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Continentalism and Philanthropy: A Rockefeller Officer's Impressions of the Humanities in the Maritimes, 1942

ON 15 APRIL 1942 JOHN MARSHALL, Associate Director of the Humanities Division of the Rockefeller Foundation,¹ wrote to Dalhousie University President Carleton Stanley announcing that “at last it seems that I really can get up into your part of the country”.² On three occasions beginning in the previous autumn, Marshall had paid visits to other parts of Canada, meeting with academics and other cultural authorities to discuss how the Rockefeller Foundation might best support humanities initiatives.³ As Marshall explained, such low-profile, informal visits “represent the kind of routine inquiry that we as officers of the Foundation have to undertake if we are to have direct knowledge of the opportunities which exist for the Foundation in various areas”.⁴

This study examines Marshall's trip to the Maritimes, including his observations of the places he visited, his impressions of the region's political and intellectual life and the subsequent consequences of these impressions. What Marshall reported about the Maritimes was not in any way a complete or accurate picture, but accurate or not, what Marshall reported as the important characteristics of the region not only

- 1 John Marshall (1903-1980) completed his undergraduate and graduate studies at Harvard. After a brief period of teaching and learned society administration, he became assistant director of the Humanities Division of the Rockefeller Foundation in 1933. He later became associate director for the Humanities and Social Sciences, and served for 11 years as resident director of the foundation's Study and Conference Center in Bellagio, Italy before his retirement in 1970. “Special to the New York Times”, 29 September, 1980. Biography File, John Marshall, Rockefeller Archive Center [RAC], New York.
- 2 John Marshall to Carleton Stanley, 15 April, 1942, Dalhousie University, President's Office papers and correspondence, DAL MS 1-3, Dalhousie University Archives [DUA], Halifax. Quoted material from archival sources in this study has been published with permission of the Rockefeller Archive Center, The Dalhousie University Archives, and Archives and Special Collections, The University of New Brunswick.
- 3 Marshall's visits to Canada were as follows: 29 September - 3 October 1941 (Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto), 20 - 30 October 1941 (Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Edmonton, Vancouver, Victoria), 12 - 23 January, 1942 (Montreal, Quebec). Following his trip to the Maritimes, 22 - 30 April 1942, he would subsequently pay further visits to Ontario (Toronto, London, Kingston) on 22 - 27 November 1942 and to Montreal and Quebec on 27 - 31 December 1942 — although the latter two trips were not included as part of the Canada diary. Throughout this period, Marshall also was visited frequently by Canadian representatives and maintained correspondence with many whom he had met during his trips to Canada.
- 4 Marshall to Stanley, 15 April 1942.

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provided the basis for Rockefeller Foundation policy, but also came to affect the intellectual and cultural development of the region.⁵

Marshall's trip to the Maritimes took place from 22 to 30 April 1942. While meetings with university officials and professors were his major focus, he also met some government officials, journalists, community activists, librarians and private citizens. He visited Halifax, Wolfville, Antigonish, Sydney and parts of Cape Breton, and Fredericton — his only stop in New Brunswick.⁶ In line with the other sections of his Canadian diary, his notes on the Maritimes contain an account of the people with whom Marshall met, the nature of their interests in the humanities and the topics of discussion. He wrote separate sections on libraries and drama and offered a general appraisal.

Marshall's Maritimes diary represented more than a series of impressions by a foreign traveller. His rather unassuming title and the understated significance that he customarily attached to his activities belied the power and the influence that he wielded at the Rockefeller Foundation. Marshall's assessment of the worth and suitability of various initiatives largely determined the pattern and directions of funding support within the Humanities Division.⁷ Given his importance as an officer, an examination of how his impressions were reflected in ultimate funding decisions sheds a good deal of light on the policy-making process within the Rockefeller Foundation. Marshall's trip to the Maritimes, moreover, when compared to his other visits to Canada during the same period, allows one to understand the underlying assumptions and processes which structured his perceptions and set the terms for his recommendations.

Marshall's observations were informed by what we call "continental regionalism", an approach that appeared to take shape during the autumn of 1941. The immediate impetus to Marshall's reflections on regional studies was a proposal

- 5 William J. Buxton gratefully acknowledges the support of a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada grant for the preparation of this article. Charles R. Acland wrote this article with the partial assistance of a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada post-doctoral fellowship and support from the Principal's Development Fund at Queen's University. Both authors wish to thank the *Acadiensis* editor and reviewers; the article has been substantially improved as a result of their efforts. An earlier version was presented at the annual meetings of the Atlantic Association of Sociology and Anthropology held in Halifax in March 1992.
- 6 Marshall did, however, express an interest in travelling to northeastern New Brunswick on a subsequent visit (which never materialized). He did not visit St. John nor make any mention of it in his diary. This oversight is surprising, given that the activities of the New Brunswick Museum and of the Maritime Art Association were consonant with the Rockefeller Foundation's commitment to public education. Prince Edward Island was not included in his itinerary nor was it discussed in Marshall's diary or reports.
- 7 While David H. Stevens was nominally director of the Division, it was Marshall who largely determined the direction that it took. From the time that he joined the Rockefeller Foundation he kept a detailed chronicle of his daily activities — consisting largely of meetings, telephone conversations and correspondence with representatives from a range of cultural areas including film, drama, broadcasting, adult education and museums. The point of these exchanges was to judge the appropriateness of particular projects for the foundation's support, as well as to share information about the evolving state of the Humanities. If Marshall believed that a proposed project fell within the foundation's mandate, he would encourage a submission for Rockefeller support. Once a proposal was made, Marshall would submit his own recommendations, which, more often than not, would determine whether funding was approved for the project.

for exchanges in the Western Plains region from a group at Montana State College in Bozeman, Montana. He explored this notion with academics whom he met on his October visit to Western Canada, concluding that "the possibility of such joint [regional] studies, as far as JM could test it, is real and promising". Further, writing in his characteristic third-person style, Marshall noted that "JM ...feels more strongly than ever after this trip the desirability of giving a boost to studies of recent political, economic, and social history, and above all to sociological work from which social history can take its impetus".⁸ Largely on the basis of the favourable response to the western initiative, Marshall proposed a programme of regional studies to the Trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation, who approved it in December 1941.⁹

The foundation's interest in "regional studies" of the North American continent, though ambitious in design, was hardly original. It echoed a point of view that had been gaining currency rapidly on both sides of the border. Perhaps the most significant catalyst was the production of the series of 25 volumes on "Canadian-American relations", under the general editorship of James T. Shotwell, the Director of the Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The publication project was accompanied by four conferences alternating between Canton, New York and Kingston, Ontario, from 1935 to 1941. Even though the volumes largely failed to live up to Shotwell's high-minded internationalist designs, as Carl Berger notes, they nonetheless sought to "reveal those processes of civilization which transcended national units and bound Canada and the United States together".¹⁰

While Rockefeller Foundation officials were undoubtedly aware of Shotwell's activities, there is no evidence that they modelled their programme in regional studies on the Carnegie initiative. The foundation's interest in regionalism appears to have originated in its longstanding involvement in the Southern United States. This was given systematic expression through the work of Howard Odum¹¹ at the Institute

8 John Marshall, "Canada — Diary of a Visit", Second Part, pp. 42-3. RF, RG 1.1, 427R, Box 27, Folder 264, RAC [Marshall Diary].

9 To this end, "an appropriation of \$25,000 [was] to be allocated by officer action for conferences, surveys, and other activities designed to aid the officers in inquiries as to [the] way of encouraging a better interpretation of the North American Continent". Altogether, three conferences had been planned: "one held in New York City in March [20-21, 1942] to discuss the French Canadian view of the Continent; a second held in New York City in April [17-18, 1942] which explored the viewpoint of the Great Plains people; and a third held in June [25-27, 1942] in Lincoln, Nebraska, on studies of the Northern Plains area". Grant-in-Aid, RF 41106 (Regional Studies - Special Fund), RF, RG 1.1, Series 200, Box 276, Folder 3292, RAC. Subsequently, a number of other conferences took place including another one on the Northern Plains region, held in Saskatoon, 24-25 September 1942, and one on Southern New England held in Northampton, Massachusetts, 12-13 November 1942.

