summary, a historical formulation of key Catholic social teaching principles, coextending from *Rerum Novarum* (1891) to *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931) through *Mystici Corporis Christi* (1943), indicates one dimension of a social foundation adapted and applied within particular co-operative development movements animated by Catholic diocesan priests, foreign missionaries, and the laity. The Antigonish movement in Nova Scotia and affiliated movements across the Caribbean region actualised through grass-roots practice, within their own concrete socio-political contexts, particular principles of the common good, subsidiarity, and solidarity. Within various organisational structures and strategies seeking social reform in Canada and some areas of the Caribbean, these co-operative movements included small, self-organised associations. These study club groups not only reflected systematically upon the principles within Catholic social teaching but also addressed communally the economic and social needs of their own countries and communities through social capital formative practices. In order to understand more comprehensively a relationship between social justice and social capital within its nexus, the following section critically addresses social capital, both conceptually and practically, within current academic debates across various social science disciplines.

1.2 Critical assessment of social capital theories: toward a modified conception

Three scholars across various academic disciplines—Pierre Bourdieu (philosophy), James Coleman (sociology), and Robert Putnam (political science)—emerge from the academic literature as the major contributors to the current debate on the theoretical conception of social capital. Within an evolving understanding of three forms of capital—economic, cultural, and social—Pierre Bourdieu defined social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance…which provides each of its members with the backing of collectively-owned capital."[33] Through an empirical study of a connection between social inequality and educational advancement, James Coleman defined social capital within a specific context: "social capital is the set of resources that inhere in family relations and in community social organizations and that are useful for the cognitive or social development of a child or young person."[34] Popularising the concept of social capital within a wider political discourse, Robert Putnam focuses on civic engagement of individuals to preserve democratic structures from which he offers the following definition: "by 'social capital' I mean features of social life—networks, norms, and trust—that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives."[35]

---

[33]Pierre Bourdieu (1997), "The Forms of Capital," in A.H. Halsey, H. Lauder, P. Brown, and A. Stuart Wells, eds., *Education: Culture, Economy, Society*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 51.

[34]James S. Coleman (1988), "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital," *American Journal of Sociology* 94 (Supplement): S98.

[35]Robert Putnam (1996), "Who Killed Civic America?," *The American Prospect* (March): 66.

Each of these definitions privileges social capital either as a means or an end to civic participation in society; focuses on the beneficial effects of communal participation either for society in general or for a particular community; or assumes that social relations are homogeneous both within networks and across social groups. Moreover, in the current debate on a theoretical conception of social capital, these three approaches to social capital are critiqued for conflation of purpose, breadth of scope, or imprecision of meaning by scholars of sociology, economics, and political science who have integrated a concept of social capital into their respective academic disciplines.

From the start, the popularity of social capital within various academic disciplines means a multiplicity of approaches to the concept have fomented a critical debate among both theoreticians and practitioners of social capital research. Among the major criticisms of Bourdieu, Coleman, and Putnam the following general questions have emerged from this debate: First, in what ways does social capital "shift the focus of analysis from the behaviour of individual agents to the pattern of relations between agents"?[36] In other words, how does social capital distinguish personal agency from collective agency? An additional criticism queries the scope of social capital:

> Second, there is a question of whether social capital is a substitute for or a complement to government action; that is, does social capital work in conjunction with good government, or does it serve as an alternate form of social protection? Third, while Putnam argued that social capital is important at the societal level, more recent studies have focused on the effects of social capital at the individual, familial, and community levels.[37]

---

[36]Tom Schuller, Stephen Baron, and John Field (2000), "Social Capital: A Review and Critique," in Stephen Baron, John Field, and Tom Schuller, eds., *Social Capital Critical Perspectives*, (Oxford University Press), 35.

[37]Andrew Holm (2004), "A (social) capital idea: making development work," *Harvard International Review* 25(4): 24.

In answer to his critics, Putnam in particular has shifted his definition of social capital by recognising some limitations and negative consequences of social capital on society and within social groups. For example, in response to Alexander Portes who argues that "Putnam fails to account for the dark side of social capital in society and within social groups," Putnam now acknowledges the negative characteristics and effects of social capital attributed to "highly exclusive and strongly knit relations in groups like the Mafia and street gangs."[38]

Another specific critique of Putnam centres on his tendency to characterise social relations as mostly homogeneous. Indeed, in order to defend his view against those who claim his work does not address power and conflict, Putnam recently has added depth to the debate in emphasising two different forms of social capital: bonding social capital and bridging social capital.[39] Schuller, Baron, and Field state that bonding social capital "refers to the links between like-minded people, or the reinforcement of homogeneity" while bridging social capital "refers to the building of connections between heterogeneous groups; these are likely to be more fragile, but more likely to foster social inclusion. Putnam argues that there may well be trade-offs, or tensions, between the two forms."[40]

Moreover, seeking to sharpen the definition of social capital, Putnam shifts the focus away from norms of trust toward reciprocity within structured social relations:

> …social capital is closely related to what some have called "civic virtue." The difference is that "social capital" calls attention to the fact that civic virtue is most powerful when embedded in a sense network of reciprocal social relations. A

---

[38]A. Portes and P. Landolt (1996), "The Downside of Social Capital," *The American Prospect* 26:18-21.

[39]Robert Putnam (2000), *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, (New York: Simon Schuster).

[40]Schuller, Baron, and Field (2000), 10.

> society of many virtuous but isolated individuals is not necessarily rich in social capital.[41]

Despite its detractors, social capital offers a theoretical concept for analysis of intra-group social relations embedded within specific social networks and inter-group social relations autonomously accessed through social networks. The debate over the conceptual boundaries of social capital no doubt will continue; however, within the scope of this thesis, social capital, approached as an economic, sociological, and political conception of relationships within and across social groups, adds depth to the analysis of the various co-operative development associations of Nova Scotia and the Caribbean formed through the mutual practices of Catholic pioneers and their collaborators.

Already having outlined, in section 1.1, the three principles of Catholic social teaching—the common good, subsidiarity, and solidarity—which underscore a potentially enacted social justice, I now turn toward a comparison and contrast between the concepts of social justice and social capital. In addition to the popularity of social capital theories in economics, sociology, and political science, a few scholars, like Simon Szreter, have traced the precursor ideas of social capital while also offering a history of social capital within the context of a particular society. Szreter introduces a historical connection between social capital and human resources in Britain: "How long has social capital been important? Although a newly-coined term, the phenomenon it describes has probably been significant to some extent in the health and efficiency of all market societies."[42] James Farr, in his conceptual history of social capital, argues

---

[41]Putnam (2000), 19.

[42]Simon Szreter (2000), "Social Capital, the Economy, and Education in Historical Perspective," in Stephen Baron, John Field, and Tom Schuller, eds., *Social Capital Critical Perspectives*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 69. Also Robert I. Rotberg (2001), *Patterns of Social Capital*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

that John Dewey, a key contributor toward philosophical pragmatism especially in informal education, and Edward Bellamy, an American utopian socialist, contributed to the concept from the beginning of the twentieth century: "...social capital conveyed a democratic and egalitarian vision based on solidarity: namely, labour and social wealth should be shared cooperatively."[43] These early voices for social reform based on a view of social capital arising from solidarity and the common good challenge most current historical accounts of social capital.

Indeed, this then becomes a point of departure in understanding how social justice and social capital connect theoretically and practically and, consequently, leads toward a modified conception of social capital. First, a concept of social justice as it emerges from Catholic social teaching differs from a secular, functionalist understanding presented by historical voices such as those of Dewey or Bellamy. Second, in Part II of the thesis, the case studies will demonstrate that Catholic co-op pioneers organised within study clubs mobilised grass-roots practices for social justice which proceeded directly from a close reading and an extended study of the aforementioned Catholic social encyclicals (in section 1.1) resulting in creation of socioeconomic development projects in Nova Scotia and the Caribbean.

Social justice, on one hand, provides a theoretical concept inclusive of the following CST social principles: (1) orientation toward the common needs of all (common good), (2) diffusion of authority, power, and decision-making (subsidiarity) and (3) preservation of social relationships between individual persons and among social groups (solidarity). Social capital, on the other hand, as a theoretical conception includes the following characteristics: (1) social reciprocity within collective action (social trust as a principle), (2) access to available social resources through structured

---

[43]James Farr (2004), "Social Capital: A Conceptual History," *Political Theory* 31(1):20.

social relations built upon trust (social networks), and (3) multiplicity of social networks that bond relations within groups or bridge relations across groups (social organisation as bonding/bridging forms). In regard to the preservation, regulation, and promotion of social relationships (vis-à-vis principles of solidarity/ subsidiarity/ and the common good) or the organisation of social networks (bonding/bridging forms of social capital), a distinction must also be drawn between the relative strength of these social ties within various social networks.

For both personal action and collective, grass-roots practices, the relative strength of social ties within a network of social relations results in varying levels of social justice and social capital formation. Consequently, the aforementioned theoretical principles of social justice and characteristics of social capital also correspond to specific, practical aspects. Intensity of personal and group action affect levels of an enacted or achieved social justice; whereas, strong or weak social ties affect organisational cohesion through bonding social capital or organisational openness by bridging social capital.

In the ongoing debate over strong and weak social ties within and across social groups, Granovetter and Woolcock have argued that social networks in which members are embedded generally reflect the strength of social relationships within a particular group. Yet strong ties do not necessarily imply high levels of social capital because an excessive level of social cohesion within a group may act as a deterrent to forming social relationships outside the group. In contrast, weak ties, characterised by relatively autonomous social networks, likely contribute to a broad network of social relationships across social groups. Within a social networking process—or collective social action—the tension or balance between autonomous (weak) and embedded

(strong) social ties allows for a particular economic and social development (e.g. self-help groups also formed to create co-operatives).[44]

One key principle of social justice—solidarity—in relation to social capital indicates that strong (or dense) social ties as opposed to weak ties have primary affinity with either bonding or bridging forms of social capital. Robert Putnam, himself, uses the term solidarity in relation to these forms of social capital:

> Bonding capital is good for undergirding specific reciprocity and mobilizing solidarity…Bridging networks, by contrast, are better for linkage to external assets and for information diffusion…Moreover, bridging social capital can generate broader identities and reciprocity, whereas bonding social capital bolsters our narrower selves[45]

His understanding of solidarity suggests an effective mobilisation of reciprocal relations supported by strong social ties through a bonding form of social capital. Yet, in doing so, he offers a functionalist view of solidarity. A principle of solidarity in Catholic social teaching proposes a more fundamental conception of solidarity than that argued by Putnam. Solidarity, in a Catholic social teaching perspective, privileges persons in their entirety—as ends in themselves—over and above the social ties (as the means for access to resources) that strengthen collective relationships. In other words, solidarity in CST privileges the acting person such that the dignity and liberty of the human person cannot be sacrificed for any advantages—in personal membership itself or resources gained—through collective association.

Portes, a critic of both Coleman and Putnam, calls for a clear distinction between social group membership itself—viewed by Portes as properly defining social

---

[44]M. Woolcock (1998), "Social Capital and Economic Development: Towards a Theoretical Synthesis and Policy Framework," *Theory and Society* 27 (1):151-208. Also M. Granovetter (1985), "Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness," *American Journal of Sociology* 9 (3): 481-510.

[45]Putnam (2000), 22-23.

capital—and the resources that are accessed through membership in such groups.[46] This approach devalues issues of power and conflict, Portes further argues, because the social resources that are collectively accessed have been marginalised from the conception of social capital itself. Even though many negative consequences of social groups, like the Mafia and street gangs, have been accounted for within Portes's argument, he does not fully offer, in the end, an account of power and conflict stemming from differential availability of social resources in his version of social capital. However, by linking a concept of social justice within CST to a foregoing critique of social capital, I propose a modified conception of social capital that points toward a more careful and distinctive analysis of access to social resources formed through either strong or weak, bonding or bridging social ties inclusive of potential tensions and conflicts arising from differences in diffusion of authority and power. In practice, both solidarity and subsidiarity interplay with a purpose of meeting the needs of the common good: an enacted social justice and integral social capital.

Sections 1.1 and 1.2 have broadly addressed, respectively, three linkages of Catholic social teaching principles as fundamental for social justice and the conceptual contributions or challenges of current social capital theories. In the following section, explicit connections between social capital and social justice will be further developed. In addition, a modified conception of social capital inclusive of its formative, grass-roots practices through voluntary associations will be more fully delineated.

---

[46]A. Portes (1998), "Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology," *Annual Review of Sociology* 24:4.

1.3 The nexus: interlink between social capital and social justice

In the following four subsections, social capital interlinked with social justice—referred to as a social capital-social justice nexus—will outline how this nexus provides a means for testing three hypotheses of the thesis and for allowing an in-depth analysis of the case studies. In Part II, five cases will demonstrate connections between both theoretical principles and empirical practices all within the context of Catholic voluntary associations comprehensively organised through three social characteristics for co-operative economic development projects: (1) primary principles, (2) social networks, and (3) group structures.

Social justice, inclusive of broader socioeconomic changes within society, strictly encompasses in this thesis three primary principles of Catholic social teaching. Still, first and foremost the human person, acting in liberty within a dynamic, mutual relationship with both state and civil society structures, holds the most fundamental position as opposed to a group within a social capital-social justice nexus.

Social capital, as a structured bonding and bridging of social relations, refers throughout the thesis to the following modified, conceptual definition: availability of both embedded and autonomous social resources within specific, social networks mobilised by group practices for social justice. Embedded resources correlate with high levels of bonding social capital (strong solidarity); whereas, autonomous resources reflect either low bonding social capital or high bridging social capital levels (strong subsidiarity). For example, this high level of bridging social capital privileges one group's relative access to autonomous social resources through a particular person's social ties to an outside group. This particular form of social capital privileges group access to social resources. Yet, in doing so, it respects an individual person's freedom

in making decisions for the benefit of the group. This modified conception also more accurately accounts for conflicts between individuals and within groups. In this conception, as my own definition of social capital, I borrow both bonding and bridging social capital concepts from Putnam; apply a contextual and collective approach like Coleman; and modify limitations to accessed social resources proposed by Nan Lin.

First, borrowing from Putnam, bonding social capital means internal, embedded relations within a social network with access to social resources that would otherwise be unavailable to the individual members of the network; whereas, bridging social capital means the relatively autonomous social connections by individual members of a particular social network with external individuals or groups providing access to social resources. Second, clarifying Coleman's approach, access to social resources varies according to the specific (contextual) social structure in question; moreover, these resources are gained for the benefit of individual members and the social group as a whole (collective). Third, in privileging social networks and social capital as investment in social relations, Nan Lin defines social capital as: "resources embedded in a social structure that are accessed and/or mobilized in purposive actions."[47] In making his definition more distinct, he proceeds to clarify purposive action in (1) instrumental actions and (2) expressive actions. The former point to vertical linkages accessing "gains of added resources" (e.g. wealth, power, status). Expressive actions—or horizontal linkages—encompass "maintenance of already possessed resources" (e.g. physical health, mental health, and life satisfaction).[48]

---

[47]Nan Lin (2001a), *Social Capital A Theory of Social Structure and Action*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 29.

[48]Nan Lin (2001b), "Building a Network Theory of Social Capital," in Nan Lin, Karen Cook, Ronald S. Burt, eds., *Social Capital Theory and Research*, (New York: Aldine De Gruyter), 13 and 21.

At first glance, expressive actions appear to have an affinity with a CST principle of solidarity. In fact, Lin defines solidarity as "the degree of sentiment and legitimacy regarding another's resources, as expressed by a collectivity's actors."[49] His focus on a collectivity contrasts with a focus on the acting person by CST's principle of solidarity. First, by combining these two conceptions of solidarity, one specific link between social justice and social capital leads to an initial component of a nexus framework. Second, instrumental actions point toward social capital with collective, vertical access to resources; similarly, a principle of subsidiarity, which has already been demonstrated as a vertical diffusion of power through collective action capable by the smallest possible group, manifests an additional link between social capital and a potentially enacted social justice. Third, collective action privileged by social capital signifies some affinity for a principle of the common good: an inclusive link between social capital and another principle of social justice which seeks to meet the needs of all within a social group.

These theoretical linkages between social capital and social justice also have more practical points in common which can be applied in analysing the empirical cases of the thesis. Moreover, as theoretical concepts, both social capital and social justice provide a theoretical frame permitting an analysis of specifically, practical contents within a social capital-social justice nexus.

As a test for the first hypothesis, linking bonding social capital to a principle of solidarity will serve as one point of entry for the analysis of the strong, internal relationships within Catholic-organised co-operative groups. Other social links such as the weaker ties these groups manifested in social relations and shared co-op practices with government-sponsored co-operatives and/or private co-operatives provide an

---

[49]Lin (2001a), 140.

additional practical linkage point in a social capital-social justice nexus. Hence, a bridging social capital linked to a principle of solidarity provides a means for analysing weaker social ties within various external social networks of the various co-operative movements in Nova Scotia and the Caribbean.

Evidence demonstrated in the five case studies will reveal that the study club, as both an organisational structure and educational method, which bonded and bridged social ties (social capital aspects of the nexus) among members and across external voluntary associations, primarily facilitated the formation and establishment of co-operatives. The study clubs, in all five cases, will attest that these bonding/bridging social ties were rooted within an adult educational method and Catholic social philosophy (social justice aspects of the nexus) based on the Antigonish movement in Nova Scotia.

A test for the second hypothesis evaluates the diffusion of authority and power within both the state and civil society. Recalling the definition of subsidiarity as the most appropriate level of self-help and responsibility within social structures which prevent a usurping of authority/power by larger state organisations or civil society structures, this principle of social justice serves as a practical measure for a bi-directional (top-down/bottom-up) diffusion of authority and power in decision-making processes.

Unlike most social capital theories, however, a principle of subsidiarity acknowledges and addresses power conflicts within or across social groups. However, one caveat of this test for conflict follows: a theoretical concept of conflict in Catholic social teaching, itself, remains tightly circumscribed within particular boundaries since it does not acknowledge social-class struggle as a natural state of humanity.[50] Social

---

[50]Curran (2002), 199-200.

capital theory, however, often remiss in its accounts of power and conflict primarily concentrates its focus on reciprocity in relationships and access to resources through collective social networks. Yet, membership in a social group that provides divergent levels of access to socioeconomic resources implies that conflict and power disputes will arise within and across social networks. Hence, an added benefit can be derived for an analysis of co-op structures and practices through incorporation of this practical measure of subsidiarity within a social capital-social justice nexus.

In the co-operative practices of the Catholic co-op pioneers and missionaries which will be presented in the five case studies, strong evidence will demonstrate that democratic, self-help social structures—rooted within an emphasis on the freedom and human dignity of the acting person and established within new social networks by these same pioneers and missionaries—resulted in lay leadership and grass-roots social action. The democratic structures, while allowing some degree of subsidiarity in practice, placed certain lay leaders in positions whereby they could bridge social networks with outside co-operative leaders, extending personal social advantages; yet, these same authority structures created internal tensions within study clubs and co-operative organisations. Within many study clubs and emerging co-operatives, this same social-structural (organisational) dynamic fostered some degree of solidarity within the study groups or co-operatives because of the added benefits to the group from a particular individual's connection to an external social network.

Finally, a test of the third hypothesis examines a relationship between voluntary associations formed by social capital aimed at enacting social justice practices for the common good which received ecclesial recognition from the Holy See and local hierarchy in Canada and the Caribbean. Collective action mobilised through voluntary associations, particularly co-operatives and credit unions, involves two types of grass-

roots, democratic practices: (1) acts by and for the personal benefit of individual members, and (2) acts affecting the good of those persons external to an associative group including benefits to society as a whole. Evidence from the case studies affirms the following conclusion: By the late 1940s, these self-help, democratic practices, received specific recognition by most English-speaking members of the Catholic hierarchy in Canada; whereas, in the Caribbean, reception of these grass-roots co-op movements by local bishops proved to be mixed.

An analysis of these practical structures, social relations, and socioeconomic effects by grass-roots co-operative associations can be evaluated through these tests of the three hypotheses. The following subsections of this chapter discuss how each test will examine interlinked aspects of a social capital-social justice nexus.

1.3.1 Practice of Catholic co-operative pioneers and missionaries: bonding social capital linked to a principle of solidarity (social justice)

As a test for the first hypothesis regarding study club social structures and practices, this subsection addresses bonding social capital linked to a principle of solidarity and in relation to other structural associations present within the various co-operative movements in Nova Scotia and the Caribbean. In fact, the Antigonish movement pioneers and Catholic missionaries in the Caribbean employed three primary components in their co-operative educational and organizational practice: the study club, the large-group meeting, and the Co-operative Extension Departments (or Schools). In the first case, a social network of workers, including the staff at the Saint Francis Xavier University Extension Department and its many volunteers, provided educational opportunities for people in the remote communities of Nova Scotia and the Maritime Provinces of Canada. A bonding of social relations between members of a particular occupation, trade, or profession within a specific community—formed as a study club—enhanced the cohesiveness of the group. The large-group meetings

provided a broader forum than the study club for mobilisation of co-operative ideas and a bridging between arrays of local social networks. Finally, the social-structural or organisational hub of co-operative development and practice centred on the access to the resources of the respective Co-operative Extension Departments of St. Francis Xavier University, Nova Scotia; St. George's College, Kingston, Jamaica; or the University of Puerto Rico, San Juan. In the cases of Catholic missionaries of co-operative development in the Dominican Republic and Dominica, linkages to the above three Co-operative Extension Departments further attested to the bridging social capital across groups in these countries as well as the bonding social capital among the Catholic pioneer leaders and their respective local social networks.

An additional common practice among these Catholic co-operative pioneers consisted in a conscientious, communal study of the Catholic social teachings, particularly those of the papal social encyclicals issued in the 1930s and 1940s. Within this body of teaching, the principle of solidarity[51]—as the recognition of an interconnectedness of all of humanity and the mutual responsibility (social charity) of all for each and every person—became internalised in some degree within the practices of the sodalities, study clubs, large-group meetings, and conferences sponsored under Catholic auspices. Indeed, within this dynamic of study and action, the practice of these Catholic pioneers of co-operative development provided a grass-roots approach within, or as an alternative to, formal Catholic Action. The effects of these communal and organisational practices manifested a bi-directional movement from a top-down educational process dominated by Catholic clergy or religious and a bottom-up practical development primarily under the direction and leadership of the laity. The dynamism

---

[51]Pius XII (20 October 1939), *Summi Pontificatus*, in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* XXXI: 423 ff wrote: "An error, today abundantly widespread, is disregard for the law of human solidarity and charity, dictated and imposed both by our common origin and by the equality in rational nature of all men, whatever nation they belong to."

of the process resided in the linkages between the various social networks through bonding and bridging social capital forms and the principle of solidarity as the foundation for openness, strength, and maintenance—together with non-Catholics—within the co-operative associations and structures in the case studies.

1.3.2 Authority structures: hierarchical/grass-roots decision-making (social capital) linked to a principle of subsidiarity (social justice)

This subsection outlines how a test of the second hypothesis, proposing a key connection between enacted CST principles and grass-roots practices, links authority structures as either hierarchical or grass-roots organisational decision-making with a principle of subsidiarity. Religious groups—including parishes, confraternities, sodalities, or parochial schools—and other voluntary associations organised for economic and social co-operation formed collective groups as extended social networks for both adults and youth. The authority structures of these groups varied within a continuum of relatively hierarchical (vertical) or grass-roots (horizontal) organisation. For example, the Catholic parish or mission church, under the leadership of a pastor and/or parochial vicars, typically manifested a hierarchical authority structure. Groups within a Catholic parish or religious school—confraternities, sodalities, voluntary associations—mostly characterised by a horizontal authority structure also maintained some degree of accountability to the hierarchical structure of the parish or school itself. Within these various religious groups, social networks offered informal support, a closely-knit environment of trust and acceptance that reinforced the networks, and readily-available social resources for both individuals and groups within these social networks. These hardly comprised isolated social organisations. More commonly, they fostered relations with other non-Catholic religious organisations or created social links to private organisations and/or public institutions.

It is important to distinguish here between those social networks that a parish or religious school facilitated among its own particular members from those networks which fostered external access to resources through parochial institutional leaders and staff. The former social networks enhanced solidarity; provided formal and informal help in times of need; and facilitated participants' access to specific social resources. The latter networks afforded access to external social networks which the parish or school then provided as communal social resources for its members, without direct participation of ordinary members in the actual network. Linkages of this sort included ties to non-Catholic denominations; social relations with community organisations and prominent community members outside the parish or school; and social networks with government agencies and other external sources of information, services, or funding.

Parishes and schools, in general, either reinforced intra-group networks—bonding social capital—or discouraged inter-group ties outside the parish or school—bridging social capital. These religious institutions also generally attempted to preserve group boundaries as relatively closed networks or opted to maintain linkages with external social networks, reflecting a relatively open policy toward social relations.[52]

Notwithstanding hierarchical or vertical authority structures in these Catholic institutions and voluntary associations, social-relational ties within and across social networks, analysed by a test for the second hypothesis outlined by a social capital-social justice nexus, also included in practice a principle of subsidiarity. According to this principle of social justice, decisions within voluntary associations should be made at the most appropriate level in the organization, that is, one should not withdraw those decisions or choices that rightly belong to individuals or smaller groups and assign

---

[52]These various distinctions of social capital in religious institutions or organisations in section 1.3.2 are all attributable to the following persons: Michael W. Foley, John D. McCarthy, and Mark Chaves (2001), "Social Capital, Religious Institutions, and Poor Communities," in Mark R. Warren, Susan Saegert, and J. Phillip Thompson, eds., *Social Capital and Poor Communities*, (New York: Russell Sage Foundation), 215-245.

them to a higher (vertical) authority. However, a higher authority properly intervenes in decisions when necessary to secure or protect the needs and rights of the common good. This principle implies that in the case of an imminent decision, one should identify the most appropriate decision-making level; whereupon, a specific authority structure can then allow how best and to what degree those individuals most affected should participate in the decision-making process. In both theory and practice, this process not only captures diffusion of power and authority at its most appropriate level when making key decisions but also distributes responsibility among social network participants and accountability within the relevant social structures. In addition to the study club, other social structures offered potential organisation or mobilisation venues affecting both ecclesial and broader societal recognition of co-operative economic development projects.

1.3.3 Voluntary associations: practical, organisational structures (social capital) linked to a principle of the common good (social justice)

As a test of the third hypothesis, proposing an ecclesial recognition by both local members of the hierarchy and the Holy See, an account of various voluntary associations—as practical structures available within the co-operative movements—evaluates not only bonding and bridging of social relationships but also an enhancement of social networks that serve the needs of society as a whole: the common good. In fact, the smallest voluntary associations organised by Catholic diocesan priests and religious missionaries, which eventually formed the basic social structures for co-operative development in Nova Scotia and various islands in the Caribbean, included confraternities, sodalities, and study clubs. While the confraternities and sodalities provided for face-to-face social interaction between members—usually either all male or all female groups—the primary purpose of these religious organisations concentrated on devotional practices and communal prayer. In fact, the importance of these groups,

especially for rural Catholics, reflected their capacity for youth formation: "The Junior Holy Name Society, sodalities, and kindred religious organizations can be used for the religious training of youth as well as for vehicles of Catholic Action…These time-honored [*sic*] religious societies of the church can be used to meet the spiritual needs of youth."[53] Another approach involved the formation of study clubs with a specific emphasis on adult education. Each study club, a group comprising between six and twelve members, would meet once or twice each week with a primary goal of engaging, over approximately one year, an in-depth focus on a particular economic or social issue commonly decided upon by its members. In most cases, co-operative development in the form of credit unions or consumer, producer, or housing co-operative societies remained the key interests of these study clubs.

The social structure and social networks of the study clubs permitted access to library resources for both theoretical research and practical organisational aspects of co-operative development. In addition, both scholars and practitioners skilled in the formation of co-operative societies provided further access to resources through academic-affiliated Co-operative Extension Departments. While initially organised by priests and religious sisters, the study clubs soon shifted toward a focus on lay leadership although maintaining strong connections, in most cases, to clerical or religious missionary guidance.

Larger Catholic organisations with interest in co-operative development included the educational and rural life conferences. Even before the first educational and social conference of the diocese of Antigonish convened in 1918, the study clubs had been promoted along with adult education as the best social-structural combination encompassing co-operative development for the common good. In 1921, Rev. Dr. J.J.

---

[53]National Catholic Rural Life Conference (1939), *Manifesto On Rural Life*, (Milwaukee, WI: The Bruce Publishing Company), par. 59 and par. 60.

Tompkins, Vice-President of St. Francis Xavier University, in Antigonish, Nova Scotia, established the People's School for adult education while continuing to promote the idea of study clubs especially among the clergy. Significantly, these ideas for a practical, bottom-up organisational structure had not primarily originated as an academic, university-oriented proposal. Rather, this approach toward meeting the rural needs of the average farmer or fisherman in Nova Scotia manifested a foundational provenance in J.J. Tompkins's own experiences and struggles of growing up among poor farming families in Margaree Forks, Cape Breton.

In December 1926, the Third Rural Life Conference, sponsored by the Antigonish Catholic hierarchy, invited diocesan laymen for the first time. With the establishment of the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University in 1928, the social structures in place—study clubs and Catholic rural life conferences—facilitated the formation of social networks and an incipient bonding social capital. In effect, these social structures not only introduced initial social ties between Catholic clergy and laity for social reform through co-operatives but also linked these Catholic pioneers with government officials from the Extension Division of the Nova Scotia Department of Agriculture which had been created by the provincial government of Nova Scotia in 1926. These nascent social networks between clergy, laity, and provincial government officials also contributed toward an economic development affecting all of Nova Scotia—a co-operative movement for the common good.

Likewise, voluntary associations—Catholic confraternities, sodalities, study clubs, and conferences—had initial influence within the Caribbean context of co-operative development in Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, and Dominica. Detailed, specific characteristics and contributions of these social structures

and networks formed in these islands will be discussed and critiqued in chapters three and four on these Caribbean cases in Part II.

1.3.4 The acting person: principle of dynamism for a social capital-social justice nexus

An internal principle of dynamism, signified as openness to and reciprocity with other persons, manifests a real "liberation of the internal impulse that prompts a people to cooperate freely in common tasks."[54] Characteristics of this internal, dynamic principle for members of study clubs and co-operatives include certain limitations of individual persons and their social ties to others. Personal freedom entails both individual limitations and responsibilities toward other group members (solidarity). Personal power/authority retains limits in its exercise and includes some responsibility for all members of one's group (subsidiarity). Personal wants are restrained by availability of resources both within and outside one's co-op group, and resources need to serve the needs of each and every person within one's group and within society (the common good).

In a dynamic process of a social capital-social justice nexus, in theory and practice, the acting person through principles of solidarity, subsidiarity, and the common good as potentially enacted social justice organises and mobilises the following collective aspects of social capital: access to social resources, diffusion of authority/ power, and bonding/ bridging forms of social networks. In the co-operative practices of the Catholic pioneers and missionaries, persons under hierarchical authority structures influenced or created new social networks and, in turn, engendered newer forms of group action for co-operative economic development. Democratic, self-help social structures established by these new social networks resulted in lay leadership and

---

[54]Roger Heckel, S.J. (1982), "On The Relevance Of The Church's Social Doctrine And Practice," in James V. Schall, S.J., ed., *Liberation Theology in Latin America*, (San Francisco: Ignatius Press), 271.

grass-roots practices. Through this process of co-operative economic development, Catholic social teaching's underlying principles upheld the primacy of the human person; while at the same time, the concrete practices of co-op voluntary associations provided collective access to social resources geared toward the personal development of each member and the group as a whole. In some cases, these same Catholic-inspired co-operative practices and organisations significantly enhanced both social capital and social justice for the common good of all within a particular society.

In preview of the five case studies (Part II) and analysis/conclusions (Part III), Caribbean missionaries and self-help associations—adapting grass-roots, study club practices from the Antigonish movement of Nova Scotia and incorporating CST principles into their organisational structures—advanced newer forms of co-operative economic development through their mission projects. Hence, in support of the principal thesis, these Caribbean grass-roots movements influenced both the attitudes and official teaching of the local bishops, albeit in varying and limited degrees, specifically regarding grass-roots co-operative socioeconomic practices. These self-help, democratic projects in Canada and the Caribbean—inclusive of organisational governance in subsidiarity, ecumenical collaboration in solidarity, and lay leadership for the common good—had informed official Catholic social teaching, at least on the local level, before these social practices became officially acknowledged by the Catholic Church at the Second Vatican Council.

PART II-CHAPTER TWO:

THE ANTIGONISH MOVEMENT OF NOVA SCOTIA

Chapter two introduces the first case study of co-operative economic development inspired and promoted primarily by two diocesan priests of Antigonish, Nova Scotia: Rev. Jimmy Tompkins and Rev. Moses M. Coady. Having both been raised on farms in Margaree Forks among the various rural farming, fishing, and mining communities of Nova Scotia, Tompkins (b. 7 September 1870) and Coady (b. 3 January 1882) as double cousins experienced the economic deprivation and daily struggles of their own family and neighbours. Through their early years of practical experience within this environment, both men upon entering the local St. Francis Xavier University (St. FXU) already possessed ideas and skills which would coalesce by the late 1920s as an impetus toward the Antigonish movement for co-operative development.[55]

Inclusive within this movement for socioeconomic change, two major themes—popular adult education and the social influence of the Catholic Church—emerged. The former originated from the People's School established by Rev. Jimmy Tompkins in 1921 with 51 men at St. FXU where Tompkins had been vice-president since 1908.[56] The latter expanded upon a generation of reflection and action by reformers like Tompkins in response to an acute social awareness of the conditions of the working-class poor as recognised by the encyclical *Rerum Novarum* issued by Pope Leo XIII in 1891.

---

[55]Jim Lotz and Michael R. Welton (1997), *Father Jimmy: Life and Times of Father Jimmy Tompkins*, (Wreck Cove, Nova Scotia: Breton Books).

[56](28 May 1921), *Halifax Herald.*

In this chapter, I will demonstrate that the study club structural method, stemming from a popular educational model of the People's School, manifested both internal cohesion (bonding) and outward extension (bridging) as social capital formation. In addition, both in study clubs and rural life conferences, Catholic social teaching served as organising principles for the fundamental philosophy of the Antigonish movement seeking an enacted social justice in communities across Nova Scotia. Finally, on one hand, political influence and negotiation by co-operative leaders underscored collective social action within the co-operative movement resulting in an initial collaboration with provincial governments in Canada; and yet, on the other hand, the Antigonish movement's pioneers maintained relative personal and group autonomy in educational associations, promotional organisations, and grass-roots practices for co-operative economic development.

2.1 Brief economic and social history of Nova Scotia, Canada/ early history of the Antigonish movement

Before joining into the Confederation of Canada in 1867, Nova Scotia had been a British colony since 1713. With the foundation of Port-Royal in 1605, a previously French colonial population dominated the province, formerly known as Acadia. These Catholic farmers, fishermen, and fur trappers eked out fairly independent lives followed by a Scottish, English, and German immigrant encroachment and the expulsion of the Acadians by the British from Nova Scotia in 1755. The Roman Catholic Church existed officially as missionary territory dependent upon the diocese of Québec before the establishment of the vicariate apostolic of Nova Scotia in 1817. After the vicariate apostolic had been raised as the diocese of Halifax in 1842 by the Holy See and the diocese of Arichat erected in 1844 (renamed in 1886 the diocese of Antigonish)

predominantly English-speaking Catholic parishes and schools would have comprised the majority ecclesial institutions in Nova Scotia with a Catholic population near twenty-eight percent of an approximate 460,000 total inhabitants at the turn of the twentieth century.[57] Overall, a political isolation of Nova Scotia from other Canadian provinces; cultural independence through strongly-knit ethnic communities; and religious influence on economic development continued well into the twentieth century.[58]

Within the social context of the late nineteenth century, one key institution founded in 1853 and given the name St. Francis Xavier College/Seminary in 1855 provided a liberal arts course of studies for men aspiring to holy orders in the Catholic Church. A majority of the Antigonish diocesan priests received their secondary and tertiary education at St. Francis Xavier College. Receiving university status in 1866, St. FXU attracted many sons of farmers, miners, and fishermen, most of whom intended to pursue careers as teachers and other middle-class professionals, while others would return to work on the farms of Nova Scotia. From the beginning of the twentieth century, several priest-professors and lay faculty members began exploring ways for the university to reach out and meet the economic and social needs of the average Nova Scotian. Herein commences the story of the Antigonish movement for co-operative development.[59]

In 1928, Father Moses Coady, a Catholic diocesan priest, was named the director of the newly created Extension Department at St. Francis Xavier University in

---

[57]Mark G. McGowan (2004), "The Maritimes Region and the Building of a Canadian Church: The Case of the Diocese of Antigonish after Confederation," *Historical Studies* (70): 48-70.

[58]S.D. Clark (1947), "Religion: The Religious Factor in Canadian Economic Development," *The Journal of Economic History* 7 (supplement): 89-103.

[59]James D. Cameron (1996), *For the People: A History of St. Francis Xavier University*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press). Cameron provides an excellent comprehensive academic source for the histories of Antigonish and its university.

Antigonish, Nova Scotia. Having studied abroad at the Urban College "de Propaganda Fide" in Rome, which had been established primarily for the training of missionaries, Father Coady returned to Nova Scotia to work alongside Fr. Jimmy Tompkins, Rev. Michael Gillis, Dr. Hugh MacPherson, and other pioneers attached to the Extension Department. Under their leadership and guidance, a combination of co-operative movement practices and adult education methods had emerged from clergy conferences and lay practical action on social issues in response to the economic depression and poverty in Nova Scotia during the late 1930s.[60] Recognised as a charismatic leader who exhibited great oratorical and organisational skills, Father Coady mobilised a team of academics and religious keen for economic and social reform into what would become the Antigonish movement.[61]

Along with Father Jimmy Tompkins, who had been working in rural villages around Antigonish, Nova Scotia since his assignment to the Stella Maris parish in Canso in 1923, Father Coady began travelling up and down the island meeting with fisherman and farmers. By 1930 the pair of priests, through an invitation from the provincial government, had helped organise the United Maritime Fishermen, in Halifax, into a marketing co-operative.

Over the next several years, the Antigonish movement established marketing, producer, and consumer co-operatives throughout Nova Scotia. Using the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University as an organisational and resource base which bridged social relations across voluntary associations, the co-operative pioneers

---

[60]A.B. McDonald promoted co-operative marketing and Dr. Hugh MacPherson, professor of science at St. F.X. Univ., organised agricultural co-operatives. These men and others at St. F.X. collaborated with Rev. Tompkins and Rev. Coady in the rural and industrial conferences held annually from 1923 [James D. Cameron (1996), *For the People: A History of St. Francis Xavier University*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press), 212-213.]

[61]Sr. Irene Doyle C.S.M. (18 July 2002), interview by author, written notes, Antigonish, Nova Scotia.

combined a foundational philosophy—group action based on ideas of voluntary self-help and social justice—with a fundamental structure—adult education through study club methods.[62] The critical and collective examination of local problems by participants, themselves, through study clubs initiated by Coady and Tompkins, adopted a grass-roots approach to the economic and social problems of the mid-1930s.

2.1.1 Pioneers of the Antigonish movement

Co-operative societies in many forms had existed in Nova Scotia before Rev. Dr. Jimmy Tompkins and Rev. Dr. Moses Coady introduced their own programme for economic and social reform in Nova Scotia. As early as 1861, the coal miners of Stellarton, Nova Scotia had established a consumer co-operative. During the early twentieth century, fishermen and farmer co-operatives were founded; yet, in general, most of these early co-operative organisations ended in failure due to the lack of education, a deficiency in organisational skills, and an absence of group commitment by their members.[63]

In response to the general lack of adult education and organisational skills, Father Jimmy Tompkins through local discussion groups and study clubs prepared the foundations for the establishment of credit unions and community libraries across the Maritime Provinces of Canada. As parish priest of St. Joseph in Reserve Mines, Cape Breton in 1935, he became a pioneer in co-operative housing. In fact, the first study group subsequently to establish co-operative housing in Nova Scotia acknowledged the

---

[62]See Appendix One for a detailed description of the "Study Club" particularly in its methods and techniques.

[63]Alexander Fraser Laidlaw (1961), *The Campus and the Community: The Global Impact of the Antigonish Movement,* (Montreal: Harvest House, Ltd.), 83.

contributions of this early leader of the Antigonish movement by naming the new venture Tompkinsville in 1936.[64]

Rev. Dr. Moses M. Coady, another originator and leader within the movement, recognised in Rev. Tompkins the characteristics that exemplified the Antigonish philosophy. Here was a man who believed that "all ordinary men and women if exposed to the right ideas could achieve their desires through the exercise of their own capabilities." Through a practical process of adult education organised through the structure of a study club, these fishermen, farmers, and miners could learn and speak for themselves while striving to achieve the goal of meeting their economic needs within co-operative organisations.[65]

2.1.2 Structures and techniques for co-operative development and co-operative enterprises in Nova Scotia: 1928-1948

Through the inspiration of Rev. Dr. Jimmy Tompkins, the introduction of libraries for rural workers and co-operative ventures in housing, the impetus for a more formal structure culminated in the establishment of the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University in 1928. The first director Rev. Dr. Moses M. Coady and a small staff of co-workers put into practice Father Tompkins's idea of bringing the university to the ordinary adult. By 1934 the Extension Department had succeeded in forming 915 study clubs with an enrolment of approximately 8,000 adults.

In an address to The Co-operative League Congress, Father Coady summarised the goal of the Extension Department:

> It is the fundamental principle of the program sponsored by the St. Francis Xavier University that this adult education program should issue in economic ventures by the people. Education is conceived

---

[64]Sr. Irene Doyle C.S.M. (18 July 2002), interview by author, written notes, Antigonish, Nova Scotia.

[65]Rev. Dr. M. M. Coady (n.d.), "Brief Account of The Various Phases of Dr. J.J. Tompkins' Activities", Unpublished document [St. FXU Archives].

> as the means whereby an individual, or a group are enabled to exploit the possibilities of life…At this time in particular we all realize that the economic problem is the great one, and it is highly important that study should begin at this end…A great deal of the study material has to do with the principles of an economic group action.[66]

The farmers, fishermen, miners, and labourers, themselves, recognised the importance of the study club and focussed on local economic needs as the key issue within the Antigonish movement. Father Coady and staff members of the Extension Department promoted education as the means for improving the economic condition of life in the Maritimes. In doing so, these early pioneers were convinced that through education self-help voluntary associations, like co-operatives, would allow persons to achieve economic goals by organised group social action.[67]

Through the initial guidance of Rev. Dr. Moses Coady as director of the St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department and Angus B. MacDonald as the assistant director, extension activities were outlined by both men. Structures instrumental to the goals of the movement included the following: "cultural and vocational short courses (both on and off campus), leadership courses, correspondence courses, study clubs, radio courses, technical and folk schools, night schools, lectures, library services, publishing, debates, community centre programs, and rural and town improvement competitions."[68] These efforts aided the extension leaders' rationale to reach as many fishermen, farmers, and miners as possible while offering flexibility and breadth in the means to foster the movement for adult education and economic renewal throughout the Maritimes.

---

[66]M.M. Coady (November 1934), "Ways to Cooperative Economic Policy", Personal papers of Rev. Dr. Moses M. Coady, 13 [St. FXU Archives].

[67]M.M. Coady (n.d.), "The Future," *Masters of Their Own Destiny*, Original manuscript (unpublished) 1-10 [St. FXU Archives].

[68]Cameron (1996), 218.

One of the more successful organisational structures of the movement—the study club—served as a method for organising those who could not attend traditional lectures in regular schools. A typical study club consisted of three to no more than twelve persons who would come together once a week in order to discuss and argue a topic previously chosen by the group after having read some material pertinent to the agreed upon subject. A leader, appointed by the members of the study club, called the group together for a systematic discussion lasting no more than an hour.

In general, the study club selected one particular subject for study and discussion over a period of several weeks before moving onto another subject. The Extension Department provided the materials and lesson plans as well as suggested readings.[69] While the primary aim of the study club focussed on the serious examination of a subject (for example, the need for locally and readily available finance) another key aim stressed the social advantages of the study club structure that fostered personal relationships, camaraderie, and trust—elements of bonding social capital and solidarity—between the members.[70]

Before the first credit union in Nova Scotia came into existence at Reserve Mines, the rural community studied for a whole year the feasibility of creating a co-operative organisation. With the aid of Mr. Roy Bergengren—a director of the Credit Union National Association (CUNA) in Madison, Wisconsin, and the staff of the Extension Department at St. Francis Xavier University—legislation had been promulgated through the Credit Union Societies Act (Chapter 11, Acts of Nova Scotia 1932) in order to create the necessary legal structures for the credit union. Subsequently, in other communities throughout Nova Scotia, both small study clubs

---

[69]See Appendix One for details of subjects, lesson plans, and study materials.

[70]St. Francis Xavier University Department of Extension (1930), *Study Clubs*, (Antigonish: The Department of Extension) [St. FXU Archives].

and larger group meetings—comprising many study clubs influenced by Antigonish practices—served as catalysts toward the foundation of many more local credit unions.

The advantages of the co-operative credit union allowed the community members of Reserve Mines a readily available source of finance for small consumer purchases including educational and personal expenses. In addition, the co-operative production in lobster factories, consumer co-operative stores, and co-operative marketing that emerged over the next decade in Nova Scotia needed the financing that the co-operative credit unions supplied to the growing co-operative movement throughout Nova Scotia.[71] In fact, by 1938, members of co-operatives in Nova Scotia included approximately 10,000 persons with 142 credit unions, 11 fish production plants, and 17 lobster factories.[72]

2.1.3 Recognition of the Antigonish movement by the local hierarchy and the Holy See

Before the establishment of the Extension Department at St. Francis Xavier University, the clergy of the diocese of Antigonish held four educational conferences between 1918 and 1921. Most Rev. James Morrison, bishop of Antigonish (1912-1950), had sponsored these conferences and—in recognition of the early work in organising study clubs and instituting a People's School for popular adult education at St. Francis Xavier University by the then vice-president, Rev. Dr. J. J. Tompkins—supported the ongoing formation of study clubs throughout the diocese.

On one hand, Bishop Morrison, writing to one young priest at the university, implied through his approval of the study clubs that the structure and organisation of

---

[71]Joseph MacIsaac (1938), *Credit Unions*, (Antigonish: St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department), 7-12 [St. FXU Archives].

[72]A. Alexander (1997), *The Antigonish Movement: Moses Coady and Adult Education Today*, (Toronto: Thompson Educational Press), 88. The overall population of Nova Scotia comprised 578,000 persons (*Census of Canada 1941*). Hence, an estimated two-percent of the total population of Nova Scotia were members of co-operatives in 1938.

these groups, as a condition, be under the leadership of the priests in the diocese: "If you can take up this work of directing these Study Clubs where they now exist and organizing others where they do not, but should exist,...I should like to encourage all I can the work of such Study Clubs."[73] On the other hand, the rector of the Cathedral, Rev. John R. MacDonald, who would become bishop of Peterborough in 1943 and co-adjutor bishop of Antigonish in 1945, had served as a member of the executive committee for the Permanent Educational Association[74] in the diocese of Antigonish. Acknowledging the need for more lay involvement in the promotion of study clubs, Rev. John R. MacDonald "preached from the pulpit for the active involvement of more laymen from Antigonish to take up their duties toward their fellowmen."[75] From these objectives, emphasising adult education and leadership, issued by the rural life conferences of the diocese of Antigonish beginning in 1923, the laity soon became the central actors for social change in Nova Scotia rather than passive participants solely under the direction of the clergy.

Notwithstanding the call for more active lay participation and leadership from some within the clergy, Bishop Morrison continually emphasised the guiding role of the clergy and the organisational merit of St. Francis Xavier University in his praise for the Antigonish pioneers who had achieved great gains over the five years (1929-1934) following the creation of the Extension Department. In recognition of their achievements, he wrote:

---

[73]Most Rev. James Morrison, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, to Rev. T. O'R. Boyle, St. F. X. University, TLS, 17 February 1922, Fonds 4/1/1 [Chancery (Antigonish) Archives].

[74]The Permanent Educational Association established in 1920 included the following objective: "3) To propagate Christian Social Principles and encourage the necessary means for their application, especially through the establishment of Study Clubs and publicity through the press." (12 August 1920), *The Casket.*

[75]Peter A. Nearing (1975), *He Loved The Church: The Biography of Bishop John R. MacDonald*, (Antigonish, Nova Scotia: Casket Printing & Publishing Co., Ltd.), 16-17.

> That this praiseworthy and patriotic effort on part of the University is being favourably appraised by the general public,…while in no small measure has this progressive movement captured the imagination of the public both in Canada and the United States…The coordinated efforts of the clergy and the laity have been admirable in this matter since its inception, and this encouraging example of united effort cannot but have the most hopeful results.[76]

Despite this praise and encouragement of the incipient Antigonish movement, the financial realities incumbent upon the bishop forced him to seek alternative ways to subsidise growth in operations of the Extension Department and its publication of study club materials. The Extension Department of the university had been allocated sixteen-thousand dollars per year since 1928 from the diocese of Antigonish. Hence, an appeal would be made to the people of Nova Scotia for financial aid in support of the operating expenses of the Extension Department. Through the ongoing financial support of members from the 952 study clubs throughout Nova Scotia in 1935, the Antigonish movement continued to expand and the interest of other dioceses, including the Holy See itself, peaked within a decade of its official organisational establishment.[77]

In fact, in an official letter (no. 167788) dated 8 March 1938, Eugenio Cardinal Pacelli, Secretary of State, speaking in the name of Pope Pius XI, both acknowledged and applauded the contributions of the Antigonish movement. Cardinal Pacelli (who would himself become Pope Pius XII on 2 March 1939) expressed to the Antigonish pioneers through Bishop James Morrison:

> Of late, however, something that is taking place in your country has come to his [Pope Pius XI] knowledge which has brought him great joy…I speak of your effort in the social sphere, which, far and wide, is known by the common designation as the Antigonish

---

[76]Most Rev. James Morrison, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, to Reverend Father (surname unknown), TLS, 30 July 1934, Fonds 4/1/1 [Chancery (Antigonish) Archives].

[77]Most Reverend James Morrison, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, to Very Rev. Canon Philippe Casgrain, Archevêché de Québec, Québec, P.Q., TL, 2 May 1935, Fonds 4/1/1, Folder 99 [Chancery (Antigonish) Archives].

> Movement. And since this redounds to the great glory of yourself and the teachers of St. Francis Xavier University, the Holy Father gladly adds, to the general expression of admiration and congratulation, his own tribute of praise.[78]

Having received such a letter from the Holy See attested to the growing recognition of the movement; moreover, its reception demanded an eager response from Bishop Morrison promising to continue the work of the co-operative movement in Nova Scotia. In letters to the Apostolic Delegation, represented by Rt. Rev. Mons. Umberto Mozzoni, in Ottawa, Canada and to the bishop of Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, Bishop Morrison voiced both genuine surprise and gratitude on behalf of the Antigonish pioneers. "How the Vatican got a line on our modest efforts…is more than I can surmise," he wrote; "Anyway, I never brought the matter up with them in any shape or form, and the receipt of such a letter was a most agreeable surprise to us all."[79] This initial response of the Holy See to the Antigonish movement stressed the underlying Catholic social principles "in such a way that the full teaching of the encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno* may be put into practice."[80] However, the tone and language of the letter acknowledged that the practice of Catholic (Social) Action remain under the direct guidance and leadership of the clergy.

2.1.4 The Antigonish movement: extension beyond Canada

As news of the co-operative and adult education achievements spread via the media in Canada, the United States, and many foreign countries, the Antigonish movement increasingly received recognition for its successes in Nova Scotia. Soon

---

[78]Eugenio Cardinal Pacelli, Segretaria di Stato di Sva Santita dal Vaticano (no. 167788), to The Most Reverend James Morrison, Lord Bishop of Antigonish, TLS, 8 Martii 1938, 3, RG 5/12/25322-25324 [St. FXU Archives].

[79]Most Rev. James Morrison, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, to Most Rev. J.A. O'Sullivan, Charlottetown, P.E.I., TLS, 26 April 1938, Fonds 4/1/1, Folder 109 [Chancery (Antigonish) Archives]. Most Rev. James Morrison, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, to Rt. Rev. Mons. Umberto Mozzoni, Ottawa, Canada, TLS, 12 April 1938, Fonds 4/4/1, Folder 109 [Chancery (Antigonish) Archives].

[80]Pacelli (8 March 1938), 3-5.

many throughout the world who were interested in co-operatives queried the staff of St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department about the materials and methods used in its co-operative economic development. Sister Irene Doyle, C.S.M—one of the more important women administrators of the early Antigonish movement—emphasised that several key ideas based not only on solid principles of co-operation but also upon an underlying social philosophy contributed to the popularity of the movement. Among the key ideas responsible for the growth of the Antigonish movement, Sister Doyle mentioned the following three as particularly significant: "There is an unlimited potential within each person; people studying together can find opportunities to help themselves through co-operation rather than mere competition; and all people have the right to sufficient goods of this world for living in human dignity."[81]

Sister Doyle echoed the ideas of the dignity of the human person and the universal destination of goods predominant within Catholic social thought. Rev. Coady, himself, having been formally trained in the tradition of St. Thomas Aquinas at the Urban College in Rome, also voiced the language of this particular philosophical perspective in his public lectures and addresses. However, in practice, he tended to downplay the efficacy of the Antigonish movement as merely arising from a specific view of Catholic social philosophy, which was not the only perspective underpinning the Antigonish movement. Indeed, Coady, on one hand, like the democratic socialists of the 1930s and 1940s, embraced the idea of a moderate socialisation of industry; yet, on the other hand, as a member of a Catholic radicalism of his day, he maintained a level of suspicion for state interference in industry and civil society.

Ultimately, a tension arose between three types of social action advocated by the Antigonish movement—economic co-operation, informed political activity, and the

---

[81]Sr. Irene Doyle, C.S.M. (18 July 2002), interview by author, written notes, Antigonish, Nova Scotia.

socialisation of certain industries. This organisational tension, as the historian Welton argued, could be expressed when Coady wrote: "[that these forms of social action] led logically to the control of the cultural and spiritual agencies now used by powerful individuals and groups to determine the kind of society we live in."[82] While Coady's use of the term "agencies" refers primarily to the social and religious groups that sought to promote and develop study clubs and co-operatives as an alternative to the capitalist control of industry in Nova Scotia during the 1930s, the term could also apply to the personal agency of local and foreign actors (those interested in the ideas, methods, and techniques of the Antigonish movement). Within a few years of the founding of the St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department, various persons from countries in Africa, India, and the Caribbean travelled to Nova Scotia in order to observe and study first-hand with the pioneer Antigonish leaders.

