

# The History of Policing in the Maritime Provinces Themes and Prospects

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Volume 19, numéro 2, 1990

URI : <https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1017677ar>

DOI : <https://doi.org/10.7202/1017677ar>

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Éditeur(s)

Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine

ISSN

0703-0428 (imprimé)

1918-5138 (numérique)

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Citer cet article

Marquis, G. (1990). The History of Policing in the Maritime Provinces: Themes and Prospects. *Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine*, 19(2), 84–99. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1017677ar>

Résumé de l'article

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# *The History of Policing in the Maritime Provinces: Themes and Prospects*

Greg Marquis

## **Abstract**

***This article is an overview of the development of policing in the Maritime provinces and a commentary on the potential of such research to augment our understanding of the urban past. Police records, it is argued, are important social indicators which can reveal more than crime or fear of crime in a community. The article discusses police records and statistics; 19th century urban policing; early 20th century themes such as technology and Prohibition; the role of the Provincial police and Royal Canadian Mounted Police in the region; police and labour and police organizations. It concludes that researchers should be sensitive to both 'hard' and 'soft' police policies and pay special attention to the police service role.***

## **Résumé**

***L'auteur présente une vue d'ensemble du développement de la police dans les provinces maritimes en même temps qu'un commentaire sur l'utilité du type de recherche qu'il mène pour la compréhension de l'histoire urbaine. Selon lui, les archives de police contiennent des renseignements sur la société qui vont bien au delà des données sur le crime ou sur la peur du crime. Il analyse les archives et les statistiques de la police: l'activité policière en milieu urbain au XIXe siècle; certains thèmes qui surgissent au début du XXe siècle, comme la technologie et la prohibition; le rôle de la police provinciale et de la Gendarmerie royale du Canada dans la région étudiée; les rapports entre la police et les syndicats, et les organisations policières. Il conclut que les chercheurs devraient s'intéresser à tous les aspects de la mission et du travail de la police, et en particulier à sa fonction de service à la population.***

Law enforcement has a long history in the Maritime provinces, but academics have turned to the subject only recently. In this case the region does not lag behind—the history of policing and criminal justice in general, rich areas for social and urban historians, have not received much attention nationally. This paper, drawing on examples from the Maritime provinces, argues that an examination of police history is essential for understanding the urban, and rural, past. What follows is not a history of policing in the region but an overview and commentary on the potential scholarly contributions of such research. The majority of the population generated few records of its own, thus historians must consult the records of institutions — the courts, prisons, hospitals, churches, schools and charities — and the local press. Institutional documentation can suggest not only the concerns and attitudes of officials, but also the social relationships between different segments in society. As legally coercive institutions that meet social problems face to face, and maintain a system of records, police departments are a useful historical tool. The reconstruction of police organization and work can provide important insights into the power relations, social mores and urban culture of the past.<sup>1</sup>

## **Canadian Historiography**

In the past two decades, a number of historians and social scientists have written on the history of Canadian policing. With the exception of R.C. MacLeod's study of the early North-West Mounted Police, few monographs display a critical spirit. Official or 'in-house' histories are generally anecdotal and lacking context, but they contain useful information.<sup>2</sup> Dahn Higley's recent history of the Ontario Provincial Police is a welcome improvement over most commemorative works and the vast majority of books on the RCMP. Peter McGahan's *Crime and Policing in Maritime Canada*, largely a reproduction of nineteenth and twentieth century urban police records, shows the diversity and complexity of the evolving police function.<sup>3</sup> Municipal police

history is a relatively new field. In the United States the urban biography approach has been popular since the publication of Roger Lane's *Policing the City: Boston, 1822-1855* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967). In keeping with the methodology of social history, the most common Canadian approach has been the case study, the examination of specific police departments or themes in certain eras. To date articles of this type have appeared on Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, Saint John and Charlottetown.<sup>4</sup> In addition, there are a number of books and articles on other criminal justice topics, such as the lower courts and prostitution, and on other areas of social history that are relevant to police history (in particular, working class history).<sup>5</sup>

The social history categories that intersect with police history are numerous, but three are of special mention for Canadian research: social class, ethnicity and religion, and the service/regulatory nature of policing. As a social institution, the police have reflected the complexities and ambiguities of society — it would be poor scholarship to group all their actions as the enforcement of class-based justice and mores. A rosy view of the police, à la Andy of Mayberry, would likewise be misguided. Many social historians in the 1970s and 1980s developed a form of tunnel vision, viewing education, charity, and other institutions as plots against the working class. Legal scholars should tread carefully into this territory, but two questions should be pursued: what was the police role in class relations and where were the police in the class system?