10 Carl C. Berger, "Internationalism, Continentalism, and the Writing of History: Comments on the Carnegie Series on the Relations of Canada and the United States", in R.A. Preston, ed., *The Influence of the United States on Canadian Development: Eleven Case Studies* (Durham, N.C., 1972), p. 45.

11 Howard W. Odum, *The Regional Approach to National Social Planning*, (New York and Chapel Hill, 1935), *Southern Regions of the United States* (Chapel Hill, 1935) and H.W. Odum and Harry E. Moore, *American Regionalism: A Cultural-Historical Approach to National Integration* (New York, 1938).

for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina.¹² Following Odum's lead, Marshall had come to believe that "If the cultural history of the United States were to be studied, the basis had to be not political units, not the nation, but the human regions that made up North America, the United States and Canada".¹³

The groundwork for extending the regional programme into Canada was established by two consultants hired by the Rockefeller Foundation — Anne Bezanson and Charles F. McCombs. Both made trips to Canada during 1941 and submitted perceptive reports on what they had observed. Anne Bezanson, consultant to the Social Sciences Division, had visited the Maritimes in the spring of 1941 as part of a 3-week trip to Canada to examine the situation of the social sciences.¹⁴ As a native of Nova Scotia and someone who could bring a cross-cultural experience to bear on Canadian questions, Bezanson's views carried a good deal of weight.¹⁵

Charles F. McCombs, Superintendent of the Main Reading Room at the New York Public Library, spent approximately two months during the early summer and autumn of 1941 visiting Canadian libraries. This trip resulted in a detailed report that provided the basis for the foundation's subsequent library policy in Canada.¹⁶ He emphasized the significance of the geographic isolation of libraries, a point that he underscored by noting the train travel times between major cities. Moreover, in the introduction to the report he indicated that "There are really five Canadas (the Maritimes, French-Canadian and Roman Catholic Quebec, industrial Ontario, the Prairie Provinces, and British Columbia) and this sectionalism — a sectionalism that is almost separatism — is more apparent (in many ways) than it is in the States". Significantly, instead of developing the "five Canadas" thesis further, McCombs submitted that each region had particularly robust ties with an American counterpart, more so than with each other. "The Maritimes", he asserted, "have more in common

12 The Institute, supported by Rockefeller Foundation funding, had been established to serve as a centre for the development of social-scientific research in the southern United States.

13 John Marshall, Oral History, RF, RG 13, p. 271, RAC.

14 Anne Bezanson, "Report on Social Sciences in Canada", RF, RG 2-1941, Series 427, Box 222, Folder 1548, RAC.

15 Born and raised in Nova Scotia, Anne Bezanson (1881-1980) completed a BA at Radcliffe in 1915 and a PhD in Economics at Harvard in 1929. She joined the Department of Industrial Research at the Wharton School in 1921, serving as its director, 1929-1945. She was best known for her work in economic history, becoming the president of the Economic History Association in 1946. Her part-time consultancy work with the Social Sciences Division of the Rockefeller Foundation began in 1939. In this capacity, as Rockefeller Foundation Director Joseph Willits noted in 1946, a debt was owed her "for establishing at minimum cost discriminating contacts and relations with individuals, institutions, and problems in Canada....She has been the architect of this policy, and RF and Canada are the gainers". See RF, Personnel Files, Box 3, Folder: Bezanson Anne. RAC. The respect given to Bezanson was evident at the Eastern New England-Maritimes conference that took place in Maine in August 1942 where her judgements were referred to with deference. See "Conference on the Eastern Maritime Region", 1942, RF, RG 1.1, Series 200, Box 276, Folder 3293, RAC.

16 Charles S. McCombs, "Report on Canadian Libraries", RF, RG 1.1, Series 427, Box 26, Folder 258, RAC. The report, along with an interpretive essay by William J. Buxton and Charles R. Acland, will be published as Occasional Paper: 12, Graduate School of Library and Information Studies, McGill University, Montreal.

with New England than Quebec; Winnipeg is closer to Minneapolis and St. Paul, in both a social and geographic sense, than it is to Toronto or to Vancouver".¹⁷

The reports of Bezanson and McCombs reinforced the Rockefeller Foundation's increasing commitment to the study and the cultivation of North American regionalism. As the first area that Marshall visited extensively following the approval of the programme in regional studies, the Maritimes served as a test case for the hypothesis that the continent was made up of distinct cultural regions. The particular purpose of the visit to the Maritimes was to assess the "interest that exists in work toward a better interpretation of this area which would lead to a better understanding of it in other parts of the continent".¹⁸

Given his previous experience with Canadian intellectuals, Marshall had good reason to believe that the hypothesis could be applied fruitfully to the Maritimes and to other parts of the country. In particular, it was fully in accord with members of the new, young intellectual elite with whom Marshall had met.¹⁹ People such as Frank Scott, Raleigh Parkin, Terry McDermot and Brooke Claxton were emerging as a sort of self-elected national voice.²⁰ They were politically diverse, including members of the Cooperative Commonwealth Foundation (Scott and Frank Underhill), the Liberal Party (Claxton) and the Catholic clergy (Edouard Montpetit). They shared the vision that Canada must assert itself as a North American nation. As distinct from conservative nationalists (perhaps best represented by the person of R.B. Bennett), they put little stock in the maintenance of strong ties to Britain. Judging that Canada had largely failed to construct a respectable culture, they were excited by the new currents of international modernism. In this sense, unlike traditional nationalists, they were strikingly sanguine about funding ties with the United States. Indeed, a number of them had been involved in organizations with close links to the United States (such as the Canadian Institute for International Affairs) and had taken part in the

17 *Ibid.*, p. 3. McCombs' analysis was close in many respects to that offered by W.N. Sage in a paper presented four years earlier: "It cannot be denied that all the geographical regions of Canada, except the Laurentian Shield...are northern extensions of similar regions in the United States. ...We have built up the Dominion of Canada from east to west and we are now busily engaged in extending it into the north, but the fact remains that each of the settled regions of Canada is more closely in touch with the adjoining portion of the United States than with the next region of Canada". See W.N. Sage, "Geographical and Cultural Aspects of the Five Canadas", *Canadian Historical Association Annual Report* (1937), p. 28.

18 Marshall to Stanley, 15 April 1942.

19 Though their views on the composition of this new intellectual elite are somewhat at variance, several commentators have attested to both its emergence and significance during the 1930s and 1940s. Accounts can be found in Michiel Horn, *The League for Social Reconstruction: Intellectual Origins of the Democratic Left in Canada 1930-1942* (Toronto, 1980), Douglas Owram, *The Government Generation: Canadian Intellectuals and the State 1900-1945* (Toronto, 1986) and J.L. Granatstein, *The Ottawa Men: The Civil Service Mandarins, 1935-1957* (Toronto, 1982).

20 It was through Raleigh Parkin, an executive at Sun Life Insurance who was knowledgeable about Canadian intellectual life, that Marshall "learned that there existed a true elite of men and women not much older than I... ([Marshall] was 37 in 1940) — Parkin was only a few years older, and he proceeded to put me in contact with this elite group, as I travelled further and further into Canada": John Marshall, Oral History, p. 254.

collaborative Canadian-American ventures sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.²¹

That a high degree of consonance existed between Marshall's views and members of this elite is evident in Marshall's descriptions of some of his meetings. Raleigh Parkin told him that "work on regional studies would have the added advantage of bringing Canadian scholars together with each other and with Americans thus helping to defeat 'Canada's greatest enemy, distance'".²² Along similar lines, as Marshall reported on the views of F.R. Scott, "Scott was characteristically interested in the possibilities for regional studies in relation to bringing about a greater awareness of the geo-physical organization of the North American Continent. As was the case with most Anglo-Canadians, and with many of the French, Scott is convinced that some North American or North Atlantic organization should prevail in post-war reconstruction".²³ In effect, the dilemma of continentalism became increasingly pronounced, with young Canadian intellectuals organizing their nationalism with an eye to the entire continent. Marshall relied on this elite network to provide him with names of persons he could meet across the country. In the Maritimes, however, the yield proved to be disappointing. Marshall wrote of the difficulties he had "getting from his informants" such as Raleigh Parkin, George Ferguson²⁴ and James S. Thomson²⁵ "the names of men they had regard for, outside the universities".²⁶ Hence, Marshall found in the Maritimes no equivalent to the cultural networks he had encountered in the rest of Canada. He had to rely largely on university presidents to organize discussions with selected faculty and members of the community. This meant that his Maritime trip, in contrast to most of his other visits to Canada, had an air of improvisation and puzzlement about it. His relatively consistent assumptions about Canada did not seem to apply, and the influences of the Central-Canadian elite were not readily apparent. As a result, his perception of the region was highly coloured by previous Rockefeller and foundation activity in the Atlantic provinces, most of which had been concerned with rectifying various forms of underdevelopment.