Among the foreigners interested in the Antigonish movement, several travelled from Jamaica, West Indies. In 1939, Edward N. Burke studied the movement and helped introduce the application of Antigonish structures and materials to the nascent co-operative movement in Jamaica. Father John Peter Sullivan, S.J. also journeyed from Jamaica to Nova Scotia during 1944 gathering materials and gaining experience in techniques for co-operative credit unions that he helped to pioneer. Jamaican government officials also came to learn from the leaders of the Antigonish movement [a more detailed and in-depth treatment of these individuals will be presented in chapter three, Part II of the thesis]. As the Antigonish movement continued its extension across the Maritime Provinces, its growing popularity in Africa, South Asia, and the Caribbean appeared to have been influenced not only by its unique approach to adult education

---

[82]M.M. Coady (n.d.), *Masters of Their Own Destiny*, Original manuscript (unpublished) [St.FXU Archives] quoted in Michael R. Welton (2001), *Little Mosie from the Margaree: A Biography of Moses Michael Coady*, (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing), 128.

using the study club structure and techniques but also by its interpretation and adaptation of Catholic social teaching in its practices.

2.2 Antigonish movement philosophy: influences of Catholic social teaching/ self-help and voluntary associations

2.2.1 Roots of the movement in the principles of Catholic social encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* (1891), *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931), *Mystici Corporis* (1943): links to a co-operative philosophy

Reiterating the primogenitors of the modern co-operative movement—the Rochdale pioneers of England in 1844—who strongly endorsed the neutrality of the co-operative enterprise and religion, Rev. Dr. Moses Coady acknowledged this principle of voluntary association within a practice of open membership. Yet, at the same time, he vigorously defended the principle of right reason. Coady argued that although co-operative business should not become captive to "sectarian religion does not mean, however, that religion and co-operation will bear no relation to each other. Co-operation needs religion and religion needs co-operation." One cannot, of course, distinguish a Buddhist co-operation from a Catholic or Protestant co-operation. Rather, for Coady co-operation referred to "natural truths acquired by the light of reason."[83]

Religion and co-operation are not to be completely indifferent to one another. What attracts the religious person to the principles and ideas of co-operation lies both in its social philosophy of self-help and the relatively cohesive relationship among the members strengthened by religious belief. Father Coady had been inculcated by the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas while in seminary; moreover, as a priest and scholar he was influenced by the Catholic social encyclical. Indeed, the contribution of Catholic

---

[83]M.M. Coady (n.d.), "Co-operation and Religion," *Masters of Their Own Destiny*, Original Manuscript (unpublished), 14 [St. FXU Archives].

social doctrine to the movement remained remarkably influential as the ensuing discussion will demonstrate.

The first modern social teaching issued by Pope Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum* (1891) maintained a careful distance from social reform based on violent revolution or class warfare. On the fortieth anniversary of this landmark social encyclical, Pope Pius XI issued *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931). This document was drafted in strict secrecy by the German Jesuit priest Oswald von Nell-Breuning, who while not permitted to consult others when drafting the encyclical admitted later that he was influenced by the solidarism—a system of social and economic philosophy—of Gustav Gundlach and Heinrich Pesch, S.J. The latter generally recognised as the originator of the principle of solidarity markedly influenced the ideas written in *Quadragesimo Anno*.[84] In this social encyclical, moreover, Pius XI disapproved of a strict adherence to either liberal capitalism or classical socialism as Leo XIII had similarly taught in *Rerum Novarum*.

Although both Leo XIII and Pius XI advocated economic structures of society based upon a system of medieval guilds or corporatist organisations maintaining an almost trenchant monarchical and anti-democratic stance, they also critiqued the economic and social changes ushered in by the industrial age and its accompanying severe economic depression. Pius XI, in *Quadragesimo Anno*, furthermore, warned of the dangers inherent within "the free competition of forces…which have originated and spread all errors of individualist economic teaching (no. 88)."[85]

Rev. Dr. Coady, while in principle agreeing with the teaching of *Quadragesimo Anno*, diverged from Pius XI in several respects. First, his conception of society

---

[84]Oswald von Nell-Breuning (1986), "The Drafting of *Quadragesimo Anno*," in Charles Curran and Richard McCormick, eds., *Readings in Moral Theology No. 5: Official Catholic Social Teaching*, (New York: Paulist Press), 67.

[85]Pope Pius XI (1990), *Quadragesimo Anno* (15 May 1931), in Claudia Carlen, I.H.M., ed., *The Papal Encyclicals 1903-1939*, (Raleigh, NC: The Pierian Press), 415-443. Subsequent quotations cite the paragraph numbers of this encyclical.

appeared more radical than the view expressed within the encyclical. Coady viewed society more within a communitarian perspective than as a strict opposition between individualism, on one side, and communism, on the other side. Coady often wrote and spoke about the role of community as comprised of persons seeking the common good—all the social conditions that are required for providing a life of dignity for all members of society—through self-help neither completely constrained nor dependent upon the government of the state (principle of subsidiarity). Second, Father Coady embraced democratic principles much more readily than Pius XI. In fact, a co-operative philosophy reflected in the discourse and literature of the Antigonish pioneers clearly advocated the one person/ one vote policy within the democratic process of the study clubs and co-operatives. This democratic process, moreover, would be linked to the communitarian purpose of society in promoting the common good of all citizens.

In effect, Coady expressed this perception and purpose of society and its relation to religion in light of co-operative principles:

> Religion dictates as a fundamental principle that social justice should obtain in the world…Charity is necessary that justice may be merciful…Co-operation reinforces the idea of charity in a new and powerful way…Our present system with its jungle ethics makes it impossible for these people to contribute their share to human progress…if we build society on cooperative principles…If we changed it from an aggregation of fighting individualists to an integrated body of coordinated and cooperative cells, every individual person could then be a better…member of the organic whole.[86]

The language echoed the papal imagery of society as an organic structure, yet Coady eschewed the hierarchical structure of society portrayed within *Quadragesimo Anno*. He accorded co-operative principles as not only reinforcing the idea of personal charity—as an active, creative practice and not merely an economic handout—but also

---

[86]M.M. Coady (1939), *Masters of Their Own Destiny*, (New York: Harper and Row; reprinted in *Commonweal* 6 October 1939), 9.

acknowledging the role of both personal and communitarian contributions in achieving social reform. A personal role in social reform reflects the importance of social justice for Coady; whereas, the communitarian contributions—co-operative cells—point toward a key role for social capital formation in both bonding and bridging social relations among and across these cells.

Democratic principles, in actual practice within a co-operative movement, manifested the importance of education as a liberating force for the masses which Coady strongly advocated. Critical of liberal capitalism as a system that stifled personal potential for the good of the community, Rev. Moses M. Coady paid lip service to the Catholic encyclical's characterisation of the organic structure of society; however, he mitigated any pre-determined hierarchy allowing for a creative interface between structures existent within society and social capital manifested by a specific community. Stressing the role of democratic principles within his view of society he stated: "We, who realise the value…of education, have nevertheless used our educational facilities to foster and perpetuate a false philosophy and an economic system that makes democracy and self-rule an impossibility for the masses of people."[87]

Expanding upon these conceptions of society and democracy, Father Coady and the other leaders at St. Francis Xavier promoted education through the social structure of the study club at the community level while steering their promotion of co-operatives through a middle course on a societal level between their own perception of liberal capitalism and totalitarian collectivism. On one hand, the stark and simple dichotomy between capitalism and collectivism tended to lend discursive weight to Coady's speeches and public addresses. Yet, on the other hand, the brazen, spirited language

---

[87]Rev. M. M. Coady (1938), "Educating the Masses," *The Canadian Nurse* 34: 477.

without nuances comes across as a naïve characterisation of the economic, social, and political processes in Nova Scotia during the 1930s and 1940s.

Throughout Nova Scotia, Bishop James Morrison echoed the position of Pius XII in *Mystici Corporis* stressing the need for "organized activity in putting these [moral/social] principles and ideals into practice where…the doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ is the basis for Catholics of all cooperation."[88] Bishop Morrison, however, viewed Catholic Action strictly as the organised lay apostolate under the direction of the hierarchy. Moreover, the principles placed into practice by the laity, according to the bishop, reflected a hierarchy of values with the spiritual having primacy over temporal human affairs whereby the "temporal is spiritualized and raised to new dignity by reason of its association with the spiritual."[89] This perspective barely coincided with the approach of the early pioneers of the Antigonish movement who organised lay groups closely aligned to co-operative principles followed by those of the Rochdale pioneers.

In contrast to the position of the bishop, Rev. Moses M. Coady, Rev. J.J. Tompkins, and the other pioneers started from the practical, economic needs of the people while not denying their spiritual necessities. Unlike Bishop Morrison, their emphasis on social change and action began with the self-recognised needs of the people themselves. Contrary to their bishop, the Antigonish pioneers also believed that clerical leadership must be "active and sympathetic"; otherwise, the religious leader "loses for religion and for society the following of the people."[90] The Antigonish

---

[88]Most Rev. James Morrison (ca. 1945), "Adult Education For Social Action: The Church's Duty to Teach," Unpublished paper, 1-4, Fonds 5/2/3, Folder 36 Social Action [Chancery (Antigonish) Archives].

[89]Ibid., 3.

[90]"The Antigonish Way" (1943), Canadian Broadcast Corporation Series quoted in Alexander F. Laidlaw, ed. (1971), *The Man from Margaree Writings and Speeches of M.M. Coady Educator/Reformer/Priest*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stuart Ltd.), 79.

pioneers rooted their co-operative economic development in the principles of the Catholic social encyclicals; however, their practice diverged from the strictly hierarchical, top-down, approach officially approved by both the Holy See and the local hierarchy in Nova Scotia, Canada.

In summary, the discourse and practice of the Antigonish movement underscore the ideas of democracy, social justice, and self-determination advocated by Coady and other leaders of the movement. Indeed, these interests and ideas when situated within the social context of Nova Scotia and the influence of Catholic social teaching principles reveal the movement's connection to a communitarian focus on economic development, with access to an existing social capital (both bonding and bridging forms), through its process of adult education within self-help, voluntary associations.

2.2.2 University extension department: social capital and formation of study clubs through adult education

While co-operative associations had existed in Canada since 1861, few co-operatives organised educational programmes or established confederations. The Co-operative Union of Canada, as one such exception, had been formed in 1909 by workers and farmers from Ontario and Nova Scotia as a national and educational organisation for local co-operatives.[91] As an intentional commitment of academic resources and professionals devoted to co-operative development in Canada, the Extension Department at St. FXU maintained its focus on non-traditional adult students not only availing resources directly to a variety of persons but also organising these same persons into small study groups. These groups, in turn, allowed the formation of social networks between members and across study clubs creating social capital through this newer form of educational extension service.

---

[91]Ian MacPherson (1984), *Building and Protecting the Co-operative Movement: A Brief History of the Co-operative Union of Canada, 1909-1984*, (Ottawa: Co-operative Union of Canada).

During the late 1930s, the Antigonish movement emerged in order to actualise what, heretofore, had been only an exhortation toward infusing economics and politics in Canada with authentic Christian principles. The new social order envisaged included the co-operation between capitalist businesses and working-class labourers. While not reliant upon co-operatives to replace the majority of the production, marketing, and finance provided by capitalist firms in Nova Scotia, Coady believed, however, that by using the process of adult education through study club structures and techniques, the leaders and members of the Antigonish movement could cultivate the values needed in reforming their society. Labelled as a "middle way," the goal as viewed by one leader associated with the Antigonish movement—Rev. James Boyle—proclaimed the driving inspiration of this particular movement:

> Our success in building this middle way will depend upon our faith in the Eternal, our faith in the power of ideas, our faith in freedom and our faith in personal action. If we have lost our faith in any of these, then civilization is doomed by the forces of the Right and the Left—both barbaric and decadent.[92]

Critics may view the underlying call for a middle way as either idealistic or naïve; yet, the leaders of the movement, all the more, maintaining a resolute distance from communism believed that their programmes and aims of group action were more realistic than the alternatives available through the existing liberal capitalist economic system. While the Catholic social encyclicals suggested that liberal capitalism symbolised an exaggerated emphasis on the needs of the individual person at the expense of the common good, communism, likewise, typified another view, contrary to Catholic social principles, and one condemned by most intellectual leaders within the Antigonish movement. Very Reverend D.J. MacDonald, President of St. Francis Xavier

---

[92]Rev. James Boyle (1937), *A Middle Way*, (Antigonish: St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department), 8 [St. FXU Archives].

University, went so far as to attack what he saw as "the extremes of both capitalism and communism." The purpose of the Antigonish movement, for MacDonald, Coady, and other early leaders, proclaimed to activate, develop, and mobilise the personal potentialities of both men and women of all occupations and faiths while at the same time acknowledging the role of the state in seeking to serve the common good.[93]

At first glance, the Antigonish movement appears to have been an exclusively Catholic social movement started by priests and a select group of male leaders chosen from various groups of workers—farmers, fishermen, and miners. Yet, a broad and deep perspective reveals that non-Catholics as well as women played a significant role within the movement. Herein, the practice of linking various religious groups reflected one specific, bridging form of social capital. Despite diversity of belief, a range of religious groups acted mutually in the establishment of co-operatives across Nova Scotia.

The study clubs were, in fact, open to all people regardless of race, gender, or creed. Indeed, a pair of United Church ministers—Rev. Norman McKenzie and Rev. John Wayling—worked with the Extension Department at St. Francis Xavier University. After studying the techniques of the Antigonish movement, they contributed to the expansion of the movement both at home in Nova Scotia and abroad in India. Another influential United Church minister, Rev. Dr. J.D. MacDonald, established many credit unions across Nova Scotia and eventually became a director of the Credit Union National Association (CUNA) based in Madison, Wisconsin.

Father Coady personally acknowledged the leadership roles exercised by several women administrators of the Extension Department. Among these women were two religious Sisters of Saint Martha—Sister Marie Michael, C.S.M. and Sr. Marie Anselm

---

[93]Very Rev. D.J. MacDonald (n.d.), "The Philosophy of the Antigonish Movement," Paper read before the *Canadian Academy of St. Thomas Aquinas*, Quebec, Canada, 11-17 [St. FXU Archives].

(Irene Doyle), C.S.M—who were instrumental in gathering materials for the Extension Department libraries and study clubs being formed across the Maritimes. These women, directly involved in administration from the beginning, also served as liaisons between Canada and many foreign countries, which increasingly expressed interest in the growth of the co-operative movement based on the structures and ideas of Antigonish. Moreover, the "cottage industries" organised by the three hundred plus women's study clubs allowed Nova Scotian women a role in producing and selling home crafts, attesting to a relatively progressive participation of women within the Antigonish movement.[94]

Sr. Irene Doyle, C.S.M. reminisced about the pioneers of the movement, providing an important oral history of its early days:

> The Antigonish Movement went beyond the formation of co-operatives and credit unions growing out from the study clubs. A transformation took place in the members of the clubs whose study issued in action. This was the real goal of the Antigonish Movement…The learning that inspired these people was a consciousness-raising experience, an awareness of the reality of their situation and of the possibility of their changing it. They grew in the ability to think and to plan and to develop strategies to make change.[95]

The Antigonish movement's philosophical principles advocated social change by including particular Christian ideas of solidarity, the common good, and social justice within its process of adult education. In addition, because the study clubs were formed with small groups who already shared a common occupation, the structure allowed members to enhance or intensify a level of trust and friendship—a bonding form of social capital—already existent among study club members. Soon the movement's

---

[94]Kathleen MacKenzie, University Archivist St. F.X. University (16 July 2002), interview by author, written notes. Antigonish, Nova Scotia.

[95]Sr. Irene Doyle, C.S.M. (4 -5 October 1995), *The Antigonish Movement Beyond the Atlantic Region*, Paper presented at Colloquium St. Francis Xavier University, 3 [St. FXU Archives].

literature and structures, like the study club and radio broadcasts, aided in transforming the philosophical discourse—as abstract Catholic social principles—into a more popular discourse, accessible across social class, race, or religion resulting in concrete social action.

The relatively fast dissemination of its ideas attested to the acceptance of the Antigonish movement by the ordinary labourer or farmer in Nova Scotia. Notwithstanding the quick growth and popularity extending throughout the Maritimes and into foreign countries, the movement's philosophical principles and popular discourse opened itself to critics and challengers in both politics and commerce.

2.2.3 Co-operative practice

In general, a major critique and objection to co-operative philosophical ideas espoused by the Antigonish movement arose from the perception that the co-operatives formed under Antigonish auspices only minimally contributed toward solving the social problems facing Nova Scotia during the 1930s and 1940s. First, most Nova Scotians were employed within occupations outside of agriculture and fishing during the early 1930s due to rapid industrialisation of the economy preceding the Great Depression. For instance, census data revealed 15,527 men (ten percent of the total male labour force) in Nova Scotia engaged in primary fishing operations during 1931. Likewise, 42,737 men (twenty-eight percent of the labour force) in Nova Scotia were employed in agricultural occupations.[96] On one hand, producer and consumer co-operative enterprises were viewed suspiciously, by local merchants and wholesalers, as leading toward socialism; yet, on the other hand, successful co-operatives, established by

---

[96]"1931 Employed in Agricultural Occupations, Decennial Census Data," *Seventh Census of Canada 1931: Occupations and Industries Vol. VII*; "Number of Persons Engaged in Primary Fishing Operations, by Province, 1878 to 1975," *Statistics Canada*; "Fisheries Statistics of Canada (Catalogue 24-201)," *Statistics Canada* [cited 3 April 2003],
All available from http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/516XIE/sectionm/sectionm.htm#Gen%20Stat. Also McInnis, R. Marvin, compiler "Total Work Force, by province and sex, census years 1911 to 1971," *Statistics Canada*, Unpublished and published census data.

Antigonish pioneers and the study club members, also threatened the potential profits of these same capitalist merchants and wholesalers. For example, by 1945 sixty co-operative stores in Nova Scotia had a turnover of three million dollars. The wholesale Canadian Livestock Co-operative in Moncton, moreover, serviced these stores, through its branches in Sydney and Antigonish, with the combined turnover for 1946 valued at one and one-half million dollars.[97] In comparison, in 1945, employees in all manufacturing industries in Nova Scotia and the Maritimes numbered 57,775 men with 119 million dollars (value added) by manufactures.[98]

In response to these critiques and challenges, the leaders of the Antigonish movement emphasised the idea that co-operatives, unlike socialist enterprises, strive for the wider distribution of personal property. In addition, while some co-operatives conceivably could have forced profit-seeking businesses to close if not managed efficiently, this did not necessarily imply that co-operatives were more efficient than capitalist enterprises. In fact, the vast majority of businesses remained within the capitalist system. Both forms of business co-existed, and co-operatives played a role in challenging the exploitation that often arose from liberal capitalists firms in Nova Scotia.[99] Despite the relatively small overall economic impact in enterprises advocated by the Antigonish movement, the co-operatives formed by its social principles and techniques gained widespread popularity both domestically and abroad by the mid-1940s.[100]

---

[97]Rev. Joseph A. MacDonald (1947), 10 [St. FXU Archives].

[98]"General Statistics for All Manufacturing Industries by Region, 1926 to 1959," *Statistics Canada*, [cited 3 April 2003],
available from http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/516XIE/sectionm/sectionm.htm#Gen%20Stat.

[99]Very Rev. D. J. MacDonald (n.d.), 21-25 [St. FXU Archives].

[100]"St. Francis Xavier Extension Department Notice" (Feb. 1948) stated: "431 credit unions with assets of $8 million (loaned to date $25 million)/ 200 co-op stores, turnover of $10million/ 3

2.2.4 Co-operation with English-speaking Canadian dioceses: influence of the Antigonish movement

Rev. John R. MacDonald, former rector of the Cathedral in Antigonish, had been appointed bishop of Peterborough, Ontario in 1943. Coinciding with his appointment as secretary to the committee on social questions at the annual bishops meeting in Ottawa, in October 1943, Bishop MacDonald entered into the national ecclesial arena which permitted him an outlet to build upon his previous experience and promotion of co-operative development based on the Antigonish movement. In addition to Bishop MacDonald, another priest of the diocese of Antigonish, Rev. James Boyle, had been appointed to the episcopate as the bishop of Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, in 1944.

Maintaining contact with some of the Antigonish pioneers—Rev. Coady, Dr. Hugh MacPherson, and Rev. Michael Gillis—Bishop MacDonald initiated programmes within the diocese of Peterborough and for English-speaking Canada which would integrate the objectives of the *semaines sociales* and *caisses populaires*, as co-operative/credit union organisations popular within the French-speaking dioceses of Canada, with the adult education, study club practices of Antigonish. In 1944, the bishop with around thirty other bishops and priests across English-speaking Canada planned the first Catholic social life conference to discuss social and economic issues relevant to both industrial and rural conditions in their respective dioceses. Of major concern to Bishop MacDonald included the marginalisation of rural issues (as opposed to the expanding industrial interests) and an emphasis on the continuing motivation within Extension Department promotion of co-operatives: "There is a real move here in Ontario in regard to rural life…I told the story of Extension to the Annual Meeting of

---

wholesales, turnover $6million/ 1 Fishery wholesale (United Maritime Fisheries), turnover $2million/ 71 houses built co-operatively with 170 under construction/ Farmers' groups, producer co-ops, totalling several million dollars in business." [St. FXU Archives].

the Peterborough Chamber of Commerce—by request of the Officers. Most of those present were not Catholics. The Extension Movement must not be let down. Too much depends on it."[101]

A more promising co-ordination and sharing of ideas among the bishops of Canada in addressing the social and economic needs of their dioceses proved imminent with the founding of the Canadian Catholic Conference (C.C.C.) in 1943 and officially approved by the Holy See in 1948. In 1945, Bishop John R. MacDonald returned to Nova Scotia as co-adjutor bishop of Antigonish. Effectively, Bishop Morrison retained the leadership within the diocese of Antigonish and Bishop MacDonald had to relegate his progressive social action proposals within the diocese. Yet on the national episcopal level, Bishop MacDonald served both in establishing a national social action office and leading the bishops as Chairman of the Social Action Department (English-speaking section) of the C.C.C. in 1948. Through the auspices of the Canadian Catholic Conference, an institution in existence almost two decades before this model of episcopal leadership had been extended to other dioceses throughout the Catholic Church by the Second Vatican Council, the Social Action Department under Bishop MacDonald's leadership desired to "not only contribute to 'winning back the masses to Christ and his Church,' but to the development of social institutions and relations that are truly Christian in character."[102]

---

[101]Most Rev. John R. MacDonald, Peterborough, Ontario, to Rev. Michael Gillis, Boisdale, Nova Scotia, TL, 23 March 1944, Fonds 5/3/1, Folder 2 [Chancery (Antigonish) Archives].

[102]Most Rev. John R. MacDonald, (1948), "Establishment of The Social Action Department," Unpublished document in the papers of Most Rev. John R. MacDonald, 1, Fonds 5/4/2, Folder 1[Chancery (Antigonish) Archives].

2.3 Challenges and critical analysis of the Antigonish movement

2.3.1 Federal and provincial government in Canada: initial support and subsequent challenge to the Antigonish movement

In Nova Scotia, the development of co-operatives within the Antigonish movement was essentially independent of Canadian government influence. Initially, the Canadian government was necessary for certain legal and organisational structures, but beyond this the Canadian government, itself, had no direct interest in establishing their own co-operative enterprises. The support of the Maritime province legislatures and members of the cabinets were mixed. Although the government of Nova Scotia through the Marketing Division and Agricultural Division "worked hand in hand" with the Antigonish pioneers, many cabinet members were opposed to the movement and "represented vested business interests."[103] Still, local groups, beginning as study clubs, formed the co-ops; however, the co-operatives required a charter from the Nova Scotian government, which also appointed registrars and inspectors ensuring that operation of the co-ops would be in order.[104]

Arising from non-political motivations and interests, the Antigonish movement responded from a primarily religious focus toward the economic and social challenges facing the average Nova Scotian during the early 1930s. No direct connections to any political party or government agency corroborated their self-assured philosophy of political neutrality. Indeed, the president of St. Francis Xavier University, Very Reverend D.J. MacDonald, proclaimed his own, albeit naïve, perception of "political neutrality" in hope of achieving what he viewed as "a balance between extreme

---

[103]Rev. Moses Coady, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, to Andrew S. Wing, Riverside, Connecticut, TL, 26 January 1938, MG20/1/2083-2084 [St. FXU Archives].

[104]Rev. M. M. Coady, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, to Rev. J.P. Sullivan, S.J., Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I., TL, 30 April 1943, RG 30.2/1/3925 [St. FXU Archives].

individualism and totalitarianism." While his views obstinately opposed socialism, he also equally opposed liberal capitalism as an underlying philosophical position of the Antigonish movement:

> Socialism advocates government ownership of land and production of goods. Other forms of collectivism so restrict the right of private property as to abolish this right. Co-operation, on the contrary, strives for a wider and more adequate distribution of property…Co-operators believe, as against Socialists, that the less government control exercises over the people the better. The more people rely on government for the solution to their problems the more they lose the power to do things for themselves; and the more they lose their liberties, the worse it is from the view of the development of their potentialities.[105]

Undisguised within Antigonish social philosophy and practice, the principle of subsidiarity clearly resounds in the emphasised balance on "less government control" and "the power [of the people] to do things for themselves." The bridging social capital formed between the Antigonish pioneers and the Government of Nova Scotia in regard to co-operative organisation, promotion, and practices defended any unnecessary encroachment by government. All the while, this form of social capital maintained the importance of serving the needs of the common good in solidarity cognisant of the strong bonds created within the co-operative movement through the educationally-focussed structure and relationally- based process of the study clubs.

2.3.2 Communism: perception of the Catholic hierarchy in Canada to a Communist threat to the church and society

One explicit rationale for social networks rooted in Catholic social principles advocated by the Antigonish pioneers acknowledged, on the part of the Catholic hierarchy in Canada, a perceived threat by communism. The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (C.C.F.) formed as a leftist, social-democratic political party in 1932 in Calgary had issued its *Regina Manifesto* (1933) excoriating capitalism,

---

[105]Very Rev. D.J. MacDonald (n.d.), 25.

hence evoking a strong counter-reaction from the Catholic Church in Canada. In February 1934 the Archbishop of Montreal, Georges Gauthier, issued a pastoral letter condemning the C.C.F. on the grounds of its "potential for class warfare, its alleged materialistic basis, and its failure to support private property."[106] The Catholic hierarchy in English-speaking Canada suspected the C.C.F. of communist leanings and advocacy. So, Bishop James Morrison issued pastoral warnings to his priests in Antigonish "to be on guard against those unscrupulous haranguers who try to make political capital out of our social educational endeavours."[107] The Catholic hierarchy in Nova Scotia and Toronto purposely promoted the co-operative social principles advocated by the Antigonish pioneers—"being studied and applied along the lines of *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno*"—as an alternative to the influence of both communist political organisers and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation.[108]

This ecclesiastical move by the hierarchy maintained a strict policy of non-alliance with any political party, particularly in regard to clerical and lay Catholic Extension workers for co-operative economic development, while also seeking to attract the support of non-Catholics.[109] In fact, a small yet relatively influential communistic weekly newspaper "had to suspend publication mainly through the appeal of the better program offered by the [St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish]

---

[106]Murray G. Ballantyne (1963), "The Catholic Church and the CCF," in *The Canadian Catholic Historical Association: Study Sessions*, (Toronto: The Canadian Catholic Historical Association), 33-45.

[107]Most Rev. James Morrison, Antigonish, N.S. to Rev. Leo J. Keats, St. Peter's, N.S., TLS, 25 September 1933, Fonds 4/1/1, Folder 93 [Chancery (Antigonish) Archives].

[108]Most Rev. James Morrison, Antigonish, N.S. to Most Rev. Andrea Cassulo, D.D., Apostolic Delegate, Ontario, Canada, TLS, 27 February 1936, 1-4, Fonds 4/1/1, Folder 101 [Chancery (Antigonish) Archives].

[109]Most Rev. James Morrison, Bishop of Antigonish, N.S., to Very Rev. Alfred Chamberland, Director General, L'Action Sociale Catholique, Québec, P.Q., TLS, 15 November 1937, Fonds 4/1/1, Folder 107[Chancery (Antigonish) Archives].

Extension movement."[110] In addition, the Holy See had also responded to the atheistic threat of communism worldwide through the encyclical, *Divini Redemptoris*, issued by Pope Pius XI on 19 March 1937. Throughout its growth in Nova Scotia and expanding influence throughout Canada, the Antigonish movement and its pioneers sustained continued allegations of its own socialist practices and philosophy.

With the outbreak of World War II and accompanied growth in industrialisation, an increasing secularisation resulted throughout Canada. Former social and political isolation experienced by farmers and working-class labourers opened outward in greater educational opportunities and political pluralism. Efforts by the Antigonish pioneers to offer an alternative socioeconomic vision in place of communism or nationalist socialism during the 1930s fostered a growing sense of ecumenism especially in Nova Scotia following the Second World War.[111] Having already bridged social networks of primary occupational groups throughout Nova Scotia and the Maritimes, Antigonish co-operators maintained an ongoing and extensive social influence through study clubs and large group meetings throughout the 1940s. The first co-operative credit union in Nova Scotia established in 1932 led to a burgeoning movement that by the mid-1940s had increased to four hundred credit unions with capital assets exceeding one and a half million dollars.[112] A mixed political economy comprising capitalist, communitarian, and nationalist aspects remained a primary goal of the Antigonish movement.

By 1951, none other than Rev. Dr. Moses M. Coady defended the Antigonish pioneers as following a philosophy of economic co-operation characterised as "not

---

[110]Most Rev. James Morrison, Antigonish, Nova Scotia to Most Rev. J.C. McGuigan, Archbishop of Toronto, Ontario, TLS, 21 January 1937, Fonds 4/1/1, Folder 105 [Chancery (Antigonish) Archives].

[111]Robert T. Handy (1977), *A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada*, (New York: Oxford University Press), 404-411.

[112]Rev. Joseph A. MacDonald (1947), "The Program", Unpublished seminar lectures, 10 and 13 RG 30.3/27/1855-1879 [St. FXU Archives].

socialism although inclusive of socialised or nationalised ownership of water, schools, electricity, and railroads." For the Antigonish pioneers a "good society" included a "four-fold ownership": (1) individual ownership of farms, homes, etc.; (2) a large measure of co-operative ownership in all economic processes; (3) some measure of socialised ownership (as listed above); and (4) an area of private profit enterprise.[113] The intellectual leaders of the Antigonish pioneers firmly desired that the co-operative philosophy and practice of the movement not give the "impression that co-operation can co-exist with socialism…Co-operation and socialism are diametrically opposed."[114]

2.3.3 Catholic response: rural life conferences; promotion of co-operatives and formation of study clubs through Catholic social principles

By the 1950s, the Catholic hierarchy in both French-speaking and English-speaking Canada continued the initial development of the social weeks (*semaines sociales*) with the wish of Pope Pius XII that "the great social problems, which Catholics must face from now on...extend far beyond the restricted organisation of the parish" while maintaining the role of the "parish as the basic social cell" and "school of social justice."[115] In fact, the first national social life conference for the entire English-speaking hierarchy of Canada convened by Bishop John R. MacDonald in August 1953 had coalesced around the social leadership seminars organised by the same bishop of Antigonish for his own diocese in 1948.

---

[113]Rev. Dr. M.M. Coady (April 1951), "Socialism and Economic Co-operation," Unpublished manuscript, 1-2, RG 44/1/7518-7519 [St. FXU Archives].

[114]M.M. Coady (n.d.), "Comments on Article, 'Socialism and Co-operation,'" Unpublished manuscript, 1-9, RG 30.3/2/370-378 [St. FXU Archives].

[115]Giovanni B. Montini, Segretaria di Stato di Sua Santita Dal Vaticano, to James Charles Cardinal McGuigan, Archbishop of Toronto, Canada, TLS, 13 July 1953, 1-5, RG 44/1/4513-4517 [St. FXU Archives].

The influence of study clubs formed through adult education techniques and co-operative practice arising from the study and practical action advocated within the diocesan rural life conferences beginning in 1924 extended the ideas and social practice of the Antigonish movement throughout the Maritime provinces. The movement catalysed the creation of social networks among co-operative pioneers and the Catholic hierarchy in Canada rooted in principles of Christian doctrine including "basic human solidarity" and "life as an integrated whole." The concrete application of these principles acknowledged "a mutual spiritual relationship which constitutes the most permanent and most effective basis for true co-operation in any and every field of effort" and "co-operation with others for the common good is Christian charity in action: credit unions, co-operative stores, co-operative housing."[116]

Working in close collaboration with the Antigonish pioneers, Bishop MacDonald aided an intensification of social capital (bonding form) of the study clubs and an extension of social capital (bridging form) through the social networks with other members of the Catholic hierarchy in Canada, the Caribbean, and Central America. In April 1955, Bishop John R. MacDonald addressed the International (Latin American) Rural Life Conference in Panama:

> The true spirit of Charity looks for opportunity to serve…How regrettable it is that otherwise good Christians stop short of the full truth. They admit that caring for the poor, the sick and the homeless are works of Christian mercy, but they nevertheless deny that it is *at least* equally Christian to attack these evils in their causes.[117]

---

[116]Most Rev. John R. MacDonald (29 February 1948), "Christian Principles Underlying the Antigonish Movement," Unpublished address delivered to the Social Leadership Seminar, St. Francis Xavier University, 1-7, RG 30.3/8/170-176 [St. FXU Archives].

[117]Most Rev. John R. MacDonald (25 April 1955), "The Mystical Body of Christ and the Co-operative Movement," Address delivered at the International Rural Life Conference, Panama, 1-5, Fonds 5/2/3, Folder 27 [Chancery (Antigonish) Archives].

He challenged a dominant liberal capitalist economic viewpoint and its accompanying social practices where "it is evident that individualism replaces solidarity and isolation of the temporal from the spiritual replaces integration."[118] Yet, the Catholic hierarchy, in official addresses to social conferences like those in Antigonish and Panama, stressed the application of Catholic social doctrine in concrete situations. In effect, the Catholic bishops argued that social principles of the common good and solidarity that are "applied to economic situations issue in participation in mutual help organisations, such as trade unions, professional associations, credit unions, and co-operatives."[119]

2.4 Summary

Combining popular education and co-operative practices, the Antigonish pioneers enacting Catholic social principles through social capital formed within study clubs and rural life conferences organised and promoted a movement for co-operative economic development recognised internationally by the mid-1940s. First, beginning from personal, practical experience with farmers, fishermen, miners, and labourers, Rev. Tompkins and Rev. Coady along with lay collaborators at St. Francis Xavier University recognised the importance of democratic, self-help action by the working-class poor. Second, from the initial educational conference in 1919 sponsored by the diocese of Antigonish and the formation of the People's School, a structural method—the study club—created an impetus for diffusion of foundational principles for social justice, particularly solidarity and the common good, and for cohesion of members, resulting in bonding social capital. Third, large-group meetings between study clubs

---

[118]Ibid.

[119]Most Rev. J.R. MacDonald, Bishop of Antigonish (November 1956), "Teaching Christian Social Doctrine through Seminaries and Novitiates," Paper Read at the Catholic Social Life Conference, Toronto, 3, Fonds 5/2/3, Folder 36 Social Action [Chancery (Antigonish) Archives].

and rural, social life conferences both in Nova Scotia and in English-speaking dioceses throughout Canada manifested social capital bridges for co-operative education, promotion, and development.

Although members of the movement studied in-depth the papal social encyclicals, particularly *Rerum Novarum* (1891), *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931), and *Mystici Corporis* (1943), the Antigonish pioneers from the beginning of their co-operative movement insisted on an ecumenical inclusiveness. Moreover, members critically adopted and creatively enacted Catholic social principles advocated by papal teaching. The practices promoted by the Antigonish movement clearly embraced democratic, self-help, communitarian structures and methods. In fact, the study clubs reflected a grass-roots approach both in organisation and mobilisation of resources. Finally, despite an initial collaboration with provincial government officials interested in co-operative economic development, once the Antigonish movement achieved both independent financing and an organisational resource base in and through the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University, the movement maintained relative autonomy from direct political manipulation and conflict with provincial and federal governments in Canada.

PART II-CHAPTER THREE:

JAMAICA

As an Antigonish-affiliated model for grass-roots co-operative projects in a Caribbean British colony, the case of Jamaica explores the adaptation of co-op philosophy and self-help practices by three sectors comprising a Jamaican co-operative movement. First, a private co-op sector of community-oriented organisations, reflecting a pro-nationalist leadership inspired by Norman Washington Manley and Thom Girvan, established early links with colonial government-approved co-operative projects as a belated response to labour riots in the late 1930s. Second, significant collaborative efforts between Manley and a religious-sponsored sector guided by the Society of Jesus through St. George's College in Kingston demonstrated early, shared co-op philosophy and common practices, particularly in co-operative promotion and education, rooted in the Antigonish movement. Third, Fr. John Peter Sullivan, S.J., a key leader within the religious sector of the Jamaican co-op movement, contributed not only to the growth of credit union development across Jamaica but also in linking co-op proponents throughout the Caribbean particularly in Dominica.

While the private and religious-sponsored co-operative sectors in Jamaica explicitly promoted practices motivated toward enacting social justice for the working classes, most private co-op organisations either were subsumed under the direction and control of the colonial government or had shifted toward more political-oriented goals. Likewise, levels of social capital formation varied widely across the co-op sectors. After briefly presenting the economic and social historical background of Jamaica, chapter three uses a social capital-social justice nexus to test the three hypotheses of the

thesis by examining the influence of study club structures and methods on social capital formation; exploring adaptation of Catholic social principles and grass-roots practices by co-op proponents in achieving an enacted social justice within the mission territory of Jamaica; and finally, determining whether or not the effects of these self-help, co-operative associations influenced either the local hierarchy, the Holy See, or both particularly regarding recognised achievement of grass-roots action.

3.1 Concise economic and social history of Jamaica

3.1.1 Jamaica and British colonialism (1837-1938)

While the indigenous culture of Jamaica originated in the traditions of the Taino and Arawak populations, the early, colonial culture of Jamaica arose from the interdependence of British rule and the African slave trade. Through an extensive system of slavery, the colonial plantation dominated the economic life of Jamaica, with sugar as the primary export crop, from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries.

After Emancipation in 1838, many former slaves settled in the mountains as small farmers while others eked out a living on marginal lands adjacent to large sugar plantations, yet the white capitalists remained dominant in all areas of economic, political, and social life. By the early twentieth century, the economy had diversified moving the country away from dependence on sugar exports and opening markets in coffee and bananas.

During the period between the First and Second World Wars, soldiers returning from overseas duty, having been exposed to ideas of class inequality and racial conflict, fomented a growing working-class militancy coupled with a new emphasis on African identity and heritage initiated in 1914 by Marcus Mosiah Garvey's Universal Negro

Improvement Association. Garvey and his sympathisers gained even more influence during the mid-1920s and 1930s, sharpening issues of race and economic inequality in Jamaica, at least, in the minds of the middle class. Escalating racial tensions between black peasants, working-class labourers, and British colonial plantation owners initially precipitated isolated labour revolts; subsequently, a broadening socio-political awareness of racial and economic injustices throughout the island agitated further violent resistance by peasants and working classes in 1938.

While innovative cultural and political ideas advocating self-expression and representation by the African majority within Jamaica hinted at a general move toward nationalism, the Colonial Office offered a contrasting perspective motivated by maintaining jobs and a safe environment for foreign investment. With a fall in the price of sugar following the First World War, despite its diversified economy, Jamaica's economic downturn reflected both a slump in demand for its agricultural exports and a global economic Depression during the early 1930s. Hence, increasing unemployment and deteriorating social conditions called for either reform or greater economic assistance for the Crown Colony from Britain.[120]

3.1.2 Religion in Jamaica: focus on the institutional influence of the Catholic Church

From 1837 until 1893, the Society of Jesus—whose members are popularly known as Jesuits—had been entrusted by the Holy See with forming the vicariate apostolic of Jamaica and providing Catholic missionaries for the British colony under the direction of the English province. During the period 1910-1925, the Catholic population in Jamaica had increased from 31,760 to 40,000 due to an influx of Catholic

---

[120]Howard Johnson (1999), "The British Caribbean from Demobilization to Constitutional Decolonization," in Judith M. Brown and William Roger Louis, eds., *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Twentieth Century*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 598-622.

Chinese immigrants and the establishment of mission parishes across the island.[121] In April 1894, the first American Jesuits from the Maryland-New York province arrived in Jamaica ministering to a minority population of Catholics until 1927 when the New England province assumed responsibility for mission parishes, schools, and ecclesial governance.[122] Bishop Thomas A. Emmet, S.J. served as vicar apostolic from June 1930 until April 1949. Only twenty-three missionary priests and one hundred religious sisters ministered to Catholic parishes and schools in Jamaica in 1930; however, within a decade, the number of priests had increased to fifty-four. Still, with the exception of St. George's College, the Catholic Church as an institution placed a distant second to the Anglican community, since the British colonial government "accorded [Anglicans] the place of honour in civic and social life."[123] With looming social unrest beginning to seethe within the sugar plantations, Bishop Thomas A. Emmet, S.J., whose health began to falter especially after collapsing at mass to celebrate the hundredth anniversary

---

[121]First bishop and fifth vicar apostolic of Jamaica: Rt. Rev. Charles Gordon, S.J. [consecrated 1889; resigned 1906]; Second bishop/ sixth vicar apostolic: Rt. Rev. John J. Collins, S.J. [cons. 1907; resigned 1918]; Third bishop/seventh vicar apostolic: Rt. Rev. William F. O'Hare, S.J. [cons. 1920; died 1927]; Fourth bishop/eighth vicar apostolic: Rt. Rev. Joseph Dinand, S.J. [cons. 1927; resigned 1929]. Francis X. Delany, S.J. (1930), *A History of The Catholic Church in Jamaica*, (New York: Jesuit Mission Press), 278-279.

[122]Francis J. Osborne, S.J. (1988), *History of the Catholic Church in Jamaica*, (Chicago: Loyola University Press), 343-344. Also papers of Rev. Francis Osbourne, S.J., RG 11/2/1, SC700 and RG 11/1, Histories, Folder 12 [Jesuit Archives].

[123]Ibid., 366 and 379.

of the vicariate apostolic of Jamaica in 1937, proved ineffective in marshalling a response by the Catholic Church to the social crisis impinging upon the colony.[124]

3.1.3 Labour revolts 1938: West Indies Royal Commission response/ economic and social conditions in Kingston

In 1938, labour unrest, in the sugar sector of the economy and dock workers, broke out into rural and urban strikes followed by riots. Growing anti-colonial opposition by an increasingly enlightened black and coloured middle class coupled with the discord of the working class and peasant farmers precipitated a study of the existing British government policy toward colonial development.

A Royal Commission under the leadership of Lord Moyne initiated an investigation into the causes of the deteriorating economic and social conditions of the British Caribbean. The political problems, however, were not to be addressed directly by the Moyne Commission. Although the British government had introduced a plan for the development of the colonies in the West Indies with the Colonial Development Act of 1929, the government placed the burden on the colonies. Funds for development projects were minimal, and the Colonial Office emphasised development which would ultimately be financed by the colonies themselves.[125]

Due to divergence in perspectives by the British government and the incipient Jamaican co-op leaders, a gap existed between the official government policies and actions taken by the working class and peasant farmers in Jamaica by the end of the 1930s. Various, nascent social movements—including the co-operative movement within Jamaica—quickly exploited a vacuum left by British government inadequacies, or even failure, in addressing the economic, social, and political calls for reform within Jamaica on the cusp of World War II.

---

[124]Ibid., 381.

[125]Johnson (1999), 598-622.

As part of the West Indies Royal Commission's report to the British government, a social survey conducted by members of Jamaica Welfare Limited—a social institution founded in 1937 without any direct government ties or funding—offered an objective account of the economic and social situation of the urban poor living in Kingston. Following severe rural riots in Western Jamaica in 1938, the violence spread into the cities including Kingston. E.P. Carter, a teacher who had emigrated to Jamaica from England and a member of Jamaica Welfare Ltd., described in vivid detail the deplorable, almost inhumane living conditions of the residents of Kingston Pen, a property owned by a Hindu landlord, whose tenants were a mixed population of Indians and Negroes.

Of the one hundred cases in the survey, reference to employment showed that most (men and women) worked as casual labourers carrying banana stems from trucks parked on the wharfside or as stevedores (men only) who loaded the bundles onto waiting ships for export. The average wage per week for a man working as a casual labourer earned 2 shillings/ 3.5 pence [cf. the price of a pound of rice (1.75 pence) and a pound of salt-pork (9 pence) sold in the neighbourhood grocery shop].[126]

Other common means of employment included domestic service, washing/sewing, pushing handcarts, and higgling—the practice of buying articles to be resold for a slight profit (average earnings 2 shilling/ 8.5 pence per week). Gardening their own crops, an occupation practised almost exclusively by Indians, provided one of the highest average weekly incomes amounting to 3 shillings/ 8 pence. The main crop of Calalu (spinach) most often was sold in markets in Spanish Town, just outside of Kingston, since the markets in Kingston were overcrowded.

---

[126]These historical accounts and all subsequent statistics in this section 3.1.3 are taken from the following: "Memorandum of Evidence: Jamaica Welfare Ltd.," November/December 1938, Colonial Office 950/110, Appendix A 2. [UWI Collection].

An exhaustive housing survey described a typical tenant yard, measuring 200 feet from north to south and 50 feet from east to west, which accommodated 51 persons (38 adults, 13 children) within 25 "rooms" constructed with matchwood or packing cases and sacking cloth, galvanised iron roofs, and dirt floors. The majority of the Negro tenants, who subleased their rooms from an Indian "yardmaster" beholden to the local landlord, had access to often brackish well water because the landlord withheld access to "Corporation" water taps since most tenants could not pay their monthly housing rents.

With only an average of 9 pence per week available to purchase food for an individual living within this "typical yard," most of the tenants subsisted on cooked bananas and small pieces of salt fish. While the Indians, on average, had slightly higher incomes than the Negroes, most of the Indians were illiterate and could not afford to send their children to already "over-crowded and ill-equipped schools." The Negroes, similarly, did not earn enough to feed their own children adequately much less provide them with sufficient clothing.

E.P. Carter's detailed survey exemplified the very harsh and destitute living conditions faced by the average Jamaican worker living within Kingston during 1938. Moreover, the general lack of steady employment accounted for "a constant flow of population from one pen to another" because the average labourer could not earn enough to pay the 6 shillings for rent each month. Despite lack of colonial government effort to alleviate these severe economic and social conditions, the importance of this survey underscored the concern by Jamaica Welfare Limited, which endeavoured to find solutions as a private social institution.

3.1.4 Social reform and incipient nationalism: emergence of political parties (People's National Party and Jamaican Labour Party)

Jamaica Welfare Limited had been formed almost concurrently with the People's National Party (PNP) of Jamaica. Norman Washington Manley, as an incipient nationalist, offered a vision for the working and middle classes hoping to mobilise them through both a welfare organisation and political party that he had created by 1938. Norman Manley, his staff, and organisers were motivated by a more politically-oriented end. The leaders of Jamaica Welfare Limited, including Thom Girvan and Eddie Burke, adapted co-operative ideas and methods from the Antigonish movement in organising groups by promotion of the study club structure; however, their underlying purpose stressed community development by raising peasant consciousness with a desire for achieving a nationalist regime, which would ultimately end British colonial rule on the island. Calling for a political as well as a personal transformation of the peasant farmer and labourer, Norman Manley found organisational means in his own People's National Party (PNP) and the co-operative self-help development projects promoted through Jamaica Welfare Limited. In fact, in February 1939, Norman Manley wrote Jamaica's colonial Governor Richards, criticising the existing constitution because it provided "no training for the future of self-government."[127]

In 1943, William Alexander Bustamante, providing an alternative voice for workers' causes, as leader of both the Jamaican Labour Party (JLP) and Bustamante Industrial Trade Union, the first trade union in Jamaica, rallied and mobilised his constituency toward a vision of self-government while championing the labour movement. With a link between the political party and the trade union, Bustamante

---

[127]"Memorandum on Constitutional Change for Jamaica," 9 February 1939, 2 and 3. Copy in the Colonial Office 137/834. [UWI Collection].

butted against the Colonial Office whose policy supported a distinct separation between trade unions and political parties. Despite differences in constituencies and political emphases, both the PNP and JLP claimed to be socialist, at least in name; moreover, they served as a means for a budding nationalist reform movement in Jamaica through the mobilisation of the working and middle classes.[128]

Within an upsurging movement for social and economic reform, Jamaica Welfare Limited, originating as a private organisation, by 1943 had become linked with the colonial government of Jamaica. Perhaps, the Colonial Office, seeing the handwriting on the wall and recognising a twinning relationship between Bustamante's Labour Union and the JLP, decided that the colonial government needed to make an effort to address the rapidly declining economic and social conditions particularly among the working classes. By gaining a position, even if at first only tangentially within Jamaica Welfare Ltd., the colonial government could attempt to mute the burgeoning calls from the constituencies of Manley and Bustamante for reform and self-government.

3.2 Missionaries of the Society of Jesus, lay co-operators and voluntary organisations

This section introduces traditional institutions—parishes and a religious college—as well as newer voluntary associations connected to an educational co-operative department organised by both Catholic missionaries and lay persons for grass-roots social action. Within the various structural methods adapted from the Antigonish movement for co-operative development, I argue that the religious sector of the co-op movement demonstrated strong, cohesive social capital formation compared to the other

---

[128]Howard Johnson (1999), 616-617.

two sectors. Shared foundational principles enacted for social justice within the early collaborative phase between the private and religious sectors of the co-operative movement in Jamaica further underscore my argument for the relevance of bonding and bridging social capital created within non-traditional, educational associations, namely study clubs.

3.2.1 St. George's College: lectures on co-operatives; Cathedral parish sodality; introduction of study clubs

In 1939, Fr. John Peter Sullivan, S.J., a member of the Society of Jesus and a missionary priest from Massachusetts, joined the staff of St. George's College in Kingston, Jamaica. A team of Jesuits had been working with small farmers, fishermen, and labourers in addressing their economic and social needs. Their efforts resulted in the formation of several small agricultural co-operatives rooted in tight social networks, bonded by religious beliefs and practices, reflected in those communities in which the Jesuits ministered. Concurrently, several officers of Jamaica Welfare Ltd., funded by large contributions from the Banana Producers' Association and the United Fruit Company,[129] had travelled to study co-operative techniques and educational practices, in England, at the Horace Plunkett Foundation[130] and, in Canada, with the leaders of the Antigonish movement at St. Francis Xavier University. The spread of the co-operative/credit union movement within Jamaica also owed its origin to the early

---

[129]Jamaica Welfare Ltd. owed the majority of its funding to the arrangements with the United Fruit Company and the Standard Fruit Company whose Board of Directors wishing to improve the rural conditions in Jamaica contributed one cent per bunch of bananas exported by the companies from Jamaica. In "Memorandum The Development of Co-operatives in Jamaica": Jamaica Co-operative Development Council to Government of Jamaica, TD, August 1945 [UWI Collection].

[130]Horace Plunkett (b. 1854/ d. 1932) founded, on 13 January 1919, with £ 5,000 a foundation to "promote courses and studies on co-operative and rural sociology subjects in England and Ireland." In order to establish a "clearinghouse of information on agricultural co-operation in the English speaking world" Plunkett further endowed his foundation with his private collection of books, moving the foundation to London from Dublin in 1924. From the *History of the Horace Plunkett Foundation* (2003), [cited 6 March 2003], available from http://www.plunkett.co.uk/history/historym.htm.

lectures (1939-1940) given by the Jesuit Fathers at St. George's College, Winchester Park, Kingston.

Assigned to teach English at St. George's College and yet deeply interested in the social and economic problems facing the average Jamaican, Fr. John Peter Sullivan, S.J. soon found an eager group of young men who desired to gather together for prayer and discussion. Fourteen members of the Cathedral Parish Young Men's Sodality (a religious group coming together to share Scripture study and social companionship), which Fr. Joseph Krim, SJ had first organised in 1935, now came under the direction of Fr. John Sullivan, SJ. The sodality group decided to form a study club focusing on the economic needs of poor labourers and their families in Jamaica. For over a year beginning in 1940, the group studied credit unions. By January 1942, after saving the paltry sum of seven shillings/ six pence, the group officially registered as the Sodality Credit Union, which in 2001 celebrated its 60th anniversary with 4,239 members and U.S. $31 million in share capital.[131]

With enthusiasm and interest for co-operation progressing, new organisational structures were formed at St. George's College. Backed by the approval of the superior of the Jamaica region, Fr. Feeney, S.J., the Jesuits embarked on an outreach programme, primarily though not exclusively, aimed at poor, less-educated workers in Jamaica through the creation of the St. George's College Extension School and Co-operative Department in 1940. Fr. John Peter Sullivan, S.J. now reassigned to full-time work in social ministry could be seen cycling around Kingston and the surrounding towns organising study clubs with various groups including: fishermen, farmers,

---

[131]"Sodality Co-operative Credit Union: 60th Annual General Meeting" (27 May 2001), (Kingston: Sodality Co-operative Credit Union Ltd.), 9. [Figures for the Fiscal Year 2000]. From Jamaica Co-operative Credit Union League (As of December 2003): Number of Credit Unions in Jamaica: 52; Number of Credit Union Members: 728,477; Savings: J$ 19.1 Billion; Loans Outstanding: J$13.3 Billion; Assets: J$23.8 Billion. [Exchange rate—Jamaican dollars per U.S. dollar: 57.741 (2003)]

teachers, and factory workers. Although private initiatives through Jamaica Welfare Ltd., government programmes sponsored by Jamaica Agricultural Society, and socio-religious movement[132] projects of the Jesuit Fathers all appear to have emerged independently of one another, clear evidence corroborates that some degree of collaboration existed as early as 1940.

3.2.2 Small-town parishes and rural missions

As Roman Catholic missionaries, the Society of Jesus had been ministering in Jamaica since 1837. By the 1930s, the Jesuits staffed both St. George's College in Kingston and most of the rural Catholic parishes and mission churches across the island. Two native Jamaican Jesuits—Fr. Sydney J. Judah, S.J. and Fr. Charles Judah, S.J.—contributed to the early co-operative movement, particularly in the rural "missions" and small towns such as Savanna-la-Mar and Port Royal. In fact, even before Eddie Burke of Jamaica Welfare had travelled to Antigonish to learn and experience the burgeoning co-operatives across Nova Scotia, Fr. Sydney Judah, S.J., himself, had studied and worked alongside Dr. A.B. McDonald and Rev. Jimmy Tompkins for several months in 1938.

Describing his new assignment as pastor of four country mission parishes surrounding Savanna-la-Mar, Fr. Sydney Judah shared his desires and embraced the challenges that awaited him. He recounted the situation to his mentor, Dr. A.B. McDonald of Antigonish, with candour and conviction:

> There is no doubt in my own mind that the problem here is completely different from that up North. You are dealing with a dispossessed people, we with people who never possessed. Your people have traditions of initiative and conquest to steel them, ours,

---

[132]The term "socio-religious movement" used in this thesis refers to those groups and persons mobilised through social action whose inspiration primarily originated within both Catholic social thought and teaching. "Social movement" refers to a broader mobilisation including private and governmental groups and persons who may not have been influenced by the Antigonish movement or inspired by Catholic teaching and thought.

> traditions of exploitation and being conquered merely, with a hopelessness of future due to their colour, that must sap the energy of all but the truly extraordinary; yours, isn't it? is a national, even a provincial problem, with international implications, ours a racial & inter-racial problem; you must face local vested interests, we, history of so-called civilization. On the other hand you started practically from scratch; we have the treasures of your experience & anxiety, not to say mere willingness, to help. En avant![133]

Yet, determined to follow the Antigonish movement's ideas and structures along the lines of marketing co-operatives and credit union co-operatives, Fr. Sydney Judah, S.J. received and distributed the study club pamphlets and other materials from St. Francis Xavier Extension Department.

