POLITICAL ECONOMY
AND HIGHER EDUCATION
IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY
MARITIME PROVINCES

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ABSTRACT

This study in the sociology of knowledge investigates how intellectual practices, especially those associated with higher education, contributed to create successive forms of ruling. It focuses on 'ruling ideas' in the active shaping of hegemony, dealing empirically with the British North American Maritime colonies before the mid-nineteenth century.

Dominant colonial oligarchies there representing and living off British mercantile and state interests were supplanted by an indigenous petit bourgeoisie. Economically this transformation was accomplished through the development of local enterprises in agriculture, small manufacturing, fishing and regional trade. Representatives from communities based on such enterprises sought state financial and legal rights, and eventually an expropriation of oligarchical powers and a thorough control of the state, through responsible government.

In domination and its transformation, ruling ideas and higher education took active part. Colleges opened up to sons of the dominant classes the 'highest positions' in the society, the state and the professions -- those in these positions managed the social organization, the legal, medical, religious and political boundaries of life -- by providing the intellectual skills and credentials required for their practice. The educated made explicit political ideology, justifying rule, among rulers and to their subordinates. Education contributed to form the boundary of authority, demarcating those with speaking rights from those whose ignorance rendered them without authority. Colleges were one context of relationship among those who ruled.
Imperial planning for the colonies intended an ideological hegemony, organized through Church and King's Colleges (Windsor and Fredericton). Anglican ideologists' societal image joined orthodoxy, loyalty and social order, and pitted against them religious dissent, political subversion and social chaos. They used epithets of 'ignorance' in denying the authority of religious and political speech to those beyond the (educated) oligarchy. But in their actual circumstances, organizationally incapable of winning the settlers, confronted by an expanding locally grounded ideological organization, the Anglican Church and colleges abandoned hegemonic intentions and became exclusive bastions.

Meanwhile, educated preachers, journalists and politicians representative of the rising bourgeoisie engaged in work consequential for that class' movement into ruling. By explicit instruction they propagated the technical capability and moral discipline required by upright entrepreneurs. In forming developed church organizations, opposed to evangelistic religious practice, they furthered the self-control, quashing temptations to ecstasy and inarticulateness, appropriate to a class whose members controlled production. They argued and organized for liberal political practices. They self-consciously worked to form that abstract consciousness which understood events as significant not locally but within the formal state organization. The academies and colleges of dissenters and Catholics taught the intellectual skills, and created the sense of legitimacy and the personal interconnections, which fitted men for the highest positions.
In building churches and schools for this work, the bourgeois intelligentsia confronted the resistant oligarchically-dominated state, and so joined movements for its transformation. When local representatives acquired state power, they legislatively allowed an apparatus of higher education that was as extensive and as pluralistic as the economic development and the religious organization of each of the provinces: in Nova Scotia, Pictou Academy, Dalhousie, St. Mary's and St. Francis Xavier; in New Brunswick, Mt. Allison, the University of New Brunswick and the College St. Joseph; in Prince Edward Island, the Charlottetown Academy and St. Dunstan's.

The colleges' governance and finance clearly tied them to dominant classes. Before 1850, collegiate curriculum and instruction were traditionally classical, although between aristocratic and bourgeois colleges conceptions of what students acquired shifted, from gentlemanly character to useful mental powers. Correspondingly emphasis moved from the hermetic purity of knowledge to its service in fitting men for active employments.
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INTRODUCTION

This book is an historical account informed by a sociological question as its framework. The tale is that of higher education in the Maritime provinces, in the period lying roughly between the Loyalist migration and the middle of the nineteenth century. The question is that of the sociology of knowledge, elucidating the forms of the 'higher' knowledge that in part make up a society.

This introduction is intended to provide instructions for reading and understanding the substantive text and conclusions that follow. It includes several matters, several modes of definition of the point from which the text itself has been thought. It defines a the problematic within/sociology of knowledge. It offers a few preliminary remarks on higher education as a topic and on the Maritimes as a locus for studying it. It provides a summarizing overview of the work as a whole. And there is some reflection on the method of the work.
This study addresses the place of knowledge in society. It is concerned with the relation of society to the forms of consciousness, especially learned consciousness, that are produced in making it up. It is a study in the sociology of knowledge. The argument, most broadly stated, is that knowledge, including the forms in which it is organized and practiced as a distinct endeavour, contributes to make up the ruling class. It is not that a class already in existence determines knowledge. Rather there is an elaborate social activity which produces and reproduces that class. There is -- and this defines the ruling class -- its control over the means of production. Among the activities that make up and sustain a ruling class there are ideas and learned practices of domination in many regards.

This problem was initially posed in the work of Karl Marx, most sharply in those early writings in which he defined the materialist method, for understanding human life as an active process in which production to satisfy needs also produces social relations and consciousness.

As individuals express their life, so they are. What they are, therefore, coincides with their production, both with what they produce and with how they produce.... Consciousness can never be anything else than conscious existence, and the existence of men is their actual life process (Marx 1970:42, 47).

Now Marx developed his approach in the context of a strong polemic against the German philosophers of the time. Against their idealism he asserted that the religious sentiment does not exist outside the historical process (Marx 1970:121-3). And he analyzed and harangued against modes of explanation in which,

...the 'conception' of the people in question about their real practice, is transformed into the sole determining
active force, which controls and determines their prac-
tice (Marx 1970:60).

He maintained, on the contrary, that,

...the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected
by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought.

The negative force of these arguments, the preeminent concern
with economic issues in Marx's later work, and the entire complex of
intellectual and political circumstances surrounding the subsequent
development of Marxism (cf. Lichteim: 1965.), have made possible a
common but mistaken understanding of Marx's view as a materialistic
determinism. In fact he understood consciousness as part of the active
shaping of reality. His famous aphorism, that social being determines
consciousness, is, properly understood, only a tautology (Avineri,
1970:65-77)*. Production and social relations and understanding change
together. In the Grundrisse Marx wrote:

The act of reproduction itself changes not only the objective
conditions -- e.g., transforming village into town, the wilderness into agricultural clearings, etc. -- but the producers
change with it, by transforming and developing themselves in
production, forming new powers and new conceptions, new modes
of intercourse, new needs and new speech (Marx 1962:92-3).

The ruling of a society of course itself is reflected in and occurs
through consciousness. It is worthwhile to quote at length.

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i.e., the class which is the ruling material force
of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual
force. The class which has the means of material production

* Marx's concern, adopted here, is thus distinct from the later formu-
lation of the sociology of knowledge developed by Karl Mannheim.
Mannheim's work is tied to the epistemological problem of whether
thought is contaminated by its determination. It bifurcates social
existence and thought, and takes as its problem the dependence of
high intellectual products upon the social positions and perspectives
of those who produce them, or the existential conditioning of thought
(Mannheim 1936 and 1952; Merton 1957).
at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships, the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas; hence of the relationships which make the one class the ruling one, therefore, the ideas of its dominance. The individuals composing the ruling class possess among other things consciousness, and therefore think. Insofar, therefore, as they rule as a class and determine the extent and compass of an epoch, it is self-evident that they do this in its whole range, hence among other things rule also as thinkers, as producers of ideas, and regulate the production and distribution of the ideas of their age: thus their ideas are the ruling ideas of the epoch.... The division of labour, which we already saw above as one of the chief forces of history up till now, manifests itself also in the ruling class as the division of mental and material labour, so that inside this class one part appears as the thinkers of the class (its active, conceptive ideologists, who make the perfecting of the illusion of the class about itself their chief source of livelihood), while the others' attitude to these ideas and illusions is more passive and receptive, because they are in reality the active members of this class and have less time to make up illusions and ideas about themselves. Within this class this cleavage can even develop into a certain opposition and hostility between the two parts, which, however, in the case of a practical collision, in which the class itself is endangered, automatically comes to nothing, in which case there also vanishes the semblance that the ruling ideas were not the ideas of the ruling class and had a power distinct from the power of this class (Marx 1970:64-5).

Clear enough: rulers, among other things, think.*

Production, exchange, and their ruling, and the forms of consciousness that make them up, vary. They vary with the forms of property ownership, and, relevantly to the concerns of this study, with the predominant forms of property-holding capital: large landholding, mercantile, petit bourgeois, industrial. The economic surplus -- the excess of production over what is required to sustain the lives of the producers -- flows to the holders of capital. This makes possible, among

* In Capital (Vol. I Ch. 14 Sect. 5) these concerns appear in the analysis of how intellectual potencies appear as a ruling power in production itself. This analysis has been continued by Braverman (1974)
other things, the support of the thinkers of the class.

The state is consistently implicated in the exercise of capitalist ruling -- though it should be emphasized that the use of the term 'ruling' here refers to the totality of modes of domination in a society, economic, religious, and not only to political. The state provides the legal framework of production and exchange, contributes the building of the non-profit-making infrastructure for production and exchange, itself holds and dispenses property, and is the locus of much battle over the modes of domination in the society. The practices of a ruling class involve its domination of the state -- effected through various forms of party and alliance, and through various administrative forms and various distributions of power among the branches of the state -- and all this is material for empirical investigation.

Production and exchange and the state are all bases of the moral, religious and intellectual life of society. Ordinary activity and conduct in them are of course conscious, and specifically are continuous in diverse ways with forms of learning and with distinctly constituted bodies of knowledge. There is tutored skill implicated in administering the society, providing justificatory ideology for its forms of domination, forming character and self-discipline as are needed in it. Among the means utilized in the transforming of society by a rising class are these forms of consciousness and learning. All these forms of the 'superstructure' are transformed along with the productive 'base.' These, too, are matters for empirical investigation.

One of the modes in which knowledge is implicated in ruling is the formulation of ideology, those beliefs and modes of interpretation
and judgments of value, about the actual or rightful nature of social relations in a society. The making up of ideology aims to create common understanding, within and beyond the particular group which creates it. It is articulated elaborately and publicly, so that it may be communicated among its authors, and to others who may not have shared in its making. The practical foundation of such a form of distinct sense-making discourse is the development of forms of organization and control of society that are themselves distinct activities, conducted by persons with special entitlement, perhaps located away from the immediate scene of activity. As distinct structures of control have been formed in religious, political and economic domains, in church, state and class divisions, forms of ideological discourse have been made as one of their means. Ideological discourse is articulated as an intended element of ruling, as a direction and limitation of consciousness.

Central among the uses of ideology is to justify or otherwise favourably present authority, both within dominant or rising classes and from them to those who are dominated. Whether by denying domination, or portraying it as serving the greatest good, or showing that those who exercise it do so rightfully by their excellence, ideology puts domination in a favourable light,

...so as to neutralize or eliminate the conflict between the few and the many in the interest of a more effective exercise of authority (Bendix 1963:13).

The need and quantity of ideological production tends to be especially great at times of transformation in the forms of subordination (Bendix 1963:413-4). Indeed the very naming of ideology occurred within the era of the democratic and industrial revolutions, in the late
eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It was one of the means by which the changes of that era were fought out. (Lichteim 1967; Bendix 1950; Hobsbawm 1962:258-98). So Otto Hintze wrote:

Wherever interests are vigorously pursued, an ideology tends to be developed also to give meaning, re-enforcement and justification to these interests. And this ideology is as 'real' as the real interests themselves, for ideology is an indispensable part of the life-process which is expressed in action. And conversely: wherever ideas are to conquer the world, they require the leverage of real interests.... (quoted in Bendix 1960:47).

A further contribution of ideology to modes of ruling is its part in forming a whole conventional pattern of everyday life, of character, identity and self-discipline. Personal activity is given a mind-mediated shape. There are made up vocabularies of motive (Mills n.d.). Of particular relevance to the present study, psychological impulses originating in articulate forms of religious belief have 'affinities' or correspondences with particular forms of social and economic conduct. (This is of course the theme of much of Max Weber's work in the sociology of religion. See Weber 1958:91-7; for a summarizing exegesis, see Bendix 1960:esp. 257-81.)

The form of ideological discourse is distinctive and limited. Observables in any immediate scene of activity are taken as elements of an account that is contructed of it, from the places of ruling. Such observables, once removed, may be freely associated, without reference to their linkage in practice. The process of removal is not entered into the account which it is the means of making up (Marx 1970:66-7; Smith 1974). Ideology has definite limitations because its purpose is limitation, control, the setting of boundaries.

Ideological discourse comes to be conducted in organizations whose special task is the making and conveying of general images of the
society -- in churches, schools, media of communication, legislatures. These organizations may collectively be termed the ideological apparatus (Althusser 1971). Ideology is thus one of the products of distinctly formed institutions of knowledge.

Consciousness and knowledge also, and more directly than in ideology, serve as means of ruling when social organization itself is rendered a work of certain distinct intelligent practices. There are learned skills of ruling, of operating the forms of social organization through which some exercise domination over, form the boundaries of the lives of, others. In part these are administrative skills, record-making, financial accounting, law-making. Literate practices, as Levi-Strauss argued, have served as a means of administrative domination from their invention:

...the only phenomenon which, always and in all parts of the world seems to be linked with the appearance of writing...is the establishment of hierarchical societies, consisting of masters and slaves, and where one part of the population is made to work for the other part (Charbonnier 1973:18).

Within forms of government, oratorical and debating abilities also become prominent in the exercise of ruling.

The social organizational, boundary-making practices most consistently associated with higher education have been those of the 'clerisy,' the three learned professions. Law manifestly comes into being with a distinct practice of governance, and articulates principles of right and obligation, prescriptive and proscriptive statement, and traditions of interpretation, in making up and enforcing the boundaries of social order and resolving conflicts within it. The ministry or priesthood arises within an elaborate ecclesiastical organization;
its form of thought, theology, has been intimately related to political order and its justification; its work is defining the limits of the mundane, the relation of worldly life to that which grounds, sustains and outlasts it. Medicine, finally, attends to the body, when its limits may be remade, or its existence ended, by injury or disease. In the professions, the ruling of these boundaries of experience — social, transcendant and bodily — is rendered the domain of knowledgeable persons. In the transformations of ruling, access to these ruling positions is transformed. To articulate a distinct ruling structure where none existed before, or to alter one already in existence, requires an expropriation of powers, including those of intelligence, from their former or ordinary places. Distinct practices of knowledge in part make up such expropriations.

Among those practices which make up the social organization of the ruling class and its powers is the formation of institutions in which knowledge is conducted as a distinct enterprise. Colleges and universities are our concern here — although many of the same considerations should apply to literary and scientific societies or salons (Coser 1963), informal gatherings of the local gentry (Laslett 1971:185-94), etc. Colleges and universities, on their own terms concerned with the creation, teaching, preservation and honouring of the highest forms of knowledge (Ben-David), have been accessible to, or the means of entry into, ruling means and positions. They have altered and expanded to include, accept new ruling groups as they arise — indeed making higher education has been one of the methods of making up a rising ruling class.
Higher education has directly done ideological work, training the youth of the ruling class in right-mindedness, and protecting them from an ideological tainting at the hands of others. Higher education also has provided or trained others to provide the skills of ruling. The key positions in the process in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were lawyers, journalists and preeminently ministers. Much of this preparation occurred from an early time through a literary education, concerned with creating a familiarity with and ability to reproduce refined expression.

Learning itself, in ways more diffuse than its specific contributions to ideology and administration, has contributed to form what might be called the boundary of authority. Learning has provided members of the ruling class with the assurance of having rightful authority. In part this has worked through the building up of the modes of consciousness and the character of the ruling type -- always as a total discipline of life, whether the gentlemanly bearing and leisured interests of an aristocratic ideal, or the isolated, practical consciousness and the upright morality of the ideologists of the entrepreneurship, always searching for something useful to do (deTocqueville 1967).

Knowledge also makes the boundary of authority by marking off the ignorant on its other side. The invocation of 'knowledge' always orders social relationships, including prerogatives and responsibility, among those in the setting where it is named: as in conversation, so in the total organization of society. A social distribution of knowledge enters it into power. Knowledge confers rights
to speak and define. As it is other than the ordinary, those who possess it become other than the ordinary themselves. With learnedness can come identification with a discourse or tradition, so that the knowledgeable can speak as if they were the tongues of the world or the society, rather than the tongues of the particular flesh (rather, sometimes literally, than the vernacular). Learning makes possible the view of others as usurpers or silent -- by means of a demarcating distinction between vulgarity, dirt, animality and ignorance, on the one hand, and ruling, cleanliness, refinement and learnedness, on the other (Douglas 1966).

Finally, by college-acquaintanceships and the penetration of collegiate life into the community through reunions and open celebrations, higher education has contributed to build up interconnections among members of the class or an elite within it.

The making up of distinct institutions of knowledge themselves, their linkage to other practices of ruling, is itself a part of the practice of making up a ruling class. In a break to institutionalization, knowledge takes on a self-conscious organization. Knowledge then becomes not something that is ordinary and occasional with the routines of daily life, but is continual. It is focal, it is the organizing term in a set of events. Knowledge does not flicker out of occasions but is that brightness of the mind that defines them. This effect is achieved through a whole social organization.

This distinct institutionalization of knowledge, and the relations to other parts of society that are made up in it, is not only an analytical question. On the contrary, the practice of making
knowledge a separate endeavour makes its lineaments and relations a question for participants. In making up institutions of knowledge, these issues become conscious; in the experience of the practitioners of knowledge they are lived and suffered; in any event, the issues must be formulated ideologically and made tasks of politics.

In the formation of a distinct institution of knowledge, certain general exigencies must be dealt with practically and conceptually. Some of these concern the necessary conditions of knowledge -- its background. Some involve the immediate activities involved in making up a 'finite province of knowledge' (Schutz 1967:245ff) itself -- its foreground. Both of these, in some of their aspects, are made up in relation to ruling.

Let us consider the background first. The formation of institutions of higher education is at one with control of the state, which provides legitimation, protection, supervision and likely a part of the surplus. Surrounding the political background there are contests and compromises, and an elaboration of justificatory ideas. A class' control of the state may make educational formations straightforward, or educational issues may become politically prominent, and elaborate polemics surrounding them make clear the manner in which the control of ruling boundaries is at stake. But state control is not enough.

The management of institutions of knowledge and their background is itself a process of organizational articulation. In this process -- well into the nineteenth century -- the place of the church was central. Churches were the most pervasive media of information and intelligence extending beyond the routines of daily life, the preeminent form of organization of social activity beyond the strictly economic
or political, and the chief source of demand for education, and the forms through which others sources of demand were articulated. Now the actual governance of institutions has been exercised -- in North America -- through external boards. The shifting membership of these boards reflects the dominance of the ruling classes of various eras.

When an institution is defined by the knowledge attended to in it, then other things must be disattended. In the immediate occasions of knowledge, the bodies of the knowers and their needs, hunger, thirst, loneliness, must be put aside. This requires, among other things, a social organization which diverts the economic surplus to the purposes of knowledge. Higher education has relied upon four immediate sources of the economic surplus, in widely varying proportions: donations to and the property of churches, taxation revenues of the state, philanthropy from individual income that would otherwise go into savings or luxury consumption, and fees paid by students. The nature of these immediate sources depends upon the nature of the ruling class to which the surplus adverts.

Finally, the background of knowledge is determined in practices of recruitment and in the larger careers of students and teachers. The specification of these matters is important in defining the class and ideological situation of institutions of knowledge.

The foreground of knowledge, that which is actually attended to in its conduct, largely partakes of tradition, but is also made up in relation to ruling. The foreground requires a place in which knowledge is found -- consisting of certain physical locations, recognized modes of expression, recognized possessors, and lines of exclusion. The locations are most obvious -- the rooms and furniture, for meeting, reading,
lecturing, experimenting. The modes of expression may be some definite
dexterity or craft (dance, silversmithing) but are prototypically some
iconic, symbolic or linguistic representation (diagram, formula, text).
Performance or expression makes up knowledge as an object which knowers
can orient to as continual and as independent of any particular body
or consciousness.

Knowledge is also organized with respect to a specific and
demarcated group of knowers -- typically selected from or having
interconnections with ruling groups -- created through explicit
procedures of certification, admission, expulsion and sanctioning.
Among these there is an explicit organization of relations, especial­
ly defining some who control the prerequisites or means of knowledge-work,
and others who are subject or excluded. Finally, the contents and
forms of knowledge itself -- in-curriculum and in rhetorical distinctions
-- are demarcated from other forms of conscious relation to the world.
Knowledge is rendered contrastive with ignorance, error and opinion;
knowledge as science is distinguished from mere art; knowledge as high
classic texts is distinguished from inferior expressions. The drawing
of these boundaries -- around knowers and objects of knowledge -- is
of course made most clear at moments of challenging contact between
alternative expressions. Given the largely traditional determination
of the curriculum, its ruling relation to ruling and other practices is
ordinarily argued as a matter of affinities and casuistically argued
relevances and unspecified benefits.

None of this is to say that in providing for the background
of knowledge or in its own immediate practices, there is a simple deter­
mination of its character by outside forces. An institution of know­
ledge may also have its reasons, strike its bargains, find its own weapons — in the control of its own wealth, in the control of knowledge itself, in the claim to truth, in the creation of a universe of discourse which cuts across the boundaries of local practicality.

The substantive portion of this work — of which a brief description appears here — examines the political economy and the character of ruling, in the nineteenth century Maritimes. The Maritimes, during the period of concern here, underwent a transformation for a thorough Imperial domination, whose clearest economic face was extractive mercantile capitalism and whose political face was an oligarchy of Imperial officials, landowners and later merchants; to a domination by an indigenous petit bourgeoisie which came to not only economic but also political and intellectual ascendancy. The burden of this work is to examine these transformations of property relations and political hegemony, and to ferret out the place of knowledge and its distinct institutions, as components of all the social relations of the society. (For the programmatic statement on society and education, see Bailyn: 1960). This relation of knowledge to society is an empirical problem, not one to be solved by any theoretical fiat, or not even by the posing of a ready-made formulation to be proved or disproved.

It perhaps should be clear that, before Confederation, the Maritimes were one centre of the economic, political and intellectual currents of British North America. Their economic position was, until the mid-nineteenth century, as strong as that of Canada. Intellectual life in the Maritimes included in Joseph Howe one of the outstanding
ideologists of responsible government; in Thomas C. Haliburton, the recognized dean of Canadian humourists; and in the late-century Fredericton school of Roberts and Carman, the beginnings of the first distinctive movement of Canadian poetry. The Maritimes also provided much academic leadership for other regions of Canada in the post-Confederation generation, including William Dawson, a geologist of international stature and President of McGill; George Munro Grant, Principal of Queen's; Walter Murray, President of the University of Saskatchewan; and George Parkin, who revivified Upper Canada College at the turn of the century.

Maritime higher education can lay claim to being first. The earliest colleges in English-speaking British North America were there: charters came to King's College Windsor in 1789 (a quarter-century before any Canadian college), and to King's College Fredericton in 1828. The politics of higher education were bitter, intense and protracted; and educational programmes and purposes correspondingly articulate. (Ideas don't appear only in polemical nexes, but they are often most elaborate and articulate there.) This was due in part to the relatively great and early proliferation of denominational interests in education, to the prominent position of educational issues in the struggles for political reform, and to the strength of locally based resistance to university development.

The Maritime colonies began as staple-producing dependencies of European empires, jealously watched in war but largely neglected in peace, little settled before the mid-eighteenth century when there were Imperially shaped movements of population. British policy then shifted, to establish a military outpost, deport the Acadians, and encourage
settlement, especially from New England. In consequence, by about 1775, the most accessible areas were inhabited and the population about 18,000. This number was more than doubled by the fabled migration of Loyalists at the end of the American revolution, to the haven which Britain had promised them.

Unavoidably, a certain centralization in the capitals followed from the nature of the colonial setting and the commercial and military purposes of Empire — with officials despatched from England, large ocean-going traders given preferences, the location of military forces in the centres, the vesting of land control in (land-interested) Imperial officials. Such a concentration of authority also followed from a deliberate rethinking of colonial order. Imperial officials engaged in this. So did the politically inspired exiles, awaiting the outcome of the war in the ideological hothouse of New York, and in the confusion, privation and place-battling that followed in the Maritimes. The Loyalists wanted compensation in land and offices for what they had lost in the 'rebel usurpation.' They and reactionary officialdom alike wanted an order which would squelch the excesses of democracy and dissent which they saw at the source of the revolt. They envisioned ideologically a society of solid loyalty and deportment. In the circumstances this was a dream, even in the new province of New Brunswick, formed in 1784 as a bastion of Loyalism, and in Prince Edward Island, parcellled out in 1769 into massive estates.

There was made up an oligarchy, monopolizing official functions on a quasi-hereditary basis, controlling land, often to their own advantage, integrating the Church of England with state policy and privilege. Final power of political decision was executive, shared by Governors
and Councils. Large traders were also parts of the ruling oligarchy. Before 1800 these were ordinarily military suppliers and fish shippers. Other trade was subordinated to the Americans. But an ill-advised American military-commercial strategy which restricted imports and exports, and British wartime needs for timber, brought about a boom in Maritime trade, with timber, links to the West Indies, and smuggling. These developments solidified the place of mercantile capital in the Maritime provinces, and brought merchants to political prominence. Bounties and trade regulations were made to serve Imperial traders more than local production or colonial revenue.

Over and against this oligarchy, there was a mess. The means of Imperial rule were not such as to effect a thoroughgoing domination of the frontier. The Loyalist settlement itself was a scene of fear, jealousy and resentment, with antagonisms between new and old Maritimers, between ordinary and patrician Loyalists. And as the bulk of the population settled into their work in largely self-sufficient agricultural areas (hampered by British land policy), movements of opposition to the oligarchy arose. Those excluded from privilege and power by oligarchical control — country people, the landless, small traders, religious dissenters — sought easy availability of land, road and bridge grants, religious privilege and parliamentary rights (including the initiation of money bills) within the Assemblies. This opposition made for a rash of pamphleteering, bitter election battles and the emergence of popular leaders and ill-formed 'parties.'

Between oligarchy and opposition there was some accommodation. The former could not totally dominate, and the latter could not dislodge them. There were concessions. Assemblies got ordinary parliamentary
powers and much financial initiative. The crassest forms of ecclesiastic- 
tical monopoly were averted. There was also repression. Officials 
used patronage and veto to good advantage, used anti-sedition law, drove 
opposition leaders out of the colonies. In any case the opposition was 
hampered by the transience of its leadership, the restriction of its 
ideological work (town meetings suppressed and no free provincial press), 
and the lack of articulate skill.

There were places where all this economics and politics became 
knowledgeable. In production itself there was no gap between abstract 
and concrete practices, no technically conducted labour or codified 
administrative procedure. But in the professions and the state there 
were indeed abstract preparations and competences. Legal and administra-
tive abilities were requisite for the operation of the government. The 
bearing and accent of the learned marked them off as the dominant elite 
that they were. Conversely, the epithet of ignorance justified the 
exclusion of most people from the spheres of ruling -- in both politics 
and religion. The professions, managing the limits of social life in 
general, were open to the learned and privileged.

The Anglican church and college were from the outset consti-
tuents of the system of Imperial rule, and as key parts of a ruling 
ideological apparatus, they were objects of much thought in the devising 
of a reliably loyal social order. Religion was emphatically a know-
ledgeable matter. In the Erastian ideology of the Church of England, 
orthodoxy, loyalty and order were of a piece, as were dissent, levelling 
and social chaos. Consonant with this the church initially hoped to win 
the adherence of the population as a whole, by providing the means of 
worship before people could do so for themselves. The college was
envisioned to serve the Church and its ideological ambitions, first by imparting right principles itself and so preserving youth from pernicious republicanism, second by training up ministers (hopefully more numerous, diligent and obedient than those of British background) to staff the Church.

In these ideological matters, as in politics itself, there was an unstable stand-off. The actual means of ruling available to the oligarchy were more effective in exclusion than in domination. Its links with oligarchical rule were enough to provide the Church of England with special prerogatives, including a long-standing monopoly of higher education. But the Church itself lacked 'proper establishment;' its revenues were relatively slight, and religious liberty was formally allowed in the province.

Anglican institutions of higher education, formed in Windsor and Fredericton by the turn of the nineteenth century, revealed the features of the Imperial apparatus in the colony. Boards were made up of political and ecclesiastical officaldom, linking the management of the colleges to ruling. Finance came largely from British church and state revenues, with some aid from colonial duties. Embattled and failures at proselytizing, along with the Church, the colleges underwent a reactionary consolidation, including religious restrictions on both students and faculty. Thus at Windsor, the president and professors had to be of Oxford pedigree, students had to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles at matriculation (later graduation) and were forbidden to attend dissenting meetings. To such restrictiveness there was various liberal opposition, too weak to have effect. The colleges' exclusive character was further formed in their cost, their locations
in aristocratic preserves, and practices such as the hazing of students of common origin.

Being not domestically grounded, the colleges met trouble at whatever points they were dependent upon local support — for enrollments, for the support of the local elite itself in administration and benefaction, indeed in construction; colonial remoteness made the supply and quality of teachers problematic.

In the immediate conduct of knowledge and in the ideological expressions which located knowledge in the individual and in society, it was clear that the colleges aimed to demarcate a social elite. The curriculum was that of medieval tradition — classics and mathematics. Learning was associated with the highest positions. Its possession was a nobility. What it formed in the individual was the social type of the gentleman: character and cultivation, not any vulgar expertise. It was likewise for professors, themselves gentlemen who could as teachers switch back and forth among the subjects of a gentleman-scholar's mastery.

After the turn of the nineteenth century, the colonies grew more 'settled.' In production this meant the spread of petit bourgeois endeavours, mostly farms, and some small manufacturers. The good land in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, along the St. John River valley and the south shore of New Brunswick, was largely filled. Contemporary descriptions commonly noted that sober, industrious, and prudent farmers could gain the necessaries of life, or even grow rich. But also the want of such regular habits, and of good agricultural knowledge and roads, were commonly seen as sources of agricultural weakness.
Manufacturing was initially confined to those goods in universal daily use but not domestically produced: initially grain mills and breweries; later tanneries, brick kilns, fulling and carding mills. For all of this, there were ancillary services, attorneys, insurance agents, hotel and tavern-keepers. Small shippers proliferated in the coastal trade within the provinces and the north Atlantic region, encouraged by the ease of entry into shipping from many harbours and by relatively light initial capital demands. This picture, then, presents a basically agricultural region with some trade, whose growth and whose expansion into manufactures was limited by the efficiency and diligence of its own producers, and by capital shortage.

Another picture, however, shows the continuing ragged ends of Imperial exploitation. Agriculture was limited by Imperially-created benefices in all the provinces, by timber reserves making up most of New Brunswick, and by absentee landholding in Prince Edward Island. Large mercantile activity undercut solid local economic growth, by making for high-liquidity capital markets and in any event by exporting much of the surplus. The forms of local production it created were always vulnerable to international market fluctuations. But fisheries and their suppliers in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island could take the form of family firms, fitting to the general consolidation of petit bourgeois economic life. Timbering in New Brunswick, however, had a stronger tendency to create a fragmentary collection of resource-extractors. Entrepreneurs and workers alike were attracted by the promise of a free and easy life and wealth, but were sporadically used and highly scattered in the places and forms of their work.
There was then this contradictory development. On the one hand, self-sufficiency, small production which accumulated an economic surplus locally, resulting in the development of patches of indigenous petit-bourgeois prosperity. On the other hand, colonial limitation and mercantile capitalist exploitation, with consequent economic stagnation due to surplus export and financial constriction, and social disorganization due to irregular and scattered work organization.

After the initial upheavals over the existence of political units and the distribution of political powers and perquisites, political battles had been tamed by a combination of concession and repression. But new forms of conflict arose, among three groups: Imperial appointees; the quasi-hereditary oligarchy of landowners and officials, later joined by merchants; and local representatives, tied to the increasing articulation of local capital, communities and voluntary organization. Local politicians wanted control of tariffs and road and bridge expenditures, for the support of trade and as prizes for sustaining political position. In New Brunswick the legislature wanted to wrest Crown lands policy and revenues from Imperial control which stifled local enterprise and settlement. In Prince Edward Island there was steady demand, steadily negated, for the escheat of absentee proprietors. In all the provinces, churches serving the local communities required legal rights to religious functions and to charters and grants for educational institutions. For these ends, and for the related political reconstruction, representatives everywhere wanted to expropriate the oligarchy, its veto power embedded in the Councils, its revenue-absorbing sinecures, its ability to deflect opposition by using rewards and appointments.
All these needs coalesced into an aim to alter the structure of government. By local demand and Imperial concession, government was gradually reformed after the 1830s, until finally it was decreed that executives should be responsible to legislatures. What resulted was a distribution of state powers in a pattern of centralized sectionalism. Money and governmental machinery were at the centre, but decisions were always made by the representatives for sectional ends. Only log-rolling politicians survived. Cabinets were initially formed as coalitions which had delicately to balance interests. They were unstable, and unable to budget effectively or to plan projects on a provincial scale. Effective political discipline at a provincial level -- in parties and cabinets -- was only gradually built, coming finally when railway indebtedness made the provinces vulnerable to external pressures for centralizing reform.

As production was increasingly consolidated in petit bourgeois forms and in its associated communities and voluntary organizations, and as control of the state was made available to local forces, a new class came into predominance. New structures of education were needed to prepare its people for the highest positions of the society and for forming its boundaries. The local accumulation of the surplus made such institutions possible, and political transformation cleared the way.

Where abstract schemata and knowledge entered into ordinary activity, there was a break to certain distinct works and organization of intelligence. This still predominantly meant the clerisy. But let us consider more closely the relevances of learning. In production, most skills, both of actual work processes and of social organization, could still be acquired within the work itself, invented or passed on
from experienced producer to novice. There was an agricultural improve-
ment literature, which dealt with the proper use of breeds, seeds and
soils, and which had a strong moral emphasis aimed at building that
entrepreneurial self-discipline which was the bridge between isolated
work and the abstract rationality of the market system. It attacked
the stagnation of agriculture, and the dissipation, sloth, sybaritism and
want of ambition, that both accompanied and caused it. Contrariwise,
recommended were foresight, the frugality of simple living and moral
restraint, constant attention to duty.

As the local communities developed they came to the society's
regulative and allocative functions, where politics was learned, and
learning political. When possible, the enemies of reform pointed to
the dearth of intellect and education as incapacitating for government.
In general, a consciousness ordered at the level of the political organ-
ization as a whole, and so emancipated from the limitations of the local
and everyday, was required. The discourse practicing this was worked
up by journalists and clergymen as well as by lawyers and politicians.
More particularly, to assault oligarchical control, there were needed
oratorical powers and a certain manifest clerverness and assertiveness,
to defend local needs and denounce the evils of monopoly. A specific
legal expertise was needed to form constitutional arguments on the
rights of British subjects and of the lower houses of legislatures.
Taking over state power, local representatives needed specific skills
of management — for budgeting, drafting legislation, envisioning
the new administrative forms required as the state's tasks altered.
And they needed to extend their rhetorical and organizational capa-
bility, for coalescing diverse interests into viable disciplined political
parties. The expropriation of local sectional powers into an organization larger in scale meant that the merely local mind came to be seen as no longer sufficient.

Crucial in this intellectual development were the churches, the chief voluntary organization in the communities, and the initiators of educational forms. In the developed church organization existed that learned function for which higher education was most pressingly required. In their concern with morality, the churches contributed to create, and brought to their highest articulation, forms of self-discipline consistent with the total organization of the society. In moulding religious expression, the church recapitulated the forms of character and awareness regnant in the society as a whole. Right religious practice in the church had a knowledgeable, doctrinal, explicit character. It was essentially mediated by learning. This followed from a theology which had human beings with a pristine deficiency, requiring repair by a minister apt to teach. Now the open evangelistic organization of religion which swept over the rural regions of the Maritimes at the end of the nineteenth century rather had religious practice as eruptive, ecstatic, overwhelming — with none of the deathly externals of the churches. To the churchly all this was fanaticism, a burlesque of genuine religion. The Anglicans saw it as political subversion. Other churchmen thought it diabolical or savage and requiring repression; some thought it merely foolish. To all it was untutored, and so had to be rectified for the proper formation of the church. This improvement of religious expression was at one with the definition of dogma, the consolidation of clerical compensation and intelligence, and the
general education of the denominations — a solidification of church organization, most elaborately traceable among Baptists, also present for Presbyterians, Methodists and even Roman Catholics.

Refinement of the intelligence of religion, and the education of the children of the brethren, were understood not as immanent but as tied to increases in respectability, advancement, and the changing character of toil, in short, to total change in the organization of the society. With the penetrations into rural regions of commodity markets, entrepreneurial calculation and the state apparatus, production, exchange and rule were all increasingly socialized, increasingly involved envisioning of consequence, even articulate strategy. So there were steps for the moral and ethical improvement of agriculturists, and concern for fitting people politically to control and improve their society. As lives were more social and intelligence quotidian -- brought into being by the abstract orderings of market and legislature -- so the practices of religion became more social and intelligent. Its questions allowed as answers not the eruption of God's love but measured assent to the articles of belief.

All this -- opening up the highest positions in the society to a new class, reforming the practices in which the boundaries of social experience were formed -- required colleges. The Anglican colleges had settled into place as reactionary bastions. The educational foundations of Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists and Roman Catholics were all understood to have both these aims. As such they were resisted by the old powers. The politics of higher education was at one with the changing of state power. A rash of dissenting educational activity coincided with the making of a fully voiced challenge to the oligarchy
in the 1820s and 1830s, and the wave of denominational college formations came just as the traditional oligarchy lost its veto over government actions.

Opening up education, in the circumstances -- the local economy and politics being sectional and local needs having many foci of articulation -- meant that educational organization would be pluralistic. There was thus defined the political issue, of whether a locally based ideological pluralism would be granted the sanction of legitimation and finance by government. This constituted an important line of battle, both symbolic and practical, between the rising communities and the oligarchy.

Nova Scotia had the most substantial 'middle class,' the most elaborated forms of voluntary organization, the most extensive educational activity, and the most elaborate of educational battles, of the three Maritime provinces. The first attempt to broaden higher educational accessibility was made by Lt.-Gov. Dalhousie, inspired by a dim view of both the prospects and the policies of King's College Windsor, which he intended to supplement with a college open to all Christians. But its liberal character was artificial, antedating the developments which would give substantial content to the terms used in its justifications, as making knowledge of service to the populace. Dalhousie, and occasional efforts to merge King's College Windsor with it, were squelched for two decades by a majority of those government officials who sat on the boards of both institutions. The Presbyterian academy at Pictou, and its charters and finances, were for 25 years a prime focus of conflict between oligarchy and popular forces. When Baptists entered the educational field, they too came to face the intransigence of the Council.
By the late 1830s, with an array of unsatisfied dissenting educational efforts and crumbling reactionary power, it appeared that the situation was ripe for change. There was a movement to form a provincial university, not denominationally limited. A bill was passed to open Dalhousie on this basis, but the professorial appointments made by the reactionary rump board left the college exclusively Presbyterian. What then transpired was not the intended provincial university but a rush of sectarian college formations, Baptist Acadia, Roman Catholic St. Mary's and St. Francis Xavier, Methodist Mt. Allison (which received Nova Scotian grants). Dalhousie itself collapsed. The moment of interdenominational co-operation was wasted. Efforts soon made to create a single, efficient, internationally respectable provincial university, and to suppress the sectional colleges, were shattered on the rocks of established denominational interest. They were in advance of the practical circumstances, the centralized political organization, and, beyond it, the broader economic forms, which would make them possible. King's College Windsor was reformed, under denominational rather than political control. There was established a principle and practice of higher education as a network of competing denominational colleges.

In New Brunswick, where extractive mercantilism sustained a reduced development of locally based routines of production, and where local political interests had fragmented after gaining the Crown lands, ideological development usually occurred later than in Nova Scotia and by a splitting off from it. Dissenting educational activity was not crucial in the reform process. There was less an articulation of popular educational needs than the periodic hurling of acerbities at
exclusive, expensive, outmoded King's College Fredericton. The Baptist academy was resisted in the Council, but this ended after 1840, when also the Methodist academy in Sackville was chartered. King's College Fredericton underwent some formal liberalization in 1845 but to little real effect. With no local forms at the collegiate level, the transition to the provincial university fifteen years later was hampered less by vested interests than by a resistance to higher education in general.

Local development was also relatively stunted in Prince Edward Island. Educational struggles there took the form of opposition between a government sponsored predominantly Protestant academy at Charlottetown, and the Roman Catholic institutions, St. Andrew's and St. Dunstan's. Each advance in the status and funding of the Protestant institution, the Catholics sought to have matched; but never with full success.

The colleges themselves had governance under the auspices of church and state — those two largest massive organizations defining the boundaries and sense of social life. Governance bridged institutions to their circumstances. Boards were selected from the elites of local organization — always ecclesiastical, and with varying participation by lawyers and merchants.

The means by which the surplus was diverted from its holders to collegiate finance was of a piece with other features of the colleges. The colleges of the petit bourgeois era relied upon numerous small donations, supplemented by state revenues as political circumstances made these available. All the academies and colleges collected tuition and all began with local collections — most dramatic with the Baptists, whose Acadia was indeed built and sustained by a
mass of small donations. Occasionally there was individual philanthropy of much greater magnitude than the ordinary run of gifts.

In the educational practice of the colleges, much remained fundamentally as it had been in older forms. Curriculum continued to rest on the traditional basis of classics and mathematics, although human studies came by mid-century to have tinges of the investigative and explanatory, with the introductions of modern languages, and political economy and natural philosophy. A close and thorough discipline of student life continued. And teachers were still men whose moral and religious character was considered to be of decisive significance. The bond of the students to college and teachers was sentimentally full, concretized in a panoply of ritual objects and practices.

Though much remained the same, there was yet a sense of novelty in the practice and especially the descriptions of the colleges. Much ideology about the relations of knowledge to society reflected the basis of the colleges in a rising bourgeoisie. In particular, the ideas which came to hold sway were liberal. They were so. first in the relatively narrow sense of advocating equality of right, as against the sense of restriction and enforced privilege that had characterized the Anglican colleges. There was also a broader liberal sense that human destiny was the free making of the world, rather than any reverence or humility. Knowledge itself was described in novel utilitarian terms. In articulating their antagonism to traditionally restrictive institutions, and in defining a sensibility about the new forms of education they were creating, men spoke of a knowledge full of advantage, and leading to prosperity. These themes only took on a more concrete significance when they became a critique of the clas-
sical curriculum, as conceits not suited to the active employments of life, and when natural science -- as if a new era were announced -- provided a new lexicon and syntax of knowledge as utility, as the application of principles to labour.

The rhetorical linkage of knowledge and prosperity, the social distinctions of retirement and activity, luxury and utility, asserted ideologically but did not explain the linkage of the colleges to the developing society. No curricular content with definite utility filled the rhetoric. The colleges did not serve the production of wealth directly. But they did indeed serve that class whose expansion constituted prosperity, opening up to it the ruling positions and their learned means.

Finally, the liberal rhetoric of knowledge as power also penetrated the description of its lodging in the individual. It was still commonly said that the aim of learning was a total character -- but the definiteness of signification of this changed. In the new forms of accounting for the place of knowledge within the individual, the mind -- like all the rest of the entrepreneurial character -- was looking for something useful to do. The terms of mental description became powers, capacities and faculties. The effect of education on them was not only discipline but also improvement and enlargement. The powers of mind made the powers of society.

Research for this study began with collegiate history, dealing with the formal organization of institutions, foundings, charters, statutes; struggles surrounding those; and largely with personalities. Most college histories are thick with loyalty, with great accomplishments, ad-
versities and enemies overcome, even intramural errors and villains. More anecdotal sources -- reminiscences, autobiographies and the like -- told more about the immediate conduct of knowledgeable activities. Still within the college walls -- within events defined by their occurrence within institutional boundaries -- knowledge was not yet seen as part of society. The next requirement was ecclesiastical history and some sociological conceptualization of it; all the colleges were tied to churches, if not by direct sponsorship then at least by less structured loyalty and opposition. Finally needed were economics and politics, or political economy. College and church history were themselves in part matters of political liberties and sanctions, and thus matters of state control. Likewise college and church depended upon levels of prosperity, upon the demand for educated practitioners of various occupations, and indeed upon the totality of the social relations obtaining in the society.

Research found contiguity and correspondence and fit of the various elements of the society, the resting point of explanation in the whole. The production of the society and all that organized and aided it were equally political and economic. Religious practice did not exist outside of work and residence and political struggles for religious rights, outside all the other social relations of those who worship, the mystery of those relations, and the danger of all that tempts people away from them. The practices and organizations of knowledge were continuous with all the social relations of the society.

Research began within the particular institutional sphere of the higher knowledge and then proceeded to all the other social relations of the society, as necessary to complete explanation. The
spheres of the society then turned out to have a continuous character, so that I made a phrase, political economy and higher education. My intention turned out to have been to understand the society whole cloth. The order of the writing reverses the order of the research.

The focal point of historical method (for all those writing about events not within living memory) is the place of documents between events themselves and their historiographical presentation. The events are passed, past, but traces of them remain: buildings, worn stairs and chairs, perhaps trunkfuls of college memorabilia stored away in attics. Relied upon here, directly or indirectly, are documents of one sort or another: laws, reports of legislative committees, speeches, newspaper articles, minutes and reports of church organizations and college boards of governors, reminiscences of participants, autobiographies, letters, songs, travelogues, fictions.

Original documents are produced by the literate and sometimes articulate or eloquent participants in events, which they aim to present to others distant from them, in time, space or understanding. Documents often fit into the governance of activity, describing activities and expenditures to responsible superiors, proposing programmes of action, circulating information to those responsibly concerned. Documents record, account, display, vindicate, celebrate, denounce, explain, express, obscure. They are produced within the milieu of the events they report, based upon information which their authors possess as participants, written to be read by other participants, designed with the purpose of the events in mind, using the ordinary methods of their social situations for making account, and assuming as background knowledge what the ordinary members of the scene would know.
To write history one must acquire some of the competences of some of the members of the society, competences to read documents -- in order to display a certain sense that they have. To read the documents, I had to learn to implicate my own understanding within the methods of description used by those who produced them. To display their sense, I had to fill in the society behind them, the background they leave out. In part that factual background: what is the SPCK, how much money did Dalhousie get from the Nova Scotian legislature, who was Francis Wayland? There is much background beyond such initial informational query, which is potentially infinite. Every answer can be questioned. The filling in of the documentary background -- that is, of the society -- is in practice defined in the narrative and theoretical structure of written history. The displayed sense of the documents then becomes the sense that they have for the historian and the historiographical problematic.

Also used here are other histories, accounts made up by other writers about what I write about. They provide most selections from primary sources. Interpretations here are linked with theirs in multifarious ways: used, reproduced, agreed with, extended, integrated, assimilated, made thematically explicit, and opposed, found inadequate, ignored in their banalities. All this is occasionally visible in quotations, footnotes and explicit discussion; and the process is largely tacit.

The ordering and theorizing of historical documents is thick with inexplicit procedure. Between original events and historiography lies past document-making and -preserving procedures, and the present work of using and interpreting the documents and the information they bear. Document-making does not aim at objective reporting for historians.
and sociologists. Interpretation does not proceed in accordance with
a fully explicit method. In all parts of the process there are undoubt-
edly overlooking, error, ambiguity, selectivity, inexplicitness of
purpose, and the like.

There is no rule that can lead through this thicket with
clarity and certainty. Some safeguards, however, I have attempted.

   a. Be explicit about documentary sources of information and the context
      in which they were produced, e.g., that the Anglican Bishop wrote
      a letter to his superiors in England, in condemnation of religious
      enthusiasts. (b) Quote extensively, so that readers can follow inter-
      pretations, or dispute them. (c) Be clear about the use of a document-
      ary account — whether taken over and used directly as description, or
      mined for facts that fit present arguments, or presented as a visible
      instance of some general pattern of activity or consciousness.

My aim has been to formulate what people have done, the
practical and conceptual constitution, bodily activity ordered, social
relations assembled and accounted for, consciousness directed, in making
potatoes and square timber and country roads and railways and convocation
ceremonies and Greek recitations and collections of stuffed birds
and denominational colleges.

The test or value of this historical and sociological account
is not prediction, or completeness, but resonance in experience. Does
this serve to order the material and the understanding of history?
Can you use the historical questions and analysis yourself to make
sense of it, to make sense of other information, as a means of under-
standing the production and experience of knowledge?
CHAPTER I

THE NEW MARITIMES

This study deals substantively with higher education in the Maritime provinces, dating from near the end of the eighteenth century. It deals theoretically with the social conditions of the production of 'knowledge' in that context. It is a sociology of knowledge which asks how knowledge arose as relevant to the activity of the society as a whole, how it was institutionalized, made a distinctly constituted form of social practice. Let us begin with some historical background, the character of social life in the Maritime provinces from the beginnings of British sponsored settlement into the nineteenth century. This consideration aims to explore the situation of knowledge or learning (the terms were not then distinct) within the total way of life, how the society's ordinary activities provided relevance to its knowledgeable activities. In particular we must consider the 'situation of
knowledge' with regard to the mode of production and to the practice of politics, out of which knowledge is supported and which in turn it supports. We must begin with certain matters of Empire, immigration and settlement -- the immediate political determinations of early Maritime history.

North America was, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, an outpost of several competing European centres of world empires. The particulars of Maritime history must be understood within this global political and economic context.

After the Revolution of 1642-9, England began to move aggressively forward in struggles for trade and colonies. In the 1650s and 1660s, by a combination of restrictive trade legislation and warfare, it superseded Holland as the world's leading trading power, and captured New Holland. From the 1660s to the 1680s both England and France experienced growing North American imperial ambitions, focused on the control of interior fur trade territory and Atlantic fishing grounds. In nearly a century of off-and-on warfare punctuated by peace treaties, England gradually won imperial ascendancy. In North America it secured Acadia, French Newfoundland, and Hudson Bay, by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713; Canada, by the Peace of Paris in 1763. (Ryerson 1960:130-98).

Britain had become the leading European imperial power, the centre of a global political and economic unit containing advanced and dependent economies. The dependent sectors produced agricultural products and raw materials, purchased manufactured goods, and accepted capital goods and migration. The colonies were essential to Britain's wealth, economic expansion, and technological development in the late
eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is arguable that the Empire was the crucial factor in catalyzing the cluster of economic preconditions for the Industrial Revolution, providing the market expansion that made technological innovation possible or even necessary, explaining why it began in Britain in the late eighteenth century rather than another place or time. It is clear at any rate that the Imperial export market for British goods, divested of competition by war and colonization, was of increasing importance in the era before and during the development of British colonial society in the Maritimes: between 1700 and 1770 export industries increased their output more than ten times as much as domestic industries. (Hobsbawm 1969:35-6, 48-54).

Political developments with England itself had brought the ascendancy of landlords and merchants, marked by certain renowned pieces of legislation — the Navigation Acts, the Enclosure Acts, the Corn Laws. England's wealth and its liberty rested on trade and enterprise, its power on a trade-minded navy. Mercantile interests, and the maintenance of a navy for trade protection, were identified with the national interest (MacNaughton 1947:1-5). The Industrial Revolution was not yet obvious or predominant, but private enterprise in a liberal political milieu certainly was. Aristocrats, wealthy and powerful though they were, knew to trust in commerce. Even the economy of rural regions was pervaded by commodities, both produced and consumed. Already in government policy, manufacturing interests (protecting the British market and securing export markets) could hold their own against purely commercial interests (free import and export trade) (Hobsbawm 1969:23-32).

French Acadia, become British Nova Scotia, was slow to grow. It was little settled before 1763, with perhaps 5000 inhabitants in
the entire area. Its settlement and development were generally ignored by the British, as they had been earlier by the French. The St. Lawrence, rather than the St. John, led to the great interior fur-bearing areas, and monopoly was difficult to enforce in the Maritimes.

Generally speaking, to official France and England Acadia seemed unimportant in itself, but in time of war it assumed importance because of its relation to French and English interests elsewhere. For external reasons, therefore, the country frequently changed hands but in times of peace both France and England tended to neglect it. (MacNaughton 1947:27).

The British did understand Acadia to have a certain strategic significance, but only as a 'closed frontier,' a territorial barrier to the expansion of the restive New England colonies.

When Acadia was ceded by France, every effort was made to check New England influence in the area. British officials were as jealous as the French officials had been of the interference of Boston traders.... Throughout the period 1713 to 1744 British authority on the continent as well as French was steadily increased at the expense of the freedom of action of American peoples.... (Clark 1959:30).

Individual settlers were furthermore discouraged, especially in the mainland area beyond the Isthmus of Chignecto, by the political and military tenuousness of the area (MacNaughton 1947:27). Communities of Acadian farmers, the military and trading post at Annapolis, and a fishing village at Canso were virtually the only settlement until Halifax was established as a military post in 1749, and Lunenburg was settled by German Protestants shortly thereafter.

Shifts in the extent and policy of the British Empire massively altered the character of social life in the Maritimes during the second half of the eighteenth century. British policy for Nova Scotia first altered during the final stages of the imperial struggles with France, in order to combat Acadian and French influences in the area. Much of the Acadian population of 10,000 was deported in 1755, to limit French
influence and protect the northeastern flank of New England, and to make the fertile dyked marshlands of the Acadians available for redistribution. Then the political status of Nova Scotia was changed, to win needed New England military support and to encourage settlement. In 1758, the year of the fall of Louisbourg, Nova Scotia was made a royal colony with representative government and guarantees of religious freedom—at the insistence of the Board of Trade and against the resistance of local officials, including Governor Charles Lawrence. An invitation to settlement was extended to New England farmers and fishermen in 1759. This invitation was given added force by the Royal Proclamation of 1763, which, in order to provide time to pacify troublesome Indians, had halted settlement west of the Alleghenies, and designated Quebec and Nova Scotia no longer mere outposts of the fish and fur trade but places where 'planting, perpetual settlement and cultivation ought to be encouraged.' St. John's and Cape Breton Islands were annexed to Nova Scotia in 1763, although the former again received a separate government in 1769 (Creighton 1957:147-8; MacNutt 1965:57-61; MacNaughton 1947:29-31; Clark 1959:35; Hamilton 1970a:86-8).

The new British policy was followed by a northern migration, what Edmund Burke called 'an overflowing of the exuberant population of New England,' from Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts, into Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Nova Scotia. In Nova Scotia the migrants settled through the Annapolis Valley and in coastal towns along the south shore and the Bay of Fundy, Liverpool, Yarmouth, Annapolis Royal, Cobequid and Chignecto. (Hamilton 1970a:4-9). In the lush mainland area, a rustic community grew up at Maugerville on the St. John, and a number of traders operated from the mouth of the river. When the Acadians
were permitted in 1764 to resettle in dispersed groups, a number located themselves on the Bay of Chaleur in the northeast. Further settlement was inhibited by the control of rich areas along the lower St. John by monopolistic land speculators. As freehold tenure was the common form of landholding in the colonies, few would accept the position of tenants (MacNutt 1963:1-7). The New England migration was slowed by the opening of the Ohio Valley to settlement in 1768 (MacNaughton 1947:31). Nova Scotian population increased, between 1763 and 1775, from 2000 to 18,000, including perhaps 2000 Foreign Protestants, 1000 immigrants from Yorkshire, and a few Scots. New Englanders made up half the population. (Creighton 1957:150; Beck 1957:6; Hamilton 1970a:5). The migration brought a lasting New England influence:

Every family narrative and every description of institutional development -- churches and schools -- indicate how completely the new Nova Scotia was the child of New England. Ministers and schoolmasters came along with the farmers and their imprint upon the impressionable society was so deep that the inflow of bitter and determined Loyalists two decades later could not efface it. To many Nova Scotians for several decades, New England was considered home. (M.L. Hansen, The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples, New Haven, 1940, 35, quoted in Hamilton 1970a:7; cf. Clark 1959:69-70).

A second famed migration from the south occurred at the end of the American Revolution. Perhaps one-third of the residents of the 'revolting colonies' (in the estimate of John Adams, among others) maintained loyalty to the Crown. Most middle and southern colonies had at least large minorities of loyal inhabitants; New York, Pennsylvania, and Georgia had majorities. Although they came from all classes, 'the Loyalists were most numerous among those classes which had most to lose by the change, and least numerous among those classes which had least to lose! (Wallace 1921:16). Various motivations for loyalty were expressed:
sympathy with conservative principles, especially those of the English Tory Party, resentment of early mob violence by the rebellious colonists, outrage at the rebellion's unexpected shift to the aim of independence, even miscalculated opportunism. Some Loyalists, Imperial officials and wealthy landowners, were charged with treason. Some fought alongside British troops in the fifty or so Loyalist units, whose atrocities, magnified in the telling, fanned anti-Loyalist resentments. Some simply refused to support the rebels, and then to subscribe to patriotic tests. They suffered mob actions against themselves and their property, including personal physical humiliations such as tarring and feathering and riding the rails. Legally, they were subjected first to disarming and retention, then to tests of loyalty, and finally to fines and taxes upon and confiscations of their property (Wallace 1921:7-44; Ells 1967: 45-9).

As the war proceeded, thousands of Loyalists crowded into Long Island, a British stronghold and Loyalist retreat. 'Unfortunately, an unwarranted optimism and a pathetic belief in the power and will of the British government to right their wrongs, combined with a flamboyant local press pitched upon that note, had not prepared them for the shock which was to come!' (Bradley 1932:114). That shock was the end of war and the Peace of Paris. In 1782 the North ministry in England fell, and the Whigs under Shelburne came into office, ready to end the war, and to propitiate the Americans to secure their goodwill in trade. British negotiators at Versailles were profligate with the territory and resources of the future British North America. At the outset they were even prepared to surrender Nova Scotia and Canada. In the end they ceded to the rebels fur trade territory in the west, fishing rights in
Nova Scotia and Newfoundland inshore waters, and rights to land on certain unsettled shores for curing and drying. For the Loyalists, British bargainers could secure only the recommendation of the Congress to the States that property be returned to those who had not fought against the United States, and that there be no more prosecutions or confiscations. These recommendations were ignored. (Wallace 1921:42-52; Bradley 1932:115-16; MacNutt 1965:36-9; MacNutt 1963: 12-15).

Shelburne became a bête noire to Loyalists, who for the moment could see themselves as isolated, surrendered to the vengeful Americans by the betraying British. Guy Carleton, Commander in Chief of British forces in America, faced disorder and incipient rebellion at New York. He made plans for a massive emigration, and promised Loyalists a haven outside the revolted colonies (MacNutt 1963:17-19). Altogether one hundred thousand Loyalists left the thirteen colonies. About one-third of these returned to England, including most of the wealthy and influential. Twenty to thirty thousand went to Florida and the West Indies, and six thousand to Quebec. Thirty thousand, in the estimate of Governor John Parr, arrived in Nova Scotia by the end of 1783, more than doubling the existing population.

Among the population of a new colony, a military outpost, place of frontier settlement and staple trade, and haven for political refugees, there came to be seen certain needs of knowledge and institutions to provide it. I want here to consider the background against which this perception occurred. Spheres existed in which activity was conducted with regard to formalized and abstract components, to developed bodies of knowledge and literate practices of administration -- in the realms of the preconditions of production, in the state and the professions.
The conceptualization of knowledge and ignorance, and place for the institutionalization of knowledge, all had reference to ruling, to the management of the boundaries of social life, to domination within economic and political activity. In particular, the intellectual apex of the society was manned by members of its politico-ecclesiastical oligarchy. The discourse surrounding the formation of the earliest colleges was all related to the state and the solidification of Imperial rule.

Let us consider the state and politics. Politics, controversy and decision-making within the state, is the traditional stuff of histories. Politics is accessible through documents. Within it the general character of the society and its oppositions is manifested. At the same time the significant lineaments of the society are there so closely focused, conducted within merely implicit boundaries, clouded by accidents of leadership skill and convenient coalition and vicissitudes of strategy, that they may be difficult to discern. My writing here about politics is therefore purposefully schematic, abstracted.

The themes of politics showed an underlying similarity in the various provinces, in spite of their various circumstances of founding and sources of population. That basic pattern -- most roughly stated, that Imperial rule, with its concomitant mercantile exploitation and parasite oligarchies, was seen to hamper local development and on that account was bitterly opposed -- suggests an underlying similarity of class situations and extent of political development.

The character of local domination followed from the Imperial domination (cf. Clark 1959:235). Government as the creation of an external
Imperial force was centralized as a matter of course, posted from England or raised in the colonies, based in the provincial capitals. Centralization was consistent with the anti-democratic tenor of Imperial thinking, with the system of Imperial economic exploitation which gave preferential treatment to large traders with ties to the colonial centres, with the land-granting powers of officials (who often had land interests themselves), with the intended religious hegemony of the Church of England, and with the concentration of defence forces in colonial centres. There was created then a concentration of political and economic and ecclesiastic powers in the hands of local oligarchies. The colonies were politically ruled and economically exploited by officials, landowners, merchants and Churchmen, the local beneficiaries and representatives of the Imperial system. These groups assumed the guise of petty aristocracies, apeing English ways.

The popular assemblies bestowed upon the Maritime provinces (and, after 1791, upon Upper and Lower Canada) were relatively weak, and came only gradually to assert their powers over the next half century. Initially, the final power of political decision was executive. It was shared by Governors, answerable to London, and quasi-hereditary Councils, composed of members of the official, landholding and mercantile elite, growing rich on the proceeds of administration and commerce.

The formation of the oligarchy commenced with the British Conquest. It had been expected in some quarters that the Conquest would bring a revolution in the political organization of the northern colonies, make Nova Scotia a copy of the older colonies and turn Quebec to free enterprise, democracy and Protestantism. But British policy after 1764 aimed rather to re-establish the lines of the French Empire, giving the
northern colonies not the liberties and trade relations of New England but restrictive governments and direct trading links to Europe. (Clark 1959:39-40; on Quebec cf. Ryerson 1960:204-9). Governor Lawrence in Nova Scotia ran an oligarchic government, while the provincial Assembly was controlled by Halifax interests, officials and especially the clique of merchants and war contractors whose chief was Joshua Mauger. In the first Assembly (1758), 17 of 22 members were from Halifax (Hamilton 1970a:27).

The most elaborated articulation of oligarchical ruling, both practically and ideologically, took place within the 'second British North American Empire.' At the close of the American revolution, Nova Scotia abruptly assumed a new significance. It was the main centre of English-speaking population to remain within the Empire. It was the haven promised to Loyalists. And it was a candidate for the old commercial position of the revolted colonies, especially in the triangular trade. Likewise the population was suddenly dominated by politically inspired 'honourable exiles' (as they were styled by the Bishop of Oxford in a sermon of 1784) (Hind 1890:11-12). Forced on political grounds to abandon their homes in the thirteen colonies, they were prone to strong anti-American and anti-republican sentiments. They certainly were concerned with the economic and political order and viability of their new colony.

Among both British Imperial officials and Loyalist leaders there was, during and after the revolution, a rethinking of colonial order and the means of making it realiably loyal, conducted at a distance from the actual circumstances of Nova Scotia. This rethinking can be interpreted as an attempt to preserve the impact of British
...many of the British officials, many Loyalists, and later many immigrants felt this conservatism very strongly. It was an inchoate desire to build, in these cold and forbidding regions, a society with a greater sense of order and restraint than freedom-loving republicanism would allow. It was no better defined than a kind of suspicion that we in Canada could be less lawless and have a greater sense of propriety than the United States (Grant 1965:70).

This vague sense of propriety was held dear, but there were also more concrete definitions of the good society.

Post-revolutionary Imperialist and Loyalist ideologists thought in consciously reactionary terms about the constitution of a political and ideological order in which the conditions that had encouraged revolt in the thirteen colonies would not be repeated. The view that there had been an excess of democracy allowed the old colonies, an excess which should be curtailed, was prevalent. It was argued that dissenters had fomented revolution, and that the orthodox state church ought be firmly embedded in the remaining colonies. Some claimed that an agrarian aristocracy was the requisite foundation of loyalty to the King.

In Britain, for example, William Knox, Undersecretary in the American Department between 1770 and 1782, and thereafter unofficial advisor to government ministers and an active member of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel ('the twin pillars of his conviction were the Laws of Trade and Navigation and the establishment of the Church of England') had already proposed the establishment of a New Ireland in the area north of Massachusetts, ruled by a landholding gentry and a Council which would curb the democratic power, with an established Church of England to insure loyalty (MacNutt 1963:11-12, 42-46).
In North America, there was agitation for a new order which first and foremost would recognize that Loyalists had stood by the Empire, and reward them for it. As one pamphlet put it,

In direct consequence of this virtuous and meritorious conduct their persons have been attainted, their estates confiscated, sold and appropriated to the use of the rebel usurpation, and many of them, possessed of affluence and a degree of happiness surpassed by that of no people in any country upon earth, have devoted the whole of their fortunes and their felicity to a religious observance of the conditions and duties of society, and to the national safety. (Ells 1967:52).

Furthermore the British government had after 1775 consistently held out promise of rewards for loyalty, and Loyalists expected at least to be compensated for their losses (Ells 1967:52-4). Although many Loyalists may have wanted merely a chance to begin life anew, there is discernible among the prominent and powerful an ambition for a society dominated by a Loyalist elite whose basis of supremacy was in land proprietorship and Imperial government.

Loyalist influentials, however, found their eminence contested in Nova Scotia. Offices and even land grants were slow to be won.

In these circumstances the formation of a separate Loyalist province was conceived, a citadel of conservatism and propriety among the settlement along the St. John River, where numerous Loyalists, some prominent, had been attracted by the glowing reports of their agents. One said:

At the mouth of the river is a fine harbour, accessible at all seasons of the year.... There are many settlers along the river upon the interval land, who get their living easily. The interval lies on the river, and is a most fertile soil, annually matured by the overflowing of the river, and produces crops of all kinds with little labour, and vegetables in the greatest perfection (quoted in Wallace 1921: 72).

The area was attractive too because of its distance from Halifax authority. There was some official encouragement to settlement, for military consol...
Fourteen thousand Loyalists, including the 'provincial army,' had come to the north of the Bay of Fundy, the future New Brunswick (MacNutt 1963:25-9, 41; Wallace 1921:71-3).

