

## *Chapter Three*

### **THE TRANSFORMATION OF VALLEY POLICING**

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As the Valley police departments entered the turbulent 1960s, the structural, political, and managerial environment of policing was about to undergo considerable turmoil and change. Most dramatically, conflicts occurred at the top, in the relationships between police chiefs and town councils, and at the level of the rank-and-file with unionization. Chiefs were replaced, additional constables were hired, and the modernization of the force was propelled by a combination of internal and external factors.

The conditions of work in police departments late in the pre-professional era were summed up by Chief Stan Holt, of Middleton. In 1965, Holt served as Second Vice President of the Maritime Association of Chief of Police, as well as serving on the N. S. Police Act Committee (see below). Holt became President of the Chiefs' Association in 1968 (*Summerside Journal Pioneer* 6 July 1968: 3). In his "President's Address" to the 17<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of the Chiefs of Police in 1968, Holt said that he was "throwing out a challenge to every Chief of a Town in the Maritimes to be concerned about the conditions under which we work." According to Holt, "We lack everything that people in other occupations take for granted, such as job security, through salaries, hours of work, lack of adequate staff, equipment, office and lock-up facilities.... [W]e are the lowest paid and the most ill equipped body of men trying to do a most essential and important job in our society." Lack of manpower leads to long hours and an inadequate job. This leads to criticism from councils and the public. Laymen don't appreciate policing, Holt argued, and don't understand "the amount of know-how, time, intestinal fortitude it takes to be a good policeman" and run an efficient department" (Holt 1968: 1).

The municipal policeman in the Maritimes at the present time is still labouring under a public image which dates back to the beginning of the 20th century, when the only thing the Councils wanted in a policeman was a good strong boy who would jump when they said so and not question anything he was told to do. They had very few of the problems which beset all communities today and everything moved at a much slower pace, consequently it did not matter very much what the so-called policeman knew or what he could do, and it would seem that we still have certain people who would keep it that way. We still get stories about the small town policeman and how stupid they are supposed to be, and the following story is an illustration: "A large police department sent out pictures of an escaped convict in six different poses. A few days later, they received the following wire from a small town constable: 'Have captured five of them and am on the trail of the sixth.'" . . . What have we done about this situation. Have we

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tried to upgrade the job by being watchful of what we do both on and off duty? We must bear in mind at all times that we are always in the public eye and a prime target for criticism. I am led to believe from conversations I have had with various people in town councils that they are quite willing to let this image of the dumb cop persist because it suits their purpose (Holt 1968: 2).

In 1963, at the request of Attorney General, the Police Act Committee had sent a questionnaire to Nova Scotia Chiefs of Police. The results from 27 departments indicated that the lowest paid chief received \$2,280 per year, while only two received an amount close to \$5,000. The following Table summarizes the results from the 1963 survey. It includes additional information from similar surveys the Police Act Committee circulated in 1966 and 1972. In 1966, 20 departments returned the survey (16 from the MPDs that had replied in 1963 and from four towns from which replies had not been received in 1963: New Waterford, Oxford, Stewiacke, and Yarmouth). Twenty-three surveys were returned in 1972, including for the first time the cities of Dartmouth, Halifax, and Sydney, and the towns of Bridgewater and Kentville.

Altogether, 36 municipalities submitted at least one survey to the Police Act Committee. Among them were the cities and larger towns, such as Halifax (245 members), Dartmouth (86), Sydney (57), Glace Bay (22), and Truro (18). The remainder, 31 small town departments, had 12 or fewer members. The larger police departments operated out of stations rather than only offices, had among the highest paid chiefs and constables, used police vehicles that were owned by the department and were equipped with 2-way radios, and were less likely to be expected to perform additional, non-police duties, such as sanitation inspection and catching dogs.

About one in three of the departments that responded in 1963 or 1966 were one-member police forces. Of these, in the Annapolis Valley were Annapolis Royal, Berwick, Bridgetown, and Hantsport. The Chiefs of Police in these extremely small departments earned average (approximately \$3600) or below average salaries. In Westville, Chief Fraser noted that his salary was supplemented by the supply of a five-room house "along with fuel (oil) telephone & lights." Chief Crowell, from Trenton, replied: "I would like to suggest that a higher standard of pay be established in accordance with the present cost of living, most Municipal Police Departments in this Province are under paid which certainly fails to entice the better calibre of man into Police Work as a career, and therefore the class of personnel usually accepted for Police Work in small Municipalities is some one with little education or experience. Also I think that appointment of Police Officers should be executed by someone with a background or knowledge of Law Enforcement and divorce Municipal Councils from control of these forces."

About half of the small town forces (15 of 31) used department-owned police vehicles. In the 1960's, Kentville had one police car, which was standard shift, a senior member interviewed stated. Police cars imply police chases. In 1967, a fatal high-speed chase began in downtown Kentville. The Kentville police pursued the car to Coldbrook, where the vehicle being chased left the road and napped a power pole. "Upon coming

to rest between two trees, the car burst into flames". Perry Tufts body was extracted from the wreckage after the fire was extinguished (*Kentville Advertiser*, 28 September 1967).

At that time there were no radios in the car. "The town had a system of call boxes and constables carried around a large brass key to use them", a senior member said. "The call box had a set of bells that would sound when the number was called. There was one on every block." The Police office on duty had to stay close to the call boxes. The officer on patrol was "allowed to drive out to Park Street [at the edge of town] but only allowed away from the downtown for 30 minutes at a time. We had to check back every half-hour. We would park by the call boxes and wait to be called. . . . At that time we did foot patrol, pretty much the same way we do now."

In the absence of a vehicle owned by the department or Town, Holt stated, "transportation was supplied, for the most part, by the police themselves for which they received a small pittance, in most cases not enough to run the car, just enough to pay for the gas and oil, nothing for general maintenance." The Council gave him \$15 a month for a petrol allowance. Holt said that he had to argue at length to have this allowance raised. In his words: "The Council I had—they were a tight bunch. Bill Reagh was the Mayor. Eventually, though, they gave me \$30 for gas." Holt operated his own car for about five years, he said, after which he received a police vehicle. He recalled several early models as being marked cars, with a radio in them and a screen on the back.

When the Chief was expected to use his private vehicle for police business in 1963, he was usually paid a monthly sum, from \$20 (Bridgetown) to \$67 (Louisbourg) a month. In two towns, Parrsboro and Shelburne, the Chief was expected to hire a taxi, if necessary for police business such as "when they had to transport an [\] arrested person to jail" (Holt 1973: 3-4). Eight of the 19 small forces that responded in 1966 still operated private vehicles. In some towns with department- or town-owned police vehicles, there were provisions for the use of a private vehicle when necessary for police business with a mileage payment. In Louisbourg Chief Magee said he used his private vehicle, "Only when [the] police vehicle [is] out of town or not working." Chief LeBlanc in Yarmouth, where the department had a patrol car, said that his car was "used for investigations and [as a] ghost car." Even when owned by the department, patrol cars or vans were not usually equipped with radios. In 1963, only 4 of 25 small departments used 2-way radios. They were more common by 1966 (used by 8 of 19 small forces).

In Middleton by 1977, the radio system (considered adequate by the Nova Scotia Police Commission), consisted of a transmitter/receiver at the police station, one in the police patrol car, and one portable radio. Only one of the three frequencies worked, and the system was shared by the Works Department and at times with the Fire Department. The portable radio had only one regular battery, and down-time was substantial for re-charging. At times during the day when the Police Office was not occupied, Town staff would answer the telephone and pass information to the duty constable. At night, the switchboard of the Hospital also took telephone messages and relayed them to the constable by radio or telephone. "There is no obligation on their part to perform this [\] service, but it has been carried out for a number of years" (NSPC 1977: 18). "Under

**Table 4-1 – Nova Scotia Police Act Committee Survey of Nova Scotia Police Departments, 1963, Selected Details**

Town	Pop.	Chief	Yrs	N	Chf\$	Chf\$	Cst\$	Cst\$	Veh.	Rad.	Extra
	1963	1963	63	63	1963	1972	1963	1972	1963	1963	1963
Amherst	10800	Farrell Simpson	19	10	4500	8500	3000	6000	Dept	Yes	yes
AnnapolisRyl	1200	Hugh B. Pulsifer	20	1	2700				Pri	No	yes
Antigonish	4500	Malc'm MacEachern	2	5	4200	7800	2300	6250	Dept	No	yes
Berwick	1285	Archibald Strong	5	1	3600	7000		4080	Pri	No	yes
Bridgetown	1023	Joseph Day	2	1	3600		4836	**	Pri	No	yes
Canso	1200	John F. Bond	11	2	2280		1820		Pri	No	yes
ClarksHarb.	943	Elijah Jeffrey	4	1	2860	4100		780	Nil	No	yes
Digby	2500	Webster F. Dunn	11	2	3600	5200	3080	4680	Pri	No	yes
Dominion	3000	J. C. LeDieu	14	2	3180	6800	2460	5950	Dept	No	yes
Glace Bay	24186	John Morrison	5	22	4800	9000	3789	6650	Dept	Yes	no
Hantsport	1500	John A. Allard	17	1	3600				Pri	No	yes
Liverpool	3700	Clayton F. Brannan	12	3	3450	7100	3150	4800	Dept	Yes	yes
Louisbourg	1500	Charles E. Peck	16	1	2376	5100		5000	Pri	No	yes
Lunenburg	3000	Hugh H. Corkum	23	5	4200	7000	3000	5400	Dept	No	yes
MahoneBay	1200	Robert Boutilier	12	1	3672	6200		4820	Pri	No	yes
Mulgrave	1250	Gordon Day	5	1	*				Pri	No	yes
NewGlasgow	9782	Lloyd H. Munro	1	10	5500		3300		Dept	Yes	yes
NorthSydney	8600	Roy S. MacLeod	2	6	5000	7000	3926	5000	Dept	Yes	no
Parrsboro	1840	Donald W. Lake	4	1	2520	5000	4500		Taxi	No	yes
Shelburne	2300	Vincent S. Helpard	8	2	3760		3000		Taxi	No	yes
Springhill	5836	Leo McDonald	25	4	3502		3032		Dept	No	yes
Stellarton	5500	C. L. Martin	13	4	3477		3308		Pri	No	yes
SydneyMines	9122	H. A. Sexton	13	5	4900	7500	3800	5850	Dept	No	yes
Trenton	3400	E. Crowell	1	3	4200		2800		Dept	No	yes
Truro	12421	W. A. MacLean	16	18	4800	8800	3000	6700	Dept	Yes	no
Westvillw	4500	John Philip Fraser	2	3	2520		200		Pri	No	yes
Wolfville	2323	Edward Kendrick	18	2	3400		3000		Dept	No	yes
<b>1966</b>											
NewWaterf'd	10340	James A. McNeil	12	12	5298	8100	4064	6200	Dept	Yes	
Oxford	1500	Hugh C. Dixon	2	1	3000				Pri	No	
Stewiacke	1400	Norman D. A. Bay	1	1	3600				Pri	No	
Yarmouth		E. S. Nickerson	22	10	5000	7200	3600	5200	Dept	Yes	
<b>1972</b>											
Bridgewater	5200	Barnard Webber	3	6		6200		4800	1	Yes	yes
Dartmouth	70000	Roger C. Smith	3	86				8100	16	All	no
Halifax	125000	G. O. Robinson	3	245		18500		7176	32	All	no
Kentville	5700	Alfred W. Graves	5	6		8000		6000	1	Yes	no
Sydney	34000	G. K. MacLeod	6	57		10790		6498	6	All	yes