Recognising that poverty was "the least obstacle" and seeking to tackle the "troubles of illiteracy…indifference & defeatism," Fr. Sydney Judah, S.J. rejoiced in small victories. By his second talk (study club meeting) with his parishioners at Savanna-la-Mar, a leader had already come forward, and the group collected £5 from "the poorest of the poor."[134] Although the initial enthusiasm of the study group allowed for an eventual £12 in capital after four months, much work would be needed particularly in basic education and bookkeeping which were almost entirely lacking among these parishioners.

A small poultry co-operative, under the inspiration of Fr. Francis Kempel, S.J., had been registered, under the Industrial and Provident Societies Law, in November 1940 in Seaford Town. Beginning with only fifteen members, the co-operative soon expanded to fifty-three in only three months. Each member was obligated to subscribe four shares at 2 shilling, 6 pence for each share, either outright or by instalments, giving

---

[133]Fr. Sydney J. Judah, S.J., Savanna-la-Mar, Jamaica, B.W.I., to Dr. A.B. McDonald, St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department, ALS, 13 October 1938, RG 30-3/15/3044-3048 [St. FXU Archives].

[134]Fr. Sydney J. Judah, S.J., Savanna-la-Mar, Jamaica, B.W.I., to Dr. A.B. McDonald, St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department, ALS, 15 March 1939, RG 30-3/15/3049-3050 [St. FXU Archives]. Fr Judah wrote: "I reckon that we spend a shilling here to the dollar up north. So, tentatively, I have fixed a share at 5/- and minimum subscription at three pence."

the group a share capital of £22. The Seaford Town co-operative continued to grow throughout its first few years including members of "all denominations [who] are invited to help in the movement, but no political groups, or groups with political tendencies." Hence, the standard, principal characteristics of co-operatives applied: Every member had one vote; no proxy voting; capital only came from the people themselves; democratic control (self-management); and no overlapping with government departments.[135]

Across the bay from Kingston in the small harbour town, Port Royal, Fr. Charles Judah, S.J., in his native Jamaican manner, regaled the townspeople with stories about the co-operatives in Nova Scotia. With the assistance of Aston Bailey, a study club modelled on the Antigonish movement grew from ten members into a registered credit union co-operative with 208 members by 1944.

3.2.3 St.George's College Extension School and Co-operative Department/ Jamaica Welfare Limited: links to the Antigonish movement

Among the various Caribbean co-op leaders who travelled to Antigonish for first-hand, practical experience and grass-roots education from the movement's pioneers, several hailed from Jamaica, West Indies. In 1939, Edward N. Burke studied the movement and helped introduce the application of Antigonish structures and methods to the nascent co-operative movement in Jamaica. Father John Peter Sullivan, S.J. also travelled from Jamaica to Nova Scotia during 1944 gathering materials and learning techniques for co-operative credit unions that he helped to pioneer not only in Jamaica but also throughout the Caribbean.

Originating within mission practices and a social teaching tradition of the Roman Catholic Church, the socio-religious movement advocated by the Jesuit Fathers

---

[135]J.S. Ascoli, "Report on Activities And Organization Of The Seaford Town Poultry Co-operative, Its Necessary Developments And How It Is Suggested That It Can Be Done For The Future Welfare Of The Rural Population Of Jamaica," TMs, 10 July 1942, RG 11/1, Box 3, Folder 23 [Jesuit Archives].

through St. George's Extension Co-operative Department appeared, at first glance, explicitly confessional and sectarian. In fact, the early study club under the direction of Fr. Sullivan at the Cathedral Parish in Kingston had gathered to discuss the new papal encyclical issued by Pope Pius XII on the Mystical Body of Christ (*Mystici Corporis Christi* 1943). However, in their own co-operative literature and methods, the Jesuits organised a very ecumenical approach toward their formation of study clubs and their promotion of the co-operative/ credit union movement.

Early co-op pioneers affiliated with the Jesuits, Paul Thompson and Arthur Brown, not only were members of the early study clubs organised by Fr. John Peter Sullivan, S.J. but also contributed to the development of local, Jamaican co-operative literature. Professionally, both men were clerks for the Income Tax Office. Through Fr. Sullivan's recommendation Mr. Thompson and Mr. Brown gained admission to St. Francis Xavier University's Extension School programme on co-operatives. Paul Thompson also won a scholarship directly from Rev. Moses Coady to study alongside the pioneers of the Antigonish movement in 1943. Unfortunately, the colonial government in Jamaica would not give Mr. Thompson leave to study in Nova Scotia until 1947.[136]

Through a direct and sustained association with the Antigonish co-operative pioneers, the co-op promoters in Jamaica forged links with the religious underpinning of the movement in Nova Scotia. The Rochdale principles had been accepted in theory by the Antigonish movement, yet the early leaders—Tompkins, Coady, and McDonald—also expressly desired to "Spiritualize and Christianize the Co-ops." Rev. Jimmy Tompkins, discussing the foundational Antigonish philosophy in an interview

---

[136]Rev. John Peter Sullivan, S.J., Winchester Park, Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I., to Rev. Msgr. M.M. Coady, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, TLS, 12 November 1947, RG 11/2/1 SC200 [Jesuit Archives]. Also John Peter Sullivan, SJ, Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I., to T. Malcolm Milne, Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, TLS, 19 April 1944, RG 11/2/1 SC200 [Jesuit Archives].

with John Peter Sullivan, S.J., intimated: "Watch out for the 'secularism' of Holyoake, the philosophy of the early Rochdale Movement who alleged that the co-op itself is sufficient [that] God is not needed."[137] Rev. Tompkins promoted specifically spiritual values of co-operation and an ecumenism inclusive of non-Catholic members. Like John Peter Sullivan, S.J. in Jamaica who had introduced his Sodality group to the doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ as foundational principles for co-op motivation, Rev. Jimmy Tompkins had given the "Mystical Body Doctrine to a co-op leader who was a Protestant minister named the Rev. J. Nelson MacDonald, and Nelson, in turn, preached this in his church."[138]

Likewise, most of the early co-operative organisers in Jamaica were non-Catholics, particularly the members of Jamaica Welfare Ltd. and the government officials promoting co-operatives throughout the island. Nonetheless, both the non-Catholic individuals and the strictly Catholic members of the Jesuit-sponsored credit unions and producer/marketing co-operatives shared, at a minimum, the fundamental philosophy of the Antigonish movement. Moreover, both the pioneers in Antigonish and those in Jamaica believed in a spiritual basis for the co-operative/credit union movements.

The members of the Jamaica Co-operative Development Council—consisting of private, government, and religious bodies all collaboratively promoting co-ops—comprised three sectors of a welfare-oriented co-operative movement founded upon strong social capital networks rooted in fundamental, social principles:

> The aim should be to do things more efficiently and to bring greater economic benefits, and in the broad view this objective can best be achieved if Co-operatives have a philosophical or spiritual basis as well as business organization on proper lines...The Co-operative

---

[137]John Peter Sullivan, S.J., Personal Diary, "Reserve, Nova Scotia," TD, 11 September 1944, RG 11/2/1 SC200 [Jesuit Archives].

[138]Ibid.

> Movement should…inculcate the habit of thrift, self-help and independence which make for a better citizen. There should be less dependence on Government and much more a dependence on the individual initiative and group action.[139]

With an emphasis on self-help and group action, the Jamaican co-operators mirrored one key characteristic of the Antigonish movement: a principle of subsidiarity. Similarly, a "broad view" meant that attempts at co-operative promotion and development not only encompassed the common good of all within society but also stressed an integrative emphasis on spiritual values and practical action. In reality, the first concrete results of collaborative promotion by the Jamaican Co-operative Development Council established agricultural producers' co-operatives and then shifted toward creation of marketing co-operatives. Study clubs, as the key structural component for initial co-operative development in Jamaica as in Nova Scotia, staunchly rejected an accelerated process for co-operative project initiatives without thoroughly examining a topic in-depth since a rushed strategy had previously ended in many failed co-operatives throughout Jamaica.

Jamaica Welfare Ltd., originating as a private organisation before fully evolving into a government agency as Jamaica Social Welfare Commission in 1948, initially endured suspicion from co-operative leaders and members of the socio-religious projects sponsored by the Jesuits. However, with the formation of the island-wide Jamaica Co-operative Development Council, the personal faith and commitment to social principles—like subsidiarity and the common good—publicly demonstrated by staff members of Jamaica Welfare managed to gain an initial trust of most Jesuits at St. George's College as well as Jesuits working with co-operative groups through study clubs in their parishes and missions across Jamaica.

---

[139]"Memorandum: The Development of Co-operatives in Jamaica" (August 1945), 33.

Continuing into the 1950s, the interest in the social structures and philosophy of the Antigonish movement remained strongly indebted to the Nova Scotian co-operators like Rev. Moses Coady and others at St. Francis Xavier Extension Department with whom Eddie Burke of Jamaica Social Welfare Commission maintained correspondence. The direct, practical experience in Nova Scotia which fostered a sustained link to the Antigonish pioneers and Extension Department literature indicates an early formation in bridging social capital between Jamaican and Nova Scotian co-operative leaders. In fact, Eddie Burke explicitly acknowledged the study club as a key contribution of the Antigonish movement:

> Antigonish offered the Study Club idea—an idea completely unknown in Jamaica, then. The practice in the past was for people to get together, attempt business together and blame failure on "the inability of the Jamaican to co-operate." Antigonish suggested that before any business was attempted, whether individually or collectively, study should be done. Looking back at this distance, it seems quite commonplace, but it took some 3 years to sell the idea of study.[140]

Burke's testimonial confirms that with the advent of the study club, introduced by the early Jamaican pioneers at Jamaica Welfare and St. George's College by 1938, study groups had not been widely effective until about 1941. Moreover, the favoured method of distributing printed study clubs pamphlets and materials in Nova Scotia over the years had been adapted by using shorter "broadcast bulletins" as printed supplements to the actual radio programmes, which became the trend following World War II.[141]

Another similarity between the co-operative movements, both in Antigonish and Jamaica, recognises a clearly acknowledged contribution by women as both organisers

---

[140]Eddie Burke, Jamaica Social Welfare Commission, to Rev. M.M. Coady, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, TD, 2 July 1953, RG 6/7/60 [St. FXU Archives].

[141]Eddie Burke, Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I. to Dr. M.M. Coady, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, TLS, 21 January 1953/ Alexander Laidlaw, Antigonish, to Eddie Burke, Kingston, TL, 11 March 1953, RG 30-3/15/1252-1253 [St. FXU Archives].

and administrators of co-operative study clubs and producer co-operatives. High level staff members of the Extension Department at St. Francis Xavier University included Sr. Marie Michael, C.S.M. and Sr. Anselm (Irene Doyle), C.S.M. Both were members of the religious Congregation of St. Martha, popularly known as the "Marthas." These two religious women attended attentively to the requests throughout Canada and other countries for co-operative literature written and printed by the pioneers of the Antigonish movement. Moreover, the Sisters at St. Francis Xavier Extension Department and a laywoman, Ellen Arsenault, received personal recognition for their insights and organisational skills by key co-op leaders. Indeed, these women having been selected in the earliest years of the Antigonish movement by Rev. Moses Coady, who from the beginning encouraged talented women, assumed important roles as study club leaders and co-operative organisers in Nova Scotia.[142]

In Jamaica, a few women are mentioned in the correspondence and official documents from Jamaica Welfare Ltd. and government agencies. Moreover, several women contributed to the socio-religious movement alongside the Jesuits. Fr. John Peter Sullivan, S.J., invited to Jamaica, Mary Dooling, Managing Director of the Catholic Council for Co-operative Development in Chicago. She visited the rural and urban co-operatives and credit unions that had been recently established through the auspices of St. George's Co-operative Department as well as Jesuit co-operators and lay leaders in parishes and mission stations. Miss Dooling contributed significantly toward preparation of specific co-operative literature tailored to the Jamaican context.[143]

---

[142]Canadians East, producer (2002), *Moses Coady: Beyond the Mountain*, (Tri Media Production Services, Ltd.), Documentary Video.

[143]John Peter Sullivan, S.J., Dedham, Massachusetts, to Very Rev. Thomas Feeney, S.J., Winchester Park, Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I., TLS, 23 December 1944, RG 11/2/1 SC200 [Jesuit Archives].

During the 1950s, Miss Joan Kleinhans, assistant to Fr. Sullivan, S.J., and Miss Cicily Hugh, office manager of the St. George's Co-operative Department, both native Jamaicans, gained scholarships for studies at the summer programme in co-ops offered in Antigonish. After finishing the course, Miss Kleinhans returned to Jamaica "pushing [the] Jamaica Credit Union League directors towards, adoption, locally, of some of the Nova Scotia's League's newest operational techniques."[144] These native Jamaican women sustained links with the Antigonish movement, enhancing social capital bridges between Jesuit-affiliated co-operative organisers and promoters in Jamaica and key officials at St. FXU.

In the end, the Jamaican co-operative movement had been influenced not only by the personal, practical training received by its pioneers in Antigonish beginning in the mid-1940s but also by foundational principles adapted from Antigonish. These linkages included the following shared ideas and practices: (1) a study club structure and strategy for promoting co-operatives; (2) an ecumenical, religious stance for motivating its co-op members; and (3) an inclusive, progressive leadership for recognising the gifts of all persons involved in the movement including talented women.

3.2.4 Social justice principles and social capital formation: Catholic social teaching in Jamaica and links to Antigonish co-op practices; early collaboration between sectors of the Jamaican co-operative movement

The major similarities between the co-operative movement of Antigonish and that of Jamaica include both common foundational principles—group action based on the common good, self-help (subsidiarity), and solidarity—and a fundamental process—adult education through study clubs. In addition, the co-operative literature—

---

[144]John Peter Sullivan, S.J., Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I., to Rev. Msgr. Moses Coady, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, TLS, 4 October 1951, Archives, Jesuit Centre, Kingston, Jamaica. Also Rev. M.J. MacKinnon, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, to Rev. John P. Sullivan, S.J., Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I., TLS, 16 December 1954, RG 11/2/1, SC200 [Jesuit Archives].

pamphlets and other printed materials—aided diffusion of ideas and formation of social structures while also securing personal relationships between the pioneers of the Antigonish movement and their counterparts in Jamaica. Yet the practical experience and education received by native Jamaicans in Nova Scotia also permitted the incipient co-operative movement to adapt ideas through specifically Jamaican co-op literature promoted within study clubs in Jamaica. Finally, group action by co-operatives in Jamaica extended the movement's influence through strong bonds within study clubs and equally solid links to Antigonish leaders: evidence of both bonding and bridging social capital.

Fr. Coady and Fr. Sullivan, S.J. the respective organisational leaders of the co-operative centres—the St. Francis Xavier and St. George's Extension Departments—both recognised that the aim and end of co-operatives surpassed merely economic necessities of the people. While material needs of peasant farmers, labourers, and fishermen, indeed, demanded attention, the intimate consciousness, rural skill, or self-help advocated by the Antigonish movement and Jamaican co-operative movement also emphasised an actualisation of grass-roots social capital. The colonial government in Jamaica, seeking a quick end to escalating labour violence, acted in concert with capitalist firms like United Fruit and Standard Fruit Company in order to appease peasants and labourers, particularly dock workers, clamouring for jobs after the 1938 riots.

Unlike British colonial government officials, the Jesuit co-operators' interests transcended any policy for an economic solution that did not, at the same time, address a need for social solidarity in response to the riots and an appeasement of racial tensions throughout the island. On one side, Ken Post has noted that the colonial government's policy for improving labour relations after the 1938 riots attributed the violent uprisings

to "the propaganda of the agitators rather than recognising the agency of the poor peasants themselves."[145] In contrast, the Jesuits' own "propaganda" avowed the fundamental role of the individual peasant, farmer, or fisherman and a capacity for organising grass-roots group action:

> Co-operation is not to suffocate the development of *self-help*. Besides regimentation, born of the still unproven flippancy that the West Indian country people cannot learn, leaves a rancid taste in the mouth. But the true co-operator has a word for it: decentralization. Or more, completely, for democracy and self-help *decentralization in the local*.[146]

The interests of the private sector of the co-operative movement, under the leadership of Norman Manley's Jamaica Welfare Limited, also shared some similar structural aspects, like the study club, and like the socio-religious sector, under Jesuit leadership, emphasised self-help.

3.3 Three sectors of the Jamaican co-operative movement: effects of collaboration, divergence, and conflict

Despite direct connections with the Antigonish movement and early collaboration in co-op promotion among all three sectors in the Jamaican co-operative movement, both personal and organisational differences strained links between individuals, collective associations, and co-op institutions. Divergent strategies, emerging conflicts, and varying authority structures among co-operative movement sectors hindered formation and sustenance of social capital as well as a coalescence and mobilisation for social justice in benefit of poor, working-class labourers in Jamaica.

---

[145]Ken Post (1981), *Strike the Iron A Colony at War: Jamaica 1939-1945 Vol.1*, (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press), 39.

[146]John Peter Sullivan, S.J. (n.d.), *Romancing Through the Bush Co-operative Style*, Social Action Series No. 6, (Kingston: St. George's College Social Action Department), 2, RG 11/1, Box 4, Folder 4 [Jesuit Archives].

3.3.1 Private welfare organisational contributions/ transition to colonial government structures/ social capital links to Antigonish pioneers

Although some attempts to introduce co-operative marketing of fruit existed in Jamaica as early as 1904, and some quasi-cooperative organisations like the people's co-operative banks issued mortgage loans for housing and hurricane rehabilitation, successful, sustainable ventures into co-operatives did not appear in Jamaica until the 1930s.[147] Responding to the economic and social unrest unleashed by the riots of 1938, Norman Washington Manley and the Board of Jamaica Welfare Limited, which he had founded in 1937, decided that the rural peasantry would benefit from co-operatives and self-help activities under the promotion of this newly created private welfare institution.

At first, the financing of this private social welfare organisation relied upon the one farthing cess per bunch of bananas in an agreement with the United Fruit and Standard Fruit Company paid into a fund controlled by Jamaica Welfare Limited.[148] Even though official organisational discourse proclaimed Jamaica Welfare as a socialist enterprise, Manley did not fully disavow his capitalist sympathies. The financial arrangement with the American banana companies, approved by the colonial government, manifested one of the underlying motivations shared by both the colonial government and Jamaica Welfare. Each institution recognised that capitalist interests would help support the social and economic needs of rural and urban peasants, although the colonial government expressed greater confidence regarding its capitalist connections than did Norman Manley.

However, due to the outbreak of World War II, the export of bananas to its primary market in England ceased, forcing Jamaica Welfare to fund its programmes on

---

[147]Sheila Gorst (1959), *Co-operative Organization in Tropical Countries*, (Oxford: Blackwells), 82.

[148]Norman Manley, Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I., to A.B. McDonald, St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department, Antigonish, TLS, 9 March 1939, RG 30-3/15/3432-3433 [St. FXU Archives].

small government grants. By 1943, Norman Manley accepted government appointees to the Board of Jamaica Welfare Ltd. which was operating now as a national programme and largely supported by the British government from Colonial Development and Welfare Funds. Within years another reorganisation, in 1948, resulted in complete funding and control by the colonial government of Jamaica along with a change in name—the Jamaica Social Welfare Commission.

In addition to its founder Norman Manley, several others had been recruited who would become prominent within Jamaica Welfare Ltd. Among those who shared his views of co-operative development and promotion was Evan Donaldson, the first area officer of Jamaica Welfare, who in 1938 was sent to study the co-operative movement through the auspices of the Horace Plunkett Foundation in London. Likewise, during 1938-1939 Eddie Burke, the second area officer, learned firsthand from the Antigonish movement pioneers.

Writing to A.H. MacDonald, the assistant director of co-operation in St. John's Newfoundland, Norman Manley referred to the six months of training received by Evan Donaldson by the Horace Plunkett Foundation. Manley intimated that the Foundation in England "recommended that if we were thinking of training another man we ought to send him to Canada and they referred to the Nova Scotia Movement and St. Francis Xavier University." Seeking more information about the particular training courses and opportunities for practical work if any Jamaicans were to be sent to Canada, Manley also frankly expressed his concern about the possibilities of racial tension if he were to send "coloured men of mixed blood or possibly black men." [149]

The response received by Manley from the assistant director in Newfoundland assuaged his reservations regarding the availability of direct, practical experience and

---

[149]Norman W. Manley, Kingston, Jamaica B.W.I., to A.H. MacDonald Esq., St. John's Newfoundland, TLS, 20 January1939, RG 30-3/15/3429 [St. FXU Archives].

racial acceptance of blacks. First, the governments of Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, and New Brunswick all had sent dozens of students to St. Francis Xavier University. In fact, the co-operative leaders in Newfoundland believed it was "correct in recommending sending [Manley's] men to Nova Scotia, because the Nova Scotian Movement is one of the most successful in the world."[150] Second, in the three years that MacDonald had been in Newfoundland, he had "yet to see a Negro," so he doubted that any racial prejudice would be encountered by Jamaicans sent to Canada except, perhaps, that "people would stare and be curious."[151]

Recognising the importance of having "thoroughly trained men in Jamaica to start a regular organisation for the purpose...of the development of co-operation," Manley and Jamaica Welfare Ltd. decided that Eddie N. Burke was a candidate of "superior education and position" who would benefit from an extensive period of training in the theoretical and practical aspects of co-operation.[152] However, for practical reasons and the outbreak of World War II, the training programme would only last five months. Despite these unexpected events, Burke received broad exposure to co-operatives and credit unions in Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and the United States. Committed to preparing more leaders through the philosophy and structures of the Antigonish movement, Jamaica Welfare Ltd. viewed Mr. D.T.M. (Thom) Girvan as an ideal person for the position of organising officer for co-operation in Jamaica and believed he would benefit from similar training in Nova Scotia.

---

[150]A.H. MacDonald, St. John's, Newfoundland, to N. W. Manley, Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I., TLS, 13 February 1939, RG 30-3/15/3430-3431 [St. FXU Archives].

[151]Ibid.

[152]N.W. Manley, Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I., to A.B. McDonald, St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department, Antigonish, TLS, 22 April 1939, RG 30-3/15/3435 [St. FXU Archives].

Having already spent several months with the Horace Plunkett Foundation, Thom Girvan had to delay travel indefinitely to Antigonish and returned to Jamaica in September 1939. Within a few months, Mr. Girvan accepted the responsibility of assisting the development of co-operation among the two thousand growers of tomatoes for export. The colonial government in Jamaica had enlisted the help of Jamaica Welfare Ltd. in the difficult task of transforming "a partly commercial business into a co-operative."[153] For its part, the colonial government planned to finance the building of a large packing house and a canning plant, but had "asked Jamaica Welfare Ltd. to buy out the Government's interest and to help in organising the Growers on co-operative lines" as desired by the original, private founder of the Grower's Scheme, Major Moxsy, M.C.[154]

Mr. Girvan's involvement and responsibilities in co-operative planning and promotion would soon include youth work with 4-H Clubs and Young Co-operators Groups. In April 1944, he was appointed the general manager of the newly reorganised Jamaica Welfare (1943) Ltd. with Eddie Burke as the island supervisor. Both Burke and Girvan adapted the structures—study clubs, for example—and ideas—discourse of the co-operative literature—from the Antigonish movement in responding to the rural and urban needs of poor Jamaicans. Indeed, these structures and ideas from Antigonish adapted initially by Manley, Girvan, and Burke expressed major similarities between the two co-operative movements: "engaged on a programme of developing Community Centres in the rural areas and part of the programme of such centres was adult education...the development of the Co-operative movement in Jamaica was an imperative necessity and we feel that as our Community Centre programme develops

---

[153]N.W. Manley, Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I., to A.B. McDonald, St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department, Antigonish, TLS, 5 January 1940, RG 30-2/2/1915-1916 [St. FXU Archives].

[154]Ibid.

the organisation of co-operative study clubs might well form a part of the educational programme."[155]

Working with the United Clerk's Association in Kingston, Thom Girvan assisted the group in forming a study club, leading to a savings club, and ultimately to the first registered credit union in Jamaica—the Clerks' Credit Union established in 1940. Eventually, the Clerks also started a supply co-operative that operated a grocery store. In the rural areas, Girvan worked instrumentally through his association with Pioneer Clubs in developing the first registered co-operative farm in Jamaica—Lucky Hill Farm in St Ann Parish in 1940, which still exists today as the Lucky Hill Farming Co-operative Society.[156] The early activities of Manley, Burke and Girvan proceeded as projects by private individuals until the reorganisation of Jamaica Welfare Ltd. in 1948, thus making them civil servants with responsibility to the colonial government in Jamaica. Moreover, following the recommendations of the Moyne Commission (1938) and a subsequent Memorandum sent to the British government in 1943, the colonial government of Jamaica decided that "co-operatives should be allowed free growth with Government encouragement and supervision, where necessary, but not control."[157]

During the early period of co-operative promotion and development in Jamaica, the local branch offices of the Jamaica Agricultural Society through its Co-operative Committee served as an indirect liaison between the colonial government and the organisations directly involved in co-operative work [J.A.S. by 1945 had 445 branches

---

[155]Norman Manley, Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I., to A.B. McDonald, St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department, Antigonish, TLS, 9 March 1939, RG 30-3/15/3432-3433 [St. FXU Archives].

[156]Norman Girvan, compiler and ed. (1993), *Working Together for Development: D.T.M. Girvan on Cooperatives and Community Development 1939-1968*, (Kingston: Institute of Jamaica), 10-11. Also *The Jamaican Department of Cooperatives & Friendly Societies* (2003), [cited 7 April 2003], available from http://209.130.82/dcfs/directory/agriculture.htm.

[157]"Memorandum: Co-operative Development in Jamaica": Jamaica Welfare Ltd. to Government from the King's House Conference, TD, 9 April 1943, 28 [UWI Collection].

with 12,000 members/ 4-H Clubs with 7,000 members/ and agricultural programmes reaching 20,000 persons in rural areas (total Jamaican population 1.2 million in 1940)]. Additionally, through the Lands Department, the colonial government promoted many co-operative study groups, buying clubs, and marketing groups—including over thirty egg co-operative groups—for poor settlers on various land settlements throughout the island. These egg co-operative groups and agricultural marketing groups were primarily comprised of peasants on land settlements with a membership of 4,814 persons and savings of £2,326, which provided share capital for purchases of seed, fertiliser, and feed as well as capital for marketing eggs, pimento, and cocoa. [158]

3.3.2 Collaboration between three sectors of the Jamaican co-operative movement

The earliest relationships between the private, government, and religious sectors of the co-operative movement in Jamaica during the late 1930s and early 1940s converge in a common ground based upon the ideas and practices adapted from Antigonish. The study club structure, extension courses, and Co-operative Department at St. George's College, itself, all precipitated an actual re-distribution and adaptation of Antigonish movement literature for co-operative development, which closely corresponded with the structures and practices of Nova Scotia.

Under the auspices of St. George's Extension School and Co-operative Department, lecture courses open to all individuals and groups—government, private and religious—contributed to an initial enthusiasm and interest in the formation and promotion of co-operatives and credit unions. Eventually, several co-operative central organisations were created for the explicit purpose of promoting the development of co-operatives, providing additional evidence of a bridging form of social capital between

---

[158]"Memorandum: The Development of Co-operatives in Jamaica," (August 1945), 14-15.

co-operative sectors. In fact, Jamaica Co-operative Union and Jamaica Credit Union League, as multi-sector umbrella organisations, were both established in 1942.

An attempt to unify the organisational and educational aspects of the promoting bodies, by combining the strengths of Jamaica Welfare Ltd. and St. George's Extension Co-operative Department, stimulated a move to form the Jamaica Co-operative Development Council in 1943. The primary goals of this organisation as stated in the "Memorandum to Government," at the Conference in King's House during 9 April 1943 are summarised as follows: "(1) Stimulating all Co-operative Developments; (2) Planning for the Co-operative movement in the Island as a whole, (3) Ensuring that the societies would conform to approved co-operative principles, and (4) To eliminate overlap and competition."[159] An agreement was reached between the promoting bodies and the government agencies interested in co-operatives. Norman Manley was elected chairman of the Jamaica Co-operative Development Council and Fr. John Peter Sullivan, S.J. as vice-chairman.

With new, collaborative bodies now formed to facilitate greater co-ordination of co-operative promotion and development throughout Jamaica, some successful attempts at working together, particularly in regard to credit unions, again linked the three sectors of the co-operative movement. However, some of the early marketing and producer co-operatives started in rural Catholic missions, manifesting particular suspicion of co-operatives from the government sector, did not always see eye to eye with the newly created bodies responsible for greater co-ordination and facilitation of co-operative promotion. Notwithstanding similar study club and social capital formation as those in towns and small villages, these rural co-operatives provide

---

[159]Ibid., 24.

evidence of some negative social capital effects: strong, relatively closed bonds within study clubs and co-operatives with weak, bridging structures.

Nonetheless, the general promoting bodies, on one level, achieved remarkable agreement in their underlying philosophy based upon the principles and practice of the Antigonish movement. Due to the similarities between the organisational centre of the Antigonish movement in Canada, as St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department, and that of Jamaica, as St. George's College Extension School, at least one structural component served as a primary conduit for a social bridging of ideas and discourse between the two countries. On another level, a key collaborative practice between members of the co-operative movement, in both Nova Scotia and Jamaica, emerged through a general ecumenical attitude of solidarity between co-operative promoters and organisers in all sectors—private, public, and socio-religious.

Before Jamaica Welfare Ltd. became a fully government-sponsored organisation in 1948, the same year Manley stepped down to allow a government-appointed chairman to assume the helm, the early pioneers rallied around the development of co-operatives within a social mission or religious sense of service and motivation. For example, the anthem of this early group of co-operators—Manley, Burke, and Girvan—was called, "We're out to build a new Jamaica—with Christ our Pioneer." This tune written for the Walkerswood Pioneer Club, sung to the tune of *Glory, Glory Hallelujah*, became an inspirational symbol for Jamaica Welfare.[160]

Within Thom Girvan's policy of a "Better Village Approach," he acknowledged the value of bringing many sectors of a particular community together through the formation of Pioneer Clubs and Inter-Denominational Fellowship Groups. In the early

---

[160]Norman Girvan (1993), 7-8.

literature produced by Jamaica Welfare Ltd. for the training of study group leaders, Mr. Girvan explained:

> Co-operation shows the way to Economic Democracy; and to be successful Co-operators, students, and Study Group Leaders should not only study and understand the Movement, but must be imbued with enthusiasm, courage, and hope for the future…we are doing our part to bring in…a New and Better System of Society…that will give place to conditions in accord with our highest ideal—with the teachings of Christ.[161]

Although Thom Girvan promoted an element of Christian ethics within his adaptation of the co-operative principles for the Jamaican people, he also supported the traditional principles outlined by the original Rochdale pioneers of England in 1844. These pioneers explicitly stated that co-operatives should respect the political and religious differences of its members and should not allow into the practices of the co-operatives anything that would privilege any single religious sect or political opinion.

In the Jesuit sector of the movement in Jamaica, along with the youthful enthusiasm and energy of the pioneer members of the Young Men's Sodality who had formed themselves into the Sodality Co-operative Credit Union in 1942, Fr. John Peter Sullivan, SJ and the original fourteen had expanded to 130 members by 1944. In an early pamphlet, organisational initiatives and practical projects of the co-operative credit union movement sponsored by the Jesuits proclaimed:

> ...these tireless Catholic Actionists...have been crusading for the type of orthodox co-operative which brings solidarity in Christ to *co-op work* as well as to *co-op worship*. Establishing credit unions, buying clubs, and marketing co-ops among non-Catholics and Catholics alike, among white-collar workers and labourers, among farmers, fishermen, and longshoremen, these youthful Sodality co-op organizers have literally shaken Jamaica.[162]

---

[161]D.T.M. Girvan (1941), *Introductory Notes for Leaders of Study Groups*, Co-operation for Jamaica CORD Series No. 1, (Kingston: Jamaica Welfare Ltd.), 3.

[162]John Peter Sullivan, S.J. (n.d.), *Song of the Islands Jamaican Co-ops—Early Days*, Social Action Series No. 5, (Kingston: Social Action Department, St. George's College Extension School), 2, RG 11/1, Box 4, Folder 4 [Jesuit Archives].

Having borrowed some co-op literature from the Antigonish movement of Nova Scotia, the early Jamaican co-operative organisers in the socio-religious sector were determined to develop their own pamphlets and study club materials created to meet the unique demands and context of Jamaica.

Like their Nova Scotian counterparts, the early Jesuit co-operative pioneers in Jamaica rallied around a discourse rooted in Catholic social teaching, and yet adapted the principles to the needs of a Jamaican religious, social, and economic climate. Using similar structures, the Jamaican pioneers' group action and popular discourse mobilised a cadre of co-operators across all sectors. Yet this initial collaboration did not ultimately endure; divergence and division between the sectors in Jamaica were imminent despite common efforts among all sectors, particularly regarding co-operative education and promotion.

3.3.3 Initial divergence within the co-operative movement in Jamaica

In Jamaica both the early producers' co-operatives and the co-operative credit unions could be legally registered only under the provisions of the Industrial and Provident Societies Act. Hence, Fr. John Peter Sullivan, S.J. by 1944, after corresponding and meeting with various co-operative leaders in the United States and Canada, desired to introduce legislation creating a law specifically for the registration of co-operative credit unions.[163]

Having submitted the draft of the proposed Credit Union Act to the colonial government in April 1944, Fr. Sullivan, S.J. and his colleagues at the Jamaican Credit Union League waited five years before a new law was created and promulgated for legal registration, specifically for credit unions. In the meantime, in his travels to

---

[163]J.P. Sullivan, S.J., Kingston, Jamaica, to Roy F. Bergengren, Madison, Wisconsin, TL, 10 March 1944, RG 11/2/1, SC 200 [Jesuit Archives].

Antigonish in September 1944, Sullivan had a long interview with Rod J. MacSween, the inspector of co-op societies for Nova Scotia. Mr. MacSween, in absolute agreement with the need for a distinct Credit Union Act for Jamaica, emphasised the distinct functions of a credit society from all other co-operative societies. Because the Nova Scotian consumer co-op stores were based on British-Canadian models that did not promote separate credit unions, these co-op stores would allow their customers credit through a thrift fund set up by the co-op store itself. Eventually, the Antigonish pioneers recognised "that banks are not set up to sell groceries"; moreover, while credit for groceries might be necessary, the general arrangement existing in Nova Scotia did not allow for other credit needs that a co-operative credit union, independently, could offer.[164] In 1949, the Industrial and Provident Societies Act was amended to include both a separate Credit Union Law and a general Co-operative Law promulgated by the colonial government in Jamaica in 1950.[165]

During the early days of the co-operative/ credit union movement in Jamaica, circumstances arising during World War II inhibited the initial growth of co-operatives. First, as already discussed, the cess per bunch of bananas providing funds for Jamaica Welfare Ltd. dissipated, in effect, leaving the organisation dependent upon funds from the colonial government. As for the Jesuits at St. George's Extension Department, they relied entirely on private appeals to benefactors in the United States. From its informal beginning in 1939 through its official creation in 1942 and continuing until 1947, the Co-operative Department at St. George's received neither government grants nor financial assistance from any private Jamaican group. However, the Jamaican Credit

---

[164]John Peter Sullivan, S.J., Personal Diary, TD, 24 September 1944, RG 11/2/1, SC 200 [Jesuit Archives].

[165]Fr. Gerard L. McLaughlin, S.J. (9 August 2002), Jesuit Centre Archivist, semi-structured interview by author, written notes, Kingston, Jamaica.

Union League, beginning in 1947, financed a fraction of the operating expenses of St. George's Co-operative Department.

Adding to the promotional difficulties, the rations of gas, paper, and mimeographing ink due to the Second World War greatly reduced the dissemination of co-operative materials used by the study clubs across Jamaica. Paid staff, although sorely needed, consumed a large proportion of the Co-operative Department's operating budget, resulting in Fr. Sullivan, S.J. and his collaborators in the Sodality Credit Union to work gratis and canvass Kingston and the surrounding villages on bicycle.[166]

In Jamaica, multiple promoting bodies and organisers contributed to the development of the movement across the island. In addition, a non-traditional educational approach consisting of extension courses and organisational resources from St. George's Co-operative Department initially aided study club formation for all sectors of the co-operative movement. Similarly, the various co-operative sectors acknowledged the Antigonish movement as their early inspiration. Yet even so, differences of opinion in how to promote and organise co-operatives soon diverged among the private/religious promoting bodies—Jamaica Welfare Ltd., St. George's Extension Department—and the government promoting bodies—the Lands Department and the Agricultural Extension Service.[167]

The primary goal of Jamaica Co-operative Development Council, formed in 1943 as a body comprising leaders from the various co-operative sectors, sought co-ordination of existing structures available for co-operative development and promotion; in other words, collaboration in co-operative practices hoped to maximize existing social capital bridging across all sectors of the movement. Despite early attempts at co-

---

[166]John Peter Sullivan, S.J., Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I., to Father John Rawe, S.J., TL, 6 April 1943, RG 11/2/1, SC 200 [Jesuit Archives].

[167]Eddie Burke, Kingston, Jamaica, to Dr. M.M. Coady, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, TLS, 12 July 1945, RG 30-2/1/829[St. FXU Archives].

ordination in planning and organising between private and government co-operative promoting bodies, initial mistrust, scepticism, and conflicting personal/group interests inhibited enduring, communal working relationships between individuals within these various organisations.

In effect, the social capital present within individual sectors of the co-operative movement allowed a certain level of cohesion within each separate promoting body; however, the bridging of social networks between the sectors, although initially promising, diverged not only because of a perceived threat to subsidiarity within the movement but also because coordination between the sectors became increasingly conflictual despite the existence of an umbrella organisation, namely the Jamaica Co-operative Development Council. Furthermore, as initial suspicions solidified, chiefly by members of the rural and small town Catholic mission co-operatives and credit unions, strong, local bonds within these groups further isolated, or even closed, these co-operatives from the broader co-operative movement within Jamaica. Ultimately, initial bridging levels of social capital, albeit minimal, had been sacrificed by co-op leaders in order to strengthen internal cohesion among rural co-op members. In the end, this strategy shielded the rural Catholic parish and mission co-operatives from future conflicts with the other two sectors of the movement while still maintaining relationships with the Jesuit sector centred in Kingston at St. George's College. The following section demonstrates one significant example of this progression from initial suspicion, proximate challenges to other co-operative sectors, and a final, decisive stage toward autonomy by religious-affiliated co-operatives.

3.3.4 Challenge and conflict in the co-operative movement in Jamaica: relative autonomy of the three sectors

With a creeping government involvement in Jamaica Welfare Ltd., several opponents of the newly established Jamaica Co-operative Development Council

expressed their reservations about the proposed island-wide co-ordination and promotion of co-operatives. In 1943, Fr. Francis Kempel, S.J. concerned with the future of the Seaford Town Co-operative wrote to the Jamaica mission superior, Father Feeney, S.J. who had already given approval for the Jesuits at St. George's Co-operative Department to become members in the Jamaica Co-operative Development Council:

> The Council plans to dissolve us and assimilate us into the new Jamaica Co-operative Union...This Union is expected to represent the consumer and the producer and ultimately the Credit Unions. Our platform is that we represent the Producer, the Ja. Co-operative Union represent the Consumer, and the Credit Union League represent the Credit Unions...There is an evident attempt at domination [by Jamaica Welfare] which is very much resented by many of the Branches.[168]

Fr. Kempel, S.J., in regular contact with the branches of the Jamaica Poultry and Farmers' co-operatives, cautioned that members of the branches questioned the growing influence of Jamaica Welfare in its plan to assimilate the independent producers' co-operatives.

By the beginning of 1944, a general meeting was called by the Jamaican Co-operative Union to discuss the tension between the independent producers' co-operatives, including Seaford Town Co-operative, and Jamaica Welfare Ltd. Kempel remained adamant: "We are out for complete independence and in no way shall we join with the Ja. Welfare."[169] An overarching objection toward Jamaica Welfare lay in Kempel's insistence on authentic subsidiarity within the co-operative movement. He and his supporters did not eschew, in principle, the existence of promoting bodies; rather, they insisted that any umbrella organisation only represent the common interests

---

[168]Rev. Francis G. Kempel, S.J., Seaford Town, Jamaica, to Rev. Thomas Feeney, S.J., Winchester Park, Kingston, TLS, 19 September 1943, RG 11/1, Box 3, Folder 23 [Jesuit Archives].

[169]Rev. Francis G. Kempel, S.J., Seaford Town, Jamaica, to Rev. Thomas Feeney, S.J., Winchester Park, Kingston, TLS, 14 January 1944, RG 11/1, Box 3, Folder 23 [Jesuit Archives].

of only one group within the co-operative movement. Other major points of contention between the Jesuit sector and Jamaica Welfare arose from a perceived competition in leadership and education (co-operative courses) offered by both groups; a difference in emphasis on producers' co-operatives, marketing co-operatives, and credit unions; and the need for greater promotion of co-operative organisations in rural areas.[170]

Although the Jesuits maintained a suspicious stance toward Jamaica Welfare's motives and socialist leanings, both the Jesuits and the officials from Jamaica Welfare eventually decided on a plan of co-ordination for co-operatives and credit unions throughout the island. While the Jesuits' early mistrust of Jamaica Welfare centred on its professed socialist background, knowing that Jamaica Welfare's officers had connections to Antigonish allayed their "apprehensions concerning the growing stateism phenomena…and the socialistic tendencies affecting the Co-ops."[171]

First, other misgivings also had to be mollified before a bridging social capital could be advanced between the two sectors. First, since 100,000 of the 160,000 wage labourers in agriculture produced bananas, the colonial government's association with United Fruit and Standard Fruit allowed these large foreign firms to control almost all of the marketing and export of bananas in 1938. Moreover, the experience of the colonial government's financial arrangements with the Banana Growers' Association was well known by the egg and poultry producers who had been organised by the Jesuits. These producers objected to joining the Jamaica Co-operative Union because they feared a loss of control over their co-operatives. Mr. Ascoli, the proposed manager for the all-island Poultry Co-operative Association, had demanded "a penny a dozen for

---

[170]Rev. Charles Judah, S.J. Sav.-la-Mar, to Rev. John Peter Sullivan, S.J., Boston, Mass., TLS, 12 October 1944, RG 11/1, Box 3, Folder 21 [Jesuit Archives].

[171]John Peter Sullivan, S.J., Winchester Park, to Dr. James Peter Warbasse, New York, TL, 27 January 1943, RG 11/2/1, SC 200[Jesuit Archives].

the eggs, a penny a pound for selling fowl and commission on all the other things he will sell"[172] through the co-operative. Hence the egg and poultry producers, deeply suspicious that Jamaica Welfare would force them to join an organisation whose manager working on a commission basis would become dictatorial, pre-empted this move, and in doing so, maintained local, organisational control and grass-roots co-op leadership already in place.

Second, belief in bottom-up leadership structures for the co-operatives promoted by the Jesuits remained a point of contention between some 600 producers of the Jamaica Poultry and Farmers' Co-operative and consumer/producer co-operatives under the influence of Jamaica Welfare. The latter advocated a process oriented toward regimentation of leadership structures once the co-operatives had been formed from the study clubs, practices belying principles of solidarity and subsidiarity; whereas, the Jesuit sector recognised and defended these principles in all stages of co-operative development such that in every case the "wishes of the individual co-operators must be respected." Fr. Charles Judah, S.J. noted the persistence and self-confidence of the Jamaica Poultry and Farmers' members in a letter to Fr. John Sullivan, S.J.:

> When the branches of the Jamaica Poultry & Farmers met a couple of weeks ago to pass upon the Rules of Federation, in spite of the arguments I put before them that the voting on the Central Board should not be on the literal interpretation of one-member-one vote, but ought to be on the volume of business done through the Federation by a Branch, they nevertheless argued to have it their way and so it was passed…It is bottom-up organization, a thing dear to your heart.[173]

---

[172]Rev. Francis G. Kempel, S.J., Seaford Town, Jamaica, to Rev. Thomas Feeney, S.J., Winchester Park, Kingston, TLS, 23 September 1942 and 21 July 1942, RG 11/1, Box 3, Folder 23 [Jesuit Archives].

[173]Rev. Charles Judah, S.J., Sav.-la-Mar, to Rev. John Peter Sullivan, S.J, Boston, Mass., TLS, 12 October 1944, RG 11/2/1, SC200 [Jesuit Archives].

This organisational structure reproduced by the Jesuits most closely reflected the principles of self-help for the common good, subsidiarity, and social solidarity advocated by the Antigonish pioneers than those structures and leadership practices adapted by the other two co-operative development sectors in Jamaica. Jamaica Welfare Limited, for example, initially had been influenced by the structures and practice of Antigonish. However, by the mid-1940s, the organisation had rejected the Antigonish emphasis on bottom-up leadership and replaced it with a structure that could be more easily malleable to the political interests and goals of Norman Manley and his political collaborators.

Basing co-operative practices partially on a Catholic social principle of solidarity, the Jesuit movement embraced the homogeneity and close relationships manifested by members in already existing groups: evidence of strong, bonding social capital. For example, in whichever way a group of persons had been organised whether "as occupational or associational (church or club already existing) or territorial, such as is found on a Land Settlement,"[174] the Jesuits advocated bottom-up, self-help organisation and authority within all groups, reflecting a commitment not only toward greater solidarity but also to an enacted subsidiarity. Some groups, like the Jamaica Vegetable Growers' Associations, also had received support from Jamaica Welfare Ltd., which also maintained links of solidarity with both the Jesuit and government sectors of the co-operative movement. Because the Jesuits, like Jamaica Welfare Ltd., had at least an early, amicable relationship with the colonial government in regard to co-operative education and promotion, most of the Jesuits in Jamaica, including Sullivan and Feeney, valued an ongoing relationship with government officials. For example, the Land Settlement movement while entirely under government control had

---

[174]John Peter Sullivan, S.J., Winchester Park, to Rev. Aldhelm Bowring, O.P., St. David's, Grenada, B.W.I., TLS, 10 March 1943, RG 11/2/1, SC200 [Jesuit Archives].

invited Father John Peter Sullivan, S.J. to offer many settlers and overseers short talks on rural marketing and rural credit.[175]

Overtures by the colonial government toward both Jamaica Welfare and the Jesuit sector of the co-operative movement, at least, partially confirmed the official government policy agreed upon at the King's House Conference of April 1943. Here, the colonial government advocated free growth of the co-operative movement, while providing support and encouragement, yet not seeking any direct control over either promotion or development of co-operative organisations (outside of regulating their legal structure). The colonial government's official discourse stated that the policy had been adopted after having been motivated by the effects of World War II, specifically resulting in a "rapid acceleration of the organised collection and marketing of produce for local consumption."[176] Since agriculture had prime importance for the Jamaican economy, with a diversification from sugar and coffee toward greater production of bananas, the colonial government, in 1939, had added resources to establish a separate Marketing Department, branched off from the Agricultural Department. In fact, after the 1938 riots in Jamaica, the Royal Commission that had been sent to Jamaica recommended that a West Indies Development and Welfare Commission be instituted; this aimed at promotion of co-operative development through existing structures.

In the end, the government allowed the other two sectors relative autonomy in both promotion and co-operative education. Moreover, the initial collaboration between Jamaica Welfare and the Jesuits, by the mid-1940s, had become tenuous leading to conflicting strategies within both sectors; diverging leadership structures among local co-operative groups organised by Jamaica Welfare and the Jesuits; and

---

[175]Ibid.

[176]"Wakefield Report to Government," (1942), 22 at par. 26. [UWI Collection].

weakened social networks between pioneers, resulting in decreasing levels of bridging social capital, as each sector sought after greater independence or autonomy in its practices for co-operative economic development.

3.4 Summary

While historical accounts and correspondence demonstrate that the individual pioneers were motivated, perhaps, by certain key social and economic events within Jamaica, the early co-operative movement's principles and practices transcended merely economic interests. Still, declining economic and social conditions within Jamaica, precipitated by labour revolts of sugar plantation and dock workers in 1938, called forth from both the colonial government and civil society, including the Jesuits, a concrete response to this economic crisis.

First, Manley and Jamaica Welfare Limited expressed a more intentional, political motive for promoting and developing co-operatives across Jamaica than did Fr. Sullivan, S.J. and St. George's Co-operative Department. Second, the colonial government in Jamaica placated the capitalist interests of foreign businesses while also hoping to suppress any future labour uprisings. Belatedly, only by the end of 1941, had the colonial government agreed to address the needs of the peasants and sugar workers through state intervention. Hence, only after both the private sector, represented by Jamaica Welfare Limited, and the socio-religious sector, through the auspices of the Jesuits, had already initiated plans for co-operative economic development did the colonial government take any concerted action to alleviate the social and economic problems manifested by the riots of 1938. So, not until 1942, did the colonial government officially advocate a policy that emphasised "welfare" and

"community development" through promotion and development of co-operatives.[177] For example, the Jamaica Agricultural Society, acting as a channel for colonial government interests in Jamaica, played an instrumental role in bringing the Banana Growers' Association into existence in November 1942.[178]

Divergent interests and motivations for the mobilisation of resources coupled with minimal levels of bridging social capital across co-operative groups underscore the argument for the relative autonomy of the socio-religious sector, namely the Jesuits, within a broad co-operative movement in Jamaica. In particular, the colonial government had proclaimed its policy of "free growth" of co-operatives. Despite an increasing encroachment upon Jamaica Welfare's members and resources from 1943 until 1948, the colonial government's ostensible influence over the direction and development of co-operatives, in reality, subsumed the private sector of the early movement. The socio-religious sector organised by the Jesuits remained essentially autonomous. As evidence of only slight government influence within the socio-religious sector, St. George's Co-operative Department received no government funds until 1950, and then only as a token contribution for ongoing co-operative development.

Firmly rooted in the co-operative philosophy, structures, and practices of the Antigonish Movement, Jesuit pioneer co-operators had decided to focus more on the promotion of co-operative credit unions than on formation of producer or consumer co-operatives, due to a relative dearth in operating income and staff compared to the other two sectors. Credit unions were easier to form and did not require as much energy or time as did consumer or producer co-operatives. Still, Fr. Sullivan, S.J. would have, in

---

[177]Post (1981), 198-199. Also P.J. MacKenzie Campbell (1966), "Compassion on the Multitude," Unpublished manuscript, [St. FXU Archives].

[178]Clyde Hoyte (n.d.), *History of the Jamaica Agricultural Society 1895 to 1960*, (Kingston: City Printery), 16-17 [UWI Collection].

the end, a wider social influence on the co-operative movement throughout Jamaica by maintaining key links with other co-op leaders across the Caribbean as well as through his own leadership within the Jamaican Co-operative Development Council and the Jamaican Credit Union League.

Through a social network of personal relationships between actors in Nova Scotia (Rev. Jimmy Tompkins, Rev. Moses Coady, A.B. MacDonald, et al.) and Jamaica (Fr. Sydney Judah, S.J., Fr. John Peter Sullivan, S.J., Fr. Francis Kempel, S.J., Eddie Burke, Thom Girvan, Norman Manley, et al.) an initial, direct connection with the Antigonish movement confirmed a common philosophy and shared social practices in promoting co-operatives. An incipient, nationalist movement represented by Jamaica Welfare Ltd. along with a socio-religious, organisational practice for economic action promoted by the Jesuit Fathers concurrently adopted fundamental components of the Antigonish movement: study clubs, leading toward strong bonding social capital, and a non-traditional resource base, in St. George's College Extension School and Co-operative Department, linking ordinary workers and peasants through adult education for co-operative formation and grass-roots, participatory development.

Despite eventual divergence between the consumer/producer co-operatives and credit unions in Jamaica, significant historical evidence also corroborates the argument that the origination of the modern co-operative movement in Jamaica emerged from existing relationships between private, public, and socio-religious sectors in Jamaica and the Antigonish movement of Nova Scotia by the mid-1940s. The early Jamaican co-op pioneers' relationship with the Antigonish movement—adapting particular Catholic social principles and self-help, democratic practices—further reveals key linkages in an early development and promotion of co-operative projects across all sectors in Jamaica.

Enacting Catholic social principles of the common good, subsidiarity, and solidarity, the Jesuit co-operative pioneers in Jamaica intensified homogeneous, social relationships, and as a consequence established strong, bonding social capital among occupational and mission groups organised as study clubs. Even more, co-operative practices advocated by both the leaders of Jamaica Welfare and St. George's Co-operative Department acknowledged the efficacy of religious values in moulding persons and mobilising group action. Increasing tensions, conflict, and differing motivations or goals notwithstanding, the importance of the social capital-social justice nexus in an initial collaboration between the sectors remained a key factor in a relatively rapid growth, after 1948, in co-operative economic development throughout Jamaica.

PART II—CHAPTER FOUR:

THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, PUERTO RICO, AND DOMINICA

Chapter four presents the remaining three cases of co-operative economic development in the Caribbean: the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, and Dominica. For each case, a brief outline of the economic and social contexts of each country precedes a detailed discussion of the co-operative pioneers, organisations, and social networks leading to both social capital formation and social justice-oriented projects. All three Caribbean co-operative movements, likewise, will express common principles and practices akin to the Antigonish movement also revealing co-op links with Jamaica. Although a shared co-operative structure and method indicate strong, social capital links between Caribbean co-operative organisers, each island's initial collaboration, organisational challenges, and co-operative development resulted in disparate socio-political emphases and divergent strategic trajectories within the respective movements.

4.1 Concise economic and social history of the Dominican Republic: focus on Trujillo 1930-1961

During the Spanish colonial era (1492-1821), former slaves of an early, yet brief, gold-mining boom (1510-1520) foreshadowed the rise of a relatively independent peasantry. Following an equally precipitous rise and decline of the sugar plantation economy in the Dominican Republic during the sixteenth century, many peasants or *campesinos* gained access to *terrenos comuneros*—a type of hereditary, jointly owned property.[179] After the Haitian occupation (1822-1844); a succession of dictators (1844-1899); and U.S. occupation (1916-1924), political governance and overall influence on

[179]Richard Lee Turits (2003), *Foundations of Despotism: Peasants, the Trujillo Regime, and Modernity in Dominican History*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press), 27-41.

economic policy of the Dominican Republic coalesced in the hands of Rafael Leónidas Trujillo Molino who controlled the country as dictator from 1930 until his assassination in 1961 [president from 1930-38 and again from 1942-1952].