Loyalist leaders in New York had already schemed for a separate province, and their desire to elude the control of Governor Parr whetted their interest. They received support from Guy Carleton, who, convinced that Loyalist domination was essential to continued British rule, advocated the split in London. (Carleton had not only been Commander-in-Chief of British forces in America, but also was a former Governor of Quebec who had been much taken by its hierarchical and authoritarian temper, and had delayed the introduction of English law and representative government!) They received support also from the British government advisor William Knox, who hoped to see his image of New Ireland realized in New Brunswick.

In June of 1784 the new province was created. Thomas Carleton, brother of Guy, accepted the Governorship. He sailed from England, bringing with him a retinue of successful office-seekers, Massachusetts and New York Loyalists with clerical, legal, and military backgrounds. A man of exclusively military interests, Carleton is said to have envisioned the colonization 'after the fashion of a Roman occupation of alien territory' (MacNutt 1963:48). The old inhabitants, and likewise most of the new, were unrepresented in the new government of Loyalist patricians (Wallace 1921:77-81; Ells 1967:55-9; MacNutt 1965:91, 95-102; MacNutt 1963:11-12, 42-53; Creighton 1957:172-3, 175-6).

As the distribution of the perquisites of power came to be settled after the Loyalist influx, those representing the Imperial interest and those fortunate to command its favour were entrenched in
each province. The operation of New Brunswick politics before 1800

is described in this way by S.D. Clark:

...trade had not developed to the point where it had become
a major force in government, and the concentration of power
rested upon a simple but highly effective system of exploi-
tation of the colony's two main resources of the time, land
and offices, by a small, socially privileged group of
people situated largely in the capital of the province, the
city of Fredericton. The acquisition of much of the best
land of the colony by a few favoured Loyalists, the location
of the capital in Fredericton rather than in the older and
more highly developed city of Saint John, the appointment
of the local land-owning aristocracy to positions of political
office, the continuous and over-riding concern of the govern-
ment with problems of defence to the neglect of the interests
of commerce, the deep distrust, on the part of the Lt.-Governor
and the officials surrounding him, of any expression of a
democratic spirit -- all these reflected the dominance in the
political life of the province of a class whose main preoccupa-
tion became that of maintaining its privileged position
(Clark 1959:164-5).

That class's dominance was marked in the New Brunswick Council, which
was entirely Anglican until 1817, was both an executive body and the
upper house of the legislature until 1833, and met in secret until 1834.
Longevity and nepotism made for the continued ascendancy of a few
families, among whom the word 'democracy' was a curse (MacNaughton 1947:
38).

Much the same description could be made of Nova Scotia, except
for the continuing significance of merchants in its political elite.
Loyalists too won place in that elite, which was certain after the
accession of John Wentworth to the Governorship in 1792. Wentworth
was a Loyalist, a strict conservative with strong fears of republicanism,
and a skilled practitioner of patronage. The Nova Scotian Council was
also both executive and legislative, and its members were often linked
by family connections. The Chief Justice was a member until 1837, the
Prince Edward Island too had its oligarchy, of officials and landowners. There were continuing personal and family ties among them, although there were also unique divisions, of conservative landowners on the one hand, and those officials who favoured escheat as conducive to settlement and prosperity, on the other.

Contrary to the sentimental hopes of Imperialist and Loyalist thinkers, public life in the Maritime colonies did not realize a model of the settled aristocracy with firm loyalty and gentlemanly deportment. Bitter fights filled all their early years.

From the outset it was clear that the ideals of so many Loyalist apologists had no true basis in reality; instead of unity and obedience the great political fact was dissent (MacNutt 1963:63).

Opposition to the oligarchy in each of its aspects arose from the deprived in each of theirs. The capitals were opposed by country people, mercantile interests by settlers and small traders, landlords by the landless, Anglicans by dissenters, the elegant by the poor.

From the early New England settlers in Nova Scotia there were petitions against Governor Lawrence, his arbitrariness and contempt for trade, industry and agriculture; against the appropriation of public funds for private uses; for sufficient laws, for bounties to encourage the local economy, and for the allowance of town meetings. Governor Francis Legge, who arrived in 1773, even made an attack on financial corruption (MacNutt 1965:77-80). But against these attacks government and the Halifax clique that dominated government and commerce proved solidly entrenched. Local representatives did not significantly augment their powers. Dissent was limited by the poverty and fragmentation of the outsettlements, the lack of town meetings and a local press. Political
calm was reported until official fear increased as the revolt of the older thirteen colonies neared (Clark 1959:41-2, 53-6; Creighton 1957:150).

One needs not invoke a repugnance for republican political institutions and American disorderliness, or an unswerving loyalty to the King, to explain the failure of the northern colonies to join in the revolt of the 1770s. There were in Nova Scotia, especially in outlying communities, both grievances and support for the revolution. Much activity during the revolutionary period -- smuggling, town meetings, the Newlight religious revival -- were implicitly subversive, 'local uprisings of population directed against all outside authority.' There were some local military organization and efforts to make contact with American forces, especially in the Cumberland peninsula and the west. As the fears of local officials grew, town meetings were outlawed.

Of course, revolution was held in check. General Washington and the Continental Congress, seeing the necessity of long supply lines and doubting active local support, refused to sanction an invasion (although a small force came anyway, from Maine). British military and especially naval superiority was clear. Resistance broke down with British force. And as Maritime communities began to suffer from rebel privateering raids, there was more feeling against the revolution and more hope for British protection (Clark 1959:56-74, 103-10; MacNutt 1963:7-10; MacNutt 1965:81-6; Ryerson 1960:219-21).

The settlement of Loyalists and the working out of an accommodation of all the groups resident in the Maritimes, added to the sources of political complexity and contentiousness. The circumstances of the
initial Loyalist settlement produced an atmosphere to which W.S. MacNutt applies such epithets as chagrin, jealousy, resentment and suspicion. The influx was an administrative nightmare and, for many, a personal horror. The colony was nicknamed Nova Scarcity. The supply of British largesse in the form of tools, provisions, and building materials was uncertain. Discipline began to break down in the provincial army, and leaders feared mass violence, especially as the privations of the first winter worsened (Bradley 1932:160-61).

Furthermore, the Loyalists clashed with established power in the Maritimes on many levels. Loyalist experience and ambitions combined to produce a strong antipathy to all the earlier inhabitants of Nova Scotia, Acadians, previous New England immigrants, established merchants and officials. They had not suffered in the revolution, indeed had often benefited from it; and they stood in the way of Loyalist hegemony. Loyalist aims were particularly thwarted by the entrenched cabal of officials, merchants and war contractors who dominated the Halifax legislature and had strong influence in the Colonial Office. They were seen as war profiteers who had won opulence in the war that ruined Loyalists, and were suspected of a republican turn of mind or a selfishness which harboured further disorders. The governor was John Parr, a Shelburne appointee whom Loyalists detested, an old soldier who wanted to finish out his days in tranquillity but was burdened with the Loyalists. He was seen to oppose Loyalist interests, or, at best, to be incompetent, bungling land grants and the provision of supplies. Loyalist insistence on special privilege and ambition to serve as government functionaries in turn roused pre-Loyalist ire. Their relentless petitions for offices, and for haste in the granting of land, evoked
administrative resentment. To Parr the Loyalists were 'a cursed set of dogs...they fret and vex me.' Parr's imminent replacement was at first widely expected. Then a change in the British ministry restored his confidence, and he became more forceful. In effect he took the side of small freeholders in land disputes in the St. John Valley, causing a number of the larger land grants to be cut (Beck 1957:14; MacNaughton 1947:23-5; MacNutt 1963:36-8).

Finally, there were ample bases for contention among Loyalists themselves. Potential oligarchs were few, and many others had reason to oppose them. Most of the rich had returned to England. MacNutt writes:

Contrary to a great deal that has been written, they could not be considered a select group of the population of the former thirteen colonies. For a time there was a surplus of educated gentlemen in search of official positions. A few great households appeared.... But education and wealth were in equally short supply. The Loyalists represented a good cross-section of the population of the rebellious colonies. The vast majority did not have a superior education (MacNutt 1963:41).

Many of the Maritime settlers were ordinary craftsmen, mechanics and farmers. The men in the first shipload of Loyalists entering what would become New Brunswick were 24 craftsmen and 36 farmers (Baird 1890:121). Many were subsistence farmers, even among those who aspired to a more gentlemanly style of life but found that with no tenants available when freehold land was common they had to go into the fields themselves. Their new rural neighbours included people who had been revolutionary sympathizers. Finally many Loyalists, contrary to the assumption of their leaders, were non-Anglicans; and certainly not sympathetic to a clergy which thought itself entitled to generous livings (Bumsted 1967:48).

Governor Parr even blamed the newly heated political atmosphere on the
Loyalists themselves. The tendency of the Nova Scotia Assembly to attack the Council and the judiciary, he said, 'entirely proceeds from a cursed factious party spirit, which was never known here before the emigration of the Loyalists, who brought with them those levelling republican principles' (quoted in Clark 1959:133; cf. MacNutt 1963:150-6).

The initial conflicts that divided Loyalists concerned land. Not surprisingly there were widespread rumours of intrigues to deprive people of land. The clearest focus of this strife was perhaps the memorial of 55 Loyalist 'gentlemen, clergy and merchants' who claimed to have lost fortunes and superior social standing in the thirteen colonies, and asked for land grants of 5000 acres each. Against what could be seen as the ambition for a landholding aristocracy, there was widespread pamphleteering, some of the 55 were personally attacked, and dissensions appeared among them over who was rightfully entitled to such special consideration. The eventual instructions of the British government with regard to land grants did not accede to the memorial (MacNutt 1963:32-6; MacNaughton 1947:23; Wallace 1921:73-7).

After the accommodation of the Loyalists by their reward within Nova Scotia and the separation of New Brunswick, they fit into their various natural places within the oppositions of capitals and commercial centres versus farmers and small traders in the outsettlements, oligarchs versus popular representatives, Anglicans versus dissenters. Their origins perhaps altered sentiment and rhetoric, but seldom discernibly influenced political alignment. The entire period from the Loyalist settlement into the first decade of the nineteenth century was politically highly contentious. The issues that were recurrently disruptive can be summarized under a few headings.
The pervasive oligarchical control of the official functions of the society was frequently criticized, often challenged and sometimes changed. The ubiquity of the Nova Scotian oligarchy was noted in the Assembly's opposition to the chartering of a provincial bank at whose head were the familiar names of leading merchants and officials. One Assemblyman said:

Yes sir give them only a bank, allow them only to issue paper, permit them to deal in bonds and securities you confirm their power, you give them new influence, you enable them to lay their paw upon every freeholder in the country.... (quoted in Beck 1957:30).

The remoteness of legal and administrative functions concentrated in the capitals was a source of inconvenience and resentment to the people in the out settlements. For some time only a tenuous political tie linked Halifax to Nova Scotian out settlements (Clark 1959:138). In New Brunswick, judges refused to hold circuit courts, for which they were not paid expenses. The legal monopoly of Fredericton was especially resented in the growing commercial port of St. John, which was even governed by provincial-appointed officers of a city corporation, created by Thomas Carleton.

The high salaries, lavish expenditures and corruption of officials were also singled out for attack. The most significant episode was the widely supported attack by two Loyalist republican attorneys in Nova Scotia in the 1790s, on apparent judicial abuses among certain justices of the Supreme Court (Clark 1959:131-3; Ryerson 1960:288; MacNutt 1965:124).

The country people, at least until some came to be dependent on the Imperial staple trade, had no interest in bounties and trade restrictions that protected Imperial commerce and larger traders in
St. John's and Halifax, and no interest in tariffs except as a source of revenue. In fishing in particular, big traders wanted fish bounties paid on the number of quintals exported to the West Indies, while outports fishermen, often smuggling to New England, wanted them paid on the tonnage of fishing vessels.

The prerogatives of the Anglican Church were not a major focus of criticism during this period, as there were not other organizations with churchly pretensions. Its claim to exclusive privileges in the marriage sacrament, however, did impinge upon many and was sharply attacked.

More positively, country people wanted for themselves government policies and expenditures which would facilitate land settlement -- first the easy availability of land grants and the taxation of unimproved lands (Beck 1957:46), and later, road and bridge building grants.

Within the political sphere itself, local representatives also sought rights to initiate money bills and to name commissioners of local works, and payment for their services. The House of Assembly opposed the Governor and Council, in circumstances reminiscent of the pre-revolutionary situation in the thirteen colonies, as political conflicts assumed their most constitutional and ominous guise. This confrontation was most dramatic in New Brunswick, where the Assembly, with steadily increasing opposition strength, came to loggerheads with the Council, especially over defence appropriations and pay for Assemblymen. The conference system for reaching agreement between the two bodies broke down, and public services were halted from 1795 to 1799. (Importers profited, as duties went uncollected but prices were unchanged.) (MacNutt 1965:123-7; MacNutt 1963:104-9).
These issues engendered bitter struggles, manifest in agitational pamphlets, the emergence of popular leaders and even ill-formed parties, elongated and disorderly election periods, and of course in legislative conflicts proper.

Much of this political fray, however, had the aspect of a transitional period, a period of 'nation building,' before the sense of the state's legitimacy and the channels of routine political conflict were established (cf. Lipset 1967). Accommodations between diverse interests had not been worked out, the lines of domination and acquiescence had not been set. The very bitterness of conflicts arose from this lack of definition. Two decades of political battling were required before a settled understanding of the resources and rights of the various parties was possible.

Movements of opposition to the colonial oligarchies representing Imperial rule were intense but not yet solidly based. With certain notable exceptions, attacks were piecemeal and ephemeral. There was not yet a local organization of colonial political or intellectual life which could sustain the articulation of diverse opposition to Imperial authority and its colonial offshoots.

The popular parties that developed, the 'Country Party' in Nova Scotia and the 'Loyal Electors' in Prince Edward Island, were ill-formed, irregular in vote-winning power, shifting in membership and leadership. The means of communication were quite limited. In the New Brunswick of 1818, for example, there were only four or five newspapers, and these were kept thoroughly tame by the danger of being called before the bar of the House for breach of privilege. Most papers didn't even carry local news (Hannay 1897:34-6).
The leaders of opposition in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were transient charismatics, ultimately located within and subject to that Imperial administration and trade which they freely criticized. In Nova Scotia there was Cottnam Tonge, a dissident naval officer, who first achieved prominence with an attempt to democratize militia organization, and was elected to the Assembly in 1800 along with James Fulton of Bass River and Edward Mortimer of Pictou in a successful challenge to the commercial-political combination which had theretofore controlled Halifax County. Governor Wentworth saw Tonge as a man always stirring up discontents and jealousies, blocking the expeditious conduct of the public business (Clark 1959:133-8; Hamilton 1970a:88-92; Ryerson 1960:288-9; Beck 1957:32).

In New Brunswick the main spokesman for the opposition was James Glenie, a Scottish mathematician and member of the Royal Society, who came to New Brunswick to engage in the mast trade, first criticized the Government's military and fortifications policy, and was elected to the House of Assembly from Sunbury County, the centre of the most substantial pre-Loyalist settlement, in 1789. He was a friend of Wentworth, and was appointed Deputy Surveyor of the King's Forests. But for Governor Carleton he had nothing but scorn and criticism, which he freely expressed, even in letters to the Colonial Office (MacNutt 1963:100-4; Clark 1959:158-64; Ryerson 1960:290; MacNaughton 1947:40).

In Prince Edward Island, the outstanding spokesmen for the popular alignment were a schismatic faction within the local class of officials and landlords.

The forces of local opposition, seeking local power, with scanty bases and ill-developed organization, were soon eclipsed. By
the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century, politics in the
two larger colonies was becalmed, by a combination of official con­
cession and repression, with the adventitious arrival of wartime pros­
perity. The constant escheat issue in Prince Edward Island, however,
kept its politics highly charged.
the
To/most troublesome claimants to participation in power, some
concessions were made. The Loyalist ambitions which had contributed
to the pugnacity of Nova Scotian politics at the end of the eighteenth
century were satisfied, both in New Brunswick and later in the original
colony.

Once it became clear, as it did under their patron Wentworth
(1792-1806), that they were not to be denied a reasonable
share of the patronage, constitutional agitation lost most
of its old charm. The cleavage between Loyalists and pre-
Loyalists in the Assembly melted away never to be revived
(Beck 1957:29).

Assemblymen in Nova Scotia won, within the eighteenth century, most
of the privileges of Commons: freedom of speech and action, freedom
from arrest and libel, the control of suffrage and the bases of repre­
sentation, and a per diem payment (Beck 1957:28-9, 48-56). Jockeying
for control over money bills continued somewhat longer, but by 1806,

the greater part of the provincial expenditures came to be
initiated by the Assembly without prior recommendation of
the executive (Beck 1957:56-60, quotation p. 60).

Such compromise surrendered part of the prerogative, but brought peace.
And the military governors who came after 1808 were determined, as the
first of them, Sir George Prevost, put it, to keep up,

that good understanding with the Assembly which so materially
influences its proceedings when acting as one of the branches
of the legislature (Beck 1957:15-16, quotation p. 16).

After the intervention of English officials, a similar compromise
also gave New Brunswick assemblymen both pay and the privilege of initiating
money bills. Justices of the peace in the parishes won increased prerogatives in 1802. (MacNutt 1963:99).

The concession of these powers to the Assemblies was far from revolutionary. The Council maintained its veto. The Governor and Council still controlled all appointments, and used them skillfully as tools of manipulation, even creating dependent cliques in local government through the appointment of Justices of the Peace, School Commissioners, and the like (Beck 1957:37-40). Furthermore, along with compromise there was consistent repression. Attempts at democratic mobilization, even petitions for the redress of grievances, were termed seditious and put down with force of law whenever possible (cf. Clark 1959:158). Rebel leaders were drummed out of the colonies. Tonge, elected Speaker of the Nova Scotian Assembly in 1805, was rejected by Wentworth, in a dubious extension of the prerogative. He was fired as naval officer at Halifax in 1807, and left Nova Scotia the following year. After popular support moved away from the opposition in New Brunswick, Glenie returned to England in 1805, two years after Carleton.

Also, the Napoleonic Wars had pacific effects in the Maritimes. There was an upsurge of wartime patriotism. Certain traditional cleavages were closed by new patterns of wartime trade. In Nova Scotia, the interests of New England and Empire traders were both of strategic importance. In New Brunswick, the timber trade brought together commercial and military-governmental interests. Finally, the prosperity of wartime was a salve for many grievances (MacNutt 1963:102-12, 130; Clark 1959:242-3, 239-41).

There continued to be clashes over trade policy and public expenditures. The continuing rural smuggling and harbouring of deserters
and fugitives can be seen as forms of resistance to central authority. (cf. Clark 1959:241). But the political process was becalmed. Judge Alexander Croke could write of the Nova Scotian political situation in 1808 with arrogant oligarchical confidence:

The internal political state of the province may be comprehended in a few words: the lower House is, as usual, composed principally of farmers, who have a little leaven of American democracy amongst them. They are consequently, as a body, suspicious of government, jealous of their rights, and strongly retentive of the public purse. Little or nothing of party division prevails amongst them. They are not at all under the control or influence, of any individuals, either in, or out, of the House; but the government of the province has always a considerable power over them from its means of bestowing little favours and advantages upon the members and their friends. The Council, consisting principally of His Majesty's officers, is always disposed to second the views of government (quoted in Clark 1959:143-4).

Like their political life, the economic life of the colonies was subject to more complex determinations than the models of aristocratic propriety and order devised by Imperial and Loyalist schemers -- determinations both local and arising from the demands of the Empire. As hinterland to the British metropolis, the colonial economies were significantly defined by their position within the Imperial system. They would be subject to sharp fluctuations of prosperity, following the needs of the British state and economy. They would be subject to remoulding in accordance with their position within a self-transforming capitalist empire. Rather than estates of gentleman-landowners, there developed largely self-sufficient communities of freehold farmers, or of lessees from absentee proprietors in Prince Edward Island. The colonies' commercial life was first depressed and then buoyant in accordance with the circumstances of Empire. And the prosperity that eventually came rested upon extractive industries that were anything but genteel, subverting the society of gentlemanly decorum.
The predominant productive activity, absorbing most of the population, was of course agriculture, and it was mostly conducted by freeholders. British policy on land grants in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick did create a class of substantial landowners, but on a less grandiose scale than Loyalist ambitions. The basic allocation was of 100 acres to each head of family, and 50 acres for each additional family member. Further prerogatives came with military rank: non-commissioned officers received 200 acres, captains 700, field officers 1000 (MacNutt 1965:89-95). Even substantial landowners could not live solely as country gentlemen. Some could afford estates by virtue of having other sources of income, especially official salaries. The mere landowners could find no tenants where freehold land was available. Thus an ex-soldier seeking a further position in the militia wrote to Edward Winslow:

I have made every exertion in my power to make a living by farming but I find it will not do. I find that unless a man does all his business with his own hands he cannot live by it (Winslow 1901:352-3).

The industrious poor jealously watched for idleness in the rich, ready to petition for escheat should circumstances (in New Brunswick, the failure to cultivate six per cent of arable land) permit, but they seldom did so. Gentlemen went to work in the fields. Land speculation ceased when it became apparent that prices would stagnate. In many areas there was but casual regard for property rights. Capital quickly became scarce in rural regions. What actually developed along the St. John River and throughout the rural regions of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island was a series of primitive, largely self-sufficient agricultural communities (cf. Hannay 1897:1-14 for a description of life in rural New Brunswick in the early nineteenth century).
Agricultural prosperity was stunted in its growth in many ways. Critics of a later day would say that farming was too often conducted with minimal intelligence and energy. Especially in New Brunswick, British policies dampened agricultural development. A 1790 ban on further land grants (the British wanted to hold land as a source of future income to offset the expenses of Loyalist settlement) had little impact in Nova Scotia, where most good land had been granted, but it stifled New Brunswick, nine-tenths of whose land was still in the hands of the Crown. This ban was finally ended, after repeated requests, in 1807. Its effects, however, were already clear. In 1803 New Brunswick's population was about 20,000, little changed from the date of its founding. Provincial revenues in 1800 were but £2000 (as compared to £20,000 in Nova Scotia). Imperial land grants policies, and the counterattractions of timbering, would continue to stifle New Brunswick agriculture for several decades (MacNutt 1965:109-10, 127; MacNutt 1963:66-72, 88, 97, 118-23).

The colonies were not places of settlement and cultivation only but had trade from their earliest days. Indeed the fisheries were their original economic raison d'être (Caves and Holton 1959:149). Trade was legally organized upon mercantilist principles, at least partially, until the mid-nineteenth century. In its heydey the mercantilist plan was for a self-sufficient Empire, constituted legally by trade preferences and shipping monopolies. A group of London merchants succinctly described its aims to their colleagues in Quebec in 1776:

The system of Great Britian is to promote a mutual interest by supplying the colonies: with her manufactures, by encouraging them to raise and receiving from them all raw materials,
and by granting the largest extension to every branch of their trade not interfering with her own (quoted in Innis 1954:74).

That Nova Scotian trading interests were located within the Empire was one condition decidedly not conducive to its joining the revolting colonies in the 1770s. Especially in the military bastion of Halifax, 'leading merchants and officials, waxing rich on government contracts, were firmly tied to the Imperial interest' (Ryerson 1960:220). Furthermore as the revolution developed and trade ties were broken between New England and Britain and the West Indies, the Empire trade in Nova Scotia became more important, more lucrative, and more a guarantee of loyalty (MacNutt 1965:76, 80-1; Clark 1959:110-11).

Free trade between the Empire and the United States was briefly considered and then rejected in 1783. Imperial planners rather hoped that the Maritimes would come to supplant New England in the triangular trade, exporting fish, timber, foodstuffs and furs to Great Britain and the West Indies, importing fishing supplies, textiles and manufactured goods from Great Britain, and rum, molasses, and sugar from the West Indies.

This mercantilist programme was not actually fulfilled until given a fillip by war. But as population and production grew, and especially after the Peace of Paris, the ranks of traders were swelled and ready to make the attempt. A second wave of Loyalist migration in the autumn of 1783 included many traders hoping to reap the benefits of the new empire (Ells 1967:47-9; MacNutt 1965:92; MacNutt 1963:34-5). A stratum of small traders emerged as men of little capital moved into the North Atlantic and West Indies commerce, building ships and exporting 'on shares.' There were traders in nearly every coastal settlement (Easterbrook and Aitken 1963:146).
The Maritimes initially could not compete with American shipping. They had too few ships, and their greater distance from the West Indies made for higher freight and insurance rates. They were heavily dependent upon the States for foodstuffs. After the depletion of the most easily accessible stands of trees, they could not even match American timber prices, and they had no oak for staves. In 1791, when New Brunswick sawmills were standing idle, Thomas Carleton began allowing the importation of cheaper American timber into New Brunswick (MacNutt 1963:84). Furthermore British economic policy was an inconstant mercantilism. Concessions of Atlantic fishing rights and western fur trade territory in the Peace of Paris represented strategically a desire to propitiate the Americans, to secure their good will in trade. (cf. MacNutt 1965:86-9). And by the Jay Treaty of 1794, the Navigation Acts were in effect suspended.

The outcome of the productive limitations of the Maritime economies and their failure to secure Imperial-guaranteed trade monopolies was the subordination of their trade to the Americans. Rendezvous with American traders became the central activity of many Maritimers, especially on the Bay of Fundy. Fish, grindstones and plaster of Paris were sold to Americans, who then shipped and resold them, taking the lion's share of profits. Tea, tobacco and sugar were brought in. Much of this activity contravened the Laws of Trade and Navigation; some estimated that up to four-fifths of New Brunswick trade was illegal; but it could not be suppressed. By 1806 the British government was even moving towards a further relaxation of trade restrictions, and New England had virtually taken over the West Indies trade. (On post-revolutionary trade see Easterbrook and Aitken 1963:135-8, 142-7;

Commerce was in bad times and the Imperial tie was slipping. Such trade as there was drained much of the economic surplus to the Americans. New Brunswick especially suffered, for 'in consequence of Imperial policies ocean-going commerce had been destroyed and agriculture languished' (MacNutt 1963:97). Edward Winslow wrote in a despairing humour in 1807 about his son's training for a mercantile occupation:

> Unless I sent him to the United States (and I'd as soon send him to the Devil) there appears to be no field for speculation in his own profession. In the present situation of this province the whole trade of it would not give bread to five men of ambition (Winslow 1901:351).

Even officialdom in New Brunswick went into a decline. Guy and Thomas Carleton fell into disfavour. When Britain entered war with France in 1793, Halifax regained some of its former eminence as a naval base. Edward, Duke of Kent, came there and assumed command of Maritime troops. Fredericton lost two regiments and their pay (MacNutt 1965:130-31; MacNutt 1936:94-6, 112-3). Although Nova Scotia was in better circumstances, still trade was missed there. The Halifax Committee of Trade sent R.J. Uniacke to Britain in 1804, to appeal for the exclusive privilege of supplying the West Indies with fish.

A reversal of this commercial subordination and ill fortune came about in the first decade of the nineteenth century, due in part to the eccentricities of the American government's commercial strategy, and in part to the contingencies of the British economy in wartime. Prosperity came to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and the foundations were laid for the economic activity of the next half-century.
The first change was a movement of Maritime traders into dominance in ocean-going commerce, and the subordination of New England traders. British appeasement of the Americans in trade ended in 1806, with the payment of bounties on fish exported from the Maritimes to the West Indies. In consequence fish exports increased dramatically, the convoy system for trade protection was improved, and insurance rates fell. The ocean-going commerce of the Maritimes was also encouraged by the relaxation of British restrictions on colonial shipping in the Mediterranean (MacNutt 1963:144-6). But the actual ascendancy of Maritime traders over New Englanders arose out of the policies of the American government, which in 1808 imposed two acts in restriction of trade, responding to the Napoleonic and British blockades of neutral shipping. The Non-Importation Act closed off British imports, and the Embargo Act barred all American shipping to foreign ports. But the British still wanted the American market, and needed American raw materials and goods, and so encouraged expansion of the illicit trade, declared a large number of goods legally admissible to the Maritimes, and opened specified ports -- Halifax, Shelburne, St. John, and later St. Andrews -- to neutral shipping. The resultant trans-shipping was illegal from the American point of view, but was freely engaged in by New England traders who, injured by the Jeffersonian blunder, resorted to smuggling in self-protection. British woolens and hardware went to the United States; salted provisions, flour, and naval stores returned. The illicit trade was highly lucrative, and Maritime commerce boomed within two years. New Brunswick's trade with the West Indies increased threefold between 1807 and 1808.

Nova Scotia and New Brunswick not only became centres of a
vast contraband trade, but they acquired connections with the British West Indies which could never have existed without the enforced withdrawal of the United States (W.S. Graham, *Sea Power and British North America*, 216, quoted in MacNaughton 1947:61).


Accidents of war and international diplomacy also drove the Maritime timber trade. Timber extraction was not substantially developed after the revolution, because of relatively high labour and freight costs. The trade in masts for the British navy did develop somewhat, although Canada was a more important source. But in 1807 Britain suddenly found itself deprived of Baltic timber by the Napoleonic blockade. It responded in the same year by placing tariffs on Baltic timber, to encourage the British North American timber trade by guaranteeing its profitability. These tariffs were later increased in 1809, and again in 1810. The volume of the timber trade exploded. Between 1807 and 1815 exports of timber from New Brunswick increased from 14,000 loads (of 50 cubic feet) to 93,000 loads; in the latter year Nova Scotia exported 19,000 loads. British and American capitalists were attracted to the industry. There was a credit boom, rents and wages rose, construction flourished. Farmers and fishermen, especially in New Brunswick, took to the woods on a rampage of timber extraction (Easterbrook and Aitken 1963:187-96; MacNutt 1965:136-9; MacNutt 1963:141-43, 149-57; MacNaughton 1947:61-2).

Trade expansion also brought a boom in shipbuilding, which would continue in importance for most of the century. New Brunswick specialized in vessels for Britain and Europe, Nova Scotia in smaller ships for the coastal trade (Caves and Holton 1959:151).
The economic transformations of the Napoleonic era brought unprecedented prosperity to the entire Maritime area. Commerce flourished, timbering developed, even agriculture benefited as a growing market raised prices. But prosperity was fragile, liable to fade along with the accidents of warfare and trade restriction that had temporarily reconstituted a self-enclosed British Empire. And prosperity was far from genteel, based largely upon a contraband trade and a rapacious resource extraction.

In New Brunswick especially the new economic life formed an overpowering contrast with decorous Loyalist images. Timber-cutting was indiscriminate. Square timbering left a wasted third of the tree in the forest, as a fire hazard. There was no replanting. Governmental control disintegrated due to corruption and lack of information, such that,

...for a dozen years altogether, when the timber trade was settling its grip on the life and habits of thought of the people of New Brunswick, there was no effective law governing the activities of those engaged in it (MacNutt 1963:154).

Farmers and fishermen were enticed into the relatively lucrative endeavour of timber-cutting. Agricultural societies were formed, in attempts to break the province's dependence on imported foodstuffs, but without success. Lumbermen led uproarious lives; intemperance was a widely acknowledged evil. 'Liquor was as much a staple article for use in the woods as was pork or flour' (Hannay 1897:41). There were recognized problems of disorder among immigrants, but Governor Archibald Campbell felt constrained not to restrict immigration in the face of manpower needs of farms and lumber mills.
Whatever was left of the Loyalist image of a well-appointed, graded society of gentry whose eminence was based on the ownership of land, supported by a disciplined yeomanry, quickly disappeared. Church-wardens and magistrates, most men of capital, shared in the great enterprise of the timber trade (MacNutt 1965:139).

(MacNutt 1963:141-3, 149-54; Hannay 1897:37-41; MacNaughton 1947:72-6).

Let us now consider the relevance of learning to this variegated political and economic activity, and the relevance of this activity to the forms of learning that existed.

The possession of knowledge or learning was seen by the men of the day as relevant to political practice in both instrumental and ideological ways — in both regards as primarily useful to those who were predominant in the state. It contributed to legal and administrative abilities, which were requisite to the routine operation of government. The sophistication of the abilities required would have been markedly greater for those members and friends of the oligarchy who filled the provincial offices, than for the representatives whose primary interest was in pork-barreling for the division of road and bridge revenues. Popular leaders who were evidently too politically astute and organizationally capable were driven out.

Learning was also useful to the oligarchy in less direct ways, as background to the concrete practices of state operation. The bearing, accent, and allusion of the learned man served him as one of the marks of aristocratic distinctiveness, one of the proofs of the social superiority of those who held themselves by right to be politically dominant. Conversely, the lack of learning among most people served to justify their exclusion from such political dominance. The
epithet of ignorance, that is, was used to draw exclusive boundaries around the universe of political legitimacy. Let us consider two appearances.

The first election in New Brunswick (1788) was virulent, with nearly universal male suffrage, in which Loyalist agents were attacked and the American practice of legislative check on executive actions was advocated. It was an election, said the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) missionary Jacob Bailey, 'in consequence of which arise contention, quarrels, broken heads and bloody noses' (quoted in Saunders 1902:102). After the arrest of some opposition figures and the disqualification of a large number of voters, a Loyalist and relatively conservative majority filled the Assembly (Wallace 1921:82-3; Clark 1959:156-7; MacNutt 1963:59-63). Thereafter Gregory Townsend in Halifax sent his congratulations to the leading Loyalist figure Ward Chipman:

It must be better for any country, old or new, to have their public concerns conducted by men of science and principle, rather than illiterate or bad men of any class (quoted in Clark 1959:157).

In Prince Edward Island, Governor Joseph F.W. DesBarres, writing in 1805 about and against the 1797 Assembly which had passed resolutions seeking the escheat and regranting of unsettled lands, said it was 'composed of illiterate country people no better than the cottagers in Great Britain' (quoted in Bolger 1973:78). Thus literacy was identified with political capability or goodness.

This use of learning in constituting an exclusive domain of political discourse was two-pronged. Not only did the charge of ignorance work to cut various segments of the local society out of political participation, but then also a realm of learning was created
which either dominated or excluded them. As we shall see later, the early Anglican Church and colleges were initially conceived as an apparatus for the dissemination of an ideology of generalized obedience. Requirements for participation in the college were rendered such as to exclude those not tied (ecclesiastically) to the ruling order. Now, the extent to which men active in political ruling actually saw such a need of a ruling ideology and an exclusive institution of learning, is an open question. The evidence is mixed. But there certainly were learned men anxious to provide them.

Within the actual practices of production and exchange, there had not occurred a differentiation between persons and knowledge concerned with the abstract, and persons and knowledge concerned with matters immediately palpable and concrete. There was no separation in organization of those who know from those who do. Consequently there was no basis within these activities of production and exchange for the constitution of a distinctly practiced knowledge.

Locally conducted production was often a casually organized, rapacious extraction of available natural wealth. Independent farmers, fishermen, and woodsmen, scattered respectively through fertile inland areas, in coastal settlement, and along rivers, extracted produce from the environment. Women did parts of this work as well as the work of maintaining homes. And all this activity was complemented by some craftsmen, for example blacksmiths and shipmakers.

Within this directly productive activity there was no technically conducted labour. Even at its most sophisticated, say in shipbuilding, labour relied upon a relatively simple 'know-how,' skills which could be passed on from experienced worker to novice within their daily
routines. There was no sophisticated technology, no application of scientific knowledge, and no codified administrative procedures. (There was, to be sure, a developing cash market, with its own decisive abstractness!)

The direct producers themselves often used what they produced, or bartered it to meet other needs. However they also could become traders themselves. Or they could sell their produce to local traders for circulation in the North Atlantic coastal region from Boston to St. John's. Or they could sell it to relatively large scale commercial capitalists for shipping to England or the West Indies.

Even the largest of these trading enterprises were entrepreneurial, operated by their owners. They did not have broad organizational structures, to co-ordinate diverse activities. Production and trade were separate -- even in timbering, where cutting and rafting were done by small independent operators. And these enterprises did not use formally elaborated procedures of accounting and control.

The locally conducted production and exchange then did not require, but they did affect, learning. Those Imperial imports, the refined and educated sensibilities of the gentlemen, the dreams of decorous aristocracy, were lost in a milieu of frontier poverty combined with the rapacious wealth of international commerce. Places of learning would correspondingly take on more and more the aspect of enclaves or retreats.

It needs too to be said, and not least, that the surplus from production was essential to provide for distinct institutions of knowledge. Only those who could afford to pause from labour could become students. And colleges themselves relied upon substantial grants of money, much
from the Imperial treasury, but also from the local wealthy, from tariff
duties in Nova Scotia, and from Crown Lands, that is, timber, revenues
in New Brunswick.

Finally, to look slightly ahead, the small trade and slowly
developing agriculture were creating interests based within local
communities which would in time demand both places of education and a
participation in political power, in opposition to oligarchical domination of both. Those interests would prove most strong in Nova Scotia, where agricultural development could proceed relatively unobstructed by the restrictions on land ownership that hampered development in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, and by the timber trade that distracted farmers in New Brunswick.
CHAPTER II

IDEOLOGY AND COLLEGE
IN IMPERIAL RULE

There was a separation of knowledge from other activity, its making into a distinct endeavour. We must consider a specific institution of knowledge, with its own aims and lines of organization (its own 'functional autonomy') and the concrete practices by which knowledge was conducted, within production and politics as their situation. In this regard the 'situation of knowledge' came to be a problem for the thought and practice of those who aspired to conduct knowledge within the society, as well as the problematic of the present study.

Those concerned to conduct knowledge were clearly located within and oriented towards that portion of the society which could be termed superstructural, where there was a differentiation of persons and knowledge concerned with the formalized and abstract. The learned
professions, what Addison called the 'three professions of divinity, law and physic,' what Coleridge labelled the 'clerisy,' did utilize a high knowledge or had practitioners conversant with it.

The application of an intellectual technique to the ordinary business of life, acquired as the result of prolonged and specialized training, is the chief distinguishing characteristic of the professions (Carr-Saunders and Wilson 1933:491).

The professions dealt with the boundaries of human social existence, between life and death, order and social disorder, the mundane and the transcendant. The limits of life -- bodily, political, and cosmological -- were made the preserves of specialized abstract activity. It was largely in relation to these preserves of activity that the knowledge of the society took its bearings. To locate knowledge within the society in another way, we could say that it was implicated in or informed not the direct activities of production and exchange, but rather the production of the preconditions of that direct activity, bodily health, orderly social process, the sense of meaning.

The practice of medicine dealt with persons at the limits of their corporeal existence, when threatened by injury or disease.

The practice of law, extending into political domination generally, undertook the societal definition and enforcement of right and obligation. It defined criminal activity, that beyond the limits of public order, and punished violators. The state in general enforced contracts and arbitrated disputes over them. It attempted to regulate and limit the flow of trade, collecting tariffs on some goods, granting bounties to some others, restricting the origins of imports and the destinations of exports. It organized and allocated a part of the available societal wealth to 'public' uses, matters of some common concern not dealt with by individuals or by capitalist firms, such as roads, schools, and the support of the destitute.
The practice of the ministry also was concerned with points of transition in human life. The minister dealt ritually and symbolically with birth, marriage, and death. He worked at the limits of social life, offering consolation and encouragement, moral guidance and reprimand. He aimed to define and exercise the relationship of human beings to all that transcends and grounds willful, conscious human activity, conducting a communal expression of sacred experience. Within a developed church, these ritual and declamatory practices were specifically invested in a priestly-ministerial office, within an organizational structure. They were conducted within a defined doctrine—a collective cosmology, an explanation of evil and a definition of good, an understanding of history.

No systematic information on the careers of college graduates is available for the early nineteenth century, but the predominance of careers in the clerisy is attested by numerous accidental traces. A typical rhetorical device for demonstrating the value of a college was the appropriation of the distinguished careers of its students as its accomplishment. The careers thus named for the earliest Maritime colleges were in the clerisy, with the military sometimes added, with their high standing stressed. Thus the biography of William Cochran, probably the first college teacher in British North America, attests to his character:

Many of the young men who participated in his instructions have risen to eminence...many distinguished persons, divines, physicians and lawyers in divers places (Cochran 1954:81).

King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia, was said by its first historian (in 1865) to have sent forth graduates to fill 'positions in Church, the legislative bodies, the bench, the bar...the army, the navy, and other honourable professions....' (T.C. Akins, quoted in Vroom 1941:55).
Irregularly available quantitative information supports
and more closely defines this picture. The King's College Windsor Board
of Governors, writing the Colonial Secretary in 1835, enumerated the
careers taken up by its graduates since its chartering in 1802:
53 clergymen, 56 in the legal profession, 10 physicians, and 39 in
the army or navy or without professions (Hind 1890:82).

The practitioners of law and medicine were often if not
always 'educated' men, not merely skilled technicians. In addition to
the specialized knowledge applied in their work, such men likely boasted
a general classical education. These professions, however, did not bring
about the formation of colleges in the colony. The special training
required for them did not demand the presence of institutions of higher
education. It could be acquired through apprenticeship, or at proprie-
tary schools (operated by established professionals for profit), or at
foreign universities. Furthermore many of the earliest practitioners
of these professions had received their training in England, Scotland,
or the United States. Desirable as a broad liberal education might
be, it was not essential to the conduct of the professions. Even had
they wished, neither physicians nor lawyers were so organized as to be
able to mobilize the resources necessary to the formation and operation
of a college.

Clergymen were preeminently the learned, schooled profession.
Colleges were preeminently priestly. The earliest English schools were
church schools. Knowledge had had ecclesiastical ties for centuries.
Clergymen required a general literary culture, but also a specific
religious knowledge, including, e.g., theology and homiletics. This
religious knowledge further rested on the esoteric basis of classical languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, required for the study of Biblical sources. These languages, the dogmas, and formalized church rituals, could most easily be transmitted in a formal educational process specifically intended to do so. At any rate they were so transmitted.

The Church of England was the first English-speaking church in the northern colonies to have a developed organizational structure, linking individual congregations, with a fixed hierarchy. And the Church of England produced the first effective demand for colleges. More particularly, the need for clergymen possessing a formalized higher knowledge was the expressed motivation for the founding of the earliest colonial institutions of higher education, the King's Colleges of Windsor and Fredericton. A supply of clergymen from the British Isles proved inadequate to the colonial Church in quantity or quality or both, so that a local college for the training of clergy proved necessary. The Church's organizational resources and its links to the colonial state enabled the meeting of this need.

The connection between Anglican clergymen and colonial rule was inextricably involved both in the formation of the Anglican colleges and in their rationales and aims. The Church of England was tied in many matters of organization and finance to the state, after the manner of the linkage of the English Church and state. The collegiate arms of the Church of England were explicitly conceived as providing a knowledge (learning, images of society, a disciplining of self) supportive of Imperial ruling. This learning was intended to protect youth from the evils of republican doctrine, and, through the Church, to insure
LEAP 83 OMITTED IN PAGE NUMBERING.
popular loyalty. The college and knowledge of the Church of England were thought as elements of an ideological apparatus, an arm of the state.

The Anglican Church and colleges fit into an authoritative universe of discourse of ruling. The existence of a higher knowledge supported by the political dominance of an Anglican oligarchy was also supportive of that oligarchy, as an element of the authoritative universe of discourse. This universe of discourse was constituted in a set of terms for the comprehension of the society. Those terms enabled the invalidation or discrediting of all discourse but that originating within the colonial oligarchies -- with the epithets of 'ignorance,' 'fanaticism,' 'levelling,' and the 'democratic spirit.'

To summarize, higher education in the colonies was initially an element of religious organization and practice. It was so justified -- statements of the uses and value of learning were made in religious phraseology. And it was so organized -- the formation and operation of colleges occurred under religious auspices. The relationship of the society, or an individual in it, to its higher knowledge, was organizationally mediated through the Church, of which the college was the creation and preserve. The Church's enterprise of knowledge, however, was also tied to the state. Its legitimation and aims had as a major focus the consolidation of Imperial rule. The resources which supported it flowed through the channels of the Imperial and colonial state. Its product of knowledge legitimated the dominance of those who possessed it. Church and state were the joint organizational agents of the institutionalization of knowledge. And so -- and that is to say -- the history of the organization of knowledge is filled with both ecclesiastical and political detail.
The activity of the Church of England was inherently political even in the pre-revolutionary period. Its ministrations were extended along with the extension of British military power and sponsored settlement, to Annapolis Royal in 1712, to Halifax where St. Paul's Church was erected in 1750, then to Lunenburg and Cumberland. In Prince Edward Island there were Anglican services from about 1770. (Ervin 1967: 150-1). By 1783 there were seven Anglican missionaries and ministers in Nova Scotia; by 1793, 18 in Nova Scotia and 10 in New Brunswick (Saunders 1902:39-41, 45-6).

Colonial missionary activity was sponsored by Church societies, independent of the regular ecclesiastical structure: the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK), formed in 1698, active chiefly in England and India until the nineteenth century; and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), formed in 1701, most active in North America (Netten 1969:vi-ix).

It has been said that during the pre-revolutionary period, Religion and clergymen served fundamentally as servants of the state. Anglican missionaries especially were directed by the politicians for what were essentially political ends (Bumsted 1967:43).

The mechanism through which this political direction occurred was the local Corresponding Committee of the SPG, which consisted of the provincial Governor, Chief Justice, and Secretary. Both this local political leadership and SPG officials in England hoped religion to be useful in securing the loyalty of a various and unruly population (Bumsted 1967:44-5).

Early Imperial Instructions and local legislation sealed the Church of England to the colonial state. Initial Crown Instructions to
the Governors of Nova Scotia, Cape Breton Island, Prince Edward Island, and New Brunswick, directed the provision of glebe lands for the Church, and the reading of the Book of Common Prayer on official occasions. Each province, soon after receiving its own legislature, also passed statutes making the Church of England the established church, and providing glebe lands or grants for clerical stipends and church buildings. Such legislation was passed in Nova Scotia in 1758, in New Brunswick in 1786, in Cape Breton Island in 1791, and in Prince Edward Island in 1802.

The domination of the Church of England was, however, never total. The Royal Instructions had also directed permission of 'a liberty of conscience to all persons so they may be contented with a quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the same, not giving offense or scandal to the government' (quoted in Netten 1969:41). Liberty of worship was also guaranteed at the time of the Nova Scotian establishment, and was specifically announced in the proclamation of Governor Lawrence inviting New England immigrants in 1759. (On the Church's early ministrations and its establishment, see Carrington 1963:31-7; Netten 1969:18-19; Ervin 1967:150-51, 165; Saunders 1902:104).

Such guarantees of religious liberty were made for the benefit of the sizable non-Anglican population of the North American colonies. The Acadians were Roman Catholic. With the New Englanders had come the Congregational church, which, with about ten ministers, provided religious leadership to the outsettlements. However, 'with the disturbance of the revolution the formal organization of Congregationalism rapidly disintegrated' (Clark 1959:71). Its ministers were suspected of subversion, and most left Nova Scotia, not to be replaced. It was
largely succeeded by the Newlight movement, an evangelical salvation religion propagated by itinerant preachers, the first and foremost of whom was Henry Alline, who felt his call to preach the Gospel in 1775. The Newlight evangelism was 'a completely indigenous development which owed something to broad eighteenth century currents, but was not directly influenced by New England revivalism' (Netten 1969:52).

The movement has been seen to have had an implicitly revolutionary character, 'a great mass movement of social protest,' a movement which provided Maritime villages with a religious life independent both of New England and of Imperial authority (Clark 1959:71-2; quotation p. 71). A similar itinerant preaching was conducted by Methodists, beginning in 1781 with William Black. With the Scottish and Irish immigrations in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries there came Presbyterians and more Roman Catholics.

There were clear conflicts between the Anglicans and the competing evangelicals, whose popularity was distressing. Anglican clergymen opposed a mode of religious practice which was beyond Church control and counter to Church conceptions of hierarchy. Anglicans also deemed evangelicals both subversive and ignorant -- thus beginning a long tradition of political and intellectual denunciation of evangelicals by men of the churches. In 1776 the SPG Rev. W. Ellis reported from Windsor:

The fanaticism of this country will never produce heroes, like Barebones and his fellows, it is sly and selfish, and a piece of that levelling principle which pervades this whole continent, as they are impatient of superiority in rank and condition, so they are offended that men should be sent on purpose to instruct them, who are all wise and learned in their own opinion (quoted in Clark 1959:73).

The atmosphere of religious hostility is also apparent in a revolutionary
era disagreement over Anglican strategy for dealing with dissenters. In 1775 the SPG Corresponding Committee recommended that all missionaries be recalled to Halifax, and that the teachers of the SPG shift from rudimentary education in remote areas to a seminary at Windsor. This was proposed,

for the best service of the Established Church in this province, in avoiding all controversy with the inhabitants of different persuasions, and provoking them to disgust and animosities by continuing missionaries however highly worthy (Bumsted 1967:47).

The SPG did not support the local Committee, which was dissolved two years later (cf. Netten 1969:83-6).

Planning done for the second British North American Empire by Loyalists and Imperial officials included extensive attention to matters of religion. This planning has already been considered above, especially with regard to economic organization and the aspirations of the ruling oligarchy. It was in the ideological and political realms, (of external origins and so relatively insulated from purely local circumstances) that the most elaborate thought and the most extensive practical preparation were done on behalf of the oligarchical ambition.

Some Imperial officials were actively concerned with the development of political and ideological forms in which the conditions that had encouraged revolt in the thirteen colonies would not be repeated. It was the common view that there had been an excess of democracy, and the political forms allowed the remaining colonies were quite limited.

The Church figured as a central link in the Loyalist and Imperial planning. William Knox held that colonial forms and institutions
of all kinds should be closely assimilated to their English counterparts, to seal the permanent attachment of the colonies to the Mother country. In particular he saw the Church of England as an instrument of Imperial administration, with the parish church as a rallying point for the King's subjects, and he thought that Church establishment would be 'the most effectual means of excluding republicans, and drawing the Episcopalian out of the revolted colonies into our own, and establishing an everlasting barrier between them.' (Knox consequently complained angrily at the establishment of episcopates in the United States.) (Fingard 1967:476-7, quotation p. 477; MacNutt 1963:42-6).

In New York the 'militant Tory clergy' among the Loyalists argued loudly that civil disobedience in the revolting colonies had been encouraged by the absence of correct religious principles. The politically exiled preachers knew that their fate was not God's way (MacNutt 1965:104-5). Eighteen of these clergymen, including prominently Charles Inglis, later first Bishop of Nova Scotia, drew up plans for an episcopate for the province, and for a 'religious and literary institution:' (Reproduced in full in Hamilton 1970a:339-42; also cf. Harris 1937:109-10; Hind 1890:5-6; Cochran 1954:75 n. 32; Fingard 1967:478). The plan argued that the ministrations of the Church would be required to retain the loyalty of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia.

It is a point of great importance in civil society that the people should be attached to the state by means of its religion, for where they find that proper attention is paid to their spiritual concerns by their governors, they will have a stronger affection for that government than if they were left destitute of all religious instruction but such as they could provide for themselves.

The plan also emphasized that a colonial organization for the Church would be necessary to procure a sufficient supply of clergymen; English
sources could not be relied upon, because of the danger and cost of the trans-Atlantic voyage. Furthermore,

A public seminary, academy or college should, without delay, begin to be instituted at the most centrical part of the province (suppose at Windsor) consisting at first of a public grammar school for classical and other branches of education conducted by a teacher of approved abilities, temper, judgment and sound morals...living in the communion of the Church of England.*

Guy Carleton transmitted the plan to Lord North, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and urged its approval. He wrote on the views of Nova Scotian Loyalist immigrants (over-estimating the number of Anglicans) that,

by far the greater part of the new settlers, gone and going to that province appear from good information to be members of the Church of England, whose inclination in favour of this appointment seems not to admit of any doubt (quoted in Fingard 1967:479).

There had been discussion of the formation of a North American bishopric on numerous occasions, but this had never been done. Lord North decided in 1783 to approve the Nova Scotian bishopric, but his ministry fell before action could be taken. The issue was not considered again until 1786, when extensive rediscussion took place. Inglis was in England from 1784 to 1787, where he continued to advocate the formation of the episcopate. The plan was also supported in an influential pamphlet of 1786, 'Thoughts on the Establishment of the Church in Nova Scotia,' written by Dr. Shute Barrington, Bishop of Salisbury and later of Durham. This recommended that grammar schools and a college be

* The formation of a seminary or collegiate school at Windsor had been advocated as early as 1770 by the SPG Corresponding Committee (Thomas 1964:30-2). But the 1783 plan is the earliest document directly linked to the actual establishment of King's College Windsor.
established in Nova Scotia with an immediate view to the education of candidates for the ministry. (Harris 1937:110; Vroom 1941:12). In August 1787, six months after the consecration of two American Bishops, the Nova Scotian bishopric was approved. The Bishop chosen, after great political manoeuvering, was Charles Inglis* (Fingard 1967:475-6, 480-8; Carrington 1963:31-46).

Within an ideological apparatus, images and idealized views exist not as a contingent addition to daily life, a decoration, justification, or solution to conflict, but as the substance of work itself. Images are the product of the ideological apparatus. When one enters into that apparatus, images become the preeminent reality. At this point let us turn to those images, to the abstract terms in which Imperial ruling, including the Church's place within it, was thought, and some of the relations of those terms to their setting.

The Church of England was intended to serve as an ideological support of the stability and loyalty of an Imperially centred social order. As the social order in general defined the conditions of life, so the Church was to define the conditions of religious experience. It was to propagate religious belief which would provide for a generalized obedience and submission. The Church was Erastian in doctrine and practice, used for reasons of state. The products of the Church were the ceremony, ritual and doctrine of solidarity. The Erastian doctrine emphasized the moral and spiritual unity of society as embedded in the state.

*Inglis was born in Ireland, educated at Trinity College, Dublin, went to preach in Delaware in 1757, became a Governor of King's College New York in 1770, Curate of Trinity Church New York in 1775 and Rector in 1777.
Knowledge as a whole was likewise thought to be unitary and hegemonic in its contents and effects. It was insisted that all ideological and religious practice and ideas should be tied to the unity of the society that existed in its ruling.

No available documents indicate how an Anglican minister addressed concrete topics: work, trade, marriage, children, entertainment, intoxication. But we can see that at that level of discourse which presented an abstract image of the nature of the societal order, there was a fusion of religious orthodoxy, political loyalty, and social order. As a converse there was a fusion of religious dissent, political levelling or subversion, and social chaos. The pervasive abstractness of this Anglican discourse mirrors the Church's actual relation to the society -- as an object to be mastered in the name of political principle, and as a potential locus or origin of overwhelming evil.

A sermon of John Strachan, the first Anglican Bishop of Upper Canada, contained an elaborate presentation of this image of society in which religion and politics were integral.

A love of order is not only essential to the tranquillity but to the very being of any state. It becomes the foundation of mutual faith and confidence and security. When we behold an indifference to the observation of the laws and a restless diligence to evade them, a want of reverence to magistrates and superiors, a disrespect to stations, offices, ranks and orders of persons, a contempt for the experience of the wise grow upon the minds of the generality of men and appear through all their actions, when we perceive an absolute independence, in public and private conduct affected and encouraged; a general forwardness, self-sufficiency, presumption and licentiousness cultivated, commended and propagated through the different classes of the people we may consider these as symptoms fatal to the true liberty of that country.... To prevent these evils a love of order becomes necessary, by which we are induced to conform to the laws and to promote the welfare of the community. To give steadiness and effect to this love of
order we must call in the aid of religion, which is the only firm and lasting foundation upon which the tranquillity and security of a people can be strengthened.... Free government and true religion secure a modest deference to superior wisdom and virtue, a willing submission to just authority, a sense of due subordination, a reverence for the laws, a lover of order and good government. (quoted in Masters 1964:56-7).

The political functions of religion were marked in this sermon by the clear naming of the disorder that both state and Church confront, as manifestations of order. The terms of obedience appear recurrently: conformity to law, deference, submission to authority, subordination, reverence for law. Religion and the love of order were virtually equivalent in their significance for societal peace. A 'love of order' was the 'foundation of mutual faith and confidence and security.' Likewise 'religion' was the 'foundation' of 'tranquillity and security.'

This equivalence of religion and order was also enunciated by Charles Inglis. Consider a sermon which he delivered before the Nova Scotian legislature, on news of the outbreak of war between Britain and France, in 1792. His text was 'My son, fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with those that are given to change! (Fingard 1968:251; MacNutt 1965:124; Hamilton 1970a:33). He said:

Government and religion are therefore the pillars...on which society rests, and by which it is upheld; remove these, and the fabric sinks into ruin.... There is a close connection between the duty which we owe to God, and the duty we owe to the King, and to others in authority under him. So intimate is this connection that they can scarcely be separated. Whoever is sincerely religious towards God, from principle and conscience, will also, from principle and conscience, be loyal to his earthly sovereign, obedient to the laws and faithful to the government which God hath placed over him.

Inglis depicted his society through an architectural metaphor; Church and state stood in equivalent positions as the pillars of society. Govern-
ment and religion were abstracted from out of society in order to hold it up. A person related to the one pillar as to the other: whoever was religious would also be loyal.

Given the equivalence of Church and state it followed that religious dissent and political subversion would also be intertwined. Inglis wrote in a letter of 1799:

...experience has uniformly evinced that fanaticism leads directly to infidelity; and that it has a malignant influence on the principles of even those who have not been drawn into its vortex.... Fanatics are impatient under civil restraint, and run into the democratic system. They are for levelling every thing both sacred and civil (quoted in Fingard 1968:250).

To the Duke of Kent Inglis wrote in 1800 that 'levelling, republican principles -- the epidemic evil and disorder of the times' -- were particularly prevalent among the Newlight sect and the Antiburgher dissenters from the Church of Scotland. These same views of dissent were held by political figures, who might diffusely impute evil motives to those who stood outside orthodox Loyalism in any regard. (Ells 1967:51). Thus Lt.-Gov. Wentworth of Nova Scotia wrote the Secretary of State in 1801 that members of the Newlight sect were 'acting under the wicked influence of democratic, foreign anarchists' (quoted in Clark 1948:79).

This mode of political thinking, this Erastian ideology, derived of course from England, where the Church was largely subordinated to the state, especially in the eighteenth century, where the Bishop was an official of the state, where Church and state had long been intertwined in organizational aims. The cursing of republicanism followed the style of reaction that was prevalent in the English ideological sphere after the American and French revolutions. But this
thought was distilled into a more venomous form within the circumstances of Loyalist emigration and settlement, and within the conduct of colonial rule. The prominence of political oppositions in Erastian thought was heightened.

While the Loyalist thousands sat in New York, waiting for the outcome of the war and the determination of their own lives, ideological discourse flourished. There was an active press and clergy, and extensive pamphleteering. Much of this ideological discourse, as described above, concerned the rightness of the Loyalist cause and the recompense which Loyalists rightly deserved. There was also much interest in the production of a demonology, an explanation of the evil forces that had made for dire Loyalist straits. Loyalists would have had that embittered argumentative fervour of exiles from a revolution, crushing by action of speech what they could not crush by action of arms, creating a righteous politics of the imagination which multiplied conceptions of wickedness. Levelling and the absence of established religion were the archdemons.

This mood of exiles continued through the Loyalist settlement of the Maritime colonies themselves, making for a lasting aversion to things American, and a certain realistic fear of the dangers of change.

Those who have had to flee in order to save cherished traditions from the irreverent hands of iconoclasts are apt to think forever after in terms of those traditions -- in fact tradition itself becomes a fetish, and desire for change is damned as blasphemy and treason (MacNaughton 1947:35).

In the actual pluralist and highly conflictual circumstances of the new British North American colonies, ideological spokesmen for the colonial ruling oligarchy continued to interpret their situation in terms of evil politico-religious principles, and their Erastian correction.
In the same manner, thinkers of the now diminished Empire, concerned
with the preservation of tradition in the service of colonial domination,
thought it necessary to create an ideological separation of the remain­
ing British colonies from the American states.

Strachan's list of rampant evils -- indifference to law, want
of reverence to rank, a contempt for the wise, the cultivation of
independence, presumption and licentiousness -- is a description of
political circumstances that was rendered by a righteous member of the
colonial oligarchy at a time when oligarchical control was widely
challenged. For decades members of the oligarchy held a deep and
abiding fear of anything resembling democracy. Any attempt to limit
arbitrary power was taken as a portent of revolution (cf. Clark 1959:
235-6). This denunciation of republicanism, indeed of any political
outspokenness on the part of persons outside the oligarchical framework,
was a continuing part of the interpretive apparatus of oligarchs with
a realistic fear of the development of democracy within the colonies
they continued to rule.

There were optimistic Imperial hopes for Anglican religious
hegemony. In early oligarchical circles it was a commonly expressed
hope that, although the colonies were religiously pluralistic, time
and circumstance would secure the ascendancy of the Church. SPG mission­
aries, paid by London, could assure settlers that their religious ser­
vices would be provided at no cost. It was often remarked by dissenters
and Churchmen alike that this could result in a shift of loyalty to the
wrote in this vein to the Secretary of State in 1768, concerning the
prospects of Church and Crown:
...the settlers are generally of various persuasions, some of whom are replete with republican principles, and unless government place proper clergymen among them before they are able to support teachers of their own, it will be difficult to inculcate proper sentiments of subordination to government (quoted in Clark 1948:6).

The 1783 plan for the episcopate urged the provision of ministers in much the same terms:

The inhabitants of that country are, and those that shall in future go thither as settlers, will be made up of people of various religious persuasions. If the service of the Church be made the most convenient for them by supplying them with ministers as fast as they are wanted, they will almost universally become members of the Church, and under its influence will be more strongly attached to the British government that they would be under any other mode of worship (quoted in Hamilton 1970a:339-42).

Further, Inglis wrote hopefully in 1788: 'Were this diocese once supplied with a set of respectable, active clergymen, we should have few dissenters in a little time' (quoted in Clark 1948:75).

This Anglican strategy and hope for ascendancy, which continued to be expressed into the nineteenth century, was common throughout the colonies: minister to the religious needs of the people before they can do so for themselves, and thereby win their conformity.* Such was the aspiration. The actual conduct of the ideological apparatus that propagated the Erastian ideology, however, was fraught with difficulties -- both in Church organization and in the life of the society whose ideological domination the Church sought.

What existed in Nova Scotia was 'an experiment in limited

* The Bishop of Quebec wrote that although the majority of Upper Canadian settlers were dissenters of various descriptions, if a proper number of ministers of the Church of England be sent amongst them, before each sect shall become able to provide ministers of its own, they will to a man conform to that Church (quoted in Clark 1948:91-2).

And John Strachan as late as 1820 maintained: It appears that if no prospect be held out to support their clergy at the expence of government the greater portion of the different denominations will in a few years conform (quoted in Clark 1948:105).
episcopacy! (Fingard 1967:488). Even conservative-oligarchical planning had not envisioned a form of establishment that would uproot the traditional rights of other religious groups and of political officials. The 1783 New York plan proposed only actions,

> which we humbly conceive can neither interfere with the interests rights or privileges of any religious denomination whatever, which we by no means wish to be prevented or infringed (quoted in Netten 1969:48).

William Knox maintained that civil powers for the Bishop would only 'create jealousy and opposition, without adding to the security of the Church!' (quoted in Fingard 1967:478-9). In the legal arrangements made for the Church, liberty of conscience was maintained for dissenters (Roman Catholics at first excepted), and they could not be taxed to support the established Church. (The Baptist historian Saunders later claimed that liberties were granted as an expedient, adopted in view of the danger that Puritans might become the majority and deny religious rights to Episcopalians.) (Saunders 1902:104). The Bishop was given no civil authority -- except as one member of the Council. He could ordain and supervise clergy, and confirm laity, but the traditional rights of the Governor, including presentation to benefices, the granting of marriage licenses and probate of wills, were preserved. Provincial aid to the Church, except in education, came only through glebe lands, which were small and remained relatively unproductive of income for some time (Fingard 1967:482-3, 488; Bumsted 1967:42-3).

Churchmen had to work within the limits of this Church but partially established. Inglis was not satisfied with the terms of the Establishment, which he considered only 'nominal.' Shortly after taking up his duties, he wrote the Archbishop of Canterbury, echoing the 1783 plan, that,
There are two great objects which I have in view -- one is a proper establishment of the Church in this province, by an act of the legislature; the other is, the establishment of a college, without which Church matters must be in an imperfect state (quoted in Harris 1937:112).

Inglis did manage to secure some improvements in the legal position of the Church during the first two decades of his bishopric. Glebes were increased, and the Governors of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick lost their control over ecclesiastical patronage. But Inglis came eventually to abandon his hopes for 'proper establishment' -- a more explicit and extensive legal statement of Church privileges, and an enlargement of his own powers beyond the ecclesiastical -- as impolitic (Fingard 1967:440).

Regardless of the extent of completeness of establishment, the Church had to disseminate its teachings. It is in this regard that the Anglican college, whose establishment was the second of the 'two great objects' which Inglis announced to the Archbishop in 1787, was understood as essential. Rationales for its formation were articulated within the Erastian ambition for domination. It was to serve as an essential element in an ideological apparatus independent of the United States, instilling right religion and loyalty, preserving youth from evil American principles. And it was to train clergymen to extend this instruction and preservation to the society at large.

The first rationale for the college was that it directly imparted right principles of religion, morality and loyalty to the elite youth of the colony. This education was both a value in itself and a prophylactic against exposure to subversive republicanism. The 1783 plan for a bishopric and college was accompanied by a letter to the Colonial Secretary which argued the significance of the college in these terms.
The founding of a college or seminary of learning on a liberal plan in that province where youth may receive a virtuous education and can be qualified for the learned professions, is, we humbly conceive, a measure of the greatest consequence, as it would diffuse religious literature, loyalty and good morals among His Majesty's subjects there.

Otherwise, the letter continues, the sons of the country would have to be sent to Britain or Ireland at great expense, or to the United States where they would imbibe republican principles (Vroom 1941:10). Inglis repeatedly emphasized that Nova Scotian youth would be educated somewhere, and that without a local institution for that purpose they would be vulnerable to pernicious republican influences. He wrote in 1790 to Richard Cumberland, the English dramatist and agent for the province in England:

With respect to our seminary, one of my principal motives for pushing it forward was to prevent the importation of American divines and American policies into the province. Unless we have a seminary here, the youth of Nova Scotia will be sent for their education to the revolted colonies — the inevitable consequence of which would be a corruption of their religious and political principles. The seminary has already answered this purpose; several young men are now receiving their education in it, whom their parents from mere necessity must have sent to those colonies, and did intend it.... The less connection and intercourse this province has with the American states the better. Their principles must be fatal to our peace; and a full consciousness of this has stimulated my exertions in promoting our seminary, notwithstanding the difficulties that have already, and still do occur — it is like rolling a Sisyphean stone (quoted in Cochran 1954:76n32; also cf. Thomas 1964:33).