\* Chief Day indicates his salary at \$900, and Constables rate of pay at \$180/month (\$2160/annum)

\*\* \$520 + hourly minimum wage

the present telephone system the Chief of Police has an extension located in his bedroom which rings every time a call is made to the Police Station during night hours." They recommended that this extension be removed and that the new system would "not be a problem as the calls will be taken direct by the constable on duty". By 1980 the telephone extension had been removed from the Chief's bedroom, although it was still available elsewhere in his house (NSPC 1977: 22-23).

In addition to low wages, police chiefs were subject to long working hours and, more precisely, there was no clear demarcation between work and leisure time. In 1963, 23 of 27 Chiefs reported being on 24-hour call. Chief Allard in Hantsport said that he worked 14-hour days, 7 days a week, and was on call for the remainder of the time. Chief Helpard in Shelburne said, "I work each day during [the] week, have 1 day off a week and every second Sunday off. Also work one week of night shift during month. On my night man's day off I do his shift too. His shift is 6 PM to 2 am. But I'm always on call." Similarly, Chief Lake of Parrsboro worked from 8:30 in the morning to midnight. The most common shift pattern for constables was an 8-hour shift, 6 days a week. In the small towns, constables frequently were hired as "night men" who worked in the evening into the early hours of the morning. That gave the towns more direct coverage for about 18-hours a day. A few towns had 12-hour shifts, but this was unusual.

As a constable in the mid-1960s, a senior member interviewed said, he sometimes "worked 12 hour shifts seven days straight for an 84 hour week. On Sunday night we would come in at 12 and work until 7 in the morning. Then we would get two days off. Then we would work seven 5 to 12 shifts (five at night), have two days off, then do a five-day shift, 7 a.m. to 5 p.m., then have a long week-end. All you did was sleep and work . . . . I was in plain clothes first; I didn't get a new uniform for 3 months."

Police accommodations were usually also inadequate. The larger departments reported having "Police Stations". In Amherst, for example, the police station contained a Chief's office, a clerk's office, a patrolman's office, and a locker room, but in the view of the Chief, they were "All too small for [the] size of Department." Most towns simply had an office for the police department, generally located in the Town Hall. The small office in North Sydney, Chief MacLeod said, was only about 10 x 16. The police office in Kentville was upstairs in the Town Office and consisted of one room with a desk. A senior constable said, "The Chief used the desk and we sat on chairs." In Trenton, the police Office, approximately 15' x 9' in dimension, was housed in a building constructed in 1912. The Chief said that the "desk and office furnishings very old, dilapidated and inadequate -- approximately 40 years old." In Westville, Chief Fraser had only the use of a roll-top desk in the Council Chamber. Chief Holt of Middleton complained that he had to "borrow" an office upstairs in Town Hall to conduct private interviews. The police office was open to all who came in, there was no secure place to hold seized items, and "the Chief has no control over any of the items in the office" (McGahan 1989 # 12: 41-2).

Police departments not only had "poor or no equipment" in many towns there was also no police lock-up (Holt 1973: 1). Eighteen of 26 departments reported they had a lock-up. The Chief described the lock-up in Trenton as having two very small

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cells, with "wooden walls and floor"; the Chief said it was "very dangerous and considered [it a] fire hazard." Several police departments had County Jails as alternative places to confine prisoners. When arrested persons were confined in the police lock-up, the department was responsible for supervising them.

Half of the police forces in 1963 were equipped with firearms owned by the police department. Typically, these were .38 calibre revolvers, sometimes described as "antique". The larger towns (such as Truro and Amherst) owned several revolvers; most owned only one. While the town of Parrsboro did not supply any firearms, Chief Lake owned two revolvers himself; he kept one at home and one at the police office.

In response to a specific question on the survey, the Chiefs listed a great variety of equipment that was issued by the towns. In New Glasgow, Chief Munro said he had been issued two uniforms and caps, one pea jacket, a trench coat, a Sam Browne Belt, and white shirts, but noted that boots were "not supplied." The answers were too varied, however, to get an accurate picture of what was issued in each department. Among police-specific equipment, handcuffs, "blackjacks" or batons, and flashlights were common. By 1972, police departments were routinely being supplied with more up-to-date equipment and uniforms. Even in 1966, most of the surveys were filled out by typewriter; they had been mostly hand-written in 1963. Chief Edward Backman of Berwick reported that he was supplied with "All uniforms and equipment (2 uniforms each, 6 shorts, 1 pr. shoes and overshoes, 1 winter coat each, 1 raincoat each, 1 pr. gloves each, renewable as required. 1 heavy belt 1 pr. handcuffs, and case, 1 holster and revolver with 12 rounds of ammo. 1 blackjack.)" Both the Chief and the full-time constable received similar equipment. The part time member, he continued, "is outfitted with as much equipment as can be found that will fit and is in wearable and presentable condition and is renewed with new as required." Although no firearms were available to part time members, in Berwick the officer "who is used to fill in on off duty shifts . . . usually has access to one of the two revolvers owned by the Dept." This man, Chief Backman explained, was granted access to firearms "only after at least four hours instruction by the Chief."

A second questionnaire was sent to police departments in the province in 1966. The Chiefs were asked to indicate whether they felt policing had improved in the years since 1963 and, if so, to elaborate. Six of the 20 Chiefs indicated there had been no improvement, or only minimal change. The main improvements were increases in pay, reduction in hours, and the addition of more members. As Canso's Chief, John F. Bond (Sr.) put it, "The only improvement in my employment is the fact that I got a raise." Some noted additions to equipment, such as a police car or 2-way radio. Chief Peck reported that, "in Louisbourg they have added a Constable, Police car, and Police Office." Some of these improvements were brought about in response to demands from the police and sympathetic councillors. One of the most active and effective forces for modernization, however, was the trade union movement. In the view of New Waterford Chief, James A. McNeil, improvements were "[m]ainly due to the fact that our Dept. is unionized."

Summing up the results of the second survey, Holt noted that some improvements had taken place in the three years since the first survey. There was a

little more pay, though some salaries were still under \$4,000 per year, and they were "not in line with anything being paid to other police forces in the Province". In addition, "Towns were starting to get their own patrol vehicles and two-way radios, and the odd radar set". But the majority were still on 24 hour duty, 7 days a week; "there were places where there were no police office and no lock-up; [and] The variety of jobs other than police work was something to behold" (Hoot 1973: 3-6).

Only three Chiefs (out of 26) said that they did not perform additional, non-police related duties, as part of their work. The most common jobs were as a tax collector, attendance (or truant) officer, and sanitation inspector. Other tasks listed included work as a janitor, assessor, pound keeper, jailer, traffic authority, fire inspector, dog catcher, building inspector, works superintendent, civil defence director, and fire warden. One Chief was expected to repair parking meters; another read water meters and conducted an annual census of the town's dog population.

A senior member of one police force said in an interview, "If outstanding taxes were owed to the town, then the police got the slips and had to collect the back taxes. When you collected 10 or 12, then you would give them to the Town Hall. It was normal to collect all of them and then turn them in." A constable in that town was alleged to have used this money for personal reasons. The Constable, he said, "collected eight tax debts, amounting to \$400, and had two left to collect. In those days our lockers were wooden things with sliding locks on them. [He] deposited the money in his bank account. It was a joint account and his wife spent it. Two weeks later the Chief asked for the money but when he [the Constable] went to the bank he couldn't withdraw it, and found out that his wife had spent it. [He] told the Town Council about it and they fired him. In 1964 or 1965 this policy was ended. [He] tried to get back on and got his name cleared about eight years later."

Another source of remuneration came from the paying of the arrest fee. The police were authorized to pocket a fee of \$1.50 for every arrest. This matter became controversial in Kentville. Town Solicitor, Victor Thorpe, and Police Committee Chairman, H. Woodman objected to this practice, arguing that money gained by employees rightfully belonged to the Town. They negotiated with the police department and reached an agreement, which the police were prepared to sign, which "would make the funds payable to the town, which in turn would be required to account for them and disburse them as directed by the police department". This would clearly cut into the benefits of the job. In return, Town Council agreed to "the inclusion of police salaries in the proposed town review" of its employees' wages and salaries (*Kentville Advertiser*, 16 June 1966: 1).