The Catholic Church, on the accession of power by Trujillo, was embroiled in a land dispute in La Vega. A legal decision by the Supreme Court of the Dominican Republic, on 8 August 1930, "ruled against the church effectively negating the legal authority of the Catholic Church in the Dominican Republic." A single archdiocesan structure, under the leadership of Archbishop Adolfo Nouel, lacked a dynamic and creative clerical direction needed during this critical period of history.[180] Trujillo, however, recognised his need for an alliance with the church in order to foment his own power and social control in the country. On 6 March 1931, Trujillo proposed legislation to the Congress which restored the legal authority to the Catholic Church in the Dominican Republic. Also, two new appointments by the Holy See, as replacements for the sickly archbishop, had died within the year: Canon Armando Lamarche and Father Rafael Castellanos. The latter being a strong advocate for the autonomy of the church had publicly criticised the dictator. Finally, in 1935, the Holy See appointed Ricardo Pittini who was ordained archbishop of Santo Domingo.[181]

A dearth of priests, both native clergy and foreign missionaries[182], during the period 1930-1960 corroborates a minimal practice in religious observance and lack of catechetical understanding by the average Dominican, particularly *campesinos*. These

---

[180]William Wipfler (2001), "The Catholic Church and the State in the Dominican Republic, 1930-1960," in Armando Lampe, ed., *Christianity in the Caribbean: Essays on Church History*, (Kingston, Jamaica: University of West Indies Press), 205-206.

[181]Ibid., 208.

[182]In 1950, the archdiocese of Santo Domingo comprised 2,165,000 Catholics [population of Dominican Republic: 2,185,000] served by 158 priests: 41 diocesan priests and 117 religious priests [ratio of 13,702 Catholics per priest]. *Annuario Pontificio* (1951), (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana).

deficiencies marked a common superstitious and popular religiosity toward the sacraments and relations with Catholic clergy. Yet "awe and power evoked by spiritual powers of the priest," especially among the peasants who comprised seventy percent of the population, underscore the influence, respect, and trust placed in the clergy by *campesinos*.[183] Many peasants, engaged in small-plot farming, favoured land reform and so paradoxically strengthened Trujillo's grasp of power; however, peasant popularity and allegiance to the Catholic Church would temper Trujillo's economic and social control over the Dominican Republic by 1960.

During earlier years of his regime, Trujillo generously financed agricultural reform—including land reform which allowed small farmers and *campesinos* to benefit from export crops, like wheat and tobacco—while also sustaining a sugar plantation economy in the east of the country. In addition, Trujillo supported the Catholic Church, as his primary social ally, "ensuring a level of *respeto* by peasants" as the vast majority of rural workers. Still, by the 1950s, the dictator's expansive sugar policies unleashed a middle-class backlash resulting in an underground movement of resistance as well as real economic decline.[184]

Also, during the 1950s the influence and growth of the Catholic Church, although publicly supportive of Trujillo for his benefaction of church structures and programmes, also began to distance itself from the dictator by decade's end. On 25 September 1953, Pope Pius XII re-established the ecclesiastical province of Santo Domingo and created two new dioceses—Santiago de los Caballeros and La Vega—along with the prelature nullius of San Juan de la Maguana. Three new bishops were ordained to serve these church structures by 1956. Again on 1 April 1959 another

---

[183]Wipfler (2001), 211.

[184]Turits (2003), 19-21.

diocese created by the pope, the diocese of Nuestra Señora de Altagracia added a fifth bishop to the hierarchy in the Dominican Republic.[185]

In 1954, a concordat signed between the Dominican Republic and the Holy See recognised Roman Catholicism as the official state religion. This act between church and state attested to Trujillo's personal victory in using the church to legitimise his power and regime. Between 1954 and 1959, considerable funds lavished on building new structures (churches, schools, convents, etc.) sealed the relationship between Trujillo and the Catholic Church. An invasion of revolutionary insurgents launched from Cuba on 14 June 1959 and subsequent executions of many revolutionaries by the Military Intelligence Service neither elicited condemnation of these atrocities nor expressed public support for Trujillo's repressive decisions. Rather, the archbishop of Santiago took a stance of neutrality in a speech given by Monsignor Hugo Polanco Brito on 25 July 1959.

With the creation of new dioceses and appointments of bishops after 1953, the decentralising power structure of the Catholic Church permitted space for the church to begin an initial move away from its close ties to Trujillo and his regime. Archbishop Ricardo Pittini, a great supporter of Trujillo since the 1930s, surrendered most of his power to his Coadjutor Bishop Octavio Beras. In addition, a more seasoned diplomat, Archbishop Lino Zanini, replaced the previously compliant papal nuncio, Salvatore Siino, in October 1959. Finally, through the orchestration of the newly appointed nuncio, all the bishops met on 25 January 1960 and drafted a joint pastoral letter. The letter written by the bishops neither directly attacked Trujillo nor condemned an

---

[185]In addition to Archbishop Ricardo Pittini, S.D.B. of Santo Domingo, the following bishops served the Catholic Church in the Dominican Republic by 1959: Hugo Eduardo Polanco Brito (Santiago de los Caballeros); Francisco Panal Ramírez, O.F.M. (La Vega); Tomás Francisco Reilly, C.SS.R. (San Juan de la Maguana); and Juan Félix Pepén y Soliman (Nuestra Señora de la Altagracia en Higüey).

escalating repression in the country.[186] However, the document's language strongly expressed opposition from the Catholic hierarchy in the Dominican Republic to the political and social situation of the country at the beginning of the decade.[187] Trujillo lost his primary connection and influence within the Catholic Church when the Holy See appointed Octavio Beras as the archbishop of Santo Domingo; moreover, with increasing hostility toward the Catholic Church and the deportation of some priests, Trujillo would soon "lose the support of those *campesinos* previously loyal to his social and economic goals of land reform."[188] Within this socio-political context, missionary priests like Father Harvey Steele, S.F.M. working directly with *campesinos* had attempted organising the peasants for socioeconomic projects aimed at alleviating non-access to needed resources within their situations of endemic poverty.

4.2 Father Harvey (Pablo) Steele, S.F.M. and the early lay co-operators: from co-operative failures—*el campo*—to relative success—the villages

Born 3 May 1911 in Sydney, Nova Scotia, Harvey Steele, son of a steel worker, had been raised on his grandparent's farm. At age eight, he had become acquainted with Father Michael Gillis, parish priest in Boisdale, Nova Scotia and an early pioneer of the Antigonish movement. In 1927, Harvey earned an academic scholarship, matriculating at St. Francis Xavier University just as Fathers Jimmy J. Tompkins, Moses M. Coady, and Michael Gillis petitioned the board of governors of the university

---

[186]*Documentos De La Conferencia Del Episcopado Dominicano (1955-1990)*, Colección Quinto Centenario, Serie Documentos no. 2 (1990), (Santo Domingo, República Dominicana: Comisíon Dominicana Permanente para la Celebración del Quinto Centenario del Descubrimiento y Evangelización de América). La Carta a Rafael L. Trujillo Molina (25 de Enero de 1960) stated the following: "Vuestra Excelencia no puede, como católico, permitir más nuevos insultos a la Iglesia y a la Sede Apostólica sin peligro de las graves consequencias…," 47-48.

[187]Wipfler (2001), 212-216.

[188]Turits (2003), 20-27.

to establish an Extension Department which would be established the following year "to bring the university to the people…telling them about social justice and the call for a just order contained in the papal encyclicals."[189] Steele's first exposure to the ideas of co-operative development and the social philosophy of the early Antigonish pioneers coincided with his decision while at St. Francis Xavier University to abandon his initial interest in medicine and become a priest. In 1931, he joined the Scarboro Foreign Mission Society of Canada, a religious community of secular priests trained primarily for work in China. After his seminary training, Harvey Steele received Holy Orders on 9 August 1936 by the hands of Bishop James Morrison of Antigonish.

Before leaving for China in 1937, Fr. Steele, S.F.M. worked directly with Rev. Dr. Jimmy Tompkins. In his autobiography, Steele reminisced: "Dr. Jimmy Tompkins was building a co-op housing group in the neighbouring parish. My interest in that brought me in contact with this little man and his dynamic ideas. About five days a week, I would be in Father Jimmy's house. He had a group of fifteen miners studying the principles of co-ops and the provincial law [of Nova Scotia] concerning co-op housing."[190] Forming a similar study club, Fr. Steele and an original group of forty laypersons studied co-op housing for a year (1936-37) before a reduced group of fifteen purchased land and commenced construction of co-op houses. During this same year, the priest and a dozen laypersons from his parish in Bridgeport, Nova Scotia realised that direct, self-help projects based on small-group cooperation (rather than the usual parish societies such as the Catholic Women's League, the League of the Cross, and the Ancient Order of Hibernians) provided the organisation and funds toward construction

---

[189]Harvey Steele (1973), *Agent for Change: The Story of Pablo Steele as told to Gary MacEoin*, (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books), 6 and citation at 14.

[190]Harvey Steele (1993), *Dear Old Rebel: A Priest's Battle for Social Justice*, (Lawrencetown Beach, Nova Scotia: Pottersfield Press), 60.

of a clubhouse for the youth and future plans for a social centre.[191] Steele's experience in organising a study club and housing co-operative offers direct evidence supporting the first hypothesis of the thesis: study clubs rather than traditional parochial structures exemplified the prime contributors toward co-operative economic development. In addition, this key link to Antigonish pioneers and the co-op movement in Nova Scotia further attests to the value of grass-roots practices which would be adapted by Fr. Steele in his missionary assignments.

Serving in the China mission from 1937 to 1945, Fr. Harvey Steele, S.F.M. returned to Canada and established his second housing co-operative in Cape Breton. Arising from the influence of the Antigonish pioneers and his own experience of co-ops in Nova Scotia, Steele desired to apply the Antigonish philosophy and method to developing countries. According to Fr. Harvey Steele, S.F.M. both the regional superior of the Scarboro Foreign Mission Society of Canada in the Dominican Republic, Rev. Fr. Alphonsus Chafe, S.F.M., and Steele's own first cousin, Fr. Joe A. MacDonald, had conversations with Archbishop Ricardo Pittini, S.D.B. who had encouraged recruiting more Scarboro clergy to develop a co-operative movement in the Dominican Republic.[192] Hence, he was missioned by his own religious superior to the Dominican Republic in 1946 with the blessings of the archbishop.

Padre Pablo, as he was affectionately named by *campesinos*, founded his first co-operative credit union in Boyá, Dominican Republic which ended in failure because the *campesinos* with whom he collaborated, mostly illiterate and irresponsible, squandered the capital for loans they had acquired from the members of the credit

---

[191]Ibid., 61.

[192]Steele (1973), 66-67. Also Rev. Alexander MacKinnon (12 July 2004), semi-structured interview with author, written notes, St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia. *Rev. MacKinnon lived with and maintained a close, personal friendship with Rev. Harvey Steele, S.F.M.

union. His second attempt in Monte Plata resulted in failure on another level: one member of this credit union, a local town official, became a loan shark re-lending money to others in the *campo*. Another member, an elderly sacristan of the parish, who was considered a "pious, daily communicant" happened to apply her loan in financing what was revealed to be a "successful house of prostitution." In fact, the first half-dozen attempts by Padre Pablo Steele, S.F.M. to establish credit unions among the *campesinos* ended in failure.[193]

Earliest attempts by clergy in organising laypersons to initiate co-operatives and credit unions in Santo Domingo, Monte Plata, and Bayaguana had failed either for reasons of "mismanagement" (stolen funds) or lack of forming proper study clubs. In fact, when the first Scarboro missionaries arrived in the Dominican Republic in 1943, both the regional superior, Fr. Alphonsus Chafe, S.F.M., in Santo Domingo, and Fr. Jimmy Walsh, S.F.M., in Bayaguana, having no previous experience with co-operatives believed that sufficient capital sufficed as the only element necessary in providing low-interest loans. In Monte Plata, women were more attracted to the co-operative ideas presented by Fr. Harvey Steele than male peasant farmers; however, one man, a local dentist, after joining the study group decided that the education of its members required more formal instruction. Steele attributed the eventual failure of this co-operative to both lack of proper educational method and a top-down social bonding: "the people [of Monte Plata] were fairly ignorant, but were by no means unwilling [to learn]. So they resented this new relationship [with the dentist], however well intentioned, and they simply stopped coming."[194]

---

[193]Les Harris, producer and director (1989), *Padre Pablo: Fighter For Justice*, (Toronto: Canamedia Productions, Ltd.), documentary video, 53 min.; Also Steele (1993), 130-131.

[194]Steele (1973), 76-77.

Education and grass-roots self-help characterised the two most fundamental components for success in the co-operative ideas and practice of Fr. Pablo Steele. Implied within the aforementioned examples, social capital formation, including the nature and strength of social relationships among community members, also affected the relative success of co-operative projects. These instances point toward a second hypothesis of the thesis: grass-roots practices for social justice inclusive of social capital formation privileged the acting person through principles of solidarity, subsidiarity, and the common good over collective action in itself. The dentist in Monte Plata alienated the majority of study club members by not allowing individual persons to express their own perceived needs within a socially-affirming context. His top-down educational method, moreover, prevented formation of bonding social capital which would have enhanced a level of solidarity among group members.

Despite a mix of hierarchical/horizontal authority structures in the study groups, with materials translated from the Antigonish literature by Fr. Harvey Steele himself, Padre Pablo realised that a certain minimum level of educational aptitude; relatively well-bonded social networks rooted in trust (social capital); and authentic concern for the needs of all (the common good) within a community or parish together formed a fundamental foundation in formation of study clubs and voluntary associations capable of initiating and sustaining co-operative ventures. Instances of co-operative failures tested by a social capital-social justice nexus indicate a prime importance of three components of social capital—social relations engendering collective action; access to resources through social networks; bonding/bridging forms within these social networks—and the corresponding three principles within Catholic social teaching. Evidently, these early groups under the leadership of Fr. Pablo Steele, S.F.M. lacked concern for the common good, subsidiarity, and solidarity. Steele complained that "in

the beginning [at Monte Plata] I could get only the women to take interest" which militated against both achieving significant solidarity among community members and addressing authentically the common good. Furthermore, in Bayaguana, the group members would only entrust their money to the priest: "who retained responsibility for everything…to keep the books and make all the decisions."[195] In such cases, the incipient credit union collapsed as soon as the priest left town due to failure in an enacted subsidiarity and lack of diffusive authority/power within study groups.

Undaunted after two years of failure in Boyá, Steele moved to the north of the Dominican Republic, La Región Norte o Cibao (including villages and towns of Guayabal, La Torre, La Vega, San Jose de las Matas, Santiago) where his co-op and credit unions survived and perdured for years until the civil war of the 1960s. Fr. Steele's method closely adhered to Antigonish philosophy and practice of democratic economic self-help aimed at meeting the "felt needs" of the people themselves or, in other words, authentic grass-roots, participatory practices. In Steele's own experience, credit union practice "that offers education to its members, at weekly meetings…builds character, making members more responsible to themselves, their families and their community;" and he added, "Gradually old vices of wastefulness, (gambling, drink and others) irresponsibility and indifference (because of lack of hope), dishonesty and dependence begin to disappear."[196] Often expressed needs of community members focussed on water, better crops, and housing. Yet in one case, villagers decided they "wanted a place to dance...a slab of concrete upon which to dance." A seemingly secondary desire, however, reflected relatively strong social bonds among community

---

[195]Ibid.

[196]Harvey (Pablo) Steele, S.F.M. (1986), *Winds of Change: Social Justice through Co-operatives*, (Truro, Nova Scotia: Cooperative Resources, Ltd.), 55.

members, and this particular co-op project "eventually included a school, medical facility, and community centre."[197]

From the very beginning, Padre Pablo organised both *campesino* and villagers in the Dominican Republic. According to a close associate, Fr. Alexander MacKinnon, "Steele put to use the skills learned in Nova Scotia. Harvey Steele had been greatly influenced by Fr. Jimmy Tompkins, the pioneer of the Antigonish movement; in fact, it was Tompkins who challenged Steele to 'Put hands and feet on our ideas.'"[198] Characterised as a loner, "a proud old bastard," and "a real *pendejo*" by his clergy contemporaries, Fr. Harvey Steele, S.F.M., nonetheless, "received admiration and respect for his outspokenness and ability to organise poor *campesinos*" of the Dominican Republic. In addition, "many lay persons with whom he worked and taught greatly admired his courage and diligence."[199] Padre Pablo had a natural ease with these poor *campesinos*, and he initially attracted them to his study clubs through storytelling.

Both bonding social capital (solidarity) among members of study clubs and access to resources through bridging social capital (subsidiarity) with government officials and outside benefactors demonstrate opportunities for relative success within these co-operative groups. First, strong social bonds with lay collaborators, and between co-ops themselves, allowed Padre Pablo much needed support in advancing co-operative development ideas, methods, and practice based on the Antigonish movement. For instance, in Santiago, the second largest city in the Dominican Republic, a small merchant, Saulio Saleta, aided Fr. Pablo as lay organiser and early co-

---

[197]Les Harris, producer and director (1989), *Padre Pablo: Fighter For Justice*, (Toronto: Canamedia Productions, Ltd.), documentary video, 53 min.

[198]Rev. Alexander MacKinnon (12 July 2004), semi-structured interview with author, written notes, St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia.

[199]Ibid.

op promoter in the Dominican Republic. Likewise, Emilio Batista, a barely literate *campesino* from La Torre, served as leader of a credit union under whose leadership, after two months, "four hundred men accrued a savings base of a thousand dollars." Batista's natural leadership garnered the trust and cooperation of these men, indicating presence of bonding social capital, through which he mobilised their study group for authentic group action in forming a thriving credit union.[200]

Second, besides bonding of social relationships among study club members, another form of social capital—a bridging social capital—provided additional access to resources for the incipient co-operative movement in the Dominican Republic. This additional form of social capital had coalesced through key relationships between Fr. Harvey Steele, S.F.M., his lay collaborators, and government officials, like Dr. Manuel Peña Batlle. Steele's personal relationship with Peña Batlle aided the co-operative movement financially while also initiating a direct connection with the dictator, Rafael Trujillo, on behalf of co-operative groups.

In fact, from the beginning, Trujillo offered significant support through Batlle's mediation to the co-operatives and credit unions initiated by Padre Pablo and his companions. From a well-connected social position and influence embedded within a larger social network, Steele bridged added resources for the benefit of relatively isolated co-operative groups in the Cibao region. Another key actor within this particular, bridged social network included Archbishop Ricardo Pittini, S.D.B. of Santo Domingo—the highest ranking leader of the Catholic Church in the Dominican Republic from 1933 until 1960—who "not only admired Trujillo but also provided unequivocal support for his regime."[201]

---

[200]Steele (1973), 80-81.

[201]Jonathan Hartlyn (1998), *The Struggle for Democratic Politics in the Dominican Republic*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 50.

By 1951, Padre Pablo Steele, with the blessings of Archbishop Ricardo Pittini, S.D.B. and the support of Trujillo decided to establish a small building where *campesino* leaders could meet for short courses on co-operatives and credit unions. With an expected construction budget between forty and fifty thousand (U.S.) dollars, Steele relied on Trujillo for about a third of his building expenses with the remainder donated by Dr. Peña Batlle, Cabral Vicini (a Dominican businessman), wealthy U.S. benefactors, and a Spanish businessman. Trujillo personally contributed "the equivalent of seven thousand dollars each year from 1951-1957 for the operating expenses of Padre Pablo's co-operative training programmes."[202] Although Trujillo's financial support, on one hand, supported the fiscal operations of the early co-operatives established by Fr. Harvey Steele, S.F.M. and his lay collaborators; on the other hand, these co-operative pioneers, at the same time, were ensnared in the *patrón* system where one of a lower social rank seeks aid from another of a higher rank "with some access to wealth and power…whenever life becomes too complicated for one to handle by oneself."[203] For Steele and his associates, the ultimate benefactor of the people in the Dominican Republic, Rafael Trujillo, had entered their social network as their highest *patrón*.

4.3 Wider Caribbean collaboration and exile by the Trujillo regime

By bridging social networks of early co-operative collaborators, Padre Pablo also linked these lay leaders to educational resources available in neighbouring

---

[202]Steele (1993), 136-137.

[203]Steele (1973), 70.

Caribbean islands. One specific connection involved organising and educating clergy from Puerto Rico through the co-operative training centre at Santo Domingo in the Dominican Republic. In March 1952, co-operative short courses through the co-op training centre notwithstanding, Padre Pablo acknowledged further limitations of his resources. The first course offered at the training centre in the Dominican Republic catered to students between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five with an enrolment of seventeen lay persons, ten from the Cibao region.[204] A social network between Catholic co-operators in Puerto Rico and co-op leaders in the Dominican Republic comprised three levels: the Catholic hierarchy of Puerto Rico, the University of Puerto Rico, and co-operative organisations in the United States.

First, Archbishop Jim Davis of San Juan, Puerto Rico had invited Padre Pablo to train four priests of the San Juan archdiocese at the co-op training centre in Santo Domingo. One of these priests earned the moniker "Father Dynamite" and organised over fifty co-operatives in rural areas of Puerto Rico in less than a year.[205] Second, the academic community in Puerto Rico, which engaged in co-operative education and promotion, provided another level that bridged relationships and resources between the two countries. With his own first cousin, Fr. Joe A. MacDonald, working in Puerto Rico, Steele extended the social network of co-operative movement members in the Dominican Republic. The co-operative programmes affiliated with the University of Puerto Rico's Extension Department, where Fr. Joe A. MacDonald first lectured in 1945 and resumed from 1947 until his death in 1966, offered additional educational resources to Fr. Harvey Steele, S.F.M. and his lay collaborators.[206] Third, the Pan

---

[204]Ibid., 86.

[205]Steele (1993), 212.

[206]Rev. Alexander MacKinnon (12 July 2004), semi-structured interview with author, written notes, St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia. Also Steele (1986), 163.

American Union in Washington, D.C. through its own co-operatives' leader, Fernando Chávez, "offered the Dominican Republic three scholarships for a six-month training course in Puerto Rico."[207] Although the Dominican Republic's government awarded two of these scholarships to low-level officials, the remaining scholarship allowed Emilio Batista, Fr. Harvey Steele's first lay assistant in the co-operative movement, an opportunity which further advanced his technical understanding of co-operative practices.

The Catholic co-operative pioneer in Jamaica, Fr. John Peter Sullivan, S.J. also contributed his own expertise and educational assistance "each year from 1946 through 1948 at the invitation of the pioneer co-op and credit union leaders" of the Dominican Republic.[208] By 1953, Padre Pablo and his seven lay-assistant co-op leaders had established and incorporated more than thirty co-operatives: credit unions, consumer co-operatives, and marketing co-operatives throughout the Dominican Republic with a combined membership of over eleven thousand persons.[209] The first seven years (1946-1953) of the co-operative movement proved to be a mix of failures and small successes; yet, the Catholic pioneers in the Dominican Republic continued co-operative practices rooted in Antigonish methods and philosophy, particularly focussing on adult education through small study groups. A second stage (1953-1960) of co-operative development added momentum through rural life conferences in the Caribbean region. As socio-religious gatherings sponsored by the Holy See, these conferences added a tertiary-level social association for co-operative economic development in the Dominican Republic.

---

[207]Steele (1973), 87.

[208]Rev. John Peter Sullivan, S.J. (1956), "Memorandum of the Co-operative Division: 'Promotional Activity in the Caribbean (Outside Jamaica),'" (Kingston: St. George's College Extension School), 1, RG 11/2/1, SC200 [Jesuit Archives].

[209]Steele (1973), 97.

An analysis of these tertiary organisations will be presented in detail in chapter five as thematic linkages between CST and mission co-op practices.

Having briefly introduced social bridging between the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, the following three sections 4.4 through 4.6 will discuss the remaining key components—social actors, social principles, and social structures—in the case of co-operative development in Puerto Rico. As in Jamaica and the Dominican Republic, connections with Antigonish principles and practices will demonstrate some similarities within the co-operative movements; however, major differences emerge within the Puerto Rican case especially its primarily middle-class proponents; philosophical divergence by Catholic bishops and some clergy from the largest co-operative sector; and a greater reliance on external co-op funding from the United States compared to other Caribbean cases.

4.4 Concise economic and social history of Puerto Rico

As a province of Spain from 1812 under the Cádiz Constitution, a quelled insurrection for a Republic in 1868, and a cession from Spain relinquishing the colony to the United States through the Treaty of Paris in December 1898, Puerto Rico retained the social heritage of Spain yet surrendered to American economic interests. Coffee, sugar, and tobacco comprised the three most important export crops while food amounted to forty-five percent of all imports for Puerto Rico. Cane workers received the highest daily wages between thirty-five and fifty cents a day. The *jíbaros*, or rural persons who worked the land, mostly served as sharecroppers (*agregados*). Salaried plantation employees (*peones*) rarely owned the *bohíos*—small dwellings made of wood, hay, or dried palm fronds without windows, electricity, or plumbing—in which

they lived. Employment in the agricultural fields was seasonal requiring the average worker to purchase a staple diet of rice, beans, and occasionally meat or dried cod on credit. Formal education was almost non-existent (a secondary school system did not exist until 1882) aside from the few Catholic religious order schools.[210]

In the decades preceding the U.S. invasion and occupation of Puerto Rico, Puerto Rican production and social relations combined both capitalist and non-capitalist processes, James Dietz, an economic historian has argued. Protecting their lucrative lending practices, the Spanish merchants prevented the establishment of banks and lending institutions in Puerto Rico until the 1870s.[211] In 1893, José Celso Barbosa had established the first co-operative in Puerto Rico called *El Ahorro Colectivo*; and, as a leader of the republicans who supported the idea of U.S. statehood for Puerto Rico, he formed the *Partido Republicano* in Puerto Rico in 1899. The Foraker Act in 1900, the first organic act, initiated a first wave of governance by the United States with the appointment of a governor and federal officials. In 1904, the Union Party called for either equal statehood for Puerto Rico or recognition as an independent nation as a United States protectorate. Not until the second organic act, the Jones Act, would Puerto Ricans become citizens of the United States in 1917.[212]

By the 1930s, the colonial policy under the Bureau of Insular Affairs had calcified. Natural disasters, particularly two devastating hurricanes, and the effects of the Great Depression precipitated increasingly deteriorating economic conditions in Puerto Rico. As a partial response to these economic crises, President Franklin D.

---

[210]José Trías Monge (1997), *Puerto Rico: the trials of the oldest colony in the world*, (New Haven: Yale University Press), 15-17.

[211]James L. Dietz (1986), *Economic History of Puerto Rico: Institutional Change and Capitalist Development*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), 30-34.

[212]Monge (1997), 58-76.

Roosevelt created, in 1933, the Puerto Rican Emergency Relief Administration (PRRA). By 1940, the PRRA had been assisting sixteen co-operatives including sugar co-operatives, vegetable co-ops, and textile/handicraft co-operatives. However, the operational status of these co-operative societies ranged from satisfactory to failing with twelve land co-operatives in the process of liquidation.[213] Within this context, incipient social networks formed by co-ordination between the Co-operative Division of the Puerto Rican Government and the Extension Service of the University of Puerto Rico (Río Piedras) unveiled an ensuing co-operative development movement from the 1940s until the 1950s.

In addition, during the early 1940s, increasing political and social tensions accompanied by state-dominated economic development coalesced in a coalition between the *Partido Popular Democrático* (PPD) leader Luis Muñoz Marín and the United States appointed Governor Rexford Guy Tugwell. By the end of the 1940s, through political negotiation and collaboration, these two men supported the establishment of Operation Bootstrap—a self-help programme for economic development and social welfare. A rapid transformation toward "industrial development in Puerto Rico reflected a new policy of state-sponsored economic development as a direct consequence of Operation Bootstrap."[214] Beginning in 1947 when Muñoz Marín had been sworn in as Puerto Rico's first elected governor, the United States' influence through the Bureau of Insular Affairs in the Department of the Interior had waned with local initiatives procuring a transformation of the rural economy into an industrial economy by the 1960s.[215]

---

[213]Appendix Two presents details of these co-operatives in Puerto Rico at the end of 1940.

[214]Dietz (1986), 182-183.

[215]Monge (1997), 120.

Due to rapid industrialisation beginning in the mid-1940s, the Puerto Rican government also promoted development of co-operatives. In fact, an invitation extended to Antigonish movement leader, Rev. Dr. Moses M. Coady, as visiting professor at the University of Puerto Rico (Río Piedras) in 1945, signalled a recently-formed social capital bridge between co-operative leaders in Puerto Rico and Nova Scotia.[216] Dissuaded from accepting the offer because of a poor heart condition, Rev. Coady eventually acceded to the wishes of the Extension Service and Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Puerto Rico by sending an economist from St. Francis Xavier University, Rev. Joseph A. MacDonald, for the six week lecture series.

4.5 Reverend Joseph A. MacDonald and co-operative collaborators: Antigonish connection to Puerto Rico

Joseph Alexander MacDonald had studied under Rev. Dr. Moses Coady at St. Francis Xavier University (1925-1928), and he worked with Rev. Jimmy Tompkins and the Antigonish movement co-operatives after ordination as a Catholic priest for the diocese of Antigonish in 1932. First as professor of economics at St. Francis Xavier University (1934-1943), Rev. Joe A. MacDonald also served on the staff of the Extension Department from 1944 through 1950. During the summers of 1945 and 1946, Rev. MacDonald lectured on the co-operative philosophy and techniques of the Antigonish movement at the University of Puerto Rico at Río Piedras before permanent assignment to the diocese of San Juan from 1954 until his death in 1966 as visiting

---

[216]In 1938, Ana Maria O'Neill, School of Business Administration, University of Puerto Rico, had visited Antigonish and in 1945, arranged for Rev. Dr. Moses Coady to deliver a series of lectures in Puerto Rico on co-operatives and the Antigonish movement. "Puerto Rico" (n.d.), Unpublished document, 1, RG 30-3/2/9010[St. FXU Archives].

professor of economics and co-operative consultant to the *Liga Cooperativa de Puerto Rico*.[217]

Having arrived in Puerto Rico in June 1945, Fr. Joe A. MacDonald, in addition to his lectures at the university in Río Piedras, established social ties with church organisations (e.g. Knights of Columbus); civic associations (e.g. Rotary Club); government (e.g. Agricultural Department); and board of directors for "defunct or semi-defunct co-ops."[218] Through these various social networks formed during his first summer lecture tour, MacDonald initially advanced the Antigonish philosophy of co-operative education, promotion, and practice.

In his lectures, addresses, and consultancy documents, Rev. Joe A. MacDonald argued that "our 1945-1961 cooperative philosophy has not changed in 16 years, but has matured to meet the onslaught of terrific competition."[219] Despite the increasing competition from capitalist enterprises from the United States during the late 1940s and into the 1950s, the co-operative pioneers in Puerto Rico had established consumer and credit co-operatives totalling three-percent of total Gross Domestic Product[220] while adapting to the rapidly changing economic environment initiated by Operation Bootstrap. In concrete terms and practices, Fr. MacDonald laboured to dispel "a strict division between the philosophy of the cooperative movement and the techniques or results of the application of these cooperative techniques, such as the creation of a 10

---

[217]"Joseph Alexander MacDonald" (n.d.), Biographical notes # 418 non-accessioned document [St. FXU Archives].

[218]Father Joe A. MacDonald, Colegio San Jose, Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico, to Rector, St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, ALS, 4 July 1945, RG 5/11/8875 [St. FXU Archives].

[219]Rev. Joseph A. MacDonald (1961), "What We Believe, What We Aim For," Unpublished manuscript, 3, RG 30-3/2/8998-9006 [St. FXU Archives].

[220]In 1950, the GDP of Puerto Rico: U.S$844.1million [Source: Junta de Planificación de Puerto Rico (2005), [cited 28 April 2005], available from http://www.jp.gobierno.pr.; U.S.$27million [co-operative federation/credit union development]. Also Appendix Two provides details of co-operative statistics for Puerto Rico through 30 June 1961.

million dollar Consumer Cooperative Federation, or the 17 million dollar Credit Union development."[221]

As a Christian philosophy with "man, God's greatest work, as its centre" that "must point out gently, but firmly, that cooperation not conflict is the real law of nature," the "why?" and "what for?" of co-operatives included the fulfilment of a person's physical, mental, and spiritual capacities and the concrete "plans, buildings, money, houses, groceries and all sorts of services" provided by co-operative development. In practice, the fundamental core within this Christian philosophy of co-operation emphasised a combination of "education and...practical application." In other words, "education before action" yet not "continuous education and no action": both must be linked together—"education (or philosophy) and the action."[222] The philosophy advocated by Rev. Joseph A. MacDonald in Puerto Rico corroborated the principles and practices (techniques) of the Antigonish movement while acknowledging the need for local adaptations.

In testing how these co-op principles and practices correspond with the three component social justice principles and characteristic social capital formation practices in a social capital-social justice nexus, an in-depth analysis of Puerto Rico's co-operative proponents, social and authority structures, and multiple social networks in Part III-chapter five of the thesis will indicate very close similarity or correspondence to CST principles. Yet a rather strong divergence in co-op practices for social capital formation compared particularly to other Caribbean cases and that of Antigonish, Nova Scotia will also be revealed. However, from the mid-1940s, direct links with both Antigonish pioneers and Jamaica's socio-religious sector leaders point toward a

---

[221]Rev. Joseph A. MacDonald (1961), "What We Believe, What We Aim For," Unpublished manuscript, 1, RG30-3/2/8998-9006 [St. FXU Archives].

[222]Ibid., 2-3.

consistency in promotion of common principles rooted in CST within these co-operative movements.

At least one consistent component included the philosophy and some co-operative techniques acknowledged by Rev. Dr. Moses Coady; promoted by Fr. John Peter Sullivan, S.J. in Jamaica; and shared by MacDonald's own cousin, Rev. Harvey (Pablo) Steele, S.F.M. in the Dominican Republic. Through these initially shared principles, Rev. Joe A. MacDonald and his lay collaborators in Puerto Rico entered into closer solidarity through an emergent social capital network across these Caribbean islands and through their direct social ties to the Antigonish pioneers.

The first federation of co-operatives incorporated in Puerto Rico—*Liga de Cooperativas de Puerto Rico*—had been established in 1948 expressly for the educational promotion of the co-operative movement. In addressing the leaders and members of this confederation, Rev. Joe A. MacDonald explicitly recalled the link between the Antigonish pioneers and Puerto Rico:

> Our exchange of ideas for our mutual advantage can be like the neighbours chat over back fences in a short while…it means self help and the right of people to pool together their savings in order to provide for their common needs. We believe that our people have a right to form voluntary groups and associations to share together risks and hazards of life which they cannot meet alone.[223]

Implicitly underscored within his message, the principles of a common good and solidarity, directly relevant to both the first and second hypotheses, challenged the co-operative members themselves in maintaining close relationships among their voluntary groups and between the various co-operative movements in the Caribbean.

---

[223]Rev. Joseph A. MacDonald (n.d.), "Address to '*Liga de Cooperativas de Puerto Rico*'," Unpublished manuscript (original), 15 and 16, RG 30-3/2/8978-8995 [St. FXU Archives].

Representing 325 co-operative societies comprising 100,000 members[224], the president of the *Liga de Cooperativas de Puerto Rico*, Rafael Pol, aided in establishing on-going links between Puerto Rico and Canada; moreover, the executive secretary, Rafael A. Vicens, served the "co-operative union of Puerto Rico in its structure and function as a people's forum" and as an "ambassador for the Puerto Rican co-operative movement."[225] In addition, the government of Puerto Rico through the influence and leadership of Senate President Luis Muñoz Marín, who persistently espoused socialist ideas since his election to the Senate in 1932,[226] intentionally cultivated a link with the Antigonish pioneers, particularly through its ties to Rev. Joseph A. MacDonald.

4.6 University of Puerto Rico, government of Puerto Rico, the Catholic Church and early cooperators (1945-1961): academia and the middle-class/ the Church and the rural poor

Arising from an incipient social network between members of the University of Puerto Rico at Río Piedras and Mayagüez campuses along with government officials interested in co-operative development, a delegation officially representing Puerto Rico embarked on a tour and assessment of the co-operatives in Nova Scotia, Canada and the United States during September 1945. The delegation included the following leaders from various institutions and organisations: "Colon Torres, Head of the Economics Department, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Puerto Rico; Hector Zayas

---

[224]Rafael A. Vicens, executive secretary, *Liga de Cooperativas de Puerto Rico*, Hato Rey, Puerto Rico, to Right Reverend Monsignor M. M. Coady, St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, TLS, 24 October 1958, MG 20 MMC (EA Accession) [St. FXU Archives]. Estimated Population of Puerto Rico (1958): 2,231,000 [Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (1960) *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1960* (Eighty-First Edition) (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Commerce), 10].

[225]Rev. Joseph A. MacDonald (12 November 1958), "Message to the Co-operative League of Puerto Rico," Unpublished document, 1-2, RG 30-3/2/9007-9008 [St. FXU Archives].

[226]Monge (1997), 92.

Chardón, Extension Service Economist, Univ. of Puerto Rico; Guillermo Serra, Assistant Economist, Agricultural Experiment Station; Miss Antonia Cerame, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Puerto Rico; Augustin Borgos, Member of the Insular House of Representatives; Mario Canales, Member of the Insular House of Representatives; and Jose Beauchamp, Head of the Co-operative Division for the Puerto Rican Reconstruction Administration."[227]

In the official report to the government of Puerto Rico, the delegation emphasised that economic and social reform required new techniques and co-operative attitudes:

> Conflicting interests cannot exist among the masses if the new social order proposed by this reform is to succeed. It is necessary to instill [*sic*] among the people a sense of human solidarity and common effort; it is necessary to make the people conscious of their ability to stand by themselves while the process of aiding them to stand on their own feet is going on.[228]

Their ideas and recommendations coincided with those of the Antigonish pioneers. Each of the three foundational principles of the Antigonish co-operative philosophy—the common good, subsidiarity, and solidarity—were underscored in the Puerto Rican plan for "reform to create a new concept of life in the social and economic organization of the people…in the realization of a true Christian democracy."[229]

Government policy and legislative effort in Puerto Rico calling for reforms in the economic and social environment reflected a more open acceptance of democratic ideas and practice advocated by Catholic voluntary associations than corresponding European Catholic movements, like the French and Belgian *Mouvement Populaire des*

---

[227]R. Colon Torres, et al. (1945), "Report of the Delegation Representing the People of Puerto Rico Sent to Canada and the United States to Study the Co-operative Movement," Unpublished document, 17, RG 30-3/9/8-24 [St. FXU Archives].

[228]Ibid., 2.

[229]Ibid.

Familles, whose relationships to their respective governments and the Catholic Church increasingly became more adversarial during the 1940s.[230] One explanation for the difference recognises the historically close connection between the Catholic Church and state in Puerto Rico; whereas, a second explanation acknowledges the influence of pro-democratic institutions supported by the United States. In addition, the local influence of Senator Luis Muñoz Marín, who was sworn in office in 1949 as the first elected governor of Puerto Rico, had played a major role in responding to the economic and social needs of the people as early as the mid-1930s. Because the average Puerto Rican had been excluded from certain federal funds from the United States under the Federal Emergency Relief Act including Social Security, Muñoz Marín had "proposed that an overall economic plan for Puerto Rico be adopted" organised under the Chancellor of the University of Puerto Rico, Carlos Chardón, whose commission recommended "an increase in the island's gross product…with its centrepiece to include a public corporation to acquire land and operate sugar mills, while distributing land to farmers to grow other products."[231] In fact, a co-operative organisation instead of a corporation had been established under the PRRA, which also promoted other producer co-operatives; however, by 1938, the Puerto Rican Reconstruction Administration had spent only $58 million for economic reform projects on the island.[232] Muñoz Marín's plan included bridging closer relationships with the Catholic co-operative pioneers of Antigonish rather than mere reliance upon the U.S. reconstruction and relief authorities.

---

[230]Gerd-Rainer Horn (2001), "Left Catholicism in Western Europe in the 1940s," in Gerd-Rainer Horn and Emmanuel Gerard, eds., *Left Catholicism 1943-1955 Catholics and Society in Western Europe at the Point of Liberation*, (Leuven: Leuven University Press), 14 -16.

[231]Monge (1997), 96.

[232]Ibid., 97.

The visitation to Nova Scotia, Canada facilitated direct, personal contact with the Antigonish pioneers themselves, whereby the delegation which returned to Puerto Rico in late 1945 experienced "co-operative action and education in all aspects of social and economic life, fully inspired by a true sense of democracy…in attaining a greater production of wealth and more equitable distribution of the same."[233] Acknowledged by the Puerto Rican delegation as of significant value for "an intensive and uninterrupted educational campaign" the techniques and adult education methods promoted by the Antigonish movement "conclusively proved to the delegation the value of these study clubs as a means to teach the people to discuss their own problems and to find solutions to the same."[234] From an institutional perspective, the delegation also recommended the following points for implementation by the government of Puerto Rico: (1) "the establishment of a Department of Co-operatives attached to the Extension Service of the University of Puerto Rico"; (2) the addition to the curriculum of the University, both at the Río Piedras and Mayagüez campuses, "courses on the philosophy and management of co-operatives [also public schools should include in their curricula courses on the principles of co-operation]"; (3) establishment of an office for the Inspector of Co-operatives for "adequate regulation and supervision of co-operative associations."[235] In the first five years of the modern co-operative movement in Puerto Rico (1946-1951), the relationship between co-operators in Puerto

---

[233]R. Colon Torres, et al. (1945), "Report of the Delegation Representing the People of Puerto Rico Sent to Canada and the United States to Study the Co-operative Movement," Unpublished document, 13, RG 30-3/9/8-24 [St. FXU Archives].

[234]Ibid., 4-5 and 14.

[235]Ibid., 15-16.

Rico and Antigonish, Nova Scotia manifested "a friendly feeling between St. F.X. and Puerto Rico" with a confidence "that the people will actually do the job."[236]

From the initial collaboration between university, government, and church officials, the modern co-operative movement in Puerto Rico primarily encompassed middle-class members of Puerto Rican society including many professors, academic administrators, and government officials. After 1945, "special efforts were made to promote the movement" through an annual subsidy of one million dollars from the government of Puerto Rico, especially under the administration of Muñoz Marín.[237] Yet, an assessment of the movement between 1945 and 1961 focussed on the following structures associated with the co-operative movement in Puerto Rico: (1) four federations comprising agricultural, credit, consumer, and all other co-operative societies, (2) a co-operative league—*Liga de Cooperativas de Puerto Rico*—"the educational and promotional arm of the movement sponsored by the movement itself," (3) a government agency—*Departamento de Fomento Cooperativa*—"also responsible for the development of the movement," and (4) both a co-operative bank and insurance company "providing long-term credits for the movement" and "insurance for the movement...including all the savings and loan insurance for the credit unions."[238]

Despite an early collaboration with CUNA Mutual, in meeting the insurance needs during the early years, the co-operative leaders in Puerto Rico, initially benefiting from this bridged social capital with this organisation from the United States, subsequently shifted their reliance upon the social networks and bonded social capital within Puerto Rico excluding the need for CUNA Mutual "whom they had hoped

---

[236]Dr. M.M. Coady (December 1951), "Message to Puerto Rico," Unpublished document, 1-2, RG 30-3/2/9010-9011 [St. FXU Archives].

[237]"Puerto Rico" (ca. 1962), Unpublished document, 3a, RG 50-2/3/604-611[St. FXU Archives].

[238]Ibid., 4a.

would help them underwrite the [insurance]." In addition, the "tendency for certain friction to arise among the various co-operative bodies,"[239] likewise, indicates a negative, exclusionary dynamic within the various forms of social capital (bridging and bonding) manifested by the Puerto Rican co-operative movement during the late 1950s.

Indeed, similar tensions surfaced between the various agencies involved in co-operative education and promotion, including the *Liga de Cooperativas de Puerto Rico*, the Institute of Co-operatives at the University of Puerto Rico, the Co-op Bank, and the *Departamento de Fomento Cooperativa*. Co-operative housing, for example, had been "a vague plan in 1946," and yet viewed by the co-operative leaders in Puerto Rico as "an important phase of [their] co-operative movement."[240] Colon Torres, as general secretary of the *Liga de Cooperativas*, advocated an approach based partly upon the principle of subsidiarity. He envisaged "setting up Task Forces or teams of qualified persons (educator, engineer, economist, financier, land specialist, etc.) who would be able to provide the expertise required" in order to provide "the help the people need but cannot acquire with their own resources."[241] Since the *Liga de Cooperativas* lacked these necessary resources, Colon Torres suggested these task forces be created and promoted by the *Departamento de Fomento*, or in other words, through bridging social networks with the governmental arm of the co-operative movement. On one hand, he stressed the need for a permanent training centre in Puerto Rico for both co-op education courses and technical courses wherein "Antigonish should co-operate in this work." On the other hand, Colon Torres, while willing to work with other co-operative

---

[239]Ibid.

[240]Rev. Joseph A. MacDonald (1961), "What We Believe, What We Aim For," Unpublished document, 3, RG 30-3/2/8998-9006 [St. FXU Archives].

[241]"Puerto Rico" (ca. 1962), Unpublished document, 5a, RG 50-2/3/604-611[St. FXU Archives].

educators, desired to distance his proposals from "the confessional approach" of Fr. Harvey Steele in The Dominican Republic.[242]

The academic branch of the co-operative movement in Puerto Rico, by 1960, had explicitly embarked upon a co-operative strategy almost entirely responsive to middle-class professionals, eschewing the focus on the rural poor advocated by Steele and his collaborators in the Dominican Republic. Once the academic sector of the co-operative movement in Puerto Rico had secured its own relatively closed social networks through a bonding social capital formed by middle-class co-op proponents, this divergent strategic, promotional, and educational thrust by the academic sector distanced itself even more from the Catholic-inspired religious sector. In fact, many co-operative leaders from the religious sector continued a primary educational and promotional focus on working toward social justice for the common good of all.

The bishop of San Juan, James Peter Davis, originally from Houghton, Michigan, and certain native members of the Catholic clergy in Puerto Rico, especially Padre Antulio Parilla-Bonilla, a Jesuit priest from San Lorenzo, Puerto Rico, nonetheless, publicly advocated a co-operative economic development strategy favouring poorer urban and rural persons of the island. In March 1956, the *Primer Congreo de la Acción Social Católica de Puerto Rico* was convened at the Universidad Católica de Puerto Rico, in Ponce. Both Bishop James Peter Davis and Bishop James Edward McManus, C.Ss.R., of Ponce, co-sponsored and presided at this congress which also welcomed both Rev. Joseph MacDonald and Rev. Harvey Steele, S.F.M. as honoured guest presenters.[243] With approbation from the Puerto Rican Catholic hierarchy, Rev. Pablo Steele further promoted the Antigonish philosophy and

---

[242]Ibid.

[243]Rev. Padre Pablo Steele, S.F.M. (January-March 1956), "¿Por Que Hay Cooperativas?," in *El Correro de ASOC* IV(1): 12-14. RG 30-3/2/9009 [St. FXU Archives].

techniques of co-operative economic development at this first social action conference in Puerto Rico:

> Our homilies about charity are perhaps not sufficient today when the social order is so chaotic. We must be stronger in order to know the demands of Christian justice in our society. The cooperative approach is at least the more practical form for bringing similar results to our people, if it is combined with a programme of adult education [my translation].[244]

The Catholic bishops in Puerto Rico, in inviting both MacDonald and Steele as honoured speakers at the conference, implicitly accepted and approved their Christian co-operative philosophy and adult education techniques through practical social action.[245]

Rev. Antulio Parrilla-Bonilla, S.J., after ordination as a Jesuit priest in 1952, had been involved in various capacities with co-operatives in Puerto Rico. From 1954-1957 and again in 1961-1965, he served as the director of *Acción Social Católica* (Catholic Social Action) for the archdiocese of San Juan before being ordained as auxiliary bishop of Cauguas, Puerto Rico in August 1965.[246] Based on his own

---

[244]Ibid., 14: "Nuestras prédicas sobre la caridad no son quizás suficientes hoy cuando el orden social es tan caótico. Debemos ser más fuertes para que se conozcan las demandas de la justicia cristiana en nuestra sociedad. El acercamiento cooperativo es la forma más práctica por lo menos de traer semejantes resultados a nuestras gentes, si se combina con un programa de educación de adultos."

[245]Rev. Joseph A. MacDonald, Consultant Cooperative League of Puerto Rico, (31 May 1963), "Ponencia For Second Catholic Action Congress," Unpublished document, 1-17, RG 30-3/2/8961-8977 [St. FXU Archives] acknowledged the contribution to co-operative development by Archbishop James Peter Davis [appointed archbishop of San Juan, Puerto Rico, 30 April 1960]: "....as I entered the classroom at the University of Puerto Rico in 1945...among my students were two priests. I later learned that Bishop Davis had circularized the clergy asking them to follow my lectures, if possible... All these 18 years I have received generously of Archbishop Davis's friendship and concern. Seven years ago [1956] he helped my work immensely by issuing a Pastoral letter on the Cooperative Movement as viewed through the Antigonish formula. Then, of course, his appointment of Father Parrilla[-Bonilla]...as Director of Social Action has meant so very much for the progress of the total program. Archbishop Davis [*sic*] latest pastoral letter needs no comment, I am sure that it follow [*sic*] very closely the emphasis on Cooperatives suggested by his Holiness Pope John XXIII in 'Mater et Magistra.'" 3-4. The second Pastoral letter mentioned refers to the following which will be discussed in more detail in Part III of the thesis: Jaime Pedro Davis, Arzobispo de San Juan, (29 de septiembre, Fiesta de San Miguel Arcángel 1962), *Carta Pastoral Sobre La Semana Del Cooperativismo Del 14 Al 21 De Octubre De 1962*, 1-4, RG 5/12/4893 [St. FXU Archives].

[246]Antulio Parrilla-Bonilla, S.J. (1975), *Cooperativismo En Puerto Rico, Una Critica*, (Ríos Piedras, Puerto Rico: Editorial Juan XXIII), 11.

experience with co-operative development in Puerto Rico since 1952, Parrilla-Bonilla levelled four specific critiques against the co-operative movement on the island: (1) "government propaganda had created a false, magical image of a cooperative movement" [my translation]; (2) "sectarianism had more legal standing than integrationist. It [co-operative movement] is more individualistic than collectivist; more capitalist than socialist" [my translation]; (3) initial (1946-1947) legal restrictions favoured a "limited, calcified structure based on European cooperatives and restrictions on membership size and loan limits based on credit unions in the United States" and preference for agricultural cooperatives; and (4) lack of ongoing education.[247]

His assessment of the co-operative movement while also recognising the ongoing tensions between sectors within the movement also called for two necessary re-orientations in order to correct past errors: "a definite social orientation" inclusive of "a search for the common good which gives persons a certain identity and solidarity" and "the education and economic renewal of the masses" including "a guiding educational programme to orientate companions according to the cooperativist philosophy" [my translation].[248] This particular philosophy had not been adopted by the government sector of the co-operative movement in Puerto Rico. In practice, the governmental branches of the movement—including *Fomento Cooperativo*—embarked upon a reformist plan of cooperative development rather than a more radical plan for the benefit of the rural poor (*campesino*) and slum dwellers (*habitantes del arrabal*) encouraged by the Catholic hierarchy and proposed by both Fathers Antulio Parrilla-

[247]Ibid., Parrilla-Bonilla noted: 1) "La propaganda gubernamental ha creado una falsa imagen mágica del cooperativismo," 27; 2) "El sectarismo ha estado más vigente que el integracionismo. Se es más individualista que colectivista; más capitalista que socialista," 27-28. 3) Quoted in its original language, 31.

[248]Ibid., "La búsqueda del bien común . . .a los hombres y les da cierta identidad o solidaridad. La teoría cooperativa y su práctica es una de las muchas ideologías que se proponen en esta área," 43-44; "una orientación social definida"..."La educación y renovación económica de las masas...programa educativo encaminado a orientar a los socios...sobre la filosofía del cooperativismo," 63.

Bonilla, S.J. and Joseph A. MacDonald. Conflict between *Fomento Cooperativo* and *Liga de Cooperativas* continued into the 1960s, and the now Bishop Parrilla-Bonilla, S.J. reminisced: "From a liberating cooperative movement that promotes the human person, it passed to the conception of a reformist cooperative movement of the capitalist system" [my translation].[249]

Clear evidence of a divided co-operative movement in Puerto Rico by the 1950s acknowledged both conflict and divergence between tertiary co-operative structures for education and promotion in the co-operative movement initially influenced by Antigonish principles and practices. An academic sector possessing strong social capital bonds and sufficient financial resources among its members sustained a virtually autonomous branch of the movement in Puerto Rico. Initial collaboration with the academic sector notwithstanding, a Catholic socio-religious sector sustained both an explicit social justice co-operative strategy and a bridging social capital with co-operative leaders in Antigonish, Nova Scotia, Jamaica, and the Dominican Republic. A final Caribbean case—Dominica—will also reveal key co-op connections to Antigonish and Jamaica underlining the importance of a combined co-operative philosophy rooted in Catholic social teaching principles and social capital formation engendered by grass-roots co-op practices.

---

[249]Ibid., "De un cooperativismo liberador y promotor de la persona humana, se pasa a la concepción de un cooperativismo reformista del sistema [capitalista]," 68. Parrilla-Bonilla also outlined the various laws which encouraged a reformist approach to co-operative development in Puerto Rico: La ley 291 de 1946—Ley General de Cooperativas which favoured large agricultural cooperatives rather than "frank structural socialisation and social promotion giving the *campesino* his own responsibility and authority for his own economic governance," 63. La Ley 10 de 1947—Ley Cooperativas de Credito; La Ley 4 de 1957—created *Administración de Fomento Cooperativo* which integrated all government organisations responsible for cooperatives, 67.

4.7 Concise economic and social history of Dominica

The island Waitukubuli ("Tall is her body") as named by the indigenous people called Kalinago had been controlled for almost one hundred years before Christopher Columbus had sighted the island on 3 November 1493 and named it "Dominica because the day he and his crew had first glimpsed the island fell on Sunday."[250] Kalinago domination of the island lasted until about the 1730s when the natives forcibly "retreat[ed] to the most inaccessible parts of the island in the face of English and French colonisation."[251] Of only minor interest to Spanish explorers during the 1500s, Dominica resisted European colonisation until the French declared possession in 1647. At the end of the Seven Years' War, Britain gained Dominica through the Treaty of Paris in 1763.

Early British colonial administration (1763-1838) supervised small-scale, peasant farming established by the earliest French settlers and the small plantations (operated on behalf of absentee and resident British owners and resident freed slave owners) as opposed to large sugar plantations worked by slaves in other British Caribbean colonies like Barbados and Jamaica. The British also introduced a system of colonial government providing an administrator who had overall responsibility for defence, finance, law, and religion. An alliance of British merchants and professionals coalesced significant political power, which created a system of government excluding the Roman Catholic French planters from participating in governance of the island. Increased tensions between the growing number of British settlers and French planters,

---

[250]Lennox Honychurch (1995), *The Dominican Story: A History of the Island*, (London: MacMillan Education, Ltd.), 20-21 and 31-32. The term Kalinago refers properly to native immigrants from the mainland popularly called Caribs, as mentioned by Columbus, himself, in his journal on 26 November 1492.