When Governor John Wentworth wrote to London, in 1801, eighteen years after the original Loyalist plan, seeking a Royal Charter for the Nova Scotian college, he, too, used a conception of politically and religiously virtuous learning:

Those who may be there educated, from whom it may be naturally expected the purest principles of religion, morality, loyalty and attachment to the British government in Church and state,
will with sound literature be best disseminated and perpetuated in the province (quoted in Vroom 1941:26).

The second rationale for the college, and the more organizationally pressing for men of the Church, was that it would educate clergymen, who were to extend virtuous learning to the population at large. This supply of clergymen was essential to the operation of the Church, in the claim of its leaders. In a plan for the conduct of the seminary which Inglis wrote shortly after his consecration, its key position in the domestic provision of clergy for the Church was emphasized. One of the Bishop's tasks was:

...to ordain candidates for Holy Orders, to supply vacant churches with clergymen, who cannot be supplied from Europe. But if there is no seminary, we cannot expect any to be duly educated and qualified for Orders. So that, in fact, the want of a seminary will totally defeat, in this respect, one principal object which government had in view, by appointing a Bishop, as well as the benefits thereby intended for the Church of England (quoted in Harris 1937:111-2; Hind 1890:12).

A domestic provision of clergymen was thought necessary on many grounds. Not only was the legal position of the Church one of merely partial establishment, but also its staffing and administration were difficult. The ecclesiastical administrative apparatus was truncated, and 'diocesan and administrative duties were to devolve on the Bishop alone, and no provision was made for the establishment of a truly hierarchical ecclesiastical system with archdeacons, dean and chapter' (Fingard 1967:488). Clergymen were dependent directly on the Governor or on a transatlantic missionary society which could in no way directly oversee their labours, not on the Bishop. And several of the SPG missionaries had clearly disapproved Inglis' appointment (Clark 1959:76; Fingard 1968:263). Furthermore for decades the number of Anglican clergymen was inadequate to the preaching tasks at hand. As late as 1827, John
Inglis, son of Charles and third Bishop of Nova Scotia, reported that in some regions large numbers of Anglicans had joined other denominations for the want of settled ministers and churches (Moir 1966:130-31). There was a similar dearth of Anglican clergymen in New Brunswick into the 1840s (Ervin 1967:168-9, 171). Clergymen from England were not likely to fill the gap, for colonial careers did not attract them. Inglis wrote the Secretary of the SPG in 1797, reviewing the realized advantages of the seminary:

How much such an institution was wanting for this purpose you must be sensible on recollecting how difficult it was to prevail on clergymen of character to leave England for this country; and what trouble we had to procure some of the Society's former missionaries from the revolted colonies, and yet all our attempts were fruitless (quoted in Clark 1948:75).

Inglis experimentally encouraged the use of lay readers in congregations without ministers, but this local expedient was curtailed, as it was frowned on by the SPG, which supplied most of the diocese's financial backing (Fingard 1968:254).

In the end only a domestic supply of clergymen would prove adequate to the Church's aspirations. And that required a college.

Slight quantity was not the only complaint of Church leaders about Anglican clergymen, who were often accused of deficiencies of character and energy. Indeed great energy and strength of character were required for that preaching for hegemony which was the Church's proclaimed goal, in a place where many of the people did not rush into the fold. The Church's colonial circumstances proved resistant in many ways. Many of those who were to be induced to orthodox faith and a love of order did not readily come. They clung to locally organized and more evangelical religion. Congregational churches were notably more
successful than Anglican, before the American revolution, although they were plagued by various dissensions over church organization and the selection of clergy (Clark 1948:6ff). The Methodists and the evangelistic sects, especially the Newlights and their Baptist successors, did not collapse but flourished as their itinerant preachers traversed the rural regions. Other churches, the Roman Catholics and the branches of Presbyterianism, were firmly established as the society grew in population and wealth. Numerous descriptions in Inglis' journals and correspondance are significant as notations of hegemonist failure and the greater popular appeal of enthusiastic religion. He wrote, for example, of the Bay of Fundy in 1792 that 'the spirit of fanaticism...very much prevails among the lower class of people' (quoted in Clark 1948:64). Even Anglican congregations often exhibited less ardour in spirituality than their leaders wished, and were described as lax or lukewarm in their conformity to established usages (Fingard 1968:252-4). Inglis himself reported these discouraging circumstances among both faithful and dissenters. In a private letter of 1787 he wrote:

The state of religion in this province is truly deplorable.... The lamp of true rational piety is almost extinguished. Ignorance and lukewarmness on the one hand, fanaticism and irreligion on the other...have left but few traces of genuine Christianity among us (quoted in Harris 1937:86).

The dissenters, and especially the evangelicals, in Inglis' view, not only erred in religious fanaticism. They were politically subversive, too. They were an offence to rationality and learning, they were ignorant, and thus lacked what one must have to speak with religious or political authority. Inglis commented thus on the Newlights in 1799:
They are all, with exception, very ignorant; and their late self-appointed teachers, whose number has much increased are amongst the most ignorant of the whole; consisting mostly of common labourers and mechanics who are too lazy to work. The people have been very troublesome to the clergy (quoted in Hamilton 1970a:41-2).

Faced with this, the Church had to intensify its efforts at preaching. Inglis once proposed 'candid, brotherly love and respectful behaviour toward dissenters' (quoted in Hamilton 1970:80). But much more typically he proclaimed 'the necessity of vigorous exertions in the clergy, where the country is overrun by sectaries who are indefatigable, and where the people are extremely ignorant' (quoted in Clark 1948:72).

The clergymen available, however, seemed unlikely to make vigorous exertions. The eighteenth century in England was described by Trevelyean as:

...the heydey of unchallenged abuses in all forms of corporate life. Holders of ecclesiastical, academic, charitable and scholastic endowments had no fear of enquiry or reform (quoted in MacNaughton 1947:2).

Abuses could be seen in the colonies too. S.D. Clark compiled an extensive selection of quotations from Inglis' journals and letters, concerning the rudeness, intemperance, debauchery, indolence, incompetence, corruption, and neglect of duty, among Anglican ministers and missionaries (Clark 1948:40-1, 117, and especially 71-6). Inglis wrote to the Archbishop in 1788 that of the eleven missionaries in Nova Scotia,

four are useful diligent clergymen -- three are indifferent, neither doing much good or harm, and as for the remaining four, it would be happy for the Church if they were not in their Orders (quoted in Hamilton 1970a:47).

A system of itineration to serve remote communities could not be arranged with clergymen unwilling to sacrifice their bodily comforts (Pingard 1968:255-6). All these problems of the Bishop were exacerbated by the
organization of the colonial Church (described above) which made the supervision of clerical performances a difficult task.

Thus indeed, from Inglis' standpoint, if the Church of England was to perform its ideological tasks in a country 'overrun by sectaries' it would have to have a college. Only a local seminary could supply adequate numbers of clergymen. The training of local youth under careful supervision might produce superior moral and intellectual results, and obviate the necessity of dependence on English clergymen of inferior stature. The seminary could not be certain to eliminate self-indulgence or remedy difficulties of supervision, but it might be seen to ameliorate them. Clerics trained directly under the Bishop's supervision might be more susceptible to his control than those trained elsewhere. Thus it was that Inglis could write that 'Church matters must be in an imperfect state' without a college -- to rectify the supply, demeanor, domestic loyalty, and ease of official control of colonial clergymen.*

Writing in 1789 about the importance of completing the college's formation, Inglis saw it this way:

I am most anxious to see the institution brought to a proper degree of maturity, thereby securing those benefits to a country where the old inhabitants have little sense, either of religion, order, or loyalty; and where the new inhabitants must soon sink into the same state, unless prevented by the instruction to be derived from this seminary and the labours of the clergy (quoted in Thomas 1964:36).

The 1801 memorial of the governors of King's College, seeking a Royal Charter, contained hopeful sentences in the same vein about the political

* The production of an indigenously trained clergy was likewise a concern of Bishops Strachan of Upper Canada, Mountain of Lower Canada, and Machray of Rupert's Land (Masters 1964:55-6; Elgee 1964:55-6).
ramifications of the college. With the respectability of a charter, the memorial said, the college

would contribute much to check that spirit of fanaticism and those levelling principles which seem to be the natural growth of colonies thinly settled and at a remote distance from the parent state. (quoted in Hamilton 1970:76).

And the college did produce clergymen. Reporting to the Secretary of the SPG in 1797, Inglis, reviewed the successes of the seminary in its aims -- at least in the training of clergy:

The Church in this diocese would not be in so good a state as it is at present, were it not for the assistance derived from this seminary (quoted in Clark 1948:75).

When Bishop John Inglis held a visitation in 1837, 26 of the 30 clergymen present had been educated at King's College (Harris 1937:117).*

Just as the Anglican colleges existed to serve oligarchical religious and political domination, they were enabled to exist by virtue of Anglican participation in that domination. The King's Colleges of Windsor and Fredericton (as well as King's College York and McGill College of Montreal) were tied to the Church and to the state in form as well as in aspirations. They had charters or statutes which imposed religious restrictions on some or all of students, teachers, presidents and trustees (Elgee 1964:54-5). Their practical arrangements bound them to the state, in the preferential receipt of charters and grants,

* The number of clergymen trained at King's College Windsor in each decade up to 1890 is as follows:

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in the formation of boards of governors from the ranks of appointed colonial officials, and in the stifling of the establishment of alternative institutions of higher education. The establishment of the Anglican college, and the later blocking of dissenting efforts in higher education, was rendered relatively easy by the interlocking of the religious, educational and political spheres, by bonds of friendship and the holding of multiple positions by the same individuals. When Charles Inglis described the formation of the academy to the Archbishop of Canterbury, he began:

The Assembly of the province met the latter end of October, some of the principle members of which were my old friends. To these, I communicated my wishes... (quoted in Thomas 1964:34).

The governors named for King's College Windsor under the 1789 act were the Governor, Lt.-Governor, Chief Justice, Speaker of the House of Assembly, Solicitor General, Attorney General, and the Provincial Secretary. The 1802 charter deleted the Attorney General and added the Judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty and the college President. An Anglican academy was first granted £400 by the Nova Scotian Assembly in 1787, for the rental of a house and payment of the salaries of a President and one teacher (Hind 1890:19; Harris 1937:111). In 1789 the Assembly passed an act constituting the college, making the £400 grant permanent, and allocating an additional £500 for the purchase of a 70 acre site. The annual grant was to be 'paid out of...such monies as may from time to time be collected and paid into the public treasury of this province from the duties imposed, or to be imposed, on brown and loaf, or refined, sugars...or out of any other aids, supplies, or taxes not otherwise specially appropriated.' The 1789 act is printed in
Hind 1890:21-24;) Inglis boasted of this: 'No British colony in America ever made such liberal provision for promoting literature before' (Vroom 1941:20). The British Parliament in 1790 voted an annual grant of L1000 for the college, and gave L1000 (of an eventual L4000) for the building. At the same time a Royal Charter was promised (Harris 1937:115-16), but the war in Europe diverted English attention from such colonial concerns for some time. About 1800 efforts to secure the Royal Charter were renewed. Both Inglis and Wentworth wrote to England, and John Inglis was sent there, partly to procure books but also to make contact with officials. The governors sent a memorial to London, supported by a letter from Wentworth. The charter was eventually received in 1802. (It is printed in Hind 1890:26-30).*

College formation in New Brunswick followed the Nova Scotian pattern but was retarded. Following the separation of the province, seven prominent Loyalists, including Ward Chipman, Edward Winslow and Jonathan Odell, petitioned Gov: Thomas Carleton in 1785, regarding the 'necessity and expediency of an early attention to the establishment in this infant province of an academy of liberal arts and sciences.' The Council ordered the drafting of a charter, and one was prepared, based upon the example of King's College New York, which included no restrictions on dissenters. But Carleton at this point received instructions from England restricting the passage of a charter for

* This 1802 charter makes the Windsor institution the oldest King's College in the British overseas Empire. When it was founded the only other King's College was that of Cambridge, founded by Henry VI in 1441. King's Collège New York, chartered 1754, closed 1776, was reopened in 1784 as Columbia College (Vroom 1941:1-9).
the time being. Instruction began in an academy at Fredericton in 1789, and the House of Assembly voted an annual grant not to exceed £200 in 1793. In 1800 a provincial charter for the College of New Brunswick was at last arranged by Gov. Carleton, acting out of provincial pride and against the wishes of Bishop Inglis (MacNutt 1963:199-200; Bailey 1950:56). Endowed with 6000 acres of land, and deemed 'a college for the education and instruction of youth in the liberal arts and sciences, and especially in the principles and precepts of true religion and morality,' it had a more restrictive charter than the one originally drafted. In 1823 higher instruction was actually commenced, and the provincial charter was conditionally surrendered with a view to obtaining a Royal Charter. Gov. Howard Douglas consolidated financial arrangements for the college. Half the cost of a new building and £1000 per year were to be paid from the Casual and Territorial Revenues, with these funds matched by provincial grants (MacNutt 1963:200). The Royal Charter was duly received in 1827, and King's College Fredericton opened, on a new site, in perhaps the finest building in the province, in 1829 (Bailey 1950:15-20; Raymond 1919:3-6; MacNutt 1963:199-201; MacNutt 1965:168; MacNaughton 1947:51-2).

The membership and powers of the boards of governors of the Anglican colleges clearly constituted an external domination. The formal locus of control lay outside the body of teachers and students, in a domination by ecclesiastical and political figures ex officio. Part of the 1802 King's College Windsor charter read:

The governors of the said college, or the major part of them, shall have power and authority to frame and make statutes, rules and ordinances, touching and concerning the good govern-
ment of the said college, the performance of Divine service therein, the studies, lectures, exercises, degrees in arts and faculties and all matters regarding the same, the election, qualification and residence of the president, fellows and scholars, the management of the revenue and property of the said college, the salaries, stipends and provision for the president, fellows, scholars and officers of the said college, and also touching and concerning any other matter or thing which to them shall seem good, fit, useful and agreeable to this our charter.

The external formal locus of control corresponded, of course, to the actual circumstances of college formation and operation, under the auspices of the Church with the legitimation and finance of the state, as part of a scheme for colonial governance. The colleges were marked off as externally produced intrusions into the society by their sponsors, aims, and sources of support: the first initiative for college formation came from a group of clergymen in New York, intending to transplant a religious and political order into a land they had not yet entered; their plans were further argued and developed in England before being implemented; the tales of chartering and financing the colleges can be told entirely within the context of Imperial and colonial governance.

The colleges were the King's Colleges. They arose not from any domestically experienced need, and not as rooted in local organizations or sources of support, but as elements in the hopeful oligarchical domination of politically and religiously subservient colonies.

These external origins and domination not only mediated but insultated the relation of the college to the society. Within the colleges one could do the work of knowledge in a way relatively independent of the activities of most of the society — so long as it was approved by that oligarchy which dominated Church, state and college alike. But still the colleges were situated within the totality of the society, and had to be defined to occupy a place therein. They
could not be operated in total obliviousness to local circumstances. Institutions whose purposes and features were devised outside the colony, externally and abstractly, had to confront their circumstances. Some of the Church's difficulties with this confrontation have been described above. The college too had to make certain adaptations when confronted with local circumstances. The college, formed as an ideological instrument of Imperial domination, existed independent of those local political circumstances, even among the societal elite, which would have generated demand for it. Some accommodations had to be made. These could have been 'liberal,' aiming to make the college more permeable to societal circumstances and demands, risking contamination for the sake of influence. But they were for the most, as we shall see, reactionary, combatively upholding old forms in new circumstances, maintaining a safe and separate preserve of 'truth.'

During the early decades of its existence, King's College Windsor did not fare well at whatever points it was dependent upon local conditions and interest. Indeed its relationship to local circumstances was troubled for 50 years -- until it was reconstituted under the auspices of local Church and alumni organizations. Several initial difficulties of a practical sort could have suggested that King's College Windsor would have a troubled relationship to the local economy. It was hard getting the college off the ground -- literally and figuratively. The governors drew up a set of building plans shortly after receipt of the provincial charter. These were soon seen as overly ambitious, and were reduced, to call for one three-storey building with a dining hall and library, and with accommodation for the president, two professors, and 34 students. The cornerstone was laid in 1791.
It was difficult to transport stone for the building with primitive vehicles and roads. Competent stonemasons were hard to come by. Finally -- in 1795 -- it was decided to finish the building in wood so that it could be occupied. The completed building had a flat roof, inappropriate for the climatic conditions of Nova Scotia, which was a cause of concern for many years until it was replaced (Vroom 1941:28-9; Thomas 1964:38-9; Harris 1937:116; Hind 1890:25-6). Joseph Howe wrote in 1828 that 'since it has been repaired, it is a very decent-looking building' (Howe 1973:65).

Likewise the intellectual backwardness and remoteness of the colony hampered the course of instruction. Teachers had either to be selected from among meagre local possibilities or appointed unseen from England. There was no recourse but to appoint an unproven Irishman president of the academy (cf. infra). In 1794 the professor of mathematics and natural philosophy arrived, denying a readiness to teach anything but chemistry, which Inglis said was as useless as Egyptian hieroglyphics in the present state of the college (Thomas 1964:39). Instruction in the academy was not conducted at a high level. When the Royal Charter was finally obtained after a 13 year delay, Inglis expressed to the Archbishop his hope that 33 students could be prepared to enter the college as freshmen 'by the time our statutes are prepared and professors obtained' (quoted in Thomas 1964:40).

Finally, perhaps most seriously, the college was less than wholeheartedly supported even by those who were the local representatives of beneficiaries of Imperial order and oligarchical authority. Indifference to the college on the part of ruling figures in the colony brought Inglis to describe its promotion as 'like rolling a Sisyphean
stone.' It was difficult for Inglis to rouse board members, including initially the key figure of Gov. Parr, to activity on the college's behalf. They seem, from Inglis' account to the Archbishop in 1790, just not to have seen the point of great devotion to the institution of the Imperial ideology:

I need not tell you how anxious I am to know whether the government will do anything to assist us at the academy. I meet with many difficulties in carrying it on. These proceed from a variety of causes; one of the chief is Gov. Parr's indifference to it, and his example influences too many in the government. The misfortune is that he holds literature in great contempt, and often hints it does hurt to mankind. It is with great difficulty that I can get him and the other governors to meet on any business relative to it; when we do meet, it goes heavily (quoted in Thomas 1964:36).

Inglis made much the same complaint about colonial officials to Bishop Mountain of Quebec (to whom he was writing about a dispute over the college statutes):

All the governors, myself excepted, are men who hold civil offices, which fill up their time. They live at Halifax, 45 miles from the college. Four of them are lawyers, and for their convenience the annual meeting is fixed for the week in which the Supreme Court is held in Windsor. Even thus several have it not in their power to attend, and the number that does attend is generally so hurried with the law business that very little time can be devoted to the college (quoted in Vroom 1941:39).

H.Y. Hind, King's College's 1890 historian, demonstrating the governors' continuing lack of concern, cited the fact that in 1836 the Bishop was the only governor at encaenia (Hind 1890:85).

The governors' diffidence was paralleled by a lukewarm reception of the college in other quarters. Local men of wealth stood aloof from the college and waited for financial support for it to come from the Crown and from English missionary societies. F.W. Vroom, sometime professor of theology in the college and its 1939
historian, calculated that 50 to 100 men in Nova Scotia could easily have given £1000 to £10,000; but none did (Vroom 1941:30).

Modest levels of enrollment further indicated a lack of effective demand for the college in early colonial circumstances. Enrollments were never large in the first half of the nineteenth century. Although there had been an annual average of 18 matriculants into the academy from 1790 to 1803, these numbers did not continue into the college. From 1803 to 1810 there was an average of 3.5 matriculants per year into the college; between 1810 and 1830, 5.5; between 1830 and 1848 the number fluctuated, from a low of two in 1834 to a high of 13 in 1843 (Hind 1890:49, 82, 81-2). Between 1803 and 1853, 173 bachelor's degrees were awarded, or about 3.5 per year (Hind 1890:102). For part of this period, the low enrollments could be attributed to the easy availability of military careers, during the Napoleonic wars:

...as one of the King's sons commanded at Halifax it was easy for gentlemen to get their sons provided for at an early age in the army or navy; and there were few of course who would choose to go through a regular academical education (Cochran 1954:76-7).

It is apparent more generally that relatively few Anglican young men were entering those careers in the clerisy for which higher education was essential. Indeed the college was created in advance of those local career patterns which would have generated a compelling demand for it.

The Fredericton Academy, the College of New Brunswick, and King's College Fredericton had difficulties in securing teachers, students and finances, comparable to those of their counterpart Nova Scotian institutions. Teachers of intellectual quality were difficult to obtain. Major Barclay wrote Edward Winslow in 1787 that the master pro-
posed for the academy was a man of integrity and worth but not 'a favourite of the graces' -- little learned in languages, mathematics, geography, etc. (Winslow 1901:343). In 1804 Ward Chipman wrote Winslow from Massachusetts about potential instructors, that such 'as are in any degree qualified for the situation' could obtain $1100 or $1200 there -- apparently more than New Brunswick offered (Winslow 1901:517).

The academy was for some time 'merely a classical school,' sharing the intellectual apex of the province with the grammar school in St. John's (Hannay 1897:23-4; cf. MacNutt 1963:199). The College of New Brunswick had its first and only graduating class in 1828. King's College Fredericton, between 1829 and 1859, graduated 101 bachelors, about 3.3 per year. Its average enrollment was perhaps a dozen (Pacey 1950:62). Certain remarks made about the college by Sir Edmund Head (Governor 1848-54), reflect the small interest in the college and attribute it to a generational atrophy of initial Loyalist interest in the higher learning:

It must be recollected...that a large portion of the settlers in New Brunswick at the end of the last century were American Loyalists who brought from an older and more advanced country a feeling for British institutions and a desire to promote knowledge of a higher kind. These persons and many of their sons could feel a pride in the notion of possessing a university of their own, which has ceased to animate the next generation not imbued with precisely the same feelings and more sensible of the immediate necessity for gaining their own livelihood and supplying their material wants (quoted in Firth 1950:29-30).

The formal structure of collegiate control, its codified organization, specified that decisions rested with the board of governors, external to the body of teachers and learners, composed of political officials, the Bishop, and the college president, all ex officio. The
board laid down the lines of social order in the college. Its actions, however, were subject to veto by the Archbishop, as patron of the college. Individual members of the board could exert exceptional influence by a high level of activity and by the use of their social networks. This was done at Windsor, for example, by the Bishops and by Judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty Alexander Croke. Organizational decisions made by the board expressed the relationship of the college to the remainder of the society. By the enactment and enforcement of statutes, and by hiring, it determined what persons would be present in the college as its teachers, students and officers. The board furthermore set down in detail the content of learning, including courses and texts. The board specified the times and topics of lectures, and required all students to pass through the same standard sequence of courses (cf. King's College Windsor timetable in Rimmington 1966b:34). The range of alternatives contemplated in the board's actual activities of decision-making was circumscribed in many ways. The curriculum was traditionally defined. The administrative ties of the college to members of the political elite were specified in charters. The location of the college in an aristocratic retreat, and its costliness relative to the general level of wealth in the colony, limited the scope of the population that would actually consider attending the college. But the board did have some latitude for decision, particularly regarding the restrictions placed upon what persons could become members of the college. Some highly contentious questions arose over such recruitment characteristics.

These came at a time when the mood of oligarchical circles was embattled. A Churchman surveying the religious and political scene in Nova Scotia at the turn of the nineteenth century could well
have found it discouraging. The ideological underpinnings of Imperial rule were shaky: the Church was but partially established, and there was no Anglican hegemony of worship; dissent was a growing menace. Increasingly confined to his country estate, at Claremont near Aylesford, after 1800, Inglis,

felt hopeless to deal with these old religious phenomena that so devastatingly invaded the new order he was trying to create. As he grew older, the entries in his diary became more despairing. (MacNutt 1965:121-2).

The colonial Church hierarchy, as befits an embattled elite, adopted a reactionary stance to these and other nineteenth century circumstances. Reaction in the colonies came at the time of Jacobin-fearing, Napoleon-fighting reaction in England. The colonial hierarchy adopted a conservative stance within Anglican politics and doctrinal movements, opposing any low Church practices, opposing evangelism whether of English or domestic origin, opposing the English Oxford movement (for the disentanglement of Church and state). Within the colony, anticipating the day when hierarchy would oppose laymen, Inglis even concluded that 'in these times of democratic rage and delusion' it was best to leave presentation to clerical benefices in the hands of the Governor, rather than the parish (Bumsted 1967:55). Against dissenters policies of exclusiveness were increasingly pursued. Anglican political strategy for maintaining ideological hegemony came to focus on the restriction of legal perquisites: the denial to dissenting ministers of rights to perform the marriage sacrament, and the blocking of legitimation and finance to dissenting efforts in education. Inglis sought on many occasions to restrict the rights of dissenting ministers to perform the marriage sacrament. Most notably, when a moderate marriage act was passed in New Brunswick in 1787, with tolerance to Presbyterians, Roman Catholics,
and Quakers, and with Justices of the Peace permitted to perform ceremonies, Inglis was mortified, and secured restrictions before the act went into effect in 1791. This caused major inconvenience at least, and won Inglis the enmity of dissenters, including the normally apolitical Methodist leader, William Black (Bunsted 1967:53-4; MacNutt 1963:91-3).

The situation of the Anglican colleges paralleled that of the Church in general. The college was indeed educating some elite youth, serving as prophylactic against an epidemic of republican principles. It was producing clergymen to staff the Church. But it was not a success at proselytizing, at its once imagined religious and political crusade. Most of the diverse population lacked both the wealth and the inclination to have the college's traditional and moral curriculum installed into their sons. Though the college trained clergymen, dissenters increased. And the college's own difficulties with construction, staffing and administration, continued.

It still could be asked at the opening of the nineteenth century whether the place of traditional learning would bend at all in adaptation to the practical circumstances and limited wealth of what Inglis called his 'primitive bishoprick,' whether it would become at all permeable to its surroundings for the sake of use, influence, and success. Such questions were raised in controversies which arose upon the receipt of Royal Charters for Windsor in 1803 and Fredericton in 1828. These controversies centred upon the framing of college statutes, and, at Windsor, the appointment of a president.

Those who governed King's College Windsor in these circumstances pursued a discernible policy of reactionary consolidation, making
the college more the intellectual bastion or preserve of an elite than the weapon of ideological battle. The particulars of the college's administrative history at this time are dense and muddled, but the predominance of that reactionary aim stands out in them.

The rule of traditional propriety in the college was signified symbolically by the substitution of Englishmen for an Irishman in its presidency. There was an air of reluctance from the first surrounding the appointment of William Cochran to the College presidency in 1790.* Inglis wrote Richard Cumberland in that year that no one could be procured from England for the post, that his nephew had held it temporarily but found the confinement of a school harmful to his health, and that 'a president had to be provided and no other recourse remained but to appoint Mr. Cochran.' To the Archbishop Inglis wrote that Cochran seemed a man of ability and competence, but was unproven and should be watched with a scrupulous eye. He also mentioned that a president might be sought in England when the Royal Charter was obtained (Vroom 1941:22). The board resolved in 1802 with a markedly tentative tone that Cochran 'be further continued in the place which he has hitherto held until the further order of the governors!' (quoted in Vroom 1941:35). Inglis by this time was convinced of Cochran's acceptability, and told the Archbishop that although he hoped for pro-

* William Cochran was born in 1757 in County Tyrone, Ireland, the son of a respectable farmer. He was educated by an uncle, a former minister who operated a private grammar school, and at Trinity College Dublin, where he won a competitive scholarship and was graduated in 1780. After working for a time as a private tutor he emigrated to the newly independent United States in 1783, taught in grammar schools in Philadelphia and New York, and was from 1784 professor of Greek and Latin in Columbia College. Disillusioned with the disorderliness of New York and hoping to be appointed to Holy Orders, he left for Nova Scotia in 1788. Two years later he was named president of the college at Windsor. (Cochran passim).
fessors from Oxford, 'Mr. Cochran is a good man and has strong claims for the office of president' (quoted in Thomas 1964:40).

However, the statutes as originally drafted in 1803 required that president and professors alike 'should have been educated at the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge, or under persons of that description at Windsor.' Cochran was subsequently demoted to the vice-presidency in 1803. Rev. Thomas Cox of Worcester College Oxford was appointed president in 1804. But he died a year later. Inglis had in the meantime written the Archbishop and won his agreement that a Dublin-educated president might be acceptable since Oxford and Cambridge men seemed difficult to obtain (Thomas 1964:41-2). There was support at this time for Cochran to resume the presidency -- from Bishop Inglis and Attorney-General R.J. Uniacke. But the governors appointed Dr. Charles Porter of Brazenose College Oxford in 1806 -- apparently notifying Inglis only after the fact (Hind 1890:36, 43-4). Porter remained in office for 30 years.

Cochran considered this episode the 'severest disappointment and injustice.' He felt that he had been promised the presidency, and, as there had been no charges of misconduct against him which would serve as grounds for removal, he was the victim of a 'breach of faith.' Cochran appealed for justice to the Archbishop and the Secretary of State. He received sympathy, and a higher salary than other professors; in 1814 he was elected to the board of governors. But he did not win the presidency. Cochran saw Judge Alexander Croke and his narrow intellectual preferences to blame for the injustice:

This gentleman who had a strong mind united with an overbearing temper had been educated in Oxford and seemed scarcely capable of allowing that merit could originate elsewhere; and he so
managed that all the governors, the Bishop excepted, gave up their former opinions and agreed that he should invite a president from his favourite university (Cochran 1954:78).

Cochran was indeed rejected for his wrong identity and style. He was not an Oxford man. He was not even an Englishman, and this, one might infer from certain remarks made by Judge Croke upon presenting his draft of the college statutes to the board, resulted in serious weaknesses of demeanor which rendered him unsuitable for the high station of president of the college.

...a very principal object of the new institution would be accomplished by assimilating the manners of the rising generation to those of the parent state.... We think that is of no small importance to this seminary to teach the genuine use, practice, and pronunciation of the English language, which in distant colonies is too apt to degenerate, and that the purity of that language, undebased by local or national accents and solecisms, is undeniably to be found in the Kindom of England only (quoted in Vroom 1941:37).

Read literally this is an abstract argument for teachers of British linguistic breeding. Read in situ it is a slur on Cochran's brogue. (Irish cheek as well as Irish tongue likely earned Cochran the enmity of crusty governors. He conveyed his various dissatisfactions to them in a style that was direct and sarcastic.) Cochran's identity and style did not by any means represent an inversion of the college's values or aims. He was squeezed out in the name of certain standards of the propriety and station of learning actually quite like his own, but rather more scrupulous and unflaggingly English.

More consequential than these manoeuvrings over the presidency was the framing of the college statutes (Vroom 1941:35-8; Hind 1890:31-4, 40-1, 45-6; Thomas 1964:40-5). The board, in their first meeting after receiving the Royal Charter in 1803, appointed a committee to draft a set of statutes, 'taking for their model the Statutes of the University
of Oxford (so far as may be found applicable to our local circumstances).' The members of the committee were Bishop Inglis, Judge Croke, and Chief Justice Samuel Salters Blowers. Inglis drafted one set of statues, but these were never discussed, the other two committee members pleading that they could not remain in Windsor after the 1803 board meeting to do it. Croke drafted another set, which was approved by him and Chief Justice Blowers, and later passed by a majority of the entire board, over Inglis' protest. These statutes, in which 'local circumstances' did not manifestly figure at all, were printed and distributed in 1803.

The significance of the Croke statutes is most readily apparent through Inglis' response to them. The Royal Charter had included no religious restrictions, and the 1789 act had specified only that the college president should be in Anglican Holy Orders. But one of the Croke statutes required all students to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles at matriculation. After fruitless efforts to have this statute changed by the board, Inglis carried his protest to the Archbishop of Canterbury (an old friend of his, John Moore) (Fingard 1968:263), who as Patron of the college had the power to annul statues. Inglis described the statutes in general as not fitted to colonial circumstances, 'too extensive, much beyond our means or our wants...not suited to the state of the country.' Similarly Inglis wrote to Bishop Mountain of Quebec in 1805 that the statutes were not adapted to the 'population and character of the inhabitants' of Nova Scotia, or 'to the infant state of our seminary; therefore a check has been given to its growth.' At long last in 1806 a new Archbishop, Charles Manners Sutton, responded with a compromise to the colonial dispute, disallowing the statute which
required subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles at matriculation but recommending that subscription be required before admission to a degree. The statutes were revised to this effect in 1807, and were not altered again for 26 years. The arguments over the statutes, however continued in even clearer form.* Croke defended the Anglican bastion that he wished to create by an absolute definition of religious and political good. At the 1807 board meeting he expressed his disapprobation of the Archbishop's rejection of the statutes,

...as injurious to the interests of true religion in general, of the Church of England in particular, and, from the connexion which exists between them, of His Majesty's government and the British constitution.

Croke wrote the Archbishop seeking a reconsideration of his decision. Inglis also wrote, defending the relatively more liberal statute that was adopted. Interested in the operation of the college with an eye to its practical success and ideological influence, Inglis saw that the previous statute had excessively restricted the field of recruitment,

Three-fourths of the inhabitants are dissenters; and...the statute as it first stood virtually shut the door of the seminary against them. For they considered the subscription as a kind of renunciation of their religion; for which reason, dissenters would not send their sons to the college.

* The majority of the governors resorted to various gossip-worthy machinations in concealing the tinges of liberalism in the statutes. Inglis wished a sheet of his protest against the initial statutes to be inserted into them in 1803. Croke prevented the printer from doing this. The entire board later sustained him, and rather testily informed Inglis that they had no objection to his name's being erased from all the statutes if he so wished. Later there was an apparent lengthy conspiracy of silence around the Archbishop's revisions. Although revised in 1807, the statutes were neither printed nor circulated then. The governors resolved in 1815 that they should be printed, resolved so again in 1820, the amended statutes being at last printed in 1821. The original, more restrictive statutes were thus the publicly circulated policy of the college for 14 years after their actual alteration, and for seven years after Croke left Nova Scotia for retirement in England.
He also reported optimistically that some dissenting youth had joined the Church of England after attending the academy.

The alterations to Croke's original statutes did not in principle alter the relationship of the college to the 'state of the country.'

There remained a statute, never under consideration of amendment, which in itself rendered the college Anglican and exclusive:

No member of the university shall frequent the Romish mass, or the meeting houses of Presbyterians, Baptists, or Methodists, or the conventicles, or places of worship of any other dissenters from the Church of England, or where divine service shall not be performed according to the liturgy of the Church of England, or shall be present at any seditious or rebellious meetings.

This statute effectively excluded from the college any dissenting student who wished to continue the practice of his faith, and made the college a place of Anglican exclusiveness. It brought the ire of dissenters against the college so long as it continued in effect.*

Inglis' arguments against restrictiveness, as unsuited to societal circumstances and posing a threat to institutional success, are significant. Inglis no longer held out for the original Anglican intention to hold total sway within the ideological sphere. He had come to a pragmatic liberalism, saying that the Church and its college had to accept and reckon with their religiously pluralistic situation in order to succeed. Policies of reactionary consolidation were, however, predominant over this pragmatic liberalism. There was yet a restrictiveness

* Another statute placed religious and political limitations upon teaching:

No professor directly or indirectly shall teach or maintain any atheistical, deistical or democratical principles, or any doctrine contrary to the Christian faith, or to good morals, or subversive of the British constitution, as by law established.

Such a rule was in 1803 not a focus of contention.
that even Inglis did not challenge, although perhaps he would have liked to. (He wrote Cochran after the Archbishop's amendments were received that 'they are well enough as far as they go, but they do not go far enough!') The statutes actually adopted sealed off access to the college by those whose ideological domination it had once been hoped the college would serve. They represented, in practical terms, a granting of priority to religious and social exclusiveness over institutional success or ideological influence, keeping knowledge within the dominant religious fold, constituting the college as a bastion of the society's Anglican elite. The college long continued in this form, a rather somnolent preserve of privilege. For 35 years the traditional backers of King's College Windsor successfully defended its legal monopoly of the higher learning for exclusive consumption. Those who could not be won over were locked out.

Opposition to the exclusive position of King's College continued among nascent 'liberal' Anglicans who saw the exclusiveness of the college as injurious to its own interests and unjustifiable on principle. The copyist of the statutes, who stood in a close relation to the college (he is identified only in this way by William McCulloch, who quotes him) objected to the statutes' 'uncharitable, illiberal spirit toward other denominations of Christians.' He, like Inglis, considered the provision of knowledge with practical reference to a society in which at least two-thirds of the people were dissenters. The statutes, he said, had done harm to the seminary, and would do more if continued, and were unjustifiable on political principle. 'A wrong, a narrow, a contracted plan,' they 'defeat the design...to be of public utility to the province at large.' And as for dissenters, he said, 'it
is certainly injustice to deprive them of the benefits which arise from their monies....' (quoted in McCulloch n.d.:40-1). At least two dimensions of a liberal ideal of knowledge were utilized here. Distinct groups within society had equal rights to the pursuit of valued objects such as knowledge. And all distinct groups had claim upon the resources of the state, which they after all contributed to maintain. On both these grounds the exclusive constitution of the college represented an injustice.

A liberalization of the statutes was eventually sought, argued for on the principle that knowledge ought to take its bearings from the whole society. In 1818 an appeal was made to Archbishop Charles Manners Sutton, signed by Lt.-Governor Dalhousie and Chief Justice Blowers (adopting an unwontedly generous line) to repeal the restrictive clauses of the statutes, those which imposed religious tests for degrees and enjoined other than Anglican worship, as they were 'obnoxious to so large a proportion of the community.' This liberal appeal was rejected by the Archbishop in clear exclusivist terms: 'The college was founded for the purpose of educating the youth of Nova Scotia in the principles of the established Church....' (Vroom 1941:45; Hind 1890:50-4). But by 1829, 11 years after this appeal, 26 years after the original framing of the statutes, and in the year that King's College Fredericton received a charter and statutes of novel liberality, changes were made. On appeal of the governors, a new Archbishop, Dr. William Howley, removed all restrictive clauses from the statutes, except those requiring the president, professors and divinity students to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles (Vroom 1941:45-6; Hind 1890:69.71).
There was also controversy when the New Brunswick college received its Royal Charter, 25 years after its Nova Scotian predecessor. At that juncture the reactionary impulse was still present, but lacked the efficacy it had earlier possessed. Bishop John Inglis first sought to have the whole plan quashed, and wrote Gov. Douglas to that end, but without success. Then Inglis applied his influence with British ecclesiastical and political figures to keep the college exclusively Anglican. The Bishop and Archbishop both opposed Douglas' application for a completely non-restrictive charter. The Colonial Office first assured the Archbishop that subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles would be required of all matriculants, but later yielded to Gov. Douglas' argument that, were this restriction maintained, the legislature would never vote funds for the college and young men would not be prevented from going to the United States. The statutes eventually adopted were a compromise: no religious tests were required of students, but the College Council was to be composed of Anglicans, and its officers were to be Anglican clergymen (Firth 1950:23; Hannay 1909:398-400; MacNutt 1963:200-1; MacNutt 1965:168).

An issue can be made of the liberality of the statutes of King's College Fredericton and the revised statutes of King's College Windsor (cf. Trueman 1952:13-4). But there is no evidence that the statutes altered the common understanding of the colleges as Anglican, or variegated the backgrounds of students.

As intellectual preserves of the would-be ruling aristocracy, the Anglican colleges were long defended, but were not brilliant successes. The college at Windsor still had inactive governors and a
general dearth of local support. Opponents of the restrictive statutes attributed continuing low enrollments to them. So William Cochran, when directed by the governors to vacate the president's quarters in 1804 and take up much smaller accommodations, responded with this stab:

Unfortunately there is but too much room to spare in the college, and from the present appearance of things it seems probable that this will be the case for half a century to come. The governors therefore surely would not deny decent accommodation to the only professor they have, whilst half the college stands unoccupied (quoted in Hind 1890:37).

And Cochran wrote in 1807 to Chief Justice Blowers that 'in five years, since the charter was granted, we have not had one single candidate for admission, except from this school of Windsor' (quoted in Hind 1890:46). The college's historians (writing from the standpoint of a college subsequently organized as both Church-administered and liberally open) have in like manner consistently disparaged the framers of the statutes. (Thus Vroom: 'The only good thing I can say of Croke is that he was an excellent gardener....') (Vroom 1941:43).

For years the college administration was lax, due to the diffidence, or age, or absence, of those responsible for it. Inglis, who had complained of the distracting preoccupations of the governors, age 69 by the time the Royal Charter was received, was himself increasingly confined to his country estate at Aylesford, distant from the college and from other governors. He died in 1817. His replacement, Bishop Stanser, was taken ill soon after his appointment, and returned to England to convalesce -- unwilling to resign for the want of alternative subsistence. He was not replaced until the 1824 appointment of John Inglis as third Bishop of Nova Scotia. Thus for at least eight years -- perhaps three times that if one considers Charles Inglis' declining years -- the college had no Visitor, charged with seeing that the college
was operated efficiently and that its statutes were observed (Hind 1890: 47; Vroom 1941:61-2). During much of this period both President Porter and Professor Cochran had remunerative missions which kept them away from the college on Sundays. (Gov. Dalhousie was critical of this moonlighting, but it continued:) (Hind 1890:57-8).

What the colleges existed to produce was a class education, for political officials, ecclesiastics, professionals, landowners, and some merchants. I do not know what proportion of students were sons of fathers with these occupations -- though almost certainly it was high. The continuing integration of Windsor students into families that were, at the least, prosperous, is indicated by Joseph Howe's observation of the Western stage route, activated by,

...the continual locomotion induced by the Collegiate and Academical Institutions at Windsor, to and from which some 40 or 50 students are passing and repassing during certain seasons of the year, to say nothing of the frequent visitations of fathers, mothers, aunts, uncles, cousins, sweethearts and youthful cronies, by which the seats of the stage are not unfrequently occupied; while its top is continually loaded with bundles of boots, breeches, hats, shirts, pound cake, and other things needful and necessary to a due discussion of classical lore, and the accommodation and comfort of the youngsters (Howe 1973:122-3).

Clearly the college itself was oriented towards those who might deem themselves aristocrats, or members of the 'respectable classes.' The activities of knowledge were organized so as to insulate their practitioners from the ordinary affairs of the society. The college was conceived from the outset as a residential college of the Oxford type, in which students and teachers lived as well as studied within college walls. The choice of college locations convenient to the aristocracy was also significant in this regard. Windsor was a country
town in a fertile agricultural region, controlled, after the expulsion of the Acadians in 1755, by large landholders. Sixty thousand acres of this land had been granted to 50 people by Gov. Lawrence and his Council in 1759. The nearest such area to Halifax, Windsor served as 'a country seat for the provincial aristocracy' (MacNutt 1965: 70; cf. Vroom 1941:13-8). The Windsor location was justified as a quiet preserve, safely removed from the thick of things in the administrative, military, and commercial centre of Halifax ('an expensive commercial place of rendezvous for fleets and armies, and liable to attack in case of war,' as Inglis saw it in 1787 (quoted in Thomas 1964:34)). Fredericton was the corresponding rural seat of the aristocracy in New Brunswick, removed from the commercial centre of St. John.

Other traces of the aristocratic bearings of the King's Colleges can be clearly seen. Students at Windsor could take instruction in drawing, dancing, music, fencing, riding and other 'polite accomplishments,' (Haliburton 1829: II 105-6), presumably preparatory for the refined sociality of the aristocracy.

In New Brunswick, the sense of class boundary and discrimination was most clear in Fredericton, St. John and St. Andrews, where old families, officials, military men and even some merchants were regarded as 'respectable.' (Hannay 1897:29-30). This sense of boundary surfaced among students in the form of hazing. William T. Baird, who entered the Fredericton Grammar School in the 1830s, to learn Latin in preparation for a career as a druggist, wrote of this in his reminiscences, Seventy Years of New Brunswick Life. A classmate and friend of his was George N. Segee, later a barrister.
Many of the boys were sons of the so-called aristocracy of that day, and Segee and myself were subjected to no small amount of taunts and sneers, at and after the competitive examinations which twice in each year were held on the hill at King's College... The school was divided by the scions of the aristocracy—GasybyoRomulus, the Romans—into two classes; and the Plebei thus proscribed were made to suffer many indignities... I have seen one of our late judges, when attending King's College, enter the Fredericton library and in a flood of tears relate to my father the indignities he was daily made to suffer from the class of young men above referred to (Baird 1890:33, 34, 35).

As the college served to provide aristocratic distinction, those who did not partake of the ambition for dominance through literature could see the college as of little use. Consider thus the account of

Windsor written by Joshua Marsden, a Wesleyan missionary:

Near the town, upon an eminence, stands the university... this is not the most congenial soil for such an institution; we should never go beyond nature in our calculations; a land of woods may, for these forty years to come, dispense with such a foundation. The few lawyers, doctors, and clergymen required for infant colonies can never furnish students for a large university; and those who are probably destined to follow the plough trail, cut down maple logs, and domicile in the Forest, may very well spare a few scraps of Latin and Greek. (Marsden 1827:31).

The curriculum of the Anglican colleges was intended to form a certain type of character, that of the educated man, not the specialist. The centre of the curriculum was the traditional classics and mathematics. Grammar, logic and rhetoric were presupposed, as part of an academy education, and sometimes were taught within the college. Moral philosophy was also an essential. Metaphysics and divinity were sometimes added, as, less frequently, were natural philosophy, history, and modern languages.

The prospectus of an academy opened at Sussex Vale, New Brunswick, in 1793, advertised a curriculum of reading, writing, English grammar, surveying, navigation, geography, mathematics, natural
philosophy, Latin and Greek (Winslow 1901:403n). The collegiate curriculum was distinguished by the dropping of the more elementary subjects and the addition of others. At King's College Fredericton in 1829, Rev. Edwin Jacob, President of the college, taught classics, history and moral philosophy; Rev. George McCawley taught logic, mathematics and Hebrew; Rev. James Somerville taught divinity and metaphysics (Raymond 1919:6-8). At King's College Windsor in 1829 there were professors of Hebrew and divinity; moral science and metaphysics; mathematics, natural philosophy and astronomy; and grammar, rhetoric and logic. Additional masters were brought in to teach modern languages, especially French (Haliburton 1829:II 105).

The direct occupational utilities of the curriculum were few. The bulk of occupational preparation occurred in a theological course, or medical school, or apprenticeship. The classical languages and the general theological instruction would have been useful to preachers. Some Latin would have been useful for all professionals. Latin had been the medieval language of learning, through which knowledgeable men had communicated. The vernacular tongues lacked references that could be made in Latin. Because of its history as a distinct mode of knowing, the vocabulary of Latin still permeated the learned discourse of the professions.

More generally, however, the study of the Latin and Greek classics was simply part of what an educated man underwent. (Traditionally it had been learned with direct mortifications of the flesh, so that the body, as it were, could be thrashed into submission for the sake of an abstract mode.) (Ong 1963). ... Not only was the Latin literature read the production of another time and place, but even in its original
context most of it had a decidedly rhetorical character more important than passion or any nexus to the public life (Auerbach 1973:425-8).
The vocabularies of the antique languages, and the pithy and memorable phrases of their writers, continued, by the weight of tradition, as crucial to the literary and conversational abilities of the learned. The bachelor's course, then, intended to produce the type of an educated man, was standard for all students. The learning conveyed was the possession and defining mark of an intellectual, as well as a social, elite. The curriculum was taken for granted. It was at least unquestioned. There is no recorded dispute over it, although other aspects of the collegiate order were intensely debated.

For the most part learning existed for the teachers as it did for the students, as what was known by an educated man. Teachers were not themselves specialists. They taught several subjects, and often switched back and forth among them. This diversity was an organizational necessity, given the extent of the curriculum and the small number of teachers -- four was standard for the Maritime King's Colleges during the first half of the nineteenth century. The teachers were also ministers -- perhaps best able on that account to attend to the spiritual and moral, as well as the intellectual, condition of their students. Very often the teachers continued to be active preachers -- at least so did Porter and Cochran at Windsor, Jacob and Somerville at Fredericton.

The terms used to justify and describe the effects of this curriculum were cultivation, discipline, and character. The curriculum made the man and marked him as one of the elite. Character was formed, in one image, by the implantation of moral and religious principles in the mind. Inglis wrote Dorchester in 1787:
It is universally allowed that youth is the properest time for having the principles of religion and virtue, as well as those of science, impressed on the mind; and hence, the general principles of the former are universally inculcated in some shape or other with the principles of the latter, in all seminaries (quoted in Netten 1969:58).

Character was a matter of style and form, a way of bearing oneself and one's intellect that is worthy of esteem in its own right. The common rationale for the curriculum was articulated in terms of the formation of this character. Learning was presented in the image of an ideal truth or virtue, granting its possessors a mental and moral condition which distinguished them from vulgar occupations and persons. Classical writers in particular were thought to provide models of the ideal in thought, style, expression and taste. Contact with them was sometimes said to breed courage and nobility of spirit. This image of an ideal knowledge granting superiority to its bearers informed much of the autobiography of William Cochran. The Greek and Roman writers, Cochran wrote, are

...rich storehouses of the noblest thoughts that could be infused into the breasts of our youth and moreover highly valuable to the world at large as sealed and unalterable standards of taste amidst the fluctuations of modern language (Cochran 1954:70).

In much the same vein, praising the classics as models, James Somerville spoke to the 1828 graduating class of the College of New Brunswick:

It is to the Greek and Roman classics, particularly to the former, that mankind are indebted in a great measure for the blessings of knowledge, of Humanity, and Civilization. That wonderful people who carried every polite art to the highest perfection, and excelled in every species of composition, have left to Posterity finished models in poetry, history, philosophy, criticism, and in pure mathematics... (quoted in Pacey 1950:57-8).

The refinement of learning, the superiority of character it created, naturally linked it to ruling, to the highest positions in...
...disappointed in finding education at so low an ebb; and the conductors of it so little respected: In his own country as also in England it was quite common to see a person transferred at once from the professor's chair to a seat in the House of Lords or on the Bishop's bench, but in the United States such men seemed to rank below those who could boast no higher or more liberal knowledge than bookkeeping by double-entry. Indeed he was told (and it was not very flattering to the pride of learning) that servant girls were fond of getting places near the colleges because it gave them a fine chance for husbands among the tutors (Cochran 1954:70).

Thus respect and rank were due to educated men, who had pride in their learning. The learning they possessed was not only high but also hermetic, sealed from the fluctuations of the modern. It was also liberal, presumably in freeing its possessors from the vulgar human condition. Its rightful connections in society were with the highest reaches of the governance of Church and state. But American inversions of this rightful order saw learning rather depreciated, and linked to bookkeepers and servant girls.

Learning could also be seen to have its independence from social linkages and determinations. Somerville said: '...whatever knowledge you may acquire, make no parade nor ostentatious display of it. All real excellence rests upon itself, and therefore is modest and unpretending.' He urged students to take nothing on trust, to put every dogma to the test of free, rational inquiry. Pacey suggests that such independence of spirit was the source of difficulties with college authorities. Although he had been head of the College of New Brunswick, Somerville was passed over when a president of the new King's College Fredericton was named (Pacey 1950:59).
The actual practices of teaching in the Anglican colleges were consistent with the abstract aim of disciplining and forming the character. Teaching always remained close to the texts, which were few in number, classic, famous, and in standard usage. Inglis spoke of the 'inculcation' of principles, and was etymologically correct: they were trampled in. Classroom activity centred around the three R's of mental discipline: reading, reiteration, and recitation. Texts were treated as 'models' indeed, with which the student came to a detailed familiarity, able to quote them, recapitulate their arguments, and in general to repeat them. Their structure and phrase became part of the routine capability of thought.

The colleges had also an extensive ritual practice, which can be likewise understood as aimed at forming character by channeling sentiment and expressiveness. Important annual events were marked by ceremonies which all members of the college attended, for example at the opening of term and at graduation. Grace was said before meals. Chapel services were required. Daily life in college involved gowns, marches, songs, and paraphernalia from silver candlesticks to dinner bells. This ritual practice included students, teachers, and sometimes governors, alumni, and visitors to the college. The symbolic community constituted by ritual thus could extend into the community at large.

Attention was also paid the moral and spiritual condition of students by a close supervision of their personal conduct. The most important justification of life in residence was that it enabled this supervision. College rules specified dress, restricted the hours when students could be outside of college, prohibited the frequenting of taverns, etc.
Students did not always submit to the imposition of this discipline. Disorderliness and vandalism, even to the point of rebellion, were frequently reported, at least at King's College Windsor. Permit some speculation here on how the forms of rebellion might have been determined by their situation. Students lived in residence, in close contact with their fellows. They daily encountered the instruction and discipline of the professors. By their presence in college the students clearly signified their desire for what it offered, but there were numerous possible undercurrents of rejection. The repetitive mode of instruction could easily have been found tedious. Students could have experienced (to whatever degree of conscious clarity) a discontinuity in their experience, between rustic land, hard farming labour, and animal pleasures, all of which they would likely have witnessed, and the overcivilizing learning and discipline modelled on those of the Imperial centre. (The gap between Anglican higher education and its colonial circumstances, discussed in various regards above, could also have appeared in the life experience of its students, aristocratic though they were.) Finally the moral and religious discipline of the college could have been felt as alien, crimping natural urges to pleasure and emotional release, urges fertilized in the fellowship of the residence.

At Windsor there were consistent violations of the college rules, and sporadic acts of rebellion, including the blowing up of the president's front steps, and the hoisting of his pig onto the roof of the college building. In the light of the speculations above, these can be seen as visceral outbursts manifesting various sentiments of rejection. They could have represented a common feeling, even if only a few students engaged in them; and a sense of group humour could have preserved in secrecy the identity of the active rebels.
All the extant records of this student rebellion exist of course in consequence of official reaction to it. Thus for instance we know that the SPG made a special grant of L500 to the college in 1825, for two tutors 'to superintend the morals and religious instruction of the Divinity students' (Hind 1890: 65). The disorder was troublesome enough in the 1820s to inspire a special report from the college Visitor, Bishop John Inglis. (Students had trimmed the hair from Inglis' horses' tails, while he was visiting to investigate.) (Hamilton 1970:188). Inglis wrote that the students' 'shameful conduct...has already caused reproach far and near, in this and in the neighbouring colonies.' Outrageous acts had been directed against the college officers, and these,

...were only links in a series of disorderly and revengeful acts, originating in the displeasure of the students, conceived against the officers of the college in consequence of their having been obliged to inflict punishment in support of the statutes which had been flagrantly violated.

William Cochran had been obliged to make midnight visits to public houses and 'this old man was harassed incessantly, and at length his lecture-room furniture was destroyed. President Porter had suffered intolerable annoyances.' But the most serious aspect of the disorder, the Visitor thought, was the pernicious student system of banding together to conceal offences and protect offenders. The students, seem to have been long impressed with a notion that by banding together, and refusing to give information that might fix the offence, by something like legal proof, upon the real offender, any act, however atrocious, may be perpetrated with impunity.... I hope Your Excellency and the other governors of the college will agree with me in the opinion that it is more important to destroy this delusion than to ascertain the persons who are guilty of the offences recently committed.

All students were ordered confined to the college, on pain of expulsion,
until those innocent of the outrages or knowledge of them signed a declaration to that effect. After considerable delay, one student was expelled, four more deprived of credit for the last four terms and banished for the next four, and one other eventually swore his innocence. (This mischievous banding together, the college historian Hind wrote, was revived in later years.) (Hind 1890:71-3).

At the beginning of substantial settlement in the Maritimes, the colonies were places of domination by and exploitation for a political and economic oligarchy of merchants, Imperial officials and would-be gentry. These external agents accounted for the initial conformation and settlement of the colonies. But they were joined, and sometimes fought, by frontier settlers and more local traders. In these circumstances, there was envisioned by members of the Imperially spawned oligarchy, an organization of the ideological apparatus in general and of higher education in particular, which aimed to dominate the ideological and intellectual life of the colonies, by monopolizing its means, and by providing service to the settlers before they could do so for themselves, with ministers trained to extend an Anglican message of loyalty to God and King. It didn't work.

Among the settlers there sprang up certain impermanent forms of social organization -- revivals and ephemeral movements of political opposition. The regnant ideological apparatus was too weak, and the indigenous movements too strong and too well adapted to popular needs, to allow for a thorough hegemony. But the oligarchy did have the means of monopolizing the means of ideology. The colleges they formed turned from the ambition for a pervasive ideological influence, to the
more modest aim of serving as a reactionary enclave. The colleges trained men for work in the preconditions of production, in the state and the professions, and served to provide the defining marks of an elite in intellect as well as in social position. Even at this, the colleges were modest successes at best, limited by scant colonial demand and support, and by distance from the Imperial centre.

This situation was changed in the following decades, as the forms of local organization, economic, political and ecclesiastical, became more developed, and provided the basis for a reformation of education.
CHAPTER III

DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

We now need to consider the development of social institutions in the early nineteenth century Maritimes. Economic activity in this period can be characterized in terms of an opposition or contradiction between locally centered activity, interested in the development of stable communities with some degree of economic self-sufficiency, and mercantile activity oriented outside the Maritimes, interested in the local society as a source of or market for trade goods.

Ryerson's historical work plays upon such a theme. Following Marx's distinction between mercantile and industrial capital, he emphasizes a contradiction between the restrictive Imperial commercial economy and developing native capitalist industry (Ryerson 1968 passim, especially Postscript 427-8). Creighton's incisive treatment of the Canadian rebellions of 1837 utilizes a conceptual dichotomy in the same vein, but with a focus on agriculture, emphasizing 'the discord between
trade and agriculture, the disagreement between the organization of the commercial system and the demands of the rural communities....' (Creighton 1967:222).

Neither of these formulations appears exactly suited to the early nineteenth century Maritimes. Ryerson's claim for an indigenous manufacturing capitalist class has been subjected to criticism recently (cf. Teeple 1972, especially the essay by Naylor). As a conceptual focus it does not sufficiently emphasize the prevalence of agriculture as the key element in Maritime development and the basis of claims there to political and intellectual autonomy. There was, however, more than agriculture. The situation of trade in the Maritimes was more various than in Upper Canada. There was some local manufacturing, of a character skewed by the demands of Empire, and a level of trade which was not part of the Imperial system.

There was then local economic development, primarily agricul-
tural, with some components of manufacturing and trade. Its tendency was to form a community dominated economically by petit bourgeois capital, with scattered solid communities. Standing over against all this was the system of large scale mercantile capitalism guaranteed by the Imperial apparatus. Certainly there was opposition between the local and the mercantile, manifested in political conflicts. But further there was a contradiction -- one could develop only at the expense of the other. They required different organizations of labour, different structures of finance, and sent the economic surplus to different destinations. Thus mercantile predominance made for an incompleteness in the development of local production.
The big Maritime mercantile capitalists traded within the Empire — relying upon bounties, guaranteed shipping routes, and preferential treatment in the home market — and somewhat to the southern States and Europe. The main articles of trade were lumber and dried fish for the West Indies, and square timber and ships for England (Easterbrook and Aitken 1963:244).

The mercantile capitalist (as a type of economic man) made profit by exchanging and distributing what others had produced. The trader in staples was always rapacious — aiming to take the natural wealth and turn it to easy profit. He related to the society as a fragmented collection of resource-extractors. His interest was in their availability, and not in the general quality or development of their life. He might have had some interest in a minimally reliable and disciplined labour force. But being parasitical upon the local population and resources, he was not interested in generally solidifying the structure of the community. In particular he was unconcerned with the development or stabilization of the local economy. In fact he had reason to oppose it, to think the less developed it was the better, for his ideal was to maximize profits by exporting all that was produced and importing all that was consumed.

The tendency of mercantile capitalist enterprises operating in a colonial economy was to maintain capital for self-expansion or divert it out of the colony to the Imperial centre. There is not sufficient information available to support a technical discussion of this capital formation — e.g., on the rate of surplus appropriation, the specifics of financial practice, the proportion of trade enterprises that were foreign-owned. But I can provide a schematic view,
relying on this general understanding of mercantile capital, the work of economic historians, and some contemporary economic complaints and descriptions of ordinary life.

Mercantile capitalist practice transformed capital into trade goods, which were then shipped and sold and transformed back into capital, ready for successive investments. Enterprises requiring intensive or longer-term capital investments thus were discouraged. The capital accumulated in mercantile endeavours, a potential basis for local development, was seldom reinvested locally, but was absorbed in the expansion of mercantile enterprise, or expatriated by transient or foreign capitalists. Joseph Howe explained the mechanism simply in the Acadian Recorder of 1827:

> With our manifold and positive advantages our improvement should be rapid and brilliant, our civilization should be more active in its victory over the wilderness...but owing to causes that ought to be revealed, the progress of our prosperity is comparatively slow.... To speak truth, much of the capital which has been accumulated in the province fills the coffers of foreign money establishments. (quoted in Ryerson 1968:196-7).

Peter Fisher, New Brunswick's first historian, wrote in the same vein in 1825 of transient timber merchants:

> ...such persons, then, who are to be found in all the ports of the province add nothing to the wealth of the country, but rather act as drains to it.... The persons principally engaged in shipping the timber have been strangers who have taken no interest in the welfare of the country; but have merely occupied a spot to make what they could in the shortest possible time (quoted in MacNaughton 1947:76).

The economic historians agree. Easterbrook and Aitken say:

> ...it seems likely that the greater part of the profits went to the shippers rather than to the primary producers and that more of the accumulated earnings were remitted to England than were retained in the province. If this is so, the lumber industry can have done little to promote capital accumulation and provide a sound base for future growth (Easterbrook and Aitken 1963:243).
The resulting shortness of capital was attested in a dispatch of New Brunswick's Lt.-Governor Colebrooke to the Colonial Secretary, Lord Russell, in 1841. Colebrooke pleaded for investment (which presumably would continue the structure of Imperial exploitation, in altered form):

The extent to which the progress of the Americans has been accelerated by means of British capital obtained through the public credit is contrasted with the little encouragement in this way which the British provinces have derived since the Revolution; and the obvious inadequacy of their own means to the object, and their relative weakness compared with the neighbouring States, have led the colonists to feel that the time has arrived when the realization of the advantages from British connection ought not to be longer delayed (quoted in MacNaughton 1947:83).

Financial practices further supported the mercantile system. There was a 'close alliance of finance and commerce,' in which a, concentration on export staples diverted capital, always in short supply in newly developing countries, away from domestic industry and agriculture, and as a consequence institutions for the mobilization and investment of funds in these latter pursuits were slow to appear (Easterbrook and Aitken 1963:445).

The general policy of banks was to adopt high-liquidity lending practices, favourable to commerce but not to settled development (Easterbrook and Aitken 1963:455).

Locally organized production was also hindered by the attraction of manpower to timbering or fishing, to the detriment of farming. And finally, when necessary, mercantile capitalists would add to these structural hindrances to local development their direct political opposition. Thus, wanting to import everything consumed, merchants opposed duties which would have encouraged agriculture and manufacturing (MacNutt 1963:212-3).
The large-scale trade of the Maritimes was dependent upon the swaying of international economics and politics in general, and upon the Imperial tie in particular. Maritime traders thus joined commercial interests in Britain in seeking the maintenance of a self-contained Empire.

We have seen above that the circumstances of the Napoleonic Wars, the American embargo on trade with British colonies, and the British preference on colonial timber imposed in consequence of the Napoleonic blockade, accelerated Maritime trade, both contraband and legitimate. With the passing of wartime constraints, the status of Imperial trade was again open for reconsideration. Commercial anxiety was not uncommon in the Maritimes, merchants fearing that the colonies would be sacrificed in the tremors of Imperial policy. In Nova Scotia the opening of trade channels to the Americans was particularly feared, in New Brunswick the reduction of the timber preferences (cf. MacNutt. 1965:170). In general it can be said that the bonds of Empire were loosened gradually through the 1820s and 1830s, but that big traders handsomely survived.

Cause for concern grew through the 1830s and early 1840s. British policymakers had their own economic worries to tend to, with both agricultural recession and an industrial crisis which saw falling rates of profit and mass hardship (Hobsbawm 1969:72-8, 80-1). Industry was gaining ascendancy over trade and agriculture in the formation of British trade regulation. The trade privileges of the colonies and the costs of their administration came increasingly to be seen as burdens. But massive changes in the trade regulation which defined the place of the Maritimes in the Imperial system did not occur until the mid-century.
The old triangular trade was brought into question with particular regard to the dependence of the West Indies on American foodstuffs and lumber, and of the Maritimes on American foodstuffs. What had to be resolved was whether the carrying trade should be reserved to British and colonial shipowners, or rather opened up to the Americans. British shippers wanted exclusiveness maintained; the carrying to the West Indies was important to them both in its own right and as a crucial leg of the triangular trade. Nova Scotian and New Brunswick commercial and fishing interests also depended upon exclusion, and colonial merchants held that their position as British subjects gave them special privileges in trade. West Indies plantation owners wanted the cheapest imports, and thus opposed restraints of trade. The Americans of course said that their shipping should go where their goods went. And there were developing British interests concerned to maintain good commercial relations with the Americans.

The legal supports of Maritime commerce were extended for a period after the close of the War of 1812, and American products continued to pass through Maritime ports en route to Britain and the West Indies. But these legal supports were gradually removed, in the context of a protracted commercial warfare between Britain and the United States. The Americans imposed punitive tariffs and trade restrictions on British and colonial shipping. The British sanctioned the Americans in the same ways, and encouraged the trade passing through Maritime free ports. A series of agreements and renewed restrictions occurred through the 1820s. A final compromise was reached in 1830. By this time the issue was less important to both America and Britain than it had been, and demands were being raised in the British Parliament for
the emancipation of colonial commerce. The compromise in effect created reciprocal trading privileges, except for the maintenance of West Indian duties favouring certain commodities of Imperial origin, especially fish. Much of the artificial support for the position of the Maritimes at the apex of the triangular trade was ended. Maritime trade was weakened but not ruined.