Ethnicity and religion, like social class, are important analytical categories for nineteenth and early twentieth century Canadian society. At present, large metropolitan police departments are under fire for poor relations with and insufficient recruitment of racial minorities. The Metropolitan Toronto Police was not headed by a Roman Catholic police chief until 1989. This was not a coincidence. Historically departments in English Canada

were dominated by Protestants (many of them Orangemen or Masons) and a large proportion of the arrested were Catholics. Of course ethnicity, religion and class tended to overlap, as in the case of the Irish Catholics who filled Saint John's nineteenth century police court. Police appointments reflected local politics, which often were related to sectarian loyalties. Where Catholics and Protestants were roughly equal in number, as in Charlottetown, the patronage was shared.<sup>6</sup>

Administrative overviews, accounts of scandals, corruption, dramatic incidents and colourful characters have their place in police historiography, but one of the most important areas of inquiry is the social role of the police. What, above all, did they do on a day-to-day basis? Not only is this area often undramatic, it can be exceedingly difficult to research, as police records cannot always be taken at face value. The urban police came to fill a service and welfare role, much of it unanticipated. Bylaws were enforced, family disputes settled, lost children returned to parents, stolen property recovered and defective street lights counted. Transients were housed overnight in the police stations. Discounting the largest category of charges, drunkenness, the police recorded relatively little criminal activity. The institution's symbolic presence and service function, not its crime-fighting capacities, were its most important attributes, something that legal scholars should appreciate.<sup>7</sup>

Institutional records present a number of interpretive and methodological problems. The main published source for researchers is the annual report of the police department, usually prepared by the police chief, sometimes by town clerks or magistrates. Basic primary sources, if extant, include books or registers covering occurrences (incidents or persons encountered on patrol or responding to a call) charges (arrests and summonses), personnel (duty rosters, pay and personnel information) and equipment. These can be supplemented by the records of magistrates' courts, jails and prisons. When the researcher encounters a large body of

detailed documentation, it is tempting to exaggerate the activity and influence of an institution. As a bureaucracy grows, the amount of documentation it produces, much of it of a housekeeping nature, proliferates. The great bulk of police work, unfortunately, went unrecorded, particularly in the smaller centres. Until the post World War II years, most departments in the region had less than five men and the chief or marshal often held other positions such as tax collector, truant officer or health inspector. Municipal reports contain seemingly useless statistics on persons doing business without a license, stolen bicycles, unlocked doors, untagged dogs, encumbered sidewalks or the careless handling of dynamite. Most of this material is mundane or even eccentric but some of it can serve as social indicators.<sup>8</sup>

A good example of police documentation as a social history source are the recorded activities of the region's few policewomen (in 1947 they constituted less than 2% of the national total). Peter McGahan has published a 1960s Saint John policewoman's log; a similar document exists for Halifax policewoman May Virtue. The appearance of specialized records devoted to female deviance is an indicator of the moral reform and women's movements of the early twentieth century.<sup>9</sup>

Virtue's occurrence book for 1931-33 offers a fascinating glimpse at the underside of the city in the Depression years. Virtue did not make arrests, but acted as a police department moral and welfare officer in cases involving girls and women. She attempted to patch up domestic disputes, appeared in court with female prisoners and warned young women who appeared morally offensive. Some of the entries are laconic, but speak volumes in terms of the daily routine of the police department in certain areas of the city. They also shed light on women and the law, a research area that includes domestic violence and sexual assault:

**Sept. 21, 1931.** Called at 8 Elevator Court. Mrs. Lomas living with Art Hardiman. Warned this woman against keeping Hardiman in her house.

**Sept. 28.** Coleman Ricker complained that his daughter Gertrude is on the street; a warrant issued.

**Sept. 29.** In court with Annie Debay, wife of Milton, charge of Vagrancy. Annie is feeble minded. Served 3 months C.P.