[251]Ibid., 21.

who provided the majority of export earnings for the colony, manifested a growing dissatisfaction with British colonial rule in Dominica. Freed slaves, black estate owners, and a large slave population, descendants of those brought to the island by the French in the seventeenth century, remained entirely excluded from involvement in political and economic decision-making which hindered social change. Yet by 1832, native representation commenced within the British colonial government with a black majority achieved by 1838 (following the Abolition of Slavery Act promulgated as law within Dominica in 1834).[252]

A middle period of British colonialism (1838-1939) included not only expansion of agriculture but also the formation of extension services; creation of a lime oil and lime juice industry for export; and recommendation for social welfare and development by the Moyne Commission Report of 1939. Finally, a modern period of British colonial administration (1939-1962) focussed on comprehensive economic development through British foreign aid, trade, and investment (1930s-1950s); an emphasis on social and political activism by Dominicans (1950s); and the political establishment of the West Indies Federation (1957-1962).[253]

Within the social history of Dominica, the Roman Catholic Church occupied an important role beginning in the seventeenth century. Catholic missionaries, primarily members of the Order of Preachers, and in particular Fr. Raymond Breton, O.P. were welcomed by the Kalinago chiefs in 1642 who allowed the missionaries to catechise and instruct, at first, children and, within time, adults in Christian faith and practice.

---

[252]E.V. Goveia (1965), *Slave Society in the British Leeward Islands at the end of the 18th century*, (New Haven: Yale University Press). D.J. Murray (1965), *The West Indies and the Development of Colonial Government 1810-1834*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press). W.A. Green (1976), *British Slave Emancipation: The Sugar Colonies and the Great Experiment (1830-1865)*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press). Also U.S. Library of Congress, [cited 29 October 2004], available at http://countrystudies.us/caribbean-islands/59.htm.

[253]Ibid.

Between 1730-1740, the Catholic Church had established "regular structures—sacramental registers and churches—administered by Capuchin clergy and religious in north Dominica and by Jesuit priests of Martinique in the south of the island."[254] In 1789, the first English-speaking Catholic priest, Fr. Henry McCorry, became parish priest of Roseau, the largest city in Dominica. Three Spanish priests served approximately 16,000 Catholics during the beginning of the nineteenth century [2,000 other Christians, mainly Methodists also resided on the island]. Finally, Dominica, after having been under ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the vicariate apostolic of Trinidad from 1819, received its first bishop, Michael Monaghan, when the Holy See established the diocese of Roseau on 30 April 1850. Under the local bishop, Catholic schools soon flourished in parishes throughout the island despite "the opposition of the British administration which…was attempting to control education as a matter solely for the state."[255] Along with education and health care, the Catholic Church from the nineteenth century onwards would make significant contributions in Dominica toward social and economic development during the 1950s especially in the areas of housing, leadership development, credit unions, and vocational/handicraft training.

4.8 Mother Mary Alicia and early lay co-operative pioneers in Dominica: focus on lower middle-class/ civil service and political aspirations of lay leaders/ formation of self-help, voluntary organisations

Mother Mary Alicia De Tremmerie, a member of the Missionary Canonesses of Saint Augustine,[256] born and raised in Harelbeke, West Flanders on 3 July 1918 had

---

[254]Honychurch (1995), 41-42.

[255]Ibid., 174.

[256]Most Rev. Richard Cushing, Archbishop of Boston, (n.d.) *An Apostle of Today: Mother Marie-Louise De Meester and her Congregation of the Missionary Canonesses of St. Augustine*, (no

been an active member of the Young Christian Students and Catholic Action since secondary school. These activities and a growing awareness of social ideas like the "lay apostolate, social justice, improvement of the quality of life for the poor, ways and means to combat poverty and exploitation" informed Alicia De Tremmerie's decision to enter religious life in 1941 choosing the "congregation that offered the greatest chance to leave for the missions!"[257]

Preparing for social work in Dominica, Mother Mary Alicia received her training at the College of Social Sciences in Brussels under the direction of Canon Belpaire and Miss Maria Baers, founder of the Catholic Association of Women Workers, and she followed courses in both the United States and Canada. On 19 April 1950, Mother Alicia arrived in Roseau, Dominica having been invited by Bishop James Moris, C.Ss.R.[258] and having received a mission from her provincial superior in New York for service as a social worker. She also had been granted "'full permission' to do whatever necessary and collect the needed funds" for her ministry. By November 1950, Mother Alicia had founded together with a small group of Catholic Action members the Social League of Catholic Women.[259]

---

publisher stated), 1-5 and 46. Reverend Mother Marie-Louise De Meester (1857-1928), Foundress of the Canonesses of St. Augustine [now named Missionary Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (I.C.M.)], in response to the Bishop of Roseau, Dominica, travelled to the Dutch West Indies arriving in Frederiksted, St. Croix, V.I. in 1914. In the Virgin Islands, United States of America, and British West Indies, there were 8 houses in 1939 with 68 sisters of the congregation. The "*Decretum Laudis,*" officially recognised the Missionary Canonesses of St. Augustine on 17 June 1911 and the constitutions received final approval by the Holy See on 1 October 1926.

[257]Sr. Alicia De Tremmerie (December 1992) "Sent to the Poor," *Euntes*, 25:45-46 [Chancery (Roseau) Archives].

[258]Most Reverend James Moris, C.Ss.R. born 10 March 1876 Linde-les-Peer, Belgium; ordained priest as member of Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer (Redemptorists) October 1900; ordained bishop of Roseau, Dominica on 30 March 1922; died 4 June 1957. Unpublished Papers of Bishop James Moris, C.Ss.R. [Chancery (Roseau) Archives].

[259]De Tremmerie (1992), 47 and 49. Also I.C.M. Papers (1933-1985), Unpublished documents [Chancery (Roseau) Archives].

Although the Holy See had recommended formation of Catholic Action[260] groups in the Antilles as early as 1939, the reluctant support of the local hierarchy in Bishop James Moris, C.Ss.R. meant that explicit social action and lay, voluntary organisations sponsored by the Catholic Church would not emerge in Dominica until the 1950s. Access to financial resources by the average labourer or farmer in Dominica also hindered socioeconomic development throughout the island. In fact, in 1940, the Dominica Co-operative Bank, although not a true co-operative, served as the poor man's bank. Problems with the British colonial government, however, resulted in the closure of the bank, opening the way for Mother Alicia and a movement to establish credit unions throughout Dominica. Having studied co-operatives in the United States and with Fr. John Peter Sullivan, S.J. in Jamaica[261] before beginning her ministry in Dominica in April 1950, Mother Alicia had recognised the value of the study club structure and Antigonish method of adult education.[262] The social networks nurtured by Mother Alicia and the women of Roseau served as a catalyst not only for creation of lay, voluntary social organisations but also for formation of social capital (both bridging and bonding forms).

---

[260]Archevêque M. Silvani, Le Nonce Apostolique, Port-au-Prince, (N. 1584/39), Antilles to Mgr. Jacques Moris, Evêque de Roseau, TLS, le 26 Janvier 1939 [Chancery (Roseau) Archives] stated: "La Sacrée Congrégation de 'Propaganda Fide', vient de me recommender d'une façon toute spéciale la formation du clergé indigene, l'Action Catholique et l' érection, dans chaque diocese, des Oeuvres Pontificales en faveur des Missions." Bishop Moris, C.SsR. succeeded in promotion of native clergy two of whom— Joseph Olivier Bowers, S.V.D and Kelvin Edward Felix—became bishops. The former was born in Mahaut, Dominica 1910: bishop of Accra, Ghana (1953) and bishop of St. John's, B.V.I. (1971). The latter was born in Roseau in 1933: archbishop of Castries, St. Lucia (1981).

[261]Social Welfare Department (November 1950), *Dominica Welfare News* 4 (3): 21. In a paper on credit unions read by Mother Alicia at the Leadership Training Course in Dominica, she noted, "In April 1945, I listened in on the Port Royal Credit Union Ltd. in Jamaica."

[262]Mr. Kenneth A. Richards (2 September 2004), semi-structured interview by author, written notes, Roseau, Dominica. Having worked directly with Mother Alicia De Tremmerie, Mr. Kenneth A. Richards served first in various capacities as a credit union volunteer and later as Manager of the Dominica Credit Union League. In 1983, he received the Sisserou Award of Honour [the second highest national award presented by the Commonwealth of Dominica] for his contribution to the development of the credit union movement in Dominica.

Prior to the 1950s, limited savings facilities called "subs" and savings unions (sponsored by the British colonial government's Social Welfare Department) provided for the needs of the peasants and lower working classes in Dominica.[263] The first study club initiated by Mother Alicia at the end of 1950, within a year's time, had established the Roseau Credit Union[264] (officially registered in 1951[265] serving St. George's parish[266] and the rural areas surrounding Roseau). Bridging relations between rural and urban members of the local society, Roseau Credit Union and the incipient credit union movement in Dominica included Catholics—whose adherents during the 1950s comprised approximately ninety-percent of the population—as well as Methodists, Anglicans, and Baptists. Mother Alicia, herself, recalled, "We initiated social and economic organisations whose purpose was to help the people start self-help projects. The credit union was the first and most important project that served this aim."[267]

---

[263]Trevor Purcell (2000), "Local Institutions In Grassroots Development: The Rotating Savings And Credit Association," *Social and Economic Studies* 49(March):143-181.

[264]L.A. Roberts, Registrar of Co-operatives, Dominica, B.W.I. (26 April 1952), "Annual Report of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies for the Year Ending 31st December, 1951," 3. Unpublished typewritten document [Ministry of Social Welfare Archives, Government of Dominica] stated "The Roseau Credit Union was formally established in May. It is of the limited liability type. Number of members: 133; Loans Granted: 61 (50 for provident/ 11 for productive purposes); Amount Loans: $2,234; Share Capital: $1,891; 5 loans were medium and 56 short term loans. Rate of interest 1% per month on unpaid balances."

[265]Ibid. In addition, Mr. Kenneth A. Richards explained: "The first Co-operative Society Act was legislated in 1949 providing the legal structure for the co-operative credit unions. There was a discrepancy in the Law passed by the British colonial government and the by-laws of the co-operative credit unions in the Caribbean because the by-laws adopted were similar to those of credit unions in the United States of America. This was the primary reason that Fr. John Peter Sullivan, S.J. as the major pioneer of the co-operative credit union movement in the Caribbean region desired a separate Credit Union Law." Also Mr. Washbourne Cuffy, Commissioner of Co-operatives, Ministry of Community Development and Gender Affairs, Government of Dominica (6 September 2004), semi-structured interview by author, written notes, Roseau, Dominica. Mr. Cuffy noted, "The 1949 Co-operative Societies Act became the legal framework for registration of co-operatives in the British Colonies of the West Indies, which included Dominica."

[266]The Commonwealth of Dominica comprises ten civil parishes: North (St. John, St. Peter, St. Andrew, St. Joseph, and St. David); South (St. Paul, St. George, St. Patrick, St. Luke, and St. Mark).

[267]Alicia De Tremmerie (1992), 49.

The Social Centre—an affiliation of social service organisations and networks including the Social League of Catholic Women—had also been launched through the social vision of Mother Alicia providing a "direct relationship to the credit union movement." According to Mr. Charles Maynard, who served on the board of directors for both the Roseau Credit Union and the Social Centre, "the Catholic Church's social mission was central to the co-operative credit union movement in Dominica." As the "practical arm of the church's social mission," the Social Centre developed, organised, and promoted best practices including pre-school education, early childhood/parent education, and health services for mother and child. "Many people also came to the Centre to share their personal experiences of involvement in the Dominican co-op movement," Maynard underscored. In effect, the early co-operative movement emerged as a totally voluntary effort co-directed by the missionary sister, Mother Alicia, several missionary priests—Rev. Raymond Proesmans, C.Ss.R, Rev. Arnold Boghaert, C.Ss.R., Rev. Gabriel Brivet, F.M.I.—and the enlisted time and talent of numerous lay persons.[268]

"As chaplain of Catholic Action in Dominica, Father Raymond Proesmans, C.Ss.R. (1908-1977), became," elucidated Mr. Kenneth A. Richards, "an early disciple of his compatriot, Mother Alicia, in the credit union movement. He was soon appointed chaplain of Roseau Credit Union. In 1952, he took the initiative to form what later became the St. Alphonsus Credit Union at Pottersville."[269] Father Arnold Boghaert, C.Ss.R., another Redemptorist missionary from Belgium, had been a great promoter of credit co-operatives, and after being ordained co-adjutor bishop of Roseau in February

---

[268]Mr. Charles Maynard (6 September 2004), semi-structured interview by author, written notes, Roseau, Dominica.

[269]Kenneth A. Richards (1997), *People Who Helped People*, (Roseau, Dominica: Paramount, Ltd.), 28-29.

1957, he served on the board of directors of the St. Mary's Credit Union (registered 12 April 1957).[270] Unlike Bishop James Moris, C.Ss.R.—a traditional bishop whose administration reflected a conservative approach to leadership and church doctrine—Bishop Arnold Boghaert, C.Ss.R, a "more progressive bishop, highly encouraged Mother Alicia in her credit union endeavours."[271] Another key contributor to the co-operative credit union movement, Fr. Brivet, F.M.I., a member of the missionary society of priests from France, the Brothers of Mary Immaculate, claimed to be the founder of the second credit union in Dominica—the Portsmouth Credit Union.[272]

Most of the lay persons involved in the early co-operative and credit union movement on the island fostered strong social ties which bound the members together and bridged social networks across the mainly lower middle-class occupations exercised by these leaders. From the mid-1940s, existing voluntary associations mobilised social capital networks in order "to inculcate the habit of thrift." In fact, "Association-Savings Unions were organised" for this purpose including "Catholic Action Working Men, Roseau; La Plaine Pioneer Club; Catholic Action Women; Wesley 4-H; Literary Clubs (these do valuable work in connection with promotion of Village Boards, adult education, and community improvement) of Laudat, Marigot, Wesley, Calibishie, Delices, and Laudat Government School."[273]

---

[270](Most) Rev. Arnold Boghaert, C.Ss.R born 21 October 1920, Landegem, Belgium; ordained priest June 1944; ordained co-adjutor bishop of Roseau, 25 February 1957; succeeded as bishop of Roseau, 4 June 1957. Unpublished papers of Bishop Boghaert, C.Ss.R [Chancery (Roseau) Archives].

[271]Mr. Charles Maynard (6 September 2004), semi-structured interview by author, written notes, Roseau, Dominica.

[272]Mr. Kenneth A. Richards (2 September 2004), semi-structured interview by author, written notes, Roseau, Dominica.

[273]L.A. Roberts, Social Welfare Officer, Dominica, B.W.I. (1946), "Report on the Work of the Social Welfare Department 1945," 5. Unpublished typewritten document [Ministry of Social Welfare Archives, Government of Dominica].

Under continued guidance by Mother Alicia, these early contributions of Catholic lay leaders toward an incipient co-operative movement in Dominica also coincided with the efforts of the British Crown Colony. Loftus A. Roberts had been appointed as Social Welfare Officer in Dominica in January 1944 with Miss Lorna R. Grell as Assistant Social Welfare Officer in 1946. Still, efforts for co-operative development by the British Crown Colony remained limited as noted in Roberts's report to the colonial government: "There is as yet no Co-operative Department in the Colony, nor any officer specially detailed for work in connection with co-operatives. The Social Welfare Department, established in 1945, undertakes the promotion of co-operative activities as part of its duties."[274] Most notably, the British colonial government did not promote a broader development of co-operatives, particularly co-operative credit unions, in Dominica before the initiatives by Mother Alicia and the Catholic pioneers because its official policy maintained: "the Savings Unions do not grant credit to members but are merely agencies for saving. It is felt that the time is not yet ripe for introducing the credit element."[275] The Social Welfare Department of the British colonial government also initially held the position that the credit union movement would not be successful in Dominica because of the lack of general education among the majority of the poor persons living in the colony. For Mother

---

[274]L.A. Roberts, Social Welfare Officer, Dominica, B.W.I. (7 January 1947), "Annual Report on the Co-operative Movement in Dominica for the Year 1946," 1. Unpublished typewritten document [Ministry of Social Welfare Archives, Government of Dominica]. The Report also noted "Dominica Banana Growers' Association and the Dominica Co-operative Bank were only two organisations existing prior to 1945 which 'could be termed co-operative' The former is incorporated under Ordinances Nos. 2 of 1934 and 10 of 1942 and the latter under the general law governing limited liability companies," 1. Dominica Co-operative Bank received deposits with value of over 35,000 pounds sterling; gave loans amounting to 20,000 pounds; and paid a dividend rate of 3% on shares.

[275]Ibid., 2.

Alicia, however, and the lay collaborators of the co-operative movement, "education was significant to the growth of the movement—particularly the study clubs."[276]

With Mother Alicia and Father Raymond Proesmans, C.Ss.R. having organised study clubs in Roseau and Pottersville respectively, lay leaders interested in credit unions and other co-operative organisations emerged from these two initial groups. Jerome Arthur Barzey, for example, assisted Fr. Proesmans in the educational sessions which by February 1952 coalesced in the formal establishment of the Pottersville Catholic Action Credit Union (later named the St. Alphonsus Credit Union). In subsequent years, Mr. Barzey, a secondary school teacher, studied co-operatives on scholarship in Puerto Rico (1955) and in the same year occupied an elected seat on Roseau Town Council before becoming a Co-operative Field Officer for the Welfare Department of Dominica in 1957.[277]

The initial contacts within the Catholic-organised study clubs provided entry into civil service positions and local-elected office in Dominica for several other members of the co-operative movement. Stafford 'Star' Lestrade participated in the initial study club meetings which eventually formed the Roseau Credit Union in May 1951; moreover, he became one of the seven-member board of directors of the Dominica Credit Union League created in 1957.[278] By 1959, Lestrade had won the mayor's seat for Roseau holding this position for two consecutive terms of office. Joffre Robinson, the first president of the Roseau Credit Union also distinguished himself in

---

[276]Mr. Charles Maynard (6 September 2004), semi-structured interview by author, written notes, Roseau, Dominica.

[277]Kenneth A. Richards (1997), 10-11.

[278]In 1957, the Dominica Co-operative Credit Union League formed an umbrella organisation for all credit unions on the island. The league changed its name and today is known as the Dominica Co-operative Societies League; yet, due to recent (1990s) ongoing tensions between co-operative credit unions throughout Dominica and other co-operative organisations (e.g. consumer and producer co-operatives) not a single non-credit union co-operative has yet to join the league. Mr. Charles Maynard (6 September 2004), semi-structured interview by author, written notes, Roseau, Dominica.

the field of civil service (one of the first permanent secretaries of the Dominica Civil Service). His brother, Belgrave Robinson, head teacher of Wesley Government School, had been personally challenged by Mother Alicia in 1954 to form a credit union in Marigot. With help from Clarence Etienne, Forstival James, and Theophile Waldron, Mr. Robinson organised a study club, which eventually established the Marigot Credit Union on 5 January 1955.[279]

A consumer co-operative, the St. Mark's Lime Co-operative inaugurated in November 1951 under the leadership of Mr. Lionel Augustus Simon marked one of the first successful co-operative organisations of its type in Dominica. Mr. Simon also contributed to housing co-operatives in the aided self-help housing scheme at Goodwill, Dominica. With construction materials provided by the government of Dominica, prospective owners completed 15 low-cost housing units in 1958. In 1960, Lionel Simon assumed a staff position with the Social Development Department (successor organisation to Social Welfare Department).[280]

Social networks between these leaders aided in bonding relationships, thereby forming social capital among members of the study clubs, demonstrated by evidence of successful credit unions, consumer co-ops, and housing co-operatives inspired by Catholic social principles and practices modelled after both Antigonish and Jamaican socio-religious sectors of the co-operative movements.[281] Whereas, the formation of the Dominica Credit Union League in 1957 resulted from a compromise between the credit union movement in the north of Dominica and those organisations in the south of the

---

[279]Kenneth A. Richards (1997), 33-37.

[280]Ibid., 43-44.

[281]In all twenty-two co-operative credit unions had been formally registered in the Commonwealth of Dominica from 1951-1960. To date only six have failed due to poor management (and collection of outstanding loans) [a two-thirds success rate]. See Appendix Three for names/dates/status of all co-operative societies in Dominica.

island, the initial tensions and various strategies between the rural and more urban organisations converged toward an eventual collaborative movement, under the inspiration of Mother Alicia and her focus on common Catholic social action and principles. In fostering close social networks through the study club structures and method, a bonding social capital combined communication and co-operation between and among members of the various credit unions across the island. Finally, a bridging of social networks, which will be analysed in more detail in chapter 5.4, outlines the multiple connections of Catholic co-operative pioneers in Dominica with both the Antigonish pioneers and other Caribbean co-op leaders, particularly those in Jamaica and Puerto Rico.

4.9 Summary

First, the socio-political context in the Dominican Republic from 1930-1960 reflected a position of détente between Rafael Trujillo's dictatorship and the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Despite direct links with Antigonish and Puerto Rico, the co-operative movement in the Dominican Republic, dominated by Catholic missionaries, organised peasant farmers with limited success. Weak, sporadic social capital formation within and among co-operative groups prevented wider co-operative movement diffusion across the island. Above all, escalating tensions with government officials, especially Trujillo, fractured social relations with the church and co-operative leaders. Public conflict and exile by the government of key figures in the co-operative movement decimated practically all co-operative organisations across the Dominican Republic by 1960.

Second, unlike other co-operative movements in the Caribbean, Puerto Rico originated primarily among educated middle-class professionals. Most leaders within the movement, like their Caribbean counterparts, also shared direct experience and continual contacts with Antigonish pioneers. Government organising and promotion dominated the co-operative movement in Puerto Rico with university-sponsored education concentrating control in the hands of middle-class professionals. While the Catholic Church initially assumed a key role within the movement, many religious co-op leaders distanced themselves from the dominant organisations and actors. During the 1950s with greater focus on social justice for the poor and working classes, Catholic clergy assumed divergent leadership roles often at odds with a predominant lay-academic movement with greater ties to both capitalist industry and the U.S. government.

Finally, Dominica presents the clearest autonomous, grass-roots co-operative movement of all the Caribbean cases. Primarily organised through the efforts of Catholic clergy and religious missionaries, early co-operative projects in Dominica demonstrated significant connections to both Antigonish and Jamaica. Although the colonial government in Dominica from the beginning acknowledged the socioeconomic potential of co-operative organisations, its role remained limited until the 1950s when many of the earliest lay leaders within the co-operative movement had assumed key positions within both local and island-wide colonial government. Still, study club organisation, co-operative adult education, and social capital (bonding/bridging) links within Dominica's co-operative movement clearly adapted Catholic social teaching principles and enacted practices for social justice.

PART III—CHAPTER FIVE:

ANALYSIS OF GRASS-ROOTS CO-OPERATIVE PRACTICES AND CATHOLIC SOCIAL PRINCIPLES

Continuing from an introductory analysis of an interplay between grass-roots practices and enacted Catholic social principles within various co-operative development sectors in Part II, chapter five will analyse three primary aspects of a social capital-social justice nexus as tests for the three hypotheses. In testing how these co-operative development principles and practices correspond to the three social justice principles and social capital formation practices, the following will be considered: multiple social networks (bonding/bridging social capital forms), authority/power structures (hierarchical/grass-roots decision-making), and social structures (democratic, self-help study clubs and rural/social life conferences).

The first—multiple social networks—corresponds primarily to a CST principle of solidarity with either an internal bonding form or an external bridging form as strong (embedded) or weak (autonomous) social ties. A second aspect—authority/power structures—comprises a correspondence to a CST principle of subsidiarity with either hierarchical (top-down) or grass-roots (bottom-up) decision-making, respecting individual liberty and human dignity of the acting person. Finally, a third aspect—social structures—entails organisational capacities aimed toward social justice by enacting a CST principle of the common good through voluntary, mutual-aid associations.

5.1 Grass-roots co-operative practice: an adapted enactment of Catholic social principles

In Canada and the Caribbean islands which collaborated with the Antigonish movement, connection between shared principles—the common good, subsidiarity, and solidarity—of official Catholic social teaching and a social practice embedded within the relationships between members of mutual-aid (voluntary) associations, specifically co-operatives, emerged from grass-roots organising and mobilising of socioeconomic resources. These bottom-up, social practices—inculcated through the structure and method of the study club—achieved particular forms of social capital, which in turn engendered the growth of the respective co-operative movements in these Caribbean islands. These movements promoted decision-making through direct, participatory democracy; accepted a moderate socialism that did not reject personal ownership of property; and advocated a faith-based approach toward co-operative economic development which transcended a merely partisan, political mobilisation for social change.

With the threat of communism on the horizon not only in Canada but also in the Caribbean, the Catholic Church responded with concrete programmes of social action to curtail the influence of Communists on the poor and needy. In 1936, Bishop James Morrison of the diocese of Antigonish extolled the achievements of the co-operative pioneers of St. Francis Xavier University:

> As to action taken by the Catholic clergy and laity to combat such communistic efforts and to improve the economic and social welfare of the people…we have more than one thousand Study Clubs organised among the farmers, the fishermen, and the miners, in which Christian principles of social and economic welfare are being studied and applied...It is through

> such Catholic Action as this that a united Catholic front will successfully combat Communism.[282]

The efforts of Catholic Action in the eyes of the bishop, however, proffered strict, top-down oversight by the clergy for these socio-economic programmes. Yet the grass-roots efforts of the study club leaders, while accepting of Catholic social principles, promoted their own agendas and goals which diverged from a hierarchical model advocated by Bishop Morrison.

In fact, several members of the local clergy in Antigonish, like Father Michael Gillis, recognised that the educational work of co-operative economic development proved to be the critical issue; however, the "tragic hold up in the Antigonish diocese" manifested itself in "the lack of priest workers and the [fact that] the Bishop [Morrison] would not allow the expense of lay workers. But the work [progressed] steadily on under difficult handicaps."[283] Locally in the Antigonish and Cape Breton regions, farmers organised study clubs which affiliated themselves to the St. Francis Xavier Extension Department through agricultural courses and co-operative literature for economic development.

With the formation of the Canadian Catholic Conference in 1943, Bishop John R. MacDonald[284], leading the bishops as Chairman of the Social Action Department (English-speaking section) of the C.C.C. in 1948, initiated an intentional, bottom-up approach to socioeconomic change promoted through the sponsorship of rural life conferences and publication of official social teaching documents by the local Canadian

---

[282]Most Rev. James Morrison, Antigonish, N.S. to Most Rev. Andrea Cassulo, D.D., Apostolic Delegate, Ontario, Canada, TLS, 27 February 1936, 1-4, Fonds 4/1/1, Folder 101 [Chancery (Antigonish) Archives].

[283]Rev. Michael Gillis, Boisdale, Nova Scotia, to Most Rev. John R. MacDonald, Peterborough, Ontario, TLS, 1944, Fonds 5/3/1, Folder 2 [Chancery (Antigonish) Archives].

[284]Most Rev. John Roderick MacDonald served as bishop for diocese of Peterborough, Ontario from 1943-1945; coadjutor bishop for diocese of Antigonish, Nova Scotia from 1945-1950; and bishop of Antigonish from 1950-1959.

Catholic hierarchy. Based upon Antigonish co-operative practice and Catholic social teaching principles, these social conferences organised by Bishop MacDonald influenced other bishops and priests throughout Canada into the 1950s. Rev. M.M. Coady, as a leading pioneer of the Antigonish movement, also contributed to a grass-roots approach for co-operative development through his own external (bridging social capital) connections to a social network with the Canadian bishops—particularly Bishop John R. MacDonald and Bishop James Boyle, bishop of Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, Canada.

From the early 1950s, the recognition of the Antigonish movement by the Catholic hierarchy in Canada not only accelerated diffusion and adaptation of the movement's practices but also marked a development in Catholic social teaching by bishops in the country. For example, Archbishop John Hugh MacDonald, from the archdiocese of Edmonton, Alberta expressed to the bishop of Antigonish his own views on the movement:

> …there would be no doubt about the benefits accruing to Canada from such an extension of the present scope of the [Social Action] Department. The [Antigonish] movement is intrinsically sound; its philosophy has been tested carefully enough to make sure it will work wherever it is given a chance. Our country needs something like this at the present time.[285]

In 1953, the first social life conference, as a successor to the rural life seminars established in the 1920s, had been convened in Antigonish by Bishop John R. MacDonald emerging from the social leadership seminar of the same diocese in 1948.

Bishop John R. MacDonald stressed the foundational Christian principles underlying the Antigonish movement, as promoted by the English-speaking bishops of Canada, by quoting an address from 1946 by the apostolic delegate to Canada, Most

---

[285]Most Rev. John H. MacDonald, Archbishop of Edmonton, Alberta, to Most Rev. J.R. MacDonald, D.D., Antigonish, N.S., TLS, 28 September 1951, Fonds 5/3/1, Folder 12 [Chancery (Antigonish) Archives].

Reverend Ildebrando Antoniutti: "'In choosing some of the best leaders and workers of this movement for the high responsibilities of the episcopate, the Holy See shows in an eloquent manner her ardent desire that this same movement be enlarged and may benefit other provinces…'"[286] In fact, the social life conferences from 1953 onward continued the influence and recognition of Antigonish co-operative practices as recognised within the social teaching of the English-speaking Canadian bishops.

Several official resolutions as agreed to by all bishop participants in the Catholic Social Life Conference (1955) included the "discussion and explanation in all Catholic educational institutions" of the social encyclicals; local, lay-sponsored "educational programmes on social problems in their local [contexts]" which "conduct their meetings and programme activities as to exemplify for their members the sound principles of democratic procedure and group work"; lay-organised discussions on "the great social encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno*" and "the current addresses, letters, and statements of Pope Pius XII."[287]

The emphasis within all "Catholic lay organisations, adult education and study groups"[288] including Catholic Action had shifted toward greater lay-leadership and more democratic, participatory, grass-roots practices. Beginning in 1958, each year a particular Sunday nearest to the anniversary of the encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*, designated as Social Action Sunday throughout Canada, served as a continuing effort on the part of the bishops to promote Catholic social teaching principles and the grass-roots, co-operative practices that had emerged from the Antigonish movement. In fact,

---

[286]Most Rev. John R. MacDonald (29 February 1948), "Christian Principles Underlying the Antigonish Movement," Unpublished address delivered to the Social Leadership Seminar, St. Francis Xavier University, 1-7, RG 30.3/8/170-176 [St. FXU Archives].

[287]Most Rev. John R. MacDonald (1 February 1956), "Circular Pastoral Letter #90: For Priests Only," 2-3. Unpublished document in the papers of Bishop MacDonald, Fonds 5/2/5, Folder 3 [Chancery (Antigonish) Archives].

[288]Ibid.

the first such Sunday, 18 May 1958, had been approved by the Canadian Catholic Conference of bishops with the following theme: "The Credit Union: Social Leadership in Action."[289]

Collaborative structures and social networks created between co-op leaders in Antigonish and the Caribbean further supported a common bond of grass-roots practice built upon a democratic, self-help philosophy of co-operative development. The major similarities between the co-operative movements of Antigonish and those of Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, and Dominica reveal a shared foundation in Catholic social teaching principles—group action for the common good, through subsidiarity and in solidarity—and a fundamental method—adult education through study clubs. The practical, grass-roots experience and education received both by foreign missionaries and by native Jamaicans, Dominicans (both from the Dominican Republic and Dominica), and Puerto Ricans in Nova Scotia permitted these respective, incipient co-operative movements to adapt principles that would soon be expressed in specifically Caribbean co-op literature and study club structures responsive to the local needs on these islands.

First, Jesuit co-operative practice in Jamaica emphasised a fundamental role of the acting person—as individual peasant, farmer, or fisherman—rooted in personal liberty and dignity:

> Co-operation is not to suffocate the development of *self-help*. Besides regimentation, born of the still unproven flippancy that the West Indian country people cannot learn, leaves a rancid taste in the mouth. But the true co-operator has a word for it:

---

[289]Most Rev. John R. MacDonald (18 April 1958), "Circular Pastoral Letter #122: To All Pastors," 1. Unpublished document in the papers of Bishop MacDonald, Fonds 5/2/5, Folder 3 [Chancery (Antigonish) Archives].

> decentralization. Or more, completely, for democracy and self-help *decentralization in the local*.[290]

Second, in the Dominican Republic, education and grass-roots, self-help social networks characterised the two most fundamental elements for co-operative success in the ideas and social practice of Fr. Pablo Steele. His method closely followed the Antigonish philosophy of democratic economic self-help aimed at "developing the members of a co-operative, as people dedicated to the common good, and aware of social sin."[291] Third, notwithstanding the middle-class focus of the co-operative movement in Puerto Rico, Fr. Joe A. MacDonald also recognised the importance of interlinking education, rooted in Catholic social teaching principles, and practical action by co-operative members.[292] A grass-roots approach, in Puerto Rico, focussed primarily on practical, academic courses on co-operatives unlike the movements in the Dominican Republic and in Dominica. Finally, in Dominica—lacking local, direct access to co-operative extension resources like those in Antigonish, Jamaica, or Puerto Rico—multiple, external social networks (as bridging social capital with co-op pioneers in Antigonish and Jamaica) coupled with an educational formation in Catholic social principles provided Mother Alicia and the lay co-operative leaders access to both Nova Scotian and Jamaican grass-roots movements' co-op literature, methods, and practices.[293]

---

[290]John Peter Sullivan, S.J. (n.d.), *Romancing Through the Bush Co-operative Style*, Social Action Series No. 6, (Kingston: St. George's College Social Action Department), 2, RG 11/1, Box 4, Folder 4 [Jesuit Archives].

[291]Harvey (Pablo) Steele, S.F.M. (1986), *Winds of Change: Social Justice through Co-operatives*, (Truro, Nova Scotia: Cooperative Resources, Ltd.), 61.

[292]Rev. Joseph A. MacDonald (1961), "What We Believe, What We Aim For," Unpublished manuscript, 1, RG30-3/2/8998-9006 [St. FXU Archives].

[293]Mother Mary Hendrika, Superior, The Convent, Roseau, Dominica, B.W.I., to Reverend John P. Sullivan, S.J., Credit Union League, Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I., TLS, 7 February 1953, RG 11/2/1, SC 200 [Jesuit Archives].

5.2 Consistency in fundamental social principles and conflict within missionary grass-roots practices: a dynamic social capital-social justice nexus

As previously outlined in chapter one, the principles of the common good and subsidiarity when enacted by particular voluntary associations allow the individual person certain freedom in making decisions and directing power which aims toward meeting the needs of all within one's society. In practice, the principle of subsidiarity both accepts top-down assistance by the state and larger organisations and protects bottom-up actions of small social groups and individual persons from being arrogated by the state. Finally, a third principle of solidarity—recognising the social nature of a person to be in relationship with other persons as members of social groups—focuses on the social ties both within voluntary associations, like co-operatives and credit unions, and similar associations within broader social networks, like tertiary co-operative organisations.

By enacting these three principles of Catholic social teaching, an individual member of a co-operative, acting freely yet under certain resource limitations, strives toward achieving the best use of one's social ties in solidarity for the common good. Self-help co-operative associations, representing a fundamental social structure rooted in participatory democratic governance, in effect, also promote subsidiarity in practice.

In theory, a social capital-social justice nexus situates an individual co-operative member, as an acting person, within a dynamic interplay between enactment of these three primary CST principles and achievement of three specific social practices, (1) access to social resources, (2) diffusion of authority/power, and (3) bridging/bonding forms of social networks characteristic of social capital. In particular, Catholic co-operative pioneers and missionaries influenced, informed, and inculcated new social networks with similarly structured co-operative associations in the Caribbean.

Consequently, these democratic, self-help social structures established with other co-operative members in the four Caribbean cases resulted in common patterns of lay leadership and similar grass-roots practices, aimed directly at self-determined socioeconomic priorities.

Within these actual social practices, however, an interaction between enacting CST principles and forming social capital within the study clubs and co-operatives resulted in both co-operation among members and conflict across co-operative movements. First, the study clubs, which reflected a common structure and method in each of the movements in Canada and the Caribbean, fostered access to resources—as educational, financial, and political social networks—providing group members certain benefits that on their own would have been unattainable. Second, democratic structures, while allowing some degree of subsidiarity in practice, also placed certain key persons in positions whereby they could bridge social networks with outside co-operative leaders, extending personal social advantages, and thereby creating tensions, resentment, and strife within these study groups and co-operative organisations. Concurrently, a dynamic fostered by persons acting within solidarity for study groups or local co-operatives captured added benefits for the group through a connection with foreign co-operative organisations.

For example, strong initial social ties cultivated by Fr. Pablo Steele, S.F.M. and Fr. Joe A. MacDonald in the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico provided necessary access to the educational resources of the Extension Department at the University of Puerto Rico. This bridging of close relationships between the co-op leaders of these two Caribbean colonies eventually faltered in maintaining, strong social ties between these two missionary priests. In addition, it hindered ongoing access to important co-op resources by key lay leaders of the respective co-operative movements.

On one hand, the two priests, by initially bridging relations between co-operative movement groups, achieved some level of social capital aimed toward the common good of both countries through democratic governance structures. Yet, on the other hand, divergent co-operative strategies advocated by Steele and MacDonald ruptured a budding solidarity among the lay leaders and between many of the co-op and study club members. In fact, a "tendency for certain friction to arise among the various co-operative bodies,"[294] especially in the academic and government sectors of the movement, points toward a dynamic, which simultaneously included some co-op groups and excluded others, entirely consistent with bonding/bridging forms of social capital manifested by the Puerto Rican co-operative movement in the late 1950s. Encompassing potentially negative effects of such social capital formation, a social capital-social justice nexus evaluates levels of conflict and patterns of tensions between co-operative social networks serving as a more accurate measure of how social and authority structures; social ties within social networks; and the social actors, themselves, interact with one another. A dynamic social capital-social justice nexus, consequently, can test for the inherent subtleties and complexities within missionary, grass-roots co-operative practices.

Despite the growing tensions and conflict between the government sector and the academic sector of the co-operative movement, the Puerto Rican Catholic hierarchy—under the leadership of Bishop James Peter Davis of San Juan—and several clergy, including Fr. Parrilla-Bonilla, S.J., stressed the importance of solidarity with the poorer classes. In hopes of moving the co-operative movement in Puerto Rico toward

---

[294]"Puerto Rico" (ca. 1962), Unpublished document, 4a, RG 50-2/3/604-611[St. FXU Archives].

authentic, social justice practices, these members of the clergy remained intent upon enacting Catholic social principles of solidarity and the common good.[295]

From another perspective, a co-operative movement in Dominica similarly reflected a dynamic (inclusive/exclusive) social action, respecting the liberty of the acting person. Mother Alicia, for instance, maintained a strong, bridging social network with co-operative pioneers in both Antigonish and Jamaica, particularly with Fr. John Peter Sullivan, S.J. who provided most of the printed literature for use by study clubs in Dominica. From initial support and solidarity between the co-op leaders in these British colonies, members of both urban and rural co-operatives benefited from common access to resources offered through a social network created by these Catholic missionaries. By the late 1950s, many of the lay leaders in Dominica having been trained in Nova Scotia, Jamaica, or Puerto Rico not only bridged social networks through ties with other co-operative movements but also accessed local networks within Dominica either through aspiration to political office within their local communities or election to higher leadership positions within the Dominica Credit Union League.

Stafford "Star" Lestrade, one of the founding members of the Roseau Credit Union in 1951, had been elected president of the St. Alphonsus Credit Union in 1957, thereby holding simultaneous membership in two co-operative credit unions. Also in 1957, he had secured election both to the board of directors of the Dominica Credit Union League and to the provisional board of directors of the West Indian Confederation of Credit Unions (precursor organisation to the Caribbean Confederation

---

[295]Rev. Joseph A. MacDonald, Consultant Cooperative League of Puerto Rico, (31 May 1963), "Ponencia For Second Catholic Action Congress," Unpublished document, 1-17, RG 30-3/2/8961-8977 [St. FXU Archives].

of Credit Unions). By the following year, he had decided to enter the field of local politics.[296]

The West Indies Confederation of Credit Unions (WICCU) emerged from a conference of Caribbean co-operative credit union leaders convened in Trinidad in 1957. Fr. John Peter Sullivan, S.J. initiated both the structural organisation and social networking necessary to establish the confederation at the conference. Within his inner circle of co-op organisers, Forstival James and Star Lestrade, both from Dominica, served as co-drafters of a motion to call for the formation of the credit union umbrella organisation. In addition, two key co-op leaders from Jamaica, G. Arthur Brown and Paddy Bailey, co-ordinated the proceedings of the conference in Trinidad.[297]

In Dominica, despite collaboration by lay co-op leaders of the North, Forstival James and Theophile Waldron, who had formed a social network with the leaders in the South, Joffre John Robinson and Mother Alicia, a "wrangling between North and South, over who was to be credited with the honour of being the person who introduced the credit union idea in Dominica" resulted in contention between Fr. Gabriel Brivet in the North and Mother Alicia in the South. Despite the fact that Father Brivet arrived on the island a few weeks before Mother Alicia, Star Lestrade emphatically noted "if Fr. Brivet knew anything about the credit union movement until it was positively launched by Sister Alicia, then he neither said nor did anything about it."[298]

Personal rifts between credit union leaders in both regions of Dominica continued for half a decade until the formation of the Dominica Credit Union League in

---

[296]Kenneth A. Richards (1997), *People Who Helped People*, (Roseau, Dominica: Paramount, Ltd.), 26-27.

[297]Star S. Lestrade (1992), *Untold Truths in the History of the Dominica Credit Union Movement*, (privately published by author), 9.

[298]Ibid., 5-6. Also Mr. Kenneth A. Richards (2 September 2004), semi-structured interview by author, written notes, Roseau, Dominica.

1957 gathered credit unions throughout the island under a common organisation for promotion and education for the benefit of the common good.[299] In time, the West Indies Confederation of Credit Unions fomented bridging social capital formation between the co-operative leaders in the Caribbean. Yet initial tensions, particularly between Mother Alicia and Star Lestrade over his desire to leave Dominica as the field man for credit union development in Jamaica, corroborate evidence of weak, exclusive social ties between key leaders within the co-operative movement. However, Mother Alicia and Fr. John Sullivan, S.J. consistently advocated for social mediation of conflict in co-op practices and a common collaboration consistent with the Catholic social principles adopted by the early co-op leaders in the Caribbean.[300]

Finally, through a concise outline of missionary theory and practice from the mid-1930s through the late 1950s, the following section of this chapter offers further analysis of an interlink between missiology and grass-roots projects by Catholic missionaries and lay persons for co-operative economic development. In the Caribbean missions, co-operative proponents introduced newer forms of social practice for social justice. These practices specifically promoted ecumenical, lay-leadership formation

---

[299]Norman Faria (1987), *Short History of the Caribbean Credit Union Movement: Early Beginnings and Achievements*, (Bridgetown, Barbados: Caribbean Confederation of Credit Unions). Faria notes: "...the initial strong influence of the (Canadian) Antigonish movement which stimulated cooperation linked up with social welfare and education..." 5.

[300]Mother Marie Alicia, Montserrat, to Fr. John Sullivan, S.J., Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I., TLS, 18 June 1957 RG 11/2/1, SC 200 [Jesuit Archives]. Mother Alicia intimated to Fr. Sullivan: "I left Antigua on May the first after the organization of their first credit union. Montserrat was clamoring [*sic*] for help so I flew with the little mosquito plane. After three weeks I received some alarming news from Dominica so I sailed back home. The present troublemaker is Lestrade. Since his trip to Jamaica he has become inlfated [*sic*] that nobody can manage him again. He told me that in case the fieldman of Jamaica cannot be ontained [*sic*] or released by Government, he, Lestrade, will apply for the job!! I have talked with him and he responded very well but some of these men cannot be trusted so I fear that he will work out what he has in his head." Mother Alicia, at the recommendation of Father Proesmans travelled to the United States to regain her health from the effects of the tensions in Dominica and her efforts to initiate the co-operative movement in Antigua and Montserrat. Also Father John Peter Sullivan, Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I., to Mother Marie Alicia, New York City, New York, TL, 4 July 1957, RG 11/2/1, SC 200 [Jesuit Archives].

relying upon native persons' local knowledge and skills in organising study clubs and mobilising collaborative associations as co-operative promoting bodies.

5.3 Missiology and co-operative economic development

A missiologist who received his academic training at the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome in the late 1930s, Rev. Edward L. Murphy, S.J.,[301] had instructed most missionaries of the New England Province of the Society of Jesus at Weston College, including Rev. John Peter Sullivan S.J. who had studied under Murphy before embarking on his missionary apostolate at St. George's College Extension School and Co-operative Department in 1940. In his reminiscences Father Edward Murphy, S.J. noted: "When someone returned from the missions in the twenties and thirties, we were warned by friends not to talk too much about the missions because it was felt that returning missionaries were too enthusiastic and aggressive…The education of Jesuits for the missionary apostolate was hardly distinguished and particular formation for those going to the missions was non-existent."[302]

Although an explicit academic formation inclusive of specific training in socio-economics and mission studies remained very limited until the early 1950s, many missionaries like Rev. John Peter Sullivan, S.J. had returned to the United States to share their own missionary, grass-roots practices at summer institutes sponsored both

---

[301]"Academic Degrees of Faculty Members at Weston College, Weston Massachusetts," (1944) listed Edward L. Murphy as having received his A.B. and A.M. degrees from Boston College and a Licentiate in Missiology (Gregorian University, 1937). The Chair of Missiology at the Gregorian University in Rome had been established only in 1932. "Fr. Murphy has completed all requirements for a Doctorate in Missiology except the publication of his thesis. Degree will be given on publication of thesis or part thereof." Unpublished document RG 10 Community/House/Parish Records [Jesuit Archives].

[302]Rev. Edward Murphy, S.J. (2 February 1965), "The American Assistancy And Missions," Unpublished talk presented at the National Meeting of Jesuit Missions in San Francisco, California, RG 10 Community/House/Parish Records [Jesuit Archives].

by St. Louis University in Missouri and Fordham University in the Bronx, New York. In Massachusetts, Weston College also convened a "Mission Academia" which aimed to "foster growth in the knowledge of the principles and practices of missionary activity."[303] Rev. Pierre Charles, S.J., an accomplished professor of missiology at Louvain and Fordham Universities, along with Rev. Edward L. Murphy, S.J. defined the purpose of the missions in relation to the church as follows:

> Purpose of Missions is the establishing of the Visible Church in those lands and among those relatively isolated groups in which the Church is not yet firmly established…must be complete: essential work of the Ch. is to bring the sacraments & to teach BUT, to do this fruitfully, certain ECONOMIC, SOCIAL & MATERIAL CONDITIONS ARE NECESSARY.[304]

From July 1953, the Institute of Mission Studies at Fordham University trained nearly two hundred men and women "destined to serve in the foreign missions as priests, brothers and sisters…helping the future missionary recognize that [the missionary vocation] has two facets, the theological and the sociological."[305] Within this missionary training programme which included compulsory courses in foundational missiology and cultural anthropology, Rev. John Peter Sullivan, S.J. lectured in 1954 on a taught course. Among eighteen elective courses offered by the faculty of the institute, one course "judged of value [as] popular with the students" also included "the

---

[303]"Mission Academia" (1951-1952), Unpublished typed document, RG MS LAWLOR, RV, Box 4, Folder 3 [Jesuit Archives].

[304]Rev. Pierre Charles, S.J. (1939), *Les Dossiers De L'Action Missionaire* 1:2. Also Rev. Edward L. Murphy, S.J (ca. 1950), "Broad Definition—The Purpose of Missions," *Academia Studies* 1:8, RG 11/2/1 Theology of Mission Archive [Jesuit Archives].

[305]Rev. Ralph E. Lynch, S.J., Assistant Director, Institute of Mission Studies, Fordham University (1956), "Three Years of Missionary Training at Fordham," 1-2, Unpublished manuscript, RG MS LAWLOR, RV, Box 2, Folder 7 [Jesuit Archives].

Social Action lectures by Father John Peter Sullivan, S.J. for many years the highly effective leader of the cooperative movement in Jamaica and the Caribbean area."[306]

Advocating an integration of missiology and economics, Rev. George Topshee of the St. Francis Xavier Extension Department stated in a proposal for an abbreviated missionary training course: "...if the missionary is to do any effective and enduring work with cooperatives and credit unions, he must have a strong conviction of the great importance of the role of the economic side of life in the establishment and <u>in the maintenance</u> of Christianity."[307] The method proposed in meeting the direct material needs of the people to whom the missionary goes out "with a program [*sic*], striving for justice and charity in the economic order...[is one of] a real, scientific, long-term program [*sic*] of self-help—mutual help and self development through cooperatives and credit unions."[308]

As one practical example, Rev. John McIver, S.F.M.—a colleague of Rev. Harvey (Pablo) Steele, S.F.M.—working in Yamasa, Dominican Republic in the late 1940s "called together fourteen of the best men in the village to address 'how could they obtain a legal title to the land which they were farming?'" In addition, after obtaining the pamphlet on credit unions by Joseph McIsaac of Antigonish, Nova Scotia this core group organised weekly sessions to discuss access to land rights and credit

---

[306]Ibid., 5. "Father Richard V. Lawlor, S.J. D.Miss. (Gregorian) provided the course in Missiology (Mission Theory in Practice)...Fundamental Missiology and Theology of the Missions were taught by Rev. Edward L. Murphy, S.J. D.Miss. (Gregorian). The area of social-science training included Professors Charles Fuller (University of Missouri), John Murra (Vassar College), and Arden R. King (Tulane University)," 7.

[307]Rev. George E. Topshee, Extension Department, St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, N.S. (ca. 1959), "Procedure for the missionary who wishes to encourage the development of cooperatives and credit unions and who is not in a position to follow an extended course of ad hoc training," 1, Unpublished typed document, RG MS LAWLOR, RV, Box 5, Folder 7 [Jesuit Archives].

[308]Ibid., 2.

unions which continued for one year after which "the group had grown from 14 to 140."[309]

In actual missionary practice, an underlying method shared both by Antigonish pioneers and those in the Caribbean, including Revs. Sullivan, Steele, and McIver, advocated "a common bond necessary for the practical operation of a credit union" which in most cases involved a community organisation under lay leadership.[310] While missionary clergy, themselves lacking extensive formal training in cooperative economic development, organised local lay leaders for grass-roots mission projects, a concerted effort by Catholic missionary-sending societies proposed a "new layman's association named the Association for International Development (AID)" in September 1956 for both technical and spiritual formation of its members.[311] The formal training programmes of the Grail (established in 1950) and the International Catholic Auxiliaries (established in 1951)—both of which accepted only women as lay missionaries—served as models for AID. The recommendations for this new lay organisation proposed: "that the training of young men for the missions should prepare them to utilize the devotional or social organizations that are adjuncts to the apostolate and that the knowledge of such mission aids be provided through classes in sociology,

---

[309]Ibid., 3. Here Rev. G.E. Topshee noted, "Over a five year period, through regular meetings, leaders, with a sense of responsibility for the common good and civic pride, were developed who led the way in building a credit union, a cooperative marketing association, a new church, a convent, a new school and a cooperative retail society. Father McIver did not have an extensive course of training for this work, but he learned by doing."

[310]Ibid., 7.

[311]Gerald Mische, Chairman, Lay Apostolate Conference to Rev. Francis A. Anderson, S.J., Jesuit Foreign Mission Office, Boston, MA, 5 August 1957, TLS, RG 11.1, Jesuit Mission Records [Jesuit Archives]. Also "Lay Missionaries/AID [Jesuit Mission Personnel: 1957-1960]," Unpublished typed manuscript stated: "Three priests were chosen at the meeting in Washington, D.C. to initiate the process for the formation of this new association: Fathers Edward Murphy, S.J., of the Jesuit Missions; John J. Considine, M.M. of Maryknoll; and Frederick A. McGuire, C.M. of the Mission Secretariat, Washington, D.C.," 1. A significant component of AID consisted of cooperation with college and university programmes, professional, and other groups of Catholic men to "promote greater participation by their members in the national and international agencies engaged in foreign economic and social development," 4. RG 11.1, Jesuit Mission Records [Jesuit Archives].

missiology, or pastoral theology."[312] Preceding the Second Vatican Council by at least a decade, formal organisations devoted to socio-economics and spiritual development of lay missionaries in service to the developing world had been established through an integration of missiological principles and co-operative development practice.

5.4 Collaborative structures and social networks with Nova Scotia: Jamaica, Puerto Rico, Dominica and the Dominican Republic; conflict in co-operative movements; reception of grass-roots co-op projects by local Catholic bishops in the Caribbean

Direct collaboration with co-operative structures and proponents in Antigonish, Nova Scotia served as educational and formational links for Catholic missionaries in the Caribbean. While key missionary co-op leaders in Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic, Fr. Joe A. MacDonald and Fr. Pablo Steele, S.F.M., had received their earliest training and firsthand co-operative development experience alongside the Antigonish pioneers, other missionary leaders in Jamaica and Dominica, like Fr. John P. Sullivan, S.J. and Mother Alicia, relied upon an adaptation and accommodation of the Antigonish model. In each Caribbean case, the role of missionaries clearly reflected an active, participatory engagement with the laity in socioeconomic projects. However, members of the Catholic hierarchy in these islands expressed varying levels of financial support and offered mixed, official ecclesial recognition for democratic, mutual-aid associations which had been formed for co-operative economic development.

---

[312]"Report of the Directors of Training (Male) Group Conference," (25-26 September 1956), in Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Mission Secretariat, Washington, D.C., 9, Unpublished document, unprocessed sources [Jesuit Archives].

In the "Annual Report on Co-operation in Dominica for the Year 1950," Mr. Loftus A. Roberts clearly articulated the early, key role of the Catholic Church in the credit union movement:

> During the year publicity on Credit Unions began to be given by a nun of the Roman Catholic Church who has made a study of the movement in the U.S.A. and in Jamaica. As a result a group of some 60 persons in Roseau commenced an intensive study of Credit Union principles and Organisation with weekly savings and accumulation. It is proposed to form a Credit Union in due course among the wage and salary earners of Roseau.[313]

Mother Mary Alicia presented a paper at a leadership training course in Dominica in 1950 in which she attributed the contribution of the Antigonish principles and organisational structures as the foundation for her own initiatives in co-operative development in Dominica. On credit unions, Mother Alicia emphasised for the conference participants: "The most significant educational work of this type is probably that developed in the Nova Scotia Credit Unions under the leadership of the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University."[314]

Initially, a social network tied to Rev. John Peter Sullivan, S.J. and the co-operators of St. George's Extension School and Co-operative Department in 1947 had created bridges with Jamaica, leading to both enhanced solidarity and nascent social capital formation between Dominica's and Jamaica's developing co-operative movements; furthermore, Mother Alicia, herself, received a United Nations fellowship to study adult education and co-operatives at St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia in 1953.[315] From these early social networks emerged access to outside

---

[313]L.A. Roberts, Social Welfare Officer, Dominica, B.W.I. (4 April 1951), "Annual Report on Co-operation in Dominica for the Year 1950," 2. Unpublished typewritten document [Ministry of Social Welfare Archives, Government of Dominica].

[314]Social Welfare Department (November 1950), *Dominica Welfare News* 4 (3):15.