The net result was that trade between the United States and the Maritime colonies came to be shared between American and British (including colonial) ships; but American ships were unable to secure much of a foothold in the trade from the Maritimes to England and to the West Indies, which continued to be monopolized by ships of British registry. The old triangular trade, in short, remained in British and colonial hands, as it had been originally, and the profits of this trade continued to be the chief reliance of the merchants of the Maritime provinces (Easterbrook and Aitken 227-38, quote 237-8; MacNutt 1965:169-71; MacNutt 1963:154, 177, 193-4; MacNaughton 1947:61).

The subsidiary industry of fishing, providing the staple of the West Indies trade, continued under Imperial protection. Nova Scotian and New Brunswick fishermen had exclusive access to their inshore waters from 1812, when British declared previous agreements allowing American fishermen in these waters to be abrogated by the advent of war, to the reopening of the waters to Americans in conjunction with the trade reciprocity negotiated between British North America and the United States in 1854.

The timber trade, which was the overwhelming economic activity of New Brunswick, was supported by British preferential tariffs throughout this period. The first preferences were enacted in 1808. Although they were opposed by Baltic shippers, and by New Brunswick landed interests who wanted the trade suppressed for the sake of agriculture, and by humanitarians who thought timbering lowered the standards of British civilization and should be left to foreigners, and although
a bill to end the preferences was narrowly defeated in the British Parliament in 1831, they were not actually reduced until 1842.

The boom and bust of Imperial prosperity could and did rock the general prosperity of the Maritime colonies. The more embedded in the Imperial system a colony was, the more severe were these effects. There was a general economic decline following the end of the Napoleonic wars, in the Maritimes as in England, and the demand for agricultural produce plummeted, especially in Nova Scotia. A fictional ethnography, The Letters of Mephibosheth Stepsure, published in the early 1820s, reported that a farm which would have brought L1500 a few years before had been sold for only L490. Nova Scotia also suffered the loss of that British wartime largesse from which it had specially benefited. Largely due to the loss of this British capital influx, Nova Scotian government revenues fell from over L100,000 in 1814 to less than L50,000 in 1817, and to about L22,000 in 1821 (Howe 1973:99n80).

In New Brunswick at this time, however, thanks to the booming timber trade, government revenues shot up: 1815 revenues were four times those of 1811, and 1816 revenues four times those of 1815 (MacNaughton 1947:62). But crashes and fears of crashes in the timber market were devastating in New Brunswick, especially in 1826 (MacNutt 1963:213-4), and in 1841, upon reduction of the British preference, when there were bankruptcies and substantial emigration, although a resurgence of trade came in 1843. (MacNutt 1965:215-6). Timbering was a gambler's industry.

Howe wrote to his wife from the Miramichi in 1834:

There is scarcely a man in business here with whom I would like to exchange -- of some hundreds of persons who have dealt largely in timber here, this is [sic] scarcely six who have not been ruined, and I would give but little for the chances of those who remain (Howe 1973:176n65).
Of course the activity of the society was not limited to trade and the extraction of staple goods for trade. Local economic activity was built up in the interstices of the Imperial system -- an agriculture conducted by the spillage of population, craft production, that little manufacture that was not done in Britain or was needed as ancillary to the Imperial trade, and even such small trade as was allowed or could not be stopped.

In the early nineteenth century there were substantial population increases in all the Maritime provinces, due primarily to Scottish and Irish immigration, impelled by generally catastrophic economic circumstances, Highland clearances, and the persecution of Roman Catholics. (Walter Johnstone, describing Prince Edward Island as a place of immigration, recommended settlement in 1822 to those for whom the wind of adversity threatened to become a gale.) (Johnstone 1955:146). The population of Nova Scotia increased by regular steps, from 40,000 in 1800, to 65,000 in 1806, 82,000 in 1817, 123,000 in 1827, 203,000 in 1840 and 277,000 in 1850. New Brunswick increased from 25,000 in 1800, to 35,000 in 1806, to 90,000 in 1827, to 127,000 in 1840, and 194,000 in 1850. Prince Edward Island increased from 15,000 in 1820, to 33,000 in 1833, 47,000 in 1841, and 64,000 in 1850. The region as a whole increased about sevenfold in the first half of the nineteenth century, from 75,000 to 535,000. (MacNutt 1963:162-3; French 1962:62, 86; Creighton 1939:27; Glazebrook 1938:150; Clark 1959:121; MacNutt in Bolger 1973:115). Immigration was viewed as desirable in some Imperial planning, as a means for the disposal of surplus population, and as a means to reduce the high price of colonial labour. But it was also largely unregulated and unaided. Many who came were
quite poor, and became public charges; some, especially among the Irish, became a source of political disturbance (MacNutt 1963:216-20; Teeple 1972:44-5).

Most of the immigrant population was settled in rural areas, filling up much of the good available land in Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, and the St. John Valley and South shore of New Brunswick. Successful farming was apparently possible in all of the provinces. Travelling through the Nova Scotian countryside in 1838, Joseph Howe reported encountering 'a goodly body of examples...of men who, with industrious frugality and prudent management, have grown rich by farming alone....' (Howe 1973:89). J.L. Lewellin could report on Prince Edward Island in 1832:

...there is a certain prospect of the necessaries of life, with each succeeding year, an increase of prosperity to every sober, industrious farmer, who is acquainted with his business (Lewellin 1955:192).

Agriculture could expand when attended to. Agricultural exports from Prince Edward Island increased from £8000 to £30,000 between 1820 and 1831. Much of this has been credited to the beneficent policies of Lt.-Governor Ready (1824-31), who expended revenue for roads and bridges, and sponsored an agricultural society which imported improved varieties of seeds and livestock (Lewellin 1955:181-2, 210; Harvey 1955:177-8).

On the whole, however, agricultural development proceeded with tortuous slowness. It was most depressed in New Brunswick, which was continuously dependent upon imported American foodstuffs. Farming remained in a state of decline through the teens and twenties, with stagnation in property improvements and values. Rural debt was widespread, and it was said that the chief employment of sheriffs was the capture and imprisonment of debtors (MacNutt 1963:178, 212). Food
production, especially of livestock and dairy products, was somewhat better in Nova Scotia. Agriculture especially flourished there with the extraordinary demand for produce during the Napoleonic wars. But Nova Scotia was not indeed self-sufficient in foodstuffs. Poor farmers were the rule, and the sheriffs were kept busy there too. (Hamilton 1970:13-4; Easterbrook and Aitken 1967:239-40). Only Prince Edward Island was self-sufficient in foodstuffs. Potatoes and a variety of grains were grown. Livestock was raised, fed on clover and hay. Production improved in the late 1820s, with the arrival of threshing machines and reapers, the importation of livestock and seeds with the aid of the local Agricultural Society and the encouragement of Governor Ready. Even so, progress in suitable cropping and in the use of fertilizers was slow. Beasts were excessive in number for available resources and many were spindly (Clark 1959:73-80; Harvey 1955:177; Lewellin 1955:181-2, 210; Callbeck in Bolger 1973:338).

Agricultural development was hindered by a number of circumstances. Access to markets was limited by transportation facilities, with only the coastal trade commercially profitable. William Moorsom wrote in the 1820s that:

The internal trade of the province has not arrived at such a state, as to deserve particular mention; the facility of water carriage round the coast compensates, in great measure, for the want of good communications across the country (quoted in Howe 1973:14).

Most settlement was therefore coastal, with the exception of the Annapolis Valley. All the appreciable towns had access to tidewater. What roads existed were often in ill repair, poor, some impassably narrow or muddy, some with deteriorating corduroy construction or bridges. By 1828 there were two Nova Scotian roads well enough constructed for
stage coaches, from Halifax to Truro and Pictou, and from Halifax to
Windsor and Annapolis (Parks 1973:10) 13, 14-27; MacNutt 1965:213-4).
Roads were cleared most readily in Prince Edward Island, due to the
amenability of its soil (Clark 1959:72-3). It was not until about
1850 that an adequate system of roads gave interior settlements
access to one another and to seaports (Easterbrook and Aitken 1963:
240-41).

Farmers themselves were chided by critics for sloth, sybarit-
ism and want of system. The moral aspects of this will be considered
in a later context. For the flavour of such commentary consider this
description of Prince Edward Island farmers in 1822, by J.W. Johnstone:

...their want of steady industrious habits, particularly among
the youth born upon the Island; stout horses or oxen to
work with; good implements of agriculture; lime easily pro-
cured; knowledge how to make and preserve their dung; good
roads, and remunerating prices for agricultural produce,
added to the delight they take in fishing and eating fish;
their general poverty and ignorance in managing a clear
farm -- all these, and many other things, contribute to
make them bad farmers; and where they have large clear
farms, they are letting much of the land run entirely
wild and barren (Johnstone 1955:126).

J.L. Lewellin, writing in 1832, when agricultural production was up,
said that although 'many farmers display in their management an accurate
and intimate knowledge of their difficult calling...,' nevertheless
'the general mode of conducting a farm is slovenly, often wretched'
(Lewellin 1955:193).

Finally the general subordination of the colonial economies
to the Imperial system had clear detrimental effects on agriculture.
Not only did the staple trades attract men away from agriculture, but
settlement was obstructed by Imperially created benefices and large
absentee land-holdings. Such unsettled tracts could separate settlers
difficult from their neighbours, make road-building stand in the way of possible farm expansions. Joseph Howe inquired about such grants:

We should like to ask those whose business it is to attend to such matters, whether any, and what conditions, are attached to those formidable grants which are scattered over the country. Are there any obligations to clear and cultivate certain quantities, or to keep stock in proportion to the number of hundred acres? Would not such matters be worthy the serious attention of the legislature? And might not some plan be adopted to render these nuisances less intolerable than they are? (Howe 1973:175).

He also called a 5000 acre tract granted to King's College Windsor in 1813, like other large grants, 'a nuisance and obstruction to the general progress of cultivation' (Howe 1973:192). In Prince Edward Island such grants were of course worse than a nuisance. Most settlers were tenants for absentee landlords. Where tenant farming for absentees was the rule, the surplus from agricultural production was expatriated. Population and agricultural production did increase, in spite of the holding of large unproductive tracts and the limited availability of freehold land. There were nearly yearly attempts by the Governor or House of Assembly to tax or escheat the proprietors, all effectively squelched (Bolger passim; Clark 1959:80-1).

Mining was begun in this period but did not become large. The Albion coal mines, near Pictou, were first developed with British capital, through the General Mining Association, around the turn of the century. Howe visited the mines in 1828 and described the pits, the ovens for coke manufacture, and the small foundry for smelting and casting (Howe 1973:162-3). (He used the occasion to argue for the advantages of domestic manufacture.) In 1839 a railroad, the first in British North America, was constructed to aid in coal transport. Pro-
hibitive tariffs restricted the market to British North America, and even here it faced competition from British imports (Patterson 1877:398ff; MacNutt 1965:215).

Much of the local manufacturing production that existed was ancillary to resource extraction and trade. The most important enterprises were lumber mills and fisheries. Shipbuilding was important in providing both the means of commerce and an item for sale. From 1815 on it grew markedly, and nearly every outport had a yard, some of which -- at St. John, Yarmouth, Lunenburg and Pictou -- were quite large. Nova Scotia built the most ships, New Brunswick the largest (Easterbrook and Aitken 1963:244). The industry grew steadily, declining only as steam replaced sails, as can be seen in the production figures for Prince Edward Island:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>1820s</th>
<th>1830s</th>
<th>1840s</th>
<th>1850s</th>
<th>1860s</th>
<th>1870s</th>
<th>1880s</th>
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<td></td>
<td>272</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>847</td>
<td>914</td>
<td>571</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>797</td>
</tr>
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</table>

(Callbeck in Bolger 1973:334-7).

Local production, as of clothing, furniture and utensils, might have been both a measure and a means of local prosperity, but it did not develop. New Brunswick's Lt.-Governor Colebrooke wrote to Grey in 1847:

...in New Brunswick it is remarkable that with the exceptions of the encouragement given for the erection of mills for sawed lumber and some grist mills there has been scarcely any attempt made to establish any kind of manufacture -- the peasantry being dependent in many cases on their own rude contrivances for the most ordinary conveniences.

In an 1865 speech, A.G. Archibald referred -- even in Nova Scotia -- to,

...the great body of the settlers in the country, whose backs are covered with woolens of their own production -- whose feet are shod from the hides of their own cattle -- whose heads are covered with straw from their own fields -- who sleep between blankets of their own wool and their own weaving -- on feathers form their own farmyards (quoted in Creighton 1939:27).
Numerous circumstances were unconducive to the development of local manufacturing. The lack of capital has been discussed above. Manufacturing established earlier and elsewhere, in England or America, had the advantages of established production technique and established markets. Exporting from the Maritimes would have confronted the additional barriers of tariffs and transportation costs. The local market was not fully developed. Manufactured goods did not fill all daily needs. There was a probability of local manufacturing success only in the production of those commodities which were in almost universal daily use and were not household-produced -- flour and alcoholic beverages (even the latter was largely imported).

The obstacles to local production were only slowly surmounted. J.W. Johnstone found in all of Prince Edward Island in 1822 only the odd grain mill or brewery, and one brickmaker (Johnstone, passim). Thus there was, in addition to the mass of farmers, a small and slowly growing class of manufacturers, only later to be joined by industrial capitalists.

The organization of commerce in the Maritimes created 'strata' of traders. Small traders, engaged in trade along the coasts and in the North Atlantic area generally, were encouraged by the ease of shipping from many harbours, the lack of overland transportation from countryside to major ports, and by relatively light demands for initial capital. This stratification of trade was not possible in the Canadas, which faced a long trade highway separating them from the open ocean. But:

Among the Maritimes, only the province of New Brunswick had a drainage system with a tendency to focus affairs; and this centralization of economic and political activity in
the river valleys of New Brunswick, and particularly in the valley of the Saint John, could have only a provincial, not an intercolonial significance. In the Bay of Fundy and along the south shore of Nova Scotia dozens of outports vigorously contested the ambitions of Halifax and Saint John. Except in New Brunswick, where lumbering along the big rivers tended to promote the growth of large saw-milling enterprises, the business affairs of the Maritimes were in the hands of individuals, families and small firms.... The political division and the economic decentralization of the Maritimes were in harmony, not in conflict (Creighton 1939:22).

This formulation doubtless underemphasizes the presence of large-scale trading enterprises. What geography did not centralize, the exigencies of finance, lengthy trade routes and Imperial regulation did. But the option of small trade was real and easily grasped.

Small traders, like the large, depended on the vicissitudes of international prosperity and politics; upon the demand for local commodities -- e.g., gypsum, timber and fish, in nearby markets, and consequently upon general levels of prosperity; upon the sluice-gates of the American market, the opportunities it provided for legal trade on the one hand, smuggling (or privateering) on the other.

A precise picture cannot be drawn, but it seems that small trade continued in fairly constant importance throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. Small traders would have been harmed by the renewal of legitimate shipping between America and Britain and her colonies (they had been so busy in the contraband trade that went on in contravention of the mutually punitive tariff restrictions), and likewise by the substantial loss of the gypsum trade as the Americans obtained their own supplies in the 1820s. (MacNutt 1963:175-6). But local traders would have benefited from general growth in population and agriculture, expanding both its products and their markets.
The press of commercial and Imperial activity could provide for an atmosphere of cosmopolitan bustle in a major centre. Thus William Moorsom's description of Halifax in 1828:

The wharfs are then crowded with vessels of all kinds discharging their cargoes or taking in the returns. Signals are constantly flying at the citadel for vessels coming in; merchants are running about, in anticipation of their freights; officers of the garrison are seen striding down with a determined pace to welcome a detachment from the depot, or a pipe of Sney's claret for the mess; and ladies, tripping along on the tiptoe of expectation, flock into two or three soi-disant bazaars for the latest à-la-mode bonnets (Moorson quoted in Howe 1973:10).

In the country, however, one could see the ragged ends of Imperial exploitation. As Creighton said of the Canada, 'settlements...were dwarfed by a commercial system which was largely independent of their existence and which, in fact as well as in design, transcended their limited activities' (Creighton 1967:223).

Men in the settlements, hauling timber from the forest or fish from the sea, would see their products taken into the commercial system and used to produce substantial profit merely by trade. And men were in fact drawn from their farms, drawn by the promise of easy money and a free life, to work as labourers in timbering or in the ancillary shipbuilding industry. Some local men attempted to form combinations and pursue the wealth of the forests, most of them failing in what proved a gambler's industry. (Easterbrook and Aitken 1963:199, 253; MacNuaghton 1947:72-3). Many critical observors, including William Moorsom (Howe 1973:176n65), remarked upon the dangers of this attention to the short-term compensations of timber, in preference to agriculture. They saw the timber trade as chaotic and rapacious, producing many social and individual evils, including intemperance, widely acknowledged as common to foresters.
Financially, too, the country suffered. Cash was in short supply. Joseph Howe, writing to his wife from Kentville in 1834 and complaining of the difficulties of collecting subscription payments for his newspaper, said:

The country is miserably poor. You can scarcely have an idea how scarce money is among persons who have valuable properties worth hundreds of pounds, and almost all the comforts of life about them (Howe 1973:5).

Many were not merely short of cash but in debt. The provinces were traversed by chains of indebtedness, from farmer to local storekeeper to a St. John or Halifax or Charlottetown merchant, and thence often to England. Severe, even cut-throat practices were common at all the links (Easterbrook and Aitken 1963:455; Baird 1890:130-1). Mephibosheth Stepsure quotes the respectable Squire Worthy's remark: 'Merchants are very useful, and we cannot do without them; but they live altogether by the labours of other people; and they usually live well' (McCulloch 1960: 76). The implicit warning was not often heeded. It was said that the chief employment of sheriffs was the capture and imprisonment of debtors (MacNutt 1963:178 or 212). The pages of Stepsure's letters are full of characters who suffered such a fate (McCulloch passim). Such indebtedness was sometimes seen to be due to inflated appetites for finery, as if the very tastes of the country people were formed so as to suit their exploitation by the mercantile system. McCulloch saw it as commonly so. A critic of his letters agreed, and described the life of Nova Scotia partly as follows:

We dress, eat and drink above our circumstances, and we are engaged in a constant race with poverty and the sheriff. The whole price obtained for the farm produce brought to Halifax is by most people laid out on goods of one kind or another before they quit the town, and they return home as penniless as they came. The circulating medium
is therefore centred about the capital, and the country is devoid of all specie for the purposes of exchange (McCulloch 1960:133).

Joseph Howe, in the same vein, asked:

And how can they covet what lowers them from the elevation of independent yeomen to the galling servitude of country traders, and the long train of legal cormorants who live by the extravagance of the farmers? (Howe 1973:87).

Such a dire sketch of rural life should not be taken to mean that there were not prosperous individuals and indeed communities, or to mean that life in the outlying towns, villages and country was characterized solely by fragmented labourers in resource extraction and farmers heavily in debt. Rather there were instances of rural prosperity. The fertile agricultural regions of the provinces, when diligently worked, provided a basis for a comfortable and increasing wealth. This was notably true, for example, of the Annapolis Valley, and of much of the freehold land in Prince Edward Island, as the accounts of Howe and Lewellin reveal. Also of significance here is the fact that the term 'middle class' began to be used in the Maritimes after about 1830, as it was in Britain, referring generally to those rising from modest beginnings to some affluence.

Communities with some measure of prosperity did grow up. Let us consider two examples. Pictou in 1800 was a mere village of perhaps 20 buildings, with many settlers in its environs merely eking out a subsistence. By 1820 it was a town with a population of 1500 and 150 to 200 buildings. With a capacious harbour and good wharves, it had, as William Dawson said, 'attained to some local importance as a trading place' (Dawson 1901:1). A number of merchants arose and pro-
spered, mostly in timber, exports of which averaged about £100,000 per year from 1800 to 1820. There was an ancillary shipbuilding industry. Fishing and the export of fish were also developed, and the bounty of a fertile agricultural region was also apparent — enough wheat was grown to supply at least the local population. Coal mining was begun. There were mills for the production of flour and oatmeal, for carding wool and sawing lumber. Out of this activity a retail trade was supported. (The local economy was harmed, however, by the post-Napoleonic recession.) (Patterson 1877:233-4, 244-5, 293, 303-11; Dawson 1901:1-4, 17; Howe 1973:147-52).

To consider another example: the town of Woodstock, New Brunswick, saw a regular increase in the number of businesses, public offices and meeting places, through the 1830s and 1840s. By 1847, with a population of 609, the town included: one flour mill, one carding mill, one fulling mill, one double saw mill; 20 stores and shops, 35 mechanics' shops; two banks, two insurance offices, three public offices (clerk, registrar, and post office), one printing office, six attorneys; three hotels, seven taverns; four churches, three physicians and four schools (Baird 1890:129).

The political regularities emerging out of the initially chaotic situation following the British conquest and the Loyalist migration in the Maritime colonies, and continuing up to the attainment of responsible government, can be understood as the constantly altering struggle for control of the state by three discernible major groups. First, Imperial officialdom, including most prominently officials of the Colonial Office, Governors and later Lieutenant-Governors, and
certain other colonial officials appointed from England, especially in revenue offices. Second, a local elite, old families of landowners and officials, and including prominent commercial capitalists by the 1830s. This elite was composed of a network of 'aristocratic' families, related by marriage and social contacts, who kept appointive offices within their ranks, and who, at the outset, held their offices indefinitely, 'during good behaviour.' The result was a quasi-hereditary domination of offices, and what could be called, after Weber, a prebendary stratum, using the state as its private property (Weber 1967: 207). Third, popular representatives, speaking on behalf of local people as distinct from Imperial or aristocratic administration. These were mostly legislative representatives, but also included some politically interested journalists, lawyers and preachers. Of course all three groups made arguments on behalf of their aims as conducive to the general well-being of the society, but it was these local representatives who most clearly spoke for a larger constituency.

Among these groups, there were various strange-political-bedfellow coalitions of convenience. It was roughly true that an alliance between any two followed upon an opposition between each of them and the third.

Into the 1820s at least, major political decisions were effectively monopolized by oligarchies within the provinces and the Imperial administration outside them. By the 1830s, however, there was developed a sustained and fully voiced criticism of this control of the state, and a claim to its control through local political processes. This criticism and claim to control was rooted in a number of ideal and material interests. The particular interests at stake were
distinctive to each province. But there were common elements. The first — and that most commonly emphasized in politically oriented histories -- was the ideal of democracy, that government should be answerable to the governed. But we can also inquire into the immediate interests impelling those changes that can be described as the achievement of democracy.

A number of distinctly economic aims, as these were affected by state policies, were at stake. Local economic interests, small producers and traders, wanted to mould the state to suit their concerns rather than those of the Empire. There were obstructions to local economic activity, created or enforced by the state, which local representatives sought to clear away. There were stifling Imperial tariffs, even between provinces, and revenue-absorbing machinery for their collection. Imperially created obstructions to agricultural settlement elicited strong local opposition from those who wanted to make settlement practicable. In New Brunswick, the holding of massive areas as Crown timber reserves, and later land grant fees and policies of land sale, were the primary foci of political contention: for at least two decades. The single most important issue in the politics of Prince Edward Island before Confederation was local demand for escheat of absentee land holdings. Even in Nova Scotia undeveloped land grant blocks were a problem. Local control of the state was sought, then, to eliminate such hindrances to prosperity. More positively, there was concern for using the state to provide an infrastructure for entrepreneurial activity. Expansive tariff, bounty, and land policies were sought. The construction of transportation facilities -- initially roads and bridges -- was a primary item in government budgets. In the
Maritimes this transportation infrastructure, until the time of railroads, served local economic concerns and not large scale trade.

Ideological aims were also prominent. Liberties of religious and educational practice were sought for decades, and the reactionary defence of Anglican monopolies was a source of widespread bitterness and support for the cause of reform. Finally there were properly political aims. The development of a local organization capable of operating the state required control of the perquisites of government, the spoils of office, revenues and appointments. Revenue control was certainly required to provide for the economic and ideological interests described above, but also for patronage. Local revenue control required local legislative power and the dismantling of the revenue-absorbing system of Imperial taxation. Control of appointments was needed such that favourably disposed men would be situated in influential positons, and for patronage to reward supporters.

The pursuit of these aims entailed constitutional alterations of the old forms of government, in particular the securing of legislative ascendancy over the executive. The Councils with which the Maritime provinces began the nineteenth century provided the highest executive officials with a veto over popular legislative measures. Thus reformers sought first a clear separation of legislative and executive bodies, and then the responsibility of executive to legislature. Offices under the old system were in effect the private property of a semi-aristocratic prebendary stratum. Reformers sought its expropriation, so that the rewards of politics could be available to those who rose locally and spoke for local interests.
The expropriation of the prebendary stratum was partly accomplished by the Imperial administration itself, which had certain interests distinct from those of the old families, maximizing revenues from staple duties and land sales, mediating between conflicting groups within the colonies so as to preserve a modicum of peace, and eventually minimizing and then ending expenditures for colonial administration. Also contributing to this expropriation were the demands of the rising local representatives -- e.g., for restraints on appointments or actual control over them, for reductions in the operating expenses of government (official emoluments in particular), and for divesting officeholders of their legislative powers. At the same time that the prebendary stratum was expropriated, the local representatives wrested power from the Imperial government, as the Imperial government abandoned its power along with its burdens. The key event in this vesting of power locally was the achievement of responsible government, the institution of an executive responsible to and removeable by the legislature, neither Imperial nor hereditary.

The making of responsible government into effective and centralized provincial government required further that certain traditional powers and prerogatives of the independent local representatives themselves had to be expropriated and vested in political parties and government cabinets. Traditionally the legislative representatives in the central provincial governments acted independently, for their own constituencies, appointing certain local commissioners, initiating financial measures, without notable co-ordination or discipline. But the creation of autonomous governments within the provinces required that unified executives maintain stable legislative bases, provide
government services on a uniform basis across the area of jurisdiction, initiate projects of provincial rather than sectional significance, and finally, as provincial projects grew in scope, to conduct centralized budgeting. So legislators had to be divested of their independent powers, parties formed, and party discipline imposed.

Several features of the political situation in Nova Scotia combined to ease the intense fighting of the early period. Dissidence in the out-settlements had not developed an effective organization, in a political party or otherwise. Furthermore there was repression, the censorship of a press in opposition, the forcing of leaders of opposition out of the colonies. The Napoleonic wars brought both prosperity which soothed the sense of grievance, and loyalty which made opposition unrespectable. (These mutings of dissension were discussed above.)

Also there was concession, by officialdom, surrendering enough to blunt the thrust of opposition, while yet holding onto power. Military governors after 1808 in Nova Scotia, Prevost, Dalhousie and Kempt, surrendered part of the Royal Prerogative for the sake of political peace. They were determined, as Prevost put it, to maintain 'that good understanding with [The assembly] which so materially influences its proceedings when acting as one of the branches of the legislature' (Beck 1957:15-16, 32; quotation from 15). There was then a piecemeal buying off of opposition, and certain concessions, especially in the matter of the initiation of bills for expenditures on local improvements, roads, bridges and schools. Within the first decade of the nineteenth century most provincial expenditures came
to be initiated by the assembly without the prior recommendation of
the executive (Beck 1957:56-60).

The assembly had then won some powers. Yet an oligarch like
Alexander Croke could still describe it with unruffled superciliousness.
He wrote in 1808 that the House of Assembly was,

as usual, composed principally of farmers, who have a little
leaven of American democracy amongst them. They are consequent-
ly as a body, suspicious of government, jealous of their
rights, and strongly retentive of the public purse. Little
or nothing of party division prevails amongst them.

Furthermore, Croke said, the executive possessed considerable control
over the assembly by virtue of its ability to bestow little favours on
the representatives and their friends (quoted in Beck 1957:31, 38).

By local demand and Imperial concession, political control
came to be vested in local and representative forms. Local or sectional
interests carried out a protracted struggle to supplant both tradition-
al office-holders and Imperial officialdom in control of the state.
Their victory was 'responsible government,' achieved coincidentally
with British decision to discard responsibility for the colonies.

The transfer of power had always been legally possible. The
executive authority in all the colonies was vested in the Governor and
exercised by Governor and Council.

Yet because his Commission and Instructions were by no means
explicit in distinguishing between legislative and executive
functions, constitutional development could take the form it
had assumed earlier in England whereby executive power once
stemming solely from the prerogative came more and more to
be regulated by statute (Beck 1957:11, quotation from 35).

In this way the initiation of local improvement bills, and the nomination
of road commissioners, had become functions of the assembly shortly
after 1800. Yet the centre of effective power in Nova Scotian government decisions remained the Council.

The Councillors were mostly salaried officials, Anglican, resident in Halifax, linked together by both social contacts and family ties. ('A genealogist could, with two or three exceptions, link together all the Councillors between 1760 and 1830') (Beck 1957:19-23; quotation from 21n29). These family linkages and long tenure in office made for a continuity of interests. This continuity, and their control of information, made Councillors effectively ascendant over governors -- so Howe argues (Howe 1909:230); at the very least there was a similarity of attitudes and interests (Beck 1957:36). The quasi-hereditary officeholders were supplemented in the 1830s with mercantile capitalists -- merchants and bankers. The first of these were C.R. Prescott, Enos Collins and Samuel Cunard. Between 1832 and 1837 the Council included five partners in the Halifax Banking Company -- the latter two named above, with James Tobin, H.H. Cogswell and Joseph Allison (MacNutt 1965:193; Hamilton 1970a:338; Beck 1957:21).

The power of the Council was pervasive and effective. Its legislative power served as a shield to deflect attacks on officeholders. (Beck 1957:21). It defended the mercantile interests of Halifax against those of the outports (MacNutt 1965:193). It defended the Church of England against the encroachments of the dissenting denominations upon legal privilege. Its power of appointment to local offices, from Justice of the Peace to scavenger, enabled it to create local cliques supportive of its provincial dominance. Its power of appointment to provincial offices dampened the ardour of critics who had an eye to advancement, especially into the Council itself or into the judiciary (Beck 1957:37-40).
An opposition to this oligarchical power was gradually articulated. In the first decade of the nineteenth century a 'Country Party' sprang up, which opposed, e.g., the chartering of a provincial bank at whose head were familiar oligarchical figures. One assemblyman said:

Yes sir give them only a bank, allow them to issue paper, permit them to deal in bonds and securities you confirm their power, you give them new influence, you enable them to lay their paw upon every freeholder in the country.... (quoted in Beck 1957:30).

This party and its views were presumably what Croke called a 'little leaven of democracy.' It succeeded in securing the initiation of most revenue bills by the assembly.

Through the next decades there continued an egalitarian tone of public criticism. Local politicians could to advantage criticize wealth and learning, including lawyers (MacNutt 1965:186). But it was around and after 1830 that the movement of local representatives for control of the state came into full swing. Evidence is that the movement was based among what came to be called the 'middle class.' Howe editorialized in the Novascotian in 1835:

Lawyers will continue to rule the assembly and the public officers and bankers to reign in the council until the middle class...make their voice heard and assert their claims to influence the composition of the legislature and the measures of the government. (quoted in Hamilton 1970:244).

At the centre of this class was the increasingly prosperous community of farmers. Howe wrote in the Novascotian in 1840:

Such men cannot be made to understand why a government should be partial or extravagant, and therefore take their stand at once on the side of reform.... The village lawyer may sneer at or oppose measures of retrenchment.... The trader may take his cue from the Halifax merchant with whom he deals, but the sturdy agriculturalist feels that he is the main support of them both, and therefore has a right to his opinions.-- and these are in favour of fair competition in public as in private life (quoted in Beck 1957:108).
The negative thrust of the movement for local control was directed against the Council. Evils in the society were increasingly traced to what Alexander Stewart called the extension of its hundred arms over the whole administration (Beck 1957:101). The criticism of Council had a number of foci. First was its exclusive composition, family-connected Halifax Anglicans, officials and bankers. The Assembly noted that Nova Scotia, according to its 1827 census, included approximately 29,000 Anglicans, 37,000 Presbyterians, 20,000 Roman Catholics, 20,000 Baptists, 9,000 Methodists, and 8,500 others. Yet its 1837 Council was by no means consistent with this, consisting of nine Anglicans, two Presbyterians and one Roman Catholic (Hamilton 1970:353). Also criticized were the Council's monopoly of offices, exorbitant official fees and perquisites, and compulsion for those who wished to hold minor offices to become lackeys to the elite.

The defence of mercantile interests in the Council was also attacked, as was the Council's ability to veto financial measures passed by the House. These matters came together dramatically in the 1830 dispute over the brandy tax, in which the Council, including the Collector of Revenue and a liquor importer, sat in judgement of and rejected the Assembly's impost policies. Less revenue was collected than the Assembly wanted, and the Council rejected clearer legislation. The issue was central in the bitterly fought election of 1830, in which the reform cause was clarified and gained strength (Beck 1957:62; Hamilton 1970:198-210). The Council also blocked revenue to expressly popular projects. Some opposition doubtless sprang from ignorance of the country beyond Halifax. Howe tells of the plan to clear a channel at Antigonish, to make a usable harbour, which was rejected by the Council.
for some years until a member chanced to go there and saw its manifest usefulness (Howe 1973:186-7).

The Council was most obdurate in and the reformers most enraged by the blocking of measures to further religious and educational equality. After his common schools bill was turned down, T.H. Haliburton exclaimed in 1828:

But the Council! Whom do they represent? Of what body are they the hereditary representatives? -- They are appointed at will; and may be suspended and removed at will; can it then be said, that a body thus constituted, however learned and respectable they might be, have a vote upon money bills; or that the Commons of Nova Scotia, who raise the revenue, have not a right to its appropriation, without their consent? (quoted in Beck 1957:62)

In brief, the efforts of the rising 'middle class' were repeatedly stymied by the control of the state by a reactionary oligarchy. This control itself was then criticized and assaulted. The various specific criticisms coalesced into the claim that, in Haliburton's words, 'as to our local government, the structure and frame of it is essentially defective' (quoted in Patterson 1877:351).

The notion of an 'organized party against misrule in Nova Scotia' was first put forth in the Colonial Patriot in 1830* (Beck 1957:107). It was Joseph Howe, the master of practical politics, who, to bring an organized party into being,

merged the political-ecclesiastical radicalism of Pictou County represented by the Colonial Patriot and the friends of Pictou Academy, and the politico-social democracy of

*The Patriot, the first Nova Scotian newspaper to be published outside of Halifax, was published in Pictou from 1827 to 1833, edited by Jotham Blanchard, a barrister, graduate and trustee of Pictou Academy. Its editorials were increasingly critical of the Council's illiberal-ity. Howe once remarked that the paper had converted him from the Tory to the Liberal cause (Patterson 1877:368-80; Hamilton 1970:162-6).
western Nova Scotia represented by the Yarmouth Herald and Herbert Huntington into the Reform Party. (Beck 1957: 107).

And in so doing he forced an opposition party to coalesce.

Contemporaneous with these movements in local politics, the British were indicating increasing interest in reducing the burdens of colonial administration. With the gains of liberal principles in Britain in the 1820s, there was a corresponding indifference to colonies and resentment of the expense they caused. From about 1825 there was active consideration of the reduction of civil and ecclesiastical grants, and a definite liberalization of the system of trade controls. In 1826 the customs establishment was modernized, and official fees were withdrawn although salaries remained high (MacNutt 1965:184-5, 188-9; MacNutt 1963:177). Through the 1830s ecclesiastical grants were gradually ended. Negotiations were begun to exchange provincial control of all revenues for guaranteed civil lists of official salaries. In the Colonial Office there was an increasing readiness to accept measures for the reform of colonial governments. As these changes proceeded, colonial governments increasingly appeared the creatures of local ruling oligarchies more than of Imperial interests.

The question in the colonies became what reform measures should be taken, in particular how the Council, and the executive in general, should be altered. The separation of legislative from executive council, to obviate a conflict of functions, had been proposed by R.J. Uniacke, as early as 1806. Lord Goderich was considering it by 1830. (Beck 1957:42-3, 101). It was clear that this would be done.
The real question, intensely debated for at least a decade, was the extent to which British institutions could be taken over wholesale as models for the colony, i.e., whether an executive fully responsible to the popular branch of the legislature was workable. It eventually was adopted, of course. But intransigent opponents claimed first that this was incompatible with colonial status, and then that it would or did create a new form of despotism.*

In the 1837 session of the legislature Joseph Howe introduced resolutions criticizing the Council and seeking its reform. These eventually became an address to the King, seeking redress of grievances. Lord Glenelg responded, ordering the formation of two councils, and the surrender of Crown lands, in exchange for a guaranteed civil list. These steps were taken, but resulted in no significant political change. Although four Assemblymen were appointed to the new executive council, there was only one reformer among them, Herbert Huntington, and he soon resigned (MacNutt 1965:199-220; Beck 1957:77; Hamilton 1970:244-54, address to the King reprinted in Appendix E 352-56).

Howe then espoused the recommendations made by Lord Durham, in effect, for cabinet government. As he put it in the Novascotian in 1839:

Let the majority and not the minority govern, and compel every Governor to select his advisors from those who enjoy the confidence of the people and can command a majority in the popular branch (quoted in Hamilton 1970:274; cf. Beck 1957:77).

Governor Campbell and the Council condemned such proposals. Both Assembly and Council sent delegations to London. A new Colonial

* Among historians Beck sympathizes with the Liberals, MacNutt with the Conservatives, on the issue of whether responsible government with a cabinet in mastery of the Assembly was a large and dangerous innovation.
Secretary, Lord Normanby, ordered Campbell to reconstruct the executive council along more representative lines. Campbell evaded the order. The Assembly voted a lack of confidence in the Executive Council and called for Campbell's recall. This they achieved. In August 1840, a new Governor, Lord Falkland, arrived. But party government did not come yet. Governor-General Charles Poulett Thompson (soon Lord Sydenham) convinced the contending factions to sit together on Council in a coalition. Ministers had seats in the legislature, and the government rested on a legislative majority. But Conservative members denied that any steps towards responsibility were taken. The coalition was eventually shattered, in 1843, by this constitutional issue and by concurrent disputes over the organization of higher education (Beck 1957:80; MacNutt 1965:20, 218; Hamilton 1970:273-85; cf. infra).

The results of the 1843 election were ambiguous, but the three Reform members of the new Executive Council soon resigned, nominally over the appointment of J.W. Johnston's brother-in-law to the Council. Johnston's tactical skill kept his government in power until 1847. In the meantime, Howe and his supporters propagated for party government, the Conservatives, against. But given one party firmly in favour, its achievement was inevitable. The election of 1847 was bitterly fought, Conservatives seeing the overthrow of the whole official scene, arguing that party government would institute a reign of political vice. The Liberals, then including Roman Catholics, organized for patronage and won. A new Whig government came into power in England during this time. It announced trade policies ending commercial preferences for the colonies. 'While the last bonds of the old commercial
empire were being severed, there could be no reason for a continued close control over the internal affairs of the colonies' (MacNutt 1965:225). Lord Grey directed Governor John Harvey to make the executive responsible to the legislature, even to the victorious party within it, saying:

Animosities exhibit themselves at least as keenly, in small, as in large societies; and...the public necessities are as little effectual there as elsewhere, in inducing those who are separated by personal and political repugnances to unite their counsels for the common good (quoted in Beck: 1957:84-5).

The first responsible ministry in the colonies was established in February 1848, under J.B. Uniacke; Howe was Provincial Secretary. Control over Crown lands and mineral resources was exchanged for a guaranteed civil list (Beck 1957:80-5; MacNutt 1965:219-29; Hamilton 1970:296-304).

During this process of the achievement of responsible government, there continued that political 'particularism' or 'sectionalism' of Maritime politics, commented on by all historians. Political interests were fragmented, corresponding to the geographic, economic, religious and political sections of the provinces. Sectional representatives went to the central government, and pursued their interests, particularly financial, there. For some time there was no party or cabinet mechanism for co-ordinating these diverse interests, for centralized decision-making.

Neither were there institutions for the provision of services at a local level. 'Originally those who had desired local self-rule could not wrest it from the central government in Halifax; later their descendants would not accept the responsibilities which the central government and legislature were anxious to confer upon them' (Beck 1957:}
134). Most local functions devolved upon justices of the peace. Local services, financed out of unpopular and sparse property taxes were of poor quality. Provincial revenues were derived almost exclusively from import taxes and resource royalties. Local taxation for any purpose was extremely unpopular until well after mid-century.

The resultant pattern may be called centralized sectionalism. Money was at the centre, decisions were made there, but always for the sections by their representatives. Critics called the system jobbery and corruption. Pork-barreling, log-rolling politicians, manoeuvering to get maximum road and bridge moneys, survived. There was longtime resistance to any reform of this system, in spite of the backing of more centralized financial procedures by prominent figures, from Dalhousie about 1820 to Howe in 1848. Some financial centralization came only with the exigencies of railway financing. Only by the mid-50s were county allocations fixed on a percentage basis, and representatives still divided these and nominated commissioners (MacNutt 1965:182-3, 263-4; Beck 1957:32, 60-1, 105-6).

The timber trade overshadowed all of New Brunswick politics, as it did all of New Brunswick's economy. It had the unique effect of creating a political alignment of local democratic interests with provincial patricians. The local representatives sought effective control of revenues themselves, as well as, e.g., payment for their services, denied them by high-handed gubernatorial action. The old largely Loyalist landowners and officials were run roughshod over by Imperial interests; the patricians resented the articulation of extensive political control independent of them, they had sometimes (especially under Governor Smyth,
to battle for preferment to offices, and they were eventually threatened with fee demands and threats to their positions. In the legislature, popular representatives were joined by some of the great, notably Ward Chipman and his son (MacNutt 1965:185-6; MacNutt 1963:181-92, 195-7).

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Crown lands made up nine-tenths of the province. The casual revenues, derived from land licenses and fees, were substantial indeed. By 1819 they had effectively made the Council financially independent of the Assembly (MacNutt 1965:185; MacNutt 1963:181-4). In 1824 Thomas Baillie came as administrator of the Crown lands, to impose a thoroughgoing Imperial control on their use, to pay British costs and finance the London-controlled development of the province -- while receiving a high salary and vast fees himself. Under his administration lawlessness was replaced by oppressive law.

Conflict was somewhat subdued during the Governorship of Howard Douglas (1824-31), who served as a 'buffer between the requirements of Imperial policy and an increasingly alert colonial self-assertion' (MacNutt 1963:198). In particular, he adroitly managed the growing revenues, using them to open King's College, an Anglican institution, but also for projects with strong local support, roads and bridges, Madras schools, agricultural societies, and travelling expenses for judges (MacNutt 1965:185; MacNutt 1963:193-4, 202). As Baillie's powers increased, however, and his system of surveys and fee extractions was consolidated, he became 'the most hated and most powerful figure in the politics of the province' (MacNutt 1963:208).

A vehement and almost universal opposition to the Imperial administration
was activated by proposals in the early 1830s to collect quitrents on all previously ungranted lands, and to initiate sales of large blocks of Crown lands. The quitrents were commuted by the Imperial government, in return for a payment of £1200 (Hannay 1897:113). But the sale of lands caused more lasting and serious contention.

The sale was intended to generate large amounts of revenue, and the market was large outside capitalists who could command massive capital inputs and would simplify administration. Baillie himself was involved in the 1831 formation of the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Land Company -- which purchased a half million acres of land at 2s.3p. per acre, in 1833. Almost every conceivable New Brunswick interest was brought into opposition to this sale of massive blocks of land. Even Governors Douglas, James Kempt of Nova Scotia, and Dalhousie of Canada, opposed it.

Those in the local government, particularly in the Assembly, did not want vast revenues to be accumulated beyond their reach. They were furthermore enraged that over half of the revenues collected were absorbed in expenses (Hannay 1897:126-7). Thus MacNutt could write:

Fundamentally the quarrel was one of control. In the House of Assembly the representatives of the people were eager to lay their hands on a new source of revenue and distribute it among their constituents by traditional methods. The officers of government, dependent on the casual revenues for their salaries, feared for their future should the fund be placed at the disposal of capricious politicians. In Nova Scotia the sums were small in comparison with those the Assembly raised by ordinary methods. But in New Brunswick they were monumentally large, a factor alone sufficient to explain the powerful initiative taken by the junior province at this time (MacNutt 1965:196-7).

Beyond issues of dominance within the governmental apparatus, however, were important economic considerations. Timber merchants feared that British and other capitalists would buy up all the land.
Numerous settlers with no clear land title feared for their livelihoods. Those concerned to promote agriculture foresaw that the monopoly of land would hamper settlement. It is these querulous themes that appear in the 1832 resolution of the Assembly:

that the timber and extensive mill reserves which have been made to individuals, are highly injurious to the commercial prosperity of this province, by preventing fair and honorable competition and the introduction of capital, discouraging the industry and enterprise of the lumbermen and new settlers, and creating great dissatisfaction throughout the country (quoted in Hannay 1897:141).

There were widespread accusations of mismanagement, extortions, and corruption in the Crown Lands Office. The Assembly passed a list of grievances, sponsored by Charles Simonds, President of the monopoly Bank of New Brunswick. Several delegations went to London in the 1830s with the aim of securing local land control. Relief was obtained. In 1835 Lord Glenelg subjected Baillie to the guidance of a committee of the Executive Council. In 1836 Glenelg agreed to surrender the Crown lands and revenues, including £170,000 in accumulated cash assets, to the province, in return for a guaranteed civil list. He also agreed in principle that the executive should enjoy the confidence of the people. Thus there was to be local control of revenues, but with official salaries not yet in the hands of 'capricious politicians' (MacNutt 1965:189-91, 193-9; MacNutt 1963:204-8, 221-3, 227-8, 230-4, 245-9, 252-3; Hannay 1897:112-56).

Governor Campbell delayed instituting these reforms. The Assembly resolved that he had forfeited the confidence of the country and disobeyed the Royal command. A delegation, L.A. Wilmot and William Crane, went to England. Campbell was driven to resign, and Sir John Harvey, much more disposed to popular control, came from Prince Edward
Island as Governor. (MacNutt 1963:249-51). Baillie was ousted from a reconstituted Executive Council, four of whose five members had sought local Crown lands control. (He went bankrupt and retired in 1839 when his peat moss investments failed.) (MacNutt 1963:263-4). The sale of large blocks of land was ended. Only 100 acre lots were sold, for genuine settlement. Cheap annual leases were provided for timbering (MacNutt 1963:255-7).

The Assembly had been conservative on most issues while timber land control was being fought out. It did not seek major changes in government. "In fact, when, amidst a growing reform movement in England, Governor Smyth appealed to their 'sentiments of veneration for His Majesty, and decided determination to resist all innovation,' they passed a resolution avowing their loyalty and their awareness,

that their happiness here and hereafter must depend upon the cultivation of the principles of religion and a just subordination to lawful authority, always bearing in mind the moral precept, 'To Fear God and Honor the King' (Hannay 1897: 79-80).

In the 1830s this changed. The basis of the alliance between popular representatives and old families disintegrated as the formal locus of control shifted from Imperial to local offices, and as their common enemy was removed. Theorists of responsible government -- notably Lemuel Allan Wilmot and Charles Fisher -- became politically notable and influential. Demands were made for local control of political institutions and the end of official preferment to old prebendary families. Local representatives began to challenge the oligarchy ensconced in Council and offices. At this point political events in New Brunswick began to look very much more like those in Nova Scotia.
Offices were typically held by members of the oligarchy. All judges, for example, were Anglican, until the 1851 appointment of L.A. Wilmot. Offices were held for long periods, often for life, and the tendency was to make them hereditary. Thus, to take the extreme examples: Chief Justice John Simcoe Saunders held office and sat on the Council for 41 years, from 1793 to 1834; the Provincial Secretaryship was held by father and son Jonathan and William Franklin Odell for 60 years, from 1784 to 1844. Several highly remunerative offices were often controlled by one individual. (Hannay 1897:64-5). The constitution of the provincial offices as the lucrative property of the leading families was described by Governor Colebrooke, writing to Lord Stanley, in 1843. Colebrooke spoke of the,

tendency of the prevailing system to render the public service of the province the patrimony of a few colonial families.... When this influence is known to have been so effectually exerted not only in securing the succession of the principal offices in the same families but in preventing a reduction of the undue emoluments attaching to them, it is not surprising that in a season of distress the jealousy of the public should have been more than ordinarily awakened (quoted in MacNaughton 1947:93).

The Council was divided into legislative (12 members) and executive (5 members) in 1833. The latter included some Assemblymen (MacNutt 1963:227-8; Hannay 1897:107-11). Yet the administration was not rendered satisfactorily representative by this device. Ten years later, in 1843, the Assembly approved a resolution against the composition of the Legislative Council, saying that it was not representative of the principal interests in the province, that its members were Anglican except for one Presbyterian and one Baptist, that it included no reformers, and that officeholders continued in a predominance which they should not possess. The Legislative Council's membership was enlarged and somewhat
reformed the next year, but not yet to the satisfaction of reformers. Official members were only gradually eased out (Hannay 1897:163-4).

The 1840 dispatch of Lord John Russell dictated that the term of future appointments should be 'during pleasure' -- not for life. Though intended to strengthen the position of Governors, this dispatch helped clear the way for the assumption of power by local representatives. The placemen fought back bitterly. Their attacks on Governor Harvey led him to take a (failing) libel action against them (MacNutt 1963:262-5). Gradually more effective attacks were made on high official salaries and on appointments made without consultation (MacNutt 1963:340-5). The most celebrated case of the latter type occurred in 1844, when on the death of the Provincial Secretary William Franklin Odell, Governor Colebrooke appointed to the post his son-in-law, from England, Alfred Rēade. An uproar ensued. L.A. Wilmot, Robert L. Hazen, Hugh Johnston and E.B. Chandler resigned from the Executive Council. In numerous communications between New Brunswick and England, however, the Assembly did not question Colebrooke's exercise of the prerogative in making an appointment without consultation, but rather objected to the particular appointment of Rēade as a non-native; and on these grounds Lord Stanley eventually refused to approve the appointment (MacNutt 1963:287-90; Hannay 1897:166-72).

The House of Assembly formally accepted responsible government by endorsing Earl Grey's 1847 dispatch on that subject to John Harvey in Nova Scotia. A responsible executive was formed in 1851. But there was little enthusiasm. Responsible government was commonly seen as merely the political face of a catastrophic expulsion from the Empire (Hannay 1897:184; MacNutt 1963:350-1). It was several years before the
practice of responsible government was achieved in fact, after criticisms of the conduct of administration, successful demands for the full disclosure of communications between Governors and the Colonial Office, and with the making of the appointments only upon the advice of the Executive Council.

In New Brunswick as in Nova Scotia the locally controlled political arrangements that took form early in the nineteenth century were those of fragmentary centralization. All finances were provincially controlled and all services emanated from provincial government. There were no locally based and financed institutions for the provision of public services. There was a horror of the direct taxation which would have been required as a basis for them. Even the 1851 provincial legislation which enabled the incorporation of any county or parish had no effect (MacNutt 1963:345-6). Yet the control of this single central government was fragmented. Democracy was direct and unrefined. Legislators were only very slowly bound into semi-permanent political coalitions or parties. The survival of legislators depended upon their success in securing grants from the provincial treasury for their counties; though the process of exchanging influence and votes with other legislators in the same position. The whole system was called 'log rolling' (MacNutt 1963:226-7, 263-4).

The creation of an effective and centralized local government out of responsible government required the divesting of local representatives of their independent powers of action, the creation of parties as the foundation of cabinet government, and the development of centralized budgeting. The names Liberal and Conservative were in regular use in the 1840s. Yet at the level of practice, the insistence of local repre-
sentatives on their freedom to bargain flexibly stood in the way of party organization. At the level of principle, parties were seen as vehicles of political corruption, and there was widespread disgust at the party struggles in Nova Scotia (MacNutt 1963:291-3). The lack of local province-wide organization which could articulate interests and establish rising local politicians in clear leadership positions facilitated the maintenance of control by the old figures. Provincial executives took the form of coalitions which could manage to command majorities in the Assembly. This was not yet government by local leaders and parties. Members of the traditional group were still predominant. 'The junta of leading politicians eventually became known as 'The Compact,' being composed of merchants and lawyers of historic Loyalist families' (MacNutt 1965:218). Executives could not formulate unified policy and expect to command legislative support for it; for some time they had to second guess rather than guide legislative and public opinion, to balance interests, and to co-opt potential leaders of dissidence. Governments were unstable. Even into the 1850s a want of clear party discipline meant that governments could not count on certain support, and they fell frequently at moments of contentiousness.

The upshot of the legislature's traditional financial procedures was chaos in fiscal arrangements and a non-benign neglect of general interests. At first there were not even means of assuring that allotments would not exceed revenues (Hannay 1897:60-2). Gradually arrangements were regularized. The legislature's appropriations committee made a list of appropriations. One member for each county then controlled the disbursements in his own region -- for roads and bridges, schoolmasters, pensioners, and old soldiers (MacNutt 1963:226). Pro-
vincial projects -- Abraham Gesner's geological survey, a lunatic asylum, a normal school -- were slighted in favour of piecemeal local improvements. (MacNutt 1963:227, 257-8). Services which would have required local financing, such as free and universal primary schools, made no progress.

Even when the Assembly won control of provincial revenues, it forestalled centralized financial policy formation. As revenues rose, the failings of this system became more evident and its critics more vociferous. The legislature had control of L20,000 in 1820, L83,000 in 1836, and, after, the transfer of the Crown Lands revenues, L202,000 in 1840. Careless expenditures were rampant and the treasury was emptied by 1841. A slump in the lumber trade further meant that it was slow to fill again (MacNutt 1963:259-62, 274; Hannay 1897:69, 157-9). S.L. Tilley, as chairman of a special committee of the New Brunswick Colonial Association, complained:

It would be impossible to find in the history of any country a precedent for such a system of jobbing, gross corruption, electioneering and bribery, as our legislators have introduced into their mode of making school and bye-road appropriations (quoted in MacNaughton 1947:86-7).

When Governor Edmund Head arrived, he still found apparent a 'scene of jobbery of the grossest kind,' especially as revenues rose again after 1852. Financial reform was finally inspired by the demand for financial regularity from lenders of railway capital, and by British government inducements. Jobbery and particularism were ameliorated not eradicated. At least so thought Governor A.H. Gordon, who painted a black picture of New Brunswick life in general, in an 1862 confidential dispatch to Newcastle. The Assembly, he said, was an indecorous and abusive scene.
Almost the only questions which appear to excite any very lively interest are those which may affect the immediate locality from which the members come, or which afford them a chance of sharing in the spoils of office (quoted in MacNaughton 1947:179).

In Prince Edward Island, land ownership, predominantly proprietary into the second half of the nineteenth century, continued as the focal issue of politics. By the 1830s the representatives of the tenantry, whose political strength was greatly augmented by Roman Catholic enfranchisement, had effective control of the House of Assembly. Well before this time the collection of quit rents arrears had become unpopular on the island, because it affected a number of small freeholders as well as the large proprietors. The Assembly criticized Governor Smith in 1818 both for 'refusing to assent to a roads bill in the last session, and for enforcing the quit rents arrears on the old scale which had produced the most distressing effects, particularly upon the lower classes of the community' (quoted in Bolger 1973:89). Under Governor John Ready (1824-31), rents were remitted, to the satisfaction of both large and small landholders. The escheat movement, whose leading figure was William Cooper, and which won repeated electoral victories in the 1830s, sought its aims with two legislative strategies, escheat for non-fulfillment of the grant conditions of settlement, and land assessments, including penalties of forfeiture and sale for non-payment. An 1830 Land Assessment Act, the proceeds of which were applied to the Governor's mansion, jails, and the Central Academy, was actually approved by Lord Goderich in the Colonial Office. Later acts did not fare as well. An 1832 act established a court of escheat for non-settlement; an 1833 act levied a
high assessment, with forfeiture and sale for non-payment -- deemed 'virtual escheat' by Joseph Pope (Bedeque shipbuilder, merchant, landowner and politician) (quoted in Bolger 1973:102) and said by Attorney General Robert Hodgson to be extremely popular among 'the farming class' (quoted in Bolger 1973:103). Both acts were rejected by the Colonial Office. The proprietors argued that these acts, and all the similar measures which followed them in the next three decades, were unfair; the proprietors had incurred expenses for settlement that they had not recouped; settlement was impracticable, or settlers had moved from their original lots; assessment would actually not pay the expenses of government (cf. MacKinnon 1951:108-9; Clark 1959:92).

The escheat movement grew more vocal. Tenant meetings advocated the withholding of rents, and one passed a resolution claiming tenants,

were victims of fraud, deceit and oppression on the part of the land monopolists, and this was wickedness in the sight of God, derogatory to the honor of the King and the British Nation, subversive to the sacred right of property, and to pay rent longer to landlords was to foster oppression and reward crime (quoted in Bolger 1973:106).

The House of Assembly disapproved such extreme resolutions, and Governor Harvey (1836-7) thought that the troubles created by a 'deluded peasantry' would end. Yet tenant petitions continued, and another assessment act, with the tax on unsettled lands double that on settled lands, was passed in 1837. The Colonial Office approved the act, but then, after proprietorial protest, had Lord Durham investigate the situation. Durham reported:

Nearly the whole island was alienated by the Crown in one day, in very large grants, chiefly to absentees, and upon conditions of settlement which have been wholly disregarded. The extreme improvidence, I might say the reckless profusion,
which dictated these grants is obvious; the total neglect of the Government as to enforcing the conditions of the grants is not less so. The great bulk of the island is still possessed by absentees, who hold it as a sort of reversionary interest, which requires no present attention, but may become valuable some day or other through the growing wants of the inhabitants. But in the mean time, the inhabitants of the island are subjected to the greatest inconvenience, nay, the most serious injury, from the state of property in land. The absentee proprietors neither improve the land, nor will let others improve it. They retain the land, and keep it in a state of wilderness land, and Your Lordship can hardly conceive the degree of injury inflicted on a new settlement hemmed in by wilderness land, which has been placed out of control of government, and is entirely neglected by its absent proprietors. Although the people, their representative Assembly, the Legislative Council, and the Governor have cordially concurred in a remedy, some influence — it cannot be that of equity or reason — has steadily counteracted the measures of the Colonial Legislatures. I cannot imagine that it is any other influence than that of the absentee proprietors, resident in England, and in saying so I do but express the universal opinion of the colony.... (quoted in Clark 1959:41; Bolger 1973:110).

The 1837 act was confirmed. The Escheat Party reached the peak of its influence, winning 18 of 24 Assembly seats in 1838. Another act seeking escheat for non-settlement was passed. But at this zenith of the movement for local control of land, the proprietal and Imperial opposition solidified. The Legislative Council rejected the 1838 escheat act. William Cooper went to England, but was not seen by the new anti-escheat Colonial Secretary, Lord John Russell. FitzRoy turned against the popular representatives, decided that Cooper was 'an artful person although very illiterate, possessed of much low cunning and perfectly unscrupulous in making any assertion to serve his purpose' (quoted in Bolger 1973:108), and that the members of the Assembly 'were men of low character and gross ignorance, chosen from the lowest and most ignorant class, men without property and without education' (quoted in Bolger 1973:113). Acts of 1840 and 1841 providing for the purchase of estates by the British government and their resale
to small holders also failed of approval. FitzRoy advised the Colonial Office to ignore the Assembly on the escheat question, and Russell concurred, issuing in 1841 a blanket rejection of all programmes for changing land ownership (Bolger 1973:95-114; MacKinnon 1951:113-5).

Contemporary with these land disputes were reforms in the structure of government such as occurred in the other provinces. Although the Assembly was unable to determine the ownership of land, it did win those parliamentary powers and privileges that had been so flamboyantly denied it under Governor Smith (MacKinnon 1951:43-51). Likewise the gap between Assembly and Council became apparent in Prince Edward Island as elsewhere, and remedial efforts were made. Governor Harvey, supporting a separation of executive and legislative councils in 1837, pointed out that the existing councillors were all Charlottetown residents, seven of eight held offices of emolument, and some were unpopular proprietor's agents. (The most prominent proprietors in the executive were Joseph Pope, Edward B. Palmer and their allies.) Governor FitzRoy first doubted whether there were enough competent individuals to fill the new positions without arousing jealousies, but later also recommended separation. The Executive and Legislative Councils were separated in 1839, but the extent of reform was paltry. Although two Assemblymen were in each new Council, and 'agricultural and mercantile interests' were explicitly represented, six of nine Executive Councillors had been in the old Council and six held public office; four men that had been in the old Council were in both the new Councils. In 1840 the House declared its lack of confidence in the Councils and first requested responsible government, saying that the land question could not be settled under the existing administration, as the proprietors had too much influence (MacKinnon 1951:63-6, 76-7, 112-13).
After the clear failure of the escheat movement, a grouping of landowners and their agents, whose leading figures were Joseph Pope and Thomas H. Haviland, took over the government in 1842, holding 18 of 24 Assembly seats and most of the Council. The reform movement was temporarily stilled. In 1846, however, reformers again commanded a majority in the House, under the reform strategist George Coles, who saw the means to escheat in popular education and responsible government. (T.H. Haviland called him 'a working butcher,' 'ignorant and uneducated.') (quoted in MacNutt in Bolger 1973:118). Disputes over the initiation of appropriations bills and the veto power of the Legislative Council, which had come to the Assembly's refusing supply in 1827 and 1828, were renewed. The generally unpopular Governor, Henry Vere Huntley (1841-47) first took the conservative side, and fought every attempt 'to concentrate the whole governing power in the Assembly, where there neither is, nor do I think there can be for a long time yet, any sufficient intelligence to govern at all.' He claimed that constituents had been 'carefully taught that only a "backwoodsman" knows how to legislate for a "backwoodsman."' (quoted in MacKinnon 1951:79). But after a dispute between Huntley and Pope, and the dismissal of Pope from the Legislative Council, Huntley supported an 1847 Assembly resolution for responsible government, because he wished to consolidate his own power against that 'small party in Charlottetown who have virtually ruled the colony confining to themselves and their alliances all promotions to positions of emolument and influence' (quoted in MacKinnon 1951:81). Meanwhile two resigned Executive Councillors were in England seeking, and securing, Huntley's removal (MacNutt in Bolger 1973:116-21; MacKinnon 1951:68-81).
Governor Sir Donald Campbell (1847-51) further delayed responsible government. He told Grey that most of the tenants were ignorant paupers, that only 20 men in the province, and all those in Charlottetown, possessed sufficient property and intelligence to participate in politics, and that responsible government would aggravate demands for escheat. He further advised that the franchise be narrowed to men of substantial property. Grey concurred, saying in 1849 that responsible government was inexpedient, as 'Prince Edward Island is comparatively small in extent and population, and its commercial and wealthy classes confined almost to a single town....' (quoted in MacKinnon 1951:82). Thus the Governor and the Colonial Office were unwilling to allow responsible government in the absence of a propertied class. But financial necessities favoured the Assembly. After a Liberal victory and the election of George Coles as Speaker, Campbell refused to make government responsible, and the Assembly voted no confidence in the executive and refused finance. Campbell died. A new Governor Sir Alexander Bannerman, arrived in 1851 with instructions to form a responsible government (MacNutt in Bolger 1973:115-26; MacKinnon 1951:82-5).

The modes of practice that would make responsible government work developed only gradually after its formal declaration. Governors continued as forceful presences in politics for some time. Their secret dispatches were long criticized before being discontinued (MacKinnon 1951:86-7). They exerted a strong and often manipulative independent influence on political affairs, especially on issues of colonial union, until after Prince Edward Island entered Confederation. Political parties were long ill-formed. The Liberal and Conservative
parties were defined by their positions on responsibility in the early 1850s, but later, at least into the 1870s, were fragmented by non-party loyalties on issues of religion, land and Confederation. Governments were unsteady coalitions, and cabinets often split. There were 15 governments in 25 years (MacKinnon 1951:92-3, 187-8, 243).

In the quest of Liberals and Conservatives for power during the 1850s, there were disputes over whether salaried officers of government should hold executive or legislative seats, and whether the Legislative Council, initially dominated by Liberal appointees, should be elective. Conservatives advocated the more democratic measures, strategically understandable as a means to limit Liberal power. They did the make Legislative Council elective (with a £100 property qualification for electors) when they received a majority in it: (MacNutt in Bolger 1973:126, 132; MacKinnon 1951:96-104).

The land question was again a focus of action in the 1850s. The newly responsible government passed acts taxing the proprietors, and sought the Crown's consideration of them without proprietorial influence, which it said was 'untenable, frivolous, and in part highly offensive to the Legislature and people of this Island and derogatory to their honor and independence' (quoted in MacKinnon 1951:115). The Colonial Office rejected these acts as 'oppressive class legislation' and 'undisguised spoliation' (quoted in MacKinnon 1951:115). Then in 1860 a commission was named, to consider the land question, with three members, representing the Queen, the proprietors, and the Assembly -- John Hamilton Gray, J.W. Ritchie, and Joseph Howe, respectively. The Assembly agreed to be bound by the commission's conclusions. The final recommendation was for tenants' right to purchase, with fair valuation,
and with a L100,000 British-guaranteed loan for land purchase. The report also said:

The amount of money and time wasted in public controversy no man can estimate; and the extent to which a vicious system of colonization has entered into the daily life of this people, and embittered their industrial and social relations, it is painful to contemplate and record.... It is apparent ...that the proprietors, down to the present hour, have been treated by the Crown with an excessive indulgence, which warrants the exercise of the prerogative in the application of remedial measures, after a century's experience of a vicious system (quoted in MacKinnon 1951:107-8, 119).

Newcastle in the Colonial Office refused the recommendation, as unfair to the proprietors, who were anyway not bound by it. On the Island there was outrage, and a new movement to withhold rents. Troops were sent. Later, with the possibility of Confederation, the Colonial Office cast off responsibility for final decision on the lands question (MacKinnon 1951:107, 115, 118-9; MacNutt in Bolger; 1973:133-4).