The extra tasks imposed on the police chiefs were sometimes, but not always, remunerated by the town. The Chief might receive a fee or deduct a percentage from any back taxes he collected. Chief Gordon Day, the Attendance Officer in Mulgrave, received \$65 a month for that duty. A couple were paid for their work as a building inspector or assessor. Most of these jobs, however, did not carry a stipend. Chief Peck of Louisbourg wrote: "I worked alone on a twenty-four hour call system for which I received \$200 per month, acted as tax collector for which I received 5% on all taxes collected, assessor for which I received \$500 per year and Attendance Officer. In other

words I was a dam fool to be putting up with such conditions". Lawrence MacNeill, the Chief in Mulgrave, worked as the truant officer and added: "I am expected to do erran[d]s for the town clerk and some of the councillors, along with other little things that occup[y] much time." Robert Boutilier from Mahone Bay also complained about being a "messenger boy for Clerk and Council." Chief MacLeod ran errands to the bank and post office and delivered notices to Town Council members in North Sydney. Holt summed up the situation as follows:

Would you believe that we still have the Chief of Police in one town reading water meters and doing flagman duty on road construction jobs? police constables in another town painting traffic markings on the streets? In my estimation, jobs like these do little to add to the public image of the policeman. There is nothing wrong with these jobs, but why should a policeman have to perform them? The job of meter reader and flagman were handed out to the chief by members of the council and because of the way Nova Scotia policemen are hired, it was either do the jobs or be dismissed. The painting of traffic markings was, I believe, an after duty job to obtain a little extra income for the constables which . . . they probably need in these days of high living costs and low salaries for municipal police (Holt 1968: 2).

Once small town departments began hiring constables, these extra duties were more likely to be shifted onto the backs of the lower ranking members. In Middleton, in the midst of a dispute with Town Council about the costs of hiring an additional police officer, Chief Holt recommended that the town also employ the new constable as part-time janitor responsible for cleaning Town Hall and the Fire Hall. "If these two jobs were combined", Holt argued, "we would have a man who was in a position to spend time at both jobs while on duty with no detriment to either one. We would have police on duty on a 24 hour basis. Morris [the proposed constable] would be able to work a 12 midnight to 8 a.m. shift While he was working in the building he would be in the range of the telephone and the radio. His police duty on this shift would be the occasional patrol to check the Town" (McGahan, 1989 # 12: 7-8; Middleton Police Department Report, 20 October 1969).

## **UNIONIZATION**

It was not only the Chiefs of Police who were lobbying for the modernization of policing. In addition, regular members were pressing their claims for better working conditions through the trade union movement. Municipal police were excluded from the Trade Union Act, an exclusion which had been maintained by the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia. Nevertheless, several police departments had entered into contract negotiations with municipalities, and the Policeman's Association of Nova Scotia was pressing ahead with its drive for membership and bargaining



In 1968, Trade Unions in Cape Breton began a campaign for collective bargaining rights for policemen. Not all Chiefs of Police supported this move. For example, Chief Verdun Mitchell (Halifax) and Chief John Edge (Dartmouth) opposed the proposal (Holt 1969: 13). This issue came to a head at the meeting of the Union of Nova Scotia Municipalities in Sydney in August 1968. Support for the extension of trade union rights to policemen came from Glace Bay Councillor Angus B. MacDonald who stated "that we hire them, we fire them". In his view, "They are only looking for a fair shake, the same as hospital employees and workers at other public utilities". The view that "policemen had the same right as anyone else to be unionized and given bargaining power" was also supported by Sydney alderman Charles Palmer (*Halifax Chronicle Herald*, 27 August 1968). Dartmouth alderman Chester Sandford spoke in favour of granting policemen full bargaining rights (*Halifax Chronicle Herald*, 28 August 1968).

Initially, the Executive did not support the granting of full trade union rights. Opponents of the revision argued that municipal police officers were "Officers of the Crown and were not employees". Consequently, they were excluded from the Trade Union Act (*Halifax Chronicle Herald*, 27 August 1968). The finding that police were officers of the Crown rather than municipal employees resulted from a decision of the Supreme Court of Canada, which sanctioned their exclusion from the Trade Union Act with the argument that police would have been specifically included under the Act if that had been the intention of the legislation (Holt 1969: 7).

Much of the opposition to the proposal concerned the fact that granting full bargaining rights meant the right to strike, and this would endanger public safety." Police had to be available "at all times for the protection of the public" (*Cape Breton Post*, 27 August 1968: 3). Such a right, Sydney Alderman Tom Millar suggested, "was asking for chaos in the community". Others, such as Sydney Mines clerk-treasurer Sidney Oram, and Springhill Mayor William Mont, a former policeman, felt that bargaining rights were appropriate, if compulsory arbitration was substituted for the right to strike. The resolution was referred back to the resolutions committee (*Halifax Chronicle Herald*, 27-28 August 1968).

Bargaining had already begun in some jurisdictions. Glace Bay Police Constable, and chairman of the Glace Bay Police Union, Jim Crosby, addressed the U.N.S.M., pointing out that "negotiations in good faith ... already existed in certain parts of the province between municipalities and police forces." He argued: "you trust us to look after you, and you trust us to be responsible citizens....I don't think a policeman would jeopardize his own community" (*Halifax Chronicle Herald*, 28 August 1968).

A revised resolution, supporting the right to bargain without the right to strike, was subsequently "overwhelmingly approved" by the Union of Nova Scotia Municipalities. The U.N.S.M. recommended compulsory arbitration. In general, municipalities preferred this approach over a provincial Police Act because it preserved municipal autonomy. It should be regarded as the lesser of two unpleasant alternatives for the U.N.S.M. Since a Police Act would also mandate certain standards, the U.N.S.M. "mandated a committee to work with the Attorney General's Department ... to prepare a uniform program for the training and instruction of new police officers." The resolution noted that police constables are usually employed without any previous experience and

a uniform course of training `would produce efficient constables much sooner than the present, very often casual, type of training" (*Halifax Chronicle Herald*, 28 August 1968).

"The proposed program would include all matters of police work, including dress, decorum and public relations." According to U.N.S.M. President Don Tingley (Amherst): "The course would teach investigation of charges, giving of evidence, preparing reports, the Motor Vehicle Act, the Criminal Code and other related statutes, and would generally be designed to train men to become efficient and responsible police officers.... The course would entitle police officers to better salaries. `Most municipalities in the province are willing to pay good salaries to trained men,' he said" (*Halifax Chronicle Herald*, 28 August, 7 December 1968).

Despite the resolution in favour of bargaining rights with compulsory arbitration as the only dispute resolution mechanism, the government opted for full bargaining rights. Labour Minister T. J. McKeough announced that he would "push for full collective bargaining with a strike rights, at the next session of the Legislature." McKeough's bill would impose a 30-day waiting period before a legal strike could take place, a provision which also applied to employees of government Boards and Commissions. This announced change was opposed by the U.N.S.M., which regarded potential strikes as "a catastrophe". In the view of Amherst Mayor, and President of the U.N.S.M., Don Tingley, "Policemen couldn't be considered like other municipal employees. They were hired to protect. `It would be catastrophic to allow them to walk off their jobs in a strike'" (*Halifax Chronicle Herald*, 7 December 1968).

In 1969 McKeough's Bill was written into law. According to Holt, however, the right to bargain collectively and the right to strike had "done nothing to change the status quo of the majority of the police in Nova Scotia." Holt went on to point out the contradictions of the situation. Whether they were employees or Officers of the Crown was in dispute. They had the right to strike, but the town had the right to fire them because the police man is hired at pleasure and can be dismissed by resolution of the Council. Some police departments are being offered contracts, but it is unclear whether these contracts can override the Towns' Act (Holt 1973: 7-8).

Unionization spread to the Valley some time after it had been successful in Cape Breton. According to a senior officer in Kentville, unionization was initiated in the town because of the low salaries, the long hours, "and the way we were treated. There was a lot of turnover then. The biggest thing was the wages. At the end of the year each guy would go into the police committee. One guy would get \$95 a week, another \$105 a week and another \$120 a week. There was no uniform wage scale and it did not go by seniority. . . . Wages started at \$3,000 a year." Unionisation was also precipitated, the senior members said, by an incident arising from political pressure. One constable "stopped the Chairman of the Police Commission after he went through a red light." After this incident, Town Council fired the constable who, the senior informant reported, then "sued the town and got a settlement but he wasn't allowed to divulge it. We went and unionised after this. We didn't want to have to take this horse shit."

Officers from Kentville and Wolfville travelled once every two months and would meet in Joe Ross' basement. Ross was the President of the Police Association of Nova Scotia (PANS). In a meeting held in the Fire Hall, the Kentville Police signed the

necessary slips and, once through the labour Relations Board, Police Association local 102 was certified. The Town, the member said, wanted to fire them all, though the Council did not appeal the vote. The first contract was very difficult, the member remembers. At first, the Town did not want to negotiate. Negotiations between the Town and PANS ceased (Ross negotiated on behalf of the local). The Mayor then approached the RCMP to pursue a municipal contract with the federal force to replace the town police. In the words of the senior officer, it came down to one month before the town force would be disbanded when, during one last session with the Town, negotiations finally concluded successfully. The senior member said that the Mayor “astounded us. We would have been satisfied with a \$5 a week increase. We got this immediately instead of gradually. [Mayor] Ripley came out and said that the town was prepared to go with a three-year contract, specifying three percentage increases.” The Mayor met with Ross and said that “the town would forget about the RCMP. With only one month to go before the take-over, the town called up [RCMP] headquarters and cancelled” the RCMP contract. The senior officer recalled that the RCMP “sent a nasty letter to the town. They said that they had already transferred 4 more members to the New Minas detachment in preparation for taking over the town. They had sent a new car and a Sergeant had sold his house in anticipation of moving. They had spent a lot of money preparing. Under no circumstances would the RCMP look at Kentville again,” he concluded.

Explaining the Mayor’s change of heart, the senior member said that he was under pressure. “The town people wanted their own police department.” The town police had been active in the matter. “We lobbied a lot of people—we didn’t just take this sitting down. We enjoyed working with the town. Also Chief Graves and Mayor Ripley were the best of friends. All these things were factors. Ripley knew he had the thumb on our police department. At 8 a.m., you could set your watch with Lefty Graves going to take orders from Frank Ripley . . . . After that we never had a strike. We came close, though.”

In Berwick, Town Council agreed (with one dissenting vote) not to oppose the application of PANS local 214 as the recognized bargaining agent for the members of the police department. In negotiations the following year, the Town’s negotiating team—constituting the entire Police Commission—sought comparative contracts from Kentville, Wolfville, and Middleton. A first agreement was signed before the year was out (McGahan 1989 # 4: 7-8).