[315]Mother Mary Hendrika, Superior, The Convent, Roseau, Dominica, B.W.I., to Reverend John P. Sullivan, S.J., Credit Union League, Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I., TLS, 7 February 1953 RG 11/2/1, SC 200 [Jesuit Archives]. Also L.A. Roberts, Registrar of Co-operative Societies, (31 March 1954), "Annual

resources as bridging social capital—printed materials and literature on co-operatives and credit unions—which had been available through both the colonial government in Dominica and the Catholic Church from as early as 1945.[316]

Although Rev. John P. Sullivan, S.J. had been invited by the colonial government in Dominica "to assist in the very promising Co-operative movement," Mother Mary Alicia "had much to do with [his] coming to Dominica and she had been of immense help to [Sullivan]…safe to say that in the Credit Union field alone she [had] been far more effective than the Government itself."[317] In fact, through her contact with both Fr. John P. Sullivan, S.J. and Rev. George Topshee, Director of Urban Education, Extension Department, St. Francis Xavier University, Mother Alicia received printed materials for her study clubs as well as advice from Fr. Sullivan, S.J. on the ongoing co-operative and credit union formation in Dominica.[318]

The early co-operative/credit union movement commenced as a totally voluntary effort co-directed by Mother Alicia, several missionary priests, and various

---

Report of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies for the Year Ending 31st December 1953," 8. Unpublished typewritten document [Ministry of Social Welfare Archives, Government of Dominica]. Part 10 paragraph 30 states: "It is understood that during 1953 United Nations Fellowships lasting six months were secured by the Government of Dominica for two Roman Catholic nuns stationed in Dominica to study Co-operation at the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, in addition to other social studies elsewhere. One of the trainees, Rev. Mother Mary Alicia, has been the pioneer in the organisation of Credit in Dominica and is very active in the cause of co-operativism."

[316]L.A. Roberts, Social Welfare Officer, Dominica, B.W.I. (7 January 1947), "Report on the Work of the Social Welfare Department 1945," 2. Unpublished typewritten document [Ministry of Social Welfare Archives, Government of Dominica] notes: "Contact was made in the course of the year with many Welfare agencies both in the West Indies and abroad. As a result, a good deal of literature relating to various movements was received and studied in relation to their applicability to Dominica conditions. Among them should be mentioned Jamaica Welfare (1943) Ltd.; U.S. Department of Agriculture 4-H Clubs; the Federation of Women's Institutes; and Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University (Canada)."

[317]Fr. John P. Sullivan, S.J., Roseau, Dominica, B.W.I., to Revd. Mother Marie Edmund, Provincial, New York City, N.Y., TL, 23 April 1954, RG 11/2/1, SC 200 [Jesuit Archives].

[318]L.A. Roberts, Registrar of Co-operative Societies, (7 March 1956), "Annual Report of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies for the Year Ending 31st December 1955," Unpublished typewritten document [Ministry of Social Welfare Archives, Government of Dominica]. In May 1955, Father George Topshee visited Dominica to advise the credit union movement on education at the invitation of Mother Alicia.

lay leaders. These leaders formed voluntary, mutual-aid organisations in the form of study clubs modelled on those of the Antigonish movement in Nova Scotia and distributed the printed literature from St. George's Co-operative Department in Jamaica. The majority of the lay volunteers in Dominica comprised a social network that relied upon the stewardship of teachers, accountants, and other professionals for spreading the ideas of the movement. By 1953, seven formally registered co-operative societies existed with 1,144 members and a turnover of $81,000. By year end 1955, seven registered credit unions in Dominica accounted for $122,000 in share capital. Also in 1955, the Catholic Church had officially established the Social Centre in Roseau for promotion, education, and development of co-operative societies, particularly credit unions and self-help housing co-operatives.[319]

During the early period of co-operative development in Dominica, further bridging forms of social capital and inculcation of social justice principles through the formal training of lay leaders in Jamaica, Puerto Rico, and Nova Scotia evinced an ongoing social network between co-op pioneers in these various countries. Educational formation of co-op leaders included several key associates of Mother Alicia. Lionel Augustus Justin Simon attended a three month's training course on co-operatives in Jamaica in 1949; Theophile Maurice Waldron received a U.N. Fellowship for a training course in co-operatives at the University of Puerto Rico under the tutelage of Fr. Joe A. MacDonald in 1954; Jerome Arthur Barzey also earned a scholarship to study co-operatives in Puerto Rico in July 1955; Sylvester Valentine Joseph studied international co-operative administration at the University of Puerto Rico in 1960 on scholarship; and

---

[319]L.A. Roberts, Registrar of Co-operative Societies, (11 March 1956), "Social Welfare Report 1955," Unpublished typewritten document [Ministry of Social Welfare Archives, Government of Dominica]. Estimated population of Dominica, B.W.I. for 1953: 59,097. One British pound sterling = $4.80

Kenneth A. Richards received the first scholarship in Dominica to attend the Coady Institute at St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, during 1962.[320]

A grass-roots focus through democratic, self-help structures and an adult educational method based on Antigonish movement principles and social philosophy significantly shaped the co-operative movement in Dominica. First, the social network between Catholic pioneers in Jamaica, Puerto Rico, and Dominica coupled with the study club materials and method—including pamphlets on co-operatives/credit unions from St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department in Antigonish, Nova Scotia and St. George's Co-operative Department in Jamaica—adapted the educational and organisational materials to the local situation in Dominica, particularly for poor rural farmers and fishermen.[321]

According to Mr. Charles Maynard, the voluntary organisations for co-operative development created and maintained a strong community involvement with eventual support of the Catholic Church that "greatly influenced individual leaders' own personal development due to exposure to the principles and practice of the credit unions."[322] Beginning in 1955 through the organisational structure of the Catholic Social Centre, early collaboration by three sectors of the co-operative movement contributed toward an emerging social capital that coalesced through the initiatives of

---

[320]Mr. Kenneth A. Richards (2 September 2004), semi-structured interview by author, written notes, Roseau, Dominica.

[321]L.A. Roberts, Social Welfare Officer, (January 1948), "Annual Report on Co-operation in Dominica for the Year 1947," 1. Unpublished typewritten document [Ministry of Social Welfare Archives, Government of Dominica]. The report notes: "Special attention has been given to propaganda in furtherance of knowledge of the possibilities of co-operation. More especially in the rural areas, lectures on the subject have been delivered, reprinted, and widely distributed…A special section on Co-operation is a feature of the monthly 'Dominica Welfare News' which is being issued by the Social Welfare Department…the philosophy and possibilities of co-operation are gradually being understood, especially among the peasantry which has a significant place in the economy of the Colony and such results have been confined to this class. Co-operation has not yet found an active response from the larger planters."

[322]Mr. Charles Maynard (6 September 2004), semi-structured interview by author, written notes, Roseau, Dominica.

the Catholic lay pioneers and Mother Alicia: bonding through strong study club relationships; bridging social ties with the Social Welfare Department (established in 1945); and forming a legal structure through the first Co-operative Society Act (promulgated in 1949).

Yet by 1960, Mother Alicia, reluctant in fully releasing oversight of the credit union movement to local lay persons, maintained strong influence within the movement in Dominica. There existed a "constructive tension between Mother Alicia and the lay pioneers of the movement."[323] Eventually, lay persons became the de facto leaders, and a grass-roots movement burgeoned across the island under their leadership. The credit unions very quickly gained popularity despite initial financial struggles within some of the organisations. For example, co-operation between existing credit unions aided in preserving the movement and forming stronger bonds within various communities in Dominica. The Mahaut Credit Union, on one occasion, had to provide a loan to forestall the financial collapse of the Portsmouth Credit Union.[324] In this case, the principle of solidarity had been directly enacted between mutual-aid associations. In addition, the collaboration between the colonial government and Catholic Church in Dominica further substantiates a breadth and strength within the social networks of the co-operative organisations on the island.

The British colonial government in Dominica allowed the credit union movement freedom to grow and develop as a self-help, grass-roots movement under Catholic auspices.[325] Two significant factors provide evidence of the Catholic co-

---

[323]Mr. Kenneth A. Richards (2 September 2004), semi-structured interview by author, written notes, Roseau, Dominica.

[324]Mr. Charles Maynard (6 September 2004), semi-structured interview by author, written notes, Roseau, Dominica.

[325]L.A. Roberts, Social Welfare Officer, Dominica, B.W.I. (1946), "Report on the Work of the Social Welfare Department 1945," 3-4. Unpublished typewritten document [Ministry of Social Welfare Archives, Government of Dominica]. One early example explicated: "A co-operative still for the

operative sector's preference by the Crown Colony attributable both to the colonial government's attitude and by its official policy toward the co-operative/credit union movement. First, the Catholic Church assumed a primary role in the social and economic development of the colony. In fact, the colonial government granted land to the Catholic Church in order to build a Catholic secondary school. Second, official support of co-operative development in other Caribbean colonies (e.g. Jamaica) notwithstanding, the colonial government's Social Welfare Department in Dominica could not match the breadth of organised leadership and the power of voluntary effort offered by Catholic missionaries and lay leaders.

The legacy of Mother Alicia and the early lay co-op pioneers survives in a new generation of co-operative leaders in Dominica. Mr. Washbourne Cuffy, Commissioner of Co-operatives in Dominica, emphasised the Catholic Church's significant contribution to socioeconomic development in Dominica: "I remember even as a little child that the credit union was something connected to the Catholic Church and Sister Alicia."[326] Direct empowerment of poor farmers and fishermen from rural villages as well as urban renewal through access to credit unions comprised the key strategy of co-operative economic development in Dominica. "Social action for provident and productive purposes and self-help opportunities allowed these poor persons to improve their social and economic conditions," added Mr. Cuffy. The credit unions, producer/marketing co-operatives, and aided self-help housing scheme—an idea initiated in Dominica through the leadership of Mother Alicia—all resulting from study

---

distillation of lime oil has been formed with a small measure of financial assistance from Government and erection of the works begun early in 1946…Very special mention must be made of the consistent and invaluable part played by the Parish Priest, Fr. Joussemet, in the organization of all of the above since the difficulty of getting to that village (La Plaine) does not permit frequent visits by the Social Welfare Officer. There is an apparent change in the life of the village as a result of these various activities."

[326]Mr. Washbourne Cuffy, Commissioner of Co-operatives, Ministry of Community Development and Gender Affairs, Government of Dominica (6 September 2004), semi-structured interview by author, written notes, Roseau, Dominica.

club sessions and grass-roots leadership provided financial capital including educational and economic skills for small farm and business improvements throughout the entire island.[327]

While grass-roots practices and self-help philosophy initiated and sustained the co-operative movement through the energy and insight of both religious and lay pioneers, the local hierarchy of the Catholic Church in Dominica initially viewed voluntary organisational efforts for socioeconomic improvement with tenuous support and guarded suspicion. Bishop James Moris, C.Ss.R. issued an official pastoral letter in 1938 calling attention to Catholic Action societies: "The various branches of Catholic Action and other church societies, established to maintain faith and piety, will, we trust by the divine goodness, continue to obtain for us assistance and protection in our future trials."[328]

Catholic Action, however, maintained firm direction and official guidance through its pastors. Yet, by hindering authentic subsidiarity within Catholic voluntary organisations, Bishop Moris, C.Ss.R., unbeknownst to the general public at the time, had reacted to perceived threats of communism and free masonry. Quoting letters received from the Holy See in 1948 and 1952, the bishop reiterated Vatican concerns to his own clergy recounting the "explosion of Communism in British Guiana" and the attack on Cardinal Manuel Arteaga y Betancourt, Archbishop of San Cristobal de La

---

[327]Miss Lorna Grell, Assistant Social Welfare Officer, (10 March 1950), "Social Welfare Report 1949," 1. Also L.A. Roberts, Social Welfare Officer, (22 March 1949), "Annual Report on the Work of the Social Welfare Department, Dominica, Year 1948," 1. Unpublished typewritten documents [Ministry of Social Welfare Archives, Government of Dominica]. 1948 Report: "The three lime processing co-operatives in Dominica have processed nearly 7,000 barrels of limes, which comprises approximately 6% of the island production with a value of processed products of $19,400." 1949 Report states: "The lime processing/marketing co-ops have increased production and the membership of 139 persons has produced an output valued at $24,000."

[328]Most Rev. James Moris, C.Ss.R, (25 January 1938), "Lenten Pastoral of His Lordship The Bishop of Roseau, Dominica," 2, 4. Unpublished papers of Bishop Moris, C.Ss.R. [Chancery (Roseau) Archives].

Habana, Cuba who "had been suspected of working against the [Cuban] Government."[329] Into the 1950s, Bishop Moris, C.Ss.R, although having had invited Mother Alicia to Dominica for social work ministries, continued a strong, top-down policy for Catholic Action associations. In fact, he informed all his priests of the following after an official visitation of the papal nuncio to Dominica: "His Excellency encouraged Social Action, such as Credit Union, Building Association, League of Christian Mothers, etc…but insisted that each of them should be centralized, have the same rules, be under the same direction, without rivalry or overlapping."[330] In the end, the local hierarchy maintained an official position advocating strict regulation and control of voluntary associations organised by Catholic Action groups, including those initiated by Mother Alicia and other Catholic pioneers, until the succession of Bishop Arnold Boghaert, C.Ss.R. in 1957.

Through social/rural life conferences similar to those sponsored by the English-speaking Catholic hierarchy in Canada since the late 1940s, several bishops in Caribbean dioceses promoted a more progressive lay-leadership approach toward socioeconomic projects sponsored by Catholic Action groups. In fact, key missionary co-operative promoters from both the Dominican Republic and Jamaica participated in the earliest conferences aimed at enacting social justice across the Caribbean region.

The first international congress for Latin America and the Caribbean sponsored by the Catholic rural life movement was convened in January 1953 in Manizales, Colombia. Monsignor Luigi Ligutti, head of the rural life movement in the United

---

[329]James Moris, C.Ss.R., Bishop of Roseau, to All Priests of the Diocese of Roseau, TL, 8 September 1953. Unpublished papers of Bishop Moris, C.Ss.R. [Chancery (Roseau) Archives]. Note: the letter heading reads "Confidential."

[330]James Moris, C.Ss.R., Bishop of Roseau, to All Priests of the Diocese of Roseau, TL, 21 June 1954. Unpublished papers of Bishop Moris, C.Ss.R. [Chancery (Roseau) Archives]. Note: the letter heading reads "Confidential."

States, invited Fr. Harvey Steele, S.F.M. to join him for the conference attended by over fifty bishops, two hundred priests, and three-hundred fifty lay delegates from twenty-five countries.[331] Other important participants from the Caribbean included Fr. John Peter Sullivan, S.J. who attended the Latin America Rural Life Congress (1953) as "special observer for the Holy See."[332]

These international conferences not only strengthened social ties among Catholic Caribbean co-operators but also provided a forum for concrete sharing of ideas on co-operative practices in which members of the local hierarchies participated. For instance, the Rural Life Congress (1955) in Panama included a three-day workshop on co-operatives and the adult educational, study club method organised by Father Harvey Steele, S.F.M. at the recommendation of Monsignor Ligutti. Additional invited participants and presenters on "co-operatives as an issue of social justice" included Mother Alicia of Dominica; Fr. John Peter Sullivan, S.J. of Jamaica; and Bishop John R. MacDonald of the diocese of Antigonish.[333] The participating Catholic clergy and lay pioneers at this conference in Panama agreed in principle to form a Caribbean confederation of co-operatives.[334]

---

[331]Latin American Rural Life Congresses were convened in Manizales, Columbia (1953); Panama (1955); Venezuela (1957); and Chile (1959). During the first general conference of Latin American bishops in the context of the International Eucharistic Congress of 1955 in Rio de Janeiro, Pope Pius XII established in principle the *Consejo Episcopal Latinoamerica* (CELAM). Formal appointment of Archbishop Dom Helder Camara of Brazil as general secretary of CELAM constituted the official establishment of this episcopal organisation in 1956. In Mary McGlone (1997), *Sharing Faith Across the Hemisphere*, (Washington, D.C.: United States Catholic Conference), 83-84 . Also Gerald Costello (1979), *Mission to Latin America: The Success and Failures of a Twentieth Century Crusade*, (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books), 27-29; 33 and 291.

[332]Rev. John Peter Sullivan, S.J. (1956), "Memorandum of the Co-operative Division: 'Promotional Activity in the Caribbean (Outside Jamaica),'" (Kingston: St. George's College Extension School), 1-2, RG 11/2/1, SC200 [Jesuit Archives].

[333]Harvey Steele (1973), *Agent for Change: The Story of Pablo Steele as told to Gary MacEoin*, (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books), 97 and Steele (1986), 134. Chapter two (The Antigonish Movement of Nova Scotia), section 2.3.3 presents the substance of Bishop MacDonald's address at the International Rural Life Conference in Panama, 1955.

[334]Rev. John Peter Sullivan, S.J. (1956), 2, RG 11/2/1, SC200 [Jesuit Archives], states: "Jamaica-1956-Host to delegates and observers convening in Jamaica for first plenary session of a

Notwithstanding an extensive social network between clergy and lay co-op leaders in the Dominican Republic, Jamaica, Puerto Rico, and Dominica, the bridging social capital initially formed and sustained between Fr. Harvey Steele, S.F.M. and the dictator Rafael Trujillo had by 1955 precipitated into a dissembled, adversarial relationship. After the first marketing co-operative had been incorporated by Steele and his associates at Yamasá in 1954, these same Catholic co-op pioneers in the Dominican Republic initiated co-operative housing ventures in the villages of the Cibao.

The growth of the co-operative movement in the Dominican Republic failed to counterbalance the suspicion of those in the Trujillo regime and even fellow clergy were envious of Fr. Harvey Steele's rising popularity especially among the *campesinos*. Padre Pablo recounted that the large meetings of *campesinos* marshalled a revolution against the common *patrón* system:

> So the word passed among merchants and political cronies and soon harassment of co-op leaders began. I was tailed by [Trujillo-appointed]spies everywhere…Trujillo feared nothing so much as the development of a group which he didn't totally control...My success also brought enemies among the clergy. The first was a Spanish Jesuit who denounced me to the local press.[335]

Trujillo, in the end, exiled Fr. Harvey Steele, S.F.M. in 1959 from the Dominican Republic "in response to his outspoken tactics and relative success in his co-operative ventures."[336] Afterwards, Steele briefly worked in British Guyana before returning to the Scarboro headquarters outside Toronto, Canada. In 1963, Padre Pablo, now missioned to Panama, established another co-operative training centre—*Instituto*

---

committee created at Panama in April of '55 and commissioned to activate a Caribbean-wide Cooperative Confederation. Countries represented: Colombia, Costa Rica, Honduras, Mexico, Panama, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, the Bahama Islands, British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica, and the U.S.A."

[335]Harvey Steele (1993), *Dear Old Rebel: A Priest's Battle for Social Justice*, (Lawrencetown Beach, Nova Scotia: Pottersfield Press), 143.

[336]Rev. Alexander MacKinnon (12 July 2004), semi-structured interview with author, written notes, St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia.

Cooperativo Interamericano (ICI)—vigorously supported by Most. Rev. Marcos McGrath, C.S.C., bishop of Santiago de Veraguas, Panama: "In criticising institutions, including church institutions, this made him (Fr. Harvey Steele) ahead of his time and made people think. Pablo combined moral and social values with his background especially in co-ops to respond to the needs of Latin America."[337] This training centre shared its inspiration and methods with the Antigonish movement pioneers whose legacy continued through the Coady International Institute founded in 1959 for co-operative development in honour of Rev. Dr. Moses M. Coady at St. Francis Xavier University in Nova Scotia.

5.5 Summary/ conclusions of the analysis

This chapter has offered an analysis of the interplay between three primary characteristics of co-operative economic development in Nova Scotia and the Caribbean: multiple social networks; authority/power structures; and social structures. As a test for the three hypotheses, a social capital-social justice nexus examined these three aspects of co-operative, self-help movements within each local context. A comparative framework, inclusive of all five case studies, indicates three points of commonality in the socio-religious sectors of each co-op movement: (1) very similar organisational structures and a common educational method, reflecting shared CST principles; (2) rather strong divergence in co-op practices for social capital formation compared with government and/or private sectors; and (3) a consistency in co-operative

---

[337]Les Harris, producer and director (1989), *Padre Pablo: Fighter For Justice*, (Toronto: Canamedia Productions, Ltd.), documentary video, 53 min.

promotion based upon common CST principles within grass-roots practices by the socio-religious sectors.

Strong evidence in all five cases corroborates the argument that particular social structures—study clubs and rural/social life conferences—rather than traditional ecclesial structures—parishes or schools—contributed toward both bonding social capital and bridging social capital formation. A principle of subsidiarity rooted within an emphasis on the freedom and human dignity of the acting person in CST had been enacted by co-operative mutual associations in Canada and the Caribbean clearly attesting to self-help, democratic, grass-roots authority/power structures. Finally, by the late 1940s, these participatory co-operative practices received specific recognition by most English-speaking members of the Catholic hierarchy in Canada; whereas, in the Caribbean, reception of these grass-roots co-op movements and their associated economic development projects by local bishops proved to be mixed. Chapter six will revisit each of the three hypotheses, in detail, offering final conclusions and an overall assessment of the principal thesis.

PART III—CHAPTER SIX:

CO-OPERATIVE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE LIGHT OF CATHOLIC SOCIAL TEACHING AND A MODIFIED SOCIAL CAPITAL PERSPECTIVE: EVALUATION OF THE HYPOTHESES

This chapter extends an argument for the principal thesis: Caribbean missionaries and self-help associations—adapting grass-roots, study club practices from the Antigonish movement of Nova Scotia and incorporating CST principles into their organisational structures—advanced newer forms of co-operative economic development through their mission projects. In the previous chapter, analysis of each of the five case studies examined three major social capital characteristics and their respective CST principles. In the present chapter, I offer an integral analysis of the case studies, evaluating aspects of both Catholic social teaching principles and aspects of a modified social capital perspective as outlined in chapter one.

First, authority structures and organisational practices of the socio-religious sectors analysed in chapter five have demonstrated a common reliance on social capital formation through a study club structure and method. Second, notwithstanding initial alliances among co-operative movement sectors, collaboration, tensions, and conflicts between co-op proponents within these sectors revealed divergence toward either political-oriented goals, especially by Jamaica Welfare and the colonial government sectors in Jamaica, or social justice-oriented strategies, particularly by Caribbean socio-religious sectors that maintained a consistent philosophical emphasis on the acting person's freedom and dignity. Third, despite a mixed ecclesial recognition and accommodation of grass-roots co-op practices by local bishops in Canada and the Caribbean, democratic self-help co-operative associations organised through grass-roots

practices challenged hierarchical preference for strict clerical control of Catholic Action groups. The first three sections of this chapter offer a discussion of these associated practices for co-operative development leading to a final analysis and evaluation of the hypotheses, followed by an assessment of the principal thesis in a concluding section.

6.1 Co-operative development: authority structures and organisational practices

In 1945, Rev. John Peter Sullivan, S.J. shared his own direct experience in Catholic missionary co-operative practices:

> Some years' experience in organizing [*sic*] and stimulating the people to run their own coop study clubs and subsequently their own "going"coops especially in credit, distribution and marketing on the Jamaica mission profoundly convinces me that the coop way with its emphasis on democratic control, all-member participation, learning by doing…is a singularly solid forge on which to hammer out genuine adult education…for the common good we must have a legitimate "say" in the legal, agricultural and industrial decisions affecting the mission people.[338]

His detractors, both clergy and laity, who viewed direct involvement by a priest in economic development with suspicion and disdain either prescinded from official church views on the issue or desired a hierarchical authority structure and allied practices championed by Catholic Action. In fact, Pope Benedict XV had expressed an official position in a letter to Bishop Luigi Maria Marelli of the Bergamo diocese in

---

[338]Rev. John Peter Sullivan, S.J. (1945), "Coops Have Mission Value," in *The Missionary Union of the Clergy Bulletin* IX (June): 17. New England Province Authors Collection [Jesuit Archives].

March 1920 recognising the legitimacy of direct ministry by Catholic clergy in economic development.[339]

In Jamaica, multiple promoting bodies and organisers contributed to the development of the co-operative movement across the island. Despite divergent organisational and promotional strategies among the various sectors of co-operative development, a shared foundation based on both a non-traditional educational practice consisting of extension courses and organisational resources from St. George's Co-operative Department initially aided study club formation in all sectors of the movement. In addition, all three co-operative sectors acknowledged, in varying degrees, the Antigonish movement as its early inspiration. Consequently, the major similarities between the co-operative development movement of Antigonish and that of Jamaica build upon democratic principles and grass-roots practices: common foundational principles—group action based on self-help, subsidiarity and solidarity—and fundamental practices—adult education through a study club structure and method.

Co-operative movements in the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico and Dominica through bridging social capital linked to Antigonish and Jamaica, likewise, promoted common group action through adult education. Yet, these same social networks which provided access to social capital also contributed to initial tensions and eventual conflict both within and between the respective co-operative movements. Significantly, authority structures not only bonding small study clubs and larger voluntary associations within these co-operative movements but also bridging individuals and groups across the co-operative movements to outside authorities (e.g.

---

[339]Pope Benedict XV (1920), *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* XII, 109-112. English translation by Rev. John Peter Sullivan, S.J., Ibid., 18: "Let no member of the clergy suppose that activity of this kind is something foreign to his priestly ministry because the field in which it is exercised is economic. It is precisely in this field that the eternal salvation of souls is imperilled. Therefore it is our will that priests consider it as one of their duties to give as much of their time as possible to social science and social action by study, observation and work and to support in all ways those who in this sphere exercise a wholesome influence for the good of Catholics."

foreign government and ecclesiastical leaders) influenced not only an intensity of conflict but also an enhancement of socioeconomic development practices within the various movements.

In the Dominican Republic, Rev. Pablo Steele, S.F.M. after years of trial and error discovered that a strong, top-down authority structure within the study clubs failed to bond members, resulting either in lack of group cohesion or in dissolution of the groups themselves through lack of interest. A strong *patrón* system within the culture also militated against self-help and grass-roots initiatives particularly when Rafael Trujillo, himself, served as a primary bridging point for financial access in the co-operative movement. In addition, with initial social capital formed by budding relations between co-op leaders and the government of the Dominican Republic, both clergy and lay leaders eventually established functioning study clubs and co-operative credit unions at the grass-roots. However, once these co-op leaders replicated thriving adult educational groups in key urban areas, which were facilitated by outside social capital sources through a bridging with leaders in Puerto Rico, Trujillo through his oppressive, top-down governance and the acquiescence of an impotent Catholic hierarchy effectively suppressed the co-operative movement by exiling its key leaders from the country. In this case, local grass-roots authority structures (i.e. study clubs, voluntary associations) which formed the backbone of the co-operative movement in the Dominican Republic had been quashed by government power and forsaken by ecclesiastical authority until the bishops publicly responded in 1960 to the rising violence and oppression of the Trujillo regime.

In contrast to the socio-political context in the Dominican Republic, the co-operative movement in Puerto Rico coalesced through collaborative social networks linking various Catholic voluntary associations through the auspices of both the

government of Puerto Rico and the University of Puerto Rico. Initially, a multi-levelled network of university professors, government officials, and Catholic clergy—particularly Rev. Joe A. MacDonald from Antigonish—bridged social ties and social capital for the formation of study clubs. These groups—unlike their counterparts in Antigonish, Jamaica, or the Dominican Republic—comprised, in the majority, a university-educated middle class engaged in professional occupations across Puerto Rico.

Authority and power within the co-operative movement had been consolidated through a top-down structure of the private sector's *Liga de Cooperativas de Puerto Rico*, which in principle advocated a policy of subsidiarity for diffusion of authority and decision-making within the movement, and yet in practice encountered constraints by the increasing control of the Puerto Rican government sector under the *Departamento de Fomento Cooperativa*. In addition, the private sector's university branch represented by the Institute of Co-operatives at the University of Puerto Rico promoted a capitalist strategy narrowly aimed at economic development of middle-class workers. By the mid-1950s, the Catholic hierarchy of Puerto Rico recognising the co-operative movement's neglect of the poor distanced itself from the other two sectors. A small, grass-roots co-operative sector supported by the bishops of San Juan and Ponce and native members of the clergy, particularly Rev. Antulio Parrilla-Bonilla, S.J., challenged the concentration of authority and power embedded in structural organisations within the co-operative movement dominated by both government and university officials.

In Dominica, which lacked its own university facilities and resources, the Catholic co-operative pioneers—directed by Mother Alicia, missionary clergy, and lay collaborators—formed study clubs, based on Antigonish principles and practices, and a

structural hub for the movement established as the Social Centre in Roseau. Without direct hindrance from either the colonial government of Dominica or local ecclesiastical authority, the leaders of the co-operative movement relied almost entirely on a linked social network of voluntary associations created for self-help, co-operative economic development. Yet within the study clubs and earliest credit co-operatives, social tensions between local members and regional conflicts on the island adversely affected the initial growth of the movement throughout Dominica. However, social networks bridging social capital for all regions with outside co-operative movements—particularly in Jamaica, Puerto Rico, and Nova Scotia—sustained the local, grass-roots authority structures characteristic of the study clubs. Forming adult educational, democratic practices within the credit unions and other forms of co-operatives in Dominica, the Catholic pioneers appropriated and mobilised members of existing Catholic Action voluntary associations throughout the island.

Whereas the socio-religious context of Dominica demonstrated an early allegiance with traditional Catholic Action groups, a power vacuum left through insufficient support for co-operative development by the colonial government created a relatively unfettered space for Catholic social action by missionaries and laypersons. The Catholic bishop in Dominica, although supportive of strong, top-down clerical leadership within Catholic Action groups, unwittingly contributed toward a diffusion of authority by permitting Catholic co-operative pioneers carte blanche in responding to the socioeconomic needs of both rural and urban populations in Dominica.

In other Caribbean contexts within Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico, the political, social, and ecclesial situations reflected either tenuous social ties, like in Dominica, or overt conflict with Catholic Action associations. The following section offers a more in-depth analysis of the relative collaboration, tension, and

conflict resulting from an interaction between more traditionally-structured Catholic Action parochial and educational groups in these Caribbean colonies and those grass-roots, voluntary associations which formed co-operatives.

6.2 Collaboration, tension, and conflict: official pre-Vatican II Catholic social teaching on socioeconomic development through Catholic Action contrasted with self-help, voluntary practices by Catholic co-operative pioneers

Advocating formal, clerically controlled groups under hierarchical authority structures, Catholic Action had received an early approbation by Pope Pius X for "practical means which the findings of social and economic studies place in its hands (no. 17)."[340] In defining Catholic Action officially as "the participation and collaboration of the laity with the Apostolic Hierarchy,"[341] Pope Pius XI also desired to maintain strict clerical control of these voluntary associations of laypersons. Paul Misner has argued that Pius XI proposed Catholic Action as an effective organisational alternative to the Fascist labour movement and political parties emerging during the 1920s in Italy. Despite the papal desire for clerical leadership and hierarchical control, these Catholic Action group participants seeking a "re-Christianization of society, including the political and economic sectors as well as public culture" proceeded within

---

[340]Pope Pius X (11 June 1905), *Il Fermo Proposito*: Encyclical On Catholic Action in Italy, *Acta Sanctae Sedis* XXXVII: 741-767. [Italian together with the Original Latin version].

[341]Pope Pius XI (13 November 1928), *Quae Nobis*: Letter to Cardinal Bertram, *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* XX: 385. Pope Pius XII furthered defined the structure and organisation of Catholic Action: Pope Pius XII (1940) "Allocution to Italian Catholic Action," *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* XXXII: 362 (original language-Italian). Also Pope Pius XII (2 June 1951), *Evangelli Praecones*: Encyclical on Promotion of Catholic Missions, *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* XXXXIII:497-528. This encyclical discusses Catholic Action in relation to missionaries and lay collaborators.

an integralist strategy, addressing both spiritual and material needs, "although not yet within a pluralist political or social context."[342]

The promotion of Catholic Action groups not only in Europe but also in mission regions like the Caribbean had also been motivated by a perceived general threat of communism to the entire Catholic Church. An official viewpoint offered by Pope Pius XII in his encyclical *Divini Redemptoris* advocated a multiplicity of concrete responses to the threat of communism:

> Thus, even in the sphere of social-economics, although the Church has never proposed a definite technical system, since this is not her field, she has nevertheless clearly outlined the guiding principles which, while susceptible of varied concrete applications according to the diversified conditions of times and places and peoples, indicate the safe way of securing the happy progress of society (34).[343]

In practice, Catholic voluntary associations, "both general (e.g. widely inclusive social groups on the model of Italian Catholic Action) and specialised (e.g. workers', students', and farmers' groups differentiated also by gender on the model of French and Belgian Catholic Action), responded to the socioeconomic needs of various labour groups and social classes," yet with close affinities to particular political parties in Europe or North America despite papal protestation of direct political involvement of the clergy.[344]

In the Caribbean the level of direct economic involvement by missionary religious and clergy notably differentiated these Catholic Action associations from their

---

[342]Paul Misner (2004),"Catholic Labor and Catholic Action: The Italian Context of *Quadragesimo Anno*," *The Catholic Historical Review* 90 (4): 657.

[343]Pope Pius XI (19 March 1937), *Divini Redemptoris*: Encyclical On Atheistic Communism, *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* XXIX: 65-106.

[344]For discussion of Catholic Action groups in these countries: Gerd-Rainer Horn (2001), "Left Catholicism in Western Europe in the 1940s," in Gerd-Rainer Horn and Emmanuel Gerard, eds., *Left Catholicism 1943-1955 Catholics and Society in Western Europe at the Point of Liberation*, (Leuven: Leuven University Press), 13-44.

counterparts in either Europe or North America. Economic and socio-political contexts including labour revolts, lack of formal educational structures, or relatively non-diversified colonial economies within Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, and Dominica presented Catholic missionaries and laity with more immediate, practical issues to address which superseded attention toward political parties or communist ideology, although these both remained, at least secondarily, points of interest for these voluntary associations.

With Catholic Action associations emerging from study club structures and method in Jamaica, a self-help approach attracted more than the average Catholic in the local parish. Because study clubs accepted non-Catholics as members, forming diverse groups ranging from middle-class professionals to poor farmers and labourers, the credit unions and co-operatives organised throughout Jamaica by Catholic co-op pioneers had also enhanced important social ties with leaders of the colonial government and private sectors of the co-operative movement.[345] Yet an insistence by the Catholic co-operative leaders on self-help, bottom-up leadership at all levels within the co-operative movement distanced their groups from the other two sectors of the movement that advocated for more bureaucratic structures and political-oriented goals. Both Norman Manley and, within a more limited extent, W. Alexander Bustamante, in fact, mobilised social movement constituents for nationalistic, political purposes. Strong commitment by the Jesuit co-operative leaders and their lay collaborators to Catholic social principles, particularly subsidiarity, dissociated these mutual-aid associations from an impetus toward formation of political organisations which

---

[345]John Peter Sullivan, S.J. (n.d.), *Song of the Islands Jamaican Co-ops—Early Days, Social Action Series No. 5*, (Kingston: Social Action Department, St. George's College Extension School), 2, RG 11/1, Box 4, Folder 4 [Jesuit Archives].

Norman Manley had achieved through Jamaica Welfare Limited and its evolvement into the People's National Party (PNP).

In both the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, the Catholic co-operative leaders, namely Rev. Pablo Steele, S.F.M. and Rev. Joseph A. MacDonald, both had direct contact and personal experience within the Antigonish movement in Canada. Significant focus on study club structure and method by these two pioneers stressed principles of democratic, self-help leadership rooted within the philosophy of the Antigonish movement. Both missionary priests had been familiar with the official Catholic social encyclicals of Pius XI and Pius XII on Catholic Action; however, like their confreres in Nova Scotia, they adapted a grass-roots adult educational approach toward meeting the socioeconomic needs of local communities through co-operative economic development. Formal Catholic Action associations in these two colonies contributed no direct aid toward the incipient co-operative movement.

In contrast to the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, Catholic Action associations in Dominica provided an initial organisational and ideological momentum toward socioeconomic development. Mother Alicia, educated within Belgian Catholic Action groups,[346] and her lay collaborators who had affiliations with Catholic Action associations creatively organised democratic, mutual-aid groups building upon the foundational methods and principles of the Antigonish movement, with which some of these same Catholic co-op pioneers also had direct contact and training. Notwithstanding an official policy of strict clerical, top-down leadership of Catholic Action associations, including co-operatives and credit unions, decreed by Bishop Moris, C.Ss.R. during the 1940s and early 1950s, these co-operative leaders formed bottom-up structures within the study clubs and exercised lay-leadership practices

[346]Sr. Alicia De Tremmerie (December 1992), "Sent to the Poor," *Euntes*, 25:45-46 [Chancery (Roseau) Archives].

within the co-operative movement in Dominica.[347] Local ecclesial acknowledgement of the co-operatives and credit unions directed by lay leadership and control received official approbation under Bishop Boghaert, C.Ss.R. by 1957.

Because all Caribbean cases shared a common, strong link to the social philosophy and social practices of the Antigonish movement, the socio-religious sectors on these islands strenuously promoted co-operative development which upheld the individual dignity and freedom of the acting person as acknowledged by the Antigonish pioneers. Study groups and co-operatives, themselves, primarily served as a means for social capital formation among members of these groups. However, the social practices advocated and promoted by these mutual-aid associations emphasised the ends of the human person over any collective advantages received through group action. In other words, the fundamental purpose and end of co-operative economic development according to co-op proponents in the socio-religious sectors aimed at achieving material and spiritual needs of persons. By enacting the CST principles of solidarity, subsidiarity, and the common good, these co-operative promoters respected the interests of free, acting persons deciding among themselves how best to meet their socioeconomic needs and those of their communities. Both government and ecclesial structures provided assistance, guidance, and direct aid when mutual-aid associations faltered in sustaining, sufficiently, provision by themselves or in instances which benefited the greater common good.

Within the ecclesial and social contexts of Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, and Dominica, common promotion and organisation of small, self-help associations motivated the growth of grass-roots movements for co-operative economic

---

[347]James Moris, C.Ss.R., Bishop of Roseau, to All Priests of the Diocese of Roseau, TL, 21 June 1954. Unpublished papers of Bishop Moris, C.Ss.R. [Chancery (Roseau) Archives]. Note: the letter heading reads "Confidential."

development despite varying tensions and conflicts with political organisations, colonial government offices, or private sectors of the co-operative movements in these colonies. Because the Holy See had officially acknowledged the Antigonish movement of Nova Scotia in 1938,[348] any subsequent adaptation and accommodation of this co-operative movement in the Caribbean also received specific approval from the Holy See. These particularities within each Caribbean island influenced by the Antigonish movement and an official ecclesiastical assessment, both by the Holy See and local Catholic hierarchy, will be discussed in the following section.

6.3 Recognition of Catholic co-operative philosophy and grass-roots practices by local bishops and the Holy See prior to the Second Vatican Council: Canada and the Caribbean

Acknowledging the letter dated March 1938 from Pope Pius XI through the Vatican Secretary of State, Bishop James Morrison of Antigonish responded to the apostolic delegate in Canada that "we shall make a translation of the document…to have it made known to the general public...so that all concerned may know that the Holy See is deeply and sympathetically interested in this particular line of Catholic Action."[349] Again in 1947, after the apostolic delegate had "informed the Holy Father of the progress which [had] been made by the Antigonish Movement…during the sixteen years that have elapsed since its inception," Pope Pius XII through his Vatican secretary of state particularly noted Monsignor Coady and all collaborators of the

---

[348]Eugenio Cardinal Pacelli, Segretaria di Stato di Sua Santita dal Vaticano (no. 167788), to The Most Reverend James Morrison, Lord Bishop of Antigonish, TLS, 8 Martii 1938, 3, RG 5/12/25322-25324 [St. FXU Archives].

[349]Bishop James Morrison, Antigonish, Nova Scotia to Rt. Rev. Mons. Umberto Mozzoni, Apostolic Delegation, Ottawa, Canada, TLS, 12 April 1938, Fonds 4/1/1, Folder 109 [Chancery (Antigonish) Archives].

Antigonish movement for "laudable activities" which in light of the threat of a "materialistic philosophy of life" proved "the Antigonish movement…more necessary than ever before."[350] Finally, on the twenty-fifth anniversary in 1953 of the establishment of the Co-operatives Extension Department at St. Francis Xavier University, Pope Pius XII personally recognised the Antigonish movement and its leaders:

> …In a most particular way we wish to honour with due praise to you who have championed so zealously and at so great a sacrifice the cause of the farmer, the fisherman, and the industrial worker, embracing them as brothers, without distinction of a social order…This is, therefore, your mission:… that the teaching given by you may issue as widely as possible into action and life unto the genuine welfare of the private and public weal.[351]

The specific recognition of the Antigonish movement on three occasions by Pius XI and Pius XII evidently underscored direct papal approbation of the structure, method, social philosophy, and social practice offered by the co-operative pioneers in Nova Scotia.

In Jamaica, the co-operative movement emerged from three sectors—the socio-religious (Jesuits), private (e.g. Norman Manley, Thom Girvan) and government (British colonial policy for co-operative development)—beginning from the mid-1940s. The incipient social movement aimed at socioeconomic development through co-operatives and credit unions received ecclesiastical recognition and approval rather belatedly toward the end of the 1950s. Rev. John Peter Sullivan, S.J., the primary Jesuit pioneer of the credit union movement in Jamaica and several other Caribbean

---

[350]Giovanni B. Montini, Segretaria di Stato di Sua Santita dal Vaticano (No. 153564), to Bishop James Morrison, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, TL, 26 April 1947, 1-2, RG 5/12/25331-25332 [St. FXU Archives].

[351]Pope Pius XII, St. Peter's, Rome, to John R. MacDonald, Bishop of Antigonish and Chancellor of the University of St. Francis Xavier, TL, 25 July 1953, 2-3, RG 5/12/25335-25337 [St. FXU Archives].

islands,[352] earned acknowledgement in 1958 from Pope Pius XII for "the meritorious achievements, both economic and social of the Credit Union Movement, in pursuance of the laudable purposes for which it was founded."[353]

Notwithstanding indirect support from the Most Rev. John J. McEleney, S.J.—the Jesuit bishop of Kingston, Jamaica—the socio-religious sector of the co-operative movement only garnered, subsequently, official public commendation by the local hierarchy with the establishment of the First Gold Mass in 1959.[354] In his sermon for the Gold Mass, Bishop John McEleney, S.J. remarked:

> In the "developing" nations of the world, in what is called the missions, the Catholic Church has been outstanding in its efforts to promote economic self-help in many ways and particularly through the cooperative and credit union movement. This is especially verified in the last twenty years in the countries of the West Indies.[355]

---

[352]Social Action Division, St. George's College Extension School (1958), *Wings Over The Caribbean: An Account of the Missions Dedicated to Credit Union Development*, (Kingston, Jamaica: Social Action Division), 1-2, RG 11/1 Box 4, Folder 7 [Jesuit Archives]. Partial list of the territories visited and provenance of invitation for co-operative development by Fr. John Peter Sullivan, S.J.—"Dominican Republic [1947] for the *Primera Semana Social del Caribe* as contact with fourteen Caribbean countries in convention assembled for instigating co-ops and credit unions based on Jamaican experience; Bahama Islands [1948] twice for one week each—invitation of hierarchy; Surinam [1948] invitation of Belgian Redemptorist Fathers; British Guiana [1948] invitation of hierarchy and government (secondarily); Trinidad [1951] special representative for Holy See to FAO-Caribbean Commission Cooperative Conference; Curacao [1951] invitation of hierarchy; Manizales, Columbia [1953] Latin American Rural Life Conference; Dominica [1954] invitation of Dominican and United Kingdom governments—to advise Dominican Government on various aspects of co-op and credit union movement; Puerto Rico [1954] invitation of government of Puerto Rico for course to inspectors of government Co-operative Department."

[353]Monsignor Angelo Dell'Acqua, Segretaria del Sua Santita (Pius XII) dal Vaticano (No. 413748), to Rev. John Peter Sullivan, S.J., Kingston, Jamaica, TLS, 24 January 1958, 1, translated and reprinted in *Catholic Social Action Through The Parish Credit Union*, (Pueblo, Colorado: Mt. Carmel Credit Union), RG 11/1, Box 4, Folder 5 [Jesuit Archives].

[354]"International Credit Union Celebrations: First Gold Mass," TMs, 23 September 1959, (Kingston, Jamaica: Sodality Co-operative Credit Union Limited), 1, RG 11/1, Box 4, Folder 6 [Jesuit Archives]. The announcement states: "On Sunday, October 11, 1959 at 9.15a.m. the Gold (Credit Union) Mass will be celebrated at the Cathedral, His Lordship, the Most Rev. John J. McEleney, S.J., D.D., Bishop of Kingston presiding. The Gold Mass so called originally approved for several U.S. dioceses… is called Gold because the fundamental commodity of the Credit Union is money or the coin…This is the first time the Gold Mass will be offered anywhere in the world, as far as we know, outside of the continental USA."

[355]Most Rev. John J. McEleney, S.J., D.D., Bishop of Kingston, Jamaica, West Indies, "Sermon: Gold Mass International Credit Union Week," TMs, 11 October 1959, (Kingston, Jamaica: Social Action Department St. George's College Extension), 2, RG 11/1, Box 4, Folder 6 [Jesuit Archives].

Reiterating the importance of family life, private property, and the active role of the state by the late Pius XII, Bishop McEleney stressed the ongoing collaboration between the Catholic Church and colonial government in Jamaica in meeting the needs of better wages, housing, and education for every class, and yet realistically noted the "considerable distance from the goals of social justice…and Government's mission to secure the common good that includes the sustenance of individuals."[356] This latter point alludes to the socio-religious sector's consistent promotion of CST principles of subsidiarity and the common good.

In Santo Domingo, Archbishop Ricardo Pittini, S.D.B. created the Federation of Dominican Co-operatives in 1947 under the leadership of the Scarboro Foreign Mission Society's Father Harvey (Pablo) Steele. During these early years of the co-operative movement in the Dominican Republic, twenty-four Scarboro priests directed the administration of fifteen credit unions on the island.[357] During the 1950s the Catholic Church, with the support of the archbishop of Santo Domingo, actively promoted the development of credit unions as a response to a dearth in formal financial institutions serving the needs of both middle and low income groups. The Catholic Church served as the key institution in support of the development of credit unions in the Dominican Republic until the 1960s when the Alliance for Progress [President John F. Kennedy had created in 1961 a U.S. assistance programme for reduction of poverty and social

---

[356]Ibid., 3.

[357]"SFM Priest in Dominican Republic Proves to People Value of Credit Union," *Register,* 21 October 1950, 9.

inequities in Latin America] expanded the co-operative practices established by Catholic missionaries.[358]

In Puerto Rico, despite an initial multi-level collaboration between government, academia, and the Catholic hierarchy, the official stance of the local hierarchy under the leadership of John Peter Davis, first archbishop of San Juan in 1960, eventually challenged the reformist approach of the co-operative movement. A more radical social practice, reflected in the Antigonish philosophy offered by Rev. Joe A. MacDonald, coupled with a grass-roots promotion by Rev. Antulio Parilla-Bonilla, S.J. directly clashed with a staid, reformist direction taken by middle-class academic and government sectors of the co-operative movement. The importance of the co-operative movement especially for "the rural areas precisely lacking in co-operative development [my translation]" had acknowledged Monsignor Moses Coady, particularly through the contributions of the adult education movement of Antigonish, together with Rev. Joseph A. MacDonald, as the "inspiration and guide of the present movement [my translation]," in an official pastoral letter issued by Archbishop Davis.[359]

Highlighting the role of the clergy within the Antigonish movement, Archbishop John Davis quoted a speech by the apostolic nuncio of Canada, His Eminence Ildebrando Cardinal Antonuitti, who noted that the Holy See "in choosing some of its best leaders and collaborators…for the episcopate…demonstrates its ardent desire that the Antigonish movement be extended and made beneficial to other

---

[358]Harvey Steele (1973), *Agent for Change: The Story of Pablo Steele as told to Gary MacEoin*, (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books), 67, 96-97. Also Harvey (Pablo) Steele, S.F.M. (1986), *Winds of Change: Social Justice through Co-operatives*, (Truro, Nova Scotia: Cooperative Resources, Ltd.), 146.

[359]Jaime Pedro Davis, Arzobispo de San Juan, (29 de septiembre, Fiesta de San Miguel Arcángel 1962), *Carta Pastoral Sobre La Semana Del Cooperativismo Del 14 Al 21 De Octubre De 1962*, 1-4, RG 5/12/4893 [St. FXU Archives]. "…centrar la atención de todo país en los problemas del campo, pues este año se enfocará la semana a la zona rural donde precisamente hace más falta el desarrollo cooperativo," 1. "En 1945 con la llega a Puerto Rico del Reverendo Padre Joseph A. MacDonald, de la Universidad de San Francisco Javier, a quien con toda justicia se le puede llamar inspirador y guía del actual movimiento, empieza una nueva etapa de desarrollo cooperativo," 3.

provinces [my translation]."[360] In fact, as discussed in Part II-Chapter two, two priests from Antigonish directly involved in the early co-operative movement, Rev. John R. MacDonald and Rev. James Boyle, had been appointed to the episcopate in the diocese of Peterborough, Ontario in 1943 and the diocese of Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island in 1944, respectively. In addition, several priests with indirect relationships to the Antigonish movement also had been appointed bishops. Rev. Francis Anthony Marrocco of Peterborough, Ontario, who worked closely with Bishop John R. MacDonald in promoting co-operative development through the Canadian Catholic Conference, had been appointed auxiliary bishop of Toronto, Ontario by 1956. Likewise, Rev. Antulio Parrilla-Bonilla, S.J., whose co-operative philosophy and practice had been significantly influenced by the Antigonish pioneer Rev. Joseph A. MacDonald, in Puerto Rico, and Rev. Harvey Steele, S.F.M, in the Dominican Republic, acceded to auxiliary bishop of Caguas, Puerto Rico in 1965.

Finally, in the case of Dominica the local Catholic hierarchy during the early 1950s issued no official pastoral letters on Catholic involvement in co-operative development as such, except for admonitions on tangential issues like the threat of communism and a keen, top-down preference for clerical control of Catholic Action groups on the island. Bishop James Moris, C.Ss.R. maintained a strict policy for voluntary associations guided by clergy and religious in the diocese of Roseau during the initial stage of the co-operative movement in Dominica (1951-1957).[361] However,

---

[360]Ibid., "He tenido mucho agrado en otras ocasiones en expresar públicamente el agradecimiento de la Santa Sede por la brillante labor realizada por la Universidad de San Francisco Javier de Antigonish, en el importante campo de las actividades cooperativas. Al escoger algunos de los mejores líderes y colaboradores de este movimiento, para las elevadas responsabilidades del episcopado, la Santa Sede demuestra, de manera elocuente, su ardiente deseo de que este movimiento sea extendido y beneficie a otras provincias," 2.

[361]Most Rev. James Moris, C.Ss.R., (25 January 1938), "Lenten Pastoral of His Lordship The Bishop of Roseau, Dominica," 2, 4. Unpublished papers of Bishop Moris, C.Ss.R. [Chancery (Roseau) Archives]; James Moris, C.Ss.R., Bishop of Roseau, to All Priests of the Diocese of Roseau, TL, 8 September 1953. Unpublished papers of Bishop Moris, C.Ss.R. [Chancery (Roseau) Archives]. ; James

having approved the social ministry organised by Mother Alicia de Tremmerie and her lay collaborators, Bishop Moris also permitted the establishment of the Social Centre in 1955 which supported the already burgeoning grass-roots movement across the island in socioeconomic development and education. In 1957, Rev. Arnold Boghaert, C.Ss.R., an early pioneer of co-operative development in Dominica particularly in his leadership and direction of co-operative credit unions, succeeded Bishop Moris, C.S.s.R. as head of the diocese of Roseau. By rescinding the top-down policy of clerical control for voluntary associations advocated by his predecessor, Most. Rev. Boghaert, C.S.s.R. as leader of the Catholic hierarchy in Dominica allowed the grass-roots co-operatives more freedom through democratic, participatory decision-making processes and self-help practices.[362]

6.4 Hypotheses and principal thesis: conclusions

A *first hypothesis* of the thesis proposed that the study club served as a primary structure and method of mutual association, in contrast to secondary structures of traditional schools and parishes, toward bonding and bridging group members for social capital formation embedded within practices of co-operative development. Evidence elaborated in the five case studies reveals that the study club, as both an organisational structure and an educational method, which bonded and bridged social ties (social capital aspects of the nexus) among members and across external voluntary associations, primarily facilitated the formation and establishment of co-operatives. In

---

Moris, C.Ss.R., Bishop of Roseau, to All Priests of the Diocese of Roseau, TL, 21 June 1954. Unpublished papers of Bishop Moris, C.Ss.R. [Chancery (Roseau) Archives]. Note: the latter two letters' heading reads "Confidential."

[362]Mr. Charles Maynard (6 September 2004), semi-structured interview by author, written notes, Roseau, Dominica.

all cases, the study clubs had been rooted within an adult educational method and Catholic social philosophy (social justice characteristic of the nexus) based on the Antigonish movement.

The importance of study clubs, in Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, and Dominica notwithstanding, most of the co-operative organisations established during late 1940s-1960 in these colonies also had affiliation with a particular Catholic parish. However, the parish (or mission) provided a secondary structure for social capital formation by study club groups. Moreover, in Nova Scotia, Jamaica, and Puerto Rico, formal educational institutions also played a key role in the local organisational, promotional, and developmental aspects of the respective co-operative movements; however, with the exception of Puerto Rico, these educational, promotional structures consisted of non-traditional institutions like co-operative extension departments or co-operative schools. For Puerto Rico with social ties to its government and the Catholic Church, the relative strength and primacy of the study club, as structure and method, proved more difficult to assess because of the multi-level linkages and tensions between the three sectors—government, university, and ecclesial branches—of the co-operative movement on the island. Yet, pervasive evidence in the other four cases clearly supports the first hypothesis. Hence, a first conclusion: Study clubs, indeed, served as the primary structure and method for co-operative organisations and mutual-aid associations for co-operative economic development inclusive of grass-roots practices.

A *second hypothesis*, following as a complement to the first above, stated: By enacting principles of the common good, subsidiarity, and solidarity—inclusive of social capital formation—Catholic co-operative pioneers engaged in grass-roots practices for social justice, which privileged human dignity and liberty of the acting person over collective associations. In contrast to a post-Vatican II emphasis on

Catholic social doctrine and practice commonly viewed as a discontinuity/continuity dichotomy, these Catholic co-operative pioneers integrated Catholic social principles with a concrete, dynamic practice of co-operative development theorised as a social capital-social justice nexus. In each of the four Caribbean cases, co-operative principles and practices characteristic of Catholic pioneers within the socio-religious sector of the co-operative movement demonstrated an explicit, continuing connection to the Antigonish movement.

In Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, and Dominica, the Catholic pioneers, as well as some members of the government or private sectors for co-operative development, shared common foundational principles—group (collective) action for the common good based on self-help practices respecting both subsidiarity and solidarity—and a fundamental process—adult education through study clubs. In addition, the Antigonish co-operative literature—pamphlets and other printed materials—permitted the adaptation of ideas and accommodation of a co-op structural method while also securing social ties between co-operative pioneers of the Antigonish movement and their counterparts in the Caribbean. Also of significance, the practical experience and education received by native Jamaicans, Puerto Ricans, and Dominicans in Nova Scotia strengthened a process rooted in common Catholic social principles and social networks (as tested by a social capital-social justice nexus). Individual persons acted, in spite of normal constraints to their liberty, in a manner consistent with CST's privileged foundation of the dignity and liberty of the human person.