21 Their involvement in the Carnegie initiatives undoubtedly played a role in the emergence of what J.M.S. Careless has called the "Environmentalist" and "Laurentian" schools of thought ("Frontierism, Metropolitanism, and Canadian History", *Canadian Historical Review*, XXXV, 1 (March 1954), pp. 1-19). Both schools, in somewhat different ways, argued that geographical and environmental factors played a significant role in the development of Canadian identity and nationhood. Significantly, many of those whom Careless placed in these two schools took part in the Carnegie projects. These included W.N. Sage, A.R.M. Lower, A.S. Morton, J.B. Brebner, Harold Innis and Donald Creighton. While the Carnegie Endowment's goal of furthering international peace through the project was imperfectly realized, the publication series nevertheless provided a general framework within which lengthy and innovative manuscripts could be published. As Berger deftly points out, "The Carnegie Endowment functioned as a combined Social Science Research Council and Canada Council to Canadian scholars during the 1930's and 1940's": Berger, "The Carnegie Series", pp. 43-4.

22 Marshall Diary, third part, p. 12.

23 *Ibid.*

24 Managing editor, *Winnipeg Free Press*.

25 President of the University of Saskatchewan.

26 Marshall Diary: fourth part, p. 2.

Rockefeller agencies had been involved in several efforts in the region. For instance, the General Education Board (a Rockefeller philanthropy) had financed the Antigonish Movement's historical manifesto, *Masters of Their Own Destiny*, by M.M. Coady in 1939. This funding had resulted from a personal visit by David Stevens, director of the Humanities Division of the Rockefeller Foundation. The Social Sciences Division of the Rockefeller Foundation funded the Institute of Public Affairs (IPA), founded at Dalhousie University in 1936. In fact, \$80,000 of the \$98,000 the Social Sciences Division gave to Dalhousie from 1936 to 1943 went to the IPA.²⁷ The intention of the IPA was to provide for increased ties between academic and public life, in effect training individuals for the civil service, and it was similar in design and purpose to other institutes that were being developed concurrently in the United States.²⁸ It was in the area of health and medical services that the Rockefeller Foundation had been the most visible.²⁹ The foundation's International Health Division had given \$500,000 in 1920 to the Dalhousie Medical School and contributed to increasing the teaching staff on a number of occasions. In addition, the Social Sciences Division, in their support of the IPA, frequently funded morbidity and public health studies. One of the more famous of these studies was the investigation by IPA director Lothar Richter of the impact of health insurance on a Cape Breton community. This study, first published in 1944, was later praised and republished by the United States Senate Committee on Education and Labour.³⁰

27 Memorandum on relations with the Rockefeller Foundation, Lothar Richter to Stanley, MS 1-3, folder A682, DUA.

28 The founding of the Graduate School of Public Administration at Harvard in 1937 was a case in point.

29 The involvement of the Rockefeller Foundation with the Atlantic region can be traced back to the 1914 Newfoundland sealing disaster. In response to an appeal for assistance, it recommended that John Rockefeller Jr. provide a personal donation. The foundation subsequently served in an advisory capacity to the relief work following the Halifax Explosion and assisted in the public health work of the Massachusetts-Halifax Relief Commission. See John G. Reid, "Health, Education, Economy: Philanthropic Foundations in the Atlantic Region in the 1920s and 1930s", *Acadiensis*, XIV, 1 (Autumn 1984), pp. 64-83 and William Buxton, "Private Wealth and Public Health: Rockefeller Philanthropy, The Massachusetts-Halifax Relief Commission, and the Halifax Explosion", forthcoming in C. Howell and A. Ruffman, eds., *The Proceedings of the 1917 Explosion Conference*.

30 "The Effect of Health Insurance on the Demand for Medical Services, *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, X, 2, (1944), pp. 179-205. Reprinted in Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor, U.S. Senate, 26-28 June 1945. Lothar Richter (1894-1948) was a leading figure in the establishment of the field of public administration in Canada. Born in Germany, he studied classics, philosophy and theology before attaining doctorates in political science and law. He subsequently joined the Reich Department of Labour in Berlin in 1920, remaining there until his forced dismissal by the Nazis in 1933. During this period he served in both the Welfare and Social Insurance Branches, helping to draft legislation pertaining to the new Poor Law, as well as to health and unemployment insurance and workers' compensation. He arrived in Canada in 1934, and in 1936 was appointed as a Professor at Dalhousie University and the first director of the newly created Institute of Public Affairs. The following year he became editor of the quarterly *Public Affairs*, published by the Institute. He served in all of these capacities until his death in Halifax as a result of a road accident in November 1948. Under the auspices of the Institute, Richter was instrumental in the founding of the Nova Scotia Municipal Bureau, the Maritime Bureau of Industrial Relations and the Maritime Labour Institute. These latter three organizations embodied Richter's concern to make public policy more effective through the application of social scientific principles to government and through closer cooperation between government, industry, and labour. In addition to his contributions as an editor and administrator, Richter wrote extensively on issues

Marshall's tendency to draw on a medical frame of reference in his observations on the Maritimes was reinforced by the presence of Dr. D. Bruce Wilson from Toronto, who was conducting his own study for the Rockefeller Foundation and accompanied Marshall during his stay in Nova Scotia. The City of Halifax, with International Health Division support, had commissioned him to write a report on public health in the city. In April 1942 he had already been in Halifax for a couple of months when Marshall arrived. By that time, Wilson had formulated the gist of his report, and it is not entirely surprising that the state of public health and hygiene are reflected as central concerns in Marshall's own report. Wilson's critical observations on conditions may have predisposed Marshall to see the region in an epidemiological sense as a digression from a healthy social order.³¹

Marshall found the region as a whole to have massive physical problems in terms of economic depression and health risk. He noted that Halifax was "the dirtiest [city] JM has ever visited. How can it be that they have tolerated a water system with pressure too low to cope with several recent fires that were potentially disastrous? Why is it that they maintain nothing but a dingy and disgracefully small public library in one room of their dilapidated City Hall?³² Why is it that they tolerate — physically and as citizens — a dangerous proportion of *B. coli* in their water and their milk?"³³ He wrote of seeing vomit on the sidewalks that stayed there for days.³⁴ He had a similar impression of Sydney which, he noted, "still has no garbage collection".³⁵ To Marshall, "no English midlands town is dirtier or more squalid" than Sydney.³⁶ In a meeting with the Divisional Health Officer for Cape Breton, Dr. Charles Beckwith, Marshall discovered that the city of Sydney had recently been forced to decide between improving milk inspection and initiating a regional library. Not surprisingly, municipal officials had decided that "libraries were in the luxury

related to unemployment, job creation and health insurance. See Stewart Bates, "Obituary: Lothar Richter (1894-1948)", *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, XVI, 4 (1949), pp. 543-5, and *Public Affairs*, XII, 1, (Spring, 1949).

31 Such a tendency was undoubtedly accentuated by Marshall's own background. He had grown up in a relatively prosperous part of New England and later studied at Harvard. This experience of rather genteel affluence provided the implicit standard against which the Maritimes were to be judged. By all accounts, Marshall's outlook was very much that of the New England establishment, which perhaps accounts for his perception of squalour and breakdown in the Maritimes. In the view of Frank Stanton, who served as associate director of the Rockefeller Foundation-sponsored Princeton Radio research project, Marshall was a rather "starchy" person with a very stiff and formal manner. Interview by William Buxton and Charles Acland with Frank Stanton, 13 November 1991, New York.

32 Four years earlier, Nora Bateson, a dominant figure in the development of Canadian libraries, had a similar impression of the inadequacy of the library situation in Halifax: "Halifax...appropriates only \$5,600 annually to its library....On so meagre an appropriation no public library can function at all satisfactorily. There is no trained staff, the supply of new books is sadly inadequate and the physical condition of the books afforded is far from attractive". Nora Bateson, *Library Survey of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1938), p. 16.