In 1973, the Middleton force was unionized in local 1187 of the Canadian Union of Public Employees. Members of the Town Council felt obliged to review the draft collective agreement from CUPE, but found it more generous than the agreement signed in Kentville. Once again, they considered the RCMP option, contacting Windsor, which was policed by a 3-member RCMP detachment. Unionization was accepted, however, and several one-year contracts were signed, although in 1976 the members of CUPE held a strike vote along with employees of the town’s Public Works Department, also represented by CUPE. The settlement that year violated the new anti-inflation guidelines, resulting in a roll-back of about 10% (McGahan 1989 #12: 21-24). During the contract negotiations in 1978, however, members were dissatisfied with CUPE’s

representation. According to one constable, who served as a CUPE representative, the union "had made unreasonable demands in contract negotiations with the town". He added "that policemen have been well treated by the town and they feel it would be unfair of them to go along with the union demands." The officer did not elaborate on details to the media; however, the members of local 1187 voted unanimously to apply to the NSLRB for decertification of the local (Halifax *Chronicle Herald*, 9 December 1978: 21).

In Digby, constables sought unionization earlier than in the other Valley towns. The Town Council agreed not to oppose unionization, but not without observing "that by permitting the police to unionize it would be a 'two-way' street, at which the Town could possibly require and obtain more satisfactory work from the police force." The process of negotiation proved to be a lengthy one. Unlike in Middleton a collective agreement was never signed. Instead, town fathers gave more serious consideration to an alternate form of policing - in particular, securing the services of the RCMP. One factor that made this attractive was the belief that its impact on the municipality's budget would not have been greater than the cost of a collective agreement with a unionized local force. In 1974, Digby's Council unanimously agreed to accept the services of the RCMP. The two remaining local "guardians" were dismissed with due notice. Digby was not the only such community in the area to have examined this option, seeking to achieve an optimal and most cost effective level of policing.

Yarmouth was also to opt for RCMP policing, but not before a police strike. Unlike in Digby, the town police were able, at first, to negotiate successfully with the Town. The improvements in wages and working conditions that unionized constables had been successful in winning in Yarmouth were enumerated by Chief Nickerson in 1966. The Chief's pay, \$5,000 per year, had been brought into line with the rank and seniority structures in the department:

Deputy Chief: \$4,000; 1/year \$4,100; 5/years \$4,200

Sergeant: \$3,700; 1/year \$3,800; 5/years \$3,900

Constables: On appointment \$3,000, 1/year \$3,200, up to 3600 after 10 yrs.

Nickerson added that the rate of pay "is subject to change based on the cost of living in the future". In addition, the ranks below the Chief "receive time and a half for all overtime" as well as "three hours at time and a half for court time with a minimum of three hours." The entire department was "covered by Maritime Medical of which we pay half & the Town pays half" and this plan "also covers all members of our family. . . . Each man has Two weeks paid vacation each year and after 15 years he has three weeks." Finally, "Off duty officers are permitted to engage in work pertaining to police work such as police duty at N. S. Liquor store, dances, hockey games, [and] for this they charge \$2.00 per hour with a minimum of \$5.00."

## SECURITY OF EMPLOYMENT

The most serious problem facing Chiefs of Police at the time was "the archaic and arbitrary way in which the police were engaged and dismissed." They were hired at the pleasure of the Council in Nova Scotia and subject to dismissal by resolution (Holt 1973: 2).<sup>1</sup> This section declared: "The Town Council may from time to time appoint such and so many police officers as are deemed expedient who shall hold office during pleasure and who may be dismissed at any time by resolution of the council." Since town councils held office for three years, the police department was subject to frequent changes in personnel and policies. Holt argued,

The way municipal police are hired and the lack of a police in this regard gives rise to a situation where certain people sit down and make decisions about the way in which we must live in order to meet the demands of the job. We have no power to decide anything for ourselves; it is all done by people who have meetings and set the policy according to the way they see things. They hold this power because of an outdated section in the Provincial Statutes and they fight every effort to have this amended in any way to change these conditions (Holt 1968: 2).

"Behind every Municipal Policeman in Nova Scotia" Holt continued, "are people who have his job in their hands", and they have "time and time again ... been interfered with in the discharge of their duties." During a meeting with Attorney General Donahoe, one chief "told of a situation where he was unable to lay any information against a certain party because, as he pointed out, if he had pressed the point, he would have been fired the next day; he had a wife and family to support, so he took no further action." The Town had the power to fire him under the Towns Act, so "nothing could be done about his job" (Holt 1973: 3).

Given this state of affairs, Holt told the Maritime Chiefs, a successful resolution is difficult to achieve, first, because: "We have no unity of purpose". Not all chiefs belong to the Association, where there would be an opportunity to organize "and show a solid front to the Councils and the government." Holt concluded with the following message: "Let us not delude ourselves that the people with whom we are dealing are not willing to give up one iota of their power and if we don't start pulling together, we are going to remain the most underpaid and overworked body of men to be found anywhere. . . . [L]et us add our voice to the clamour for better conditions in our chosen profession" (Middleton *Valley Outlook*, 18 July 1968: 3).

The Maritime Association of Chiefs of Police was only one voice demanding the professionalization of policing, beginning with a revised Police Act which would grant security of employment and a measure of departmental autonomy from town councils. At least as important is likely to have been the example of other forces, notably the R.C.M.P. which in the late 1960s was undergoing considerable expansion in Canada and, along with

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<sup>1</sup> Holt cited: Sec. 208, The Town's Act, R.S. of N.S., 1967, Chapter 309.

## Policing the Valley

the armed forces, had received substantial improvements in salaries and benefits. In addition, there was agitation for unionization among police constables and, therefore, demands for improved wages and working conditions. These were important catalysts for change. When the Union of Nova Scotia Municipalities held its meeting in Sydney, the municipal delegates were confronted by demands from the trade union movement to unionize policemen. A "rousing debate" ensued, between some Cape Breton delegates who supported unionization and those delegates who, Holt, noted, were the same ones who were concerned about the loss of their autonomy, and who argued that police officers were not "employees" but, rather, were "Officers of the Crown" (Holt 1973: 3). The same argument had been used against the unionization of civil servants. The actual status of municipal police, then, was confusing and contradictory. The essential point, however, that Holt reiterated was that, under the Town's Incorporation Act, police officers were hired at the pleasure of the Council and could be dismissed by a resolution of the Council. They had won the legal right to strike, but could be fired if they exercise this right.

Two chiefs commented at length about this issue of job security in the 1966 survey of police chiefs that had been solicited by the Police Act Committee. Chief Lawrence MacNeil of Mulgrave, who had been chief for four and a half months, commented as follows:

"As we all know in a small town a policeman's security depends on the council that is in power for that particular two years, if the policeman is liked by that group he is well off[f] until he interferes with one of that group and then it is curtains for that particular officer whether he is right or wrong and then the council will hire another that will do their dirty work for them. I do not refer to the town that I am in at present but to the last place that I have worked.

"My belief is that the police of Nova Scotia should be in a union and that, like any other job, they should have someone else fighting for them and the policeman not fighting a losing battle by himself. I believe that a policeman could perform his duties much better and more efficient if this was the way things were. He would not have to worry about the big SHOT then and could treat all people alike and have no worry about tomorrow's bread and butter."

Chief Charles Peck of Louisbourg, who had 17 years of service, replied in 1966 that "wonderful improvements" had been made in his department since 1963, but

"I was placed in a position where I had to resign my position before they would act. . . . The police officers in small towns do not get a fair deal and the officers in large centers are not concerned due to the fact that their appointments are more secure and the N.C.O.s and Constables under them belong to a union who are prepared to go to bat for their welfare. The Police Chief in a small town, is today and has been for many years,

has been a whipping boy for the Councils. If there is nothing much to talk about at a council meeting then watch out as the Police Chief will be the center of conversation and they will either add to his duties, be critical of the duties performed with seldom a word of encouragement. Now this does not apply to all councillors but to the majority. The sad part of the whole thing is, the Police Chief or Constable can be dismissed at any time without cause and this item is continually in the back of his mind. He can be an excellent Officer for years and you will seldom hear of his good points but let him do something wrong of a trivial nature and we will hear something about it."

In 1968, R. S. MacLeod was fired as Police Chief in North Sydney. According to his account, he attended a Council meeting on the 2nd of January, 1968, which was to swear in new councillors and re-hire the town staff. A motion was made to re-hire the town staff "with the exception of Police Chief Roy S. MacLeod." Councillors criticized MacLeod for doing a good job only on the clerical work but not doing anything else. The town wanted "a working chief of police." The Chief had neglected Traffic Authority duties. He was an "outsider", with an income (pension)" when local men were available for the job. The motion was carried six to two, and MacLeod was out of a job, after about six years (Roy MacLeod to Stan Holt, 3 January 1968: 1).

In Kentville, it appears that a new Chief was let go so that the Mayor could hand-pick his successor. The former Chief, John Brown, had been employed by the town for 35 years and had adapted to what a senior member of the department described as a close scrutiny the mayor exercised over the police department. Chief Brown had been well-liked by Kentville Town Council. In an era when retirement often meant poverty, ex-chiefs could be hired to perform some of the extra duties that they had performed for additional pay. Chief Brown had been hired in 1926 as a night patrol constable, making Kentville a two-member force. The town celebrated his retirement after 35 years and, as a further reward, hired him on a part-time basis to service the town's parking meters (*Kentville Advertiser*, December 7, 1966). By the time Brown retired (in 1966) the department had grown to four members. According to the Chairman of the Police and License Committee, H. L. Woodman, while there had been no formal advertising for the position of Chief of Police, a number of applicants from across Canada were interviewed, including one applicant from the North West Territories (*Kentville Advertiser*, November 24, 1966).