Therefore, within a dynamic centred upon acting persons—reflective of both a social philosophy and grass-roots practices inculcated and adapted from the Antigonish movement—these Caribbean cases demonstrate not only instances of authentic collaboration but also accounts of fragmentary tensions or conflicts within Catholic co-

operative organisations and/or between Catholic pioneers and other sectors of the co-operative movements. First, archival evidence—primary and original—has noted the consistency among the various socio-religious co-operative sectors in striving to enact, concurrently, the three CST principles which strongly supports the second hypothesis. Second, analysis of the five cases has demonstrated that although collective social action served an important instrumental role within these self-help Catholic-inspired co-operative economic projects, the acting person remained the primary end of all social practices, recognising personal liberty and human dignity of each person. These points lead to a second conclusion: This dynamic process examined through a social capital-social justice nexus reveals an intentional, historically-conscious assessment of CST principles and grass-roots practices than a more common, static discontinuity/continuity dichotomy argued for by most contemporary scholars, like Charles Curran, of Catholic social teaching.

Finally, a *third hypothesis* considered the effects of these co-operative movements: In Nova Scotia and the Caribbean, Catholic co-operative collaborators—clergy, missionaries, and laity—through self-help, democratic social practices claimed specific recognition and support from the local hierarchy and the Holy See. In fact, three instances—1938, 1947 and 1953—of approbation and praise by Pope Pius XI and Pope Pius XII for Antigonish social principles and co-operative practices officially acknowledged the contribution of the Antigonish pioneers for co-operative economic development by the Holy See.

In Jamaica, co-operative development sponsored by the Society of Jesus originated as a socio-religious, missionary programme within a multi-sectoral co-operative movement in the mid-1940s. In 1958, Rev. John Peter Sullivan, S.J. finally received recognition by the Holy See for his many years in organising, promoting, and

educating co-operative leaders in Jamaica and throughout the English-speaking Caribbean. With initial permission from his religious superiors and tenuous financial support from Most Rev. John McEleney, S.J., the local Jesuit bishop of Kingston, Jamaica, Father Sullivan, S.J., his Jesuit confreres, and lay collaborators relied on grass-roots initiatives, self-help practices, and bridging/bonding social capital for the growth of their Catholic-inspired co-operative movement across Jamaica

In the Dominican Republic, compared to the other three Caribbean cases, initial support by Archbishop Ricardo Pittini, S.D.B. for co-operative development by Catholic missionaries proved to be an exceptional response from a local bishop. The local Catholic hierarchical involvement and promotion of co-operatives in the Dominican Republic, however, also demonstrated direct links to the government of Rafael Trujillo. Hence, a caveat must be recognised before drawing any direct conclusions. Regarding an official policy for co-operative development by the local Catholic Church in this context, the relative influence and power of the archbishop must be weighed against the socio-political relationships between the Catholic Church and dictatorial government of the Dominican Republic during this period (1930-1960). On a grass-roots level, the co-operatives established by Father Harvey Steele, S.F.M. and his collaborators, at least, provided a buffer between official church-state relations permitting space for the creation of mutual-aid associations aimed at socioeconomic improvement in some areas of the country.

With ties to the socio-religious co-operative movement in Jamaica, Catholic co-op pioneers in Puerto Rico and Dominica, likewise, received only tentative, initial support from their respective local bishops. Unlike the Dominican Republic, the colonial governments of these Caribbean islands maintained non-manipulative, non-coercive social ties to the Catholic hierarchy. Nonetheless, in the case of Puerto Rico,

the bishops advocated a co-operative development policy which encompassed not only the middle class but also advocated, more importantly, for the poor labouring classes of the island. In Dominica, Bishop James Moris, C.S.s.R. neither involved himself in any direct co-operative practices nor offered Catholic co-op pioneers anything more than moral approbation for socioeconomic development in Dominica. Being more concerned with maintaining clerical-controlled, top-down structures of Catholic Action, Bishop Moris, C.S.s.R. proved reluctant in officially recognising the grass-roots achievements of Mother Alicia and the diverse lay Catholic co-op pioneers across the island.

Consequently, a third conclusion can be offered although maintaining a distinction between individual cases. First, the facts of the case for the Antigonish movement fully support the first part of the third hypothesis: In Nova Scotia, Catholic co-operative collaborators, both clergy and laity, in applying Catholic social principles through self-help, voluntary associations initially and consistently claimed specific recognition both by the local hierarchy in Canada and by the Holy See. Second, for the other cases, the third hypothesis statement must be qualified in its conclusion: In the Caribbean, the Catholic contribution and recognition of co-operative development emerged primarily as social movements tenuously supported initially by the local hierarchy and only subsequently acknowledged by the Holy See. This qualification fully corroborates the evidence presented for the case of Jamaica. However, in the Dominican Republic, although evidence reveals initial support by the local Catholic hierarchy, a closely intertwining relationship between church and state cautions against making a firm conclusion which holds any direct, authentic recognition for co-operative development by the local hierarchy. Still, in the cases of both Puerto Rico and Dominica, clear evidence partially confirms the third hypothesis. Regarding local

bishops on these two islands, by the late 1950s, both local hierarchies, particularly in Bishops Jim Davis and Arnold Boghaert, C.Ss.R., had recognised grass-roots achievements by Catholic co-op pioneers. However, in these two cases, an exception holds for any official acknowledgement from the Holy See where no direct evidence could be located to support this part of the third hypothesis.

Finally, this research study proposed the following as its *principal thesis*: Caribbean missionaries and self-help associations—adapting grass-roots, study club practices from the Antigonish movement of Nova Scotia and incorporating CST principles into their organisational structures—advanced newer forms of co-operative economic development through their mission projects. The final chapter of the thesis will offer a brief comparison/ contrast of these newer forms for co-operative economic development with later social movements—liberation theologies—and voluntary associations—Christian base communities (CEBs) and faith-based NGOs. Further areas of research combining missionary practices and economic development within local contexts can build upon the contributions of this research. A final assessment of the principal thesis supports one further conclusion: These Caribbean self-help, grass-roots movements created democratic, participatory social practices through their mission projects—inclusive of organisational governance in subsidiarity, ecumenical collaboration in solidarity, and lay leadership for the common good.

PART III—CHAPTER SEVEN:

GRASS-ROOTS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: HISTORICAL AFFINITIES AND DIFFERENCES—LIBERATION THEOLOGY MOVEMENTS, CHRISTIAN BASE COMMUNITIES, AND FAITH-BASED NGOs.

Official Holy See recognition and local bishops' receptiveness for the co-operative economic projects and movements in Nova Scotia and the Caribbean acknowledged the potential of these co-operative groups for maintaining close internal, social networks through socioeconomic practices rooted in Catholic social teaching. While some bishops, particularly Bishop James Moris, C.Ss.R. in Dominica, maintained ongoing suspicion of lay-directed social action, other members of the hierarchy, like Bishop John MacDonald in Nova Scotia and Bishop James Peter Davis in Puerto Rico, explicitly promoted these democratic, self-help co-operative projects for the benefit of all social classes. Yet, notwithstanding the many tensions and conflicts that had arisen between various sectors of the co-operative movements in the Caribbean, co-operative leaders and organisations never advocated revolutionary socio-political change within their respective societies. Manley's incipient nationalist movement coupled with co-operative development foreshadows a more radical socio-political change through independence movements in Jamaica and across the Caribbean. Nevertheless, social change promoted among the religious-based co-op sectors remained limited to reform platforms and practices.

Co-operative structure and organisational practices, innovative and empowering for both working-class and middle-class members in Nova Scotia and the Caribbean, contributed more toward socioeconomic improvement than any direct political liberation for the masses. In light of the rapidly changing socio-political environment in

the Caribbean stemming from decolonisation during the early 1960s, the first section of this chapter briefly explores primary CST principles promulgated and developed at the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), pointing toward an integral economic development grounded within the freedom and dignity of the human person.

A second section will explore commonalities and differences between the co-operative organisational principles, practices, and structures from those advocated by liberation movements[363] formed for socioeconomic change in Latin America from the beginning of the 1960s. An analysis of the case studies in chapters five and six of this thesis has argued that co-operative economic development and allied Catholic-inspired co-op movements shared critiques of liberal capitalism.

These critiques dovetailed, in some respects, with the "signs of the times" advocated by liberation theology proponents; moreover, these co-operative movements motivated by young clergy and religious also demonstrated common grass-roots methods similar to those within most liberation movements. However, major differences regarding direct political action and Marxist social analysis manifestly resulted in distinctions between voluntary, co-operative movements and liberation movements. In fact, the case studies have also demonstrated that at the grass-roots level almost all study clubs and co-operative organisations staunchly forbade any direct affiliation with a particular political party, fully respecting general co-operative philosophy and practices. Furthermore, while many co-operative proponents, including Monsignor Moses Coady and Father Harvey Steele, S.F.M., personally retained socialist sympathies, albeit with certain reservations, their leadership in organising, promoting, and sustaining co-operative associations neither fully embraced a form of Christian socialism nor inculcated any form of Marxist social praxis.

---

[363]Liberation theology can be viewed as inclusive of many social movements in Latin America and the Caribbean. (I use the terms "liberation theology" and "liberation movement" interchangeably).

A third section of this chapter develops a comparison/contrast between the co-operative structures and methods adapted within the practices of co-operative movements in Nova Scotia and the Caribbean and the organisational structures and practices advocated by Christian base ecclesial communities (CEBs) in Latin America and the Caribbean.[364] In addition, more recent faith-based nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) have affinities with these earlier grass-roots co-operative development projects and proponents. Finally, a fourth section offers summary remarks and overall conclusions of the thesis.

7.1 Mission and economic development: an overview following the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965)

At the cusp of the 1960s, in the midst of world-wide movements for political independence from colonial regimes primarily in Africa and the Caribbean, the Catholic Church, after the accession to the Holy See by Pope John XXIII in 1958, entered into a position of *aggiornamento*, or openness in reading "the signs of the times." Seeking to respond toward an increasingly perceived "interdependent, international world, encompassing varied social, economic, political, and technological changes," the pope formally opened the twenty-first ecumenical council of the Catholic Church, the Second Vatican Council, on 11 October 1962.[365]

Of the sixteen official texts promulgated by the Second Vatican Council between 1963 and 1965, two documents, one a decree and the other a pastoral constitution, both promulgated on 7 December 1965 remain directly, specifically

---

[364]Base communities, in general, refer to a multiplicity of forms throughout the world. This thesis focuses solely on those community structures, methods, and practices which are formed by poor laypersons (i.e. the base) with explicit connections to the hierarchy of the Catholic Church (i.e. ecclesial) inclusive of personal relationships, training, and social action both within and external to local groups.

[365]Walter Abbott, S.J., general ed. and Very Rev. Msgr. Joseph Gallagher, translation ed., (1966) *The Documents of Vatican II*, (New York: The American Press), xv-xix.

germane to the themes of missionary practice and economic development in this thesis. First, *Ad Gentes* (Decree on the Church's Missionary Activity) explicitly addressed the nations (*gentes*) comprised of non-Christian persons who had not yet heard the gospel, particularly Muslims and animists in Asia and Africa. A second document, *Gaudium et Spes* (Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World) structurally divided into two parts, specifically engaged issues of economic and social life.[366] The Catholic social teaching principles of the common good, subsidiarity, and solidarity are further developed within these two documents from the Second Vatican Council.

Although the responsibility of missionary activity extends to all members of the Catholic Church, the decree *Ad Gentes* acknowledged that certain individuals, as missionaries, and voluntary associations, like mission institutes: "…serve, by fraternal cooperation either in the care of souls or in rendering special services for the common good"(no. 27).[367] In addition, the relationship between the clergy and the laity, advocated by the document, approaches a more open, mutual collaboration. The apostolate of the laity as members of "both the people of God and civil society" meet their social responsibilities within the "manifold social ties"—family, profession, society, and nation—through "the newness of life in the social and cultural framework of their own homeland…working alongside their fellow countrymen through a bond of unity and universal solidarity…" (no. 21). The clergy through esteeming the role of the laity, the decree adds, must instruct them in their Christian responsibilities toward all persons and "introduce them to practical methods" (no. 21) in meeting these social responsibilities. Chapter six, entitled missionary cooperation, provides concrete,

---

[366]Ibid., 584-630 and 199-308.

[367]Second Vatican Council (7 December 1965), *Ad Gentes*, [cited 14 November 2005], available fromhttp://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vaticanii_decree_19651207_ad-gentes_en.html. All subsequent references to this document will be cited by paragraph number.

practical activities of missionary lay persons, in addition to traditional teaching in schools and temporal work in parishes[368]: "Lastly, let laymen gladly offer socio-economic cooperation to peoples on the way of development. This cooperation is all the more to be praised, the more it concerns itself with founding institutes which touch on the basic structures of social life, or which are oriented to the training of those who bear the responsibility for the government" (no. 41).

A second conciliar document, *Gaudium et Spes*, while not focussing on missionary activity, also outlined practical, economic issues of Catholic social teaching.[369] Desiring active listening and concrete socioeconomic action for the poor and marginalised, members of the Catholic hierarchy, assembled at Vatican II, decidedly responded to the socioeconomic needs of all humanity while acknowledging the dignity and freedom of the acting person: "For the beginning, the subject and the goal of all social institutions is and must be the human person which for its part and by its very nature stands completely in need of social life."(no. 25).

In the section of the pastoral constitution devoted to principles of economic and social life, the bishops and pope promulgated the following:

> Economic development must remain under man's determination and must not be left to the judgment of a few men or groups possessing too much economic power or of the political community alone or of certain more powerful nations...Citizens, on the other hand, should remember that it is their right and duty, which is also to be recognized by the civil authority, to contribute to the true progress of their own community according to their ability…(no. 65)

---

[368]Pope Pius XII (1951), *Evangelii Praecones*: Encyclical on Promotion of Catholic Missions, *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* XXXXIII: 510 and 514. This social encyclical outlines "traditional" characteristics of Catholic Action associations in schools and parishes which were revisited by Vatican II in *Ad Gentes*.

[369]Second Vatican Council (7 December 1965), *Gaudium et Spes*, [cited 15 November 2005], availablefromhttp://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vatii_cons_19651207gaudium-et-spes_en.html. All subsequent references to this document will cite the paragraph numbers.

These points clearly reaffirm and uphold the Catholic hierarchy's understanding of the principle of subsidiarity. Finally, "Christians who take an active part in present-day socio-economic development and fight for justice and charity should be convinced that they can make a great contribution to the prosperity of mankind and to the peace of the world." (no. 72). This final point on the economic and social life emphasises the goal of social justice as a requirement within any Christian practice for economic development.

From the Second Vatican Council and an ongoing tradition of papal social teaching, the principles of subsidiarity, solidarity, and the common good have been reiterated and further developed. Recognising certain achievements through concrete socioeconomic practices, especially by missionaries, official Vatican II documents and papal encyclicals issued by Pope Paul VI accounted for limited grass-roots contributions toward Catholic social teaching. In fact, in *Populorum Progressio* (1967), Paul VI acknowledged the concrete role of professional organisations, inclusive of workers' unions, co-operatives, and credit unions, for an integral economic development akin to a social philosophy promoted by Catholic co-operative pioneers in the case studies.

A developed understanding within Catholic social teaching of modern socioeconomic structures, both during and following the Second Vatican Council, recognises the contributions of the Antigonish movement and its affiliated Caribbean co-operative proponents. In fact, those bishops with strong connections to these Caribbean co-operative leaders, especially Bishop McEleney (Jamaica) and Bishop McGrath (Panamá), president of the sub-commission which drafted a schema on the

"sign of the times" for *Gaudium et Spes*,[370] advanced both the role of Catholic laity in socioeconomic action and the recognition of an underlying Christian anthropology rooted in human dignity and liberty. Despite these developments at Vatican II, the bishops continued their practice of formulating Catholic social teaching without any significant, direct contributions from members of the laity themselves.

In the next section, more recent social trends practiced and promoted by liberation theologies and corresponding social movements will offer further insights into the affinities and differences between grass-roots co-operative economic development projects and socioeconomic practices promoted by liberation praxis.

7.2 Co-operative practices and method: an antecedent to liberation theology praxis?

During the early sixteenth century, a wave of missionary evangelisation alongside the political establishment of colonies within Latin America resulted in Christendom taking hold of a new continent. Yet in contrast to this model of Christendom, another model began to appear: "a church of poor people" formed by those who lived in the countryside and poorer areas of the cities beyond the influence of the Spaniards and the higher clergy. The beginnings of a cry for justice and struggle for liberation from the *encomienda* system and from the oppression of indigenous people by the colonial powers—both secular and sacred—emerged from the inspirations of the lower clergy, like Bartolomé de las Casas, and the newly arrived religious orders. In the seventeenth century the Jesuit "reductions" or missionary settlements—mainly in

---

[370]Xavier Rynne (1966), *The Fourth Session: The Debates and Decrees of Vatican Council II September 14 to December 8, 1965*, (London: Faber and Faber), 122 and 244. Direct references and contributions by Bishop McEleney, Bishop McGrath, and others are noted; however, further archival research would be necessary to elucidate the contributions of the Latin American/ Caribbean hierarchy, which is beyond the scope of this thesis.

the Tupi-Guarani region of Brazil, Paraguay, and Argentina—became models of Christian socialism. Continuing into the eighteenth century, the slaves and oppressed indigenous labourers began to make an original and creative reading of the gospel, opposing the rule of mercantile capitalism.[371]

Following an earlier Catholic evangelisation, Protestant missionary societies, between 1850 and 1880, began sending missionaries to Latin America. The primary work of these missionaries, as teachers and evangelisers, aided in spreading propaganda of a liberal-democratic society. By the 1930s, populist movements had attempted to generate social change within an alliance of popular sectors inclusive of national and economic elites. Several popular movements, including the influential Latin American Protestant Youth Federation, voiced their criticisms of the dominant capitalist system. By the 1960s, however, the ecumenical character of the liberation movement waned as the Protestant churches fragmented because of internal strife and new alliances with conservative governments. Thus some Protestant groups distanced themselves from more radical groups within the Catholic Church aligning themselves with military dictators; whereas, other Protestant groups maintained a greater interest in the plight of the poor and the need for social justice. These groups actively promoted, organised, and trained leaders which engaged the oppressive policies of military dictators and repressive violence unleashed by them in the latter half of the twentieth century.[372]

From a Catholic perspective, an awareness of widespread poverty and social injustices throughout Latin America re-awakened a movement toward alleviating the massive suffering of the poor by the bishops of Latin America at Medellín (1968), yet

---

[371]Enrique Dussel, ed. (1992), *The Church in Latin America 1492-1992*, (New York: Orbis Books), 4-11.

[372]José Míguez Bonino (1994), "The Protestant Churches in Latin America since 1930," in Leslie Bethel, ed., *The Cambridge History of Latin America* Vol. VI, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 585-593.

with some curtailment of its initial energy by the Vatican at Puebla (1979). Changes in the Catholic Church, with Pope John XXIII's recognition of the church as the "church of the poor," and a new openness to the secular world at large after Vatican II provided a renewal within the church in Latin America, addressing the needs of its poorest and most neglected members.

In the early years of liberation theologies in Latin America and the Caribbean during the 1960s, social analysis and group action gained momentum through organised lay associations by young, radical clergy within an increasingly acceptable view of Latin American dependency theories—ideas that less developed countries on the periphery of the world economy are exploited by core, developed economies through liberal capitalist policies of international trade and finance. While liberation itself embraced a broader scope than political and economic change, or development, the movements' underlying purpose focussed not only on freedom from social (structural) sin[373] but also on commitment to a transformation of society.

Gustavo Gutiérrez, often acclaimed as the father of the Catholic liberation movement in Latin America, first proposed a "theology of liberation" in a speech given in Peru just prior to the Medellín conference of bishops. Within his talk, he urged the Catholic Church to "speak of liberation rather than of development" when addressing the problems facing Latin America. Indeed, the term liberation was understood as a

---

[373]Social (structural) sin encompasses all personal sins within a particular social structure (e.g. economic or political institution). Primarily, social sin refers to all acts of individual persons comprising a concrete, social structure. The term itself only entered the theological lexicon of the Catholic Church in the 1970s. Pope John Paul II (1984), apostolic exhortation *Reconciliation and Penance*, (Washington, D.C.: United States Catholic Conference) exclaimed: "To speak of social sin means in the first place... each individual's sin in some way affects others...social sin is sin against love of neighbour...Likewise, the term social applies to every sin against justice in interpersonal relationships, committed either by the individual against the community or the community against the individual...A situation—or likewise an institution, a structure, society itself—is not in itself the subject of moral acts," no. 16.

"counterpoint to development."[374] Still, if one were to analyse the organisational principles, practices, and structures of the co-operative development movements in Nova Scotia and the Caribbean, general similarities and specific differences would emerge from an assessment of the empirical case studies of the thesis when compared and contrasted to corresponding aspects of liberation movements.

Readily available access to financial capital; enhanced social capital formation; as well as cheaper housing and consumer goods, all remained the primary, concrete socioeconomic benefits of the co-operative development projects from the Antigonish movement and allied co-op movements in the Caribbean. A grass-roots method and a popular goal—an enacted social justice—sustained the only clear and distinct points of commonality with liberation movements. With focus on transformation of sinful social structures—including conversion of both the rich and the poor—the organisational structures, methods, and actors of both co-operative development projects and liberation movements' praxis share some general, foundational similarities.

Liberation theologians while also seeking to address the concrete social, political, and economic contexts within Latin America generally advance one priority—*a fully human life*.[375] The lens through which both liberation theology and the dependency school view "life" within Latin America is that of structural or social injustice. Dependency approaches, however, focus almost exclusively on the material effects of injustice; whereas, liberationists widen their field of vision to include a more comprehensive view of injustices. For example, Gustavo Gutiérrez, who only gave a

---

[374]Phillip Berryman (1987), *Liberation Theology Essential Facts about the Revolutionary Movement in Latin America and Beyond*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press), 91. Gutiérrez outlines his basic theological understanding of liberation in the following: Gustavo Gutiérrez (1983), *The Power of the Poor in History*, (Marykoll, NY: Orbis Books) and Gustavo Gutiérrez (1988), A *Theology of Liberation* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books).

[375]Timothy J. Gorringe (1994), *Capital and the Kingdom*, (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books), 140. Also Valpy FitzGerald (1999), "The economics of liberation theology," in *The Cambridge Companion to Liberation Theology*, ed., Christopher Rowland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 218. FitzGerald speaks of "concern for life itself as the central contribution from liberation theology."

qualified acceptance to dependency approaches within his earlier works, understands the meaning of a fully human life as including a fundamental concept: a *preferential option for the poor*.

First of all, the "option" for the poor and oppressed does not imply any exclusiveness; in fact, the universality of God's love extends to all persons whether rich or poor. Yet God's love and commitment give priority to the poor who suffer and strive for a life worthy of any human person, so the universality of God's love is not a contradiction when one speaks of a preference for the poor. Second, the word "option" does not mean something that is optional; in fact, it signifies making a conscientious commitment. Both the rich and the poor—indeed all Christians—are capable of making this option. Through a priority for the poor, a transformation results not only for the poor but also for those non-poor who make a deliberate commitment toward sharing their lives with the poor. This transformation, moreover, occurs simultaneously in three distinct yet interdependent levels of liberation: "(1) liberation from material poverty, (2) liberation from psychological oppression, and (3) liberation from sin."[376]

Existing economic, political, and social structures continue to reveal great injustices stemming from structural sin as effects of personal sin. However, Valpy Fitzgerald has argued that liberation theology as a religious and social movement fails to address several key issues within development theory: "(1) the balance between industry and agriculture; (2) a best way to finance social expenditures; (3) trade relationships between industrialised and non-industrialised countries; (4) incentives for private producers; and (5) job creation."[377] Liberation theology's main weakness lies in its inability to address these various concrete issues much less offer corresponding

---

[376]Gustavo Gutiérrez (1993), "Option for the Poor," in *Mysterium liberationis: Fundamental Concepts of Liberation Theology*, eds., Ignacio Ellacuría, SJ and Jon Sobrino, SJ (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books), 235-250.

[377]Fitzgerald (1999), 227.

solutions to the underdevelopment and injustices that remain in Latin America and the Caribbean.

All five case studies have explicitly addressed most of these concrete socioeconomic issues within their local contexts. For example, the Antigonish movement and its affiliated co-operative movements in the Caribbean, through study clubs and tertiary co-operative organisations, promoted and availed educational resources for job creation, private/public collaboration, and alternatives to local industrial/agricultural production. Moreover, each of the above socioeconomic practices by co-operative proponents created social networks which both formed and sustained social capital rooted in social justice.

In the following section of this chapter, underlying principles and practices of these co-op movements and liberation movements will offer significant, concrete differences. Notwithstanding the above general affinities between grass-roots co-operative economic projects and liberation movements, one can conclude that these co-operative socioeconomic projects provided only limited, antecedent contributions toward liberation theology praxis. In the end, liberation theology praxis deliberately stresses small group, communal reflection similar to study club practice yet concentrated on a more internal, personal and social integration of the gospel. Yet, the co-operative economic development projects conscientiously focussed more on external socioeconomic change through both personal and social action.

7.3 Forms of socioeconomic development: co-operative aspects of Christian base communities and faith-based nongovernmental organisations (NGOs)

Co-operative projects under Catholic auspices in Antigonish and the Caribbean clearly promoted collaboration between clergy, laity, and non-Catholic co-op proponents. In both study clubs and co-operative organisations, a shared leadership structure included not only priests, religious, and laity but also members of other faith communities. These early ecumenical, social practices even before the principles of ecumenism had been officially promulgated by Vatican II in the Decree on Ecumenism, *Unitatis Redintegratio*, already attested to a shared commitment toward "…a strong sense of justice and a true charity toward their neighbor [*sic*]. This active faith has been responsible for many organizations for the relief of spiritual and material distress, the furtherance of the education of youth, the improvement of the social conditions of life…"[378] This official recognition by the Catholic Church for integration of social action and faith by all Christians opened possibilities for concrete manifestations through various mutual-aid or voluntary associations.

In Latin America and the Caribbean, grass-roots organisations whose members participated in a praxis for social justice had been formed in thousands of *comunidades eclesiales de base* (CEB), first established in Brazil "which grew out of pastoral innovations begun in the 1950s" and "usually consist[ed] of 30 or more lay people who gather for scripture study, mutual aid, and social activism."[379] Although officially promoted by the Catholic bishops of CELAM after gathering at Medellín (1968), in

---

[378]Second Vatican Council (21 November 1964),*Unitatis Redintegratio*, [cited 3 March 2006], availablefromhttp://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vatii_decree_19641121_unitatis-redintegratio_en.html., par. 23.

[379]Madeleine Adriance (1991), "Agents of Change: The Role of Priests, Sisters, and Lay Workers in the Grassroots Catholic Church in Brazil," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 30 (3): 292.

which the voices of the oppressed poor were heard, the CEBs inaugurated[380] the growth of liberation theologies' praxis across the region through "key actors…not the bishops, but rather pastoral agents—that is, women religious, priests, and middle-class lay persons who work with CEBs."[381]

Although CEBs throughout Latin America maintained a similar structure (small democratic, participatory groups) compared to voluntary groups structured by the study club method (self-study of a local socio-political context), the latter predates CEBs by nearly three decades. Moreover, direct links with local Catholic parishes or missions in the Caribbean notwithstanding, study clubs had been primarily established outside of traditional ecclesial structures and hierarchical control. First, while priests, sisters, and lay persons exercised varying influential roles within study clubs and the co-operative organisations engendered by them, shared leadership within these mutual-aid associations enhanced the formation of social capital—both bonding social ties within the groups and bridging social ties with external social networks. CEBs, conversely, primarily fostered internal cohesion among group members with only tangential connections to regional or national *comunidades eclesiales de base*. Second, a significant emphasis on Marxist social analysis, inclusive of social conflict and class warfare conceptions, generally characterised early *comunidades eclesiales de base*, which promoted much more radical political practices than those advocated by study clubs or co-operative organisations and their proponents.

L. Samuel Escobar has argued that both modernisation theories (including dependency theory) and revolutionary socialist theories, advocated by most liberation

---

[380]C. Smith (1991), *The Emergence of Liberation Theology: Radical Religion and Social Movement Theory*, (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press), 106. Smith discusses the emergence of CEBs in rural northeast Brazil in 1956 as innovative parish structures for increased lay participation especially among low-income members.

[381]Adriance (1991), 293.

theologies, have "failed to find any dynamic power in religious commitment as a generative force for social transformation."[382] Despite "all good theory and good intentions, many actions in favour of the poor have been tainted by a paternalistic approach," Escobar further contends. "Social and political conscientization has taken the form of a struggle for the poor, trying to create a more just society for them rather than with them," he concludes.[383] This critique of all modern theories and approaches to the problem of poverty and the fight for social justice clearly advocates for *popular* social action—one arising from grass-roots religiosity of the poor themselves. Through direct participation of the poor through their own educational, social, economic, and political organisations, an integral development—inclusive of personal freedom and dignity of every human person—avails to the voices of the poor an authentic power and purpose for socioeconomic change.

The voices of the poor and oppressed, however, are not alone in their demand for social justice. In solidarity for the common good since the 1960s, many faith-based organisations have contributed toward giving the poor themselves the means for self-help social action through grass-roots participatory practices while also increasing the social awareness of the non-poor (e.g. "the rich") through advocacy, education, and collaborative action for social justice. Especially within the last two decades, the institutional language and discourse of many new social movements, international aid agencies, and religious nongovernmental organisations[384] [like CAFOD, Salvation

---

[382]L. Samuel Escobar (1997), "Religion and Social Change at the Grass Roots in Latin America," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 554 (The Role of NGOs: Charity and Empowerment): 82.

[383]Ibid., 101.

[384]Julia Berger (2003), "Religious Nongovernmental Organizations: An Exploratory Analysis," *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* 14 (1):15-39. The terms "religious", "spiritual," or "faith-based" NGOs have similar connotations and are here used interchangeably, 16.

Army, World Vision, Catholic Relief Services, and the World Council of Churches] have echoed the voices of these oppressed individuals. In fact, these groups continue to advocate against the harsh effects of structural adjustment programmes and crushing external debt on poor Latin American countries even today.

Faith-based nongovernmental organisations, in general, explicitly approach issues regarding socioeconomic development from a values-oriented perspective underpinning duties to both God and neighbour along with a specific mission to bring a religious perspective into the public sphere. These two points—religious values and mission—make faith-based NGOs distinct from more common secular, human rights-based NGOs.[385] In addition, unlike secular NGOs, faith-based nongovernmental organisations often have access to previously existing social networks, both locally and internationally, making their social expediency and political influence more practically effective than counterpart secular organisations. In addition, faith-based NGOs mobilise persons whose already strong bonding and bridging social capital contribute to sustained social action both nationally and internationally. In fact, interreligious collaboration between faith-based NGOs, for example, in the Jubilee 2000 campaign to end third-world debt reflected a broad, interconnected network among religious-oriented NGOs and their capabilities in mobilising support for social justice projects.[386]

Still, faith-based NGOs, even those working at the grass-roots level, retain obstacles to sustainable socioeconomic development. First, executive staff accountability and viable funding strategies force leadership within these faith-based NGOs, like their secular counterparts, toward decision-making processes which neither allow full participation by stakeholders nor permit beneficiaries an equal voice. Faith-based NGOs lack many authentic grass-roots practices for social justice compared to

---

[385]Ibid., 19.

[386]Ibid., 20-21.

study clubs, which give each member an opportunity for personal development including leadership skills, and to co-operative organisations, which enforce strict participatory structures (e.g. one member-one vote). Yet, unlike co-operative associations, faith-based NGOs clearly have an advantage in maintaining necessary links with other major actors for socioeconomic development—government officials, multinational civil society organisations, and national private mutual-aid associations. Nonetheless, only in those instances where faith-based NGOs give full voice to the poor and oppressed do these organisations advocate, promote, and provide sustainable opportunities for grass-roots socioeconomic development.

Once again, all five case studies of the thesis serve as empirical precursors to a burgeoning development and extensive influence of faith-based NGOs throughout Latin America and the Caribbean. Moreover, key discoveries within this thesis directly corroborate the research of other scholars within an interface between religion and development studies, particularly David Lehmann at Cambridge University. Through his research, primarily in Brazil, Lehmann has contributed to a deeper understanding of *basismo* as, "a worldwide social movement which is a network of innumerable networks where…The institutional framework for this subculture [*basismo*] is provided by proliferating (NGOs), both international and national, which have come to constitute an established part of the international development community."[387] While study club structures and methods engendered co-operatives and credit unions, the latter institutions dissipated in many Caribbean islands due to effects of greater mobilisation

---

[387]David Lehmann (1999), "Introduction," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 18(2):141. Also Andrew Dawson, a scholar of religion and society, has similarly contributed to base communities in Brazil in the following: Dawson (2002), "A Very Brazilian Experience: The Base Education Movement 1961-1967," *History of Education* 31(1):185-194 and Andrew Dawson (2002), "New World, New Politics, New Labour: Third Way Revisionism and Prophetic Political Theology," *Political Theology* 3(2):156-177.

of persons through emigration. Faith-based NGOs may in time face similar challenges due to the socioeconomic effects of globalisation.

7.4 Overall conclusions

Five empirical case studies have demonstrated an historical interplay between formation of social capital practices and an explicit enactment of social justice principles within co-operative movements. Major findings of the research study have indicated that by 1960 social capital, although varied in each case, significantly contributed toward organisational capacities in sustaining grass-roots co-operative practices in most Caribbean cases. Enacting social justice principles, however, proved much more complex in actuality due to divergence, tension, or conflict between multiple government, private and religious-sponsored co-operative sectors in each of the case studies.

In the four Caribbean case studies, the thesis has demonstrated strong evidence of personal and group action through a combination of self-help, communitarian practices that privileged the acting person over collective action itself. These co-operative projects offered alternative forms of socioeconomic development practices within dominant free-market economic contexts. Although many of the Caribbean study clubs, at first, had been formed within shared-faith, group practices, a specific focus on co-operative development differentiates these particular organisations from Christian base communities within liberation theology movements. With emphasis on personal, participatory social practices, these same development projects, rooted in Catholic social teaching, offered a grass-roots, structural method as a means for enacted social

justice. In the end, substantial evidence from these multiple case studies clearly affirms the principal thesis: Caribbean missionaries and self-help associations—adapting grass-roots, study club practices from the Antigonish movement of Nova Scotia and incorporating CST principles into their organisational structures—advanced newer forms of co-operative economic development through their mission projects.

In the Jamaican case of co-operative development from 1938 through the mid-1940s both the private and socio-religious sectors of the co-operative movement maintained strong links with the Antigonish movement. Not only adapting democratic, self-help practices but also promoting Christian social principles within their organisations, these early modern study clubs and co-operatives initially displayed common characteristics—small group study, shared-faith practices, and incipient political awareness—similar to ecclesial base communities in Latin America. Although having been founded several decades before CEBs, these study clubs did not develop as significant precursors to Christian base communities.

Major notable differences existed between these various groups. Once a Jamaican study club had been formed into a functioning co-operative, the primary focus of its members centred upon socioeconomic betterment for the co-operative group and Jamaican society, in general, without direct political action, except through Norman Manley's Jamaica Welfare organisations. Another key difference between study clubs and CEBs lies in their underlying social philosophy and praxis. The Jamaican study clubs clearly had adapted Catholic social teaching principles advocated by the Antigonish movement; whereas, most ecclesial base communities based their praxis within an intentional Marxist social analysis. Similarly, study club and co-operative organisational structures in the other Caribbean cases—the Dominican Republic, Puerto

Rico, and Dominica—maintained practices rooted within the same CST principles as Antigonish and Jamaica.

Within a non-democratic, dictatorial political context, the Dominican Republic represents a special case contrasted with the other three Caribbean case studies. Notwithstanding a common link with Antigonish co-operative structures and methods, the co-operative movement in the Dominican Republic encountered continual tensions from Rafael Trujillo's direct patronage and indirect influence over both co-operative leaders and the Roman Catholic Church hierarchy. By 1960, authentic democratic control and viable, self-help, participatory structures remained lacking within the co-operative movement resulting in either struggling or failing co-operative organisations. More importantly, key co-op leaders, including Rev. Pablo Steele, S.F.M., had been exiled by the Trujillo regime, effectively crippling the co-operative movement in the Dominican Republic. Despite his banishment from the country, Pablo Steele continued co-operative ventures all the while maintaining social ties with other Caribbean co-op movements into the 1960s and 1970s through his *Instituto Cooperativo Interamericano* (ICI) based in Panama.

In comparison with external tensions and conflicts with government in the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico's co-operative movement case study highlights more internal conflicts between the various co-op sectors. Unlike the other three Caribbean cases, Puerto Rico's co-ops had originated from amicable connections to both academia and government. Primarily middle-class professionals, who as its earliest leaders comprised a majority of active members within the co-operative movement in Puerto Rico, controlled the promotional and organisational direction of the movement until a direct challenge by more radical Catholic proponents in the mid-1950s. These Catholic leaders, primarily local clergy, advocated for an internal reform of the co-operative

movement seeking a more inclusive social justice, which would benefit the working classes and the poor.

In the case study of Dominica, the Roman Catholic Church predominated both the initial and subsequent promotional, educational, and organisational aspects of the co-operative movement. Although traditional Catholic Action groups and sodalities aided the earliest formation of study clubs across Dominica, personal and group action based on Antigonish co-op principles and method demonstrated the most fundamentally authentic exercise of self-help, participatory practices through democratic governance of all four Caribbean case studies. Because Dominica's population, as absolutely smallest in number compared to the other three Caribbean cases, reflected a relatively homogenous socio-cultural composition, the average person in Dominica maintained closely-knit social ties with others on the island, which served to sustain the social networks fostered by the study clubs and co-operatives. Despite strong solidarity within the co-op organisations, tensions and conflicts emerged either with foreign co-operative movements or between local co-op leaders on the island. By the late 1950s, levels of discord between tertiary co-op organisations in Dominica resulted in a fracturing of relationships, particularly among members of producer co-operatives and credit unions.

Irrespective of the tensions and eventual conflicts within and between the co-operative movements in the four Caribbean cases, strong evidence of social capital formation particularly among co-op proponents in the socio-religious sectors underlies both the relative strength of co-operation and the diffusion of authority within these groups. In Jamaica, ecumenical lay-leadership predominant within the Jesuit-sponsored branch of the co-operative movement not only sustained the study club structures and practices but also maintained key links with tertiary co-op organisations outside

Jamaica, especially with Dominica. Even in the Dominican Republic, despite strenuous top-down pressures from a dictatorial government, co-op groups based on Antigonish structures by stressing democratic, self-help principles sought to preserve grass-roots methods in their practices.

Eventual failure or dissolution of these co-operatives cannot be contributed to deficiency in CST-based practices; rather, without access to its exiled leaders and external social capital resources, these particular co-operatives could no longer maintain sufficient organisational capacities for survival. In Puerto Rico, the co-operative movement by the mid-1950s had become effectively divided into bifurcated movements. One branch of the co-op movement, while still relying upon democratic principles and practices, essentially isolated itself as a capitalist reform movement for the middle-class; whereas, the second branch of the movement advocated a broad, inclusive approach toward co-operative development more radical in practice yet more authentic in principle to its inspiration from the Antigonish movement. A co-operative movement in Dominica, without either direct government hindrances or ecclesial obstacles like the other Caribbean cases, most distinctly corroborates the importance of grass-roots, democratic, self-help principles and practices for sustaining opportunities for co-operation in civil society.

Several organisational factors proved imperative for the success of co-operative grassroots development in these Caribbean cases. A significant enactment of Catholic social teaching principles; an adaptive adherence to Antigonish practices; and an absence of strong external constraints provided the conditions most amenable for initial social capital formation and, subsequent, long-term social ties within co-op groups or between Caribbean co-operative movements.

After 1960, key historical and demographic developments affected the relative success of co-operative economic development in the Caribbean. From 1962 in Jamaica and by 1978 in Dominica, socio-political movements for independence freed these former colonies from British control. In the Dominican Republic, Trujillo's dictatorship ended with his assassination in 1961. Puerto Rico, influenced by greater industrial capitalist development by the United States, entered into a new stage of socio-economic development during the 1960s, particularly through Operation Bootstrap. In addition, for each of these Caribbean cases, accelerating patterns of emigration from these Caribbean islands adversely affected not only the economies of these small-island states but also the social stability and cohesion within local communities.

Despite current pressures of globalisation on these Caribbean economies and communities, especially Dominica, co-operative economic development survives vigorously and vitally, particularly in the form of credit unions. Within the context of primarily agricultural economies, the majority of the co-operative organisations formed in the 1950s still exist and have maintained steady levels of membership. By the 1960s, in Jamaica, the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, increased economic diversification and greater labour migration, especially into the United States, have had most adverse effects on producer, consumer, and marketing co-operatives with some survival of credit unions.

Finally, alternative forms of grass-roots economic development, especially micro-financing organisations, which have been increasingly promoted by faith-based NGOs, resemble some aspects of co-operative organisations. Two essential practices shared by these newer economic organisations and co-operatives include democratic governance and direct participation by all group members. Therefore, despite both global economic trends and local social changes, co-operation at least as a principle for

self-help, democratic, grass-roots practices remains resilient and resourceful for Caribbean small-island state economic development.

APPENDIX ONE

STUDY CLUBS: ANTIGONISH

Excerpts from the pamphlet: *Study Clubs* (1930). Antigonish: St. Francis Xavier University Department of Extension. Archives, St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia.

"…Experience has shown that the easiest and most profitable way for people to acquire knowledge relating to their daily activities is to organize into groups and to follow a systematic program of reading, discussion and argument—in other words to form a STUDY CLUB."

THE CLUB

"A Study Club is a group of people who meet together regularly to help one another to a knowledge of some subject. It should generally consist of from three to four to about a dozen members. When the number gets much above twelve the Club becomes difficult to handle…It should be remembered that some of the best Clubs consist of only four or five members, neighbors or interested friends, who meet at a private home. Moreover, a Club may be formed, and it is advisable to do so, in connection with some existing organization."

MEMBERS

"A Study Club may consist of men only, or women only, or of men and women together. Its members may be of much the same position in life or they may represent different occupations. The important thing is that they should be interested and ready to undertake some common study even if they have very little spare time and have to forego other duties."

OFFICERS

"The essential element in any Club is an enthusiastic individual; enthusiastic enough to take the initiative in organizing and to do the petty and uninteresting work of keeping the Club going. Hence, a leader should be appointed...In some cases when a suitable leader cannot be secured, this office can be filled by the members in turn. This tends to develop leaders and to keep the interest keen."

TIME AND PLACE OF MEETING

"Meetings should take place, if possible, once a week. Two or even three nights a week may sometimes be practicable…When there are several Clubs in a parish or district, combined monthly meetings should be held…The place of meeting may be anywhere, but a kitchen is better than a hall or school since the success of the Club depends largely on the members feeling at home."

WHAT TO STUDY

"The subjects selected for study will largely depend on the locality and the attitude and enlightenment of the members. Generally it is far better to keep to one subject for several weeks and to follow it out systematically and carefully than to deal with a different subject at each meeting. In other words it is advisable to go through a text-book together. Before choosing a subject or text-book it would be well for the leader to communicate with the Director of the Extension Department, St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, N.S., who will advise on the best course to follow and supply literature, lesson plans, questions for study, and suggest other reading material."

GENERAL REGULATIONS

"A Study Club is a co-operative enterprise, each member contributing what he can. So long as it consists of men and women anxious to learn, constitution and procedure matters little. Since an interest in the subject and a desire to learn are the only qualifications needed, all can take part in a study club however little they know."

Lecture Course & Study Club Materials

Excerpts from: *Extension Bulletin* (1933-1935). Published by the St. Francis Xavier Extension Department. Archives, St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia.

"The Extension School at St. Francis Xavier University supported the study clubs by offering short courses (ranging between four to six weeks) for developing community leaders. Included among the topics covered are the following: business arithmetic, bookkeeping, civics, English, elementary economics, history and principles of co-operation, co-operative business practices, and community organisations and programmes.

In 1935, Rev. M. M. Coady added a course in 'Contemporary Social Movements.' This short course introduced the adult students to socialism, communism, fascism, capitalism, and co-operatives as a means toward economic democracy. From 1932 onward, the enrolment of community leaders who would then help direct local study clubs ranged from 39 to 145 students.

During 1933-34, the University had established 915 study clubs with a total membership of around 8,000 adults. Most of the study materials for the clubs focussed on the principles of group action in four fields: Consumers' Co-operation; Co-operative Finance; Co-operative Marketing; and Co-operative Production."

The following excerpted from *Adult Education Review* (November 1946). Published by Extension Department, St. Francis Xavier University. Archives, St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia.

"There will be a series of twenty-five lectures delivered, one each week, in each urban community. This year these lectures are on the general topic of 'Unemployment and Depression.' Lecture Schedule based on *The Economics of Peace* (Eric Boulding) This text was used to stimulate greater awareness and interest in post-war economic problems."

Books and periodicals available in "small reading rooms" established in six communities in Eastern Nova Scotia for use by all students and study club members:

1. *Canada Year Book*
2. *Labour Gazette (Monthly)*
3. *New York Times (Sunday Edition)*
4. *Getting a Living; Lutz, Stanton (Economics Text)*
5. *Canadian Economic Development; A.W. Currie (Economic History)*
6. *The Dynamics of Industrial Democracy; Golden and Ruttenberg*
7. *Highroads Dictionary*
8. *Industrial Conflict; W.C. Good*
9. *Pay Dirt; J.I. Rodale*
10. *The United Mine Workers Journal*
11. *The Congress of Industrial Organisation News*
12. *The Canadian Congress Bulletin*
13. *The Maritime Co-operator [Formerly the Extension Bulletin (1933-1939)]*
14. *The Glace Bay Gazette*
15. *The Canadian Forum*
16. *The Commonweal*
17. *The New Republic*
18. *Reports of the Dept. of Labour*
19. *Reports of the Dept. of Agriculture*
20. *St. Francis Xavier University pamphlets: The Study Club Way of Adult Learning/ A Program for Eastern Canada/ Study Clubs/ The Worker as a Consumer/ Sweden, Land of Economic Democracy/ Education for Action/ Co-operation and the Future/ Credit Unions/ A Tour of Nova Scotia Co-operatives/ Be Your Own Banker/ Co-operative Buying Clubs/ Co-op Burial Service/ Cash or Credit?/ Facts for Fishermen/ The Antigonish Way/ The Social Significance of the Co-operative Movement/ Maritime*
    Techniques of Consumer Co-operation

STUDY CLUBS: JAMAICA

Excerpts from the pamphlet: John Peter Sullivan, S.J. (n.d.). *No Study? No Credit Union!*_Credit Union Series No.1. Kingston: St. George's College Extension Co-operative Department. Record Group 11.1, Jesuit Seminary & Mission Bureau Records: Jamaica Mission, Social Action Centre, Box 4, Folder 4. Archives of the New England Province of the Society of Jesus, College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, Massachusetts.

"The Credit Union push in the island of Jamaica is about eight years old… Currently, there are thirty-five fully incorporated Credit Unions in the island and many more are in the *study club stage* working up to incorporation.

No Credit Union in Jamaica ever gets incorporated at its first meeting; about *one solid year* of serious study clubbing by the groups precedes the application to the local government for incorporation

Thus our evolution runs like this: from study club to Credit Union and then branching off to co-op. Distribution or co-op. Marketing, contingent upon the needs of the group in question."

"Study clubs are held down on the beach for the fishermen, under a shed or a tree out in the country parts for the farmers.

The emphasis we in Jamaica place on the adult education facet of the co-op. . .leads to the success of any type of co-op. other things being equal, will be in pretty

close proportion to the intensity of the study-clubbing which should precede and more follow up actual organization. A Study club is not a class, not a lecture course, not a 'revival', not 'just another meeting'. It is a circle. Hence all points on the circumference are *democratically* equidistant from the leader in the center. It is a discussion circle rather. The size? Not too large. Ten to twenty persons is best. There is a leader. But since all in the circle are actors, not mere spectators, everyone is, in judicious turn, the leader. The atmosphere should be as informal, as congenial (and perhaps as moderately convivial) as possible. Hence a club pavillion, a porch, a cool spot under the trees follows logically. Most of all; a community of interests and especially *needs* should provide the focal point. Given such ingredients, particularly leadership, intelligent and nondiscourageable, a study club diet palatable as well as nutritious can be cooked up."

The following quotes the Minutes of the "Inaugural Meeting of the Co-op Pioneer Leaders" (30 November 1939) Porus Community Centre (Jamaica Welfare Ltd.) whose Area Secretary was Eddie N. Burke.

Co-operation—Porus Community Centre

Study Courses for Leaders

The meetings will be held weekly on Wednesdays at the Centre, from 7 p.m. to 8:30 or 9 p.m.

The Area Secretary will arrange the courses which will include (for a period of approximately two years, holidays omitted), in COURSE NO. 1 the following:

A) Detailed study followed by discussion of the following books and pamphlets:

1) *It Happened in Judique*—St. F. X. University
2) *The Industrial Revolution*—St. F.X. University
3) *The Lord Helps Those*—Fowler
4) *Masters of Their Own Destiny*—Dr. Coady
5) *Credit Unions*—McIsaac
6) *Credit Union History and Thrift*—Orchard
7) *CUNA Emerges*—Roy Bergengren
8) *Learning Through Study Clubs*—St. F.X. University
9) *Fundamentals of Consumer Co-Cooperation*—Alane

B) These books have been added specially for women:

1) *Better Buymanship Booklets*—Public Affairs Com.
2) *The A.B.C. of Women's Co-operative Guilds*
3) *School Acres*
4) *Women As Organised Consumers*—Margaret Davies

C) Talks will be given by Eddie Burke on Leadership, discussion circles, democratic control, study clubs, panel discussions, and debates on credit unions; co-operative stores; bakeries.

D) Talks given also by Mr. D.T.M. Girvan and Mr. Donaldson and by other experts on education and economics.

E) Each leader will get actual practice in study-club management and will be expected to organise a study club after two or three months of study in the leadership course. The Area Secretary will give help in organising and will supervise all such study-clubs.

F) All leaders will be encouraged to take advantage of any course, conference, or house-party sponsored by any other organisation of good standing; to help local organisations and churches and to lead a life which will encourage others to hope for a better day and to work unitedly toward it.

G) Our Motto: "No sacrifice great enough for the general good"

Our Aim: "To establish study clubs, study ways of improving our economic position, work through Thrift clubs to Credit Unions, invest in Co-operative Enterprises and to solve for ourselves the problems of living happily."

Our Conviction: "We can help the masses best by educating them to help themselves."

Study Clubs and Jamaica Welfare Limited

Excerpts from the pamphlet: D.T.M. Girvan (1942), *Co-operation for Jamaica: Let's Study and Work Together*, Kingston: Jamaica Welfare Limited.

"Slowly but surely the idea of the Study Club has gained ground in Jamaica.

Beginning with the early efforts of our workers in Guy's Hill in 1938, we are happy to see that in 1942 there are a great many successful Study Clubs, and the number is steadily increasing.

Study Clubs are the foundation for our Plan for Building Better Villages and already they have played their part in the establishment of Savings Unions, Buying

Clubs, Credit Unions, as well as the "Better Village" and Pioneer Club Projects of all kinds.

The STUDY CLUB idea is comparatively new to Jamaica, and we are greatly indebted to Co-operative Organisations abroad, including the St. Francis Xavier Extension Department, Nova Scotia, Canada…By kind permission of St. Francis Xavier, we have reprinted and circulated their pamphlet 'LEARNING THROUGH STUDY CLUBS', and in the preparation of this booklet we have been greatly helped by the notes set out in 'THE STUDY CLUB WAY OF ADULT EDUCATION'."

APPENDIX TWO

"Cooperatives"

From Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration Annual Report, Year Ended June 30, 1940

Admiral William Leahy, Administrator

1. As will be seen from the attached table, the PRRA has been working during the past year with sixteen cooperatives, including three newly organized. Valuable cooperation has been extended by the Agricultural Extension Service, the Insular Department of Agriculture and Commerce, the Insular Department of Education and the Federal and Insular Experiment Stations.

2. Lafayette Sugar Cooperative. Operations of the Lafayette Sugar Mill Cooperative have been satisfactory. It produced during the year from 249,095 tons of cane, 236,485 bags of sugar of 250 pounds each. The average sugar yield from cane ground was 11.867 per cent as against 12.794 average for the 1939 season. This decrease was due partly to the grinding of overmature cane that was left over from the 1939 season because of then existing quota restrictions, and partly to a prolonged drought. Despite the lower sugar yield and the increase in hourly wage rates from 25 to 30 cents under the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Mill accomplished a reduction in manufacturing costs.

3. Unfortunately the twelve Land Cooperatives, to which sugar lands were sold on credit by the Government, have not experienced like success, and will have to be liquidated. Principal reasons for the inability of these agricultural cooperatives to meet their obligations to the Government are: (1) heavy fixed charges occasioned by the fact the properties were mortgaged to the Government for 100 per cent of value; (2) large expenditures for repairs and improvements during the first three years of operation which, while adding to the value of the properties, have not yet been reflected in increased production; and (3) the fundamental ineffectiveness of the Land Cooperative set-up, due to complications inherent in dealing with twelve cooperative entities, the inexperience of their worker-members, and their lack of knowledge of their rights and obligations. The members of these Land Cooperatives have authorized reconveyance of their holdings to the Government for credit at the fair value thereof on their mortgage obligations to the Government, and this reconveyance is now in process of being consummated. It is planned to subdivide the lands into relatively small parcels, each with a sugar quota, and to sell them to small experienced sugar cane growers. Thereby the investment of the Government will be safeguarded, the fundamental objective of the project

for more equitable distribution of lands will still be realized, and laborers in the area will be assured of more employment than they were likely to have from the failing Cooperatives.

4. The construction of a plant by the mill cooperative, with a loan of $550,000 from the PRRA, to provide facilities for experimenting with the conversion of cane by-products into solvents such as butyl alcohol and acetone, has been completed. The plant has a capacity for converting annually 2,500,000 gallons of molasses into 5,000,000 pounds of mixed solvents. Test runs have been made, and the plant is now in full operation. Not only will this plant produce by-products as an offset to quota restrictions limiting the production of raw sugar, but such products should also be of exceptional value in case of war.

5. Los Canos Sugar Cooperative. The purchase in March 1939 of the other sugar mill property, Los Canos, was financed by a PRRA loan of $619,000 to a cooperative over 90 per cent of whose members are needy farmers. No land purchases were involved, outside of the 42 acres immediately surrounding the mill. The cooperative members individually own or lease some 8,000 acres of land in the mill area. An additional loan of $200,000 was made to this cooperative just before the close of last year for improvements, principally in machinery to increase production capacity. These improvements have now been made, Additional loans during the year just ended totaled $110,000 for purchase of equipment and operating expenses. During the 1940 grinding season, Los Canos produced 152,713 bags (250 pounds each) and 26,570 bags (100 pounds each) of raw sugar from 186,190 tons of cane. The average yield of sugar per 100 pounds of cane was 11.066, a decrease (for the same reasons as in the case of the Lafayette mill) of .745 per cent from the 1939 season average.