33 Marshall Diary, fourth part, 1.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 27.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

class”.³⁷ Marshall concluded, with respect to health conditions, that Nova Scotia “is a potential source for widespread continental infection”.³⁸ He even drew a comparison between the Nova Scotia situation and the work being done by the Rockefeller Foundation in the American South.³⁹

Mirroring his impressions of inadequate sewage and garbage collection in Nova Scotia, Marshall saw a complete lack of organization in its academic community. Anne Bezanson had forewarned Marshall that each of the Maritime Provinces was “individualistic in the extreme”.⁴⁰ During his visit a number of his informants attributed this malaise to the Scottish character of Nova Scotia, which supposedly produced an apparent lazy individualism encouraging “high thinking [and] extremely poor living”. George Farquhar, a member of the Public Utilities Board and previously an editorial writer with the *Halifax Chronicle*, confirmed for Marshall his impression of a “disregard of material well-being” and “the Scottish contribution to Nova Scotia’s apathy”.⁴¹ Farquhar provided Marshall with examples of this negative “Scottish contribution” in a general apathetic attitude towards politics⁴² as well as in the lack of private gardens.⁴³ C.F. Fraser, editor of the *Chronicle* and later to follow Richter as director of the IPA in 1949, confirmed this impression.⁴⁴

This deficiency was made all the more significant in that Marshall had difficulty finding cultural and intellectual leaders. For instance, Dalhousie President Carleton Stanley was widely seen as having alienated his faculty and undermined morale at

37 *Ibid.*, p. 8. Along similar lines, Bateson had noted that the Sydney Public Library had no regular appropriation for books, “although the librarian reports that ‘every two or three years the City votes \$200 for books’”: Bateson, *Library Survey*, p. 17.

38 Marshall Diary, fourth part, p. 28.

39 Some aspects of Rockefeller health programmes in the southern United States are discussed in John Ettling, *The Germ of Laziness: Rockefeller Philanthropy and Public Health in the New South* (Cambridge, 1981).

40 Marshall Diary, fourth part, p. 1.

41 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

43 *Ibid.*, p. 3. It is striking that these unfavourable characterizations of Scottish culture were not entirely in line with what Ian McKay has described as the cultivation of “tartanism” by Nova Scotia premier Angus Macdonald. Ian McKay, “Tartanism Triumphant: The Construction of Scottishness in Nova Scotia, 1933-54”, *Acadiensis*, XXI, 2 (Spring 1992), pp. 5-47. This effort to provide the province with a Scottish identity not only included the commercialization of forms of cultural expression to boost tourism, but the idealization of such supposed Scottish traits as “thrifty independence” and frugality. While Marshall’s informants stressed the “individualism” of Scottish culture, it was not seen as a virtue because it was inherently linked to high-minded thought at the expense of developing effective social organization and caring for the material aspects of life.

44 *Ibid.*, p. 10. A number of Marshall’s contacts in Halifax had been witness to two instances of strong leadership — Angus L. Macdonald’s premiership of Nova Scotia (1933-1940) and Stanley Mackenzie’s presidency of Dalhousie (1911-1931). During both of these periods of administration, important reforms were undertaken. In the case of Macdonald, social and economic planning became a central feature of government policy. Mackenzie’s period of office saw important advances made in the development of the life-sciences and in the cultivation of external funding sources. The achievements of these two leaders undoubtedly provided the standards against which Marshall’s informants evaluated the then current administrations of the province of Nova Scotia and Dalhousie, respectively. Farquhar, for instance, in his capacity as editorial writer for the *Chronicle*, had actively supported MacDonal’s candidacy for the premiership in 1933.

the university. No doubt, the fact that Stanley was from Ontario and was viewed as a member of the Central-Canadian elite, contributed to this state of affairs. But it appears that his autocratic style of decision-making did nothing to endear him to either the faculty or the Board of Governors.⁴⁵ Marshall learned of this situation from H.B. Attlee, a former Rockefeller Foundation fellow and a professor of obstetrics at Dalhousie. Attlee commented that Stanley offered none of the necessary leadership for the university, "except for flashes of phosphorescence in a muddy pool".⁴⁶ This lack of leadership was attributed by Attlee to the massive migration of the more ambitious Maritimers to the United States or to Central Canada. As Attlee remarked on emigrés to Ottawa, the best people Nova Scotia had to offer "somehow become 'Canadian', to the extent that they cease to represent or concern themselves with the problems of the Maritimes".⁴⁷

Marshall was, nevertheless, impressed by the "individual strength and tough-mindedness" of several government officials he encountered.⁴⁸ He was struck by the frankness of F.R. Davis, the Minister of Health (whose office, Marshall observed, boasted a large spittoon) and Premier A.S. MacMillan, both of whom seemed surprisingly eager to dwell on the negative aspects of Nova Scotia life. His meeting with the Superintendent for Education, Henry Munro, was particularly instructive in this regard. In addition to having held his post since 1926, Munro was also a key figure in the National Council of Education and the Canadian Association of Adult Education. He had taught at Columbia University and Dalhousie before taking up his public charge. Yet, despite his credentials, Munro, with his "statesman like view of education", was not seen as a credible initiator of educational reform. Marshall had been told "repeatedly that he [Munro] 'didn't have the right contacts' or that the 'people of the province lacked confidence in him'".⁴⁹

St. Francis Xavier University, its extension programme, and the Antigonish Movement, had received Rockefeller Foundation and Carnegie support in the past and were already firmly established. In Cape Breton, Marshall travelled by car with D. Bruce Wilson, D.P. MacDonald (President of St. Francis Xavier University), and Father Moses M. Coady. They drove from Antigonish to Sydney, with stops at

45 Three years later Stanley was forced to resign his presidency.

46 Marshall Diary, fourth part, p. 3. It is interesting to note that, according to Attlee, Percy Corbett of McGill University, was the first choice for the position of president over Stanley in 1933. But Corbett refused to "accept church affiliation and at least occasionally appear in church, if he became president". Attlee's low opinion of Stanley undoubtedly stemmed from the fact that he (Attlee) had been hand-picked by his predecessor, President Mackenzie, to serve as professor of obstetrics in 1921, a recommendation that encountered opposition from the traditionally-minded faculty and administrators. Attlee, moreover, as a member of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation and a supporter of the socio-economic reforms of the Liberal administration in Nova Scotia, probably could not abide Stanley's conception of the university as a community of classical humanism detached from political engagement.

47 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

48 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

49 *Ibid.*, p. 10. Munro's career had flourished during the MacDonald regime, but his views on education were at odds with the much less dynamic administration of MacMillan, which perhaps accounts for Marshall's description of him. See Guy Henson, "Henry F. Munro: Memories, and an Estimate", *Journal of Education* (Spring, 1974), pp. 4-5.

Johnstown and Louisdale to view the cooperative field work. When asked about new leaders for the programme, Coady, according to Marshall, “found no satisfactory answer”.⁵⁰ Even Coady himself did not leave a favourable impression. Marshall found him to be “patronizing” and a rather unconvincing field worker, “whose gift appears to lie in building up the outside reputation of the enterprise rather than in its actual conduct”.⁵¹ Marshall seems to have concluded that these organizations had grown to their full potential and this may have been the reason that they were not to be recipients of further funding.