Let us take a schematic overview of the political economy of the early nineteenth century Maritimes. In one aspect, the colonies were growing more 'settled,' predominantly with the expansion of petit bourgeois agriculture, with some small crafts, hints of industry and a bevy of traders. Seen thus, the economy was almost inherently expansive, limited only by capital shortage and by the efficiency and diligence of the local producers. This view was most true of Nova Scotia.

But in another aspect, the colonies revealed the raw ends of Imperial exploitation. Imperial land policy -- benefices, timber reserves and grants to absentee landlords -- inhibited settlement and trade. Large mercantile capital, guaranteed by British preferences and shipping routes, undercut stable local economic growth. It diverted the economic surplus out of the colonies. The local production
it created was always vulnerable to international market fluctuations. In Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, extractive mercantile capital did allow for growth of local firms, fishermen and their suppliers, which could take their place in the 'settled' society. Timbering in New Brunswick, however, tended to create a fragmented and sporadically used collection of resource extractors, both workers and entrepreneurs. Farming was also weakened as men were tempted -- in spite of contemporary warnings -- by the lure of easy wealth from the woods.

The representatives of the growing local capital and the communities formed around it -- what came to be called the middle class -- managed to wrest control of the state from Imperial and oligarchical hands. They thus gained control of state revenues, tariff policies, Crown lands, religious and educational rights and revenues.

The economic and political development that occurred was strongly sectional in character. The ease of shipping made for a proliferation of regional trading centres along the Fundy coasts, the Northumberland Strait and the Atlantic shore of Nova Scotia. Regional production and trade, and competition between regions, thwarted the achievement of concerted economic efforts -- especially the use of the state in providing a coherent transportation infrastructure -- of canals in the period we have been considering, and later of railways and economic and political union.

This regional character of the provinces had its political parallel in a centralized sectionalism, with revenue and services at the centre, but decisions always made by and for the local representatives. It was not until the 1850s that decisive political powers were expropriated from the local representatives, with the articulation of
political parties capable of disciplining their legislative members, and of cabinets which co-ordinated legislation and administration, eventually including the financial initiative.

Local needs had many foci of articulation, in separate productive and commercial areas and competing political sections, as well as among distinct ethnic and religious groupings. This meant that the development of ideological and educational forms would have a strongly pluralistic character.
The skill, competence and discipline involved in the making of the economic and political orders became conscious to the point of learned articulation at several points.

Let us first consider the relevance of learning to economic activity, and vice versa, i.e., consider those points at which abstract schemata entered into activity, and the ways in which economic circumstances were conducive to or impinged upon the development of knowledgeable activity. Farmers, fishermen, timberers, and domestic workers did their work of direct production as of yore, without reference to abstract or technical schemata.

It may be noted that even in the much more extensively developed British economy at this time, production techniques were not so elaborate as to require specially trained practitioners. Hobsbawm says:
The technological problems of the early Industrial Revolution were fairly simple. They required no class of men with specialized qualifications, but merely a sufficiency of men with ordinary literacy, familiarity with simple mechanical devices and the working of metals, practical experience and initiative (Hobsbawm 1969:39; cf. Polanyi 1957:119).

Scientific knowledge was very gradually introduced into industry, with steam-engines in coal-mining and cotton-manufacture, gaslighting for factories, and textile bleaching and dyeing by processes dependent upon chemistry. But still, men could be recruited from the workshops for the higher grades of technological work, as is reflected in the British use of the term 'engineer' in referring to such men (Hobsbawm 1969: 59-60, 62).

The capitalist market economy, however, was formed by abstract schemata, structured by them. The orientation of capital to labour and to markets was one of arithmetical rationality. And work in capitalist enterprises demanded forms of self-discipline corresponding to this rationality. There was, to be sure, some concern with matters of this kind.

The enterprises of the day would have needed minimal proletarian discipline. Workers in resource extraction, timbermen in particular, were seen by some of their contemporaries as unruly in the extreme, having taken the easy way out of routine labour, their rowdiness and drunkenness a public menace and disgrace. But for the most part these enterprises had a fragmentary organization. Extraction and trade were conducted independently, linked in a cash nexus. The consequences of ill discipline would have been primarily borne by the workers themselves. In more place-centred work, in lumber and grain-mills and shipyards, the need of proletarian discipline would have been more directly felt by entrepreneurs. But problems of disorder would
have been dealt with by rough and ready means (beatings or firings) rather than education.

In technical matters and labour organization, the economic relevances of learning were little differentiated from those of the colonies' earliest days.

The nature of these relevances was altered during this period, however, by the growth of patches of indigenous production and prosperity, most extensively in Nova Scotia. "Communities grounded in local wealth were basic to the political and ideological developments of the early nineteenth century. Capital held locally tended to produce local leadership and a sense of local responsibility (a manner unlikely for timber and fish shippers). Local leadership was manifested partially in the sponsorship of education.

Some people did articulate concern for the remedy of ill order and dissipation by education, morality and principle. Intelligent self-discipline was, as we shall see later, chiefly proposed for an entrepreneurial morality among farmers, and chiefly propagated by clergymen.

Some sons of the resident prosperous would have desired to enter the professions -- again the clergy was of central importance -- and the early, Anglican institutions would not suffice for their education.

On the other hand, continuing mercantile predominance was a hindrance to an autonomous and indigenous intellectual and educational life. That large-scale trade oriented to distant markets and often conducted by transient commercial capitalists tended to limit local production to the extraction of staple goods from sea and forest,
and made for the expatriation of much of the economic surplus, required
to support an institutionally distinct intellectual life. Thus the
sources of revenue for colleges—philanthropy, donations from individual
savings, government revenues, tuition fees—were, as we shall see
later, often paltry.

Let us now consider the relationships between learning and
the practice of politics, those moments when politics became learned,
when learning became political. First we should look back briefly at
the earlier period of Maritime history. The politically dominant figures
in the colony were the local representatives and beneficiaries of
Imperial rule. The Church of England was understood to solidify this
rule through the propagation of belief both religious and political.
The Anglican colleges were understood to aid in this propagation
directly in all their teaching and indirectly in the training of clergymen. The higher learning, that is, was consciously construed as con­
tinuous with the ruling political ideology.

The actual conduct of government of course required skills
of literacy and legality. The executive powers were at this time clearly,
and without effective challenge, wielded by agents of the Imperial
administration and by members of the old and aristocratic families.
The imperial agents would have been trained and dispatched from abroad.
Officials permanently resident in the Maritimes would have received a
classical education in England, at home, or at the Anglican colleges.

The monopoly of major posts and decisions by oligarchs within
the provinces and the Imperial administration outside them naturally cir­
cumscribed the concerns of local politicians. Legislative representatives
were called upon to think and work for purely local interests of the regions they represented. Their interests seldom included measures of a general, provincial, character. They little needed learning. The skills upon which their success depended were rather those of politics in the pejorative sense, the crude exchange of favour and influence.

It will be useful to consider these matters in a more general aspect. The state is a distinct and separate organization of certain regulative and allocative activities of a society. There is further a mode of consciousness, similarly distinct and separate, which corresponds to these activities. Events conceptualized in the terms of political organization are understood at a general level, falling under general legislation, subsumed under an inclusive allocation of monies, or justified in terms of the interests of the entire society. Events conceptualized in such terms are explicitly understood at a remove from their occurrence on a local scene.

I would suggest that Joseph Howe's musings on a high hill outside of Halifax can be read as pointing to this formation of a distinct political level of consciousness, and its relationship to learning:

How boundless and beautiful is the prospect now before us; we can see on all sides, and take in at a glance hundreds and hundreds of objects, while those in the streets, and the lanes, and the low places, can see but a trifling distance; and although each may perhaps have a more accurate knowledge of the objects by which he is immediately surrounded, he cannot form so clear an idea of the _tout ensemble_ as we can. It is thus that knowledge lifts man above his fellows -- and enables him from the hill of science to look beyond the vulgar -- to behold the relations which bind the great human family together -- to judge of the general interest without prejudice -- to control, govern and improve; and though gradual the ascent, though the path be rough and the obstructions many, who, to attain the summit would refuse to climb? (Howe 1973:54-5).
Other phrases in the discourse of the time about the value of learning may also point to the separation of political from immediate awareness. There was 'emancipation from the narrow circle of daily life' -- implying that there existed a circle not narrow in the quotidian way. There was 'qualification for intercourse with one's fellow men' -- implying that there were fellow-men with whom one's relations could not be conducted simply, but only with special preparation.

These modes of speech point to a stratification of consciousness. I use the term 'stratification' here to explicate what was present in the thought of the time. This thought of course existed within a practical concentration of political activity and resources at a distinct organizational level.

This thought also was paralleled by a contemporary conception of education as a stratifying mechanism in the ordinary sociological sense. It came to be said that a proper activity of schools was locating and cultivating talent among local boys, talent which otherwise would be wasted. These notions -- a stratification of consciousness, and social mobility through education -- share an image of the society as having levels, through which one may ascend by alterations of the mind.

In the initial colonial circumstances of entrenched oligarchical rule, even with those powers of making appropriations for local works that Assemblymen won early in the nineteenth century, participation in the political level of consciousness was restricted. But with local challenge to oligarchical rule, and with eventual local operation of the state, there needed to be developed a local political capability, including 'an idea of the tout ensemble.' Men needed to be formed for politics.
The attack on oligarchical rule presupposed a certain level of intellectual attainment. The developing local interests, of merchants and farmers, members of dissenting churches, and local politicians, needed men who were in part the representatives and in part the articulators (in that sense also the creators) of their interests in politics. These men required a certain manifest cleverness, to stand up and speak in the relatively formal and respectable political segment of the society. In part there was required a confident assertiveness in the ideological articulation of local interests.

There was an agitation of public questions by the developing local ideological apparatus. This included politicians. The powers of language were needed in asserting claims to powers of the state. Those speaking on the hustings or in the legislature needed rhetorical effectiveness in denouncing the evils of monopoly, or the tendencies to corruption of their opponents. Certain leaders of reform needed to demonstrate the failures of colonial administration, in both written petitions and personal appearances, in terms that would be comprehended and respected in England. The developing local ideological apparatus also certainly included the clergymen, who, as they came commonly to say, ministered to congregations of growing intelligence. Political legitimacy and perquisites for the dissenting churches were fought for over decades, and definitely achieved with responsible government. In the late 1820s Roman Catholics were fully enfranchised, Anglicans lost their control over the marriage sacrament in the mid-1830s, and over educational funds in the late 1830s. Bishops were removed from executive councils in the 1850s. It included too the local press. Before the 1820s the press was quite limited, and cowed by the threat of libel
actions. But during the 1820s and 1830s it expanded considerably, both in numbers of publications and in extent of coverage. This expansion was aided by a steadily increasing certainty of legal press freedom, which was marked in Nova Scotia by crucial legal decisions of about 1835. Writers of editorials needed the ability to turn a handsome phrase -- and of course a literate audience.

A more specific legal expertise was also needed, for the drafting of legislative documents. The skills of lawyers were crucially required for the framing of constitutional arguments, especially related to the political rights of the colonists as British subjects, and to those constitutional niceties bearing upon the powers of the lower houses of the legislatures. On such issues lawyers 'alone possessed the education and the research facilities which were needed to present mature arguments' (Beck 1957:33). Lawyers were numerically important in at least the Nova Scotian Houses of Assembly. They made up at least one quarter of every house after 1819. A typical Assembly had 10 lawyers, 16 merchants, 11 farmers, and two others (Beck 1957:33). Lawyers also numbered among the leaders of the legislatures throughout the period -- T.C. Haliburton, S.G.W. Archibald and Beamish Murdoch in Nova Scotia, L.A. Wilmot in New Brunswick.

Yet lawyers alone were not an adequate source of political leadership. There is no reason to suppose that lawyers, even the locally educated, would have been always the disinterested advocates of the needs of local communities. Their income came from the management of other people's disputes, and they were at times accused of profiting excessively from or unnecessarily complicating those disputes. In some arguments, lawyers, 'the long train of legal cormorants,' (Howe 1973:
87), were castigated along with all the other reactionary and exploitative segments of political society. A writer in the*Acadian Recorder* in 1824, 'Monitor,' noted that the Assembly in New Brunswick contained but one lawyer, and remarked that 'this by some is supposed to account for her commercial prosperity' (Beck 1957:33n76). Lawyers were also seen as inconstant friends of political reform. The exigencies of their ordinary career patterns, which left them dependent upon the favour of Governors and Councils for appointment to judgeships and other official positions, tended to dampen their outspokenness on the reconstruction of government. A bias in favour of the status quo seemed a part of professional identity. (For a consideration of such influences in the careers of Thomas Haliburton and S.G.W. Archibald, see Hamilton 1970:191-3). Beck says of the reforming lawyers:

> As long as this type of leadership continued, the Assembly could not hope to make headway against the prevailing irresponsible system.

No lawyer carried his criticisms to the point where he could conceivably be labelled as an unceasing critic of 'government' and hence be deprived of the patronage lavished upon those of good report. It is quite significant that in the decade after 1830, when a definite stand had to be taken upon whether the governmental set-up was to be a transcript of the British model in fact as well as in form, not one of the leaders of the 1820s who was still politically active favoured a radical change in the status quo, and Stewart and Murdoch cannot be labelled by their critics as congenital Tories (Beck 1957:33-4).

There were then needed intelligent critics outside the legal profession as well as within it.

> From the 1830s, by local demand and Imperial concession, political control came increasingly to be vested in local and representative forms. For this participation in the actual control of the state, local politicians needed greater capabilities than those required to
manage the pork barrel and make critiques. One concomitant of the vesting of power locally was a struggle for the development of a local capability for that power, in both persons and organizations. A political capability needed to be developed in organizations, in political parties, required to coalesce diverse specific interests into politically viable unities. As local politicians came into the Legislative Council and administration in the late 1830s and 1840s, they needed competence at specifically administrative tasks, the most important of which was budgeting and in general managing the increasingly complex financial activities of government. Party alignments needed to secure discipline over legislators, so that cabinets could continue to command legislative majorities for reasonable periods of time.

In sum, learning served the articulation of local interests into general form. It so served the seizing of state power, and it made possible the rise of that power. Skills of literacy and legality, the administrative competences requisite to the operation of government, and that general level of intellectual attainment which would permit seeing the society so as 'to control, govern and improve' -- these mental accomplishments, the products of some education, were requisite to the accomplishment of local control of government.

Observers of and participants in politics explicitly saw the importance of learned skills, especially those of language, in political affairs. Howe saw the successes of the Bridgetown Sunday school as nascent leaders in state and church:

Little fellows that you would not suppose could repeat their A, B, C, will pour out one of Milton's beautiful hymns with a correctness of emphasis and clearness of articulation which would almost impress you with an idea that the embryo orators of a future day were standing
before you -- that many of the ornaments of the pulpit, the bar and the Senate, who twenty years hence will appeal to the feelings and guide the destinies of their country, will have to trace the first dawning of their eloquence to this useful and very creditable school (Howe 1973:100-1).

In his descriptions of the prominent New Brunswick legislators of 1850, James Hannay mentioned specific attributes of each, as one's financial sense and another's constitutional acumen. But for all he mentioned oratorical skill. Those most praised were impressive, forceful, articulate and certain (Hannay 1909:187-91). Firm declamation was an essential political asset.

The importance of forming men for politics was commonly noted in indirect ways. Intellectual attainment was visible to some as a lacuna. The unwillingness of local representatives to subordinate themselves to party discipline was attributed to 'ignorance;' Howe once remarked on the unprincipled and unlearned local representatives who would not adhere to such provincial discipline.

Governors in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, where local economic and intellectual development were most retarded, complained of the dearth of local 'talent' for politics, as government became responsible. In New Brunswick, at least two Governors remarked on this lack of talent, both in conjunction with ideas of political union. Head spoke of a scarcity of capable men, and advocated Maritime union such that fewer but abler men could be drawn from a larger pool into positions of leadership (MacNutt 1963:346-7). Gordon, on the other hand, opposed Confederation, foreseeing that the ablest men would go to the new political centre, leaving only the uneducated and unprincipled to New Brunswick (MacNaughton 1947:179). In Prince Edward Island's political disputes over land, and over the holding of governmental powers,
the possession of 'education' and 'intelligence' by those who ruled, and their absence among the claimants to ruling, were repeatedly offered in defence of existing arrangements. Wealth was the basis of intelligence; and the want of intelligence justified denying the means of wealth.

Some of the leaders of reform and of early responsible government had extensive formal education. Some were self-educated. Even those without extensive formal schooling could see the importance of education for their concerns. The leaders of political reform included the leaders of educational expansion, advocates and initiators of provincial common school systems and expanded higher education.

For what were men educated? A student at Dalhousie College in 1838 boasted that its capable professors could:

give students such a start in the study of philosophy and science, and so quicken their intellectual activities, as to fit them by proper industry in after life for filling the highest positions in society (quoted in Patterson 1887:32).

A reminiscence of the first actual graduating class of Dalhousie (1867) included descriptions of the careers its members pursued: five went into the ministry, three into law, one into medicine, one became a bookseller and one was principal of an academy (Lippincott 1947:289-90). The fiftieth anniversary Memorials of Acadia College (1878) included reports of its graduates. The first careers of those from 1843 to 1857 were distributed as follows: ministry, 19; law, 5; medicine, 6; education, 11; business, 1; miscellaneous, 1 (Calculated from Records of Graduates, Acadia Memorials 1881:140-57). Once again it can be said that institutions of higher education were associated preeminently with the education of professionals.
But in this period interest in college formation was developed among rising segments of the population not accommodated by existing Anglican institutions. There would, to anticipate, be struggles over education, integral as it was with power. A writer in the Christian Messenger in 1839 warned Nova Scotian Baptists that there would be resistance to their aim, placing within the reach of the middle classes of the people the means of obtaining a thorough education. Men who have long been in possession of power are generally reluctant to part with it; and this observation applies with great force to the men who have, till of late, had the control of education in this province (quoted in Saunders 1902:255).

Much of Thomas McCulloch's address on The Nature and Uses of Liberal Education dealt with the building up of education around the learned functions of the society, and it can serve as a point of departure here. Education, in McCulloch's view, serves 'the improvement of the individual and the prosperity of the whole.' A widespread public education is needed to make youth in general literate, opening up to them a universe of descriptions otherwise sealed off. Such a fundamental education provides youth with both the principles of knowledge and those 'qualifications which might afford them access to the sources of intelligence, and enable them to transfer their knowledge to others.' Some extension of education beyond the fundamental level is necessary, because the 'wants of society and that enlargement of the desire of knowledge which uniformly attends the diffusion of intelligence have rendered an extension of the system of education a necessary appendage of the social state.' This is notably true at that point when the division of labour produces 'offices and duties which require a species of knowledge unattainable by ordinary observation and experience.' Those offices and duties in the society of the time were the learned professions.
They serve 'the protection of property, the preservation of health, and the moral excellence and happiness of man.' The professions are designated 'learned' because they require a liberal education. Each function, McCulloch said, required a distinct office and an appropriate education (McCulloch 1819:4, 5, 6, 7-8).

First, there is a necessity of laws and justice in society. Each person has an interest in the general affairs of society, as well as 'a certain liberty of action...and such an interest in the objects around him as constitutes them as his own....' Legal practice requires a broad general knowledge, a specialized knowledge of the law, and 'that acuteness of thought, precision of language, and facility of expression which those who must encounter the prejudiced and villainous part of the community, need.' A distinct office is necessary for handling 'a species of knowledge which the greater part of mankind have neither leisure nor opportunity to obtain' (McCulloch 1819:8, 10, 11).

Lawyers were, in fact, often held in low esteem by those persons whose liberty of action and interest in property necessitated, in principle, the legal function. Howe spoke of 'a young lawyer who has been down to town getting his license to plunder' (Howe 1973:61). McCulloch recognized this, and defended the legal profession. Delays and injustice there are, he said, and ever have been. They are due not to the want of uprightness in the profession but to the number, diversity and intricacy of cases in developed civilization (McCulloch 1819:9-10).

The second of the learned professions was medicine. The physician, McCulloch said, requires a knowledge of anatomy and pathology -- a subtle knowledge, so that he will not be made to err by misleading symptoms or by the diversity of the human constitution (McCulloch 1819:11-12).
Although there was not yet formalized medical training in the Maritimes, there were physicians. Scattered bits of evidence indicate that increasing numbers of local boys went into medicine. They would either have apprenticed or gone abroad for medical schooling. The one physician in Fredericton in the 1830s was Dr. George P. Peters, son of the provincial Attorney-General, with an M.D. from Edinburgh. In Woodstock in 1839 four men practiced medicine: one veteran of the British navy, two Americans (father and son), and one New Brunswick native, with a Glasgow M.D. (Baird 1890:30, 99; also cf. Heagerty 1940).

The third of the learned professions was the clergy. To the development of higher education, its linkage was central: colleges were formed and sponsored by religious organizations. Ideas and demands for higher education arose as one element in the growth or consolidation of what sociologists have called the 'church' organization of religious practice.

The notion of a 'church' organization is often used in sociological literature as one member of a conceptual pair, opposed to the notion of a 'sect' organization. The sect, as ordinarily described, is a religious group that is relatively small. It stands opposed to the larger society or to larger religious organizations, for example, by morally condemning, or by withdrawing for the sake of purity of dogma and conduct. It is strongly demanding of commitment, loyalty and solidarity from its members. The opposite of the church in the historical context considered here was not the sect in this sense. It rather was an open evangelistic organization, insistent indeed on the power of religious experience, but less rather than more closed, structured and dogmatic.
In church organization religious activity comes to have in many of its routine features a formally organizational character. Pastoral or priestly work comes to be conducted within an office, whose incumbent has a permanent and full-time (rather than temporary or amateur) post, in remuneration for which he receives a regular and livable salary. A hierarchy of clerical officials, and/or definite procedures for decision-making, are established. Lines of communication are made routine. The incumbent of the office is subject to routine control by the larger organization of which he is part. Finance is conducted in a business-like manner; books are kept, expenditures are planned, revenues are relatively predictable and secure. Most importantly for the subject at hand, one becomes eligible for the clerical office by virtue of special training or education.

Within a church organization the performance of certain key religious functions — chiefly preaching and the performance of sacraments — becomes a monopoly of properly credentialled persons. Knowledge, or the possession of special qualifications or credentials, signifies professional status. The professional aims at performances which demonstrate his knowledgeability. It is a knowledgeable function that the clergy is one of the professions. An educational institution then becomes crucial to church organization as the provider of knowledge and credentials to its religious functionaries.

The provision of clerical knowledge and credentials was a central motivation in the formation of all the early colleges. Later sections of this text will narrate how this need of colleges was articulated and acted upon. But first let us consider at greater length the category of 'religious knowledge.'
The office of the minister within the church is constituted in knowledgeability. Thus religious knowledge must be made distinctly recognizable, categorically identifiable. Those who know must be told apart from those who don't. This distinction was accomplished, in part by rendering observable the features of the knowledgeable, and in part by drawing lines of exclusion from knowledge, separating out the ignorant.

What were the features of knowledgeable religious practice?

Its performance was embodied in a conventionalized mode of discourse. Certain modes of expression -- handsome turns of phrase, arcane allusions, fineness and consistency of distinction -- marked its presence and enabled the detection of its absence. Knowledgeable religion explicitly involved more than a direct experience or performance. The experience was conceived to be essentially mediated by learning. It was described as cultural, systematic, even scientific.

McCulloch's address on liberal education formulated the substantiality of clerical knowledge quite clearly. The institution of the clerical office, McCulloch said, is not 'left to human determination' but prescribed by revealed religion. On Scriptural grounds McCulloch argued that the preacher must primarily be 'apt to teach,' possessing both information and a facility for communicating it. The 'primary object' of the clerical office 'is the communication of knowledge.' Furthermore, even more strongly, the preacher is rightly viewed 'merely as the vehicle of knowledge' (McCulloch 1819:12-15).

The consolidation of a church organization thus can be seen as a movement in which charisma, the natural potency of teachers and leaders that binds people to them, becomes routinized. It is embodied in a knowledge which can be acquired, appropriated by appointees to clerical office (cf. Weber 1967:262-3).
McCulloch was again explicit. The traditions of the church from the earliest days show that 'supernatural qualifications are not be expected' (McCulloch 1819:13). Further:

The uninformed have been apt to imagine, that sound intelligence has little connexion with religious attainment. But an opinion so repugnant to the improvement of human nature, needs not be refuted. I would only remark that credulity with respect to the merits of illiterate clergymen, originates in the want of intelligence; and, accordingly, in every country, as the good sense of mankind surmounts ignorance, they gradually disappear (McCulloch 1819:14).

It is not that leaders and teachers in a church will necessarily be devoid of charisma. It is that men are named as preachers and teachers, enter the pastoral office, through established organizational procedures. In the constitution of the office there is a clear separation between the tasks and powers of the office and the characteristics and rights of the individual who fills it. What is essential is that preachers undergo a training by intellectual rigours. It is not essential that they possess an inner certainty of being 'called' to their vocation.

To make knowledge visible there were also drawn lines of exclusion which separated out the ignorant. Such lines appeared, not surprisingly, in the view of the untutored population in general and the evangelistic ministers in particular, by members of established churches.

The early Anglican leaders, for whom religious knowledge was foundational to political order, in the same breath broadly applied the epithets of ignorance and disloyalty to most of the colonial population (cf. supra).

An educated Kirk minister like Rev. William Proudfoot of Upper Canada could level the reproach of ignorance against Methodist
and Baptist ministers whom he encountered. Thus he described the Baptist preacher at York in 1832:

I have been now several times in his house, but never heard anything that could indicate his possessing a literary turn. He is always working as a labourer, covered in mud and lime. His manners are the manners of a man of work, and forwardness and conceit supply in him the place of ease (quoted in Clark: 1948:229; cf. 214).

Here, clearly, the intellectual criticism was joined with a social slight. The literary turn and the ease that knowledge might have provided were raised explicitly to make a denigrating contrast with the manners and demeanour of a labourer. Ignorance was identified with the labouring class. The legitimacy of knowledge was thus implied to be the possession of a superior class. In much the same way Charles Inglis reported to the SPG in 1800 that the Baptist teachers whom he saw were 'very ignorant mechanics and common labourers who are too lazy to work' (quoted in MacNutt 1965:121-2). The SPG Rev. John Wiswell wrote that 'at Horton there is an Anabaptist meeting house and an illiterate shoemaker supplying the place of a pastor!' (Saunders 1902:113). In 1785 Rev. Jacob Bailey of Annapolis reported that,

a number of illiterate, drunken teachers are daily following each other in regular succession, like the waves of the Atlantic, the last of which always eclipses the glory of his predecessor (Saunders 1902:114).

There was opposition from the established churches to the itinerant evangelistic Newlight preacher Henry Alline, who determined after long deliberation that he had 'all this time been led astray by labouring so much after human learning and wisdom, and had held back from the call of God.' Two Presbyterian ministers visited him in 1777, questioned his right to preach without ordination, and sought to convince him to secure proper training.
I told them the Lord knew before he called me, how unqualified I was as to human learning and as he had called me, I trusted he would qualify me for whatever he had for me to do (Clark 1948:21-2; also see Saunders 1902:109).

For Alline human learning was useless human mediation between himself and the Lord. For the Presbyterians it was, presumably, the very form of religious truth and righteousness.

The recognized structure of individual religious experience was transformed in the development of church organization. A transformation of congregational consciousness created what was called 'intelligence' and 'respectability.' The external features of religious knowledge, its explicitness and abstractness, rendered it 'external' to persons exposed to it, in the sense that their 'direct experience' had to be disciplined to remain within its limits. This is to say that the procedures for the recognition of 'true' religious experience -- and probably the very character of that experience -- underwent a transformation as religious knowledge became distinct, or as religious organization became churchly.*

Religious experience and truth within the evangelistic sects (or at least within the accounts made by their itinerant preachers) appeared as personal vision, overwhelming emotional experience, ecstatic revelation. Within the contemporary more fully developed churches (or at least in the accounts made by their ministers) religious experience and truth appeared as theologically grounded faith, considered and thoughtful belief, routinized rituals of worship.

* This shift in the recognized locus of true religious experience leapt out at me from materials presented by S.D. Clark in his Church and Sect in Canada, although the shift was not there made explicitly thematic.
The evangelistic preacher thanked the Lord for screams and trances among those to whom he spoke. The educated minister who witnessed them was full of scornful disapprobation.

The Newlight revival in the Maritimes commenced with the preaching of Henry Alline, a talented, physically striking, religiously tormented man, of Puritan upbringing, who had immigrated to Falmouth from Connecticut as a boy. At the age of 27 he saw an uncommon light and for a moment thought,

time at a period, eternity commenced, the infinite judge approaching, conscience awake, and my soul burdened with almost an unsupportable load of guilt, darkness and tormenting fear, and a bottomless pit below me.

Alline saw and seized the chance of repentance offered, and his 'whole soul seemed to be melted down with love' (quoted in Saunders 1902:17-8). He spent a year in trying to get educated, but decided this was wasteful, and commenced his itinerant ministry in 1776. He continued preaching until his death eight years later (Saunders 1902:17-8).

With this late eighteenth century evangelism there was a new light. People throughout the land were struck with religious terror. They sought and found the experience of redemption, and saw the world with new eyes, in a new light. Thus, after the ordination of Joseph Crandall at Sackville, there seemed, the preacher Joseph Dimock said, to be 'power and grace...beyond description...a moving of God's spirit on the minds of both saints and sinners' (Saunders 1902:76). Some of those transformed felt called themselves to become wandering preachers, and further proclaim the message of terror, redemption, and new light.

The Baptist historian Saunders said of the evangelists:

to see sinners, first crushed under the load of their guilt, rise up in the enjoyment of spiritual deliverance, filled with the ecstasy of the joys of salvation, gave swiftness
to their feet as they travelled over the country, and great boldness before the people (Saunders 1902:57).

Accounts of the religious experience which culminated in conversion commence with a person wretched with sinfulness and depravity, longing for deliverance, wishing but unable to cry, feeling justly condemned to a terrible darkness. At just this moment there came the knowledge of God's mercy and love, and the feelings of forgivenness, peace and joy. One of the early Newlight preachers, Edward Manning, wrote of his conversion in 1789:

If ever I loved any object before or since, it was the eternal justice of God. It appeared to me that I could not but love it, even thought it prove my eternal condemnation. The view was overwhelming. I was quite lost for a season to time-things: and when I came to my recollection, God and all creatures appeared different to me from what they ever did before.... My whole soul was set on fire. I cried out, how loud I cannot tell. I do not recollect what expression came to my mind, or whether there was any or not. But this I know, my soul was wrapt in God's eternal love (quoted in Saunders 1902:28).

Let us consider this matter of the recognition of true religious experience somewhat more closely, beginning with some sketches of evangelistic worship. Harris Harding, a Newlight preacher, wrote of his visit to Liverpool in 1792:

I think I had not spoke but a few minutes before numbers rejoiced, and cried so loud that my voice could not be heard. And while most of the old Christians stood by wondering, or silently weeping and looking on, these professed young converts were some of them shouting for joy. Others in such distress seemingly for sinners, that one or two would be employed in holding them: whilst others again would seem so overcome by redeeming love as to be almost motionless, as if their breath was gone (quoted in Clark 1948:48).

The same lively atmosphere was reported by the Methodist Joshua Marsden, situated in the St. John Valley in 1806, in a letter to a fellow-preacher:

Our little chapel is so crowded, that you can scarcely see anything but human heads.... Often, towards the conclusion;
the union of the voices of those who are either praying, crying, or rejoicing, forms what worldly people call confusion (quoted in Clark 1948:63).

These accounts and others like them are full with a vivid immediacy of human beings and the extravagance of their doings. They are full of the names of the noises and postures and emotions of the body: people breathe, cry, weep, shout, swoon; they feel joy, commotion, distress, rejoicing, love and ecstasy. There is in these accounts none of that limitation of experience by its rational expression that Henry Alline found so wretched in his home town of Falmouth in 1776:

There were no more than five or six Christians in the whole town and they sunk into death and formality: there was nothing of the power of religion, the travail of the soul: and conviction and conversion were scarcely mentioned; only externals, and duties, and commands, and different principles, etc. (quoted from Alline's autobiography in Clark: 1948:34).

Alline certainly was not like the Anglican minister at Annapolis, who would only read over an old, dry lesson of morals and form, which he had written down. Blind leaders of the blind.... Thousands of souls are being kept in blindness till they are gone beyond all recovery. To carry on this infernal scheme, a number of antichristian ministers are laboring night and day to prove that a feeling knowledge of redemption in the soul is not to be attained, and that all such pretensions are a vain imagination and a delusion; and tell their hearers that if they do so and so and are baptized, join the church, come to the Lord's table and do their best in those outward things, all will be well. And thus they are murdering the precious and immortal souls. O that God would awaken and convert them or remove them! (Saunders 1902:110).

These accounts by evangelists do not make explicit the lineaments of the religious experience they respect, either by description or justification. This is fitting, given the insignificance of articulation within that experience. But it is possible to make a somewhat more elaborate statement of the constitution of religious experience in evangelistic settings. It is preeminently a matter of experience, of
faith, and of the action of the spirit visible in the body. Alline did say that it is power, travail, conviction, conversion -- intense experiences all. The Baptist historian Saunders wrote of the evangelistic experience as including 'physical as well as spiritual phenomena, which astonished the beholders, and could not be accounted for except as the effect of supernatural causes' (Saunders 1902:55). The evangelistic forms of religious practice cultivated these interior spiritual emanations. The religious experience was constituted as eruptive within the individual's existence.

It was not only private. The experience occurred within a community, to be sure. The community stood in back of this eruption, determined it in the sense of being its ground. But it was a community acting through the interiority of the individual, emanating through the individual. It did not act over and against him, delimiting what could emanate from him.

All these queer emanations were distressing indeed to the men of the churches, who inhabited what Alline called formalities, duties, and commands, the ways of the sleeping and the blind. To them the travail of the soul was clearly misplaced. It was heresy, or at least error. Enthusiastic extravagances were excoriated as the wildest fanaticism, a burlesque of religion, an utter inversion of formal dogmatic truth. Charles Inglis, reporting to the SPG in 1800, described Baptist meetings in merely bodily terms, not granting them the interpretation as spiritual. People are employed to shout out. Then, groanings, screamings, roarings, tumblings and faintings immediately ensue with a falling down and a rolling upon the floor of both sexes together (Saunders 1902:115).

A lot of noise culminating in collapse, with divinity nowhere in sight.
Inglis wrote the SPG in 1789 that the Newlights in Granville 'threatened to subvert all order and rational religion' (quoted in Clark 1948:65). Likewise John Strachan, ever ready to denounce religious folly, wrote of the Methodists in a letter of 1806:

> You have almost no conception of their excesses. They will bawl twenty of them at once, tumble on the ground, laugh, sing, jump and stamp, and this they call the working of the spirit (quoted in French 1962:53n126).

Strachan named the evangelistic interpretation of religious experience -- they 'call' their 'excesses' the 'working of the spirit' -- in the process of debunking it.

One Presbyterian minister, Rev. John Brown, writing about the Newlights to a minister in Scotland, made remarks of the same order but in a more dispassionate tone:

> It is difficult for me to give you an account of the peculiar principles of this sect.... They seem to have got the name which they bear from those visions or lights which they pretend to see. In general they are ignorant of the true Gospel of Jesus Christ.... They speak of extraordinary communications of the spirit, whatever their own heated imaginations suggest they take it for a divine emanation.... (quoted in Clark 1948:191).

The reproach was again of ignorance. The new light was treated as pretence, or as a misidentification of imagination as divinity. Edward Manning, a preacher in the developing Baptist church, made a journal entry about enthusiasm in Liverpool in 1821. He was sympathetic to zealouness, as a sign of piety, but deplored its lack of that refinement which makes piety of use. While the preacher was speaking,

> a young woman screamed out and continued to screech for some time. What a pity that pious people are not better instructed than to think that God almighty is pleased, or his people edified, or sinners benefitted, by ravings of poor mistaken, tho' sincere Christians (quoted in Clark 1948:277).
Manning made explicit what was lacking in ravings: instruction, edification.

Thomas McCulloch's fictional ethnography, *The Letters of Mephibosheth Stepsure*, mirthfully sketched out the characters of a number of practitioners of enthusiastic religion. There was for example Whinge, who spent much time in people's houses, praying and giving them advice about their souls. The amount of his doctrine was, that time and time's things are nothing -- that every religious man must live above the world, and derive his comfort from his religious frames. Of course, his farm was in a very bad state. Indeed, if our religious people had not been kind to him -- one giving him a little grain; and another, a few potatoes -- he could never have made out. But it was often remarked that, though Whinge lived above the world when he was giving advice; if any of the neighbours offered him a little help, he always showed that even good men fall before temptation (McCulloch 1960:88).

Mrs. Sham and Miss Clippit were exceedingly religious in their own way, and zealous, too, in proportion. Accordingly they spent most of their time running about the town to tell everybody their experiences and how they felt (McCulloch 1960:80).

Miss Clippit, though formerly a miserable sinner, is now, as she says herself, a very religious young woman.... I could mention many others, who, when they have no opportunity to frolic or play at cards, very punctually attend those night meetings where miserable sinners like Miss Clippit are all at once converted into uncommonly religious people; for, when they go to Tipple's, which they do very often, they sing so many hymns over their grog, that he frequently declares his own house to be as uncomfortable to him as is Parson Drone's church upon Sunday (McCulloch 1960:116).

McCulloch ridiculed the enthusiasts as misguided children, with a pitiably simple self-righteousness and self-indulgence. Their religion was a folly. It was the same in their lives as other idle entertainments, local gossip, noisy conviviality and frolics, drinking grog. (One could call them functional equivalents.) In fact their religious folly, which they mistook for true religion, kept them from the responsible
and prosperous conduct of life. Their sense of transcending the world, Mephibosheth saw as merely worldly escape from worldly duty. (These descriptions, written nearly a half-century after the new light began to be seen, and when its routinization was well under way, perhaps bore witness to late and enfeebled forms of enthusiasm.)

Religious experience for the evangelicals was eruptive. Within the developed church organization, however, it was constituted as publicly visible and accountable, doctrinal, explicit. Any experience of overwhelming and inarticulate personal intensity was suspect at best. For the churchly, learning and education were opposed to ignorance and the want of cultivation, principles to mere feeling, rationality to imaginations, order to fanaticism. True religion was identified through, was constituted in, signs and expressions external to mere experience. Alline called them formality, externals, duties and commands.

Within the church, as is fitting, there was possible a full-blown anthropological and theological justification of the external constitution of true religious experience. Such a justification was provided, again by Thomas McCulloch. In his address on liberal education, McCulloch made the anthropological argument. The 'original conformation...of the human mind' leaves man 'destitute of that knowledge and government of himself, which are necessary for his preservation, good conduct, and happiness in life.' But happily the mind possesses the 'stamina of subsequent improvement...to supply its original want of intelligence and qualify itself for a course of activity and happiness' (McCulloch 1819:1). McCulloch repeated this argument in specifically theological form in an address delivered to the first theological class at Pictou Academy. (It was reprinted in the Glasgow Christian...
Recorder of May 1821; and in McCulloch n.d.:197-215:) He posited formalized orders of religious organization and knowledge as essential to make whole the life of the society. The very function of ministers, he said, is instruction, it is their duty to disseminate the discipline of a religious knowledge to members of their congregations. The condition of human life is such as to need completion by that knowledge:

The duties of a Christian minister refer to human beings, as subjected to intellectual defects and moral inabilities; as exposed to the temptations, vices, and afflictions of life. In these respects, they need the instruction which improves the various capacities of the mind, and renders its acquirements subservient to pure morality; they need the instruction which meets human adversity with the cheering prospect of hope and enjoyment. The Christian minister is an agent of the Deity for illustrating the glory of his character as the repairer of that ruin which transgression has introduced into his works.... As entrusted with the religious interests of the community, therefore, you ought to be qualified to rear, upon the basis of knowledge, a structure of rectitude which will neither exclude devotional piety, nor the diversified duties of social life (McCulloch n.d.:200).

On the one hand there were human beings, with defects, inabilities, afflictions, ruin and transgression. On the other hand there is the minister of religion, offering knowledge, instruction, morality, a structure of rectitude, piety and duty. Religion is external to people in the clear sense of being what they lack in themselves. It is a structure of knowledge, rectitude and obligation necessary to aid, complete and fulfill the pristine and deficient human condition. Religion as compensation for human deficiencies is intelligent and systematic:

None of you, I hope, will ever encourage any system of religious opinion which indulges ignorance or inattention to duty; which either permits knowledge to terminate in speculation, or cherishes activity uncombined with intelligence (McCulloch n.d.:200).
Sustaining the character of students, you must attend to
religion as a scientific pursuit; and be assured, that, "till
you know it in its systematic arrangements, you can
neither be well qualified to instruct the ignorant nor
to edify the intelligent (McCulloch n.d.:204).

As religion is a system of truth, one cannot 'reduce religion itself
to mere feeling and conduct' (McCulloch n.d.:205). Human beings in the
natural state are deficient: ignorant, wayward, merely sentient.
They must be informed by externalized orders of religious organization
and knowledge, intelligent and systematic.

The systematic arrangements of religion, mastered by ministers
who instructed congregations, made up a collective and formalized system
of signs in which true religious experience was recognized. There was
available a corpus of publicly available forms of expression for re-
ligious experience. Within the church, religious activity was structured
and religious experience reported so as to mesh with the preestablished
descriptions. True religious experience was recognized not in the
immediate activity of the body, interpretable as the working of the
spirit, but in an articulate and considered assent to certain established
forms of expressions of religious truth. These expressions were of course
created by someone, likely as an emanation of experience. But once
created and incorporated into the corpus of available expressions, others
could confront them as external to themselves. The corpus of expressions
could appear hegemonic, constraining; or they could appear as the correction
of naive error. Whatever was simply present in experience, prior to and
possibly inexpressible in the established forms, 'a tree,' the 'knowledge
of God's love,' the 'terror of death,' was potentially troublesome for
this constitution of expression. (Schutz had a term 'essentially actual
experience,' like a sneeze.)
There was made possible a bifurcation of accepted mode of speech from actual experience; a split between what could be sanctionably realized in the collective corpus of articulate expressions, and the unsanctioned, dangerous-seeming but undeniably real feelings that could indeed erupt within the body. Within such a collective constitution of consciousness there was also made possible the imagination of an unnamed, dangerous, dark side of human experience, a dark side which had to be occluded. The unnamed, the mute, the inarticulate, the overwhelming, the eruptive, could not be allowed their reality. They formed the ubiquitous feared counterpart, the excluded otherness, of the collective constitution of consciousness. The opposites of principles and instruction, they were given the names that rendered them senseless: frenzy and madness. This, I suggest, accounts for the animus of churchmen towards evangelists.

There was eruptive force in the exclusion of the eruptive. In Windsor, Alline was sworn at and reproached bitterly, by a ship's officer, while walking on the street. A crowd of 20 men came to his house with swords drawn and threatened to kill him. Alline went out, and one man lifted up his hand and swore that he would be revenged. As Alline recounted it in his journal, 'I caught him gently by the fore part of his coat and begged him to consider what he was about, and to act like a rational man.' Saunders cites accounts of similar experiences undergone by Joseph Dimock and William Black. In all of them the enemies of the enthusiasts are cursing, swearing, hooting, raging, and threatening violence (Saunders 1902:110-2). (Need it be said that these inversions of wildness and rationality invite psychological explanation, as projections?)
In this context we may consider, in addition to the churchmen's descriptions of evangelistic noise, a report by Lt.-Col. William Baird of what he called the most successful event in the early years of the Woodstock Mechanics' Institute (formed 1847).

There was first an Indian canoe race:

The larger number of the 24 men, stripped to their waists, the coarse black hair resting on their shoulders, seemed to be pure aboriginal stock.... (Baird 1890:107).

This was followed at night by an Indian dance:

The tall trees and bushes which completely surrounded the platform held numerous lamps, reflecting their light upon the band of swarthy warriors which now occupied its centre. Dressed in full costume with embroidered belts, each bearing a knife, and surrounding their chief, at a given signal the dance commenced. Facing inward, with a low guttural sound, they moved in a circle around their chief, keeping time with the motion of his hand, in which was held a powder-horn, carved and decorated, containing shot. Gradually their movements and utterances became quicker and louder, until they began to appear very like demons.

A panic in the crowd seemed imminent, when Joe, coming to me said, 'William, better stop! Young Indian geting clazy!' (crazy). Their savage nature had really begun to assert itself, and this exhibition made quite evident to our senses the influence that may be brought to operate on untutored minds (Baird 1890:108).

This is an account with familiar outlines. We are given the physical presence of human beings, their 'movements and utterances,' much activity, but no recognition of meaning in it. The activity is given a human place, however, outside the realm of tutoring: crazy, savage, demonic.

Of course the style of a people's religious practice is arrived at within the total context of their lives. Indeed I wish to argue that there is a discernible isomorphism between the structuring
in religious and
of consciousness and activity/in other spheres of life. The collective
structuring of consciousness was a general societal process. It
would exercise hegemony over religious as over other experience.

Who were the people that were transported by the shivers
and screams of religious terror and ecstasy? Let me propose a type.
They lived quite isolated lives, with survival a pressing uncertainty,
in or near wild country. Life was a hard daily grind of planting,
cultivating, harvesting, stock-feeding, tree-chopping, fishing, imple­
ment-making. What little community they had was created by special
means, occasional gatherings for communal work, occasional gatherings
for complaint and consolation, occasional worship. Their primary
activity was in the body. They were perhaps illiterate, but in any
event their activity was little structured with reference to formal­
ized or codified orderings. Isolation, exhaustion, the everyday presence
of mortality, a muteness of intellect: in such circumstances 'the sigh
of the oppressed creature' took on ecstatic forms. In respite from
isolation at the edge of life, the ontological question was asked which
allowed for the eruption of God's love as response. ('This order will
not do. I could just scream. Oh Lord.')

The era of church development was also the era of a collective
structuring of people's circumstances in other regards, especially in
petit bourgeois production and democratic politics. In production
there was an organization of enterprise by means of the amassing of
capital: the commercial capitalist enterprises whose Maritime oper­
ations consisted in staple extraction, a certain amount of local manu­
facturing, and an increasingly commercialized agriculture -- all con­
ducted for commodity markets, with attention to the balance of credits
over debits, with a steady eye to the amassing of capital. Likewise, there was a collective structuring in the polity, the articulation of the distinct organization of government for the provision of common services and the regulation of the common life, and the increasing interest and participation in that government by various segments of the population.

Members of the dissenting churches were increasingly implicated in these collective political and economic structurings of consciousness and activity, by their various confrontations with the commodity system, with their own increasing entrepreneurial activity, by the state's control of them and their interest in the domination of the state. A collective constitution of religious activity and consciousness (including of course a distinct religious knowledge) then provided religious experience isomorphic with experience in other spheres. There was interpenetration as well as isomorphism. The men of the developing churches were increasingly involved in political questions which bore upon the conduct and legitimation of religious functions, from marriage to education. In time efforts were made from within the dissenting churches to create a proper moral and social order, not by attacking individual evils and seeking individual salvation, but by collective legal means, by legislation for temperance and Sabbath observance. Further, as we shall see shortly, the morality of the churches served as an inducement to steady entrepreneurial careers in agriculture. Some parallels can be imagined, though perhaps too cute: the tithe and the excise tax on rum; the order of worship and the shipping schedule; theology and political economy.
These shifts in the total organization of society of course had more immediately visible manifestations, that in the discourse of the time were linked to the proliferation of colleges. Increasing numbers of dissenters were going into those careers for which higher education was deemed necessary, not only the clerisy but also, as the century progressed, education and certain entrepreneurial careers. There were signs of an ever-widening popular enthusiasm for knowledge.

There was then a process of the generalized collective structuring of activity and consciousness. This structuring was a form of control over the way people organized their lives, produced and consumed commodities, articulated legal and political organization, worshipped. The protagonists in the present tale were involved in creating a structure of consciousness that matched the practical structures of control. In the churches, the questions asked were those which could be answered within a reasoned discourse. In lives enmeshed in socially integrated and arbitrary orders, the questions asked of the universe had sayable answers. Silence would not do, and neither a wail -- both were somehow subhuman, did not express the real, social, conscious (linguistic) powers of human beings.

We are considering a collective structuring of consciousness, the formation of moral attitudes, bodily awarenesses, regularities of conduct, by abstract orderings. Economically, the orientation that needed to be created was one of arithmetical rationality, a computational attitude towards the organization of enterprise, aimed at guaranteeing the magnitude of credits to be greater than that of debits. One then needed to be mentally alert, to increase the former and reduce the latter.
One then needed a discipline of the desires and the body such that they could serve and not hinder the computational ordering of conduct. One might then have needed a total understanding that located and sanctioned this computational and productive discipline of life within society and the world.

These themes, economic, moral and religious, can be seen together in a nineteenth century agricultural improvement literature. This literature first appeared in the 1820s in Nova Scotia, in the context of the post-Napoléonic recession, when commercial prosperity, and the stimulus it had given to agriculture, was failing. It is extant in books and in the press, but quite likely came from the pulpit too. A part of this literature conveyed technical information. The *Letters of Agricola* written pseudonymously by John Young, published in Nova Scotia in 1818, included practical advice to farmers. J.L. Lewellin's *Emigration: Prince Edward Island*, modelled on the *Letters of Agricola*, published in 1832, provided detailed advice on land-clearing, fertilizing, seeds, breeds and markets. In the early 1840's Rev. W.T. Wishart delivered a series of lectures on agricultural matters to the Fredericton Mechanics' Institute. He urged for New Brunswick what had reformed agriculture in Scotland: agricultural societies, the publication of useful works, the importation of seeds and plants, a professorship of agriculture, and the application of chemistry to the investigation of soils and manures (MacNaughton 1947:80). Technical information was thus gradually developed and disseminated, concerning seeds, the suitability of crops to soil and climate, crop rotation, soil depletion, fertilizers, and the most productive livestock breeds.
The literature of agricultural improvement also included moral suasion. McCulloch's *Letters of Mephibosheth Stepsure*, and Howe's *Western and Eastern Rambles*, conveyed an effort for agricultural improvement primarily moral. It is from/that I draw for this discussion. As moralists they attacked the stagnation of agriculture, and the dissipation, sloth and sybaritism that both accompanied and caused it. They mocked the indulgent expenditures and frivolous entertainments, and especially the want of ambition, that left some Nova Scotians wasting pleasantly away in an unimproved state. The moralists' positive recommendation was for industry, the frugality of simple living, self-discipline and moral restraint: the ethic (Protestant or not) of aspiring entrepreneurs.

Mephibosheth is not directly moralistic, he does not chastise. Rather he merely records the idleness and false pride about him, seeing the humour in his neighbours' follies and their falls. His is the style of *Proverbs*: 'I will laugh at your calamity; I will mock when your fear cometh.' He demonstrated in many characters those 'habits not very friendly to regular industry and saving' (McCulloch 1960:15) which were common in the society: affected gentility, idle sociability, the quest for easy riches, and lumbering in preference to agriculture.

Mr. Trotabout rode endlessly through the countryside to keep up with the news, and to tell all his neighbours about the shortness of summer and the length of winter. His farm did not prosper. Neither did that of Jack Scorem, who turned to lumbering rather than agriculture for the sake of the greater profits it could bring, and who continued in it to keep up with the ever-increasing debts he incurred for finery
for his wife and spirits for himself. His financial straits brought him first domestic misery and then a stay in jail.

Solomon Gosling was left comfortably off by inheritance, but he developed the habit of running about. He visited Halifax with his wife, who learned there to be genteel. So, he mortgaged his farm and went into trade, selling gin, brandy, tea, tobacco, broadcloths, muslins, boots, whips, spurs, gumflower, watches, and the like. (He saw that those selling the implements of production did not prosper.) No doubt his customers included those young people of the town who 'dress very genteel; and, as they think it of no use to dress for the sake of home, are always running about the town.... Though many of them live upon potatoes and sleep upon straw, the very poorest of them have their gumflowers and notions of all kinds, silk gowns and superfine long-tailed coats; as you may learn from Mr. Ledger—and other merchants, who are very observing gentlemen; and, for the credit of our town, keep an exact list of its finery....' (McCulloch 1960: 93). Gosling was enriched by a brisk business, and enlarged his orders. His customers returned, but, as they took credit the second time around, Gosling was short of cash for his own creditors. He went into shipbuilding, hoping to turn a quick profit using the labour of his debtors. But prices declined with peacetime. His mortgage was foreclosed, his vessels attached. His credits being uncollectable, Mr. Holdfast, the sheriff, invited Solomon Gosling to the jail.

Mephibosheth also portrayed the lives of some who had justly earned plenty and cheerfulness in their houses. There was Saunders Scantocreeesh, the stern and diligent Scotchman who remarked malevolently on his townsmen's habits. There was Squire Worthy, the magistrate who
conducted his duties for the sake not of profit but of peace, who took in the lame orphan Mephibosheth, raised him, and set him forth into life. Above all there was Mephibosheth himself, whose aphorisms throughout the book could serve to express his life. He summarized his exemplary life and its consequences:

I was no visitor myself, and few came to see me. Here was a large saving of time and expense. I was neither a great man nor a great man's son: I was Mephibosheth Step sure, whose highest ambition was to be a plain, decent farmer. Here, the whole habiliments and expences of a gentleman were saved; and being a gentleman, I assure you, is a trade which requires costly tools. But, though I was lame Mephibosheth, I had a good stout back and good hard hands, and a disposition to keep them both out of mischief, by giving them something useful to do. I was always at home to do everything properly, and at the proper time. On this account, though I was rarely in a hurry, and seldom needed to work hard, I was able to do a great deal; and I must here observe, that I never accounted any kind of labour too mean or slavish, if I saw it to be useful. Besides, though I was a farmer, I was a lumberer too. I did not, indeed, like Jack Scorem, make great lots of timber: But knowing that I owned trees, as well as land, I judged that I had a right to turn them to my advantage; and therefore, rarely entered the woods without laying them under contribution. It was easy to arrange matters so as to carry home a companion; and whether it was a junk for shingles, staves, axe handles, or any other use, my shoulders never grumbled. All these I deposited at home; and, during the long winter nights, when my neighbours were at Tipple's, or visiting each other, some little article was added to my stock. These, according to my usual custom, I always made well; and, as my neighbours generally found it cheaper to buy than to make, my articles met with a ready sale, and brought ready money too. At first, also, I lived hardly; for what right had I to live otherwise? But the time slipped past, and I soon found myself surrounded with every comfort which a farmer ought to desire (McCulloch 1960:74-5).

Howe saw the same frailties of character as involved in agricultural backwardness. Some country people were ensnared by the pernicious 'frippery trappings of affected gentility.' He wondered:

How can they covet what lowers them from the elevation of independent yeomen to the galling servitude of country traders, and the long train of legal cormorants, who live by the extravagance of the farmers? (Howe 1973:87).
Howe also saw that thanks to the natural abundance of Nova Scotia farmers could indulge their aversion to arduous labour, and thus ease their way to degeneracy and even ruin.

But the opposite pattern was possible. Howe said of the farmer driven by the task-master of necessity:

When overloaded by taxes, with a heavy rent to pay and few comforts to hope, the farmer works like a beaver -- the early cock is disturbed by his footstep -- night closes on him while his hand is still upon the plough, and his mind, quickened to a shrewd and constant activity, is employed during the evening in reflecting or resolving on something which can put one potato more into each hill, or hand an additional grain on every spire of wheat. Habit at length renders that a pleasure, which was at first a burden; he soon finds that it is no great hardship to labour, and that thought, which at first seemed irksome, brings its own pleasures with it, and eke its profits too. (Howe 1973:82).

The moral was clear. In Howe's dream, the Genius of Nova Scotia rose to speak:

Children, I have spread before you all that your necessities require -- Timber waves upon my hills -- and fertility enriches my vallies, my coasts and rivers are swarming with fish, and minerals abound within my bosom, and all that I ask of you is active and persevering toil, industrious and frugal habits, untiring and diligent inquiry, and in return, you shall be rich, intelligent and happy (Howe 1973:84-5).

In the moral and economic organization of life that Mephibosheth and Howe recommend, activity was central. There was always 'something useful to do.' One was constantly alert to use one's resources to advantage. This required the efficient and foresightful use of time and labour and the formation of one's desires such that they were gratified by the pleasures and rewards of labour, such that what 'seemed irksome, brings its own pleasures with it.' This activity occurred within an entrepreneurial context. Neither Mephibosheth
nor Howe mentioned any enterprise not entrepreneurial in form -- operated by its owner. The owners most in question were of course 'independent yeomen.' Their activity took place at home, on the farm, and aimed at a modest self-sufficiency, with no desire to emulate a superior class. The outcomes of this activity were, in Mephibosheth's words, plenty, cheerfulness and comfort. No doubt a diligent farmer would increase his wealth in regular and directly visible ways. Howe described that 'goodly body of examples...of men who, with industrious frugality and prudent management, have grown rich by farming alone.... (Howe 1973:89).

Finally, this orderly entrepreneurial activity leading to prosperity had religious sanction. The sphere of social duties and the ground of being were in accord. McCulloch had Parson Drone say (explicitly about marriage, although its import was general):

Religion qualifies people to go to heaven, because it prepares them to do their duty in the meantime, and that is always a bad sort of it which does not draw the mind to social relations and social duties. Our duty in this life is a trust from God, and whoever looks forward to the true riches must take care to be faithful in that which is least (McCulloch 1960:85).

The Parson praised Mephibosheth's way:

The life in which you are employed is a course which the Deity honours with the means of enjoyment; and these means, used as every religious man ought to employ them, never fail to secure both respectability and influence (McCulloch 1960:107).

The control, the constant outward orientation of activity, which were central in the development of religious practice in the church, were also crucial in agriculture. Religion which completes man, whose doctrine supplies repair for his natural defects, is continuous with production for the market and with that industrious agricultural char-
acter which the moralists urged. The 'diligence' of the agricultural moralist was the 'rectitude' of the preacher. For both moralist and preacher, an abandonment of principle, a fall into the ease or ecstasy of the body, into experience beyond willing and attentive self-discipline, was a temptation to be warned and guarded against. It is fair to deem this agricultural morality a 'Protestant ethic,' religious either explicitly or in its overtones, and aimed at a sober dedication to agriculture as the locally available means to immediate prosperity and eventual capital formation.

A retrospect is in order at this point. We have been considering forms of knowledge as both outcomes and constituents of society. Where abstract schemata and practice entered largely into ordinary activity, there was a break of political economy to certain distinct works and organizations of intelligence. This occurred primarily not in technical but in social organizational practice, within the established forms for the management of social relations in the society. In economic practice there was much concern for the formation of a mind-mediated self-discipline which tied independent producers to their social circumstances, to markets and the growing prosperity of the province. To take over the state, men needed to be formed for politics, with oratorical, legal and financial skills, as well as general habits of understanding which were freed from the limitations of the common and quotidian.

The morally restrained and productively foresightful character of entrepreneurs and the increasing relevance of political calculation to everyday life were integral with religious developments. In the 'church' organization, the questions asked in religious practice allowed
as answers not the eruption of God's love but measured assent to the articles of belief. Enthusiastic worship met with responses ranging from sympathetic hostility to horrified repression. Selling potatoes, building bridges and worshipping were all increasingly socialized, strategic and intelligent. All involved an explicit collective organization of activity, outside the individual, to be attended to craftily and without lapse into mere bodily ease and waywardness.

We now need to follow out the organizational processes by which the needs of learning and intelligence were articulated into educational organization. In most cases the practical expression of educational need occurred through the development of church organizations, to their culmination, as it were, in educational organization.

In one case, however, the initial planning of Dalhousie College, that was not so. Let us consider it first. The organization involved was the Imperial government itself. But the educational activity of Lt.-Gov. Dalhousie from 1817 to 1820, which resulted in the 'founding' of the college which bears his name, was conducted in a manner alien to most of his contemporaries in Imperial government. He was oriented to the entire society, and worked with a conception of knowledge as rightfully open to persons of any particular identity. Lord Dalhousie was not in general, as Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia and later as Governor General, a proponent of political reform. He was, however, interested in encouraging local economic growth. And in his educational activity he seems to have been influenced by the open Scottish system through which he had passed (cf. Harvey 1938:16; McCulloch n.d.:59-60). He may also have anticipated the failure of
King's College Windsor; shortly after his arrival he participated in seeking a modification of its restrictive statutes, which the Archbishop refused; and in 1820, Dalhousie wrote to Bathurst that the condition of King's 'was becoming increasingly ruinous' (quoted in Hamilton 1970a:116).

Lord Dalhousie explicitly planned for a non-restrictive college. To the Colonial Secretary in 1817, he wrote that the college would be conducted on the open model of Edinburgh. Seeking legislative finance in 1819, he promised that 'the advantages of a collegiate education will be found within the reach of all classes of society, and which will be open to all sects of religious persuasion' (quoted in Patterson 1887:9-10). And at the laying of the college's cornerstone in 1820, he spoke these words, as reported by the Acadian Recorder:

This College of Halifax is founded for the instruction of youth in the higher classics and in all philosophical studies; it is formed in imitation of the University of Edinburgh; its doors will be open to all who profess the Christian religion; to the youth of His Majesty's North American colonies, to strangers residing here, to gentlemen of the military as well as the learned professions, to all, in short, who may be disposed to devote a small part of their time to study (Patterson 1887:13).

Lord Dalhousie's college was not only to be open, it was also to be the second college in the province. His cornerstone speech introduced a pluralistic theme:

It does not oppose the King's College at Windsor, because it is well known that college does not admit any students unless they subscribe to the tests required by the established Church of England, and these tests exclude the great proportion of the youth of this province. It is therefore particularly intended for all those excluded from Windsor (Patterson 1887:13).

Dalhousie College was not intended to supplant King's College. But
breaking its monopoly did oppose the larger design of King's to dominate higher education.

Finally, although vaguely, the ideology of knowledge which Lord Dalhousie articulated also opposed the sense that knowledge constituted a domain of superiority. In some of his words there is a novel emphasis on the relationship of knowledge to the society as a whole, in particular to its prosperity. At the cornerstone Lord Dalhousie said:

I here perform an act which appears to me to promise incalculable advantages to this country; and if my name, as Governor of the province, can be associated with your future well-being, it is upon the foundation of this college that I could desire to rest it (Patterson 1887:13).

In his parting speech to the Legislature he spoke in the same vein:

I am fully convinced that the advantages will be great even in our time, but, growing as it will grow with the prosperity of the province, no human foresight can imagine to what extent it may spread its blessings (Patterson 1887:13).

Now the college was in fact to teach the traditional 'higher classics and...all philosophical studies.' Lord Dalhousie presented no portrayal of the practical connection between knowledge and prosperity. But his discourse nevertheless contained an inchoate utilitarianism, in its first clear Maritime appearance, which would long recur as a feature of ideologies of knowledge.

Lord Dalhousie of course did more than to articulate an ideology. For he (almost) had the wherewithal to transform ideology into institutional form. In 1817 he sought English approval of his college, proposing to finance it out of customs duties collected at the port of Castine, Maine, which the British army had won during the war of 1812. This 'Castine fund' of £10,750 was to be devoted to public improvements in Nova Scotia. Lord Dalhousie's predecessor, Sir John Sherbrooke, had considered giving it to an alms house or to the
Shubenacadie canal. Royal approbation of the collegiate use of the fund was received in 1818; £1,000 was taken from the fund to support the Halifax garrison library, leaving £7,000 for the collegé's endowment and £2,750 for a building fund. (Patterson 1887:5-6; Harvey 1938:27-8).

In 1818 Lord Dalhousie chose a site, the 'Grand Parade' in Halifax, next to St. Paul's Anglican Church. In 1819 he secured a £2,000 legislative grant for completion of the building. (Patterson 1887:10). Shortly after laying the cornerstone in 1820 he left for Quebec.

Several important further steps were taken by Lord Dalhousie's successor, Sir James Kempt. In 1821 he secured Colonial Office approval and local legislative passage of a bill to incorporate Dalhousie College's governors, including a £1,000 grant from the legislature. (Patterson 1887:15; Harvey 1938:29). When, by 1823, building costs had totalled £10,000 and grants only £6,000, Kempt persuaded the Assembly to loan £5,000 to the governors (Patterson 1887:16). Demands for the repayment of this loan figured in several subsequent disputes over Dalhousie.

Here the matter rested. It was nearly 20 years after the laying of the cornerstone before Dalhousie College held classes, and more than 40 years before it was permanently opened. This delay will be accounted for later, in terms of a reactionary Anglican maintenance of a monopoly of education.

The most numerous Protestant group, the Presbyterians, were the first non-Anglicans to assert themselves in Maritime educational and political life. Most of these were Scottish and Irish immigrants, who arrived sporadically in Nova Scotia, some before the American revo-
olution, but most significantly with large influxes of immigration between 1801 and 1805, and after the Napoleonic wars. The Presbyterian historian William Gregg estimated that in 1817 there were 42,000 Presbyterians in a total population of 160,000 in the three Maritime provinces (Farris 1965:32). By the census of 1827 there were 37,000 in Nova Scotia alone, in a total 123,000.

Scottish Presbyterianism had undergone several eighteenth century doctrinal schisms, centring around the mode of church government, especially the roles of the state and local landowners in ministerial selection. In 1732 the Associate Presbyterian (or Secession) Church split from the Church of Scotland. The Associate presbytery itself was further divided in 1747 into Burghers and Antiburghers (Farris 1965; Hamilton 1970a:33-5). The substance of the doctrinal disputes involved is not of concern here, as the political circumstances which occasioned them were peculiar to Scotland. But the organizational forms and antagonisms which arose from the disputes crossed the Atlantic with the Scottish immigrants, and were of continuing importance. A Burgher Presbytery was established in Truro in 1786, and an Antiburgher Presbytery in Pictou in 1795. Most early Presbyterian ministers represented one of the Secession churches. The Kirk was little active in North America before the 1820s (Moir 1966:27-8; Farris 1965).