6. Vegetable Cooperatives. The four vegetable cooperatives are producing winter vegetables, such as tomatoes, cucumbers, peppers, and string beans, principally for the New York market. These cooperatives increased the total Island export of tomatoes from 9,381 lugs last year to 33,388 lugs during the present year, an increase of 356 per cent. Gross receipts of the four cooperatives totaled $124,654, and each operated at a profit. In one cooperative, individual members sustained losses due to sudden vegetable blights. Most of the members received a net profit equal to production cost. Some even trebled their investments. A Puerto Rican farmer under PRRA guidance in April of this year established a record price for tomatoes on the New York market when he received $8.40 for a lug of tomatoes. Three of the four vegetable cooperatives were granted small operating loans during the past year, totaling in all $17,000.

7. Vanilla Cooperative. The vanilla growers' cooperative, an outgrowth of encouragement given to growers by the PRRA through production and distribution of vanilla cuttings to growers on a loan basis, instructions in growing, and the construction of a pilot plant for curing vanilla, is marketing vanilla for its members, serving for the present only as a marketing association. The cured vanilla beans marketed by the member-growers last year amounted to only 140 pounds whereas this year the cooperative will probably market 800 pounds.

8. Other Cooperatives. The Puerto Rico Marketing Association for Minor Crops, producing sea island cotton, increased its total sales from $64,587 in 1938 to 428,367 in 1939, and it is now estimated that the crop being ginned will exceed $200,000. The PRRA loan of $30,000 was recently made to this cooperative to enable it to advance to its members 50 per cent of the value of the cotton when delivered for ginning.

9. The purchasing cooperative (Sociedad Agricola), purchasing farm supplies for its members, has increased its volume of annual business from $215,000 to $477,206. The PRRA made an additional loan of $25,000 to the cooperative during the past year for working capital.

10. Additional operating loans totaling $35,000 were made during the year to the fruit growers canning cooperative at Arecibo. The cooperative canned 24,440 cases of fruits and fruit juices as compared with less than 10,000 cases during the previous season. The restrictions of the Fair Labor Standards Act, however, necessitated discontinuance of the canning of orange juice.

11. The Puerto Rico Rug Cooperative, although less than two years old, had a $8,883 volume of business last year of which a little more than $2,000 represented profits for its members, on a total investment of only $5,000. In the coming year, it is planned to expand the facilities of the cooperative to provide for the weaving of small rag rugs.

12. The manual arts cooperative (Puerto Rico Artcraft Cooperative) to which the PRRA made a loan of $20,000 last year, has been in operation for eight months, during which time it has sold $15,000 worth of handmade products delivered to it by needy persons. Its members do the work at home, producing many useful articles and souvenirs from various native woods, straws, shells, seeds and other materials. Since the PRRA loan was available only for assistance to rural persons, the cooperative consequently has encountered difficulties in securing a

sufficient variety of handmade products to complete a full line of articles for its sales room. During the next fiscal year, it is therefore planned to repay the loan to the PRRA, and to secure a loan from the Puerto Rico Self-Help Corporation through which the Artcraft Cooperative may assist both urban and rural persons-- thus enabling it to obtain handmade articles produced in urban as well as rural areas.

13. The coconut growers cooperative was organized during the past year in response to petitions from growers on the Island, for the purpose of marketing coconuts produced by members, either as fresh fruit for export or through a plant recently established in the Island for the production of shredded coconut.

14. The Cooperative Handcrafts, Inc. of Puerto Rico, organized by the Puerto Rico Self-Help Corporation, because of inability to meet the requirements of the Fair Labor Standards Act, has been forced to discontinue operations. It is now in liquidation under supervision of the PRRA. Cooperative Division.

15. During the forthcoming fiscal year, the Cooperative Division will be engaged in close supervision of the several smaller cooperatives with which it has been working, including attendance at board meetings and assistance in determining policies and operating methods. Also, the Division will maintain relations with some of the larger cooperatives in order to insure in every way possible their financial success.

16. Summing up, it may be said that the cooperative movement in Puerto Rico is steadily growing and improving. Those who are working with it, including cooperative members, management, cooperating public agencies and the public in general, are gaining valuable experience in cooperative effort.

Source: William Leahy (30 June 1940) "Cooperatives," in *Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration Annual Report, Year Ended June 30, 1940*, (San Juan: Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration), 11-16.

Name	Year Organized	Financing Agency	Products	Members	Amount Invested	Annual Business
1. Asociación Cooperativa de Productores de Vegetales de Puerto Rico	1930	Ins. Govt.	Vegetables	25	$4,000	$38,625
2. Puerto Rico Tobacco Marketing Ass'n.[1]	1934	Ins. Govt.	Tobacco	1,688	$35,400	$492,578
3. Puerto Rico Marketing Ass'n. for Minor Crops	1935	Ins. Govt. & PRRA	cotton	762	$61,354	$128,367
4. Cooperative Handcrafts Inc. of P.R [2, 4]	1933	FERA	Needlework	---	$13,734	---
5. Asociación Azucarera Cooperativa Lafayette	1937	PRRA	Sugar	751	$4,875,718	$2,275,708
6. Arecibo Fruit Growers' Cooperative	1937	PRRA	Fruit	85	$106,000	$35,592
7. Asociación Cooperativa de Productores de Hortalizas de Jajuya, Inc.	1937	PRRA	Vegetables	130	$7,000	$35,678
8. Primus Potteries cooperative, Inc. [2, 5]	1938	FERA	Earthenware	---	$30,000	---
9. Puerto Rico Rug Cooperative, Inc. [2]	1938	FERA	String Rugs	271	$5,000	$8,883
10. Sociedad Agricola Cooperativa de P.R.	1939	PRRA	Farm Supplies	723	$200,000	$477,206
11. Puerto Rico Artcraft Cooperative	1939	PRRA	Handcraft	203	$12,500	$15,011

12. Cooperativa de Consecheros de Vegetales de Rio Grande	1939	PRRA	Vegetables	125	$5,000	$19,640
13. Cooperativa Azucarera Los Canos	1939	PRRA	Sugar	373	$955, 870	$1,045,932
14. Cooperativa de Cosecheros de Vainilla de Puerto Rico [3]	1939	PRRA	Vanilla	23	$46	---
15. Villalba Vegetable Growers Cooperative Association	1940	PRRA	Vegetables	96	$5,000	$30,715
16. Cooperativa de Productores de Coco de Puerto Rico	1940	PRRA	Coconuts	45	$90	---
Total				5,300	$6,316,712	$4,603,930

[1] Application for loan pending.
[2] Cooperatives organized by Puerto Rico Self-Help corporation with FERA funds.
[3] This is a marketing cooperative with no capital invested, crop not sold yet.
[4] Could not operate under Fair Labor Standards Act requirements and is being liquidated.
[5] Has been discontinued as a cooperative and sold to private interests.

APPENDIX THREE

DOMINICA

Source: Ministry of Community Development And Women's Affairs
[Co-operatives Commission] Government of Dominica

Register of Co-operative Societies

NO./YR	DATE REGISTERED	NAME	TYPE
1/52	4-7-52	Roseau Co-op Credit Union Ltd.	Credit
2/52	21-7-52	St. Luke's Lime Co-op Society Ltd.	Processing/Marketing *(dissolved)*
3/52	15-9-52	St. Mark's Lime Co-op Society Ltd.	Processing/Marketing
4/53	14-1-53	Portsmouth Co-op Credit Union	Credit
5/53	30-11-53	St. Alphonsus Co-op Credit Union Goodwill, Dominica	Credit
6/54	4-9-54	Cooperative Citrus Growers Assoc. Roseau	Marketing
7/54	24-12-54	La Salette Co-op Credit Union Pointe Michel	Credit
8/55	2-4-55	Calibishie Co-op Credit Union	Credit
9/55	30-11-55	Marigot Co-op Credit Union	Credit
10/55	8-12-55	Vielle Case Co-op Credit Union incl. Dos D'Ane/ Paix Bouche	Credit
11/56	2-3-56	St. Mark Co-op Credit Union Soufriere	Credit *(dissolved '80)*
12/56	20-4-56	St. Paul Coop Credit Union Massacre	Credit

13/56	**20-9-56**	**St. Patrick's Co-op Credit Union Grand Bay**	**Credit** *(dissolved'67)*
14/57	**12-4-57**	**St. Mary's Co-op Credit Union Giraudel**	**Credit**
15/58	**7-5-58**	**St. Francis Co-op Credit Union Atkinson**	**Credit**
16/58	**10-6-58**	**St. Ann's Co-op Credit Union Laudat**	**Credit**
17/58	**10-6-58**	**St. Joseph Co-op Credit Union**	**Credit** (*cancelled registration '94)*
18/58	**23-7-58**	**Dos D'Ane Paix Bouche Co-op Paix Bouche**	**Credit**
19/58	**5-8-58**	**Dominica Credit Union League Roseau**	**Service**
20/59	**21-4-59**	**Salisbury Co-op Credit Union**	**Credit**
21/59	**14-8-59**	**Wesley Co-op Credit Union Ltd.**	**Credit** (*dissolved '79*)
22/59	**30-11-59**	**Castle Bruce Co-op Credit Union**	**Credit**

*****As of June 2001 96 Co-operative Societies had been registered in Dominica*** Majority of those registered after 1960 are processing/marketing and service co-ops*****

BIBLIOGRAPHY

12 August 1920. *The Casket*.

28 May 1921. *Halifax Herald*.

Abbott, S.J., Walter M., general ed.; Gallagher, Very Rev. Msgr. Joseph, translation ed. 1966. *The Documents of Vatican II*. New York: The America Press.

"Academic Degrees of Faculty Members at Weston College, Weston Massachusetts". 1944. Unpublished document. RG 10 Community/House/Parish Records: Jesuit Archives.

Adriance, Madeleine. 1991. "Agents of Change: The Role of Priests, Sisters, and Lay Workers in the Grassroots Catholic Church in Brazil". *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 30 (3):292-305.

Alexander, A. 1997. *The Antigonish Movement: Moses Coady and Adult Education Today*. Toronto: Thompson Educational Press.

Alicia, Mother Marie, Montserrat. 18 June 1957. to Fr. John Sullivan, S.J., Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I., TLS. RG 11/2/1, SC 200: Jesuit Archives.

Annuario Pontificio. 1951. Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana.

"The Antigonish Way".1943. In *Canadian Broadcast Corporation Series*. Canada.

Aquinas, Thomas. 1975. *Summa Theologiae IIaIIae, q. 66, a.2, ad. 1*. Translated by M. Lefébure. London: Blackfriars.

Ascoli, J. S. 10 July 1942. "Report on Activities And Organization Of The Seaford Town Poultry Co-operative, Its Necessary Developments And How It Is Suggested That It Can Be Done For The Future Welfare Of The Rural Population Of Jamaica". TMs. RG 11/1, Box 3, Folder 23: Jesuit Archives.

Ballantyne, Murray G. 1963. "The Catholic Church and the CCF". In *The Canadian Catholic Historical Association: Study Sessions*. Toronto: The Canadian Catholic Historical Association.

Bayer, Richard C. 1996. "The Coherence of Catholic Social Thought: Toward a Theology of Involvement". *Horizons* 23:72-85.

Benedict XV, Pope. 1920. *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* XII:109-112.

Berger, Julia. 2003. "Religious Nongovernmental Organizations: An Exploratory Analysis." *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* 14 (1):15-39.

Berryman, Phillip. 1987. *Liberation Theology Essential Facts about the Revolutionary Movement in Latin America and Beyond.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Bisnauth, Dale. 1996. *History of Religions in the Caribbean*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

Boghaert, C.Ss.R., Most Rev. Unpublished papers of Bishop Boghaert, C.Ss.R.: Chancery (Roseau) Archives.

Bonino, José Míguez. 1994. "The Protestant Churches in Latin America since 1930." In *The Cambridge History of Latin America* Vol. VI, edited by Leslie Bethell, 585-593. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1997. "The Forms of Capital". In *Education: Culture, Economy, Society*, edited by A. H. Halsey, H. Lauder, P. Brown and A. Stuart Wells, 46-58. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Boyle, Rev. James. 1937. *A Middle Way*. Antigonish: St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department.

Burke, Eddie, Jamaica Social Welfare Commission. 2 July 1953. to Rev. M.M. Coady, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, TD. RG 6/7/60: St. FXU Archives.

———. Kingston, Jamaica. 12 July 1945. Dr. M.M. Coady, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, TLS. RG 30-2/1/829: St. FXU Archives.

———. Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I. 21 January 1953. to Dr. M.M. Coady, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, TLS. RG 30-3/15/1252-1253: St. FXU Archives.

Cameron, James D. 1996. *For the People: A History of St. Francis Xavier University*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press.

Campbell, P.J. MacKenzie. 1966. "Compassion on the Multitude". Unpublished manuscript: St. FXU Archives.

Canada, Census of. 2003. "1931 Employed in Agricultural Occupations, Decennial Census Data". *Seventh Census of Canada 1931: Occupations and Industries Vol. VII*. Statistics Canada [cited 2 April 2003]. Available from http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/516XIE/sectionm/sectionm.htm#Gen%20Stat.

Canada, Statistics. 2003. "Fisheries Statistics of Canada (Catalogue 24-201)". [cited 3 April 2003]. Available from http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/516XIE/sectionm/sectionm.htm#Gen%20Stat.

———. 2003. "General Statistics for All Manufacturing Industries by Region, 1926 to 1959". [cited 3 April 2003]. Available from http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/516XIE/sectionm/sectionm.htm#Gen%20Stat.

———. "Number of Persons Engaged in Primary Fishing Operations, by Province, 1878 to 1975". [cited 3 April 2003]. Available from http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/516XIE/sectionm/sectionm.htm#Gen%20Stat.

Canadians East, producer. 2002. *Moses Coady: Beyond the Mountain*: Tri Media Production Services, Ltd.

Catholic Social Action Through The Parish Credit Union. 1958. Pueblo, Colorado: Mt. Carmel Credit Union. RG 11/1. Box 4, Folder 5: Jesuit Archives.

Census, U.S. Bureau of. 1960. *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1960*. Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Commerce.

Charles, S.J., Rev. Pierre. 1939. *Les Dossiers De L'Action Missionaire* 1.

Clark, S.D. 1947. "Religion: The Religious Factor in Canadian Economic Development". *The Journal of Economic History* 7 (supplement): 89-103.

Coady, Rev. Dr. Moses M.. November 1934. "Ways to Cooperative Economic Policy". Personal papers of Rev. Dr. M. M. Coady: St. FXU Archives.

———. 1938. "Educating the Masses". *The Canadian Nurse* 34:477.

———. 26 January 1938. to Andrew S. Wing, Riverside, Connecticut, TL. MG20/1/2083-2084: St. FXU Archives.

———. 1939. *Masters of Their Own Destiny*. New York: Harper and Row; reprinted in *Commonweal* 6 October 1939.

———. 30 April 1943. to Rev. J.P. Sullivan, S.J., Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I., TL. RG 30.2/1/3925: [St. FXU Archives].

———. April 1951. "Socialism and Economic Co-operation". Unpublished manuscript. RG 44/1/7518-7519: St. FXU Archives.

———. December 1951. "Message to Puerto Rico". Unpublished document. RG 30-3/2/9010-9011: St. FXU Archives.

———. n.d. "Co-operation and Religion," *Masters of Their Own Destiny*: St. FXU Archives.

———. n.d. "Comments on Article, 'Socialism and Co-operation'". Unpublished manuscript. RG 30.3/2/370-378: St. FXU Archives.

———. n.d. "The Future," *Masters of Their Own Destiny*: St. FXU Archives.

———. n.d. "Brief Account of The Various Phases of Dr. J.J. Tompkins' Activities": St. FXU Archives.

Coleman, James S. 1988. "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital". *American Journal of Sociology* 94 (Supplement):S95-S120.

Coleman, S.J., John A., ed. 1991. *One Hundred Years of Catholic Social Thought: Celebration and Challenge*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.

Conference, National Catholic Rural Life. 1939. *Manifesto On Rural Life*. Milwaukee, WI: The Bruce Publishing Company.

Congress, U.S. Library of. 2004. [cited 29 October 2004]. Available from http://countrystudies.us/caribbean-islands/59.htm.

Costello, Gerald. 1979. Mission to Latin America: The Success and Failures of a Twentieth Century Crusade. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.

Council, Second Vatican. 21 November 1964. *Unitatis Redintegratio*. [cited 3 March 2006]. Available from http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decree_19641121_unitatis-redintegratio_en.html.

———. 7 December 1965. *Ad Gentes*. [cited 14 November 2005]. Available from http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decree_19651207_ad-gentes_en.html.

———. 7 December1965. *Gaudium et Spes* . [cited 15 November 2005]. Available from http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_cons_19651207_gaudium-et-spes_en.html.

Crofts, O.P., A.M. 1936. *Catholic Social Action*. London: Alexander Ouseley Limited.

Cronin, S.S. John F. 1950. *Catholic Social Principles The Social Teaching of the Catholic Church Applied to American Economic Life*. Milwaukee, WI: The Bruce Publishing Company.

Cuffy, Mr. Washbourne, Commissioner of Co-operatives, Ministry of Community Development and Gender Affairs, Government of Dominica. 6 September 2004. Semi-structured interview by author. Roseau, Dominica.

Curran, Charles E. 2002. *Catholic Social Teaching 1891-Present: A Historical, Theological, and Ethical Analysis*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Cushing, Most Rev. Richard, Archbishop of Boston. n.d. *An Apostle of Today: Mother Marie-Louise De Meester and her Congregation of the Missionary Canonesses of St. Augustine*: no publisher stated.

Davis, Jaime Pedro, Arzobispo de San Juan. 29 de Septiembre 1962. *Carta Pastoral Sobre La Semana Del Cooperativismo Del 14 Al 21 De Octubre De 1962*. RG 5/12/4893: St. FXU Archives.

Dawson, Andrew. 2002. "A Very Brazilian Experience: The Base Education Movement 1961-1967." *History of Education* 31(1):185-194.

———. 2002. "New World, New Politics, New Labour: Third Way Revisionism and Prophetic Political Theology." *Political Theology* 32(2):156-177.

De Tremmerie, Alicia. 1992. "Sent to the Poor". *Euntes* 25 (4):45-52.

Delany, S.J., Francis X. 1930. *A History of The Catholic Church in Jamaica*. New York: Jesuit Mission Press.

Dell'Acqua, Monsignor Angelo, Segretaria del Sua Santita (Pius XII) dal Vaticano (No. 413748). 24 January 1958. to Rev. John Peter Sullivan, S.J., Kingston, Jamaica, TLS. RG 11/1, Box 4, Folder 5: Jesuit Archives.

Department, Social Welfare. October 1950. *Dominica Welfare News*. 4 (2)

———. November 1950. *Dominica Welfare News*. 4 (3).

Dietz, James L. 1986. *Economic History of Puerto Rico: Institutional Change and Capitalist Development*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Documentos De La Conferencia Del Episcopado Dominicano (1955-1990). 1990. *Colección Quinto Centenario, Serie Documentos no. 2*. Santo Domingo, República Dominicana: Comisíon Dominicana Permanente para la Celebración del Quinto Centenario del Descubrimiento y Evangelización de América.

Dorr, Donal. 1992. *Option for the Poor: A Hundred Years of Catholic Social Teaching*. revised ed. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.

Doyle, Sister Irene C.S.M. 4-5 October 1995. "The Antigonish Movement Beyond the Atlantic Region". In *Colloquium*. St. Francis Xavier University: St. FXU Archives.

———. 18 July 2002. Interview by author. Antigonish, Nova Scotia.

Dussel, Enrique, ed. 1992. *The Church in Latin America 1492-1992*. New York: Orbis Books.

Escobar, L. Samuel. 1997. "Religion and Social Change at the Grass Roots in Latin America". *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 554 (The Role of NGOs: Charity and Empowerment): 81-103.

Extension, St. Francis Xavier University Department of. 1930. *Study Clubs*. Antigonish: The Department of Extension.

Faria, Norman. 1987. *Short History of the Caribbean Credit Union Movement: Early Beginnings and Achievements*. Bridgetown, Barbados: Caribbean Confederation of Credit Unions.

Farr, James. 2004. "Social Capital: A Conceptual History". *Political Theory* 32 (1):6-33.

Fitzgerald, Valpy. 1999. "The economics of liberation theology." In *The Cambridge Companion to Liberation Theology*, edited by Christopher Rowland, 218-235. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Foley, Michael W; Edwards, Bob. 1999. "Is It Time to Disinvest in *Social Capital*?". *Journal of Public Policy* 19 (2):141-173.

Foley, Michael W; McCarthy, John D; Chaves, Mark. 2001. "Social Capital, Religious Institutions, and Poor Communities". In *Social Capital and Poor Communities*, edited by M. R. Warren, S. Saegert and J. P. Thompson, 215-245. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Gillis, Rev. Michael, Boisdale, Nova Scotia. 1944. to Most Rev. John R. MacDonald, Peterborough, Ontario, TLS. Fonds 5/3/1, Folder 2: Chancery (Antigonish) Archives.

Girvan, D.T.M. 1941. *Introductory Notes for Leaders of Study Groups, Co-operation for Jamaica CORD Series No. 1*. Kingston: Jamaica Welfare Ltd.

Girvan, Norman, ed. 1993. *Working Together for Development: D.T.M. Girvan on Cooperatives and Community Development 1939-1968*. Kingston: Institute of Jamaica.

Gorringe, Timothy. 1994. *Capital and the Kingdom*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.

Gorst, Sheila. 1959. *Co-operative Organization in Tropical Countries*. Oxford: Blackwells.

Goveia, E.V. 1965. *Slave Society in the British Leeward Islands at the end of the 18th century*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Granovetter, M. 1985. "Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness". *American Journal of Sociology* 9 (3):481-510.

Green, W.A. 1976. *British Slave Emancipation: The Sugar Colonies and the Great Experiment (1830-1865)*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Grell, Miss Lorna, Assistant Social Welfare Officer. 10 March 1950. "Social Welfare Report 1949". Unpublished typewritten document: Ministry of Social Welfare Archives, Government of Dominica.

Gronbacher, Gregory M.A. 1998. "The Need for Economic Personalism". *Journal of Markets & Morality* 1 (1): 1-34.

Gutiérrez, Gustavo. 1983. *The Power of the Poor in History*. Marykoll, NY: Orbis Books.

———.1988. *A Theology of Liberation*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.

———.1993. "Option for the Poor". In *Mysterium liberationis: Fundamental Concepts of Liberation Theology*, edited by Ignacio Ellacuría, SJ and Jon Sobrino, SJ, 235-250. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.

Handy, Robert T. 1977. *A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Harris, Les, producer and director. 1989. *Padre Pablo: Fighter For Justice*. Toronto, Canada: Canamedia Productions, Ltd.

Hartlyn, Jonathan. 1998. *The Struggle for Democratic Politics in the Dominican Republic*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Heckel, S.J., Roger. 1982. "On The Relevance Of The Church's Social Doctrine And Practice". In *Liberation Theology in Latin America*, edited by J. V. Schall, 270-277. San Francisco: Ignatius Press.

Hendrika, Mother Mary, Superior, The Convent, Roseau, Dominica, B.W.I. 7 February 1953. to Reverend John P. Sullivan, S.J., Credit Union League, Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I., TLS. RG 11/2/1, SC200: Jesuit Archives.

History of the Horace Plunkett Foundation. 2003. [cited 6 March 2003]. Available from http://www.plunkett.co.uk/history/historym.htm.

Hogan, Brian Francis. 1986. "Salted With Fire: Studies In Catholic Social Thought And Action In Ontario 1931-1961". Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Department of History, University of Toronto.

Holland, Joe. 2003. *Modern Catholic Social Teaching: The Popes Confront the Industrial Age 1740-1958*. New York: Paulist Press.

Hollenbach, David. 1979. *Claims in Conflict: Retrieving and Renewing the Catholic Human Rights Tradition*. New York: Paulist Press.

Holm, Andrew. 2004. "A (social) capital idea: making development work". *Harvard International Review* 25 (4):24-28.

Honychurch, Lennox. 1995. *The Dominican Story: A History of the Island*. London: MacMillan Education, Ltd.

Horn, Gerd-Rainer. 2001. "Left Catholicism in Western Europe in the 1940s". In *Left Catholicism 1943-1955 Catholics and Society in Western Europe at the Point of Liberation*, edited by G. R. Horn and E. Gerard, 13-44. Leuven: Leuven University Press.

Horn, Gerd-Rainer and Gerard, Emmanuel, ed. 2001. *Left Catholicism 1943-1955 Catholics and Society in Western Europe at the Point of Liberation*. Leuven: Leuven University Press.

Hoyte, Clyde. n.d. *History of the Jamaica Agricultural Society 1895 to 1960*. Kingston: City Printery: UWI Collection.

I.C.M. Papers. 1933-1985. Unpublished documents: Chancery (Roseau) Archives.

"International Credit Union Celebrations: First Gold Mass". 23 September 1959. Kingston, Jamaica: Sodality Co-operative Credit Union Limited, TMs. RG 11/1, Box 4, Folder 6: Jesuit Archives.

Jamaican Department of Cooperatives & Friendly Societies. 2003. [cited 7 April 2003]. Available from http://209.130.82/dcfs/directory/agriculture.htm.

John Paul II, Pope. 1984. apostolic exhortation, *Reconciliation and Penance*. Washington, D.C.: United States Catholic Conference.

Johnson, Howard. 1999. "The British Caribbean from Demobilization to Constitutional Decolonization". In *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Twentieth Century*, edited by J. M. Brown and W. R. Louis, 598-622. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

"Joseph Alexander MacDonald". n.d. Biographical notes #418 non-accessioned document: St. FXU Archives.

Judah, S.J., Fr. Charles. 12 October 1944. to Rev. John Peter Sullivan, S.J., Boston, Massachusetts, TLS. RG 11/1, Box 3, Folder 21: Jesuit Archives.

Judah, S.J., Fr. Sydney, Savanna-la-Mar, Jamaica, B.W.I. 13 October 1938. to Dr. A.B. McDonald, St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department, ALS. RG 30-3/15/3044-3048: St. FXU Archives.

———. 15 March 1939. to Dr. A. B. McDonald, St. Francis Xavier Extension Department, ALS. RG 30-3/15/3049-3050: St. FXU Archives.

———. 12 October 1944. to Rev. John Peter Sullivan, S.J., Boston, Massachusetts, TLS. RG 11/2/1, SC200: Jesuit Archives.

Junta de Planificación de Puerto Rico. 2005. [cited 28 April 2005]. Available from http://www.jp.gobierno.pr.

Kempel, S.J., Rev. Francis G., Seaford Town, Jamaica. 23 September 1942 and 21 July 1942. To Rev. Thomas Feeney, S.J., Winchester Park, Kingston, TLS. RG 11/1, Box 3, Folder 23: Jesuit Archives.

———. 19 September 1943. To Rev. Thomas Feeney, S.J., Winchester Park, Kingston, TLS. RG 11/1, Box 3, Folder 23: Jesuit Archives.

———. 14 January 1944. To Rev. Thomas Feeney, S.J., Winchester Park, Kingston, TLS. RG 11/1, Box 3, Folder 23: Jesuit Archives.

Krier Mich, Marvin L. 1999. *Catholic Social Teaching and Movements*. Mystic, CT: Twenty-Third Publications.

Laidlaw, Alexander, Antigonish. 11 March 1953. to Eddie Burke, Kingston, TL. RG 30-3/15/1252-1253: St. FXU Archives.

———.1961. *The Campus and the Community: The Global Impact of the Antigonish Movement*. Montreal: Harvest House, Ltd.

———, ed. 1971. *The Man from Margaree Writings and Speeches of M.M. Coady Educator/Reformer/Priest*. Toronto: McClelland and Stuart Ltd.

"Lay Missionaries/AID [Jesuit Mission Personnel: 1957-1960]". Unpublished typed manuscript. RG 11.1, Jesuit Mission Records: Jesuit Archives.

Lehmann, David. 1999. "Introduction." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 18(2): 139-144.

Leo XIII, Pope. 1990. *Rerum Novarum* (15 May 1891). In *The Papal Encyclicals 1878-1903*, edited by C. Carlen, 241-261. Raleigh, NC: The Pierian Press.

Lestrade, Star S. 1992. *Untold Truths in the History of the Dominica Credit Union Movement*: privately published by author.

Lin, Nan. 2001a. *Social Capital A Theory of Social Structure and Action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 2001b. "Building a Network Theory of Social Capital". In *Social Capital Theory and Research*, edited by N. Lin, K. Cook and R. S. Burt, 3-39. New York: Aldine De Gruyter.

Lotz, Jim and Welton, Michael R. 1997. *Father Jimmy: Life and Times of Father Jimmy Tompkins*. Wreck Cove, Nova Scotia: Breton Books.

Lynch, S.J., Rev. Ralph E., Assistant Director, Institute of Mission Studies, Fordham University. 1956. "Three Years of Missionary Training at Fordham". Unpublished manuscript. RG MS LAWLOR, RV, Box 2, Folder 7: Jesuit Archives.

MacDonald, A.H., St. John's Newfoundland. 13 February 1939. to N.W. Manley, Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I., TLS. RG 30-3/15/3430-3431: St. FXU Archives.

MacDonald, Very Rev. D.J. n.d. "The Philosophy of the Antigonish Movement". In *Canadian Academy of St. Thomas Aquinas*. Quebec, Canada: St. FXU Archives.

MacDonald, Most Rev. John H., Archbishop of Edmonton, Alberta. 28 September 1951. to Most Rev. J.R. MacDonald, D.D., Antigonish, N.S., TLS. Fonds 5/3/1, Folder 12: Chancery (Antigonish) Archives.

MacDonald, Most Rev. John R., Peterborough, Ontario. 23 March 1944. to Rev. Michael Gillis, Boisdale, Nova Scotia, TL. Fonds 5/3/1, Folder 2: Chancery (Antigonish) Archives.

———. 1948. "Establishment of The Social Action Department": Unpublished papers of Most Rev. John R. MacDonald. Fonds 5/4/2, Folder 1: Chancery (Antigonish) Archives.

———. 29 February 1948. "Christian Principles Underlying the Antigonish Movement". Unpublished address delivered to the Social Leadership Seminar, St. Francis Xavier University. RG 30.3/8/170-176: St. FXU Archives.

———. 25 April 1955. "The Mystical Body of Christ and the Co-operative Movement". Address delivered at the International Rural Life Conference, Panama. Fonds 5/2/3, Folder 27: Chancery (Antigonish) Archives.

———. 1 February 1956. "Circular Pastoral Letter #90: For Priests Only". Unpublished document in the papers of Bishop MacDonald. Fonds 5/2/5, Folder 3: Chancery (Antigonish) Archives.

———. Bishop of Antigonish. November 1956. "Teaching Christian Social Doctrine through Seminaries and Novitiates". Paper read at Catholic Social Life Conference, at Toronto. Fonds 5/2/3, Folder Social Action: Chancery (Antigonish) Archives.

———. 18 April 1958. "Circular Pastoral Letter #122: To All Pastors". Unpublished document in the papers of Bishop MacDonald. Fonds 5/2/5, Folder 3: Chancery (Antigonish) Archives.

MacDonald, Father Joe A., Colegio San Jose, Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico. 4 July 1945. to Rector, St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, ALS. RG 5/11/8875: St. FXU Archives.

MacDonald, Rev. Joseph A. 1947. "The Program". RG 30.3/27/1855-1879: St. FXU Archives.

———. 12 November 1958. "Message to the Co-operative League of Puerto Rico". Unpublished document. RG 30-3/2/9007-9008: St. FXU Archives.

———. 1961. "What We Believe, What We Aim For". Unpublished manuscript. RG 30-3/2/8998-9006: St. FXU Archives.

———.Consultant Cooperative League of Puerto Rico. 31 May 1963. "Ponencia For Second Catholic Action Congress". Unpublished document. RG 30-3/2/8961-8977: St. FXU Archives.

———. n.d. "Address to '*Liga de Cooperativas de Puerto Rico*'". Unpublished manuscript (original). RG 30-3/2/8978-8995: St. FXU Archives.

MacIsaac, Joseph. 1938. *Credit Unions*. Antigonish: St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department.

MacKenzie, Kathleen, University Archivist, St. F.X. University. 16 July 2002. Interview by author. Antigonish, Nova Scotia.

MacKinnon, Rev. Alexander. 12 July 2004. Semi-structured interview by author. St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia.

MacKinnon, Rev. M.J. 16 December 1954. to Rev. John Peter Sullivan, S.J., Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I., TLS. RG 11/2/1 SC200: Jesuit Archives.

MacPherson, Ian. 1984. *Building and Protecting the Co-operative Movement: A Brief History of the Co-operative Union of Canada*. Ottawa: Co-operative Union of Canada.

Manley, Norman W. 20 January 1939. to A.H. MacDonald, Esq., St. John's Newfoundland, TLS. RG 30-3/15/3429: St. FXU Archives.

———. 9 March 1939. to A. B. McDonald, St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department, Antigonish, TLS. RG 30-3/15/3432-3433: St. FXU Archives.

———. 22 April 1939. A.B. McDonald, St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department, Antigonish, TLS. RG 30-3/15/3435: St. FXU Archives.

———. Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I. 5 January 1940. to A.B. McDonald, St. Francis Xavier University Extension Department, Antigonish, TLS. RG 30-2/2/1915-1916: St. FXU Archives.

Maynard, Mr. Charles. 6 September 2004. Semi-structured interview by author. Roseau, Dominica.

McEleney, S.J., D.D., Most Rev. John J., Bishop of Kingston, Jamaica, West Indies. 11 October 1959. "Sermon: Gold Mass International Credit Union Week". Kingston, Jamaica, Social Action Department St. George's College Extension, TMs. RG 11/1, Box 4, Folder 6: Jesuit Archives.

McGlone, Mary. 1997. *Sharing Faith Across the Hemisphere*. Washington, D.C.: United States Catholic Conference.

McGowan, Mark G. 2004. "The Maritimes Region and the Building of a Canadian Church: The Case of the Diocese of Antigonish after Confederation". *Historical Studies* 70: 48-70.

McInnis, R. Marvin, compiler. "Total Work Force, by province and sex, census years 1911 to 1971": *Statistics Canada*, Unpublished and published census data.

McLaughlin, S.J., Fr. Gerard L., Jesuit Centre Archivist. 9 August 2002. Semi-structured interview by author. Kingston, Jamaica.

"Memorandum of Evidence: Jamaica Welfare Ltd." November/December 1938. Colonial Office 950/110 Appendix A 2: UWI Collection.

"Memorandum on Constitutional Change for Jamaica". 9 February 1939. Colonial Office 137/834: UWI Collection.

"Memorandum: Co-operative Development in Jamaica": Jamaica Welfare Ltd. to Government from the King's House Conference. 9 April 1943, TD. UWI Collection.

"Memorandum The Development of Co-operatives in Jamaica": Jamaica Co-operative Development Council to Government of Jamaica. August 1945, TD. UWI Collection.

Mische, Gerald, Chairman, Lay Apostolate Conference. 5 August 1957. to Rev. Francis A. Anderson, S.J., Jesuit Foreign Mission Office, Boston, Massachusetts, TLS. RG 11.1 Jesuit Mission Records: Jesuit Archives.

Misner, Paul. 2004. "Catholic Labor and Catholic Social Action: The Italian Context of *Quadragesimo Anno*". *The Catholic Historical Review* 90 (4):650-675.

"Mission Academia". 1951-1952. Unpublished typed document. RG MS LAWLOR, RV, Box 4, Folder 3: Jesuit Archives.

Monge, José Trías. 1997. *Puerto Rico: the trials of the oldest colony in the world*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Montini, Giovanni B., Segretaria di Stato di Sua Santita Dal Vaticano (No. 153564). 26 April 1947. to Bishop James Morrison, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, TL. RG 5/12/25331-25332: St. FXU Archives.

———. Segretaria di Stato di Sua Santita Dal Vaticano. 13 July 1953. to James Charles Cardinal McGuigan, Archbishop of Toronto, Canada, TLS. RG 44/1/4513-4517: St. FXU Archives.

Moris, C.Ss.R., Most Rev. James. 25 January 1938. "Lenten Pastoral of His Lordship The Bishop of Roseau, Dominica": Unpublished papers of Bishop Moris, C.Ss.R.: Chancery (Roseau) Archives.

———. Bishop of Roseau. 8 September 1953. to All Priests of the Diocese of Roseau, TL. Unpublished papers of Bishop Moris, C.Ss.R.: Chancery (Roseau) Archives.

———. 21 June 1954. to All Priests of the Diocese of Roseau, TL. Unpublished papers of Bishop Moris, C.Ss.R.: Chancery (Roseau) Archives.

———. Unpublished papers of Bishop James Moris, C.Ss.R.: Chancery (Roseau) Archives.

Morrison, Most Rev. James. 17 February 1922. to Rev. T. O'R. Boyle, St. F.X. University, TLS. Fonds 4/1/1: Chancery (Antigonish) Archives.

———. 25 September 1933. to Rev. Leo J. Keats, St. Peter's, N.S., TLS. Fonds 4/1/1, Folder 93: Chancery (Antigonish) Archives.

———. 30 July 1934. to Reverend Father (surname unknown), TLS. Fonds 4/1/1: Chancery (Antigonish) Archives, 30 July.

———. 2 May 1935. to Very Rev. Canon Philippe Casgrain, Archevêché de Québec, Québec, P.Q., TL. Fonds 4/1/1, Folder 99: Chancery (Antigonish) Archives.

———. 27 February 1936. to Most Rev. Andrea Cassulo, D.D., Apostolic Delegate, Ontario, Canada, TLS. Fonds 4/1/1, Folder 101: Chancery (Antigonish) Archives.

———. 21 January 1937. to Most Rev. J.C. McGuigan, Archbishop of Toronto, Ontario, TLS. Fonds 4/1/1, Folder 105: Chancery (Antigonish) Archives.

———. 15 November 1937. to Very Rev. Alfred Chamberland, Director General, L'Action Sociale Catholique, Québec, P.Q., TLS. Fonds 4/1/1, Folder 107: Chancery (Antigonish) Archives.

———. 12 April 1938. to Rt. Rev. Mons Umberto Mozzoni, Ottawa, Canada, TLS. Fonds 4/1/1, Folder 109: Chancery (Antigonish) Archives.

———. 26 April 1938. to Most Rev. J.A. O'Sullivan, Charlottetown, P.E.I., TLS. Fonds 4/1/1, Folder 109: Chancery (Antigonish) Archives.

———. ca.1945. "Adult Education For Social Action: The Church's Duty to Teach". Unpublished paper, 1-4, Fonds 5/2/3, Folder 36 Social Action: Chancery (Antigonish) Archives.

Murphy, S.J., Rev. Edward. 2 February 1965. "The American Assistancy And Missions". Unpublished talk presented at the National Meeting of Jesuit Missions in San Francisco, California. RG 10 Community/House/Parish Records: Jesuit Archives.

———. ca. 1950. "Broad Definition--The Purpose of Missions". *Academia Studies* 1. RG 11/2/1 Theology of Mission Archive: Jesuit Archives.

Murray, D.J. 1965. *The West Indies and the Development of Colonial Government 1810-1834*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Nearing, Peter A. 1975. *He Loved The Church: The Biography of Bishop John R. MacDonald*. Antigonish, Nova Scotia: Casket Printing & Publishing Co., Ltd.

Nell-Breuning, Oswald von. 1986. "The Drafting of *Quadragesimo Anno*". In *Readings in Moral Theology No. 5: Official Catholic Social Teaching*, edited by C. Curran and R. McCormick, 60-68. New York: Paulist Press.

Nolte, Ernst. 1965. *Three Faces of Fascism: Action Française, Italian Fascism, National Socialism*. Translated by L. Vennewitz. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Officii, Suprema Sacra Congregatio S. 29 December 1926. *Decretum. Acta Apostolicae Sedis* XVIII:529-530.

Onyeiwu, Steve. 2003. "An institutionalist perception of cooperative behavior". *Journal of Socio-Economics* 32 (3):233.

Osborne, S.J., Francis J. Unpublished papers of Rev. Francis Osbourne, S.J. RG 11/2/1, SC700 and RG 11/1, Histories, Folder 12: Jesuit Archives.

———. 1998. *History of the Catholic Church in Jamaica*. Chicago: Loyola University Press.

Pacelli, Eugenio Cardinal, Segretaria di Stato di Sva Santita dal Vaticano (no. 167788). 8 Martii 1938. to Most Reverend James Morrison, Lord Bishop of Antigonish, TLS. RG 5/12/25322-25324: St. FXU Archives.

Parrilla-Bonilla, S.J., Antulio. 1975. *Cooperativismo En Puerto Rico, Una Critica*. Ríos Piedras, Puerto Rico: Editorial Juan XXIII.

Paul VI, Pope. 26 March 1967. *Populorum Progressio*. [cited 27 February 2006]. Available from http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/paul_vi/encyclicals/documents/hf_pvi_enc_26031967_populorum_en.htm.

Pin, René de la Tour du. n.d. *Vers un Ordre Social Chrétien*. Paris.

Pius X, Pope. 11 June 1905. *Il Fermo Proposito*: Encyclical On Catholic Action in Italy. *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* XXXVII:741-767.

Pius XI, Pope. 13 November 1928. *Quae Nobis*: Letter to Cardinal Bertram. *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* XX:384-387.

———. 7 June 1929. *Trattato Fra La Santa Sede E L'Italia. Acta Apostolicae Sedis* XXI:209-295.

———. 14 September 1936. *Sermo. Acta Apostolicae Sedis* XXVIII:373-381.

———. 19 March 1937. *Divini Redemptoris*: Encyclical On Atheistic Communism. *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* XXIX:65-106.

———. 1990. *Quadragesimo Anno* (15 May 1931). In *The Papal Encyclicals 1903-1939*, edited by C. Carlen, 415-443. Raleigh, N.C.: The Pierian Press.

Pius XII, Pope. 20 October 1939. *Summi Pontificatus. Acta Apostolicae Sedis* XXXI:413-454.

———. 1940. "Allocution to Italian Catholic Action". *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* XXXII:362-372.

———. 2 June 1951. *Evangelli Praecones*: Encyclical on Promotion of Catholic Missions. *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* XXXXIII:497-528.

———. St. Peter's, Rome. 25 July 1953. to John R. MacDonald, Bishop of Antigonish and Chancellor of the University of St. Francis Xavier, TL. RG 5/12/25335-25337: St. FXU Archives.

———. 1990. *Mystici Corporis Christi* (29 June 1943). In *The Papal Encyclicals 1939-1958*, edited by C. Carlen, 37-63. Raleigh, N.C.: The Pierian Press.

Portes, A. 1998. "Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology". *Annual Review of Sociology* 24:1-24.

Portes, A. and Landolt, P. 1996. "The Downside of Social Capital". *The American Prospect* 26:18-21.

Post, Ken. 1981. *Strike the Iron A Colony at War: Jamaica 1939-1945 Vol. 1*. Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press.

"Puerto Rico". ca.1962. Unpublished document. RG 50-2/3/604-611: St. FXU Archives.

"Puerto Rico". n.d. Unpublished document. RG 30-3/2/9010: St. FXU Archives.

Purcell, Trevor W. 2000. "Local Institutions In Grassroots Development: The Rotating Savings And Credit Association". *Social and Economic Studies* 49 (March):143-181.

Putnam, Robert. 1996. "Who Killed Civic America?" *The American Prospect* (March):66-72.

———. 2000. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon Schuster.

"Report of the Directors of Training (Male) Group Conference" Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Mission Secretariat, Washington, D.C. 25-26 September 1956. Unpublished document, unprocessed sources: Jesuit Archives.

Richards, Kenneth A. 1997. *People Who Helped People*. Roseau, Dominica: Paramount, Ltd.

———. 2 September 2004. Semi-structured interview by author. Roseau, Dominica.

Roberts, L.A, Social Welfare Officer. 1946. "Report on the Work of the Social Welfare Department 1945". Unpublished typewritten document: Ministry of Social Welfare Archives, Government of Dominica.

———. 7 January 1947. "Annual Report on the Co-operative Movement in Dominica for the Year 1946". Unpublished typewritten document: Ministry of Social Welfare Archives, Government of Dominica.

———. January 1948. "Annual Report on Co-operation in Dominica for the Year 1947". Unpublished typewritten document: Ministry of Social Welfare Archives, Government of Dominica.

———. 22 March 1949. "Annual Report on the Work of the Social Welfare Department, Dominica, Year 1948". Unpublished typewritten document: Ministry of Social Welfare Archives, Government of Dominica.

———. 4 April 1951. "Annual Report on Co-operation in Dominica for the Year 1950". Unpublished typewritten document: Ministry of Social Welfare Archives, Government of Dominica.

———. 26 April 1952. "Annual Report of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies for the Year Ending 31st December, 1951". Unpublished typewritten document: Ministry of Social Welfare Archives, Government of Dominica.

———. 31 March 1954. "Annual Report of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies for the Year Ending 31st December 1953". Unpublished typewritten document: Ministry of Social Welfare Archives, Government of Dominica.

———. Registrar of Co-operative Societies. 7 March 1956. "Annual Report of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies for the Year Ending 31st December 1955". Unpublished typewritten document: Ministry of Social Welfare Archives, Government of Dominica.

———. 11 March 1956. "Social Welfare Report 1955". Unpublished typewritten document: Ministry of Social Welfare Archives, Government of Dominica.

Rotberg, Robert I. 2001. *Patterns of Social Capital*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rynne, Xavier. 1966. *The Fourth Session: The Debates and Decrees of Vatican Council II September 14 to December 8, 1965*. London: Faber and Faber.

Schmiesing, Kevin E. 2001. "The Context of Economic Personalism". *Journal of Markets & Morality* 4 (2):176-193.

Schuck, Michael J. 1987. "The Context and Coherence of Roman Catholic Encyclical Social Teaching: 1740-1987". Doctoral dissertation, the Divinity School, University of Chicago, Chicago.

———. 1991. *That They May Be One: The Social Teaching of the Papal Encyclicals, 1740-1989*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Schuller, Tom; Baron, Stephen; and Field, John. 2000. "Social Capital: A Review and Critique". In *Social Capital Critical Perspectives*, edited by S. Baron, J. Field and T. Schuller, 1-38. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

"SFM Priest in Dominican Republic Proves to People Value of Credit Union". 21 October 1950. *Register*: 9.

Silvani, M. Archevêque, Le Nonce Apostolique, Port-au-Prince, (N. 1584/39), Antilles. le 26 Janvier 1939. to Mgr. Jacques Moris, Evêque de Roseau, TLS: Chancery (Roseau) Archives.

Skidmore, David. 2001. "Civil Society, Social Capital and Economic Development". *Global Society* 15 (1):53-72.

Smith, C. 1991. *The Emergence of Liberation Theology: Radical Religion and Social Movement Theory*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Social Action Division, St. George's College Extension School. 1958. *Wings Over The Caribbean: An Account of the Missions Dedicated to Credit Union Development*. Kingston, Jamaica: Social Action Division. RG 11/1, Box 4, Folder 7: Jesuit Archives.

"Sodality Co-operative Credit Union: 60th Annual General Meeting". 27 May 2001. Kingston: Sodality Co-operative Credit Union Ltd.

Somerville, Henry. 1933. *Studies In The Catholic Social Movement*. London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, Ltd.

Spear, Roger. 2000. "The Co-operative Advantage". *Annals of Public & Cooperative Economics* 71 (4):507.

Steele, S.F.M., Rev. Harvey (Pablo). January-March 1956. "¿Por Que Hay Cooperativas?" *El Correro de ASOC* IV (1):12-14. RG 30-3/2/9009: St. FXU Archives.

———. 1973. *Agent for Change: The Story of Pablo Steele as told to Gary MacEoin*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.

———. 1986. *Winds of Change: Social Justice through Co-operatives*. Truro, Nova Scotia: Cooperative Resources, Ltd.

———. 1993. *Dear Old Rebel: A Priest's Battle for Social Justice*. Lawrencetown Beach, Nova Scotia: Pottersfield Press.

"St. Francis Xavier Extension Department Notice". February 1948. St. FXU Archives.

Sullivan, S.J., Rev. John Peter. 27 January 1943. to Dr. James Peter Warbasse, New York, TL. RG 11/2/1, SC200: Jesuit Archives.

———. 10 March 1943. to Rev. Aldhelm Bowring, O.P., St. David's, Grenada, B.W.I., TLS. RG 11/2/1, SC 200: Jesuit Archives.

———. 6 April 1943. to Father John Rawe, S.J., TL. RG 11/2/1, SC 200: Jesuit Archives.

———. 10 March 1944. to Roy F. Bergengren, Madison, Wisconsin, TL. RG 11/2/1, SC 200: Jesuit Archives.

———. 19 April 1944. to T. Malcolm Milne, Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, TLS. RG 11/2/1, SC200: Jesuit Archives.

———. 11 September 1944. Personal Diary, "Reserve, Nova Scotia", TD. RG 11/2/1, SC200: Jesuit Archives.

———. 24 September 1944. Personal Diary, TD. RG 11/2/1, SC 200: Jesuit Archives.

———. Dedham, Massachusetts. 23 December 1944. to Very Rev. Thomas Feeney, S.J., Winchester Park, Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I., TLS. RG 11/2/1, SC200: Jesuit Archives.

———. 1945. "Coops Have Mission Value". *The Missionary Union of the Clergy Bulletin* IX (June):11-20. New England Province Authors Collection: Jesuit Archives.

———. 12 November 1947. to Rev. Msgr. M.M. Coady, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, TLS. RG 11/2/1, SC200: Jesuit Archives.

———. 4 October 1951. to Very Rev. Thomas Feeney, S.J., Winchester Park, Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I., TLS. RG 11/2/1, SC200: Jesuit Archives.

———. Roseau, Dominica, B.W.I. 23 April 1954. to Revd. Mother Marie Edmund, Provincial, New York City, N.Y., TL. RG 11/2/1, SC 200: Jesuit Archives.

———. 1956. "Memorandum of the Co-operative Division: 'Promotional Activity in the Caribbean (Outside Jamaica)'". Kingston: St. George's College Extension School. RG 11/2/1, SC200: Jesuit Archives.

———. 4 July 1957. to Mother Marie Alicia, New York City, TL. RG 11/2/1, SC200: Jesuit Archives.

———. n.d. *Romancing Through the Bush Co-operative Style*. Vol. No. 6, *Social Action Series*. Kingston: St. George's College Social Action Department. RG 11/1, Box 4, Folder 4: Jesuit Archives.

———. n.d. *Song of the Islands Jamaican Co-ops--Early Days*, *Social Action Series No. 5*. Kingston: Social Action Department, St. George's College Extension School. RG 11/1, Box 4, Folder 4: Jesuit Archives.

Szreter, Simon. 2000. "Social Capital, the Economy, and Education in Historical Perspective". In *Social Capital Critical Perspectives*, edited by S. Baron, J. Field and T. Schuller, 56-77. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Topshee, Rev. George E., Extension Department, St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, N.S. ca. 1959. "Procedure for the missionary who wishes to encourage the development of cooperatives and credit unions and who is not in a position to follow an extended course of ad hoc training". Unpublished typed document. RG MS LAWLOR, RV, Box 5, Folder 7: Jesuit Archives.

Torres, R. Colon, et al. 1945. "Report of the Delegation Representing the People of Puerto Rico Sent to Canada and the United States to Study the Co-operative Movement". Unpublished document. RG 30-3/9/8-24: St. FXU Archives.

Turits, Richard Lee. 2003. *Foundations of Despotism: Peasants, The Trujillo Regime, And Modernity In Dominican History*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Vicens, Rafael A., executive secretary, *Liga de Cooperativas de Puerto Rico*, Hato Rey, Puerto Rico. 24 October 1958. to Right Reverend Monsignor M.M. Coady, St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, TLS. MG 20 MMC (EA Accession): St. FXU Archives.

Villaret, E. 1957. *Abridged History of the Soldality of Our Lady*. Translated by W.J. Young. St. Louis: National Sodality Service Center Archives.

"Wakefield Report to Government". 1942. UWI Collection.

Walsh, Michael. 1998. "Laying the Foundations: from *Rerum Novarum* to the Second Vatican Council". In *The New Politics: Catholic Social Teaching for the Twenty-First Century*, edited by P. Vallely, 28-41. London: SCM Press.

Weigel, George; Royal, Robert, ed. 1991. *A Century of Catholic social thought: essays on Rerum novarum and nine other key documents*. Washington, D.C.: Ethics and Public Policy Center.

Welton, Michael R. 2001. *Little Mosie from the Margaree: A Biography of Moses Michael Coady*. Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing.

Wipfler, William. 2001. "The Catholic Church and the State in the Dominican Republic, 1930-1960". In *Christianity in the Caribbean: Essays on Church History*, edited by A. Lampe, 191-228. Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press.

Woolcock, M. 1998. "Social Capital and Economic Development: Towards a Theoretical Synthesis and Policy Framework". *Theory and Society* 27 (1):151-208.

List of Archives: Full Citations

St. FXU Archives—corresponds to the following:

St. Francis Xavier University Archives
Angus L. Macdonald Library
St. Francis Xavier University
Antigonish, Nova Scotia
B2G 2W5 Canada

Ms. Kathleen MacKenzie, Archivist.

Chancery (Antigonish) Archives—represents the following:

Chancery Archives
Diocese of Antigonish
168 Hawthorne Street
Antigonish, Nova Scotia
B2G 2L7 Canada

Rev. Fr. Syd Mifflen, Chancellor of Diocese and Archivist.

Jesuit Archives—refers to one of the following corresponding citations:

New England Province Authors Collection
Archives of the New England Province of the Society of Jesus
College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, MA

Record Group (RG) 10 Community/House/Parish Records
Archives of the New England Province of the Society of Jesus
College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, MA

Jesuit Seminary and Mission Bureau Director Records
Record Group 11/1, Jesuit Foreign Mission Records
Archives of the New England Province of the Society of Jesus
College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, MA

Jesuit Seminary and Mission Bureau Records
Record Group 11/1, Jamaica Records
Archives of the New England Province of the Society of Jesus
College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, MA

Jesuit Seminary and Mission Bureau Records
Record Group 11/2/1, Jamaican Jesuit Archives Records
Archives of the New England Province of the Society of Jesus
College of the Holy Cross, Worcester MA

Rev. Richard Lawlor, SJ Manuscript Collection
MS LAWLOR, RV
Archives of the New England Province of the Society of Jesus
College of the Holy Cross
One College Street
Worcester, MA 01610-2395 USA

Rev. Anthony Kuzniewski, S.J., Province Archivist.

UWI Collection—corresponds to the following:

The West Indies Collection
The University of the West Indies at Mona, Jamaica
Main Library
Kingston 7, Jamaica, West Indies

Ms. Frances Salmon, Head of The West Indies & Special Collections (WI & SC).

Chancery (Roseau) Archives—represents the following:

Chancery Archives
Diocese of Roseau (Dominica)
Catholic Centre
Turkey Lane, P.O. Box 790
Roseau, Commonwealth of Dominica, W.I.

Miss Noeliva Le Blanc, Chancellor and Archivist.

Ministry of Social Welfare Archives, Government of Dominica—corresponds to the following:

Ministry of Community Development and Gender Affairs
Co-operatives Division, Social Welfare Archives
Government Headquarters, Kennedy Avenue
Roseau, Commonwealth of Dominica, W.I.

Hon. Matthew Walters, Minister of Information, Community Development, and Gender Affairs.