Among these candidates for the Chief's job was Alfred. W. (Lefty) Graves had joined the Kentville Police as a constable in 1965 after a career in the Canadian Army (from which he had retired as an NCO) and following a period as a Sergeant with the Canadian Corps of Commissionaires. A senior member of the department described Graves as a good friend of the Mayor, who "told him to put his application in and he would be hired as the Chief.". The Town Council, however, asked the Attorney General to recommend the best candidate. "Because the AG's Department got involved, Archibald Strong, the Chief of Police in nearby Berwick, was recommended as the best candidate. To keep Lefty happy," the officer continued, "they made him Deputy Chief"

effective 1 October 1966. "No one else was allowed to apply for this", and after that, the Deputy Chief's position was retired.

A native of the nearby community of Canning, Strong had served in the Second World War. Upon his discharge, he became a police officer in Halifax. In 1953 he went to Clark's Harbour as Chief, then to Liverpool as Deputy Chief and became Chief in Berwick in 1958. A veteran of 20 years police work, Strong was aged 49. Part of the rationale for hiring Strong was that he "had attended a number of police schools". "The Committee, in selecting Strong, felt that Berwick's very low crime rate was due to a large extent to police vigilance". In addition, the Committee noted, Chief Brown and Chief Strong had "given and received from each other the fullest of co-operation" (*Kentville Advertiser*, 22 September 1966): 1.

Strong resigned from the Berwick Police Department and joined the Kentville force on the fifteenth of October, 1966. During the next two and a half months, Strong was to "familiarize himself with the town and police force. He will share an office in the town hall with Chief Brown" (*Kentville Advertiser*, 20 October 1966: 1,11). At the time Strong joined the Kentville force, typical police occurrences included liquor and automobile offences. Making his presence felt in the town, Chief Strong initiated a crackdown early in 1967 on driving infractions. Twenty-eight people were convicted and fined in Kentville Police Court in a two week span in March, 1967. Several violators were taxi drivers, and the Chief warned that several were in danger of losing their license. Half of the offences were red light infractions (*Kentville Advertiser*, 23 March 1967).

Brown's successor inherited an expanding department with a few growing pains. By June of 1966 the town had set up a special committee "to study salaries and wages being paid by the town", including police pay. In May, the Chairman of the Police and License Committee, H. L. Woodman, had met with the police to discuss several aspects of police work. "The men felt that there should be no time during the day or night when there were less than two men on duty". This meant hiring an additional man. Town Council authorised the hiring of an additional member, "recommending that he be a person with qualifications to assume the post of Chief of Police at such time as there is a vacancy" (*Kentville Advertiser*, 16 June 1966). This unusual provision indicated a degree of official displeasure with the work of the new Chief. In October 1966, just prior to the appointment of Strong as Chief, Graves had been promoted to Deputy Chief. At the same time, Council authorised the hiring of two more constables (*Kentville Advertiser*, 21 September 1967), and by 1969, the Kentville force had six full-time members.

The hiring of Strong indicated dissension on Town Council. Some members resented the interference of the Province in town affairs and what they perceived to be a loss of autonomy. The Town's statement that they had hired a new police constable with a view to making him Chief—Graves was the new officer—was an overt signal that the relationship between an outside Chief and important members of the Council would be troubled. After working in Kentville for less than one year, Strong resigned effective 15 September 1967, giving no reasons for his decision in a letter filed with the Town Clerk (*Kentville Advertiser*, 21 September 1967). In the view of one Kentville police officer who worked during Strong's probationary period, he "was a good chief, for the



men. He managed to get us arctic jackets for the winter time. But he had been a Chief only of a small town and was used to managing only a small number of men. When he arrived, the [Kentville] force had expanded". In addition, he suggested, members of the Police Department had informed the Town Council that Strong was drinking on duty.

"Graves and Strong were good friends on the surface," he added, but "Lefty got Strong out of here. He picked him apart. Strong took two weeks vacation and when he came back he was fired." This was within the rights of the Town under the provisions of the Town's Act. At any rate, even had a Police Act been in place, Strong would have been dismissed before the expiration of a probationary year. In March 1968 Graves was confirmed as Chief by a special session of town council (*Kentville Advertiser*, 14 March 1968: 1).

When Graves became Chief, the senior Kentville member said, he and the Mayor "cleaned house", firing several local officers and replacing them." "At that time they looked at your size [and] there was a little political pull." "Between 1968 and 1970, a senior department member recalled, "the town just started to move on hiring. New sub-divisions were going up. That year they started bringing in liquor establishments. One was the Aristocrat tavern. People were not adapted to this kind of drinking. Regulations were not kept; there were no liquor inspectors. They were just out to make money. Week- nights you may only have a couple of drunks, but things got really busy on the weekends. We had our own cells then." In December 1968, Bernard Lewis joined the Kentville force as a constable. "Cst. Lewis served in the investigative branch of the Canadian Army for a number of years and more recently has been employed by the Kentville Electric Commission" (*Kentville Advertiser*, 19 December 1968).

Another Constable, a senior member recalled, was hired because "Lefty knew his father well. He lasted 11 months 1 week and he was fired before his probation was up. After six months he tried to run the place. He couldn't keep his mouth shut. Changes were needed and he had some good ideas but Lefty was always afraid that he was showing him up." For his part, the senior members said that he was able to exercise influence over Chief Graves' decision-making. In his words, he "would put a bug in his [the Chief's] ear, talk to him, and then he [the Chief] would go to the Council with what he said was his idea. I had to learn that you didn't tell Lefty anything; he only got mad. [The fired constable] couldn't do this."

In Berwick, conflict between a Chief and a Council, led by a strong Mayor, eventually led to the resignation of Chief Edward Backman. According to a senior member, the relationship between the town and Backman was initially good; however, it deteriorated during the last year or two. In his view, "the town wouldn't give Backman anything and wanted him out. He and the Mayor didn't get along well." Although the Mayor basically controlled the Town, he recalled, he didn't think that he interfered on a daily basis with the police department. "Backman was his own boss", he said. In part, the conflict was over a public perception that the town police were failing to protect the town. The senior member stated, "The department wasn't in good shape when I arrived". In his first week in Berwick, the Police Commission Meeting had to be adjourned to the fire hall because "it was attended by half the town. They hated the police." That year

there had been nine or ten arson cases in the town and the police couldn't find out who was doing it. "The Town wanted the RCMP here", he said.

In addition, Backman was arguing for improvements in the Berwick police department similar to those that had been implemented in the neighbouring town of Middleton following an assessment by the Nova Scotia Police Commission. Backman had been sceptical, initially, of the role the Board could play in the town, calling its establishment "just one of those things promoted from Halifax which we have to follow" (McGahan 1989 #4: 6). Middleton's force was increased in strength, improvements had been made in training, equipment, and procedures, and the Town was committed to modernizing the police station. There is evidence that Backman had difficulty getting what he wanted from the Town in the Minutes of the Berwick Police Commission (McGahan 1989: 11-12).

Backman resigned in the midst of antagonistic labour bargaining between the Town and the PANS local, particularly over the decision to reduce the town police from four to three members, in an effort to cut \$12,000 from the police budget. To protect the jobs of all, two constables devised a plan that would eliminate paying officers who were on-call. They recommended "paying the officers for on-call duty only when they were actually called out". The Police Commission said that, although the plan goes against the union contract, if the union agreed, the town would be "willing to listen". The PANS lawyer advised the members not to give up anything in their contract, signed on the 5th of May. In his view, the reduction was "just blackmail". He said: "the town is trying to get the police to give up some of their negotiating" (*Berwick Register*, 18 June 1980: 1).

The next week was uncharacteristically busy in Berwick, prompting the *Berwick Register* to ask: "After last weekend one has to wonder why we are reducing the Berwick police force." There was a bomb scare in the town, keeping the police and RCMP busy searching for explosives for four hours; a break and enter occurred at the Berwick Junior High School; two individuals suffered heart attacks at the wrestling match; vandalism occurred at town hall (newly planted maple trees were up-rooted); and on Saturday night "Constable LaFosse . . . was assisting the security people to break up a disturbance at the Berwick Legion when he was pushed down a flight of stairs." LaFosse was released from hospital later that week, suffering from "a fractured disk in his back and various pulled muscles." He was expected to be off duty for at least a month (*Berwick Register*, 25 June 1980: 1).

By October, 1980, no agreement with the Police Commission had been reached regarding the plan to eliminate on-call pay, and Town Council decided to eliminate one position as of 5 November "in a move to reduce costs". Chief Backman said that: "Drastically reduced police coverage will result". Chief Robert Boutilier of the Middleton Department, who was quoted in the Berwick paper, called the move "stupid and ridiculous"; policing needed to be expanded rather than reduced: "With Michelin coming [a new manufacturing plant in the vicinity] and the crime rate these days, I don't know how they'll police the town". Middleton had a population of 2,000 (200 more than Berwick) and had a 6-man police force. Boutilier stated that "his five constables are occupied 100 per cent of the time with their duties" (*Berwick Register*, 5 November 1980: 1).

In response to what amounted to a vote of non-confidence in the police department, at a special meeting of town council on 29 October, the Council accepted the resignation of Edward Backman as Chief, effective 14 November, after 13 years in that position with the town. Backman indicated to the newspaper that "problems with the police commission prompted his resignation", specifically, the issue of firing the third constable. "They didn't want to go along with adequate policing," Backman said" (*Berwick Register*, 5 November 1980: 1).

In the view of Joe Ross, Executive Director of PANS, "Small town politics and anti-union sentiments" were behind the resignation. In his view, Berwick "wants to get rid of Backman because he's been beating the drums for the past few years for improvements to the police department." Ross described the move as "crazy" and expressed sympathy for taxpayers "who will suffer from inadequate policing". In Ross' words, "Policing is a necessary evil. You need it. It's protection. If you can keep crime down in your community, it's worth the premium you have to pay for it." One of the remaining constables also tendered his resignation—in Ross' opinion, "because he's too bright to stay down there." He applied for other police jobs, worked as a dispatcher in Dartmouth and eventually he joined the Harbour's Board Police. Mayor Hayden alluded to the amount of outside commentary on the situation, saying: "We are the ones who know best." Applications had already been called for the position of Chief of Police (*Berwick Register*, 5 November 1980: 1). Since Backman also resigned in November, the four-man force was depleted to two. As the *Chronicle Herald* reported: "Since Mr. Backman's resignation, the town has been protected by an acting chief [Churchill] and one constable" [LaFosse] (11 December 1989: 29).