The ideal of a developed church organization, including established forms of worship, dogmatic clarity and an educated clergy, was carried by the Scottish immigrants. Their worship was not enthusiastic; 'their customs and methods repressed such public expressions as were common among Baptists, Methodists and Newlights' (Saunders 1902:50). Ministerial practice, judging from the example of the pioneer preacher
James McGregor, included catechistical exercises conducted upon the Sabbath, and family visitations with pressing inquiries about beliefs and habits of prayer (Patterson 1859:passim).

The imported image of church organization proved initially difficult to realize in colonial circumstances. The number of ministers was insufficient (cf. Patterson 1859:350-1), and there were some criticisms of their quality. The standards of the office tended to degenerate, as ministers became merely part-time and accepted compensations in whatever form they could be had. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century there were efforts by church leaders, especially Rev. Thomas McCulloch*, to define and complete the properly formed church organization, with a respected, educated ministry.

Certain portions of McCulloch's lecture to the first Presbyterian theological class in Nova Scotia (cf. supra) indirectly pictured the church as ill-formed. The document disclosed the circumstances of its production. McCulloch began by declaiming the high office of

* Rev. Thomas McCulloch was the storm centre of Presbyterian educational activity for 40 years. Born in Scotland in 1766, he studied both medicine and theology at the University of Glasgow, and was called to a Secession Church pastorate near Glasgow in 1799. He soon resigned due to financial difficulties. Appeals were being made at that time for Secession ministers to come to North America. McCulloch sailed for Prince Edward Island, but determined to stay several months in Nova Scotia to avoid the hazards of winter sea travel. Local residents convinced him to remain in Pictou, where he became minister in the Antiburgher Secession Church in 1804. (McCulloch n.d.:passim). William Dawson reports that one story has it that McCulloch was convinced to stay by 'the head of the largest commercial firm in Pictou -- a local magnate of much importance' (Dawson 1901:24-5). This would have been Edward Mortimer. Mortimer later provided the building sites for McCulloch's home and for the Pictou grammar school (Scammell 1952:39). Just after the turn of the century there were ten Presbyterian ministers in the province -- in Halifax, Pictou, Lunenberg, Truro, Londonderry, Cornwallis, Horton, Onslow and Shelburne (Saunders 1902:48-9).
the clergyman, to which honour and glory were owed and would be paid, if not then, in due time. Of the minister he said:

Invested with an office which embraces the honor of the Deity, and the best interests of the human race, the glorious results of his labours will continue to reflect a glory upon his name when the splendours of riches and ranks in society are shrouded in darkness (McCulloch n.d.:198).

The nobility of the calling imposed a corresponding obligation on one who followed it, that his life rise to its standard.

Of all fools who are exalted to honour, there is none more despicable that a pretender to religion, detailing his miserable conceptions under the guise of religious instruction, or inculcating duties which his life denies (McCulloch n.d.:199).

The proper establishment of the noble office of the minister demanded that his acquirements and his service be recognized by a regular and adequate compensation from the congregation. Once, this could not have been expected. Past clergymen, of necessity, had inverted this proper order and secured a subsistence from farming or education, to support their calling.

With minds polished by a liberal education, and formed for the abundant literary enjoyments of their native lands, that the name of our Lord Jesus Christ might be glorified in the salvation of those who dwelt solitarily in the woods, they forsook all, and embraced a life of hardship and pain (McCulloch n.d.:201).

But this was, McCulloch said, inconsistent with a church founded and enlarged. He advised the future ministers whom he addressed that there was no need to stay among people of 'niggardly disposition' (McCulloch n.d.:203).

These proclamations on the nature of the clerical office can be read to reveal (what were for McCulloch) defects in its realization. Each of the stated ideals embodied an implicit or explicit
contrast with circumstances in which it was not attained. Glory would continue to be due the name of the minister when the splendour of riches and ranks were past. This point was insisted upon when adequate present respect was not paid the minister. The fool and the pretender were singled out as negative examples in opposition to whom the standard of clerical conduct was upheld. There is no reason to suppose them merely hypothetical. McCulloch might have been thinking of unlearned evangelistic preachers. But there was doubtless sometimes weakness in the religious instruction of Presbyterian ministers as well. Howe described, in a letter to his wife, the Presbyterian minister at Mosquodoboit:

His discourses were not altogether uninteresting, but he every now and then got into the wide ocean of theology without compass or chronometer (Howe 1973:6-7).

Even McCulloch has his Mephibosheth portray Parson Drone as diligent only formerly, when his sermons were full of admonitions and he was rightly intrusive into his parishioners' affairs. But he succumbed to failure in the reformation of characters, and became a bland comic figure who mouthed mere comforting religion: bear with tribulations, exercise patience; what can't be cured, must be endured. (McCulloch 1960:passim). The order of a church rightfully founded condemned a past in which poverty did not allow proper recompense to clergymen, and a present in which the niggardly did not provide it. Compensation for full-time ministerial work was a clear problem. It had been for McCulloch himself during his early years in Pictou, when he was called upon as frequently for medical services as ecclesiastical, he walked (or snowshoed) nearly everywhere on his pastoral rounds, and he had to acquire competence with an axe to supply his own home with firewood for
winter (McCulloch n.d.:passim). At a later date McCulloch had Mephibosheth wryly remark:

The most of us are in debt to the merchants, as well as to the Parson, and, as these have not so much patience as Mr. Drone, they are always first paid (McCulloch: 1960:52).

Passing by the Shubenacadie River, Howe (who did not share McCulloch's high estimation of a church founded and enlarged) related:

...as you go by the dwelling of the Rev. Mr. Blackwood, you are not ill pleased to find, that while labouring in his spiritual vocation to improve the morals of his flock, he does not disdain to attend to the cultivation of the soil (Howe 1973:125).

One significant moment in the articulation of Presbyterian church organization was the 1817 union of the Burgher and Antiburgher synods into the Presbyterian Synod of Nova Scotia. The new synod included 17 Secession ministers, as well as three from the Church of Scotland and two English Congregationalists. A few Presbyterian clergy held back from joining. (The Church of Scotland became active in the Maritimes in the 1820s, and its opposition weighed heavily on the Secession Church.) James MacGregor justified the union to a Scottish critic by reasoning from organizational practicalities: antagonisms inherited from Scotland had diminished to irrelevance, and furthermore the chance combinations of settlers of different persuasions were only sensible in uniting to obtain a minister. (Only three years later the two Scottish Secession bodies joined in the United Secession Church, which was joined by another schismatic group to form the United Presbyterian Church in 1847.) (Moir 1966:133; Farris 1965).

There were soon efforts within the new synod to tighten up the definition of the clerical office, regularize compensations, and insure ministerial respectability. One resolution, introduced by
McCulloch, aimed clearly to demarcate wandering evangelists from the educated, established ministry. It forbade any travelling Presbyterian minister to accept fees directly from the people. Such money rather had to be distributed through a central synod-administered fund. (McCulloch n.d.:55-6). Some measures apparently critical of ordinary practice met opposition from within the synod. A committee on 'Ways and Means of Promoting Religion' recommended, in addition to carefulness in the admission of members and various forms of Christian discipline, that 'ministerial improvement' be sought, as essential to the promotion of intelligent religious views. The synod rejected this (McCulloch n.d.:54-5). When in the 1821 synod meeting, McCulloch preached against the practice of ministers' engaging in other occupations (farming was most common), using as his text '...those who preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel' (I Cor. 9:14), there was an uproar in the meeting and threat of a lawsuit afterwards (McCulloch n.d.:70-1).

Education was part of these efforts for church organization. It was needed to produce ministers in sufficient numbers to meet local needs, qualified for their office, and rendering the office respectable by virtue of their qualifications. Their intellectual attainment, a mastery of a formalized religious knowledge, based upon a familiarity with all the higher knowledge of the time, was to enable them to disseminate that intelligent view of religion and that structure of rectitude that McCulloch saw as essential to the fulfillment of human life as a whole.

Although conditions were primitive, McCulloch from the first saw a need for education and worked to provide schools, bearing much of the expense himself. His efforts were met with many signs of success.
He first kept a school in his home, then a log building, then a frame building, instructing from the alphabet up to Latin grammar -- the curriculum of a common school plus the early parts of grammar school. (McCulloch n.d.:42; Roald 1973:57n6). Under the Nova Scotia Grammar School Act of 1811, McCulloch became master of the Pictou grammar school, which received £100 per year in government aid (McCulloch n.d.:56; Patterson 1877:323). In 1817 McCulloch had 53 students, while the remaining nine grammar schools in the province enrolled 78. (Hamilton 1970b:97).

McCulloch clearly also aimed at instruction in the higher branches, and at theological education. In 1805 he had instigated a society for college establishment. James MacGregor, pessimistic about financial prospects, wrote:

The increasing demand for ministers seems to intimate the necessity of raising them in this country. The great expense of everything here renders this undertaking next to hopeless in our circumstances and yet Mr. McCulloch, who started the idea, has sanguine hopes. (Patterson 1877:322).

These sanguine hopes were fulfilled a dozen years later, when in 1817 a seminary was opened. Within a year it had 30 red-gowned students in attendance. McCulloch taught Greek, logic, and moral philosophy, lectured on political economy and chemistry, and gave classes as well in analysis and composition. Another teacher supervised the grammar school and taught Latin and mathematics in the seminary (McCulloch n.d.:64; Patterson 1877:330).

The academy's prospects were mixed. In 1815 McCulloch wrote Sir John Sherbrooke (presumably in connection with a petition for an academy charter) that the several schools had whetted 'a taste for education among the inhabitants of Pictou!' (quoted in Roald 1973:57).
But there must have been inhabitants still experiencing the difficulties of settlement who saw no utility in learning. At any rate there were those by whom McCulloch, in the recollection of his son and biographer, 'was blamed for diverting useful energies from useful objects, and exciting desires never to be gratified!' (McCulloch n.d.:48). McCulloch was circumspect about the academy's chances when in 1818 he wrote to his long-time friend Professor James Mitchell of the University of Glasgow: 'At present we have the favour of the public, but whether this will continue must depend considerably upon our labour: and success in teaching' (McCulloch n.d.:65).

There appeared to be ample vindication of the academy's instruction. Not long after its opening, McCulloch boasted that it was noted 'for progress and orderly conduct, while the institution at Windsor was 'in a state of demoralization' and had only 12 pupils (McCulloch n.d.:60). By 1820 several students were ready to commence a theological course. McCulloch was appointed professor of divinity by the newly formed synod. (McCulloch n.d.:69). In 1824 seven students were appointed to the ministry, three of whom went to travel in Scotland where they were examined at the University of Glasgow and awarded the M.A. degree. (McCulloch n.d.:76-82; Patterson 1877:322-3). Seven of McCulloch's students eventually received the Doctor of Divinity degree. Six were knighted (Elgee 1964:57).

McCulloch himself was widely respected. Up to 1824 he did all his teaching in addition to his ministerial duties, and is said to have mastered all he undertook with thoroughness and clarity. (Patterson 1877:330). One measure of the esteem in which McCulloch was held by his friends can be gleaned from this portrayal by William
Dawson, a onetime student. McCulloch was:

...a man of an acute and vigorous intellect, remarkably versatile in its scope; he was well read in the literature and philosophy of the time, and had given some attention to physical and natural science for which he had strong innate tastes. He was a man of independent character, confident in himself and in his power of leading others, astute in guiding and regulating affairs, and a keen and incisive controversialist. With all this he was a patient teacher, and ready to add to the ordinary curriculum of the academy which he established much practical instruction gathered from his varied studies of nature and of man (Dawson 1901:25).

Financial mobilization on behalf of the academy was initially successful. In 1819 the academy received its first government grant. James MacGregor wrote a fellow minister urging practical steps:

'Solicit donations for it from all sorts of persons, especially rich bachelors, let them leave something handsome in their wills for it (Patterson 1859:460). In 1818 the trustees appealed to the synod for aid, and a collection was unanimously approved (McCulloch n.d.:48, 60). Initially £1,000 was collected (£400 of it from among the trustees) (Patterson 1877:328). Up to 1830 a total of about £5,000 was contributed, some in gifts by local men of wealth, some in collections made by local ladies' societies, some in donations of produce (Patterson 1877:341).

This early success of Pictou academy did not continue indefinitely. The reactionary Anglicans whose hegemony it challenged used their control of Council to debilitate it by legislative means. The Anglicans found a crucial ally in the Church of Scotland. Before the mid-1820s the Kirk, although the largest Scottish branch of Presbyterianism, had shown slight interest in the American colonies. Kirk settlers in Pictou complained that the Secession ministers wouldn't take care of the witches. They sought a Kirk minister who would.
The first Kirk ministers, Revs. Donald F.A. Fraser and K.J. McKenzie, arrived in 1817 and 1824. Others followed (Moir 1966:134-5; Hamilton 1970a:105). In 1825 the Kirk formed a colonial missionary arm, the Society in Connection with the Established Church of Scotland, for Promoting the Moral and Religious Interests of the Scottish Settlers in British North America -- for short, the Glasgow Colonial Society. Ten Nova Scotian Kirk ministers formed the Synod of Nova Scotia in Connexion with the Church of Scotland in 1833. By 1843 it had 20 ministers. A group of ten New Brunswick Kirk ministers also formed a synod in 1833. The Kirk sought recognition as an established church, on a par with the Church of England. It unsuccessfully claimed glebe lands and special marriage rights (Parris 1965; MacNutt 1963:165-6).

The mostly amicable relations that had obtained among Presbyterian bodies ended as Kirk presence grew. Kirk ministers accused the Secession Church of various evils, including subservient intentions toward the Kirk itself. Kirk missionaries were in turn charged with settling where Secession ministers were already established, disrupting congregations (McCulloch n.d.:passim; Patterson 1877:passim; Hamilton 1970a:154-5). The tendency of the Kirk was high church, opposed to the relatively more rural and evangelical Seceders (Clark 1948:141). It was in Scotland reportedly considered ridiculous to educate colonial youth for the Presbyterian ministry. The Church of Scotland refused ordination to anyone not trained in a Scottish university (Elgee 1964:56). The disdain of Scotchmen for colonials and of Kirkmen for Seceders led Kirk ministers to oppose Pictou academy. So, apparently, did the Kirk's interest in dominance, which was threatened by the preacher-
training academy. At least McCulloch, writing about 1831, when opposition to the academy was having clear effect, understood it so:

The grand object of vituperation is that we educate ministers. This reproach serves the purpose of the Bishop and the Kirk clergy (McCulloch n.d.:138).

It is of greatest theoretical interest here that the Newlight movement underwent transformation to a church form of religious organization, producing intelligent Baptists. Reaction against the excesses of the revival developed over the half-century after its commencement, especially as ardour became schismatic. There came to be an impetus to control that which had spread of its own. There was doctrinal definition, to make terror and the rest part of the domain of knowledge, to make commanding statements of the truth. There was concern to bring the practices of faith under organization, chiefly by solidifying the remuneration, recruitment and intelligence of the ministerial office.

Members of enthusiastic religious groups came to condemn 'excesses of zeal' and the inflated regard for personal revelations sometimes found among their brethren. Error was seen. Some Newlights, confronted with accusations of immorality, said that the saved could not be lost, and that the flesh but not the spirit sinned. Some claimed that revelations of the Holy Spirit were superior to the teachings of the Bible. Against those making such claims the charge of antinomianism was levelled (Saunders 1902:84).

Furthermore, after about 1780 there were increasingly divisions, sometimes virulent, over doctrinal matters. At the outset of the evangelistic movement there had been cooperation among those who by background were of different denominations, and little concern with what
Alline deemed the 'non-essentials' of dogma. But there arose in the revivalist phraseology a new prevalence of terms like heresy, blasphemy, sophistry, seduction and agitation. Some who called themselves Christians saw the evil and the satanic among others who did the same. Such conflict provided an impetus to doctrinal definition and gave advantages to the educated.

The formation of Baptist and Methodist churches was often both an outgrowth of the Newlight movement and a reaction against its excesses. Baptist principles gained ground within the general evangelistic movement. Some Newlights were baptized. The first Maritime Baptist minister, Nicholas Pierson, was named in 1788 at Horton. The Newlight movement had thriven among Congregational churches disintegrating during the course of the revolution. Many of the Newlight congregations thus gathered were organized as Baptist. There was further firming up of doctrinal definition and organizational lines in 1800, when a distinct Maritime Baptist Association was formed, and a formal link was created between Maritime Methodism and English Weslyanism. Church development proceeded as the popular denominations were slowly altered from within by reductions of enthusiasm and spontaneity. Men began to suspect a reliance too great on strong feeling, too little on the principles of religion. The elevation of faith over conduct, indeed in detriment to conduct, was seen to be an error in pastoral statements or in the indulgent interpretations of the people. Pastoral attention was turned to morals as well as faith, to intemperance and violence, even to the excessive number of disbanded soldiers in the population. The categorical distinction between religious knowledge and ignorance
came to be made, as an element in the constitution of a church organization (Clark 1948:97; Saunders 1902:12-13, 69-83, 94, 99-101).

Three Baptist ministers met in 1797, forming the backbone of what would become the Baptist association. According to the minutes of their meeting:

The ministers discoursed largely on the necessity of order and discipline in the churches, and continued until midnight in observing the dangerous tendency of erroneous principles and practices, and lamenting the unhappy consequences in our churches (quoted in Saunders 1902:84-5).

In 1800 the preachers of nine Baptist churches formed the Nova Scotia Baptist Association. Evangelically active and acquainted with one another, these preachers saw a need of casting their actions into organizational form (Saunders 1902:86-7).

The Baptist movement grew considerably in the first few decades of the nineteenth century. Substantial itinerant missionary activity continued, its success aided by the fervour of the preachers and the clarity of their doctrine. In the country, Baptist revivals and camp meetings were important social events, and there were many of them, replete with conversions and baptisms. Numerous new churches were formed (Saunders 1902:144-8, 153-64; MacNutt 1963:167). In 1810 there were 14 Baptist ministers and 924 members. By 1827 there were 18 ministers and 1772 members in Nova Scotia, 15 ministers and 1374 members in New Brunswick; altogether 33 ministers and 3146 members (Saunders 1902:153, 193).

The Baptist association came to serve as a medium for the coordination of autonomous congregations, to provide mutual aid and encouragement, to coordinate pastoral calls, to hear and make recommendations upon congregational disputes, and to oversee the difficult bus-
iness of deciding doctrine and excluding recalcitrants. (Longley 1939:11; Moir 1966:138; Saunders 1902:passim). This organizational form could be seen as ending a debilitating confusion by means of cooperation:

...at last those who had held together found themselves united in their views of doctrine and church order; and without distraction were prepared to commence anew their mission in the world. For more than a quarter of a century their work had been done in the confusion of conflicting beliefs and practices. Now, however, being united in judgement, the added strength of union came to them, preparing them for harmonious cooperation and securing to them the conditions of peace and success (Saunders 1902:126).

The first task of the newly organized church was a clarification of principles. The Association in 1800 decided to publish its articles of faith, to correct false reports (Saunders 1902:118) -- and presumably also to separate the Baptists from those others about whom the reports would have been true. Doctrinal solidification continued with the provision and enforcement of common statements of belief, visible in the policy decisions of the Association, and in annual Circular Letters written by various leading ministers (Saunders 1902:166). The making of decisions in a common assembly, and the communication of important doctrinal matters in published form, were both instruments and evidences of the consolidation of church organization.

One doctrinal clarification was the distinction of Baptist Calvinism from Methodist Arminianism. But the greater part of attention went to issues that arose among the Baptists themselves. Believers' baptism of course was central. The first Circular Letter, in 1800, described 'a church of Christ and the order thereof,' in which Baptism is binding for all believers, and immersion the only Scriptural mode (Saunders 1902:167). In 1809 the Association voted to withdraw fellow-
ship from all churches that admitted unbaptized persons to communion (Saunders 1902:126). The Circular Letter of 1810 justified this exclusion of those practicing open communion. 'Have we not possessed an anti-Christian, accommodating spirit toward those of our brethren in the visible kingdom of anti-Christ?' (Saunders 1902:168). The Circular Letter of 1818 addressed the problem of reconciling the manifest injustice of the world with God's omnipotence, and found as solution the inscrutability of His will. (Saunders 1902:170). Such problems of theodicy only arose when religious practice was informed by doctrinal explanation and description.

The firming up of the clerical office was also apparent in the formation of the church organization. This included extensive attention to the improvement of ministerial compensation. Most preachers received but small compensation from their congregations, and had to supplement this income by the proceeds of farming or, in a very few cases, inherited property (Saunders 1902:215-6). The importance of the issue can be seen in its repeated mention in the Circular Letters. In 1813 it was asked:

Are not many of the poor ministers of Christ labouring in their fields, to gather food for their families, while almost all the duties of the ministry are neglected, and thousands of poor sinners are perishing for lack of knowledge? (quoted in Saunders 1902:168-9).

In 1823 a proposal of the means for ministerial support was made:

Shall the doctor, lawyer, merchant, day labourer, be paid and the minister not? Assessment is recommended for the support of ministers (quoted in Saunders 1902:171).

In 1827 the issue of 'suitable support' for ministers was raised again.
Although there are not many among us of the rich, the mighty or the noble, yet there is a sufficiency both of numbers and of property for the purpose (quoted in Saunders 1902:178).

Complaints were made among the ministers about their slight and irregular pay, and recruitment became more problematic. (Clark 1948:244-50). So it was said by Rev. Irah Chase, Professor at the Newton Theological Academy, in a letter to the Massachusetts Baptist Magazine in 1827:

One thing affected me much — most of the ministers seemed to be far advanced in life; and I could hear of very few young men or middle-aged brethren that were ready to fill the places of those who must soon be called away from their labours.... The churches could hardly pray in sincerity for more labourers and yet compel those who were already sent forth to spend more than half their time and strength in worldly occupations in order to procure their food (quoted in Saunders 1902:215).

Contemporaneous with this concern for compensation was a concern with the character and respectability of ministers. Within a year of the formation of the Baptist Association it was claimed that there needed to be 'care in ordaining ministers.' On the one hand, it was said to be not sufficient to consider

...natural ability, scholastic acquirements and doctrinal knowledge.... By this means the professed church is filled with wolves in sheep's clothing....

Perhaps the writer was thinking of Anglicans. But on the other hand,

It is no proof that a man is called of God to preach the Gospel, because he is zealous in the cause of God and interested in the salvation of sinners, or useful in times of reformation. His knowledge, stability, consistency, sentiments, life and conversation must be examined (quoted in Saunders 1902:167).

There was even some discernible movement towards the overseeing of the congregational function of pastoral selection by the larger church organization. The New Brunswick Association resolved in 1823:

Though we admit the right of every church of Christ to choose its own officers, yet it appears to us highly improper for any church, travelling in an associated capacity
with others, to proceed to the ordination of a minister without the advice and assistance of sister churches (quoted in Saunders 1902:210-1).

The movement of Baptists toward respectability was aided by the conversion of a number of evangelical Anglicans, who provided a new interest in respectability and an unexpected source of leadership. Evangelical preaching, both Baptist and Methodist, had made inroads into Anglican congregations for some time, and affected many parishioners of St. Paul's Church, Halifax. Conflict arose within St. Paul's over the selection of a rector when John Inglis, the former rector, was made Bishop in 1825. He named Robert Willis, who had been Archdeacon and Bishop's Commissary, as his successor. Most of the parishioners favoured J.T. Twining, a preacher of more evangelical views. They petitioned Inglis, the SPG, and the King, but to no avail. The church wardens locked the building, to prevent the consummation of an ecclesiastical tyranny, but Willis, another preacher and one witness broke in and held the induction ceremony.

The more spiritually-minded parishioners left the congregation and began holding separate meetings. When they failed to secure recognition as a distinct congregation by the Church of England, they considered affiliation with other denominations. In particular they corresponded with Baptist ministers in the United States and England, and were visited by the Revs. Irah Chase of the Newton Theological Institution and Alexis Caswell of Columbian College in Washington. The Granville Street Baptist Church was formed in 1827.

The congregation included a number of educated men, including prominent lawyers and jurists, and several figures of continuing importance in the history of Baptist education. John Pryor, then a student
at King's College, Windsor, was later principal of Horton Academy and Professor of Theology in Acadia College. James W. Johnston, then head of the Nova Scotian bar, represented Baptist interests politically for many years. Edmund Albern Crawley, a King's College graduate who was then a prominent lawyer, studied at Andover Theological Seminary and Brown University, was ordained in the United States, served as a minister of the Granville Street Church from 1830 to 1838, and was then President and Professor in Acadia College. Furthermore, throughout both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick 'able and educated lawyers and merchants followed the lead of the Halifax group to the Baptist movement' (MacNutt 1965:161). In New Brunswick the defectors included William B. Kinnear, a prominent merchant later active in forming the Baptist academy in Fredericton (Saunders 1902:186-92; Longley 1939: 16-18, 26-7; Clark 1948:251; MacNutt 1963:168-9).

Several processes involved in development of a church among Baptists have been considered: the formation of an organization, the clarification of doctrine, the paying of heed to the character and respectability and compensation of clergymen, and the sudden appearance of a source of educated and socially prominent leaders. These contributed to build interest in education, especially ministerial education.

For several decades the religious 'call' had sufficed to produce a sufficient number of Baptist evangelists. These men perhaps underwent some apprenticeship with established preachers, but in general it was assumed that the words they needed would be given them by the Spirit. These preachers, as described by E.A. Crawley in 1878, were:

...good men possessing strong religious affections, and very limited mental culture, and whose honest Christian character was accompanied by some extravagancies, but who
were sound on most points essential to earnest and active Christian life — just the stamp of character that would have little sympathy with that style of religion, however sincere, which is wont to retreat behind the screen of exact literary knowledge, of honoured forms, or of superior social position. The coldness, real or supposed, which the people found in the educated ministers of some other denominations, they contrasted with the warmth of their own preachers, and concluded that education destroyed in the soul the principles of religious life, so that this error was daily increased in strength and difficulty of removal (Acadia Memorials 1881:13).

These warm men, with strong religious affections were, however, also understood in other ways. Outsiders and then people within the denomination came to see them as lacking knowledge. Remember that 'All denominations, except the Baptists, began the century with fixed modes of worship and definite church policies.' As for Baptist preachers, 'their opponents, by persistently stigmatizing them as ignorant fanatics, kept them reminded of their inferiority in culture and learning' (Saunders 1902:96-7). Some socially elevated outsiders had a general disdain for Baptists. Crawley said that:

The Baptists enjoyed but a small amount of public favour, especially in Halifax, and were regarded as occupying the lowest rank in religious estimation — were in fact despised as an ignorant and deluded sect (quoted in Saunders 1902:181).

The educated clergymen of other denominations could serve both as critics and as figures for emulation. Consider in this light a letter written by Thomas McCulloch to Edward Manning:

In thinking upon the state of religion in the province, it has occurred to me that the clergy, both Baptists and Presbyterians, are subjected to hardships which they ought not to feel, and one consequence of this is, that when Presbyterian clergy, on the one hand, pride themselves upon their learning as a qualification for preaching the Gospel; on the other, the pulpits of Baptist churches have been perhaps too much open to persons who were more willing than qualified to preach; and this has deprived other Baptist clergymen of that respect and support to which they are justly entitled. Now it has occurred to me that were I to address to you a letter upon the qualification of clergymen, and the support
due to them, which you could read to your congregation, it might be useful to the interests of the Gospel among Baptists generally (quoted in Saunders 1902:176).

'Qualification' is the central word here, and McCulloch, in a friendly if condescending tone, holds out respect and support as the benefits which would accrue to a Baptist clergy acquiring it.

The dearth of ministerial respectability and learning came to be appreciated within the Baptist churches themselves. This was visible partly in disaffections among Congregational members, and disapprobation, from within the fold, of emotional extravagance and religious hysteria. Remarks made by Baptist ministers in journals and correspondence indicate that there were a number of defections to more respectable and less stringently moralistic denominations, especially in the towns (Clark 1948:244-40). The Baptist ministers likewise came to understand themselves as deficient in knowledge, and to seek remedies. Crawley wrote that later preachers differed from their forebears of 'strong religious affections, and very limited mental culture.'

With equal zeal, they possessed more solid judgement; they often lamented, even with tears, their own deficiencies, their want of mental training, and of Biblical and general information. This soon led them to seek knowledge from books. Some of them made in this way no little mental improvement, and they learned insensible to respect education (Acadia Memorial 1881:13-4).

As Saunders made it out, preachers sought independently to remedy their lack of formal learning:

Some of these ministers, and not a few of their church members, were industrious readers of religious books. In this way they had attained to a good degree of mental discipline; and commanded vocabularies sufficiently large to enable them to converse intelligently on all subjects of common interest, and to proclaim the Gospel with power and plainness of speech (Saunders 1902:95-6).
There was communication between Maritime and American Baptists on the subject of education (cf. Saunders 1902:180-6). At least some Baptist ministers could communicate with one another taking for granted the goodness of learning. Rev. Charles Tupper wrote in 1824 to Rev. Edward Manning, with regard to a seminary to prepare pious young men for the ministry:

I need not use arguments to convince you of the necessity and utility of such an institution for you are sensible that learning is desirable for a minister at all times and that it is becoming needful (quoted in Longley 1939:15).

The self-perception of ministers as deficient in knowledge occurred in a context which included an increasingly elaborated church organization and a failure of the 'call' to produce adequate numbers of preachers. This self-perception represented part of an effort to think through the unsatisfactory nature of existing clerical arrangements, and to devise remedies.

The increase of clerical learning and respectability was apprehended at a general ideological level as the linkage of church to society. It was not an immanent development of church organization but one accomplished within the named relation of church and society. (In contemporaneous debates over the content of learning as we shall see, there was visible this same nameing of the linkage between an ideological sphere and the society as a whole.) The lack of knowledge and respectability was understood as limiting ministerial success in increasingly prosperous and progressive communities. J.W. Johnston, speaking in 1839 in the Legislative Council on the founding of Horton Academy, put the general prosperity of society at the root.

We were not blind to the fact that a new era was breaking upon our country, that literature was extending, science advancing, and that this little province, where a man, by
continued toil, could once scarcely secure sustenance for his family, was becoming a field of some importance in the intercourse of the world. We saw that the character of the country was changing, and we felt that our ministers ought not to be behind the general progress of intelligence in society. To obtain a cultivated ministry, education must be diffused generally throughout the denomination (quoted in Saunders 1902:247).

The general character of toil and sustenance in the society was identified with the general progress of intelligence; from this came the prescription for a cultivated ministry, which in turn required educated congregations.

Between the late 1820s and the late 1830s, Baptists consolidated their ideological activity in several spheres, with widespread and literate organization. There were temperance societies (Saunders 1902: 204-7, 222), foreign missions (Saunders 1902:207-10, 225-30), and magazines which would cover these good works and issues of political and religious equality (Saunders 1902:211, 237-40). When the Baptist publication became the Christian Messenger in 1836, its prospectus proclaimed:

At this period of human activity in the diffusion of knowledge, and the increasing efforts that are daily making to spread throughout the world the blessing of education, it is too obvious to need any argument, that the most persevering efforts should be made by the friends of religion to accompany every attempt to cultivate the human mind, with a simultaneous endeavour to diffuse also the precepts and principles of that unerring word, which alone can direct and sanctify human knowledge, or lead its possessor to the only true wisdom.(quoted in Saunders 1902:239).

One writer ' (evidently Crawley) pictured individuals and churches in the 1820s as poised for just such a movement towards precepts, principles and intelligence:

At the time the Granville Street Church was formed and the academy was founded, thousands were waiting and praying for
a forward movement in the higher education and thirsting for the overflowing springs of knowledge which before had been almost sealed against them. Churches and individuals on every hand were prepared for such a movement, and wealth and influence were ready to be given to the sacred purposes of mental and spiritual improvement (quoted in Saunders 1902:184).

These newly felt educational needs could conceivably have been satisfied at Pictou Academy, whose Presbyterian sponsors conceived it as non-denominational. Manning responded favourably to McCulloch's invitation to Baptist students. He wrote in 1821:

I am inclined to think your catholic method of instruction, if generally known among our denomination, would tend very much to conciliate their esteem and draw a goodly number of their youth to your seminary, that you might return them, as you express it, 'good scholars and good members of society' (quoted in Longely 1939:13; Saunders 1902:176).

But the distance between Pictou and the Baptist segments of the province, and later quarrels among the divisions of Presbyterians which weakened Pictou Academy, mitigated against this interdenominational possibility.

Among the founders of the Granville Street Church and some leading old ministers, there began an agitation for Baptist education, especially ministerial. One document from that agitation is the correspondence of Alexis Caswell, then transferred to Brown University, with Edward Manning, in 1828. Caswell wrote:

We feel a growing conviction of the importance of establishing a seminary of learning under the patronage of the Baptists (quoted in Clark 1948:251).

There is no imaginable reason why a young man who is called to preach the Gospel should not receive all the aid which learning and study can give him. I know of nothing that argues better for the advancement of our denomination than the adoption of some system for the instruction of young men for the ministry (quoted in Longley 1939:19).

After discussions with Crawley and others, Caswell concluded that an academy, instructing in the common branches of education such as mathe-
ematics, grammar, composition, surveying, and navigation, would be of more immediate benefit than a theological seminary. A minister at the head of the academy would give religious instruction (Longley 1939:20).

In the 1828 meeting of the Nova Scotia Baptist Association at Horton a resolution was presented for the establishment of an Education Society, and a prospectus introduced for a Baptist Academy. The prospectus held that Baptist education was necessary to prepare Baptist youth for ministerial and various other stations of life.

It is universally admitted that education has a powerful influence on the interests of religion and the well being of individuals and society. As the Baptists are a very large portion of the population of this province, they are called upon to engage in this good work. Two leading objects are to be regarded -- the primary one, in a religious point of view, is the providing of suitable instruction within the reach of young men, who feel themselves called to the ministry of the Gospel; the second object, of vast importance in itself, and in the present state of the country, essential to the attainment of the first, is to establish a good seminary for the general instruction of youth, that thus the advantages of education, as has hitherto been too often the case, may not be confined to the wealthy, nor the time of the youth occupied with pursuits but little calculated to fit them for the stations of life which they have the prospect of filling.... (quoted in Saunders 1902:195).

The prospectus specified that religious truth is a matter of teaching and knowledge, as McCulloch had done a decade before.

The scholars and students, while acquiring information to fit them for their various stations in life, should be led to a knowledge of the true relation of man to his Creator, and of that faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, which alone can furnish a sure pledge of their good conduct in this world, and their happiness in eternity (quoted in Bill 1880:68

The academy was to be a popular institution, initiated by the decision of a democratic church association, supported by multitudes. The academy was concretely tailored to popular needs. Its course of study was to be adapted to 'the state of society and the wants of the
people.' Special favour was to be given the branches of learning in common use. There was to be opportunity for study in leisure hours. Distinctions among the scholars and students 'arising from wealth or external circumstances' were not to be permitted; diet and dress were to be uniform and plain. The boys were to spend part of their free time working on the academy's farm, to cultivate both edible provisions and healthful habits of industry (Bill 1880:67-8; Saunders 1902:198-200)

Some among Baptists opposed this entry into education. The most vocal opponent was accused by the proponents of harbouring personal jealousies. Nevertheless, to create a credible opposition he must have drawn support from ordinary members still suspicious of learning. Indeed, Crawley wrote that extremes of sentiment might exist within the same church.

...the minister assured of the absolute need of mental culture in the pulpit, the people, on the contrary, believing it to be the minister's duty not even to think beforehand.

But the proponents of the Baptist academy held sway. The venerable Edward Manning, as Crawley recounted it a half-century later,

...was seen convulsed with emotion, and his face bathed in tears, as he told the audience what tortures he had all his life long endured from conscious deficiency in mental culture, all the more painful as in earlier years he had lost an opportunity to obtain an education.

Other old and respected preachers spoke and,

...bore witness in the most feeling language, with tears and great emotion, to the vast loss men suffer who are compelled, as they suppose, to attempt the work of preachers and pastors while not even knowing their own language, and shut out from the ordinary sources of learning (Crawley 1881:14, 28).

The prospectus was approved and the education society formed. Land was purchased in Horton, a farmhouse furnished as a classroom, and the academy opened in 1829 with 50 students. The first principal
appointed, Asahel Chapin, from Amherst College, was replaced within the year by John Pryor, then a student at Newton Theological Seminary (Saunders 1902:200-1; Crawley 1881:28; Longley 1939:24).

Five years after the Nova Scotia Baptist Association began its endeavours, the rapidly growing New Brunswick Association (membership had more than tripled, from 506 in 1822 to 1721 in 1833) (Saunders 190:165, 232) began its own educational planning. Two key figures in this movement were Rev. Frederick W. Miles, born at Maugerville in 1805, educated at King's College Windsor, converted and baptized in 1828, studied at Newton, served as pastor at St. John and Fredericton; and W.B. Kinnear, another convert from the Anglicans: at the time of the St. Paul's schism, 'a man of culture and high social standing' (Saunders 1902:231-2). Noting the deficiency of ministers, the New Brunswick Association named a committee in 1833 to make arrangements for an academy. A drive for subscriptions was conducted successfully. An academy opened in Fredericton in 1836, with 27 students. It included -- for the first time in the Maritimes -- a separate department for women (Saunders 1902:232-5; Elgee 1964:68). (Horton Academy had women graduates at least by 1867.) (Elliott 1966:41).

Divisions of opinion on the value of education clearly continued. The 1833 report of the Education Society asked the tactful rhetorical question, 'may not a young man conscientiously feel himself called to study in order to become a minister?' Should one type of individual who feels directly impelled by the spirit 'find fault with the other who obeys his conscience in going...to a place of education?' (quoted in Elgee 1964:64). Baptist accounts of the debate between simple piety and learning often have this nice and balanced pluralistic
tone, with respect for both the ignorant and the learned, and with
gentle criticisms of each from the perspective of the other. The
tone indicates that the context of the writing was one of continuing
contention.

For another decade the argument for Baptist education -- that
in the circumstances of the province it was essential that a foundation
be provided for the practice of governmental functions and the professions,
especially the ministry, by Baptists -- was pressed. Then, amidst
unexpected circumstances, a Baptist college was formed. Crawley's
account of this period reads:

The training of a College was the proper foundation of all
thorough professional study, and young men from the Academy
were continually entering various spheres of active and pro-
fessional life without it. Much more too than could be
attempted with so limited a staff of teachers was especially
needed for the instruction of ministers and missionaries;
and in view of this condition of things, several of the early
friends of the measure first proposed were wont to converse
together on the state of the educational undertaking and how
to complete it (Crawley 1881:34)

The 1832 report of the Education Society named the occupations which
gave rise to the need for a specifically Baptist education.

A large proportion of the public duties of the country,
in the magistracy, the courts of justice, and the Senate,
was seen to devolve on the members of Baptist churches or
congregations, while the business of education was left
to others. No place of public instruction stood connected
with this portion of the population....

However important the object of general education...as
a necessary basis of both civil and religious liberty, as
well as a most powerful handmaid to the arguments of Christian
truth, they nevertheless deem the education of religious
teachers to be the most important part of that object (1832
Report, Nova Scotia Baptist Education Society, Appendix to
Acadia Memorials 1881:217, 224).

We will later consider the political and interdenominational
contexts of these educational developments, and will then be able to understand their fruition in Acadia College.

Methodism, from its inception with John Wesley's experience of religious transformation in 1738, was aimed both at meeting the religious needs of the people and at moulding the people. It was a hybrid of enthusiasm and discipline, the heart and the hierarchy. Its tendencies of religious practice were balanced between order and intense experience, its ecclesiastical organization between hierarchy and representation.

In dogma and preaching style, Methodism, which Wesley called 'the religion of the heart,' emphasized the interiority of religious experience and its independence of worldly determinations. Its dogma emphasized that faith and salvation were free and undeserved gifts, bestowed by the grace of God, and that deliverance from natural wickedness was possible for one who cried out to God relentlessly. Its preaching to the working poor was evangelical. But in its ordering of the religious life, Methodism was rule-conscious and formalized. Converts were enrolled in organized classes, and provided with strict rules of conduct for their moral and spiritual development. Church organization, quasi-democratic in form, was autocratic in practice; the itinerant preachers from the circuit regularly met in 'Conference,' but had only consultative functions, at least through Wesley's lifetime.

In its explicit political stance Methodism was conservative. Loyalty to the monarch and to the Church of England was demanded. Respectable eighteenth century political views were defended -- liberty of conscience and property, but no mass democracy (French 1962:3-15).
Methodist preaching in the Maritime colonies began in 1781 with the itinerancy of William Black, a Yorkshire immigrant, then aged 21, settled in Cumberland County. In 1784 two missionaries came from the newly formed Methodist Episcopal Church of America, which continued as the primary source of preachers up to 1800. By that time there were nine active missionaries, 874 members and perhaps 3000 adherents (Saunders 1902:58-60).

There is some clear evidence that Methodist worship in its early years at least included enthusiastic practices. Accounts of Methodist meetings tell of sin and distress and crying out; conversion; comfort, rejoicing and ecstasy. Simeon Perkins, the Liverpool merchant-diaryist, described the after-effects of one Methodist meeting as follows:

At evening Mr. Frank Newton preaches at his brother's. A lively time among the people after meeting. Two that had professed to be converted some time ago, were in a wonderful ecstasy.... Hetty Draper that lives in my family was in great distress and seemed in a manner to swoon and remained in that state a long time (quoted in French 1962:38).

A letter by William Black reported that,

At Sackville Jesus was in the midst, both to wound and to comfort. Many poor sinners were deeply convinced; some said their hearts were almost broken under the sense of their want of Christ, while some others who came with heavy hearts returned greatly rejoicing (quoted in Saunders 1902: 35-6).

But even at this early period the theme of 'respectability' was also clearly present in accounts of the Methodists, most of whose preachers were men of some status and education. It can be argued that the counter-example of the outrageously emotional and antinomian Newlights helped bring about a Methodist self-definition as relatively conservative. At any rate, although Methodists were distrusted by a few Loyalist officials
and preachers, Black said that they were generally 'esteemed by those in authority for their quiet and orderly lives, good morals and strict loyalty' (French 1962:34-9, quotation 38).

Within worship itself, Methodist ministers came to oppose irrational emotional displays, although clearly some members of Methodist congregations were inclined to indulge in them. William Temple wrote in his 1823 journal of one man who,

imagining he was influenced by the Divine Spirit addressed the congregation. He was mistaken. He bawled out in a dreadful manner, repetition upon repetition (quoted in French 1962:62).

The steward halted the man's display. Robert Alder wrote to the English Committee in 1822, of the Methodists' Newlight competition, that

because we oppose their enthusiastic excesses and do not permit people to rise up and speak, alias to rant and rave in our solemn assemblies...they would endeavour to persuade our people that they are in bondage (quoted in French 1962:65).

The leaders quashed those excesses of religious inferiority that threatened to break out within their congregations. Likewise they enforced the forms of Methodist religious discipline, albeit sometimes with difficulty (cf. French 1962:66).

In 1800 Black sought aid from the English Wesleyan Conference. Apparently his request arose from a dissatisfaction with the organization of Maritime Methodism. The supply of missionaries from America was irregular, and few of those who came were willing to stay. The system of itinerancy was not as flexible, and clerical discipline not as effective, as in England and America. (French suggests that Black lacked the 'holy ruthlessness' of his English and American counterparts.) The English Conference agreed to Black's request. He retired as head of the Nova Scotia District. From 1800 to 1855 the English
Conference oversaw Maritime Methodism, appointed superintendents and supplied most preachers (French 1962:34-7, 55-7; Moir 1966:140-1). Only two of 18 ministers in 1823 were native to the Maritimes.

Growth of the denomination was regular, especially in the cities. There were some conversions from among the more evangelical Anglicans. The growth rate kept pace with but did not exceed the growth rate of population in general. In 1804 there were seven preachers and 900 members. In 1813 there were 12 preachers and 1182 members (773 in Nova Scotia, 359 in New Brunswick, 50 in Prince Edward Island). In 1826, when separate Nova Scotia and about 220 members. In 1839 there were 34 ministers and 5502 members (2285 in Nova Scotia, 2658 in New Brunswick, and 559 in Prince Edward Island). (Saunders 1902:178-9; MacNutt 1965:161-2).

The Methodist church held a predominantly conservative social and political stance, and clearly dissociated itself from that reform impetus that characterized most dissenters. This was largely determined by the English link. At the time the English Conference began its supervision of the Maritime church, those supportive of traditional authority were clearly in command. The Conference consciously sought ecclesiastical dominance over its branches, to strengthen the political ties of colonies to the Imperial government (French 1962:188).

The preachers sent were generally men of some education, with traditional political views and a desire for respectability. At least one echoed the Anglican view of dissenters as 'ignorant and bigoted.' Some local teachers were appointed, but they served in subsidiary roles as circuit riders, or conductors of classes when regular ministers were absent (French 1962:55, 57-62, quotation 62; Saunders 1902:60).
Methodism ministered less to the poor and the population of rural settlements than to 'those who were moderately prosperous, to those for whom the Imperial tie still meant something, and to those, such as the Irish, who felt most at home with preachers from the old land' (French 1962:63-4, quotation 63).

The themes of Methodist political discourse, and its rare explicit political decisions, amounted to an apolitical loyalism, a quiescence supportive of the existing order. In general politics was severed from religion. Black said:

What have the ministers of Christ to do with the administration of civil government? Christ's kingdom is not of this world. We are neither magistrates nor legislators (quoted in French 1962:38).

But also religion, after the Anglican fashion, was equated with loyalty. The District Meeting of 1820 resolved that:

To enlarge on the loyalty of our societies would be superfluous.... It is an important part of our religion to fear God and while they do this they cannot but honour the King seeing the two duties are indissolubly united in the word of God and they as well as ourselves are subject to the powers that are, not for wrath but for conscience sake (quoted in French 1962:66).

In keeping with these principles Methodists refused association with the committee formed in 1825 to secure the religious rights of dissenters. (cf. Saunders 1902:175). The long-time preacher William Temple explained the decision:

Above all, as we entertain a sincere esteem for the venerable Establishment of our country and believe that we are called to promote real religion and not mere political views, we of course declined all connection of the kind (quoted in French 1962:62).

After 1800 the wherewithal for the church operations of the decorously evangelical Methodists, including finances, administrators, and clerical education and ordination, was provided from England. The
English Committee maintained close supervision of Maritime activity, and a close check on local initiative, well into the 1830s (French 1962:65-6, 87, passim).

This long subordination of Maritime Methodists to the English bears directly upon their educational activity. Methodist ministers were not of the type that received a call and proceeded to preach without learning. Most were educated. The ordinary epithets in praise of learning were known to them. Consider a pronouncement of Rev. Robert Alder, who began an indefatigable itinerancy in Yarmouth in 1816, and eventually rose to secretarial rank in England.

_I attempt to increase in grace and holiness, and, in order that I may be a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, I bend all the powers of my mind and employ my leisure hours in the acquisition of useful knowledge, well knowing that Ignorance is not devotion...and that instead of being a proof of superior piety it is one of the concomitants of sin_ (quoted in French 1962:59).

All the practices of pastoral supply — determination of numbers, approval, ordination — were controlled in England. Thus Maritime Methodists did not enter into higher education to provide educated ministers. That was taken care of by London, or at least London was an effective block to local initiatives.

The English, however, gave evidence of a desire to cast off some of the burdens of colonial administration, as early as the mid-1820s. For some time these efforts were accompanied by a continuation of close control. Financial cutbacks were made, accompanied by minute financial supervision and grating admonishments to increased local contributions. Local recruitment of preachers increased, although those thus obtained were called 'assistant missionaries' and were not allowed to participate in the English pension fund (French 1962:87-8).
Gradually, however, through the 1830s, Maritime Methodists developed the same organizational appurtenances as were possessed by other denominations. Strong leaders (Superintendents) were named: in Nova Scotia, Richard Knight, in 1833, replaced by Ephraim Evans in 1847; in New Brunswick, William Temple, in 1837, replaced by Enoch Wood in 1843. Effective itinerants, of local origins and with substantial education, became more common (French 1962:89-90, 198, 200). To compete with Baptists, Methodists began to hold 'protracted meetings.' Magazines were initiated, to communicate with a public already assailed by Baptist and Presbyterian publications. One was begun in 1832 and promptly suppressed by the London Committee. The Weslyan was printed, without English approval, from 1838 to 1840, to,

...afford the Weslyan Methodists in the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick an opportunity of stating and defending their doctrines and discipline and of employing the powerful instrumentality of the Press in doing good.

Finally in 1840 the monthly British North American Weslyan Methodist Magazine was sanctioned, albeit with limitations on editorial appointments and political content. This was replaced by a weekly, again named The Weslyan, in 1849 (French 1962:91-3, 200). From about 1840 the Missionary Committee intensified its efforts to encourage local self-reliance, by this time accompanied by permission of local control. Financial cutbacks were begun in 1844. In 1855, when Maritime Methodism had 79 ministers and over 13,000 members, the Committee sent a delegation to oversee the founding of the independent Conference of Eastern British America (French 1962:196, 198-9, 201).

It was within this elaboration and increasing independence of local church organization that Methodists entered into sectarian education. This was still little envisaged in terms of the provision of a
formal and certified religious knowledge for clerical training. It rather was seen as a response to the general need of an education for members' children, and education in which religion would be brought before the mind. In 1828 the Nova Scotia District proposed the establishment of a classical seminary. In 1832 the two Districts conferred and determined to found academies at Fredericton, Halifax and Horton, financed hopefully by government grants and private subscriptions. The Missionary Committee approved in 1834. (French 1962:93-4).

The actual inception of educational activity was precipitated by the religious experience which directed Charles F. Allison, a wealthy Sackville merchant, to encourage education. He offered to purchase a site and erect a building in Sackville, and to contribute L100 a year for ten years, for the operation of a school under the supervision of the British Conference. As Allison explained his action:

The establishment of schools in which pure religion is not only taught but constantly brought before the youthful mind and represented to it as the basis and ground work of all the happiness which man is capable of enjoying here on earth was one of the most efficient means in the order of Divine Providence to bring about the happy result spoken of by the Wise Man (quoted in French 1962:94).

The joint District Meeting of 1839, to which Allison repeated his offer, affirmed that the

necessity of an institution in which the children of our members and others desiring it might receive an education on Wesleyan principles has been long and painfully felt by the brethren of the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Districts (quoted in French 1962:95).

A charter was drawn up, which named as trustees the Missionary Secretaries and Treasurers, the District Chairmen, and five ministers and five laymen from each District. The Committee approved, and forwarded a statement of its views of church-state relations, accepting the principle of
Church establishment and declaring the responsibility of a Christian
government to provide for the religious and moral welfare of its
people. Translated into more concrete terms, this statement forbade
opposition to the King's Colleges and simultaneously legitimated Meth­
odist efforts to secure state finance for themselves (French 1962:95).

With grants from the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick legislatures,
the academy opened in 1843. (Elgee 1964:73-4). In his inaugural address
as Principal, Humphrey Pickard emphasized that intellectual acquisitions
were to serve moral and religious excellence (French 1962:204). The
academy flourished. Touring in 1851, J.F.W. Johnston described this
Sackville institution for the,

...Methodist body, which is numerous and influential in the
provinces. The building itself is plain and simple in its
architecture; but it is large, stands in a commanding situation,
and, with the houses of the professors or masters of the
academy, adds greatly to the size and appearance of the
town.

I had the pleasure of being conducted through the insti­
tution by one of the masters, of whom it has three, besides
the principal. It has at present but 50, in better times it
had 80 pupils, who are lodged together by twos in each room,
and are boarded and instructed in all the ordinary branches
of education, and provided with everything but books, for
L25 a year. Certain extra classes are charged in addition;
but it is provided that, in no case, including every expense,
shall the annual cost exceed L80 currency. A library
and collections of minerals and of philosophical instruments,
in a very creditable state of forwardness, form part of the
educational apparatus of the insititution (Johnston 1955:18).

In 1858, towards the end of protracted efforts to form the University
of New Brunswick, Mt. Allison received its degree-granting powers
(MacNutt 1963:369).

The Roman Catholic population of the Maritimes was of three
main origins: Acadians who escaped deportation or later returned were
scattered through the remote areas of all three provinces. Highland
Scots, many driven from their homes by landlords who wanted their glens for sheepruns, settled around the turn of the nineteenth century along the eastern shore of Nova Scotia to the Gut of Canso, in Prince Edward Island, and in Cape Breton Island, which became a Gaelic speaking enclave. Later in the century the number of Irish immigrants steadily increased.

Catholics were subjected to legal disabilities from the founding of the colonies. Priests were expelled in 1758, and later restrictions were placed on worship, the operation of schools, political activity and landholding. These were gradually eased, in favour of demeaning oaths of allegiance (Bumsted 1967:47, 52). Gradually free worship was permitted and schools allowed. In 1823 a Catholic representative from Cape Breton Island was allowed to take a seat in the Nova Scotia legislature without subscribing to oaths against Popery and transubstantiation. And in 1827, two years before similar action in England, full liberties were granted Catholics, and special oaths removed from the statutes.

Religious battles which pitted Catholics against other Christians were common throughout this period. These were sometimes dogmatic, as when in the teens Edmund Burke criticized the religious views, especially the anti-Catholic sentiments, of Robert Stanser and William Cochran. Thomas McCulloch gratuitiously entered the fray and wrote two volumes in condemnation of Popery. The battles were sometimes electoral, as in the religious disputes which recurrently created political schisms in Prince Edward Island. There were sometimes physical, as in the Orange-Green riots which became common in New Brunswick.
In the decades around mid-century, Roman Catholics built up a more substantial economic base, expanded their ecclesiastical organization, found more forceful leadership and asserted themselves against Protestant hegemony and in politics. In so doing they paralleled that process which Protestant denominations had undergone earlier, in asserting themselves against Anglican hegemony. In this Roman Catholic assertion, the place of education was central, for training leaders in general and priests in particular.

Catholic ecclesiastical organization was initially rudimentary. In the late eighteenth century itinerant priests, later legendary for their resoluteness and endurance, traversed the provinces ministering to scattered settlements of Scots and Acadians. Initially many of these were Scots; they were supplemented by French Royalist priests arriving around 1800 (MacNutt 1965:118-20).

The Maritimes were nominally under the supervision of the Bishop of Quebec. However, although Bishop Joseph Octave Plessis visited there in 1812, both disinterest and a shortage of priests prevented active ministrations from Quebec. More developed church activity and organization came with the emergence of local leaders. The Irish Rev. Edmund Burke, who arrived in Halifax in 1801, was the first leading Nova Scotian Catholic. He had ambitious plans to improve the political position of Roman Catholics and the education and discipline of the Irish. In 1817 he was consecrated Bishop. He was succeeded in 1820 by Bishop Fraser. In 1819 Rev. Bernard Angus MacEachern of Charlottetown was named Bishop of Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick and Cape Breton Island. In 1829 Charlottetown was made the seat of a see (MacNutt 1965:164-5).
Roman Catholic education typically began with the holding of classes in the home of a leading cleric, providing general education with the ultimate aim of preparing priests. Later a formal school and then a seminary or college was begun. One consistent motive for such educational activity in the Maritimes was to justify and to provide practically for independence from the Bishop of Quebec.

Bishop Burke had a building erected in Halifax in 1802 to serve Irish Catholics as a seminary, but it was never opened, partly due to legal difficulties, and partly due to Burke's inability to secure teachers, even after he lodged requests with the Bishops of Ireland and Quebec, the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, and the Jesuits. About 1818 Burke began a school for boys in his home; this ended with his death in 1820. Several seminarians from this school were later ordained (Shook 1971:11-14; Hamilton 1970a:85-6; Rimmington 1966a:328-9).

The most continuous centre of Roman Catholic education was in the primarily Scots diocese of Arichat, contiguous to Cape Breton Island. The Roman Catholic Church in Antigonish, Haliburton described as 'the largest and most respectable looking building in the country... capable of accommodating 800 people' (Haliburton 1829:79). Education developed there early, and in the usual pattern. There was first private instruction at East Bay in the 1820s. In 1828 Bishop Fraser secured a L50 grant for a grammar school at Antigonish, which was taken over by the Rev. C.F. MacKinnon in 1838 (Shook 1971:15-16; Rimmington 1966a:330-1; MacDonnell 1947:81-6).

Roman Catholics had often been politically ignored, especially those from the east. In the House of Assembly in 1865, J.G. Bourinot
said 'no member for Cape Breton for years could raise his voice on behalf of that Island without being met with sneers' (Whitelaw 1966: 65-7, quoted in 67n2). But around mid-century Nova Scotian Catholics came into political prominence. With responsible government and elections still largely determined by religious blocs, their votes were as valuable as anyone's. In the 1850's with antagonisms over Crimean war conscription, and with religious riots among railway workers, the Catholic presence became even more definite. Their rejection of Liberals shifted the balance of party power and brought Conservatives into office.

A group of Halifax Catholics, led by Michaël Tobin, began plans for a college there in 1838. St. Mary's College was opened soon thereafter. The College was not a seminary, and Bishop Fraser, who lived by preference with his Gaelic parishioners in Antigonish, was not consulted in its planning, and had no respect for what he deemed the 'so-called college' (Shook 1971:58-61).

By 1853 there were 40,000 Roman Catholics in the diocese of Arichat -- with only 21 priests, and no promise of more from Dublin. Upon becoming Bishop in 1852, C.F. MacKinnon opened a seminary at Arichat, chiefly to prepare priests and lay teachers. This was removed to two new buildings in Antigonish in 1855, and renamed St. Francis Xavier College. At its opening the college had six teachers, foremost among whom were two young men sent from Rome, Drs. John Schulte and John Cameron, and 49 students. It was a 'public college' with a classical curriculum, preparing teachers as well as priests. In 1866 it received degree-granting powers (Shook 1971:75-80; MacDonnell 1947:81-6; Ross 1896:190; Rimmington 1966a:330-1).
Acadians had trickled back into Nova Scotia after the expulsion, mostly settling in Digby and Yarmouth counties, with the most important settlement at Clare. There were schools at Church Point and Metaghan, operated by the Halifax Sisters of Charity, by 1870. In 1883, Cornelius O'Brien, Archbishop of Halifax, determined to form a college for the Acadians. After several attempts to secure teaching priests from several orders in Quebec and in France, the Eudists at length agreed to send two priests in 1890 -- encouraged by French anti-Church legislation. A building was completed in 1892 and a charter for College Ste. Anne granted. Five members of the Eudist Congregation were directors (Ross 1896:191; Thorburn 1961:34; Rimmington 1966a:332-3).

In New Brunswick the most remarkable Church and political development occurred among the Acadians. After the Expulsion there was a return migration of most of those who had departed. They got new land grants, or squatted, mostly along the North shore from Chignecto to Gaspe, and along the St. John River above Grand Falls. Living largely apart from the English, in primarily self-sufficient isolated settlements, they very little followed the waves of emigration in response to trade crisis. By their remoteness, their poverty, and the legal requirement that office-holders swear their rejection of transubstantiation, Acadians long were excluded from politics and learning. The first Acadian to enter the House of Assembly was Armand Landry, from Memramcook, in 1846. An Acadian Member of Parliament, Auguste Renaud, from Bouctouche, was elected in 1867 (Thorburn 1961:22-3, 38).

The Church was the first context of Acadian self-assertion. Acadians were distinct from and opposed by Irish Roman Catholics who monopolized positions in the hierarchy and even filled a number of parish
priesthoods within Acadian communities (Thorburn 1961:24-5). Education was the first order of the Acadian development. Acadian leaders understood 'the close association of language, religion and education as the foundation of the Acadian culture or myth, and as the basis of the whole Acadian movement' (Thorburn 1961:31). Institutions were correspondingly formed to provide an ideological articulation of the common Acadian identity.

In Memramcook Father LaFrance established a school in 1854. Financially weak, disapproved of by Bishop Connolly of St. John because it was only Francophone, it was forced to close in 1862 (Thorburn 1961:25, 32; Hamilton 1970a:115). Bishop Sweeny of St. John turned over its property to the Congregation of the Holy Cross, whose Father Camille LeFebre came in 1864,

to found a college that would provide the priests, jurists and savants who could give leadership and instruction to the Acadians of New Brunswick.... with the founding of St. Joseph's the idea of la survivance took some meaning. What was generated at Memramcook was a spirit not merely racial and religious but national as well (MacNutt 1963:454).

In 1868, when the college classique had 75 students, it received a provincial charter and a small grant (Thorburn 1961:32; Hamilton 1970a:117). The college in time became the Université de Moncton.

Father Marcel Richard in Kent County established the College St.-Louis in 1875. Bishop Rogers of Chatham accused it of not teaching sufficient English and of treating Irish pupils unfairly, and withdrew his patronage. The college closed in 1882, and Father Richard, who had been critical of Bishop Rogers, was sent to a remote parish (Thorburn 1961:26).

Another foundation of the immigrant Eudists, the College Sacre Coeur, was formed at Caraquet, New Brunswick in 1899 (Thorburn 1961:34).
The 1875 Common Schools Act unified Catholics against Protestants. It required that schools be non-sectarian and use texts approved by the Board of Education; schools which did not adhere to these regulations received no funds. Roman Catholics thus had to pay taxes to support public schools, and fees to educate their own children. After legal challenges, bitter elections and riots, a modus vivendi was arrived at: teaching licenses could be obtained by taking a summer course at the Normal School; priests and nuns could wear cassocks and habits while teaching; and religious instruction could be given after school hours. Although the issues remained contentious, locally elected boards tended to operate schools in accordance with local desires (Thorburn 1961:32-3).

As educational development proceeded there was Acadian activity in many other areas as well. The Societe Mutuelle l'Assomption, founded to preserve Acadian traditions, held its first convention at the Memramcook college in 1881. It operated a fraternal insurance plan, and provided scholarships to students from rural areas. (Thorburn 1961:29-31). Newspapers were formed, the Moniteur Acadien at Shediac in 1867, the Courrier des Provinces Maritimes at Bathurst in 1885, and the most nationalist, l'Evangeline, at Weymouth, N.S. (later moved to Moncton) in 1887. (Thorburn 1961:35-6). Hostility to Irish ecclesiastical domination grew more outspoken from the 1880s, and was articulated in the press and by delegations to Rome. At last in 1910 and 1920, Acadian Bishops were named for St. John and Moncton (Thorburn 1961:26-9).

The first step towards Catholic higher education in Prince Edward Island had occurred in 1794, when Father Angus Bernard MacEachern arranged the purchase of a farm at St. Andrew's, to be paid for by an
assessment on parishioners, and to become a diocesan college (McKenna 1971:23). In 1819 MacEachern was named Bishop, and in 1829 Charlottetown was made the seat of a see. This ecclesiastical independence demanded independent means of supplying clergy. Bishops MacEachern and Burke discussed plans for a Gaelic Seminary at Arisaig in the teens, but to no practical end. (Shook 1971:13-4). MacEachern opened a secondary school in his home in eastern Prince Edward Island about 1830, to prepare Catholics for both the priesthood and provincial political life. Also MacEachern met with leading figures in the diocese to make plans for a college. In consequence there was opened in 1831 the first Catholic College in the Maritimes, St. Andrew's, under the patronage of both Bishops MacEachern and Fraser. It had a rector, a professor of mathematics, and about 20 students. St. Andrew's was closed by Bishop Bernard D. MacDonald in 1844. Reasons for the closure are not in public records. At that time it had graduated 22 priests, including two future bishops. For ten years after its closure, there was no Catholic college on the Island (McKenna 1971:22-4; Shook 1971:35-9; Hamilton 1970b:120).

When Bishop Bernard MacDonald closed St. Andrew's in 1844, he also purchased land near Charlottetown as a site for a new college. Money for construction costs could not be obtained readily, and the building would probably have not been completed but for funds from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, in France. St. Dunstan's College was opened in 1855, with 18 students, and with two new priests, Angus MacDonald and James Phelan, as rector and assistant. St. Dunstan's had a strong ecclesiastical orientation, primarily preparing students for seminary in Quebec, Montreal, or, rarely Rome. It served the island's Catholics, Scotch, Irish and Acadian (McKenna 1971:30; Shook 1971:39-42).
LEAF 288 OMITTED IN PAGE NUMBERING.
Thus far we have considered two moments in the development of an institutionally distinct knowledge. The first was a perception that the colonists in general had educational needs and rights. These needs and rights were understood in relationship to several contexts of formally organized social life into which they were entering. Some saw that people needed that formation of moral character -- industry, thrift, self-restraint -- useful in an entrepreneurial practice of agriculture, even in trade. Some saw that people in the local communities were subjected to an institutionally distinct state organization of law and provision of public services, and that they needed to delegate accomplished representatives and spokesmen to it. Some saw the need of religious knowledge for a structuring of religious activity through a system of expressions constituted as external to the individual; and that there needed to be a credentialling of ministers and priests for church organizations within which this activity took place.

The second moment in the articulation of a locally based institutionally distinct knowledge was the articulation of organizational forms through which educational needs were expressed and could be met. This occurred in the conception and chartering of state-initiated non-denominational colleges in Halifax and Charlottetown. It occurred in the appearance of educational leaders and ideologies among, and the organization of academies and colleges by Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists and Roman Catholics.
CHAPTER V

COLLEGE POLITICS

The fulfillment of educational organization required legal and political action. Those who wished to organize education for dissenters had to work through the state, to obtain legitimation in the form of charters and material support in the form of government grants. Here arose those intricate political battles that so absorbed the attention of participants, and that have filled histories. Political circumstances must be understood to account for the character and vicissitudes of educational change. It was within political battling that the formation of a higher education by and for the local communities was achieved. And it was within the battling that the issues of domination at stake in educational transformation were most clearly articulated by those who fought for and resisted change. The elaborateness of this ideological articulation in the nineteenth century Maritimes is one reason they are rewarding of study.
Higher education has always been tied to dominant minorities, to leading figures. But the educational developments of the first half of the nineteenth century were grounded in locally organized production, politics and worship. The elites served by higher education were locally grounded respectable leading figures.

Let us review briefly those issues in the definition of the place of knowledge which were at stake. The development of locally grounded educational forms constituted a challenge to the hegemony of an education tailored to the oligarchy. To the elite, the monopoly of higher education was intitially conceived as an important support of Imperial rule conducted through (and of benefit to) themselves. The Anglican colleges were intitially conceived as ideological buttresses of this rule, training public spokesmen for the intendedly dominating ideology, and preserving youth from alternative (republican) ideologies. The higher knowledge was held to stand as a representation of or as conducive to virtuous religious, political and social conduct. Propagated efficiently, it was to lead to virtuous conduct among the members of the society.