In contrast, Fredericton seemed more promising to Marshall. He met with University of New Brunswick President Norman A.M. MacKenzie, English professor Edward A. McCourt and Economics professor Burton S. Kierstead (who had done research the previous year at the Institute for Public Affairs in Halifax). The history professor Alfred G. Bailey in particular seemed very energetic and intelligent, and, above all, at 35 was relatively young. Bailey’s perspective, which stressed the importance of “the human or cultural elements” in historical research fascinated Marshall. And equally vital to Marshall was the fact that Bailey was “one of the few Anglo-Canadians whom JM has encountered who is really deeply concerned with the problem of French Canada”.⁵² Outside the university, he talked with Premier John B. McNair, C.H. Blakeny (“Minister of Education and generally progressive”), Fletcher Peacock (Director of Education), A.S. McFarlane (Chief Superintendent of Education) and Frank Park, whom he described as a “‘radical’ lawyer”.⁵³ He sums up his impressions by saying “here in a single day JM met more men with seeming potentialities for leadership than he encountered in his week in Nova Scotia”. This was despite the equally “depressed or even backward” conditions of New Brunswick.⁵⁴

Marshall thus was unable to find networks or organizations that corresponded to what he had experienced in the rest of Canada. More crucially, unlike his previous encounters with the Canadian scene, he had difficulty uncovering people who shared his particular form of continentalism. Testing the hypothesis with IPA director Lothar Richter, Marshall received the response that “Maritime scholars should not be diverted from the fundamental problems that the province faced”. Pressing further, Marshall asked if “Nova Scotian scholars should be left out of discussions of regional studies”, to which Richter conceded that they should not.⁵⁵

50 Marshall Diary, fourth part, p. 6. Marshall’s assessment that the Antigonish movement lacked a new generation of leadership confirmed Anne Bezanson’s impressions of the previous year. She wrote that “the work at St. Francis Xavier in stimulating cooperatives is not only limited by its religious emphasis but seems to be waning, as the two pioneers in the work [i.e. Tompkins and Coady] are aging without developing any young followers”. Bezanson, “Report on the Social Sciences in Canada”, p. 13.

51 Marshall Diary, fourth part, p. 7.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 19.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 13-14. Alfred Bailey remembers Park as the “Loyalist communist”, a name that was given to him because he was both a radical and the descendant of a prominent Loyalist family from the Miramichi: William J. Buxton, interview with Alfred Bailey, 19 June 1992, Fredericton.

54 Marshall Diary, fourth part, p. 15.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

At a meeting with Dalhousie President Stanley, R. A. MacKay (Government and Political Science), Stewart Bates (Commerce), D.C. Harvey (History and Provincial Archivist) and George E. Wilson (History), Marshall presented his thesis that Eastern New England and the Maritimes formed a common cultural region. MacKay and Bates responded positively, which is not surprising given their involvement with IPA and MacKay's involvement in new nationalist organizations such as the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and the Canadian Social Science Research Council.⁵⁶ Harvey and Wilson were a different story, with Wilson saying "he would like to put JM in a corner and pin him down!" Harvey commented, quite accurately, that "you seem to be arguing that it [history] should be rewritten on geographical lines". Wilson more suspiciously asked, "Is this a kind of American intellectual imperialism!"⁵⁷

The next morning, Marshall met with MacKay, Bates and the regional economist S.A. Saunders at his room in the Lord Nelson Hotel. They continued the discussion from the previous day, though the tone was tempered by the absence of the more contentious individuals. But unquestionably the discussion proceeded according to the agenda that Marshall had in mind. They all agreed "there was room for a study of the human element in the Maritimes-New England region, and that such a study might well prove enlightening and invigorating".⁵⁸

Elsewhere, the thesis received mixed reviews. Fredericton once again was more accommodating than Halifax. MacKenzie, McCourt and Bailey agreed that "the approach in general held much promise for the province".⁵⁹ Kierstead and Park also accepted the terms of the debate, though somewhat more sceptically. Kierstead was quite blunt in asking "Would the acceptance of this hypothesis as a guiding principle in the encouragement of North American studies rule out other approaches?"⁶⁰ At Acadia University, only Thomas Dadson of the History Department responded favourably to the continental regionalist hypothesis. Marshall, however, was not certain "how much he could contribute to its elaboration and testing". At St. Francis Xavier, Marshall found no one "who seemed apt for discussion".⁶¹ He was left with the general impression that only a few individuals, largely based in Fredericton and Halifax, were worthy of future consideration.

It was these individuals whom Marshall invited to attend a Conference on the Eastern Maritime Region. Its purpose was to facilitate the meeting of intellectuals located in both the Northeastern United States and the Maritime Provinces. The three-day affair transpired at the end of August 1942 (only four months after Marshall's visit to the Maritimes) at the Samoset Hotel in Rockland, Maine. The proceedings were arranged around five topics of discussion:

56 All of these groups had close relations with American organizations and had been recipients of Rockefeller Foundation funding. The CSSRC, for instance, had been initiated in 1940 with substantial contribution from the Rockefeller Foundation. See Donald Fisher, *The Social Sciences in Canada: 50 Years of National Activity by the Social Science Federation of Canada* (Waterloo, 1991).

57 Marshall Diary, fourth part, p. 16.

58 *Ibid.*, p. 18.

59 *Ibid.*, p. 20.

60 *Ibid.*, p. 19.

61 *Ibid.*, p. 18.

I - Is there an outlook characteristic of this Eastern Maritime Region?

II - What are the outlooks identified in discussion...?

III - ...to what extent does existing knowledge serve to explain and account for the outlooks that prevail? IV - If interpretation does seem feasible and productive, of what use could it be to people of this region and of others?

V - What next steps seem to be in order, e.g., more careful appraisal than was possible at the conference of existing knowledge, of present interpretative efforts, etc.⁶²

The conference was chaired by three key Rockefeller Foundation personnel — Stevens, Marshall, Bezanson. There were 13 others in attendance, all at the invitation of the Rockefeller Foundation.⁶³ These included four Canadians: Bailey, Harvey, MacKay and Clyde Nunn (who is discussed in detail below). The other Canadians invited, but unable to attend, were Bates, C.F. Fraser and N.A.M. MacKenzie. Bailey himself continues to acknowledge the importance of this conference in the formation of his historical outlook.⁶⁴

Having impressed Marshall by his performance at the Conference,⁶⁵ Bailey was awarded a one-year grant of \$3,000 in May 1943 for a study of New Brunswick history. This was followed by a grant of \$8,000 in 1944, and a final grant of \$3,500 in 1946.⁶⁶ Bailey obviously had made a considerable impression on Marshall. He had already distinguished himself with his writings that brought together history and anthropology. His goal was to investigate the human and cultural elements of history, something that was largely ignored by the economic historians. In one such project, Bailey “began to speculate on the possibilities of applying the culture-area concept to the development of literature and the arts in the Canadian provinces”.⁶⁷ He also wrote of the migration and transplantation of Loyalists, Europeans and native peoples and the subsequent impact such movements had upon

62 Transcript, “Conference on the Eastern Maritime Region”, 1942, Appendix I, RAC.

63 Among the Americans in attendance were John Dollard, Granville Hicks, Francis Matthiessen and John P. Marquand. Marshall raised the possibility of inviting Marjorie Thompson, who had recently been hired to work at the UNB library. However, noting that “the make-up of this group includes no other women”, (which turned out to be false) and indeed seemed rather like a “stag party”, Marshall felt that the participation of Thompson would have been inappropriate. Such remarks reveal the largely unstated masculinist assumptions that underpinned the philanthropic and academic practices of the period. See John Marshall to Norman MacKenzie, 20 July 1942, President’s Papers (R) 1942, University of New Brunswick Archives and Special Collections, Fredericton.

64 Interview with Bailey, 19 June 1992.

65 As Marshall noted in a letter to MacKenzie, “Bailey proved one of the most useful participants in the conference. Quite unexpectedly I had to ask him to speak at the opening and what he said, with only a few moments of preparation, resulted to [sic] his being listened to with respect from that time on.... I think everyone went away with the feeling that Bailey was a man of unusual promise who ought to get all possible support and encouragement”. Marshall to MacKenzie, 2 September 1942, RF, RG 1.1., 427R, Box 29, Folder 297, RAC.

66 “Humanities Program of the Rockefeller Foundation: A Review of the Period 1942-1947”, p. 94, RF, RG 3.1, Series 911, RAC.