In Middleton, the new era of Police Commissions did not mean that politics was removed from town policing. In 1975, Chief Stan Holt had reached normal retirement age and the Mayor, in particular, wanted to make sure he left. Holt's most bitter memories concern the circumstances of his retirement. He said, "It was strange in a lot of ways. I left here with a pension of \$56 a month after 20 years service. The town had nothing planned for retirement." He blamed this situation on Mayor Reagh and contrasted the situation in Middleton with that in Lunenburg: "They had no pension plan, but they did buy a \$50,000 or \$70,000 bond and the interest from that paid the Chief's pension. They didn't pay policemen anything. Nobody did. Salaries were out of this world."

On 17 July 1975, Holt met with the members of the Police Committee, including Wales. The Committee explained that they wished Holt to be finished by 1 August 1975. The official reason, Councillors said, was "that once he reached 65, he was automatically retired, it was up to the committee if he stayed on." They also complained that Holt "was suspected of spreading rumors about the new men" (Banks 1975: 1).<sup>2</sup> Holt suspected that the Council was hiring with a view to replacing him as Chief. One of the new constables "was after my job", Holt was quoted as asserting at the meeting: The new member was "power-hungry and arrogant." Holt declared,

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<sup>2</sup> Banks added the following: "I did this report to best of my abilities and what I could get down. Some of the things in this report may not be correct. However, Mr. Oxner said to type it anyway. Please accept my apologies for any mistakes. That was my first time at taking dictation at a meeting."

"This town is my town. You enjoy protection, the lowest crime rate for a town of this size. No hassle from anyone, and the best reputation. . . .

"Do you realize that I have had to care for 2,500 people in this Town. When they get in trouble they don't come to you or you or you and I have to listen to their stuff and try to help them. . . .

"There was nothing here when I came. The furniture (filing cabinet, desk and 2 chairs) belong to me. . . . My reputation, prestige does not mean a thing"

Constables joined the union to better themselves. But we're [Chiefs of Police] still under Section 208 of the Town's Act. The most archaic and arbit[r]ary piece of legislation. I tried to get rid of some of that stuff. I did finally get the ear of Premier Campbell. Now they have a police school. How do you think this happened? I spoke to him about the police school. I have got more respect than you ever realize and when I have something to say and it makes sense I say it. This is what you are getting rid of. You will never get another one like me with the prestige I have anywhere in the Maritimes. I have had compliments from judges and I was told by one judge that I had a fabulous reputation among the judges and lawyers in this area. This is the type of chap you are getting rid of.

"This job, if you are interested in the Town, not only the money, damned meagre it is. Do you realize that it becomes a way of life. You can't help it. It becomes a part of you. You do things naturally. You can't [call] it off at 5:00 and start at 6:00. You eat with it, you sleep with it" (Banks 1975: 1-3).

In addition, the committee said that Holt had been requested to do a number of things but these directives had not been carried out. "The one in particular was the fact of his wife being picked up by the constables (riding in the patrol car)." Holt replied "that he fought these directives for 20 years" and that he would continue to fight them. In his view, which would be stated clearly in the Police Act, "the routine matters of policing should be left up to the Police, not to the Council, stating that Council was "opening a can of worms." Margaret Holt had played a considerable role in the work of the police department in the twenty years her husband was Chief of Police.

In his defence, Holt complained about the way the matter was handled and contrasted the service he had been to the town for over twenty years with the treatment he was getting. The matter had been leaked to the local paper and his wife's name had been mentioned. His only comments were: 'And this is what I get, this is what I get. Why me? This is what burns me.'" Information for the paper had to originate in the committee, Holt said, and "they should have been left in the minutes" (Banks 1975: 2). According to Holt, he had been "told to resign" for "Personal reasons" and he "accused the Councillors of `under the table tactics in bringing about his retirement'." He "blamed Mr. Wales' attitude toward him as the reason for his dismissal", and the two argued in the meeting (Banks 1975: 1). "Everything went good and ran smoothly" before, Holt said, because

discussion was open between council and the Chief. He "said that you cannot be Chief of Police by being a `patsy'" (Banks 1975: 2).

Holt also begrudged the financial settlement, a pension of \$56 per month. Seeing the writing on the wall, Holt said: "I'm not kicking about retiring. You see fit to retire me because of the bloody Act. You hold the reigns [sic], gentlemen." The he added, "All I ask", Holt said, "is that you be reasonable and decide about a supplemental pension. No taxpayer will begrudge me that." "Just when the pay is reasonable, I'm asked to leave." The councillors said that he "will get a good pension" and that the pension must be in line with other town pensions. The matter had been deferred in Council because there was a misunderstanding about what Holt was requesting" (Banks 1975: 5). The committee, while indicating that the matter would have to go to Council, did not indicate support for Holt's request for an increased pension. Subsequently, Holt petitioned the Council in a letter in October, 1975, asking that they reconsider the question of a supplemental pension. "Council directed that a letter be returned to Chief Holt stating that the Council's position was unchanged. In a previous meeting, council had unanimously voted to refuse the supplement" (*Middleton Mirror*, 15 October 1975: 2).

After Holt resigned, he went to Greenwood where he became a Commissionaire. "I was a Commissionaire for nine years", he said. "They gave me a better send-off after 9 years there than they gave me here [Middleton]." However, Holt's influence over the Middleton Police Department was not over. Two years after his retirement Holt became the first Chairman of the Middleton Police Commission. In 1977, Middleton formed a Board of Police Commissioners, to replace the old Police Committee. The new Commission, consisting of Councillors Joe Goldston, Adele Hughes and Ron Brown were sworn into office on 21 April 1977. Stan Holt was made the Attorney Governor's appointee (at the time, Leonard Pace), receiving a letter of congratulation from Rear-Admiral (Ret.) Harry A. Porter, Chairman of the N. S. Police Commission, in which Porter acknowledged "how hard you worked for the Police Act and for the betterment of the police profession in Nova Scotia" (*Middleton Mirror*, 6 April 1977: 1).

As the *Middleton Mirror* asserted, "Under the new police act, the Commission will be more [/] autonomous than the present committee which works through council. The Commission will work on its own, through the interpretation of the Police Act, and be answerable directly to the Nova Scotia Board of Police Commissioners. The Board will, however, submit its budget for approval and payment to the Middleton Town Council" (*Middleton Mirror*, 6 April 1977: 1, 15). Porter noted that "you [Holt] have some bitter memories about the way that you were dealt with at the time that you were retired as the Chief of Police of Middleton, and I hope that you will regard all that as water that long since passed under the bridge." Holt formally accepted the appointment and was elected its Chairman (Holt to Pace, 10 March 1977).

Holt's appointment both precipitated and coincided with another period of rapid turn-over of the Middleton force. Don Woods had replaced Holt as Chief of Police in 1975. As Chairman of the Police Commission, Holt initiated an investigation into Wood's use of the police vehicle—an issue that had become very personal during the move to force Holt's retirement. Chief Wood had written to the Attorney General opposing Holt's appointment to the Police Commission. According to Holt, "the reason the local force was

opposed to his appointment stems from the fact [sic] he is a 'professional policeman'." He said "the police force was afraid of professional investigation into the management of the force" (*Middleton Mirror*, 4 May 1977: 1).

During the month of April, 1977, Chief Wood resigned to go into private business and Constable Townshend also resigned. In early May, Constable Terry MacDonald did the same. Speculation surfaced that these resignations, as well, were prompted by Holt's appointment. At first, the *Mirror* attributed the resignations to the roll-backs in wages ordered by the Anti-Inflation Board. This "was denied by the policemen involved." Constable Crooks, "the last remaining constable from the full force, stated in the provincial press that all members of the force had accepted the AIB rollbacks but the resignations were prompted by the appointment of former chief Stan Holt of the town's police commission." Crooks said that he, too, planned to resign. According to Commissioner Adele Hughes, however, Constable MacDonald had stated his intention to resign "long before the commission was established." She and Commissioner Goldston [an editor of the *Mirror*] claimed that, although "Holt's appointment helped to trigger the resignations," the main factor was the AIB rollback (*Middleton Mirror*, 4 May 1977: 1).

Following the resignation of MacDonald, the *Mirror* reported, Mayor Wales panicked. He "unnecessarily alerted" the Middleton merchants that the police force had been depleted by 75%, causing "a great deal of unwarranted concern" among the merchants, "many of whom were under the impression that the Town was now entirely without police protection. MacDonald had informed the Commission of his intention earlier in the week "and the Commission had taken steps to ensure police protection for the town." Constable George Crooks was on duty and did not intend to resign. In addition, Holt had alerted the R.C.M.P. and had been assured that they would be standing by (*Middleton Mirror*, 4 May 1977: 1).

Mayor Wales, who claimed the police resignations meant that "the town [was] left open for thug," recommended bringing in the RCMP. Other councillors argued that "it was impossible to ask for the RCMP while the town had a functioning police department and while the commission was filling the vacancies rapidly." Mr. Wyatt, of the Provincial Police Commission, stated that he has several applications for Chief of Police and explained that, to obtain the RCMP, the Police Commission of Nova Scotia and the Police Commission of Middleton would have to agree." The question of replacing the town police with the RCMP had been discussed on other occasions, when "it had been too costly to be considered. Also, it would take several months to make a contract if the federal police agreed to take on the job". Chairman Holt also "disagreed with the idea of seeking a RCMP contract to police the town because it would be very expensive and still be necessary to hire police to administer protection in the case of town by-laws." The matter ended with a resolution from Councillor Ron Brown that the Board of Police Commissioners complete the renewal of the police force (*Middleton Mirror*, 27 April 1977: 15).