**Oct. 2.** Called 23, 24, 26, 28 Grafton St., reported by Dept. Chief all these houses unfit for human habitation.

**Dec. 4.** Called 219 Market St. re girl going around with married man-he denies having anything to do with it.

Virtue's institutional connections were many and included the City Welfare Bureau, the Health Department, the Children's Aid Society, the Juvenile and Police Courts, the Truant Officer, the Nova Scotia Pension Board, the Coverdale Home for Girls, the City Home, the Salvation Army and Catholic orders and agencies.<sup>10</sup>

Law enforcement statistics present a number of methodological challenges, particularly if one seeks to study regional patterns of criminality. A number of legal and criminal justice historians have debated the usefulness of arrest, court and prison records.<sup>11</sup> Comparative Canadian criminal justice statistics prior to the 1960s are of dubious value. Of course there are some generalizations that apply across the board: the large percentage of arrests for drunkenness in the nineteenth century, a long-term relative decrease in public order offences and the increasing use of the summons for traffic and bylaw violations. The main concern of small town police chiefs, many of whom were not well educated, was to record information for the town police committee. Local custom, the personality of

the police chief, the state of the economy, the extent of charity or social services and other variables must be taken into account when using such statistics. For example, in one centre the custom was to jail strangers for vagrancy; in another they were simply warned to leave town. Department A fingerprinted its vagrants, increasing the chance of securing further charges, department B did not. One chief allowed transients to sleep in the police station, another discouraged the practice. Detention space and prisoner transportation problems no doubt placed limits on arrest levels. Then there is the problem of determining exactly what arrest patterns signify. Does an increase in arrests for disturbing the peace reflect an actual increase in public disorder, or a more rigid enforcement of the law? The very categorization of offences often defied comparison between cities, as the framers of the Uniform Crime Reporting program discovered in the early 1960s.<sup>12</sup>

In 1920, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, which had been collecting criminal statistics since the 1870s, began to publish "Police Statistics" in addition to figures based on cases dealt with by the courts. The new series contained information on serious offences (court records were based on offenders) and aspects of police administration (value of stolen property recovered, lost children found, fingerprints taken). The publication of police-generated figures indicated that the DBS recognized that offences "known to the police" were potentially a more useful measurement than were prosecutions. Unfortunately, this source, although organized on the level of individual towns and cities, does not cover offences in much detail. In addition, the recording agencies were not overly concerned with uniformity. In some cases, in the absence of records, estimates filled the gap. On the basis of these reports, in 1930 a statistician noted that the Maritimes experienced less criminality than central and western Canada, possibly because of social conditions such as immigration and population density. By the 1950s it was

increasingly apparent that the Bureau's police statistics were unreliable and incomplete (the RCMP and Quebec Provincial Police did not contribute), but they are a useful historical source nonetheless. For example, the fact that the Moncton police sheltered nearly 30,000 transients from 1930 to 1940 is useful for measuring the impact of the Great Depression on the region. (Amherst sheltered nearly 7,000.) It is also important to know that police forces gave shelter to far more individuals than they arrested for vagrancy.<sup>13</sup>

Tables VI through VIII in the Appendix illustrate the patterns of offences reported to the police and arrests made for the region's six major population centres from 1920 to 1949. Is it possible, based on these data, to make generalizations about crime in the urban Maritimes? As mentioned above, comparisons between these centres may not reflect differing levels of deviance or economic conditions but differences in the policies of the recording agencies. Based on the submissions of the six major police departments to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, it is possible to calculate offences 'known to the police' in relation to local population:

**Table I:**  
**Offences Known to the Police per 1,000 Residents**

	1921	1931	1941
Halifax	30	86	107
Saint John	49	57	88
Sydney	57	34	63
Moncton	78	74	94
Glace Bay	21	30	36
Charlottetown	42	76	71

What do these numbers signify? Was there less crime and disorder in Glace Bay than in Moncton, or was the Moncton department simply more vigilant or meticulous in keeping

records? Another possible snag is evident in clearance rates, the proportion of crimes "cleared up" by the police (complaints not necessarily solved, but taken to what the police judge to be the most reasonable level). Clearance rates, first collected by the DBS for 1947, are one of the more widely used measurements of police efficiency. The extremely high rates in the following Table suggest that, of the six largest departments in the region, only Moncton's understood what the Bureau meant by 'offences known to the police'. The other departments probably were not recording the true volume of incidents and citizen complaints, most likely, as Dominion Bureau of Statistics officials theorized in the 1950s, because they were afraid of being viewed as inefficient.