67 Alfred G. Bailey, *Culture and Nationality: Essays by A.G. Bailey* (Toronto, 1972), p. 6.

cultural life. Bailey placed particular emphasis upon the history of New Brunswick which he described as “largely a terra incognita”.⁶⁸ Bailey had the advantage of having a clear project, along with good institutional connections to both UNB (under MacKenzie’s positive leadership) and to the New Brunswick Museum. As part of Bailey’s plan of action, he drew up a list of 31 thesis topics on New Brunswick economic and cultural history.⁶⁹ They were intended to be a guide for research subjects and were to appear in pamphlet form to be widely distributed across the province. The four subjects Bailey selected for the year’s study were “the development of the common schools of the province in relation to the needs of its people; the development of higher education; the intellectual leaders of the province; and the social ideas of New Brunswick educators”.⁷⁰ The funds were to be used to collect archival material, to finance the writing and publication of these historical studies and to create what Bailey called “the desired ‘intellectual ferment’” in historical studies at UNB.⁷¹ When Marshall first visited UNB, Bailey was the sole member of the Department of History. By the fall of 1945, Frances Firth joined him. She, along with Katherine MacNaughton and Joan Vaughan, all researched, wrote and published studies under the auspices of the Rockefeller Foundation grants to Bailey at UNB.⁷²

Unlike New Brunswick, Nova Scotia was not provided with substantial funding for the writing of provincial history. Instead, the Rockefeller Foundation support was confined to modest awards given to Clyde Nunn and Helen Creighton for educational broadcasting and the collection of folklore, respectively. Nunn, the newly appointed managing director of the St. Francis Xavier University broadcasting station, CJFX, was awarded \$800 “to undertake a study of the use of radio in adult education in the United States ... over the three-month period beginning June 15, 1942”. This recommendation was based on “the belief that the opportunities of the University’s using its radio station in the northern section of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, particularly in connection with its well known extension activities and work with the cooperatives, are such as to bring good returns from this relatively small investment”.⁷³ CJFX, a pioneer in educational broadcasting, sought to promote local adult education, complementing the University’s Extension Department. In providing a venue for prominent educators such as Coady, CJFX had close ties to the

68 Bailey, “Plan of project for the two-year period of 1944-45 and 1945-46”, appended to a letter to Marshall, 20 March 1944, RF, RG 1.1, 427R, Box 29, Folder 297, RAC.

69 Bailey, “Project for which a grant is requested from the Rockefeller Foundation”, appended to a letter to Marshall, 20 March 1944, RF, RG 1.1, 427R, Box 29, Folder 297, RAC.

70 Grant-in-Aid to the University of New Brunswick, 4 May 1943, RF, RG 1.1, 427R, Box 29, Folder 297, RAC.

71 Bailey, “Summary Report and Observations concerning a project undertaken ... under grants made by the Rockefeller Foundation in 1943 and 1944”, p. 3, appended to a letter to Stevens, 15 August 1945, RF, RG 1.1, 427R, Box 29, Folder 297, RAC. For a searching discussion of how Bailey could be viewed as “North America’s first identifiable ethnohistorian”, see Bruce G. Trigger, “Alfred G. Bailey — Ethnohistorian”, *Acadiensis*, XVIII, 2 (Spring 1989), pp. 3-21.

72 *Ibid.*, p. 5. Only Katherine MacNaughton’s study, *The Development of the Theory and Practice of Education in New Brunswick, 1784-1900* (Fredericton, 1947), was published in book form.

73 Grant-in-Aid to Clyde Nunn, 3 June 1942, RF, RG 1.1, 427R, Box 28, Folder 282, RAC.

Antigonish Movement. As Nunn stated, “our program in radio will be an adaptation of the work we have been doing through field organization...”⁷⁴ But Nunn also planned to invite speakers “from as wide a field as Denver to New York”.⁷⁵

As a northern manifestation of American experiments in educational broadcasting, and as a venue for local educational projects, Nunn and CJFX were doubly appealing. Marshall organized travel expenses for Nunn so that he could visit U.S. educational radio operations. A three-month grant of \$800 facilitated his American travels in the summer of 1942. During this period, he visited the Columbia University Office of Radio Research, Ohio State University in Columbus, Iowa State College in Ames, the University of Iowa in Iowa City, the Rocky Mountain Radio Council in Denver and the University of Minnesota at Minneapolis.⁷⁶ In March 1943, CJFX went on the air with educational programmes “directed towards making the peoples of this part of Canada better citizens and more appreciative of the spiritual, social and economic advantages of our democratic way of life”.⁷⁷

The work of Helen Creighton became known to Marshall during his visit to Halifax. His impression of her was that “she has had little formal training, but that she is a careful and thorough worker”.⁷⁸ Creighton was given a small fellowship to “study methods of research in the field of folklore at the Summer Folk-lore Institute at the University of Indiana”.⁷⁹ At the behest of his wife, Dalhousie President Stanley had written to Marshall to recommend this support. While in Indiana, Creighton generated a significant interest in the folk songs of Nova Scotia at the Division of Music in the Library of Congress, who agreed to lend her a “recording machine” provided she deposit the collected material with them. The expenses incurred in the collection of this material were offset by two grants-in-aid of \$600 each (in 1943 and 1944).⁸⁰ She subsequently was awarded a final grant of \$750 in 1945 for the completion of a “folklore manuscript”.⁸¹ Creighton was to achieve wide success and recognition by virtue of her collection and recording of Nova Scotia folklore. Many

74 Transcript, “Conference on the Eastern Maritime Region”, p. 92.

75 *Ibid.* Denver was the location of the Rockefeller Foundation-funded Rocky Mountain Radio Council.

76 Grant-in-Aid to Clyde Nunn. Nunn met Paul Lazarsfeld in New York, Clay Harshbarger in Iowa, Harold B. McClary in Wisconsin and Robert Hudson in Denver.

77 Report on “Radio Station CJFX, Antigonish, N.S.”, p.1, appended to letter from D.J. MacDonald to Marshall, 23 October, RG, RF 1.1, 427R, Box 28, Folder 282, RAC. Nunn requested assistance in programme production and scriptwriting, hoping that the Humanities Division would contribute by sending someone trained in radio to Antigonish. Marshall responded by recommending that a Canadian with an appropriate background should be found for the job, who could then be sent to study radio projects in the United States on a Rockefeller Foundation fellowship. See Marshall to MacDonald, 26 October, 1943, RF, RG 1.1, 427R, Box 28, Folder 282, RAC.

78 Marshall Diary, fourth part, p. 25.

79 Grant-in-Aid to Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 17 June 1943, RF, RG 1.1, 427R, Box 28, Folder 279, RAC.

80 Grant-in-Aid to Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 17 June 1943 and 12 January 1944, RF, RG 1.1, 427R, Box 28, Folder 279, RAC.

81 RF Humanities Programme, 1942-47, p. 94.

of her collections of the traditional stories and songs of the region are still in print and circulate widely.⁸²

What qualities did the funding initiatives of Bailey, Nunn and Creighton share? First, in so much as Marshall saw substantial promise in each (almost in spite of their intellectual context), they could be said to be at a fairly early stage in their careers. In Marshall's eyes, these three, who stood out so distinctly from those Maritime scholars who surrounded them, were the stars of the future. Unlike Coady, for instance, Bailey, Nunn and Creighton had not yet done their best work. Marshall felt that Rockefeller Foundation funding would help them not only to contribute to the cultural development of the region, but also to realize their potential. For instance, when Marshall met Nunn, St. Francis Xavier had received a broadcast licence for an educational radio station but had yet to produce any programming. It fell to Nunn to initiate and coordinate the activities of CJFX. Nunn "had no experience with educational radio" though he had worked at CJCJ in Sydney.⁸³ The Rockefeller Foundation's influence at this stage was crucial.

Additionally, all three were involved independently in the interpretation of local qualities and characteristics: Bailey in the field of regional cultural history, Nunn through an activist educational project, and Creighton as a protector of the region's oral traditions. Thus, for Marshall, the commitment of each to local studies revealed a commitment to the region. Whereas he believed that most of the promising or ambitious of the Maritimers had left the Atlantic coast for Central Canada or the United States, these individuals could be expected to remain. For example, UNB President MacKenzie expressed concern to Marshall about the possibility of Bailey's departure from the region, which MacKenzie considered could be nothing short of "tragic".⁸⁴ He felt that it would take little to encourage Bailey to stay, and this Marshall took seriously.

While the number of grants awarded was evenly distributed between the two provinces (four for Nova Scotia and three for New Brunswick), the total amount of funding was not. Of the \$17,250 allotted to the Maritimes from 1942-46, Bailey received \$14,500 — 84 per cent of the total.⁸⁵ This pattern of support was consistent

82 These include Helen Creighton, *Bluenose Ghosts* (Toronto, 1957) and Helen Creighton, ed., *Bluenose Magic: Beliefs and Superstitions in Nova Scotia* (Toronto, 1968). See Ian McKay, "Helen Creighton and the Politics of Antimodernism", in Gwen Davies, ed., *Myth and Milieu: Atlantic Literature and Culture, 1918-1939* (Fredericton, 1993), pp. 1-17, for an account of Creighton's contributions to the study of Maritime folklore, and Jeff Webb, "Cultural Intervention: Helen Creighton's Folksong Broadcasts, 1938-39", *Canadian Folklore canadien*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (1992), pp. 159-70, for a discussion of one of the radio programmes Creighton did for the CBC.