### **DEMANDS FOR PROFESSIONAL POLICING**

According to Holt, as the Municipalities were empowered to employ police, they "hired, for the most part, uneducated people" who would work for small pay. Towns

could only get as policemen "the uneducated and illiterate who would do exactly as they were told how to enforce the law, who did not know they were being put upon." Gradually, Holt argued, "the resentment to being dictated to by laymen built up" (Holt 1973: 1), until the situation reached the present stage of agitation and unionization. In sum, Holt, concluded, the Town Councils have assumed that they are in a servant/master relationship vis-à-vis the town police. Holt argued that this was not the case, as had been recognized by the Labour Relations Board in New Brunswick, which declared a policeman to be "an officer ... [whose] authority is original, not delegated, and is exercised at his own discretion by virtue of his office; he is a ministerial officer exercising statutory rights independently of contract."

Chief MacLeod of North Sydney claimed that he was the only member of the department who could type and handle regular correspondence "beyond the Accident Reports and the Bureau of Statistics Reports. Two of the men, for all intents and purposes cannot write. None of them, in my opinion, can take a reasonably good statement from an accused or a witness although three of them [out of eight] will make a fairly good attempt." He said that he was maintaining a file card system, similar to the R.C.M.P., but most of the constables "seem to be unable to use or add to this file or card index" (Roy MacLeod to Stan Holt, 3 January 1968: 1).

Chief Roy MacLeod, who had been fired from lost in North Sydney, answered the complaint that he paid too much attention to clerical work by describing the amount of paper work which the job entailed. He detailed the reports he had to fill out. He handled the telephone and radio, and had devised an index card file. Much of this work is now done by clerical staff in police departments. In part this attention to clerical routines may reflect his inclination to prefer clerical to street work – unusual in a police officer -- but it also indicates the growth of paper-work which may have been occurring in policing. MacLeod indicated that this had been an issue for some time. He said that the points he had made "were explained on more than one occasion on the floor of the council and on many, many occasions to individual councillors" (Roy MacLeod to Stan Holt, 3 January 1968: 1-2). When he took over the Department, MacLeod said, "the only record was a badly battered, badly hand written book. There was nothing to indicate the disposal of the cases or the amounts of the fines levied. There was a duplicate receipt book from which receipts were issued when a fine was paid. There was no stationary beyond a few Information forms with the 'drunk' charge printed on them with the original printing. Charges were laid with these by entering in the accused's name and the date" (Roy MacLeod to Stan Holt, 3 January 1968: 3).

In Kentville, a senior constable recalled, "There was not a lot of paper work to do. There was a diary book in which we might make two or three entries" for every shift. As described by another constable who was interviewed, police investigations and reporting were rudimentary in Kentville. "The report system consisted of just a hard-covered book, divided off for Date, Time and Nature of Complaint. When you worked on a file, you would take the initial report. But you would get lackadaisical and do no follow-up. This happened a lot. You would start on a complaint but then you would get off and when you got back two days later, you'd forget. . . . There were no investigations. What investigation you did you did on your own."

## Policing the Valley

In its 1977 assessment of the Middleton Police Department, the Nova Scotia Police Commission found that, in the daily management of the department, it was "operating without written departmental orders or standard operational procedures other than a night patrol checklist of businesses to be patrolled. "This lack of written orders and procedures leaves personnel in a position where they make their own individual decisions as to methods and procedures which may or may not be suitable for the Department and/or the public." Consequently, the N.S.P.C. recommended that the Chief "establish in writing, the normal daily duties required to be performed by subordinates as well as procedures and policies to be followed" (NSPC 1977: 12).

The need for a more professional police was underscored by changes in offence patterns in the late 1960s and into the 1970s. In Middleton, for example, McGahan examined approximately 2,000 occurrences that were recorded in the extant Police Reports between 1968 and 1978. While almost a third of all cases involved traffic violations, by 1971-2 Criminal Code offences were beginning to be more frequent and, by 1978, they accounted for about half of all occurrences. More serious violations took more time to investigate, write-up, and prosecute. This was especially true of cases of indecent assault, some of which involved children (McGahan 1989 # 12: 46-9).

The argument that municipal police must become more professional was reiterated by the RCMP. In his address to the 14th Annual Convention of the Maritime Association of Chiefs of Police, "H" Division RCMP Chief Superintendent F. S. Spalding said that new and heavier demands on the police in the changing society of the 1960s required a more modern police response. Spalding recalled the "days when the very sight of a police uniform would command respect and order." By 1965, Spalding said, a "change in all levels of social attitude" had taken place, particularly with the present attitude towards law and order." He attributed the change to the aftermath of the world wars, the extent and speed of communication, and unprecedented prosperity. The response to this challenge, he said "lies in the field of police discipline, `the discipline which involves self.'" The absence of discipline in homes and schools, he said, "'is one of the root causes of the indifferent and defiant attitude towards authority and the spiralling crime rate'" (*Saint John Telegraph Journal*, 9 July 1965: 16).

Spalding's message was that the police officer had to adopt a more professional approach to his duties, the foremost of which was crime fighting. "Referring to the image of the police as seen by the public, Chief Spalding said that although he was in full accord with the many `kind' acts carried out by policemen in their day to day duties, their primary image `should be so prominent, so forceful, so prevalent, that the policeman is respected and feared by the criminal'" (*Saint John Telegraph Journal*, 9 July 1965: 16).

In part, the demand for the professionalization of policing was associated with the perceptions of a rising crime rate in the 1960s, based on statistics prepared by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics (DBS). The message that crime was on the rise in Canada was reinforced by the President of the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police", E. L. Steeves of Moncton. Between 1961 and 1963, he said in an address to the Annual Convention of the Maritime Association of Chiefs of Police, the population had increased



by 4% while the crime rate increased by 32% (*Saint John Telegraph Journal*, 8 July 1965: 14).

In his address he relayed the following calculated risk ratios devised by the D.B.S.: He said that a person committing a robbery stood a 50% chance of being apprehended; for a break and enter the chances were one in three; for auto theft, one in four, and for theft, one in five. In particular, he said, "Law enforcement agencies are falling far short of their objectives in the area of dealing with crimes against property"; they are failing to prove that crime doesn't pay. Property crimes had increased between 1961 and 1963 by 38%.

Steeves urged the public "to accept its responsibility of providing the proper resources to fight crime effectively, not only in terms of manpower and scientific tools", but also by re-examining the laws and justice system. In addition, Steeves stressed the need to improve police-community relations: "The average person comes in contact with the police only when an infraction of the law is being investigated," hence, he views the police from a distant and impersonal vantage point. "Every effort must be made to eradicate this attitude." He recommended that the general public try and see something of the work being done by police inside and outside the police station. "He also stressed that educational standards must be raised".

The police publicized what they saw as an increase in crimes of violence. According to Chief Graves, gangs plagued Kentville in 1968. "Not all the boys are from Kentville," Chief Graves said. "In fact, most are from out-of-town. But at least four troublesome Kentville boys are involved with out-of-town gangs." Most serious, warranting a page one spread complete with a picture, was the number of weapons "taken from hoodlums". They had been confiscated "mostly from teenagers after they had been used in a threatening manner" "either against the police themselves or other citizens." The weapons included a "spring-loaded switch-blade knife and a long-bladed semi-switch model". Two snub-nosed automatic pellet guns were confiscated as well as a half dozen pocket-knives. There were also calf tie-chains [which] when wrapped around the fist, are equally effective as brass knuckles", and a tire chain with two cross chains attached to the "business end" to make a cat-o-nine-tails. "One of these was recently displayed at a teen dance. It was promptly taken by police." One youth was sentenced to a year's suspended sentence "for pulling a case knife with a five inch blade at a local dance." This article in the *Advertiser* ends with the final paragraph "How would YOU like to be a policeman?" (*Kentville Advertiser*, 15 August 1968: 1).

Holt also arguing it was necessary to modernize policing because of the "increased crime rate all over the country ... problems with drugs and teenage drinking ... problems with the increasing amount of traffic". Town Councils were aware of this, Holt said, "but a great number of the councils seem to have the attitude that these problems are in every other place but their own town and it could not happen there." Only when problems become obvious do councils act to expand and modernize the force. "An example is in a town in Nova Scotia where they have always had a traffic problem and very inadequate policing because of lack of manpower. A child was injured in collision with a car, the council promptly had a special meeting and it was decided to add two more constables to the force" (Holt 1968: 2-3). Holt concluded:

The municipal police and their important place in the government of the town has long been neglected by the Councils and the Provincial governments alike. They expect to have a job well done but refuse to face the fact that it takes men with knowledge and strong sense of dedication to perform it. The only concern of the councils up to the present time has been the cost of policing, not the quality; the cry has always been: "we cannot afford it." Well, the time is fast approaching when they will have to afford it. There are none so blind as those who will not see and I'm afraid that this is the general attitude of councils toward their police departments (Holt 1968: 2).

Part of the movement for professionalization of policing was motivated by concern for the frequent partiality of small town policing. Political interference varied from town to town and Council to Council. Up until the time he was forced to resign as police Chief, Stan Holt said that there had not been a great deal of interference in police business by the Council or the Mayor. It appears that the situation was quite different in Kentville where, the senior member asserted in an interview, the Mayor played a prominent role in the day-to-day affairs of the Department. "The Mayor would come over to the police department, go over the occurrences, read everything about what went on, etc. He was the Chief Stipendiary Magistrate and had a lot of power in the town. He was the one who had to read the riot act before it could become effective." Constable Fred Young of the Kentville police included the following anecdote in a paper he wrote (as part of a police administration course) to illustrate the degree of political interference in policing the town. The police had received a number of complaints about excessive noise at all hours of the night coming from a local residence. Answering the latest complaint of this nature, a constable responded but, heard nothing. The "constable parked in this yard for over thirty minutes, then, not hearing any noise, started to leave. On seeing a car sitting across the road from the house he shone a spotlight into the car." The Chairman of the Police Commission had been staking out the house on his own. "When the driver saw who it was he started to get back out of the driveway and the police commissioner got out of his vehicle and stopped him and suspended him on the spot for shining the light in his eyes" (Young, n.d.: 3). Young concluded that this action was in direct contravention to the Nova Scotia Police Act, which had come into force in 1974 and which declared that "no member [of the Commission] shall issue . . . an order, direction, or instruction to any member of the municipal police relative to his duties as a member of the force" (Young n.d.: 4)<sup>3</sup>

Another constable interviewed recalled that most direct political interference involved parking tickets and small MVA (Motor Vehicle Act) infractions. "The Mayor would come down to see what he could do. This was the kind of interference there was by the Town. Someone would take the ticket to the Mayor and he would bring it to the Chief". "Before the [Police] Union came into or town," a senior member reported, a

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<sup>3</sup> Younge cited N.S. Police Act, Ch. 9, Sec. 19.11, 1974, p. 13.

member "was hired by the Police Commission and if you did the job to their liking, you kept it. If a son of a prominent town official was picked up you were told by the Chief that no charges would be laid and that was the end of it. Deep down you knew that someone had talked to the Chief and he was only acting on behalf of the Police Commission" (Young n.d.: 7).