In connection with efforts to open up higher education to several segments of the population, the position of knowledge was seen quite differently. Knowledge was explicitly conceived in relation to the local population and needs of the colonies, rather than to an externally derived order of governance and the oligarchy locally parasitical upon it, or to any particularistically defined portion of the population. The provision of learning was held by right to be open to all who had need or use of it, not to a religiously restricted group. In the circumstances of the time with economic, political and ecclesiastical section-
alism, this meant that educational organization would be pluralistic, not dominated by one institution.

An important issue in the definition of the political and ideological structure of the society was thus at stake: whether a locally based pluralism in the ideological sphere — the control of education by and the training of ministers for the dissenting and Catholic churches — would be granted the sanction of legitimation and finance by government. The refusal of this sanction constituted a firm line of symbolic and practical resistance to pluralism.

Nova Scotia had the most extensive locally organized activity, the greatest local capitalization. It was in Nova Scotia, with its advantage of know-Howe, that the rising middle class of yeomen was named as the basis of political reform. Nova Scotia was also the centre of the most extensive and protracted local educational activity.

The initial Anglican conception did not work out in practice. Too few were sufficiently interested in the scheme to give it their involvement and support. Too many did not yield to its aims. The dominant response of those governing King's College Windsor was to stand firm by its terms and exclude all those who did not fit. The statutes were initially quite restrictive, and even when eased, the college remained Anglican in governance and purpose. When the higher learning could not serve as a tool of pervasive ideological dominance, it became the mark and defining possession of a reactionary elite. Its ambience partook of Alexander Croke's ambition for it, to serve religion, the Church of England, and His Majesty's Government with a purity undebased by the local.
Parents in the country and the towns would not have wanted to see their boys educated in the style and milieu of an elite thus alien to their own ways. Costs would have been prohibitive even had desire been present; T.C. Haliburton once estimated that a student's costs at Windsor were L120 per year -- but at Pictou only L20 (Patterson 1877:325n). Organized in Presbyterian, Baptist and Catholic churches, local educational interests assaulted oligarchical dominance. The rash of educational activity from the late 1820s coincided with and became part of the fully voiced challenge to the oligarchy by local representatives. The bitterness of educational antagonisms and the fantastic complexity of strategems might be thought surprising in the light of the small numbers of students and amounts of money involved, but the ideological issue was important both in its own right and as a focus of a generally polarized political situation. The leaders of educational reform were men of substantial influence and ambition. They moved in, or were poised to move in, the highest circles of provincial society. The trustees of Pictou Academy included foremost the merchant and Assemblyman Edward Mortimer, who controlled most of Pictou's trade in timber and fish, to whom most people in the county were in debt, said to have an attitude of superiority and an advocacy of liberalism, tinged with a personal antagonism to Halifax officials (McCulloch n.d.:24-5; Patterson 1877:306, 256, 303-4). The lawyer and politician S.G.W. Archibald also served the board. Among Baptists, the leaders of the movement for education included not only such a man as the Rev. I.E. Bill, renowned for the power of his sermons, but also an array of lawyers, politicians, and judges, E.A. Crawley, J.W. Johnston, William B. Kinnear and others. It was the likes of these who were being told that
they could not educate the young men of their communities or grant them
degrees -- unless they should swear against their faith. It was these
who would not consent, as T.C. Haliburton put it, to be 'crushed to
gratify the bigotry of a few individuals' in Halifax (cf. infra). When
finally oligarchical power was broken, it looked for a moment as if the
diverse sources of educational demand might be coalesced into support
for a single university. But one last oligarchical parry broke this
union, which was fragile in any event. There was a flurry of sectarian
educational formations. The supporters of the various colleges soon
formed the basis of resistance to further efforts for a single efficient
and centralized university.

In New Brunswick Imperial control of the Crown lands, which
united all local interests in opposition, was the basis of the earliest
effective opposition to Imperial domination in the Maritimes. But
these interests fragmented when their common aim was attained. The eco-
monic predominance of an extractive mercantile capitalism sustained local
conditions of social disorganization. Farmers were in thrall to mer-
chants and the serious pursuit of agriculture was vitiated by the temp-
tation of timbering. Timber revenues did provide a source of educational
finance, first for an Anglican college with certain liberal touches which
insured that it would not be denied finance by the popular branch of the
legislature. But political and ideological developments occurred more
slowly than in Nova Scotia, and often in imitation. Distinct church
organizations in New Brunswick came about through the splitting of organ-
izations originally centred in Nova Scotia. The proliferation of dis-
senting colleges was later and less than in Nova Scotia, and never was
dissenting educational activity crucial in the thrust of reform. There
were sporadic acerbic attacks on King's College Fredericton. The Baptist academy was initiated with relatively subdued political fanfare, and a Methodist academy only after it ceased to be politically contentious. When in the 1850s there was a movement for a centralized and even internationalist university, although there was not large enthusiasm, neither was there large resistance.

The grounds of demand for education on Prince Edward Island were limited not only by its economic subservience, but also by its smallness and the relative slowness of its political development. For oligarchical education there was the sparsest of bases. There were suggestions that education could figure in a programme of political reform, as foundation of greater changes, but these were of slight consequence. The Island was divided almost equally between Protestants and Catholics, with a slight Protestant majority; this religious division corresponded generally to a national division of Scotch and Irish. In these circumstances, there was created an effective alliance between Protestants, in support of the government-initiated Charlottetown Academy. There was parallel development of Roman Catholic institutions. The dominant ideological emphasis was against sectarian (i.e., Roman Catholic) education. Contrariwise, the government-sponsored institution was regarded, by Catholics, as illiberally exclusive. Each granting of funds to it and each advance in its status was met with a demand, always unsatisfied, for equal treatment for Catholics.

The preeminent focus of political conflicts over education in Nova Scotia was Pictou Academy. The academy's political situation, due to Anglican and Kirk opposition, was recurrently difficult. Resistance
to the academy was apparent in even the earliest attempts to secure it legitimation and finance. A petition for its incorporation was prepared in 1815. Although it was intended from the first that the academy would impart the education usual in colleges, the right to confer degrees was not sought -- apparently because it was thought that degree powers were politically unobtainable. It is certain that Lord Dalhousie would have opposed degree powers for the academy. He wrote in 1819 to Edward Mortimer, Pictou assemblyman:

> A college in Halifax, the capital of the province, I do think an institution highly desirable, but not so in a distant corner of it as Pictou. I must therefore candidly express to you these my sentiments, and that it will be my duty to oppose the extension of your institution beyond...

Dalhousie was also antipathetic to McCulloch, thinking him a dangerous man who had to be watched.

In spite of the limitation of the Presbyterian request, it failed. The 1815 petition, although all its signatories were Presbyterian, proposed an academy open to members of every religious denomination. In 1816 the charter passed the House of Assembly in its original form, but was amended restrictively in Council. Trustees and teachers were required to sign an oath stating that they either were members of the Church of England or professed the (Presbyterian) Westminster Confession of Faith. Trustees were also forbidden to hold property outside the district of Pictou (Harvey 1938:14; McCulloch n.d.:48; Patterson 1877:326-7).

The charter was accepted with these amendments, although the friends of the academy seem to have been aware of the strategy behind them, to isolate and weaken the academy, or, as T.C. Haliburton put it in an 1828 speech in the House of Assembly, 'to classify and arrange
dissenters the more easy [sic] to keep them down' (Hamilton 1970a Appendix D: 349). As William McCulloch analyzed the situation, the Council would not at this time straightforwardly outlaw dissenting education, but sought to render Pictou: Academy ineffectual by placing denominational restrictions upon it.

It was expected that this would excite the jealousy of other denominations against Presbyterians, as more highly favoured than they.... In appointing Episcopalian trustees it was thought that loyalty to their church would lead them to handicap Presbyterian trustees, and thus reduce the injury to Windsor College to a minimum (McCulloch n.d.: 48).

The trustees made an unsuccessful attempt to obtain a Royal Charter and the same governmental aid as King's College (McCulloch n.d.: 50). Finding their funds insufficient, the trustees then memorialized Lord Dalhousie for a building grant in 1818. He concurred, saying that the academy appeared 'to promise advantages of education, highly favourable to the whole eastern part of this province' (Patterson 1877: 332). The Assembly allotted L500, which the Council refused. Another memorial was prepared the next year. It emphasized the fit between the academy and its setting, in the same nascent liberal terminology used at the same time by Anglican liberals and Lord Dalhousie himself:

...had His Majesty's Council considered the state of the province they must have been satisfied that the success of the institution would have tended to the prosperity of this part of His Majesty's dominions.

The memorial continued to complain that the academy at Windsor received government money, although it had only half as many students as that at Pictou, and although it and King's College were exclusive institutions. On this second try the academy received a grant, which continued to be awarded annually for several years (McCulloch n.d.: 59).
The 1820s were a period of unabating political conflict over the academy and its charter and finance, a conflict recorded, wrote Howe,

...on the journals of the Assembly for the last ten or a dozen years, and on the pages of all the newspapers that have been sent forth.... (Howe 1973:154).

For several years the dispute centred around whether the academy's grant should be made permanent or merely awarded year by year. For four years in a row the Assembly passed permanent grants, and the Council refused them (Patterson 1877:332-5).

The lines of conflict were more extensively and harshly drawn in the years from 1825 to 1828. The Pictou trustees became more forceful in urging their cause, and the Council more adamant in denying it. The conflict at this point was further complicated by the developing competition between the Secession Church and the Church of Scotland.

In 1826 two Kirk ministers met with the Pictou trustees and objected to the teaching of the higher branches of learning, and of theology, in the academy. The trustees did not yield, and for several years thereafter the academy was attacked by Kirkmen in the public press and in petitions to the legislature. It was alleged that the teaching of the higher branches was a violation of the academy charter. The trustees responded that the charter, the by-laws, and various subscription lists all had set forth this course; a committee of the House of Assembly had praised the instruction; and for anyone in need of it there was a grammar school a short walk away. The Kirk claimed that, according to the charter, the academy ought to be under the control of the Church of Scotland and the Church of England; but that Seceders had taken it over and were using it — especially in the addition of
the divinity class -- for sectarian ends. The charter specified Presbyterians, not merely Kirkmen, answered the trustees; but at any rate some members of the Church of Scotland, including ministers in it, had served as trustees; and as for the divinity class, it was unconnected with the remainder of the institution (Patterson 1877:343-6).

Secessionist efforts to modify the Kirk's intransigent opposition -- as in a correspondence between Rev. Thomas Trotter, the Secessionist minister in Antigonish, and Rev. K.J. McKenzie (Hamilton 1970a:179-83) were to no avail. The Kirk newspaper, the Pictou Observer, carried on a relentless campaign against McCulloch, who, it said, came 'to preside over a temple of benevolence and turned it into a temple of discord and a nursery of rebellion. All education was neglected except what was counted necessary to form drone Jesuits' (Hamilton 1970a: 222-5, quotation 222).

These divisions among Presbyterians served the academy's enemies in the Council, providing the justification for refusing its requests that Presbyterians should settle their supposed 'internal' differences before seeking aid. One definite link between Kirk and Council was the person of Michael Wallace, a prominent Pictou Kirkman, once defeated for a seat in the Assembly by Pictou Academy trustee Edward Mortimer. As provincial treasurer, Wallace sat on the Council for years -- as well as on the Board of Governors of Dalhousie College.

The Pictou trustees in 1825 petitioned for a new act, including the removal of religious tests for trustees, degree powers, and the allocation of a permanent grant. A committee of the Assembly studied the request, and concluded that the academy was efficiently conducted, and was attractive to dissenters generally due to its location
and its lack of religious restrictions. The institution would be
benefitted by the right to confer degrees, and it deserved a share of
the provincial revenues, in keeping with the contributions of those
whom it served. A new bill, embodying the trustees' requests, passed
the Assembly in 1826. It was defeated in Council by a vote of five
to four. The minority -- four Anglicans -- filed a protest. They
said that Pictou Academy had the favour of the public and would con-
tinue to exist, and that dissenters by right deserved a share of the
revenues.

The dissenters in this province, who compose more than four-
fifths of its population, have entitled themselves to the
favourable consideration of the legislature, by their orderly,
steady and loyal conduct, and the cheerful support which
they have so long given to His Majesty's Government in
Nova Scotia.

They also made a pragmatic (and prescient) argument of strategy, that,

...as members of the Established Church, we feel that the
best interests of that Church will be consulted by manifest-
ing a spirit of liberality to our fellow Christians who
dissent from us, -- that even policy, independent of higher
motives, dictates to us as a minority, the advantages of
conciliating the Dissenters, and showing to them that we
feel the Church of England has nothing to fear from the

In 1827 the Council refused the regular annual L400 grant
to Pictou Academy, and in justification of its action said that 'while
the present trustees are in office no aid will be granted,' because
those trustees had adopted measures 'to bring Windsor College into
disrespect by parading its restrictions' and 'to excite a spirit of
hostility to the Established Church' (Patterson 1877:346; Hamilton 1970a:
157-8). The trustees responded that any hostility they exhibited was
only in response to the Council's provocations and the Bishop's sectarian
procedures (McCulloch n.d.:100-7, 111-6). At last the Council assented
to the release of funds provisionally, upon the approval of the Governor. J.I. Chipman investigated and reported favourably upon the operation of the academy, which received its money. But during the next three years the Council both rejected bills for a permanent grant and negated annual grants, even if at the discretionary disposal of the Governor, passed by large majorities of the Assembly (Patterson 1877: 346-9; McCulloch n.d.:101; Hamilton 1970a:366-72, 189-90; Haliburton 1829:55).

The vituperative antagonisms aroused... in these political frays were reported in a jocular fashion in Joseph Howe's Eastern Rambles. He was impressed, he wrote of his 1829 visit, with the hospitality, courtesy, and civility of his reception at,

...an institution which, next to the old fort at Annapolis, has caused more battles than any building in the country, and has been assailed with a perseverance and an address only equalled by the vigor and ability with which it has been defended.

Howe made light of the bitter divisions between Presbyterians.

Who knows but what we may come out a fierce and uncompromising Seceder, ready to quarrel with our best friend, should he venture to hint that the institution is susceptible of any improvement, and to maintain that the cause of civil liberty, all the world over, is deeply involved in the perpetual grant; who knows that we may not come forth an obstinate and stiff-necked Kirkman -- seeing danger, disaffection and disloyalty in the face of every Antiburgher we meet -- holding the perils of the Lion's den as matters of light consideration, when compared with the danger of sending a boy to the college, and ready to maintain that, because His Majesty's Council have opposed the perpetual grant, they can never do anything wrong, impolitic, or absurd (Howe 1973:158).

Friends of the academy, however, were not amused but outraged by the Council's intransigence, and determined to do battle. T.C. Haliburton spoke in the assembly in March of 1828, and said of the Anglican elite that controlled the Council and monopolized King's College:
It would be saying little either in behalf of education, or of the college, if they dreaded an overthrow by the diffusion of knowledge, and derived their strength and respectability from the weakness and ignorance of those who were not admitted to a participation of these benefits. I will never consent that this seminary of education for dissenters shall be crushed to gratify the bigotry of a few individuals in this town, who have originated, fostered, and supported, all the opposition to Pictou Academy (Patterson 1877:338-40; Hamilton 1970a:347-8).

The Presbyterian Seceders became early leaders of resistance to the oligarchy. McCulloch and the trustees had no doubt that their political difficulties were due to the uniform opposition of the Anglican Bishop and his cronies (McCulloch n.d.:112-3; Patterson 1877:337-8).

'It is impossible to look back without regret,' wrote William McCulloch, 'at the possession of so much power by a man of such contracted views' (McCulloch n.d.:30-1). McCulloch, initially cautious about political involvements, fearing they might harm his educational interests, became an active pamphleteer for liberal causes. In the early 1820s he wrote a series of columns for the *Acadian Recorder*, under the pen-name 'Investigator,' displaying various official inefficiencies and abuses (McCulloch n.d.:7-2). McCulloch did not at first write for the *Colonial Patriot*, but, taking offence at the peremptory inquiry of Governor James Kempt as to whether he did so, he resolved to begin (McCulloch n.d.:108-11).

In 1829 McCulloch wrote in a letter:

> Between...the opposition and us, the gauntlet is fairly on the ground.... We have attacked them right and left in our Pictou *Patriot* by argument, sarcasm and drollery. And now I believe they are heartily sorry that they ever made us their enemies (McCulloch n.d.:110-1).

As the academy's situation became more grim, McCulloch wrote in 1831 to his friend Prof. John Mitchell: 'Either the Council or the academy must go down, there is no alternative!' (Hamilton 1970a:211).
In 1831 the trustees resolved to send Jotham Blanchard, an academy graduate and trustee, a barrister, editor of the *Colonial Patriot*, to England, to seek Imperial backing for Pictonian efforts to obtain satisfaction from the Council. He also went prepared to make disclosures about Bishop and*Council which, it was thought, would shake the confidence of Imperial authorities, even if they did not assist the academy. Blanchard enlisted the aid of Secession Church bodies in Scotland, and met privately with prominent politicians. After repeated delays and rebuffs in the Colonial Office, he managed to see Lord Goderich, the Secretary. Goderich eventually wrote Governor Maitland that 'His Majesty's Government feel most anxious that this cause of internal dissension be removed,' and recommended that a permanent grant be given to Pictou, without attaching to it other conditions, such as limitations on the trustees, repugnant to the Assembly. Goderich, also, however, urged the conciliation of all parties to the dispute:

All will then see that His Majesty's Government have no other object in view than the good of the province, and the harmony and contentment of all classes of His Majesty's subjects there (Patterson 1877:354).

William McCulloch hinted that Goderich's personal views on the matter were quite strong, and that the temperateness of his dispatch was due to the intervention of some enemy who wished to leave manoeuvering room to those wishing to inhibit the academy's growth. Indeed that party which had to be conciliated was the Kirk, whose interests in Nova Scotia Governor Maitland was defending to Goderich. McCulloch, unconciliatory, refused to negotiate with Rev. McKenzie (McCulloch n.d.:126-33; Patterson 1877:353-4; Hamilton 1970a:210-4).
A new bill, including a permanent grant, was written for the academy by S.G.W. Archibald in 1832. But strong opposition was expressed in a petition written by Rev. McKenzie, which claimed that the...

...bill aims to appropriate £400 a year out of the public revenue, to gratify the ambitious views of a particular sect.... It tramples under foot the just rights...of the other classes of His Majesty's loyal subjects.... (Patterson 1877:355-6).

The Kirk objections insisted particularly that if the academy existed, it should include instruction in the lower branches of education, and should offer no theological training. The bill was amended in consideration of these objections. In its final form the bill introduced certain dissension into the Board of Trustees, in the form of five new members appointed by the Governor, four adherents of the Church of Scotland and the Roman Catholic Bishop. It required that £100 of the £400 grant be allotted to elementary instruction (McCulloch objected to this, that it 'must have for its aim the annihilation of the existing academical system of instruction....') Another £250 was expressly allotted for McCulloch's salary, leaving only £50 for all other expenses (McCulloch n.d.:134-6; Patterson 1877:354-6; Harvey 1938:40-51; Hamilton 1970a:214-20).

With its finances inflexibly allotted, its governance a tangle of hostilities, and its proponents increasingly dispirited, Pictou Academy steadily declined.

Concurrent with the political battles over Pictou Academy was a period of administrative standstill in Dalhousie College. It was almost 20 years after the laying of the college's cornerstone that it was opened, and more than 40 years before it was permanently opened.
The delay was due to a contradiction between the ideology and the practical arrangements which set the college forth on its uncertain career.

The new college did not differ at all from King's in its externality to the local population in its legitimation and initiative. At the cornerstone Lord Dalhousie was explicit:

"It is under His Majesty's gracious approbation of this institution that I meet you here today, and as his humble representative that I lay the cornerstone of this building."

(Patterson 1887:13).

The college was through and through a creation of Imperial administration.* The liberal conception of knowledge which informed its opening had a peculiarly hollow quality. It appeared as a kind of artificial ferment in education, antedating those developments which would give substantial content to the terms it used to relate knowledge and society. There was no locally centred organization in terms of whose activity the college was seen to be necessary, and no local activity seeking to impel its opening.

Rather Dalhousie College was totally dependent upon the elite. Members of its Board of Governors were drawn ex officio from the government: the Governor-General, the Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia, the Bishop of Nova Scotia, the Chief Justice, the Provincial Treasurer, and the Speaker of the House of Assembly (Ross 1896:176). This elite also governed King's College. Four men were governors of both colleges. Only Bishop Stanser refused a dual appointment. Lord Dalhousie at the

* An attempt had even been made to obtain a Royal Charter, but was abandoned because of Church opposition in London (Harvey 1939:27-8) and in order to save expense (Patterson 1887:14-5). (King's charter fees had been L370). (Hind 1890:31). The bill to incorporate Dalhousie was first approved by the Colonial Secretary, then passed by the Nova Scotian legislature (Patterson 1887:15).
cornerstone intoned this hope for the college:

   Let no jealousy disturb its peace; let no lukewarm
   indifference disturb its growth! Protect it in its
   first years, and it will abundantly repay your care!
   (Patterson 1887:13).

He had intended to open a college for all sects and classes, serving
those excluded from Windsor, spreading its blessings ever more as the
province grew in prosperity. But its board took no action to see Dal-
housie opened in competition with King's. Joseph Howe looked back on
the history of the college in 1834 and said:

   Dalhousie College, originally intended not to be sectarian,
   was ultimately made so. It appears to have been the fate
   of this institution to have had foisted into its management
   those who were hostile to its interests, whose names were
   in its trust, but whose hearts were in other institutions.
   These, if they did nothing against took care to do nothing
   for it; their object was to smother it with indifference.
   Surrounded by such men, and clothed with a sectarian char-
   acter, for twenty-three years it stood a monument of folly
   (Howe 1909:425).

Some liberal board members, Anglican and dissenting, and some officials
in the Colonial Office, were willing to see Dalhousie opened even if it
supplanted the older college. But the dominant group of board members
were attached to a college exclusively Anglican, dominating the field
of higher education, and conferring a knowledge which bestowed social
distinction rather than general prosperity. The board's administrative
actions did not allow the dominance of King's to be threatened by the
opening of Dalhousie as a centre of higher education for dissenters.
Dalhousie's board made only the most halfhearted attempts to open it
independently. In fact the history of Dalhousie in this period
was subordinate to that of King's College. The proposals for Dal-
housie's opening which were most seriously considered all involved a
union and sharing of resources with King's. Yet as all these necessarily
involved some alteration of the character of King's, they were refused by its administration.

In 1820 the provisional trustees (Lord Dalhousie, Chief Justice Blowers, Treasurer Wallace, Speaker Robie) wrote to Cambridge seeking an English Anglican professor/principal for the college. They preferred a clergymen, someone who could instruct in both classics and mathematics. Apparently nothing came of this. (The trustees curiously did not write Edinburgh, where they had earlier received generous advice on the plan of the college.) (Patterson 1887:11).

Sir James Kempt in 1823 initiated a series of discussions with regard to a possible union of Dalhousie and King's. Apparently the possibility of union influenced the earliest plans for Dalhousie College; it would have been only an academy but was enlarged with the possibility of union in mind (Patterson 1887:11). A committee with representatives from each college was named to study the issue. Their report favoured union.

It is also considered that several sacrifices will be necessary from both, but an ample return will be attained by putting an end at once to all rivalry; the tendency of which would inevitably be to keep both in poverty and insignificance, because it must be evident that one college will be ample for the literary wants of Nova Scotia, and perhaps of the adjoining provinces, for several centuries; and it is equally evident that it is scarcely possible to obtain the funds that are essential to the competent and liberal support of one college.

In their plan the united college would have had no religious tests for professors or students, but the president and fellows would have been Anglican, and the governors, patron and visitor, those of King's. Lord Dalhousie did not object to the residual signs of Anglican domination, so long as the college was open to all denominations. He wrote: 'By the proposal...I think my object is obtained as fully as could be
desired.' A majority of the King's College governors approved. (Patterson 1887:17-8; Hamilton 1970a:117-9).

Vice President Cochran and Chief Justice Blowers, however, were strongly opposed. The latter detailed his objections at some length. The Halifax location, he said, posed 'an insuperable objection.' Windsor was closer to New Brunswick, and, most important, it preserved knowledge from popular contamination.

This university is placed in a retired part of the Kingdom, where its professors, fellows, and students enjoy learned leisure with dignity, and pursue and perfect their studies undisturbed by a noisy populace — the hurry and bustle of trade — and the dissipation, extravagances, and bad example of the idle, etc...... It is to be feared that in the end classical education may be lost in the more showy and dazzling employment of experiments and amusing pursuits (Patterson 1887:19).

Blowers also objected that, if united with another college, King's would lose its Imperial friends and favour, and the loyalty of its alumni. The whole plan of union represented, he thought, 'present and acknowledged good...sacrificed for uncertain and future advantage' (Harvey 1939:29). Finally, enunciating a legalistic argument that would appear again, Blowers maintained that to dissolve the institution left in their care would be a breach of the governor's trust (Hind 1890:62-3).

Action was slow to be taken. Dalhousie wrote to Kempt, refuting the location argument by the example of students at Edinburgh, who formed a 'striking contrast to the gay, hunting, riding, driving, extravagant...young men at the English universities.' Kempt supported union but was apprehensive about Assembly support. Judge Croke wrote Lord Bathurst (from Oxfordshire) opposing union. Eventually the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Charles Manners Sutton, vetoed the union, and said the government should 'undertake the substantial repair of ye King's College at Windsor' (Hamilton 1970a:121-3). His objections closely
followed Blowers'. John Inglis succeeded in obtaining generous contributions, about L3000, in support of King's College, in England (Vroom 1941:64-5; Hind 1890:67-8). The union negotiations came to an end (Patterson 1887:19; Harvey 1938:30-2; Ross 1896:173). Dalhousie College sat stagnant. Its board did not meet from 1823 until 1828. Some of its vacant rooms were rented to a confectioner -- so that T.C. Haliburton could complain in the Assembly about 'the pastry cook's shop called Dalhousie College' (Harvey 1938:32; Patterson 1887:17).

In 1828 Michael Wallace began negotiations regarding the principalship of the college with Dr.J.S. Memes of Ayr Academy in Scotland. The plan was apparently to see Dalhousie opened under the auspices of the Church of Scotland. Negotiations began at a time when the Kirk was newly and vigorously active in Nova Scotia, and Memes' departure for Halifax was delayed for over a year, due to Wallace's insistence that he be ordained in the Kirk. An appointment was offered in March, 1830, but Memes did not send notice of his intention to depart until October 1831. He never arrived -- apparently because of the opening of another round of discussions concerning a union of King's and Dalhousie (Patterson 1887:21; Harvey 1938:36-7).

Dalhousie College's L5000 debt to the province came due, and the Assembly called for its collection in 1829. The board of governors met, resolved that they would attempt to raise the money, and let rooms in the college building to a classical academy and to a school of painting. Later the governors offered to pay the load off at L500 a year. Wallace, then acting as Governor, asked the Assembly not to demand the money, as the building was being used for educational purposes, its sale to raise funds would destroy Lord Dalhousie's plan, and,
...a gentleman eminently qualified to take charge of the institution has been for some time engaged, and is now waiting for orders to come out for that purpose.

In 1830 the Assembly voted another three-year extension of the loan (Patterson 1887:20; Harvey 1938:37).

The issue was studied in the Colonial Office, and in 1829 Sir George Murray, then Colonial Secretary, wrote to the Governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland. He urged that one college was sufficient for the needs of the province, that it would be efficient to concentrate the resources of King's and Dalhousie, and that the resulting united college, devoid of restrictions, would satisfy the Presbyterians. No action of record was taken in response (Harvey 1938:38; Patterson 1887:21-2).

In the meantime the Pictou Academy issue was becoming increasingly contentious. Its government grant had been withdrawn, there had been a general increase in dissenting political activity, and representatives of both the Presbyterian Seceders and the Council had presented their cases to the Colonial Secretary. Union was again and more urgently considered as a means of resolving the contentions of the day. In July 1831, Lord Goderich, then Colonial Secretary, wrote more forcefully to Maitland, advocating union (assuming Anglican domination and Charles Porter as principal). He expressed a hope that repayment of Dalhousie's loan would not be demanded. And he announced that the £1000 Imperial grant to King's College would end; it would have to be replaced by the province, and, he said, the Assembly would never agree to that unless the Council ended its opposition to Pictou Academy (Harvey 1938:38; Patterson 1887:22).
Both boards of governors met in January 1832, and resolved for union on the plan of 1823: an Anglican governing structure, but no religious restrictions on teachers or students. One man, however, dissented from these terms of union. Speaker of the House S.G.W. Archibald, a member of both boards, wrote that it should not be expected that the legislature would approve any religious restrictions whatsoever in the united college's charter. Governor Maitland directed the attention of the legislature to union. But its consideration was postponed to the next session, and then it did not arise -- presumably because legislative rejection of the proposal was foreseen (Patterson 1887:23).

Another dispatch from Goderich to Maitland was soon forthcoming, in August 1832. The King's College governors had in the meantime requested that the Imperial grant be continued. Goderich declined this, and served notice that the grant would be £1000 in 1833, £500 in 1834, and thereafter would end (Hind 1890:73-6). He furthermore rejected the terms of union proposed. Resources were not sufficient for the college at Windsor to be conducted as it had been, he wrote, and,

...as it must necessarily be dependant upon the liberality of the legislature, I think it is unfortunate that the governors have declared beforehand their intention of not agreeing to a union of Dalhousie College, except upon terms to which it is not probable that the assent of the legislature would be given.

He recommended that the constitution of the college be left to the legislature (Patterson 1887:23-4).

The new Nova Scotian Governor in 1833, Sir Colin Campbell, soon took up the side of the Anglican traditionalists. He wrote in 1835 to the new Colonial Secretary, Lord Glenelg, that in his view Dalhousie's funds should go to King's College, but that as the legislature would not sanction this he had not brought it before them (Pat-
Glenelg responded, in the same year, that the question was now the existence of any college in the province. He favoured union, and took a more pointed stand than any of his predecessors, proposing that the King's College governors should surrender their charter, and trust to the legislature to provide a popular constitution of knowledge (Patterson 1887:25; Hamilton 1970a:232). The King's board responded at length. Most significantly, they defined the limits of their willingness to negotiate, saying that King's was founded, and its endowments secured, for the benefit of the Church of England; to unite with another college without recognition of this would be a breach of the governors' trust. John Inglis conducted a private correspondence with Sir Colin Campbell, urging the special position of King's College as a Royal foundation. He wrote a pamphlet explaining that the Anglican connection of King's College made union unfeasible. (Patterson 1887:25-6; cf. Partridge 1898:267; Hamilton 1970a:230-6). The governors continued to take the line that they could not dissolve the institution they were appointed to maintain -- that is, could not agree to a union with Dalhousie which they did not dominate. The Archbishop supported them. The Legislative Council in 1836 negated a motion passed by the Assembly approving of union, and then wrote the Secretary of State to assure him that college union was not a subject of controversy in Nova Scotia, and that the matter had never been fully considered in Council or House until there was Imperial suggestion. In the Colonial Office the senior clerk wrote that the only alternative to union was to 'let King's College linger in its present useless but expensive state, a source of irritation to the contending parties in the province.' But Lord Glenelg had apparently been influenced by the Bishop and Archbishop. He wrote to Campbell in
1836: 'In any measure which may be taken on the subject of union, due regard must be had as to the rights His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury may possess as Patron of the college.' The affair faded away (Hind 1890:75-81; Hamilton 1970a:236-8).

For two decades nothing was done to see Dalhousie College opened to serve that four-fifths of the Nova Scotian population excluded from Windsor. Its board only made desultory attempts to secure staff that was Anglican (in 1820) or Kirk (in 1828). A union of Dalhousie with King's was considered (in 1823 and 1832) by members of the two boards and officials of the Colonial Office, to aid King's finances and the general efficiency of educational expenditures in the province, and to resolve the educational contentions of the time. But union was rejected by the Anglican traditionalists, including Archbishops with their powers of veto, as it would have involved some loss of King's distinct character as a college founded and controlled by, and of benefit to, the Church of England.

In the end the belated opening of Dalhousie College was not the work of its ex officio board; but was accomplished by a coalition of dissenting religious groups.

By the late 1830s the situation in Nova Scotia was ripe for change in higher education. There had been substantial educational interest among Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists and Roman Catholics. But no college which yet existed was open to those groups. A unified effort seemed possible. At the same time the solidity of reactionary power was diminished by defections to liberalism, and by the withdrawal
of Imperial support. It appeared, within this cluster of circumstances, that Dalhousie College might at last be opened.

The opposition of Council and Kirk had worn hard on Pictou Academy: isolating it from other dissenting groups, denying it state aid, and finally making its administration practically intractable. The academy's finances steadily worsened from the late 1820s. While the provincial grant was suspended, the academy relied upon such irregular sources of money as the gifts of local ladies' societies and 'friends of education.' About 1830, when the academy appeared in danger of collapse, fund-raising efforts were intensified, both locally and in Scotland, to which McCulloch returned for the second time (McCulloch n.d.:139-40, 157-8; Patterson 1877:352). William McCulloch's account consistently had local support be paltry. To George Patterson it appeared always generous. In either case, it was inadequate. The academy's debt accumulated to nearly £1000, and it proved far from able to achieve independence of government finance.

By the 1830s McCulloch relied for a livelihood upon the produce of land worked by his sons, and upon the uncertain payment of board by students. He wrote to James Mitchell:

How I am to get on there is no seeing, and it is not easy believing. But this world takes so many turns that the prostrate today may find tomorrow that he has not been forsaken. To keep myself up I have tried many trades, and must try another (McCulloch n.d.:160).

In 1830 and 1832 McCulloch delivered public lectures on chemistry at Pictou, Halifax, Charlottetown, Miramichi, and St. John. An extensive collection of local birds and insects had been built up for the academy museum over a period of years, by Thomas McCulloch and one of his sons. The collection was praised by numerous visitors, including J.J. Audobon,
who saw it in 1833. Valued at about £1000, the collection was shipped to England and sold in pieces in 1834 -- to secure funds for the academy's operation (McCulloch n.d.:145-9).

Financial troubles were compounded by the persistent wrangling among trustees that took place after the reconstitution of the board in 1832. McCulloch himself no longer attended board meetings. The Governor in 1833 appointed an investigator, Judge J.W. Sawyers, who found board meetings 'repeatedly rendered exceedingly disagreeable by ebullitions of rancor I was not prepared to expect.' He recommended rather vaguely that:

The prosperity of Pictou Academy can be ensured only be relieving it from present embarrassments and placing it under direction which will insure harmony and co-operation of the board of trustees and granting it such patronage as similar institutions in other countries obtain (Hamilton 1970a:227).

As this situation became known, there was a diminution of popular confidence, and young men were discouraged from entering the academy. The second teacher resigned. By the mid-1830s even the academy's friends saw it on the verge of collapse (McCulloch n.d.:149-57; Harvey 1938:40; Patterson 1887:347-8; Roald 1973:59n16).

By 1834 McCulloch was evidently concerned to explain the academy's failure. He wrote:

A few have certainly made great exertions in its behalf, but with the rest its existence or destruction is a matter of perfect indifference.... This indifference does not proceed from an idea of ill management on the part of the trustees or teachers. For the good order and proficiency of its students the academy has acquired a reputation which its worst enemies have not been able to destroy.

Rather these factors were said to account for the academy's troubles: some persons distant from Pictou or in other colonies could not appreciate that the academy was of concern to any other than Pictonians; certain
personal jealousies had been deflected onto the academy; it was always difficult to get the slavish inhabitants of colonies to make do for themselves; and not least, the general state of wealth in the colony allowed for few philanthropic gentlemen (McCulloch n.d. 150-3; 158).

In the midst of the academy's difficulties McCulloch himself was increasingly beaten down. The uncertainty of income was a continual aggravation. Two of his children died. Accusations of self-seeking were rumoured through the Synod; in a rare angry outburst McCulloch resigned from the ministry in 1835, proclaimed his innocence and long suffering, and challenged his detractors openly to state a case against him. He appears to me battered by years of conflict, casting about for some balance between honour and livelihood. In 1835 and 1836 he petitioned Lt.-Governor Campbell, saying that the academy was no longer workable, and that he wished some other means of subsistence from the education of youth (Harvey 1938:41-2; Hamilton 1970a:258).

The Baptists were faring much better with Horton Academy than the Presbyterians with Pictou, although the legislative grant Horton had begun to receive was rejected by the Council in 1835 (Saunders 1901: 244). The academy, however, was not enough. The need of a Baptist institution of higher education was ever more keenly felt. This need was focused primarily on ministerial education, which an 1838 resolution of the Nova Scotia Baptist Association portrayed as required by the general presence of learning in the society and for the intellectual refutation of doctrinal error. Its resolution was:

That we feel the circumstances of the times demand that the ministers of the Gospel should be better educated, possessed of more extensive acquirements, and of more
cultivated minds, than their predecessors; qualified to teach congregations of growing intelligence; to supply that quenchless thirst for knowledge which has been excited in all classes, as well as to meet the various forms under which error may present itself; and to repel the attacks which may be made, either by the rationalist or infidel (Clark 1948:250).

The Baptist Education Society was declaiming these educational needs in terms that seem a call to action, without yet setting forth what that action might be. Education in the province, they said, was in a singular state. Windsor College was 'too sectarian to allow dissenters, with any confidence, to seek its advantages for their sons,' and was in a state of depression. Pictou Academy, due to squabbles among Presbyterians, was 'hastening to decay.' Dalhousie College remained unopened.

There is at once a loud call and an open field for all who feel the importance of a liberal education, to engage in the important work of forming and animating an enlarged system of instruction such as the country urgently needs, and is sought in vain within its borders (quoted in Coldwell 1881: 63).

Horton Academy was raising the reputation of education among the Baptists, and graduating young men prepared to matriculate at college. But there was none available within the province's borders. It was feared that those students who wished to pursue studies beyond the academy level could not but go to the United states, whose greater opportunities for advancement would lure many permanently away (Saunders 1902:242).

The increasing assertiveness of local churches especially in the educational sphere, was met by a shift in British colonial policy which saw a concern for the domination of colonies replaced by a concern for the minimization of the colonial burden. For Anglican traditionalists in the colonies, the Imperial tie had certainly become problematic by the 1830s. Ideologically this shift appeared as the loss of concern
for the hegemony of British and Anglican principles. Those within the colonies attempting to maintain Church and college as instruments of Imperial domination were left ideologically and politically stranded. Parliamentary grants for religious and educational purposes, especially in the colonies, became controversial; eventually grants to the SPG and to colonial King's Colleges were cut. The Colonial Office even came to propose the surrender of King's College Windsor's charter, for the sake of political peace in Nova Scotia.

The first steps of political reform reconstituted the Council, the key decision-making point at which the negative power of Anglican hegemonists had blocked dissenting education. Among the several new members named to the Council in 1838 were Joseph Howe and J.W. Johnston. This move towards the vesting of political power locally satisfied one necessary condition for the founding of locally based colleges.

For almost two decades there had been at least occasional understanding of common educational and political interests among non-Anglicans. They were at the least united as 'dissenters' by virtue of their common difference from the Established Church. Both Pictou and Horton Academies could be attributed to 'holy zeal for democratic education' (Saunders 1902:202-3). Presupposing the existence of a common practical basis for Protestant education, the Presbyterian James McGregor once wrote of Pictou: 'If it go down, dissenters will force another into existence in twenty-five years' (McCulloch n.d.:175). Pictou Academy, as its intentions were enunciated in a fund-raising memorial written about 1828, was,

...calculated to diffuse the benefits of a liberal education among the great majority of the colonists, who it appears by
the restrictive statutes of the college at Windsor would otherwise be excluded from such a privilege (McCulloch n.d.:85-6).

Thomas McCulloch and Edward Manning conducted an extensive and friendly correspondence about Pictou Academy and possible Baptist attendance at it; and about various political topics, including incorporations for the representatives to that end (Saunders 1901:175-8; Longley 1939:13). In 1826 there had been formed the Nova Scotia Board of Dissenters — in fact a joint organization of Baptists and Presbyterian Seceders, as the apolitical scruples of the Methodists had held them back — to deal with political issues of common interest: the right of ministers to marry by license, the right of congregations to hold real estate, the sharing of government monies spent for religious purposes, and the opening up of Pictou trusteeships to all denominations (Saunders 1902:177; Farris 1965:29-30).

In these circumstances — with various denominations having unmet educational needs, and with a novel political openness — there was imagined a university that was provincial in nature, not dominated by any single religious denomination. The recoverable instances of such discussion were made by Baptists — ironically, since Baptists would later work relentlessly to establish and preserve their own denominational college. When the King's College governors replied in 1835 to Lord Glenelg's proposal that they surrender their charter, J.W. Johnston dissented from the majority. It was unjust, he said, to represent Dalhousie College as a failure, without knowing the causes of that failure. He also maintained:

...that the establishment of one university in the province on liberal principles, yet combining the instruction of students
designed for the ministry of the Church of England, in
divinity, is practicable; and that such an establishment
if placed in Halifax would command support and diffuse
benefits very extensively, and might be hoped to end those
jealousies under which the cause of education has suffered
so deeply in this province. (Patterson 1887:26).

Baptist interest also surfaced as E.A. Crawley, writing in the public
press, presented a more elaborate vision of a provincial university,
fed by a few publicly supported academies, devoid of the 'ungracious
sectarianism' of King's College.

The first thing which appears obviously necessary is the
formation of a just and practicable system. Let it be
understood that there shall be but one college or university,
established in such part of the province as shall afford
the greatest facilities to all the requirements of such an
institution, as lodging, instruction, health and morals.
In its constitution let there be no other test of admission
than a sufficient measure of academic preparation, and an
undertaking to submit to the necessary collegiate discipline.
To this university I would assign, of course, a proportional
share of such pecuniary assistance as the provincial treasury
can reasonably furnish.

There ought to be a combination of literary men in the
province to advance an object so truly desirable. I take
it for granted that all men of learning, all possessed of
true nobility of intellect are in the habit of recognizing
in the Republic of Letters a commanding interest which rises
in their view superior to all the petty causes of party.
With them there should be no short-sighted, grovelling hesitation;
but with uplifted hand and united voice they will be found
voting for the universal interests of science, notwithstanding
the earnest pleadings of zealous partisans. (Saunders 1902:
244-5).

To be sure, the impetus for educational endeavours was still
articulated within churches. But there was this novelty: a university
was to be formed under the immediate auspices of the state, not intend-
edly associated with or controlled by any particular denomination. That
university would respect standards and interests that were universal,
standing above partisan bickering. The particular differentiating
identities of dissenters were to be effaced in favour of their identical
relationships to the universal, science and the state.
There was an available channel for this interest in Dalhousie College. The college had not been entirely forgotten during its idle years. The legislature was occasionally concerned to see its loan repaid. An 1827 editorial in the *Acadian Recorder* had complained of the repeated disappointment of expectations 'for the instruction of our youth and the gratification of the votaries of the sciences and *belles lettres*. Lord Dalhousie's plan had been betrayed:

As to the utility of a college in Halifax no serious objections have been stated openly or candidly; nor do any seem to be entertained, except by those who are fearful of its interference with other institutions, and who in an indirect manner oppose its success.

The college's money, concluded the editorial, should be used or repaid (Harvey 1938:32-4).

The imminent demise of Pictou Academy provided the context of action for the opening of a provincial university. Friends of the academy were concerned to have Pictou's Principal McCulloch and some of its funds transferred to a resuscitated Dalhousie. McCulloch's own attitude to this possibility altered with political vicissitudes and the academy's decline, as is evident in his letters to James Mitchell in Glasgow. (McCulloch n.d.:158-9, 161, 170, 178-9). In 1835 he wrote:

If the doors of the academy be closed I cannot expect government to support me in idleness. It is, I know, the wish of some of my friends to force me into Dalhousie College, but to this, at the expense of the academy, I am utterly repugnant. When it was proposed to me several years ago I declared that I would consent to no plan which would compromise the interests of Presbyterianism....

McCulloch feared that the Bishop would yet turn the turbulent educational situation to Anglican advantage, and injustice to dissenters. But by 1836 dissenting success seemed inevitable, and McCulloch wrote that Pictou's doors would soon be closed and that he would be in Dalhousie:
It would be like tearing the flesh from my bones to leave Pictou, but where the legislature orders there I must go. God has brought me through fire and water.

McCulloch soon perceived the workings of Providence, that 'God by His dealings is showing me what I owe, not to a section of mankind, but to the human family.' By the time of his arrival in Halifax the full complexity of the divine plan was evident:

God has given me to possess the gate of my enemies, He has covered for me a table in their presence, and made even those who afflicted me come bending to me. Lord Dalhousie, who for the sake of his college, hated me, built it for me. Our Bishop, in the expectation, of making it his own, was, I believe, the principal means of preventing it from going into operation till I had need of it....

A bill to transfer McCulloch, and a part of Pictou's grant, to Dalhousie, was presented in the legislature in 1838. The agents in managing the bill in the legislature acted on behalf of the church-related proponents of education. The bill was supported by Secession Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists and some Roman Catholics. It passed the House by a vote of 26-17 -- the margin of victory surprising even its optimistic proponents. A letter from Thomas Dickson to McCulloch said that the bill would certainly have been lost in Council were it not for the recent reconstitution of that body. But the bill passed even there. Dalhousie was to be opened at last.

The college was to have professors from at least the two most educationally active dissenting denominations. Supporters of the bill had agreed upon the interdenominational character of the new college. There was perhaps talk of a board of governors that would represent all denominations -- at any rate a bill providing for that was introduced into the legislature, by Joseph Howe, within a year. Most significantly, to obtain crucial Baptist support for the bill, its proponents gave
assurances that E.A. Crawley would find a professorship in the institution of which Thomas McCulloch was president. Charles D. Archibald (member of the Assembly, son of Speaker S.G.W. Archibald, onetime Pictou student) wrote to McCulloch: 'It cannot be said that there was an express, but there certainly was an implied contract and coalition entered into with that party....' (quoted in Harvey 1938:23; McCulloch n.d.:177; Patterson 1887:30-1; excerpts from the letters of Dickson and Archibald are printed in Harvey 1938:42-6). McCulloch moved to Halifax. He and Crawley prepared opposed schema for the curriculum. John Pryor, Principal of Horton, submitted his resignation, convinced that there would be no Baptist College in Wolfville.

The opening of Dalhousie was the task of its old ex officio trustees. There remained only a 'rump board' composed of Lt.-Gov. Colin Campbell, Treasurer Michael Wallace, and Speaker S.G.W. Archibald. The Bishop attended no meetings after the King's-Dalhousie union discussions were broken off. Chief Justice Haliburton thought himself disqualified by his recent removal from Council.

Lord Dalhousie's plan for a college modelled after Edinburgh, the governors decided in August 1838 (Lord Dalhousie had died in March), implied a college dominated by the Church of Scotland. The college had three chairs. Thomas McCulloch (a Seceder, but this exception to the rule could not be avoided) was appointed to moral philosophy, logic and rhetoric. The other chairs were filled by Kirkmen: Alexander Romans in classical languages, and James McIntosh in mathematics and natural philosophy. The other two candidates, Thomas Twining and Edmund A. Crawley, were rejected (McCulloch n.d.:181; Harvey 1938:55-6; Patterson 1887:31-2; Hamilton 1970a:264).
It is easy to see in these appointments the designs of the old Anglican and Kirk cabal, to encapsulate and weaken the intendedly non-sectarian Dalhousie just as they had Pictou. They succeeded. This last effective use of reactionary power blocked the possible unification of forces behind a provincial university.

Responses to the announced appointments of Dalhousie College staff were prompt and mixed. The Kirk Synod predictably petitioned against McCulloch:

The turbulent tenor of his past life, his sectarian bitterness, his little success as a public teacher, his malignant hostility to the Church of Scotland, his personal enmity to Dalhousie—all prove this as an unwise appointment (Hamilton 1970a:258).

The legislature in 1839 called for information on the actions of the board, and heard both Crawley and Wallace. Howe introduced a bill to reconstitute the board, with 13 members from all denominations—but it did not come into force until 1842 (Harvey 1938:59; Longley 1939:33-4; Patterson 1887:36-7).

The most consequential response came from those whose activity had been mobilized in the formation of Dalhousie but whose interests were thwarted. Thus disordered, their activity could be informed in other ways. The moment for unified action had passed. It was the rejection of Baptist interests in Dalhousie College that upset the non-sectarian applecart. Several years later Howe said in the Assembly:

...the parties...who dismissed Mr. Crawley from the chair to which he had a claim, and who drove him into the country to arouse this feeling, had much to answer for. He would not tire abusing the party on that subject. They...had multiplied the difficulty in the way of a good system five hundred fold (quoted in Saunders 1902:251).

Crawley first visited John Pryor, Principal of Horton Academy, and suggested reviving the plan for a Baptist college. Together they travelled
to Nictaux and met Rev. I.E. Bill, who later described the meeting:

We spent a portion of the night in talking and praying over the matter; and, as the morning light dawned upon us, we resolved in the strength of Israel's God to go forward (Bill 1880:111).

Charles Tupper, 'the best trained intellectually among the young ministers of that day,' former principal of the Fredericton Academy, then pastor at Amherst, also joined the agitation for a Baptist college (Saunders 1902:247).

Crawley published a series of letters in the Novascotian, later reprinted in the Christian Messenger, recounting his rejection, condemning the grounds for it, and appealing to Baptists to form their own college (Saunders 1902:247-51; Harvey 1938:56-7; Bill 1880:111). He had called on the three active Dalhousie governors and found that Campbell and Wallace felt bound to connect the college exclusively with the Kirk, although Archibald opposed that. The appointment of McCulloch violated this principle but was a political necessity. There was no challenge to Crawley's qualifications, he had been assured by the governors that there was no bar to his appointment, the public notice that candidates would be considered for posts included no mention of religious restrictions -- but nevertheless Crawley had been rejected, on exclusively religious grounds. He complained:

Did the trustees invite dissenters to become candidates in order that they might suffer the indignity of rejection? .... I need not tell the Baptists of Nova Scotia that they are an outlawed people as regards Dalhousie College (quoted in Saunders 1902:248).

As for the Kirk, Crawley said, it had done the least of all denominations for education in Nova Scotia, and least deserved exclusive rights in an institution supported out of public funds. In indignant response to their mistreatment, Crawley wrote, Baptists might tend to their own educa-
tional affairs, not relying on allies who would spurn them or on ideals without force.

Rejected from Dalhousie College, other denominations will, of course, adopt such measures as seem to them wisest; it is to Horton Academy that I naturally turn in the hope of building there under the influence and liberality which have hitherto sustained it, a seminary which may by diligent exertion become efficient to most purposes of education. Their return is problematical and the threatened loss to the community in the abstraction of cultured talent not trivial (Longley 1939:30).

In light of the condition of Horton Academy, with a handsome edifice, a commodious boarding house, about 50 scholars, and a debt nearly liquidated, a college did not seem extravagant. It would represent the final consummation of Baptist educational aims.

I am not endeavouring to imbue you with a spirit of feverish excitement.... I have written simply as...an individual who, in his judgment, beholds you brought to an important crisis in your affairs. If you deem it so, you will act; you will of course permit no burst of excitement, and especially no sentiments of partiality towards an individual, to whom nothing you could do in the matter would be any personal favour, to hurry you into measures you might eventually consider yourself not warranted to attempt (quoted in Saunders 1902:251).

The Nova Scotia Baptist Educational Society resolved in 1838 to fulfill the design of the college, and provide a complete course of instruction. Its resolution enumerated the practical requisites of the operation of academy and college: a budget of £750 per annum, to support teachers; publication of a statement seeking the cooperation of friends of the Education Society; the collection of subscriptions and the appointment of a permanent agent (Rev. Bill) for that end; solicitation of an increase in the provincial grant; and a legislative act for incorporation of the college (Acadia Memorials 1881:243-5).

The college opened in January, 1839, with 20 students (more than either
Dalhousie or King's) and two professors, Crawley (philosophy, logic, rhetoric and mathematics) and Pryor (classics). A third professor, Isaac Chipman (mathematics and natural philosophy) was soon added (Longley 1939:38).

The first petition for a charter was rejected in the Assembly in 1839, 23-22, its liberal opponents still hopeful that one great college could be formed (Bill 1880:112). The bill reconstituting the Dalhousie board was passed in the same session. Another attempt was made the following year, not including a request for aid. Supported by numerous petitions and a memorial, it passed in the Assembly 27-15 and in the Council 8-3 (Saunders 1902:258; Bill 1880:113; Longley 1939:34-5). The whereas clauses of the bill stated that the college was already in successful operation, there had been L4000 collected in support of its aims, and (echoing the petition for incorporation):

The said collegiate institution is likely to be of public benefit by affording the means of education in the higher branches of classical and scientific literature to the youth of the country, on sound moral and religious principles, in a manner suited to their means and habits, and thereby avoiding the danger of their leaving the province to complete their education abroad, and so being induced to settle in foreign countries (Acadia Memorials 1881:251).

The college was originally called Queen's College; the Queen neither acquiesced in nor declined the honour of the name; the act was amended, at the Colonial Secretary's suggestion in 1841, changing the name of the college to Acadia. (The Colonial Secretaries' letters are in Longley 1939:151, 155.) In 1842 Acadia received its first government grant, completing its political establishment.

The question of Roman Catholic participation in Dalhousie College was raised and rejected. McCulloch said he would leave the
college as a Papist entered it. (Patterson 1887:34; McCulloch n.d.:182-7).
Roman Catholics secured the provisional incorporation of St. Mary's College, with a government grant of L300, in 1841; the act was made perpetual in 1852 (Shook 1971:58-61; Rimmington 1966a:329).

Thus within five years of Dalhousie's opening the Nova Scotian legislature had voted charters of incorporation for the Baptist Acadia College, the Catholic St. Mary's College; and had voted grants to these, to Methodist schools, and even to Pictou (Harvey 1938:58, 60; Patterson 1938:37-8).

Dalhousie College itself was doomed. Some of its governors would not have been distressed to see it fail. It operated with an unpopular single seven-month term. It had few students. McCulloch seemed exhausted and was often ill. William McCulloch wrote:

Whatever claim Dr. McCulloch had as an educationist, he soon found himself unequally yoked.... He had undertaken a task with the element of failure in its constitution (McCulloch n.d.:182).

The reconstituted board first met in 1842, and, attempting to reinvigorate the college, appointed a committee to report on its condition and draft new by-laws. An academic year of two terms was arranged. The chairs of classics and mathematics were merged so that a professor of modern languages could be hired to teach French, Spanish and Italian to students interested in commerce (Harvey 1938:61-2).

In the spring term of 1843 the college operated with two professors and 16 students. In August the modern languages teacher arrived and committed suicide. In September McCulloch died. After various staff resignations and replacements, and declining enrollments, the legislature did not renew Dalhousie's grant in 1845. The Board of Governors closed the college (Harvey 1938:63-5; Patterson 1887:46-8).
Thus the issuance of the promising educational situation of 1838, and of the actions of the coalition of dissenters to open Dalhousie, was not the intended provincial university but a rush of sectarian college-founding and the collapse of Dalhousie itself. The politics of higher education resumed the form of vying denominational interests, mediated by the state -- although in a new constellation.

King's College Windsor had no prominent part in those political events of the late 1830s and early 1840s which gave to Nova Scotian higher education the form of a network of denominational colleges. But those events rendered its own form of governance anachronistic, while it suffered educationally and financially.

In 1841, after the succession of college formations, Bishop John Inglis wrote Governor Campbell:

...this playing at universities is rather contemptible and although each has legislative endowment it will always be wasted by division into may small parts. One good result will I think arise, we shall be left at peace in Windsor and thank God we have still preserved the institution in that it is a fit place for the education of the sons of Churchmen (Hamilton 1970a:271).

But while 'left at peace' it was not flourishing. J.F.W. Johnston noted, in reporting his 1851 tour:

Before reaching Windsor we passed, at a short distance on our left, a Church of England college, also finely situated but said not to be so well frequented, or in so flourishing a condition, as its friends would desire (Johnston 1851:23).

King's College finances had become 'wretched' during the 1830s and 1840s, with the steady shrinkage of British support for the colonial Church and college. These financial losses were in the form in which the ideological and political changes in England were brought unavoidably home to the colonial Church.
The British Parliament ended the SPG's Parliamentary grant in 1834, affecting Maritime missionaries, and phased out its support of Bishops. (Moir 1966:130-1; Ervin 1967:154-7). King's College was hit hard by this loss of British income -- at least three-fourths of its total finances. In the mid-1830s its Parliamentary grant of £1000 was ended. British missionary societies also gradually ended their support. The most important of these was the SPG, whose support for school and college totalled £28,000 between 1809 and 1866 (Harris 1934:117-8). When the Parliamentary grant to the SPG was withdrawn, the SPG's divinity scholarships for King's were discontinued, though they were begun again in 1841 and not wholly broken off until 1886. But most seriously, the SPG's general grant of £550 a year, begun in 1826, was ended in 1846. The Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge divinity scholarships were also gradually reduced and then ended, between 1837 and 1848 (Hind 1890:79n1, 90, 87).

The governors in 1846 sent a memorial to the British government seeking further support, but received a denial and a recommendation that the college obtain,

...either from public sources, or from the liberality of private parties in the province, the necessary means for maintaining the college in active operation (Hind 1890:91).

'Public sources' were not the answer. In 1851 the section of the 1789 act permanently allotting £400 from out of the sugar duties to King's College was repealed, and King's was put on the same financial footing as other colleges with an annual £250. This continued until 1881. Deprived of Imperial support, the colonial Church, which had always known the dearth of local organization, was thrown back on its own resources. J.F.W. Johnston in 1851 found that Anglican reliance on
English finance still inhibited local support.

Being independent of the people in pecuniary matters, they have not cultivated them as the other sects have; and till they are disengaged from home dependence, and are thrown upon the liberality of their own people, will not compete on equal terms with the rival denominations. Clergymen, not being sustained by the people to whom they minister, have not that hold upon the affections of their congregations which the reciprocal bonds of giving and receiving begets among the other denominations (Johnston 1851:58, 184-5).

What in mid-eighteenth century had been seen to be the unique Anglican advantage -- their pecuniary independence of local bases -- was in mid-nineteenth century seen to be their downfall -- the absence of bonds of exchange. This complaint was long made by church officials.

As late as 1887 Bishop Medley of New Brunswick said in a sermon:

There still lingers in men's minds the old notion, of a Church paid by government, and founded by the state (quoted in Netten 1969:240; the lack of a local foundation for the Church is generally discussed in Netten 1969:238-43).

Yet as English support waned, there was movement towards local financing and self-government. Church societies, formed on English models and designed to provide finance, were begun in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in 1837, Prince Edward Island in 1840 (Carrington 1963:90-1). A distinct New Brunswick bishopric was petitioned for by New Brunswick clergymen, resentful of Halifax preeminence, as early as 1819, the bishopric was formed in 1845, with L20,000 from the SPG and pledges of local donations. John Medley was consecrated Bishop. The situation of the New Brunswick church measurably improved. When John Inglis died in 1850 there were 60 unconsecrated churches and 7000 persons awaiting confirmation. In 1879 Bishop Medley reported 73 clergymen, with every vacancy filled. (MacNutt 1965:160; MacNutt 1963:306-8; Ervin 1967:169-71; Carrington 1963:103-4). Local synods began meeting, in Nova Scotia in 1854, New

With these new forms of self-government came new ecclesiastical issues. Their English ideological concomitant was the Oxford Movement, developed from the 1830s, which insisted that the Church had its own authority, antecedent to government. This of course contradicted the Erastianism, and the ambition to solidify the political order with a foundational religious faith, which had informed the institution of Church and college in the Maritimes. The Oxford Movement also fostered a high church liturgical revival and met some resistance on that account. Bishops Medley and Binney were both influenced by the movement. Within the new synods there were also debates over the extent of lay control (Ervin 1967:157-60).

Parallel organizational changes occurred for the college, whose governance and finance passed from political to ecclesiastical locations. In its newly pluralistic political circumstances, the Board of Governors of King's College was an anachronism which proved less and less an effective administration for the exclusive college -- at least so H.Y. Hind told it. The ex officio appointment of board members brought religious divisions into it. By the 1840s it included three Presbyterians and a Baptist along with seven Anglicans. Especially in the years after 1838 the board showed flagging interest, meeting at most once or twice a year (Hind 1890:98, 101).

The cessation of the permanent grant in 1851 represented a severing of the penultimate exceptional linkage of King's College to the government. D.C. Harvey wrote:
This may be regarded as the date when the last vestige of Anglican monopoly in government, religion and education was removed and the democratic principle of a career open to talent firmly established (Harvey 1938:23).

Hind saw the significance of this event for the college itself, whose 'political relation to the government was now manifestly incongruous, and its friends began to cast about for means to sever this connection' (Hind 1890:95). King's College had become de facto just one denominational college among many, all competing for state resources and popular acceptance. The ideological aims of its founders had been practically repudiated. But the college still had an ex officio board, presupposing an intimate nexus to government that no longer existed. The college stood in need of new forms of linkage to the society.

That domestic finance which the British government had recommended did begin to appear, from private benefactors and from Church organizations -- e.g., L1000 from Dr. Samuel Wilson Warneford in 1838, L105 from the Nova Scotian Diocesan Church Society in 1849 (Hind 1890:87, 92). But it was the alumni who provided the focus of the college's reorganized administration and new finance. An alumni organization was formed in 1846 and incorporated the following year, with the right to acquire and manage property to an aggregate value of L10,000. By 1848 it had collected L2000 for college endowment. It was practically encouraged by an offer of L1000 from the SPCK, contingent upon the continued association of the college with the Church of England and upon the collection of that L2000 (Hind 1890:92, 94-5; Vroom 1941:69; Ross 1896:175).

The alumni resolved in 1852 to seek some mode of putting the college's management 'in the hands of those whose affections are engaged in its behalf, instead of...ex officio members, who may or may not be friends of the institution' (Hind 1890:99). The next year a new act.
of incorporation for King's College passed the legislature. It required the president to be Anglican, and named the Bishop as Visitor. Eight board members were to be elected by the alumni, and four men were named in the statute as life members to be replaced by election upon their deaths (Ross 1896:173-4).

King's College Windsor appeared to be successfully reestablished, as one of Nova Scotia's network of locally based denominational colleges.

Through all the proliferation of denominational colleges after 1838, there were steady advocates of the thwarted ideal of a single provincial university. These engaged in battle the then established denominational interests in education, and lost, in 1843. These then held their peace for 20 years before, still with difficulty, successfully forming Dalhousie into a university without formal denominational sponsorship.

Most of the animus of Nova Scotian dissenters against King's College Windsor was expended on behalf of efforts to form alternative dissenting institutions of higher learning. This was not the case, however, in New Brunswick, where the greatest activity of record aimed not at the articulation of popular educational needs and organizations -- at least until the late 1830s -- but at the criticism of particularistic Anglican institutions.

The absence of dissenting educational efforts may be partially accounted for by New Brunswick's less developed church organization. It remained subordinate to the older colony's ecclesiastical forms, or lagged behind in the development of its own. This held true for educa-
tional organization as well. Thus, for instance, Crawley's open letters of 1838 indicated an expectation that a Nova Scotian Baptist college would also animate the Baptist community in New Brunswick (Saunders 1901:251).

More fundamentally, however, the development of educational needs in New Brunswick, as well as the means for their articulation and capitalization, was retarded by the greater prevalence of the timber trade as organized by commercial capitalists, and the corresponding diminished presence of local entrepreneurial activity, especially agricultural.

Popular rejection of the Anglican Church and the failure of its hegemonistic ambitions became early apparent in New Brunswick, as they had in Nova Scotia. MacNutt wrote of 1819: 'Compared with the pretensions advanced for it in 1784, the Church of England in New Brunswick might at this time be likened to a crumbling fortress' (MacNutt 1963:171). When Bishop Stanser retired in 1825, Lt.-Governor Douglas reported 'a strong sensation' against the payment of part of Stanser's pension from provincial revenues. He saw more trouble than benefit to the Church in any effort to replace SPG funds with provincial lands or funds (MacNutt 1963:198-9). Douglas also convinced the Colonial Office in 1829 that, were subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles required of matriculants, the legislature would never grant funds to King's College (cf. supra).

When the college opened, Douglas even offered description of it in the rhetoric of inchoate utilitarianism, as designed not only 'to train men to virtuous and well-educated, accomplished manhood,' but also 'to meet the increasing demands of a rising, prosperous, and intellectual people' (quoted in Pacey 1950:60). But the college
was not widely perceived to meet the demands of the people. So long as it existed it was criticized, in the legislature and the press, for its exclusiveness, for costs disproportionate to benefits, for laxity of discipline, and for a curriculum ill-suited to provincial needs (cf. Raymond 1919:12).

A number of documents embody this criticism. A correspondent in New Brunswick wrote Thomas McCulloch that the King's College there deprived dissenters of their proper rights:

You are already aware that the Bishop has succeeded in providing that the college in Fredericton shall be subservient to the perpetuation of that system of injustice which robs a large part of the people of these provinces of those rights to which, by a faithful discharge of what they owe to the government, they are as justly entitled as any dignitary in the Kingdom... (quoted in McCulloch n.d.:156-7).

The form of strong opposition to aristocratic and Erastian ideas appeared in a letter to the editor of the Royal Gazette in 1830:

...there is more religion and loyalty...more absurd credulity and fanaticism; more base servility and crouching submission to power...that I ever saw in old England. Schools are supported too by grants of the public money where the children are taught the antiquated, obsolete, superstitious nonsense about fearing God and honoring the King, and submitting to governments, pastors and masters, and ordering oneself loyally and reverently to one's betters. There is a college also -- an university -- King's College, a Royal Foundation, to perpetuate these abuses among generations yet unborn (quoted in MacNaughton 1947:77-8).