83 Marshall Diary, fourth part, p. 25.

84 *Ibid.*, p. 20.

85 Ironically, it could be argued that the meagre funding given Nova Scotia had greater long-run consequences than the substantial amount allotted to New Brunswick. Under Nunn's leadership, CJFX became a major voice for the cooperative movement in Eastern Nova Scotia. Similarly, Rockefeller Foundation funding enabled Helen Creighton to upgrade her research skills, thereby enhancing her contributions as a folklorist. On the other hand, Bailey's ambitious publication project never materialized. "Unfortunately", as E.R. Forbes remarked, "the first study [by Katherine MacNaughton] was also the last, as Bailey was sucked into the maw of academic administration". E.R. Forbes, *Challenging the Regional Stereotype: Essays on the 20th Century Maritimes* (Fredericton, 1989), p. 57.

with the much different conclusions Marshall had reached about the prospects for the humanities in the two provinces, despite a general sense that both areas were “depressed or even backward”.

Given Marshall’s bleak assessment, it is not at all surprising that Nova Scotia was earmarked for relatively modest funding. As he noted of Halifax, “it was somehow appropriate that IHD (International Health Division) preceded Humanities in this district, that SS (Social Science) had a grant operative to deal with fundamental, even rudimentary problems, and that MS (Medical Sciences) had for years been at work to develop the leadership within Dalhousie now has in medicine”.⁸⁶ In this sense, he felt that “the salient needs of the of the province are more likely to fall in the fields of the IHD and SS”. In terms of the division of labour within Rockefeller philanthropies, Marshall had come to the view that medical and social problems had to be dealt with before assistance to the humanities could be seriously considered:

[T]hat two Humanities fellowships in librarianship have been so unproductive, is hardly strange. In fact, unless [the] program in Humanities is to accept Nova Scotia as it is, and consider opportunities in terms of Nova Scotian need, JM doubts that many opportunities will, or should be recognized....Aid for most work which would now be considered as within [the] program in the Humanities would be on the luxury level for Nova Scotia, — or worse, would divert the attention or scholars there from the fundamental problems they clearly ought to be facing.⁸⁷

As he concluded, “the only really appropriate approach for Humanities in Nova Scotia...would be to accept it as a definitely backward or depressed area, and to try to discover what are its fundamental humanistic needs”.⁸⁸

While Marshall felt that New Brunswick shared many features with Nova Scotia, he had the impression that “the situation there is a bit more hopeful”. He conceded, however, that a visit to the “poorer northeastern section” of the province might alter his view. Undoubtedly, Fredericton’s apparent cleanliness, the “slightly old-fashioned neatness”, had put Marshall in a more generous frame of mind.⁸⁹ He was confident that the University of New Brunswick offered “opportunities for [the] Humanities program”. He not only was impressed by the leadership of MacKenzie,

86 Marshall diary, fourth part, p. 27.

87 *Ibid.*

88 *Ibid.* What is particularly striking about the Maritimes was that, compared to other parts of the country, Marshall’s impressions had little to do with social and political reality. His assessment of backwardness, ill health, and laziness could have been equally appropriate to any number of other regions he visited. And yet, it was only in the Maritimes that this harsh evaluation is presented. This epidemiological vision of the region left him looking for the “healthy” parts of the organism, which could serve as the basis for growth and development.

89 *Ibid.*, p. 28. Marshall might also have been predisposed to view Fredericton favourably because of his family background: “Of course, Frederickton (sic) was for me just across the border. Some of my first wife’s Machias ancestors who were Royalists in the American Revolution settled there, though we never could identify the descendants, and the general atmosphere was almost exactly that of the northeastern Maine I knew so well”. See Marshall, Oral History, p. 264.

but was struck by the quality of the UNB faculty: "None of these men is more than 42 at most, and probably all of them are under 40. In short, in some way the University has come by a relatively young and vigorous faculty, and MacKenzie, if appearances were indicative, holds himself more to the position of a chairman than of a president". Marshall concluded that, despite the difficult problems that it faced, unlike Nova Scotia "there were brains and leaders in the province ready to cope realistically with its present situation".⁹⁰

Marshall assessed the prospects for the humanities within the two provinces much differently. In particular, Marshall detected a leadership potential in New Brunswick that was lacking in Nova Scotia.⁹¹ Marshall did not find anything equivalent to Bailey's vision or work in Nova Scotia. He showed little interest in either Harvey or Wilson, both of whom were more established senior historians. Wilson's attack on Marshall, coupled with his lack of productive scholarship, did not endear him to the Rockefeller officer. The case of Harvey is a more complex one. At face value, the work of Harvey, in building the Public Archives of Nova Scotia (PANS) and in cultivating local history, would appear to have been close to the Rockefeller Foundation's interest in regional culture. However, in an important respect, the work of Harvey was at odds with the foundation's continental regionalism. What Harvey sought to cultivate was a distinctness for Nova Scotia, based on its unique history different from that of the former colonies to the south. In this sense, he was the heir to both Thomas McCulloch and Thomas Haliburton, both of whom had sought to engender a sense of self-awareness by Nova Scotians through education and literature. Indeed, Harvey wrote favourable articles on both founding figures, along with numerous essays on the emergence of Nova Scotia education and culture.⁹²

While Harvey was invited to the Maine conference, he was not provided with subsequent funding as was fellow historian Alfred Bailey. This was undoubtedly because Bailey was both younger and open to the Rockefeller Foundation interpretation of regionalism.⁹³ There is another issue at work that might explain the

90 *Ibid.*, p. 15.

91 Marshall, nevertheless, was of the view that the Eastern Gaelic-speaking groups in Cape Breton were deserving of "careful interpretation" as they were "a reservoir of leadership both for Canada and the United States to an extent that is perhaps true of hardly any other group". It was partially for this reason that he recommended Charles W. Dunn, a Canadian graduate of Harvard, be given a fellowship to study the Eastern Gaels (officer's diary, RF, RG 12.2, 13 July 1942, RAC.) This belief that the Gaelic groups were a source of leadership may have explained why the Rockefeller Foundation had provided the Gaelic Foundation (located in St. Ann's, Cape Breton, under the directorship of Angus W.R. MacKenzie) with support (totalling \$2,840 by May 1940) and why Marshall was prepared, during his 1942 visit "to get a better acquaintance with the Gaelic Foundation's situation and opportunities" (officer's diary, 23 December 1941). He did not follow up on this visit, apparently because Nova Scotia government officials seemed dismissive of the Gaelic Foundation's work.

92 D.C. Harvey, "The Centenary of Sam Slick", *Dalhousie Review*, Vol. 16 (1936-37), pp. 429-40, "Archives and Historical Research in the Maritimes", *Dalhousie Review*, Vol. 23 (1943-44), pp.193-206 and "Dr. Thomas McCulloch and Liberal Education", *Dalhousie Review*, Vol. 23 (1943-44), pp. 352-62.

93 Bailey emphasizes that the meeting in Maine resulted in a shift of his own outlook on the Maritimes to that of cultural regionalism. He contrasts this perspective to what he considers to be a much narrower vision that was favoured by the "Haligonian historians" such as D.C. Harvey: interview with

pattern of funding in Nova Scotia. The relatively high degree of government involvement in areas such as local history (through the PANS) and libraries (through the Nova Scotia regional initiative), as well as its close ties to the Antigonish Movement, probably discouraged the Rockefeller Foundation from providing support for these ventures, given its unwillingness to invest in areas covered by government programmes.