At one point, a part owner of a local beverage room was elected to the Council. Corporal Young wrote: "This member at first gave the impression that his business was not going to interfere with his being a member of council. After a few months when trouble began happening in his establishment, the management was called to a meeting with the police commission and they wanted the members of the department to work as bouncers. This was turned down" (Young n.d.: 7-8).

Part of the problem of the lack of professionalism was the tendency towards police deviance. One senior member interviewed claimed, "There was a drinking problem with the boys." Even the Chief and the NCO would drink with the other officers on Friday afternoons. "The two of them would get two quarts of vodka, start drinking at four and stop at seven. I was still living at home then. I would come home at 7:30 nearly plastered. Maybe this had to do with the stress of police work. We would get together and the booze would flow freely. Some were alcoholics and would drink on the job."

"The first Christmas Eve I worked," he added, "you would get a 40 ounce from the Taxi Company and one from the wrecking company. I spent the evening with [a senior constable] and don't remember getting home. On the days you were working 7 to 7 you would drink until 4 in the morning. Our favourite cab company would supply us. We didn't have to pay bootleg prices."

Another problem involved women. One constable who was fired, a senior NCO said, had a reputation as a "ladies man. The Chief and the Mayor caught him on duty. It had to get pretty bad before you got fired." Working alone on a twelve-hour night shift, he alleged, this unmarried officer would "end up in a ladies apartment for four or five hours." He bragged that they taught him "tricks I never thought of."

In Berwick, one Deputy Chief, a senior member said, was dismissed after he was charged with being involved in a hit-and-run. He suspected he had been drinking at the time. According to the Board of Police Commission minutes, his successor, George Megeney, offered to resign "in a dispute over an arson investigation" one month into his probationary period". Another constable at the time, Darryl Backstrom, resigned after a short period with the force following a dispute with the Chief occasioned by speaking out in public on police matters (McGahan 19???: 10). Some members resigned, the senior member said, because they didn't get along well with the Chief. "Backman was very stern," he said; "a hard man to work for". He "liked things to go smoothly" but he "never said that the constables had done a good job." When something went wrong he was critical and aggressive. According to this member, other officers resigned under unusual circumstances. He alleges that one officer called the Chief saying that he was unable to get to work because he was snowed in. Later that day, when the Chief arrived at the constable's house to pick him up for work, he found him drinking heavily with friends. Another constable who was asked to resign, he said, was "one half hour late for a call

involving some sexual advances". The officer said at the time "that he was up on the mountain delivering a summons and must have been out of radio contact". The Chief learned later, he said, that he has been playing volleyball at West Kings High School.

After Backman had resigned as Chief of Police, Constable Harvey Churchill, the senior member, became Acting Chief. He, along with LaFosse and a part-time officer, Joseph Swards, policed the town. To compound problems within the force, Swards was charged in provincial court with assault causing bodily harm during an incident on the 5th of December involving 19 year old Ralph Aalders of Berwick. Jack Buntain prosecuted (*Berwick Register*, 24 December 1980: 1). According to Churchill, Swards stopped a car with three men in it who had been drinking. During the incident he was alleged to have hit Aalders in the face with a flashlight. Churchill said that he had investigated the incident and laid the information. Although Swards was found not guilty, Churchill said, he did not return to police work.

Churchill was acting chief for six weeks. Under-staffing and quick turn-over plagued the town police. Churchill hired David Fairfax from the Atlantic Police Academy, the first black officer to work in Berwick. One constable who was interviewed in Berwick said that there was racial prejudice in Berwick, even among members of Town Council. He concluded, "The valley town was not ready for a black officer". After Fairfax resigned for "personal reasons" in May, in July 1981, John Lombard was hired from a pool of 30 applicants. The 33 year-old native of Weymouth was trained at the Ontario Police College, had worked in Metro Toronto and, briefly, for the Kentville Police Department. He began work on 17 July. Lombard was hired by the new chief, Richard Tennant (*Berwick Register*, 22 July 1981).

Between 1968 and his retirement in 1975, personnel matters were also in the forefront of policing in Middleton. Full-time constables were not always sufficiently professional for the Chief of Police. One officer was released in 1969 and his replacement was dismissed in the following year. They were followed by a succession of constables (McGahan 1989: 5-10). Chief Holt pressed for an additional constable, citing various reasons. In addition to increases in criminal activity, changes in the Criminal Code increased the "paper work" involved in investigation and court preparation (McGahan 1989: 14). These changes underscored the need for well-trained police officers. Professionalization of policing, then, was necessitated by wider political forces. In 1972 a second full-time constable was hired, although even this was not regarded as sufficient and Holt argued for a third officer before the Police Committee. 1975 was a particularly turbulent year. Three constables resigned. A Deputy Chief, Don Woods, was hired from Kentville. He became the new Chief that year when Holt was forced to resign by the Town.

### **TRAINING OF POLICE OFFICERS**

These issues magnified the need to recruit well-qualified, and well-trained police officers. Municipal policemen in Nova Scotia in 1968 were still not formally trained. The exceptions were those who had R.C.M.P. experience or had transferred

from an urban police force. It was also common for retired personnel with military police training to seek employment as town police officers.

One of the key aspects of the proposed Police Act was the issue of police training. In the summer of 1968, there was concern among police officers about the development of private security operations and the absence of training among security guards. Such private security guards were uniformed and "permitted by law to carry arms", but were not trained (Editorial, *Halifax Chronicle-Herald*, 30 August 1968). In a letter to the editor of the *Chronicle-Herald*, Holt wrote in concern for the absence of trained policemen, and the absence of a place for basic recruit training in the Maritimes (*Halifax Chronicle-Herald*, 18 August 1968). He continued:

With the exception of the few policemen who are either retired RCMP officers or have had training as police in the armed services, the only training that the municipal police have is what they obtain on the job and some of them have no one to teach them.

In other words, the citizens of the towns in . . . Nova Scotia place the protection of their property, themselves and the enforcement of the law in the hands of people who are for the most part not trained basically to do the job.

If you call a plumber, Holt argued, you expect a trained person; "but when one calls for a policeman in a town in Nova Scotia" you don't know whether you will be "getting a plumber or possibly a clerk who has recently been made a policeman by the simple process of swearing him in and handing him a badge with 'Police' engraved on it." The Maritime Chiefs are concerned, Holt said, about "the increased crime rate in practically every town and city because they do not have sufficient trained staff to combat it." Officials in the municipal and provincial governments have rejected all efforts by the police chiefs "to improve the quality of the police forces" in Nova Scotia.

The municipal police in Nova Scotia are hired under an archaic provincial statute, Section 208 of the Town's Act, which makes them second class citizens and denies them the right of any conciliation.

The system of hiring and firing municipal policemen should be condemned by all right-thinking citizens who have the well-being of their town at heart (Holt, Letter to the Editor, *Halifax Chronicle-Herald*, 18 August 1968).

A proposed Police Act had been presented to the Nova Scotia Union of Municipalities in 1962, but they chose not to act on it because, Holt commented, "it would take away their autonomy". While the government expands vocational schools over the province to train people for other occupations, "one of the most essential services in our society today is the object of gross neglect". Holt suggested that a basic police training programme be incorporated in one of the vocational schools, hiring retired RCMP or city police officers.

The towns in the province have got to face the fact that they will have to take action to upgrade their police personnel, to recognize them as employees as well as officers of the crown, to treat them as valued employees with a very essential role to play in the government of the town, to give them fair wages, fair hours and equipment to do the job.

The provincial government can implement this by passing a police act such as they now have in Alberta, Ontario and Quebec.

Our rural areas are policed by one of the most highly trained and respected police forces in the world, the RCMP. The citizens of the towns should demand that their police forces be trained men also (Holt, Letter to the Editor, *Halifax Chronicle-Herald*, 18 August 1968).

The Editor of the Chronicle Herald endorsed Holt's letter in an editorial, and declared that "something should be done to eliminate the present lack" of training facilities. His letter was both topical, and effective, the editorial stated. According to the editorial, rural areas are policed by trained personnel in the RCMP; city forces are large enough to conduct their own training programs. "Meanwhile, the towns are forced to muddle through with small organizations in which training is on a trial-and-error basis. But for a sprinkling of retired military policemen and RCMP men, the town forces are manned by paid amateurs. The Maritime Police School in Halifax does provide "some instruction to more senior members of local forces", but "no formal, basic training is given the majority" (Editorial, *Halifax Chronicle-Herald*, 30 August 1968). The Editorial concluded that the province should quickly provide "initiatives designed to introduce professionalism" into municipal policing."

The *Chronicle-Herald* editorial noted that, unlike the situation with the RCMP and the large cities, which are "large enough to conduct training programs of their own", in most cases "the town forces are manned by paid amateurs". The Maritime Police School in Halifax can do no more than instruct senior members of local forces. The editorial supported the efforts of those who were trying to persuade Attorney-General Donahoe "to deprive them [private security guards] of their uniforms and their guns." With respect to the problems of "the legitimate police forces of the towns", there should be "provincial initiatives designed to introduce professionalism in such organizations. The provincial government should quickly explore with representatives of the towns means of achieving this end" (Editorial, *Chronicle-Herald*, 30 August 1968). The *Herald*, then, came short of endorsing the idea of a Police Act and instead proposed joint provincial-municipal talks to "introduce professionalism". In the end, however, as elsewhere in Canada, it was up to the government to initiate the changes in policing. The Police Act was finally passed into legislation in 1974, establishing a new era for police in the province.