The criticism was brash. Yet its very terms made it a flailing at entrenched evils. The author was leaving the province, on his way to Upper Canada. The editor printed the letter to show his tolerance and liberality and wished the man good riddance.

A series of anonymous letters appeared in the Courier in 1835, specifically attacking parasitism and the low standard of student life in King's College. It was charged that complacent and overpaid
professors received an easy living from the labours of the common people, without giving the practical education which the province required. Students were said to tipple, and to scribble 'indelicate allusions' on the building walls. Partisans of the Church of England denied it all (MacNutt 1963:248).

Foci for affirmative educational activity by dissenters did appear, with the Baptist Fredericton Academy in 1836 and the Methodist Mt. Allison Academy in 1843. There was oligarchical resistance to these, which drew the ire of those affected. The Council rejected grants to the Fredericton Academy from 1835 to 1839. The Christian Messenger editorialized, praising those who operated the academy and mincing no words in condemnation of its enemies:

In the face of a bigoted and illiberal opposition, persevered in year after year, in denying them a participation in those funds to which they themselves largely contribute, they still maintain the steadfast purpose of doing good at whatever cost of expense or disappointment (quoted in Saunders 1902:236).

Methodist leaders by this time maintained a publicly unobtrusive but privately assertive involvement in the various educational controversies of the 1840s. In 1843, L.A. Wilmot, an influential Fredericton Methodist, was appointed (the second Weslyan) to the Executive Council. In that same year the Mt. Allison Academy was chartered and funded (French 1962:205-6).

Even when grants were made to the Baptist and Methodist academies, Anglicans attacked them. King’s College -- still the only college in the province -- was counterattacked. By this time, after the political reforms around 1840, the attack moved into the Assembly. It was charged that the college, in which the refined Edwin Jacob taught 'dead languages;' had cost L47,000 in 16 years, and yet produced
few graduates. One Assemblyman claimed that 'a parcel of children or boys were dealt with as the young gentlemen at Oxford, that they might study or not as they pleased which was an absurd principle' (quoted in MacNutt 1963:305).

In 1845 Wilmot introduced a bill, passed in the Assembly by a large majority and in the Council with difficulty, which made some formal liberalizations of King's College Fredericton. The Lt.-Governor replaced the Bishop as Visitor. The President and professors were removed from the college council, which was opened to non-Anglicans. New appointees included two Methodists, Wilmot and Hill. Yet still the president was an Anglican clergyman. Although this bill annulled the Royal Charter, no objection was forthcoming from the Colonial Office (MacNutt 1963:306; French 1962:205-6; Hannay 1909:99-101; Hannay 1926:50-6, 133).

The familiar attacks on King's College Fredericton continued and gained legislative strength. MacNutt explains:

This institution had failed to achieve greater popularity following the reforms of 1845. The abstruse, traditionalist attitudes of Jacob, the principal, who drew two salaries and devoted much of the proceeds to his real estate at Cardigan, had not helped it. Even its stoutest defenders now had to admit that the courses should be liberalized and that the chair of theology must go (MacNutt 1963:349).

I would frame a slightly different argument: that the college was controlled by educational reactionaries, the legislature controlled by its enemies, and that it was saved at all only through the ploy of liberalization and the determined manoeuvering of reform-minded governors and other friends of higher education.

There was criticism of both annihilationist and reformist varieties. In 1847 a member of the council spoke of the absurdity that
the 'funds are sufficient to send all the students home to Oxford and educate them as gentleman-commoners' (Johnston 1851:186). In 1851 a St. John newspaper editorialized:

Cut the head off King's College, we mean the L1100 per annum taken from the pockets of all denominations that the sons of a particular denomination may graduate (Raymond 1919:22).

William Brydone Jack later remembered:

...an extreme party...who declared that nothing less would satisfy them than the complete subversion of the college. In terms not always either chaste or truthful they inveighed against the uselessness of the institution, and the heavy expense at which it was maintained, and triumphantly asked whether all attempts to improve it had not invariably ended in signal failure? (quoted in Raymond 1919:25).

There were also modernizers, chief among whom was Lt.-Gov. Head, whose view was that the college had been wanted by the first generation of settlers, especially the loyalists, but that circumstances had made it unsuited. Sir Charles Lyell, having just visited William Dawson and while staying with Edmund Head during an 1852 tour, made apparent the frustration of educational progressivists. He treated Nova Scotia and New Brunswick as a unit.

...all attempts to make progress in the higher education at the college has [Sic] failed, owing to the legislature having divided the money among a number of sects, each unable to pay qualified professors. Luckily, when this system began, the schools for the people had not been started, so they determined to profit by experience. One of the last endowed colleges, that of Fredericton, New Brunswick, is rendered useless and almost without scholars, owing to an old-fashioned Oxonian of Corpus Christi, Oxford, having been made head, and determining that lectures in Aristotle are all that the youth in a new colony ought to study, or other subjects on the strict plan which might get Honours at Oxford. I trust that Sir Edmund Head may succeed in his exertions to get something taught which the pupils can afford to spend their time in learning. At present they must go to the United States. (Lyell 1881:180-1).

Lt.-Governor Head himself in 1852 wrote a letter to the college council which was printed and publicly distributed. It was concerned with,
...how far the institution meets the wants of the country in a manner commensurate with its legal position and legal endowments.

Head urged the elimination of religious restrictions and the expansion of the curriculum into practical studies including natural science and medicine, although he did not on principle oppose 'the necessity of theological instruction as part of a thorough and complete education' (Kerr 1954:104).

The continuing and increasing controversy wore on the college. William Brydone-Jack, looking back on this period in 1870, said of the college's professors:

Harrassed by suspense and filled with anxiety for the future of their families, it is not to be wondered at if their ardor was not damped and their vigor and health so impaired that some of them became prematurely aged. The college, doubtless, suffered from this, as well as from the fact that most people were unwilling to send their sons to an institution whose existence could not be depended on for a single year (Raymond 1919:13).

The attacks in the Assembly grew increasingly strong, and seemed on the verge of closing the college down. The friends of higher education rallied to a reformation of the college into a non-sectarian university with definite popular and practical uses. There was some public Methodist assertion against a secular state organization of education. (The shift away from strict abstinence from political involvement followed from the greater control of the denomination by its local members, as well as from the fact that even in the Imperial view pluralist colonial politics was by mid-century legitimate.) But this was dealt with. And no other denomination yet had a college in the province. Far less resistance to university formation flared up in New Brunswick than in Nova Scotia.
In Prince Edward Island as in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick there was conflict between religious organizations over access to the state-controlled means of ideology. But the politics of higher education there took the form of a struggle between Protestants and Catholics. Protestant-Catholic educational battles were there most enduring and virulent. Liberal pluralism in higher education did not appear unavoidable, where there were but two sides, one with a slight advantage in political power.

The Charlottetown Academy generally received Protestant support. It is clear at least that there were no independent collegiate initiations by Protestant organizations, and no resistance of record to the state institution. The Academy was clearly regarded by Catholics as Protestant. Catholics sought, always unsuccessfully, to get from government what the Academy got. The struggles began in the 1830s.

St. Andrew's Academy received a charter in 1833, four years after the Charlottetown Academy. The charter included this stipulation:

No religious test was to be admitted, no interference was to be tolerated with the religious connections of the students and only the Catholic boys should be compelled to assist at the services of the Catholic Church (McKenna 1971:24).

In 1836, the year that the Charlottetown Academy opened, the Assembly voted a grant of £50 a year, supplementing the college's income from its farm and from private donations. Catholics said this sum was

...not at all equivalent to the amount of taxes wrung from Catholic sources, and applied to other denominational purposes by the selection of a Protestant minister for the teaching staff of the new Academy (McKenna 1971:24).

After the opening of an Island normal school in 1855, there was an upgrading of the Charlottetown Academy to collegiate status. In 1860, it became Prince of Wales College. The initiation of the normal
school and the colleges provided the occasion for a new round of controversies over religion in education. The same government which made the academy a college, for instruction in the higher branches, also made Bible reading compulsory in the public schools (a Protestant aim), and denied funding to St. Dunstan's because it was 'sectarian.' Conflicts arose then as Catholics fought back, fearing that they would be forced to support a government-sponsored but basically Protestant college, without benefit to themselves, and that their children would be taught inimical doctrines in the public schools.

Conflict was first focused on whether there should be commentary on Bible reading in the public schools, and was initiated by the announcement of the Inspector of Schools, John M. Stark, that 'illustrations and picturing out' would accompany Bible reading at the Normal School. Bishop Bernard MacDonald protested, in particular that 'nothing favorable or unfavorable to any denomination should be inculcated' (MacNutt in Bolger 1973:131). Protestant ministers agitated for the use of the Bible. The battle, editorial, legislative and electoral, was fought for several years. Stark quarreled with Premier George Coles and was dismissed. For this dismissal and for supporting the renewal of school legislation without compulsory Bible reading, the Liberal government was charged with Godlessness. After a Conservative victory in 1859, the formation of a government by Edward Palmer, and the subsequent passage of school legislation which included Bible reading, the question faded, although it continued to be fought in the press. (McKenna 1971:27-9; MacNutt in Bolger 1973:130-2).

Contemporary with the Bible question were renewed Catholic efforts to get government funding for St. Dunstan's. Protestant anta-
gonism to this proposal was likely heightened by the leading role that St. Dunstan's Rector Angus MacDonald played in both the Bible question and college funding efforts (Shook 1971:39). In 1858 the legislature first considered a petition for St. Dunstan's funding. Edward Palmer, who introduced it, did not support it, because

...however deserving of patronage, it would still be considered a sectarian institution, and would, besides giving cause for jealousy and ill-feeling, establish a dangerous precedent (McKenna 1971:33).

Joseph Pope agreed that sectarian endowments were unwise, but noted that Church of England schools received funding, and that St. Dunstan's did valuable work for the community. He proposed an annual grant for the purchase of apparatus (McKenna 1971:33). In 1860 an amendment was proposed to the Prince of Wales College bill granting £300 to St. Dunstan's, justified,

...whereas the Roman Catholic inhabitants of this Colony number nearly one half of its entire population, and who for several years now past; have from their own resources without any assistance from the treasury erected and established a college in the Royalty of Charlottetown, for the education of youth, which is now in full operation, and in which are taught the several courses and branches enumerated in this act, with the exception of the German language, and in which any of the said inhabitants desirous of giving their children education and instruction in the said superior courses and branches of education have every facility for so doing; and it is but just and reasonable that when the said Roman Catholic inhabitants will have to contribute nearly one-half of the endowment provided under the act as well as the other expenses attending the establishment of the Prince of Wales College, that the said Catholic college should have at least similar provision for the professors therein (McKenna 1971:32).

The amendment was defeated. The 1861 act incorporating the St. Dunstan's trustees was, however, successful (McKenna 1971:32-4).

The endowment issue received a further public airing in 1861-2 editorials and letters in the press concerning promises of a grant for
St. Dunstan's which Bishop Peter McIntyre claimed that Joseph Pope had made. Pope claimed that he had not committed his government, and that his plan for a grant was tied to college secularization. At any rate no grant was made (McKenna 1971:34-5). St. Dunstan's in fact would not receive a government grant for another century. It was apparently financed through local donations and Church funds. Educational finance continued as a political issue through the 1870s in the 'school question' -- whether private common schools should receive public finance (McKenna 1971:35-6; Shook 1971:42-3).

There was also, in 1861, discussion of whether St. Dunstan's graduates should be entitled to receive teaching certificates. The legislature denied this, the primary justification being that all teachers should be trained in the Stow system, in use at the Normal School. Not until 1957 was there teacher training at St. Dunstan's (McKenna 1971:39-41).

In retrospect, the colleges formed through the first half of the nineteenth century, and the earlier colleges reformed to adapt local communities to its new circumstances, were based in the increasingly substantial of the Maritimes. The economic spine of local development was a class of entrepreneurs in agriculture, crafts and trade. The educational needs that the colleges served were articulated by this class and these communities, or were aimed at their formulation. There was talk of education for the country population, for the middle classes.

It wasn't so much that entrepreneurs themselves were educated. A few were, and some academy education no doubt became increasingly common among them. But most of those educated were the sons of entre-
preneurs, and the sons of the ministers and lawyers among them, who aimed at careers in the professions and politics. Seen another way, the communities needed men formed for the various learned functions of the society. The colleges then educated them: future physicians, lawyers, and journalists and others fit for politics, ministers and teachers who would attend to the formation of intelligent and moral character, and even some businessmen.

The political movement for responsible government, based in this class and these communities, succeeded, around and after 1840, in dislodging the parasite colonial aristocracy from power. This clearing of the decks made possible the expansion of educational organization.

In all the Maritime provinces, issues of education and learning entered into the struggles between popular and oligarchical forces. The legalities of higher education -- charters and government grants -- made it inherently political. But in the different provinces there were distinct configurations of forces in educational politics itself, which made for different institutional outcomes.

The image and practice of higher education as an oligarchical monopoly, initially ambitious to support Imperial rule, had to be fought against. The elite would have gone on pursuing their exclusive learned leisure with dignity. But popular organizations worked to form an education open to the local population and needs of the provinces, emphasizing in principle the spirit of liberality, the entitlement of all to benefits from the government they supported, and the place of education as a foundation of the common prosperity. In this struggle they saw the oligarchy as bigoted sectarians, using vile strategies of weakening by dividing, obstruction and delay.
The struggle for a liberal openness in education was most clear and elaborate in Nova Scotia, involving Presbyterians and Baptists in particular. As the oligarchy was dislodged, it appeared that there might be formed one university, Dalhousie, on liberal principles, eliminating rivalries, enabling all the different churches with their limited resources an opportunity to satisfy their educational ambitions. But one last trick of the reactionaries rendered this university Presbyterian. Against this exclusiveness, others reacted, affording the means of education to the youth of the country and of the middle classes through a proliferation of denominational colleges. There seemed an established principle that all denominations were entitled to form colleges. To subsequent efforts to form a central university, the supporters of these colleges were a formidable opposition.

The economic, political and religious sectionalisms of the time, and the formation of colleges through church organizations themselves sectionally rooted, meant that there would be a strong bias towards pluralism in educational organization. Most of the anti-oligarchical battle was fought by Presbyterians and Baptists. After the oligarchical stranglehold on educational development was broken, subsequent denominational activity was eased; and most Methodist and Roman Catholic institutions were formed in these circumstances.

In New Brunswick, there were Baptist and Methodist academies but most popular and dissenting activity took the form of resistance to King's College. Eventually, transforming the Anglican college to a provincial university was the only means of saving the only higher education there was. This attacked no vested interests -- though it attracted few new ones -- and resistance was correspondingly slight.
In Prince Edward Island, smaller and poorer, Protestants generally came together in the Charlottetown Academy, and Catholics organizing seminaries had to struggle for equality of educational privilege and finance.
CHAPTER VI

BOURGEOIS COLLEGES

Let us now turn to consider the 'conduct of knowledge' -- the governance and finance of the colleges, the openness of recruitment, the curriculum and the ideology of knowledge and the psychology of learning that accompanied and justified it, the character and regulation of student life, the origins and habits of teachers -- within the institutions that served the rising local society.

The governance of colleges continued to be constituted through boards of governors, external to the body of teachers and learners. All the colleges were still formed under the auspices of churches and state. The nominally state-formed institutions, Dalhousie College and Charlottetown Academy, had histories still deeply intertwined with religious organizations. College charters still empowered boards to manage property, to hire presidents and teachers, to determine the course of study, to instruct, care for and govern students.
These boards of governors, however, were not external to the society of the Maritimes in the sense that those of the King's Colleges had been. Their members were drawn primarily from the elites not of Imperial but of local organization. The boards also, increasingly after 1850, came to include representatives of alumni organizations, formed to provide financial aid to the colleges and with that claiming participation in their governance.

Although it may have contributed in many ways to the pre-requisites of production, the sphere of a distinct knowledge was not directly productive in itself. (The exception to the rule was farming at St. Andrew's and at Acadia.) It had to be provided for from out of the surplus. The regular channels for the diversion of the surplus to educational purposes were provincial government grants, local collections (including those made through alumni associations), gifts of philanthropists, and investments of college endowments. The most remarkable local collections were made for Acadia College. From its inception it had a special agent to solicit public subscriptions. The construction of its buildings was achieved through a pooling of money, building materials, food, miscellaneous saleable items, and labour, by Baptists throughout Nova Scotia. But every college had some procedure for making collections from among the members of its sponsoring religious organization. Higher educational finance will be discussed at much greater length below.

As reaction and restriction characterized the original Anglican colleges, so liberalism and formal openness characterized the bourgeois colleges. All these made their non-denominational openness explicit, in the rules they enacted and in public statements. The original regu-
lations governing Pictou Academy were typical:

The design shall be...to provide the means of a liberal education for persons of every religious denomination who wish to improve their minds by literary studies (Hamilton 1970a:84).

Even the revised King's College Windsor statutes of 1854 were 'free from all illiberal or sectarian features' (Hind 1890:106).

Likewise denominational restrictions on teachers and officers became rare. Even at King's College Windsor after 1854, only the President was required to be Anglican. In fact, however, into the second half of the nineteenth century teachers were typically ministers -- of the denomination with which the college was associated.

The curriculum adopted by the new colleges was modified only by division and expansion. Thus when the governors of Dalhousie sought one professor in 1820, they wanted him prepared to teach classics and mathematics, the 'most essential branches' (Patterson 1887:11). The next elements added to this essential foundation were logic and rhetoric, branching into a more general study of moral philosophy, or into more specific studies such as history. Mathematics were supplemented by natural philosophy. Learning associated with the ministry was also ordinarily present, whether or not listed in the formal curriculum: Hebrew, divinity, metaphysics, branching into more specialized studies such as homiletics.

Thus there was the curriculum of Pictou Academy in 1829: Latin and Greek, logic and moral philosophy, mathematics and natural philosophy. Such a course offered, as Haliburton styled it, those 'literary and scientific acquirements useful in the learned professions' (Haliburton 1829:54-5). King's College Fredericton, opened in 1829,
had three professors, who taught classics, history and moral philosophy; logic, mathematics and Hebrew; and divinity and metaphysics (Pacey 1950: 60).

This basic curriculum was somewhat expanded and diversified by mid-century. As J.M. Cramp said in his inaugural address at Acadia in 1851:

The range of study is expanding every year, and the student who would avoid the reproach of ignorance must spend more time in making acquisitions for which his predecessors had no demand. (Longley 1939:66).

Logic and rhetoric, or, one might say, that study concerned with principles of conduct, diversified and came to have tinges of the explanatory and investigative, with additions such as mental philosophy, history and political economy. Areas of mathematics and natural philosophy were conceptualized more specifically, as algebra and calculus, mechanics and astronomy. Natural philosophy came also to be somewhat investigative, with collections made of local life forms. McCulloch thought that when Dalhousie began to have advanced students it would need a professor of geology, mineralogy, zoology, botany, etc.

This is requisite to render the college a scientific institution... To give it splendour and to give its students general intelligence it ought to contain every kind of natural production to be found in the province and also as much as possible from other quarters (Harvey 1938:51).

Modern languages -- French and Spanish in this period -- were also introduced, about 1840, at King's College Windsor, St. Mary's and Dalhousie (Vroom 1941:134; Harvey 1938:61-2).

We can consider the curriculum of Acadia in 1847, described in detail in the report of the Nova Scotia Baptist Education Society, as the outcome of this curricular enlargement. John Pryor taught Latin (Cicero's Orations, Virgil's Georgic, Livy's Roman History,
Tacitus' *Roman History*, Juvenal), Greek (Xenophon, Sophocles' *Oedipus, Antigone, Philoctetes, Euripedes' Alcestis, Medea*); archaeology of literature and art; history of ancient literature; Greek and Roman mythology; Greek and Roman antiquities. Isaac Chipman taught mathematics, algebra (Davies), geometry (Legendre), calculus (Bezout), natural philosophy, mechanics (Lardner), and astronomy (Gummers). E.A. Crawley taught logic (Whateley), mental philosophy (Abercrombie), moral science (Wayland), political economy (Wayland), rhetoric, *belles lettres* and elocution. French and Hebrew were also available (Acadia 1878:238-42).

The most innovative course of studies in the period was offered at St. Mary's college (at least so it appears from the curricular advertisement). Studies were arranged under four headings. The terms 'logic' and 'rhetoric' did not appear. Instead there was English, including reading, composition, writing, grammar, and elocution. The classics appeared within a general category of languages: Spanish, French, Italian, Latin, Greek, Hebrew. Natural philosophy was described in unusually great detail: arithmetic, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, mechanics, astronomy, hydrostatics, pneumatics, electricity, galvanism, bookkeeping, geography, history. Finally there was religion, including theology and Scriptures (Chard 1967; Rimmington 1966a:329).

In the process of dislodging knowledge from its preserve and thrusting it into the midst of what was called the epoch fast and labouring, there was much making of ideology about knowledge, much flinging back and forth of phrases about how the substance of knowledge fits into, is justified in terms of, the individual and the society.

According to a press account of the 1843 Dalhousie convocation, Thomas McCulloch there maintained:
...that the time had passed when men considered that rank and wealth entitled them to a monopoly of intelligence, and that it was sufficient for the lower to read their Bible, obey their superiors, and discharge the duties of their several avocations in life....

He also spoke of:

...the vast advantages and benefits which education was calculated to impart, and the high destiny to which man, through the cultivation and extension of the faculties of the mind, was capacitated to attain (Patterson 1887:40).

Here succinctly were the themes of the ideology of knowledge in the period of the local college formations. Knowledge was not limited to a supposedly superior class. It conferred benefits -- was of utility. In terms of individual psychology, it entailed a cultivation of the 'faculties.'

In the colleges of the time, implements of a rising bourgeoisie displacing a parasite colonial aristocracy, all the discourse about knowledge was permeated by a sense of liberalism. There was a broad liberal sense that human destiny was the free making of the human world (cf. Grant 1969). There was a specific liberal sense of equality of right. At times the rightful openness of knowledge to all was made explicit. It was often made so in the context of political debate.

In the same vein, consider that Isaac Chipman wrote J.W. Nutting:

One obstacle to the enlightening of this country has been that the informed portions of the community have assumed, or aimed to assume, a sort of awful distance from those whom they would style the rabble.

Chipman arranged for popular lectures to be given on agriculture, chemistry, geology, and the value of literature (Longley 1939:40). Information was rightfully not distant from the people.

The expressed aim of the curriculum in the earliest colleges had been the formation of the character of an elite. 'Character' --
permeating all the essential qualities of the person -- continued as an available description of educational benefits for some time. It appeared in quite disparate contexts. The traits said to have been encouraged in students at Pictou school about 1810 -- self-reliance, personal exertion, consciousness of latent power, self-respect -- could have been glossed as 'character' (McCulloch n.d.:45, 48). The term was also usable in quite different time and place, by the editor of the King's College Record, about 1890:

It is certain that the character of each student is formed, in a great measure, while he is at college. The students of an university, where the advantages and discipline of daily chapel services are enjoyed, are, as a rule, more likely to turn out better men, better citizens, more truly useful to their country, than those who have not had these advantages (Vroom 1941:132).

Throughout most of the nineteenth century, no scheme of learning denied the formation of Christian character as an essential aim. The moral regulation of student conduct continued unabated. There were, however, changes in the sense of 'character.' One feels that the definiteness of its signification was progressively diminished. Also the ambience of 'character' as semiological, as the evident demarcation of a would-be aristocracy, was less and less to be seen.

The predominant 'educational psychology' in this period introduced a new mode of description of the effects of education. The terms used were still dispositional, describing a certain readiness to perform. But they were less and less inclusive. They described not character but the mind. They described not the total nature of the person but properly intellectual dispositions, called capacities, powers, or faculties. The effect of education on them was described as improvement, enlargement, discipline. As earlier character was formed by the implantation of moral
and religious principles, so now intellect was formed by the implantation of a stock of information and scientific principles. This educational psychology located knowledge in the societal movement of production and growth.

For example: In the records of the graduates of Acadia College, included in its 1878 Memorials, 'mental power' was a consistent term of accolade, along with 'piety' and 'literary ability.' Likewise the Christian Messenger reported on that college's graduation ceremonies in 1867, and concluded from the orations delivered by four of its graduates:

The mental capacity, breadth of thought, striking illustration, and apt quotation, showed that the training received had not failed to call forth and strengthen the powers, with which they were severally endowed, and we shall be disappointed if they do not all take a position of influence and respectability at no distant day (Christian Messenger, June 1867, in Elliott 1966:41-2).

In one way of thinking, any curricular content would work to discipline the powers and develop the faculties of the mind. But in another and developing way of thinking, there needed be a curricular content discernibly suited to the uses to which those powers would be put. From out of such thinking, there arose an ambiguity in views of the classical curriculum, increasingly developing into a criticism of it.

The classical languages continued as staples of the curriculum even as modern languages and scientific subjects were accepted. In his 1819 lecture on liberal education, McCulloch defended this study against those who thought it unnecessary. He first claimed that the study of ancient languages enabled one to enter into the spirit of former ages, and to add their knowledge and experience to the present. Furthermore, he said, those languages did bear practically upon the performance of
the learned professions. Hebrew and Greek were important to those who elucidated the Scriptures. Latin, the most frequently studied and most frequently criticized, became, with the spread of Roman dominion, 

...the medium of social intercourse, and a necessary means for the acquisition of knowledge...for many centuries...the language of law, medicine, religion, and literature.

Even in the nineteenth century, 'its terms and modes of expression are so interwoven with the business of the learned professions' that it was still essential. Finally, Latin was defended as etymologically and grammatically important (McCulloch 1819:19-21).

Yet at the same time that the classics were maintained, an assault was also made on them. Thomas McCulloch's ready pen was active again. In 1818 he, as 'Investigator,' engaged in debate in the public press with William Cochran, as 'Pacificus.' McCulloch contended that classical literature was:

an essential ingredient in a good education, and the basis of that enlargement which the mind acquires in its subsequent studies. Still, there is a danger that it may be overrated, and cultivated to the neglect of other parts of learning which are really of much greater importance in the active employments of life (Harvey 1938:52).

McCulloch did not value the self-contained cultivation of character. He attacked the aristocratic appreciation of the classics as identified with an elite, hermetically sealed from the vicissitudes of the society. He favoured forms of learning suited to their circumstances.

For a long time, few cases will occur among us in which a critical knowledge of the learned languages will be of great importance; and none of those persons who receive a regular education have the prospect of spending their days in literary retirement. They must look forward to the discharge of duties, high and important to the interest of the community. Upon these duties, therefore, the system of education should be made to bear; and in order to this end, instead of enabling them to display their pedantry by interlarding Latin and Greek phrases with the chit chat of life, it would be more profitable
to give them an accurate acquaintance with the operations of their own minds, to teach them to classify their knowledge and communicate their sentiments, and to furnish them with those just views of the various social relations and duties, and that knowledge of mathematical and physical science, which would every day be useful to the community and honourable to themselves (Harvey 1938:52).

In brief, '...in the present state of this country, a well regulated education will be that which bears upon the active purposes of life' (Harvey 1938:54).

Twenty years later McCulloch found occasion to repeat this line of contention -- regarding the place of the classics in the Dalhousie of 1838. E.A. Crawley, anticipating appointment as professor, wrote a memorandum to C.D. Archibald, outlining a staff and curriculum. He proposed professorships of moral philosophy, logic and rhetoric; classical languages; mathematics; and natural and experimental philosophy. He added:

Classics would demand special attention. The neighbouring colleges of Windsor and Fredericton excel in these, and Dalhousie College, regarded as it probably will be in some sort as a rival institution, needs to be well sustained in order to bear in public estimation a favourable comparison (Harvey 1938:49).

McCulloch, less anxious to keep up with the competition, responded to these proposals in a lengthy memorandum of his own:

To Mr. Crawley's curriculum as necessary for obtaining a degree I have nothing to object. It is that which has been accounted necessary in European colleges, but upon his subordinate details I have something to remark. Presuming that he has appointed himself the professor of Greek and Latin, I think that by alluding to the eminence of Windsor and Fredericton in relation to these languages he is magnifying his office beyond its real value and farther than the state of society in Nova Scotia admits. That he who teaches these languages in Dalhousie College should know his business well, its respectability requires; but that boys should in Halifax or elsewhere spend six or seven years upon Latin and Greek and then four more in college partially occupied with the same languages is a waste of human life adapted neither to the circumstances
nor the prosperity of Nova Scotia. In the present state of this province all that is requisite is a professor who can give his pupils specimens of just translation and instil into them ideas of accuracy of interpretation. Afterward, if they choose to devote themselves to the study of languages, their college instruction will contribute to their success, but should they direct their attention to the real business of life, they will not have just cause to complain that they have spent their youth upon studies foreign to their success. If Dalhousie College acquires usefulness and eminence it will not be by an imitation of Oxford, but as an institution of science and practical intelligence (Harvey 1938:49-50).

Let us consider one more document presenting this criticism of the classics, a mid-century editorial from a New Brunswick newspaper:

To be intimately and critically acquainted with the writings of the philosophers, historians and poets of Greece and Rome is a luxury confined to the aspirations of the few — not a necessity for the many. The many of this fast and labouring epoch, look for knowledge that contributes to the wants, and will meet the exigencies of the passing hour. Mental life in a new country cannot afford the time required to detect the subtleties of the Areopagitica, or to elaborate the conceits of a Sappho, or wade through the nonsense of a fabulous mythology. The present is overloaded with the practical (Firth 1950:30).

An unregenerate defence of the classical curriculum was still possible. It was made by Edwin Jacob, after an 1851 motion in the New Brunswick legislature to transform King's College into an agricultural school. Jacob noted the charge that the college was unsuited to the country, and that useful instruction would have to be practical. But he offered a refutatio, that any attempt to change the college in this way would lead to 'miserable, disheartening, self-destructive disappointment.'

In a thinly populated and comparatively uncultivated country, no means which could be employed would have the effect of filling the college with agricultural, manufacturing, mechanical or commercial students.

Indeed, even the proposal was pernicious. The college was properly concerned with intellectual and moral culture. 'Our peculiar province
is to teach the principles and applications of Truth' (Raymond 1919:8).

The import of this was clear:

...we must not listen to the cry which calls us from the pursuit of the truth and virtue to the lower paths and grosser occupations of the multitude; we will not yield to the suggestions which would tempt us to pander to the unworthy passions, flatter the prejudices and vain conceits, or court the boisterous plaudits, of factions or the casual crowd. But we may, we must, we will, as far as it shall please God to grant us power and opportunity, exert our best endeavours to communicate knowledge intrinsically valuable, with the disposition to use it for the common benefit.... (Pacey 1950:61±2)

The common benefit received a bow, but intrinsic value held centre stage.

The social distinctions involved in these curricular disputes were roughly those of class situation: literary retirement, luxury and display, and the pursuit of truth and virtue, opposed to active employments, the real business of life, the grosser occupations; the style of an aristocracy opposed to the style of a rising bourgeoisie. Another and parallel distinction was also systematically made, between mere states of mind and knowledge related to action. McCulloch sought practical intelligence, attention directed to the real business of life, not pedantry, the interlarding of classical phrases with the chit chat of life. He wrote in 1818:

I believe the community will join me in affirming that to a lawyer or clergyman a sound judgment is more valuable than a sackful of words (Harvey 1938:53).

In like manner the editorialist in New Brunswick wanted mental life directed to the exigencies of the passing hour, not subtleties and conceits. (Edwin Jacob, who accepted the fundamental terms of this debate but valued its sides differently, set truth in a peculiar province, apart from the grosser occupations, from productive and commercial activity.)
The critique of the classical curriculum provided the terms under which the reform of knowledge was intended, as relevant to action, bearing upon the discharge of important social duties. Yet these terms remained for some time hollow. It was easier to blame the classics as unsuited to the state of society than to replace them. The phrases of utility — a just view of social relations, scientific knowledge useful to the community, practical intelligence — were hollow, at least in the sense that they had no definite curricular counterparts. They might have been given some content by discussions of contemporary politics, or by some school instruction in bookkeeping. But the rhetoric of a utilitarian higher education remained largely inchoate for several decades.

McCulloch made a somewhat more concrete conception of knowledge as utility when, in his lecture on liberal education, he portrayed all occupations as scholastically or scientifically based:

Every avocation in life...may be traced to general principles; and perfection requires that these be observed. Correct views upon this point have at length produced an extensive enlargement of the bounds of science, and a corresponding abridgement of human labour. Men of science, by investigating the principles which regulate art, have illustrated the influence of knowledge upon mechanical operations and communicated to the arts of life a degree of perfection of which they had not been previously conceived to be susceptible (McCulloch 1818:22-3).

By mid-century a fuller conception was possible, and could be amplified with scientific examples. Professor James McIntosh spoke at the 1843 Dalhousie convocation, and, according to a press account, took a summary view of the vast accession to human knowledge, comfort and wealth, which the cultivation of natural and experimental philosophy and the sciences based thereon had given to the world, alluding particularly to the practical results which had followed the application of such studies in the adaptation of steam to so many of the most important purposes of life.... (Patterson 1887:40).
Professor Jack of King's College Fredericton, writing in 1853, pulled together many of the themes of this developing discourse. He still saw classics and mathematics as 'the basis of all sound education, the most efficient instruments of intellectual training.' However,

The requirements of the age, and the inevitable law of progress seem to demand that classics and mathematics should not reign the solitary and unassailable despots they have hitherto been considered.

There was to be added science, he said, whose even purely theoretical investigations -- for example into polarized light -- had important practical applications. 'Theoretical science is in fact the basis of all progress. It is the life-blood of progress, the fire which generates the steam!' (Raymond 1919:20,22).

Here there were developments in the lexicon and syntax of knowledge as utility. Throughout the early nineteenth century there had been expressed an abstract, mostly contentless, utility of the mind. But the weight of curricular tradition had stood. It had not yet collided with an alternative lexicon and object of reference for the discourse of knowledge which was only developing. Here, however, there were both the language and the scientific examples of a knowledge which had applications and which yielded practical results.

The terms 'learning' and 'knowledge' had been used to describe a unified mental realm. Here the modern distinction began to be made between learning, which is literary, and knowledge, which is empirical; between learning, which is an expression of humanity, and knowledge, which is a tool of humanity.

The practice of a close and thorough discipline of student life continued in the colleges of the mid-nineteenth century. McCulloch
articulated its rationale:

A variety of circumstances combine to abstract attention from improvement to pleasure, and thus, to impede the enlargement of the intellectual faculties and deprave the heart.

The dangers of distraction by pleasure-seeking, he said, needed to be checked by the wisdom of age (McCulloch 1818:4). The freedom in liberal education was clearly not a matter of personal choice.

Discipline, aimed at forming both piety and morality, existed in all the colleges, even those not run by religious denominations.

The first of the statutes enacted by Dalhousie's new board of governors in 1842 was emphatic on this point:

This college shall be conducted upon the principle that it is quite possible to establish and manage an institution on a footing of entire liberality on the point of religion, and at the same time to cultivate in the minds of the students sentiments of piety and virtue.... It will be the duty of the professors to carry this leading principle into practice, by avoiding any attempt to bias the students in favour of any particular denomination, while at the same time they shall carefully watch over their moral conduct and general deportment. (Patterson 1887:38-9).

The most thoroughgoing discipline was practiced in conjunction with college residences. Residences were traditionally regarded as the necessary organizational means of student discipline. By grouping students in a single observable location, and by housing teachers near enough that they could do the watching, residences made possible a regulation verging on the monastic. They also of course created gangs of young men, and after mid-century came to have their critics. William Dawson once wrote:

From my own observation of its effects, I cannot doubt that college residence is, even under the most favourable circumstances, more dangerous to the health, manners and morals of the students, than to reside in respectable private homes (Wallace 1921:5).
In the 1828 prospectus of the Nova Scotian Baptist academy, there was proposed a regimen 'of the most strict and simple economy,' with 'no distinctions among the scholars and students, arising from wealth or external circumstances.' Diet and dress 'of the plainest kind' were 'to be conformed to without exception.' There was to be a farm to produce both food and healthful labour and habits of industry (Bill 1880:68). The regulation of student life at Acadia College in the late 1850s was still quite thorough. Students awoke at 6 a.m., presented themselves to a monitor for prayers and breakfast. Classes ran until 4 p.m., with one hour off at noon. There were more prayers, and evenings were usually devoted to study (Longley 1939:74).

At King's College Fredericton there were prayers at 7 a.m. and 10 p.m.; meals, at which the President always read a chapter from the Bible, at 8, 2, and 6. Students and professors alike wore gowns at lectures, chapel, and Sunday services. Punishment for lax attendance at any of these was the writing of a number of lines of Greek text, usually 200 to 1000. The porter locked the doors at 10 p.m.; no student could be out later without the President's permission, rarely granted more than once a week. For violations of rules students could be admonished, confined to grounds, fined, suspended or expelled (Raymond 1919:29). King's College Windsor after 1854 had a faculty board of discipline, chaired by the President, and presumably much of the same paraphernalia of rules (Hind 1890:105). There is slight documentary evidence of rebellion against this collegiate discipline. Troubles of the sort earlier described did continue at King's College Windsor. There were some signs of rebelliousness in the early Dalhousie, and some indications that city boys came more for amusement than study (Patterson 1887:34).
An increased emphasis on utility and local responsiveness did make for more flexible possibilities of attendance -- at one or more courses of lectures, at King's College Windsor (Hind 1890:107), and during the leisure seasons of the year and in the particular branches of study immediately required, at Acadia (Bill 1880:67).

Means of several kinds were found to deepen and perpetuate bonds among students, teachers and alumni. Student organizations first appeared in the local colleges of this period. These were initially oriented towards intellectual activities conducted by students themselves. The early Dalhousie had a debating society (Patterson 1887:34-5). At Acadia a Lycaeum Society was formed in 1854, but a conflict between students regarding the choice of speakers brought about its dissolution. In 1860 an Athenaeum Society was formed, which later prepared a magazine (Longley 1939:75).

The sentimental bond between the college and the student (or ex-student) continued to be cultivated in ceremony, song, and ritual objects. F.W. Vroom's personal reminiscences of King's College Windsor were of singing and gowns; he saw the chapel outfitted with communion plate and stained glass (Vroom 1941:116-21, 127-32). At the more popular Acadia, the bond was even described as maternal. The choir at Acadia's Jubilee in 1888 sang an ode, opening:

O mother of our manhood days
Proud sons of thine are we,
As here, from all our scattered ways,
We keep thy Jubilee. (Saunders 1902:449).

There were continuing signs that the relationship between teachers and students could be personal, affectionate and paternal. James Somerville, head of the College of New Brunswick, and professor in King's College
Fredericton, was given an oil portrait in 1838 by 17 of his former pupils, including men then prominent in New Brunswick politics,

...as a sincere tribute of affection and gratitude from those who delight to remember the many and continued acts of paternal kindness evinced towards them in their youth, and as a memorial of their sincere respect and esteem for [his] character as a gentleman, a scholar, and a divine. (Pacey 1950:59).

A press account of the 1843 Dalhousie convocation said that Thomas McCulloch endeavoured to act as a father as well as teacher to the pupils committed to his care (Patterson 1887:41). Signs of affection were most marked towards E.A. Crawley, 50 years after his efforts to form Acadia, at its Jubilee.

The crowded audience rose and burst into tumultuous applause when the venerable Dr. Crawley entered the room, leaning on the arm of his son. The handkerchiefs of women, the shouts of students and men of all classes, expressed the feeling of all present toward the founder of the college.... There was not an unmoved person in that audience (Saunders 1902:450).

College teachers were still men 'to whose moral and religious character special regard' was paid -- as the Horton Academy prospectus said it (Bill 1880:68). They were, however, not required to be clergy-men, by the new or revised statutes of the mid-century period, and increasing numbers were not. Teachers were still ordinarily described as imparting lessons of morality and character, but those lessons could be described in a novel secular and energetic tone. Consider thus the eulogy for J.M. Cramp delivered by his student, later Superintendent of Education in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, Theodore H. Rand.

His classroom 'was no cloister dim.' He enlivened history with contemporary politics, and 'trained his students to share, in thought and feeling, the struggle of the men of this age the world over in establishing or defending the principles of political or religious liberty.' His
presentation of scientific knowledge emphasized 'the vastness of the
domains awaiting exploration.' He was a constant example of orderly
labour and intellectual conscientiousness.

In the same forceful way he was ever giving emphasis to promptness and despatch, and reading out to his students in cheerful and earnest tones the practical truths that they must be self-instructors; that they must not only be good, but good for something; that the battle of life is not fought by proxy; that nothing has been done by man that cannot be better done; that everyone should be occupied, and die with the consciousness that he had done his best (Saunders 1902:372).

Teachers of favourable renown could do much for a college's success -- as was apparently the case at St. Mary's, whose four teachers were secured through the Archbishop of Dublin. A student at Dalhousie in the 1840s wrote:

Just at that time St. Mary's College received as its teachers two highly popular priests -- Fathers O'Brien and Deas, and their classes were opened with great eclat. In Halifax, Protestant parents, finding Dalhousie closed during the summer, sent their sons to its Catholic neighbour, sometimes after they had attended the former during the winter (Patterson 1887:34). The brilliant and dynamic Father O'Brien animated the college from 1839 until his departure in 1845, when it declined sharply (Rimmington 1966a:329).

Teachers were more often of non-British background, and, especially in Nova Scotia, some were even raised and educated locally. E.A. Crawley, the son of a retired sea captain who lived the life of a cultured gentleman at Sydney, graduated from King's College Windsor in 1820, and later studied at the Newton Theological Seminary in Maine (Eaton 1890:352). He was joined at Acadia by Isaac Chipman, son of a Nova Scotia minister, who chose teaching as the career which would tax his powers to the utmost and be of greatest service to others. He studied at Waterville College (now Colby College) in Maine (Longley 1939:39-40).
Even the President of King's College Windsor after 1836, Rev. George McCawley, was a Maritimer. He graduated from King's College Windsor in 1821, and taught mathematics and Hebrew at King's College Fredericton before returning to his alma mater (Vroom 1941:65-6, 96). There were teachers of Continental and non-ecclesiastical origins. Two such teachers were men of distinguished backgrounds, the vagaries of whose careers were well served by havens in the British colonies. In 1842 Louis Mariotti arrived to teach briefly at King's College Windsor. He had been a professor of Greek at the University of Parma, and was exiled from Italy for his conspiritorial political activity. He visited America, and contacted the literary circle around Harvard -- Longfellow, Holmes, Emerson -- but could find no employment, and so went to England, where he was for a time private secretary to Bulwer Lytton (Vroom 1941:66-8). Joseph Marshal d'Avray was at mid-century one of the most prominent figures in New Brunswick education. His father had assisted Jenner in the discovery of vaccination and helped spread it through Europe, then abandoned medicine for post-Napoleonic politics, and for his participation received the title of Baron. Joseph attended the normal school at Battersea, did some college teaching and some school inspection in Mauritius, and, apparently hard pressed for employment, came to New Brunswick to open the Normal School in 1847. In 1848 he also became professor of modern languages at King's College Fredericton. He was also later (1853-8) Superintendent of Education (Raymond 1919:37-8; MacNaughton 1947:122-3).

Several teachers in this period engaged in scientific as well as purely literary pursuits. Thomas McCulloch was an active collector of flora and fauna. Likewise was Isaac Chipman, whose room at
Acadia was filled with maps and historical documents, and specimens of animals, plants and minerals. He died doing science. Along with four students and a Baptist minister, he was drowned in the Minas Basin in 1852, after a geological expedition (Longley 1939:39-40, 69). James Robb was born in Scotland, was educated at Edinburgh, then the centre of academic science in the British Isles, travelled on the Continent for two years, and came to King's College Fredericton in 1837 to fill the new chair of chemistry and natural history. He established a chemical laboratory and geological museum, made a collection of New Brunswick flora, wrote on the geological and agricultural capabilities of the province and in 1850 became president of the provincial agricultural improvement society. He wrote occasional communications to learned societies, and was a friend or correspondent to Silliman of Yale, the microscopist J.W. Bailey of West Point, William Thomson (Lord Kelvin) and William Dawson (Raymond 1919:35-7; Toole 1950:70).

Although it does not say all that might be said about higher education in the mid-nineteenth century, it is fair to consider the practices of knowledge described here as belonging to bourgeois colleges. They were governed by boards drawn from the leaders of communities and churches grounded in petit bourgeois capital. They were financed by state revenues and by a multitude of small donations -- as they served a class which had just come into state power and which was constituted by a multitude of small capital holdings. In their declarations of purpose and in the regulations they applied to students and teachers, they were liberally open. Their method of teaching by an attentive working-over of texts, and their thoroughgoing discipline of all parts of the lives of students could only work to the advantage of
an erect and purposeful bourgeois mentality. At least some teachers were earnest advocates of conscientious worldly action. In residence, club, song and reunion the colleges formed close ties among the elite members of the economic and ecclesiastical sections of the provinces which they served.

One can make contradictory statements about the substance of study in the period. The traditional curriculum continued dominant, enlarged only by the unfolding of existing studies. Though there was much ideologizing of knowledge as possessed of utility, and of its lodging in individuals as an enlargement of their powers, one could easily be cynical about the real substance of any such claims. But also, in the criticism of the classics, there was the start of a displacement, bitterly fought, of an education which partook merely of the savouriness -- or even the strict parsing -- of human experience. There was a definite commercial utility to modern languages. With the natural sciences and political economy, there were the initial forms of a knowledge itself made up as a productive endeavour, beginning not merely to dwell in texts but to examine nature and social relations at first hand. Productive, expansive and self-transforming, these forms of knowledge would, in time, come to pose efficiency and fuller links to society as organizational exigencies.
CONCLUSION

In concluding, I want to highlight the chief discoveries made in this work, concerning the uses of knowledge and especially of higher education in making up the modes of ruling of the Maritime provinces from their first settlement to the mid-nineteenth century; and also to sketch the main lineaments of the subsequent nineteenth-century development of these provinces, their ruling and their higher education.

We began with real individuals, with the production which met their needs and the social relations created by the domination of that production. The Maritime provinces began the period considered here under British Imperial rule. In British perspective, the colonies were of use in political and military strategy, and they served the mercantile activity of the empire. The early movements of population
into the region, and the forms of domination that made for them, were
given by the structure of the empire. The migrations of New England
settlers and then of Loyalists were integral with strategies of defence
and consequences of war. Economic predominance was held by mercantile
capital: in military supply; in the extraction of staples, especially
timber and fish, for British and other colonial markets; and in the
Atlantic triangular trade. Parts of the population not tied into
defence and commerce made up scattered areas of near-subsistence agri-
culture. The political government of the colonies was conducted
through an oligarchy which lived off Imperial rule, its offices and
their perquisites and the land grants made through it.

This pattern of production and rule was gradually and unevenly
transformed, as the small farming, crafts and trade of an indigenous
petit bourgeoisie were developed. These provided locally centred
forms of social organization, and not only in production and trade.
Indigenous forms of voluntary community organization were also developed.
And there was -- within a political constitution which allowed freedom
of worship and at least the forms of political representation -- a
movement for local control of the state. This political struggle
was first marked in the period of initial settlement, when the
distribution of political authority and power was yet uncertain; there
were transient leaders of dissent, and ill-formed parties of opposition;
but the struggle was calmed by a mixture of concession and repression
by the oligarchy. Political struggle became stronger again in the
1820s and 1830s, as part of the building up of local organizations of
social relations, in securing for them the legitimation and finance
of the state, and the perquisites of state operation. Eventually -- coincident with a movement of Imperial policy away from direct management of the colonies -- there was demand for and winning of government in which executives were responsible to elected legislatures.

Learned practices (literate, rhetorical, numerical, moral), and the practices of learning itself, contributed actively to the formation of these distinctive modes of social organization and domination. I want first to discuss ideology, that generalized discourse about the society, arising within it as part of its operations, centrally concerned with the meaning and justification of rightfully exercised command. Ideology was the product of certain men of knowledge, principle and place, interconnected with one another as individuals and as members of churches, professions, schools and media of communication, all of which are articulated as activities of ruling and definition, and which we may call the ideological apparatus.

Some ideas are constitutive of ruling. They are elaborated and presented by ideologists to others whose lives, through their minds, they would control; or as definition of the rightfulness of the control that is exercised. Making ideology is itself an exercise or a definition of authority, of rights to command and to assert. We have seen two main forms. The first was articulated primarily by Anglican ministers and lawyers, on behalf of oligarchical rule. The oligarchy was shown rightfully to have the powers of an established order, including those of definitive political and religious speech. Others were to fear and honour those powers, which were considered as extensions of the powers of God and the King. In the interpretation of politics and religion and everyday conduct, Imperial
spokesmen joined together orthodoxy, loyalty and respect for learning; and dissent, disloyalty and ignorance. Those outside the ruling and learned order, who spoke as if they had authority, were -- taken to be -- subversive.

These Erastian ideas came unavoidably to clash with the actual circumstances of the colonies, in which there were expanding opportunities for small producers and at least some measure of political liberty. In the circumstances, Erastian ideas were reactionary. It was difficult, even in ideals, to treat intelligence as something the masses ought to fear and honour, when in fact production rested more and more with a multitude of small producers, among whom the intelligence of craft as well as of personal discipline was in practice dispersed, and when in fact the religious practice of many country people was genuinely populist. The ideologists of the rising petit bourgeois society -- again ministers, lawyers and professors, but joined by journalists and satirists and writers of emigrants' manuals -- articulated the principles of liberalism. They called for a principled religious pluralism, equality of access to the goods of the society, and freely available learning as the means to self-advancement and to social and political influence. Domination then was the outcome of contests, not an order given by tradition and divine sanction. So those excluded from power -- now that the means to it were open -- could be said clearly to lack some talent or industry.

Among the formative intentions of ideology were pervasive modes of consciousness which served the society's total organization. These penetrated into all the reaches of social awareness and experience.
In the ideology of the oligarchy, there were those for whom goodness was deference and a certain muteness of the mind. We've most closely examined such intentions, of course, with regard to the formation of the upright consciousness of the petit bourgeois. Working in isolation, he needed to have a self-discipline; yet working in a capitalist market, he needed to be constantly alert to advantage. Moralists came to label and condemn waywardness from the individual discipline required by the social relations of the market -- indolence, indulgence, succumbing to the meretricious temptations of easy wealth, and the rest. They worked for that general ordering of conduct that is now familiar to us, thanks to Weber, as one of the elements of a nascent entrepreneurial capitalism, predictably connected with religious practice. Indeed the freely eruptive and emotionally overwhelming forms of worship of the populist enthusiastic sects also came to be treated as a kind of waywardness from right religion, which was knowledgeable and articulate. What was not expressible, experience beyond names, became eligible for ridicule or for treatment as craziness. Economic diligence paralleled religious rectitude. The farmer's diligence was to remain erect under the summer burden of the timber he would carve into axe-handles on winter evenings, not succumbing to ease. The worshipper's rectitude was to honour God by holding up the forms of doctrine, not falling prone in any momentary ecstasy, amazement or submission.

Now this study has aimed specifically to deal with higher education, not merely with these general matters of ideology. Ideologies, explicitly about ruling and right, are clearly not immanent but materially grounded, making up ruling. But organizations in which
knowledge is pursued as a distinct endeavour, and is quite self-
consciously determined by tradition, may present knowledge as appa-
rently hermetic, and make its place in ruling certainly not self-
evident. But in their actual activities the colleges and universi-
ties participated directly in the forming of ruling classes and their
activities of domination.

Higher education prepared many of those whose knowledgea-
bility constituted the procedures of ruling. They trained most of
those active in the ideological apparatus. They provided the general,
and increasingly the vocational, education of learned professionals,
whose work lay in the management of peoples' lives at their boundaries
and their defining events, birth, marriage, violation of the esta-
bled order, contractual relations, spiritual crisis and moral
decision, sickness and death. Higher education too contributed to
form intellectual powers as means of administration, used in the state:
legal argumentation, oratorical expression, organizational invention,
and financial management. It is just because colleges and universi-
ties contributed to form intellectual powers as ruling powers that
they were so central in the political struggles in which transfor-
mations of the society's domination were fought out.

Learning itself -- we have seen it most clearly in religion
and politics -- contributed to draw the boundary of authority, sepa-
rating those who spoke within ruling discourse, while others were
silent or instructed. Throughout the entire transformation from oli-
garchical to responsible to executive government, those from whom
power was being withheld, and those locals from whom it was being ex-
propriated, were tagged by their opponents with epithets of unculti-
vation or even bestiality. The reforming opponents of the oligarchs were called dirty, butchers, ignorant. Centralizers within responsible government saw the local representatives who held them back as confined, corrupt, gross, unprincipled. Economic moralizers made lists in which ignorance of manures sat next to feebleness of mind and will. Churchmen saw enthusiasts as pitifully foolish or diabolically savage, and always as uninstructed. In the same vein, new groups entering power developed forms of learning, not only as means but also as marks of power. When the Loyalists came to Nova Scotia as its intending lords, they had schemes of ecclesiastical and educational establishment. As the petit bourgeoisie came to dominance they (some of them) went to college, and they built up the knowledgeable ecclesiastical forms of 'church' organization.

As learning demarcated the authoritative from the ignorant, so, in its lodging in individuals, it made up forms of character and a sense of assurance. For the would-be aristocratic man, knowledge was the means of formation and elegant expression of a total character. In one aspect this was high-mindedness, benign influence, perhaps even sublimity. In another it was a conventional body of arcane knowledge which semantically demarcated an elite. In the emerging bourgeois forms, knowledge was held honourific as it enabled service to the community and increases in its well-being. Knowledge was often described as creating utility and power in the individual. It still marked off and made up the character of an elite, but one whose positions were more and more open to youth, with the wherewithal, from the communities.
So higher education helped form the means and marks of ruling. It also, by its selection of students and by the forming of relationships among them, contributed to building the distinct and integrated set of individuals who exercised rule. This was managed differently at different times. The Maritime Anglican colleges, by the time their statutes and charters were made up, were constituted as bastions of privilege, rather than as the forces of hegemony that had been their original conception. Their students, or, as effectively exclusive, their teachers, were restricted to Anglicans. In any event, their costliness, their clear associations with a style of life alien to that of common folk, would ordinarily have proven bars.* The distribution and location of the Anglican colleges also contributed to the forming of distinctive ruling groups. Windsor and Fredericton were emphatically chosen as college sites because of their status as country seats of the would-be aristocracy. And one college in each province sufficed to make up the single unified ruling group associated with Imperial government.

When the denominations formed colleges, their liberality of recruitment was emphatically clear, in opposition to the restrictiveness of Anglican colleges. Sometimes at least so was their economy.

* There is evidence that higher education in England, earlier than this time, had become a route of social ascent (Stone 1974). I know of no evidence that this was mirrored in the colonial setting. It is reasonable to speculate that this was hampered by the closer colonial association of education with churches, and churches with social class.
and their shunning of all invidious social distinction. All this clearly aimed to make the means of intelligence accessible to the youth of the country and the towns. Furthermore the scattering of the denominational colleges, in Wolfville, Halifax, Antigonish, Pictou and Sackville, served to make up educated elites that were associated not merely with various denominations but also with various distinct economic regions. All the colleges also served to form and sustain interconnections within the ruling circles, by their open ceremonies of convocation and graduation, their reunions, and the like.

The actual work of managing distinct institutions of knowledge, in their governance, in the securing of their finance and other requisites of operation, was of a piece with the other ruling practices and forms of the society. The actual formation of the colleges was always a political process, always integral with control of the state. The Anglican colleges were as readily formed as their proponents were tied into groups of dominant officials. But the making of the colleges which arose out of the local communities was a focus of extremely complex and vitriolic political battling, between the oligarchy and the local representatives. Demand for local colleges built up slowly, from many bases in the plethora of local communities, economic areas and churches -- never in thoroughly united fashion. It accumulated against the dam of oligarchical resistance, especially in Nova Scotia, and when that broke, there was an inundation.

The historic constitution of North American colleges as governed by external boards provided a clear locus of the shifting relations between college and class. Governance of the Anglican colleges rested with the oligarchy, ex officio. The denominational colleges
drew their trustees from the elites of local organizations -- always from the sponsoring churches, and typically from the other leading figures of the society, the most prominent categories being those whose affairs made them most look to the world abroad, merchants and lawyers.

Educational finance -- the means by which the accumulated surplus got diverted to educational uses -- was crucial in the practical management of the place of learning in the society. Financial support for the Anglican colleges came in part from the official and landed incomes of members of the oligarchy, in part from provincial revenues, and most extensively from Imperial revenues -- from the Crown resources in the provinces, from the Imperial parliament, and indirectly, through the SPG or other Church societies. The early availability of ample Imperial support made possible the opening of the colleges before conditions of local demand would have supported them. When Imperial support was undercut, in the 1830s and 1840s, the King's Colleges, preserves of hopeful aristocracies which would or could not support them, were greatly weakened. The locally developed colleges depended upon local individual wealth -- accumulated in the scattered petit bourgeoisie and collected through many popular and a few extraordinary gifts -- and upon the provincial revenues.

Tied to a Church organization without any firm local basis, and clearly restricted in their recruitment -- a policy largely the work not of those within the colleges, who apparently preferred success to purity, but of the governors who mediated between the colleges and the embattled ruling group -- the Anglican colleges were limited in their ability to attract local enrollments and interested administration, both of which were common complaints of both friends and enemies.
The local denominational colleges, however, were developed slowly, along with the slow growth of petit bourgeois enterprise, in a situation which included large components of subsistence agriculture, and of mercantile capitalist extraction of staples and surplus alike, and along with the slow displacement of oligarchical political power. They ordinarily had plenty of students, and ample interest in administration -- even to the point of rancorous fights among the branches of Presbyterianism, or fervoured debate among Baptists.

Finally we may understand the contents and practices of the higher knowledge itself as rooted in the character of domination, and especially in the forming of the character of those who rule. The traditional curriculum of classics and mathematics remained at the core of the curriculum throughout the period we have considered. The acquirements of the educated man were definite and delimited. The entire range of knowledge was open on principle to the individual who had leisure to pursue it. Students became gentleman-scholars, and teachers moved freely through the entire range of the curriculum. The individual could still aim at the rational apprehension of the whole of culture and society. The early understanding of the effects of such learning was that it built character, which was, among other things, the style and bearing of the dominant as they related to one another and to those whom they dominated. The rhetoric of knowledge in time changed markedly, with an assault on a merely literary education as suited only to retirement and not to active purposes of life. This inchoate utilitarianism was not until mid-century filled out with definite forms of technically utilitarian knowledge -- although the curriculum did come to include modern languages, history and natural
investigations. But the very vehemence of the arguments signified that a point of central significance was at stake in this arguing of how knowledge rightfully lodged in the individual. At times it even came explicitly to a contrast of the leisured aristocracy and the active yeomen.

Both teaching method and the control of student life were quite close. In study and in classrooms there was an intimate attention to texts, in reading, memorization, parsing, recitation. This was one part of a certain hermetic distance that abstract consciousness did have from much of ordinary life. And it treated knowledge as finished and to be acquired, not as something built up in study or within activities not focally knowledgeable. The close control of student daily life, in residences, with fixed times of rising, eating, study, sleeping and worship, still, throughout the period we have considered, made certain that knowledge was not conducted apart from an encompassing moral organization of life. For the forms of ruling were not, yet, understood to exist apart from the individuals who filled the offices of the oligarchy or who made up the petit bourgeoisie and its parties.

The Maritime provinces were in their beginnings structured by external organizations of empire. In the era of petit bourgeois forms of social organization, their development was pre-eminently indigenous. But during the historical period immediately after that we have considered, forms of organization centred outside the provinces again became increasingly prominent, in economic, political, ecclesiastical and educational affairs. The higher learning still took part, but differently, in the making up of the modes of the society's ruling.
The petit bourgeois enterprise and the sectional politics of the provinces continued, but larger forms were also created, both out of the ambitious expansion of local organization and by imposition from forces centred elsewhere. The Maritimes took on the new forms of social organization of the second industrial revolution: more consolidated capital, industrial production, larger-scaled organization of trade, financially centralized government which increasingly provided social services. This pervasive modernization steadily removed intellectual and practical powers from their immediate or local settings and organized them at a more encompassing level. (Cf. Smith 1975). In justification of this developing order there were ideological formulations aplenty, central in which was a polarity between provincial and local, universal and particular, wide and narrow, town and country, advanced and backward. This was applied isomorphically in the various spheres of social life. Here is one panegyric to railways:

The civilizing tendency of the locomotive is one of the modern anomalies, which, however inexplicable it may appear to some, is yet so fortunately patent to all, that it is admitted as readily as the action of steam, though the substance be invisible and its secret ways unknown to man. Poverty, indifference, the bigotry or jealousy of religious denominations, local dissension or political demagoguism, may stifle or neutralize the influence of the best intended efforts of an educational system; but that invisible power which has waged successful war with the material elements, will assuredly overcome the prejudices of mental weakness or the designs of mental tyrants. (Thomas C. Keefer, Philosophy of Railroads, Montreal, 1850; in Sinclair, Ball, Petersen 1974: 76).

Instead of local simplicity, indifference, dissension, there were to be industrial civilization, enquiry and union among men.

Expansions of organizational scale brought not only ideological change but also change in the social organizational skills requi-
red in the exercise of domination. In industrial and mercantile organization -- first with railroads -- operating over large distances, co-ordinating many individuals, perhaps through several administrative levels, there was created, to use the contemporary metaphor, a split between the head and the hand. Marx wrote:

Intelligence in production expands in one direction, because it vanishes in many others.... It is a result of the division of labour in manufactures, that the labourer is brought face to face with the intellectual potencies of the material process of production, as the property of another, and as a ruling power. (Capital, in Tucker 1972: 286).

Those ruling intellectual potencies were in part codifications of administrative practice. There had been laws of contract and double-entry bookkeeping. Now there came to be charts of hierarchy, the thinking out of managerial practice in temporal or physical separation from actual encounters of command, and reports to distant authority -- 'accounts' both in the strict sense of the ledger sheet and in the more general sense of something legible that stands for a world that, beyond, could be palpably encountered. The ruling intellectual potencies were also technical knowledge. At mid-century there were geological surveys; route surveys by civil engineers before rail construction; and (still linked in practice to the petit bourgeoisie) an agricultural science of seeds, breeds, fertilizers, crop rotation and land drainage. Around the turn of the twentieth century there were specialized developments in the engineering of timbering and mining, and electrical engineering appeared as well.

Political organization -- like and in relation to economic -- increased in scale. Financial centralization, cabinets and parties were created to counter fragmentation, and to deal with transportation
infrastructure and regulation. The expropriation of control out of the hands of local politicians made for an autonomous state administration which lasted for roughly a decade, before another expropriation, Confederation, demonstrated the effective incompetence of the Maritime states to defend local interests. These successive expropriations appeared ideologically as transformations of intelligence. Charles Tupper's articulation was clear, after the Charlottetown Conference, in the Nova Scotian Assembly:

I am satisfied that looking to immigration, to the elevation of public credit, to the elevation of public sentiment which must arise from enlarging the sphere of action, the interests of these provinces require that they should be united under one government and legislature. It would tend to decrease the personal element in our political discussions, and to rest the claims of our public men more upon the advocacy of public questions than is possible at the present moment whilst these colonies are so limited in extent. (quoted in J.W. Longley, Sir Charles Tupper, Oxford University Press, 1926: 51).

So political ideology urged an elevation of sentiment above the local and personal, as well as glorifying the nation as ideal repository of the popular will.

For the actual operation of the state, there needed to be forms of consciousness which understood and worked in terms of the society as politically constituted -- not confined to mere localities. Many of the administrative skills of economic practice had place in the state as well. Technically competent managers were needed to deal with the increasingly complex fiscal apparatus and the connections between taxation revenues, debt obligations, capital stock, etc. More elaborate forms of intelligence were associated with the state as well. As capital became larger in scale and in its transforming effects, it needed systems of explanation which connected the operations of
firms, the lives of individuals, and the state. The proto-sociologies of an earlier time—religious discourse, satirical sketches, immigrants' manuals—were supplemented by more systematic forms for making the bridge between events as they concretely happened and the discourse of ruling. Political economy explained the workings of the state in a market society. (On its British context, cf. Polanyi 1957: 111-29). In general, there were more and more commonly analyses—by Governors, journalistic seers, touring experts—which saw the society as a systematic unity, the interdependence of whose parts was categorically, perhaps even mathematically, expressible. Finally, the communities civilized by the enlargement of capital were also dismembered. It became the task of the state to understand ideologically and to compensate for this dismemberment, forming character and obedience and dealing with human troubles, first in temperance movements and in public schooling.

In the transformation of the organization of ruling, non-sectarian state-initiated universities were the institutions of enlarged intelligence *per se*, progressive, wide, provincial and universal. They aimed to make connections among members of ruling circles operating at provincial or larger levels—and to sever the thoroughgoing links between the knowledgeable and the local communities. Advocates of universities belittled the denominational colleges, as inefficient, internationally unrespectable, full of partisan poison. But the established local colleges fought back, successfully maintaining their sectionalism against the social effects of a consolidation of capital, for some time. It was only after the successful expropriation of sectional political powers, during the decade when the provinces had
effectively centralized yet autonomous governments, that centralized forms of educational provision were instituted -- not only in provincial universities but also in common school systems.

With the shift from craft to industry, the concentration of industry in metropolitan centres outside the Maritimes, external ownership of local enterprises, and the raising of political authority to the Dominion level, all the forms of the ruling intelligence of social organization, as well as the economic surplus, were in part removed from the Maritimes. This made for an extension and stratification of that ideological polarity between intelligence and local backwardness. The development of universities was appropriately slow or subordinate. Its understanding requires an enlargement of the scope of study. Maritime higher education remained at a fairly rudimentary level, in Prince Edward Island and at Mt. Allison. It was temporarily shut down, as at St. Mary's. It served old elites in the process of being displaced, as at the University of New Brunswick. It trained people to fill subordinate administrative and technical positions in large organizations centred elsewhere. It proudly articulated the character of the small college -- pre-vocational and not yet having lost the human touch -- especially at Acadia and Dalhousie. Finally, the Maritime colleges and universities sent their more eminent and ambitious students and teachers onto universities elsewhere, in what became a torrent of talented emigration by the end of the century. The head of domination, so to speak, was taken out of the region.
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