While Marshall reacted differently to the two provinces, he nevertheless concluded that the region as a whole shared common features. In particular, his vision of regional life, as confirmed by his earlier visits to other parts of the country was severely challenged by his visit to the Maritimes. Marshall's outlook could be seen as a practical variant of what J.M.S. Careless has termed "metropolitanism".⁹⁴ But rather than stressing metropolitan areas as growth points for economic development, Marshall saw them as centres of cultural development and diffusion.⁹⁵ On his prior visits to Canada, he spent most of his time in university towns and provincial capitals. Following through on the suggestions of his informants, he met with selected members of the academic elite and with influential members of the public. His conclusions about the intellectual life of the region in question were, as a result, highly circumscribed.⁹⁶

The metropolitan pattern, characterized by culturally dominant centres, did not hold so completely for the Maritime visit. Although he omitted Prince Edward Island and all of Acadian areas of the region, Marshall travelled more widely to smaller centres such as Antigonish, Wolfville and rural Cape Breton. As Careless has argued, the Maritimes is the least metropolitan-dominated region; it developed a different sense of regionality, without the same tensions and centralizing pull of other regions: "The fact that no metropolitan city within that territory established significant ascendancy across the whole area expressed the 'subdivided' nature of Atlantic regionalism, marked as it was by entrenched provincial loyalties and local sentiments".⁹⁷ Conceivably, when Marshall bemoaned the absence of organization, he was partly responding to this difference in the regional make-up. Marshall was accustomed to encountering, and being immersed within, an urban cultural and intellectual elite in each region on his itinerary. By contrast, Marshall observed a

Bailey, 19 June 1992.

- 94 J.M.S. Careless, *Frontier and Metropolis: Regions, Cities, and Identities in Canada before 1914* (Toronto, 1989).
- 95 Marshall's implicit use of the metropolitan perspective was akin to that developed by Canadian-born Norman S.B. Gras, the founder of business history at Harvard. As Careless has pointed out, Gras "discerned that the rise of a pre-eminent city or metropolis did not involve just the growth of a particular urban place in itself but also the development of an area around and beyond it, in which it functioned as a controlling central point". Careless, *Frontier and Metropolis*, p. 50, see also N.S.B. Gras, *An Introduction to Economic History* (New York, 1922). Marshall discussed his "hypothesis" about regional studies with Gras as part of the planning of the Eastern Maritime Conference. Gras was also invited to attend, but was unable to because of illness. See John Marshall, officer's diary, 14 - 15 May 1942, RAC.
- 96 Only in his visit to Quebec did Marshall show any concern about the process by which the individuals whom he met had been selected.
- 97 Careless, *Frontier and Metropolis*, p. 75.

“patent lack of organized effort in the Maritimes, except perhaps in the Nova Scotia Economic Council”.⁹⁸

Realizing that Halifax did not — and probably could not — serve as a dominant metropolitan centre from which cultural ideals could be diffused, Marshall envisioned the formation of an appropriately dispersed elite cultural network, whose activities would collectively serve to facilitate the development of the Maritime region.⁹⁹ Through initiatives such as the regional conference, Marshall felt that it would be possible to bring together the best of Maritime scholars, overcoming the lack of contact that persisted despite the relative small distances between the Maritime universities:

In short, bringing these abler men into common activities might [enable] them to find their common interest, and even to discover avenues of concerted effort which might eventually take organizational shapeSuch individual association might be the best point for beginning in so far as [the] program in the Humanities is involved.... JM found relatively little individualism among these abler men sufficiently rugged to inhibit collaboration. ... It is in them, few in number though they are, that JM sees the principal hope of humanistic accomplishment in the Maritimes.¹⁰⁰

After the regional conference in Rockport, Maine in 1942 no further efforts were made by the Rockefeller Foundation to link and coordinate the disparate initiatives within the Maritimes. It may simply have been the case that the foundation, despairing of the fundamental problems that the area faced, had given up on it as a lost cause. In all likelihood, however, the general neglect for the development of the humanities in the Maritimes was closely tied to the fate of the regional studies programme as a whole. The initial thrust of the programme had been to better understand the various regions of the United States, as they extended northwards and southwards throughout the North American continent. To this end, ample funds were

98 Marshall Diary, fourth part, p. 29. In other parts of the country, contact with “organized efforts” of this kind had led him to spend a good deal of time discussing initiatives in local drama and finding ways for the Rockefeller Foundation to contribute to the development of theatre-production, education, and play-writing. This was particularly evident in his meetings in Winnipeg and Edmonton. Yet in his visit to the Maritimes, Marshall barely broached the question of local drama even though he was aware that initiatives in theatre had been undertaken. It was known to Marshall, for instance, that drama had been supported in New Brunswick through the work of Fletcher Peacock and Elizabeth Sterling Haynes. Arguably, Marshall did not spend time investigating drama in the Maritimes because, in the absence of a ready-made elite network, his energies had become focused on how such a network might be created. Marshall also did not devote much attention to the state of libraries, a matter that had been of major concern in his earlier trips. Given that the Carnegie Foundation, the Antigonish Movement, and the provincial governments of the Maritime provinces had already been quite intensively involved in questions concerning libraries, Marshall possibly felt that there was little scope for the Humanities Division to become involved as well.

99 That a certain degree of camaraderie and shared purpose by Rockefeller grantees developed is evident in Helen Creighton’s remarks on her relations with Clyde Nunn and with Charles W. Dunn. See Helen Creighton Diary, Helen Creighton Papers, MG 1, vol. 2830 #2, Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax, and Helen Creighton, *A Life in Folklore* (Toronto, 1975) p. 134.

100 Marshall diary, fourth part, pp. 28-9.

provided both for regional conferences (such as that of the Eastern Maritimes) and for regional studies (such as that of Alfred Bailey). However, it soon became evident that the “hypothesis” about continental regionalism had little resonance with the existing cultural realities. Indeed, Marshall’s series of visits to Canada and the sustained exposure to a Canadian elite network that they involved, obliged him to orient himself increasingly towards national associations rather than to regional initiatives.

Abandoning its concern with the interpretation and consolidation of cultural regions *per se*, the Rockefeller Foundation began to support in greater measure larger projects that dealt with American civilization as a whole,¹⁰¹ or the writing of biographies of influential figures in American history.¹⁰² Mirroring this shift in emphasis, the only new additions to the “regional” programme in Canada after 1944 were a grant of \$6500 given to Donald Creighton to work on his biography of Sir John A. Macdonald, and “the round sum of \$100,000 to McGill University in Montreal toward putting into usable form the papers of W.L. Mackenzie King”.¹⁰³ At the same time, the Humanities programme, moving away from its earlier interest in local developments, began increasingly to funnel its support into endeavours of national concern such as the Canadian Library Council, the National Film Society, the Canadian Association for Adult Education and the Humanities Research Council of Canada.¹⁰⁴ What had begun as a tightly focused concern with regional issues had become more diffuse and less systematic by the late 1940s.

In his recollections Marshall later expressed some doubts about whether the estimated \$1,000,000 expended by the Rockefeller Foundation on regional studies had brought any tangible benefits:

I cannot now help wondering what the impact of this expenditure of a million dollars was....At the time we felt we were really accomplishing something. We were supporting work in the humanities which should have the effect of reinforcing human beings by making them aware of [sic], by taking themselves back into their origins. But in retrospect, this is a fact that may or may not have been operative.¹⁰⁵

There is little to suggest that an awareness of this kind was any more operative in Canada than it had been in the United States. Certainly, Marshall had found little in the Maritimes that lent support to the continental regionalist thesis. All the same,

101 An example of this was “a grant of \$12,000 to Princeton toward developing interdisciplinary studies in American civilization”: Marshall, *Oral History*, p. 273.

102 An example was a grant of \$21,000 to the University of Virginia “to enable Dumas Malone to continue his work on his biography of Thomas Jefferson”, *Ibid.*

103 *Ibid.*, pp. 273, 275.

104 These grants were as follows: “\$17,500 for use of the Canadian Library Council in establishing microphotographic and general services for Canadian libraries,...\$6,000 for study of [the] audience of Canadian National Farm Radio Forum,...[and] ... \$8,000 [to the Humanities Research Council of Canada] for general support and a survey of the state of the humanities in Canada”: RF Humanities Program, 1942-47, p. 95.

105 Marshall, *Oral History*, p. 277.

perhaps as an unintended consequence of the ambitious but ill-conceived regional studies programme, Canada was no longer viewed as a horizontal mosaic extending northwards from the United States; it was now considered as a distinct region of its own whose metropolitan elites were to receive and administer the largesse of the Rockefeller Foundation.