**Table II:**  
**Percentage of Offences 'Cleared Up', 1947-49**

	1947 %	1948 %	1949 %
Halifax	100	77	81
Saint John	100	100	60
Sydney	100	80	91
Moncton	66	49	38
Glace Bay	100	100	94
Charlottetown	87	86	94

These two examples suggest that more case studies, and a standard method of comparison, will be required before useful regional and sub-regional generalizations are possible. Above all, some attempt should be made to understand why and how police statistics were recorded.<sup>14</sup>

**The Nineteenth Century**

The nineteenth century was the age of police reform in many countries. The organization of permanent constabularies, most of them uniformed and many of them armed, from the 1830s onwards was a minor revolution in state





*Halifax City Police Department, July 10, 1914. (Public Archives of Nova Scotia, N-6093)*

power, even if most police departments were under the control of local politicians or officials. Most historians of North American law enforcement mention Robert Peel's establishment of the London Metropolitan Police in 1829 and the Dublin Metropolitan Police in 1836 as the beginning of police reform. Urban growth was a major contributing factor to this innovation, but in terms of the British Empire, the Irish model of rural policing, based on constables stationed in barracks, was also important. Paramilitary police, insulated from the population and under centralized control, evolved in all parts of the Empire, including post-Confederation Canada. The modern offshoots of the Irish model are the RCMP, the Ontario Provincial Police, la Surete du Quebec and the Newfoundland Constabulary. In some Imperial cities, such as pre-Confederation Montreal, there were close ties between the military and the evolution of police forces. Following the withdrawal of the British garrison from St. John's in the early 1870s, the colonial government organized the Newfoundland Constabulary, under the direction of a Royal Irish Constabulary officer.<sup>15</sup>

In Maritime British North America, police reform was a gradual process. The port cities of Halifax and Saint John had hired seasonal or nightwatchmen in the late eighteenth century, but all towns relied on government appointed justices of the peace, the county sheriff and parish or town constables to maintain the peace and enforce the criminal and civil law. In contrast to what developed later, this system, depending on deference towards magistrates and a good deal of self-regulation by the community, was reactive, not preventive, in nature. Constables, for example, usually were artisans, tradesmen or storekeepers who had to be summoned for assistance. The older generation of police historians stressed the shortcomings of this system, but magistrates and part time watchmen and constables probably served their communities better than we think.<sup>16</sup>

The first statutory police force in the region was established for the parish of Portland, a suburb of Saint John, in 1847. A stipendiary magistrate, appointed from Fredericton, directed a force of full-time uniformed policemen whose special mandate was to counter sectarian violence. Conflict between Catholics, mainly Irish immigrants, and Protestants, many of them Orangemen, soon prompted the formation of a similar force in Saint John. The Saint John case supports the view that police forces were organized to counter the "dangerous classes", but, once organized, urban constabularies were drawn into less dramatic duties. In 1856 day-to-day direction of the Saint John department passed into the hands of a chief constable appointed by the provincial cabinet. Chatham (1859), Newcastle (1862) and St. Stephen (1864) were authorized by provincial legislation to operate small parish forces. Following incorporation in 1841, Halifax was policed by two forces, a day and night watch, the latter being more important. In 1864, they were amalgamated under the City Marshall. A number of communities began police departments upon or soon after incorporating as towns or cities, which suggests that law enforcement was viewed as an intimate and very practical part of local government. Thus police reform was as much of an administrative innovation as a reaction to feared disorder. Charlottetown's Incorporation Act of 1855 provided for a City Marshall, a force of constables and a Police Court. Fredericton, Pictou, New Glasgow and Amherst were incorporated in 1848, 1874, 1875 and 1889 and hired permanent policemen in 1851, 1884, 1876 and 1890 respectively. These departments, ranging in size from one man to over thirty, patrolled regular beats and were available, at least in theory, twenty-four hours a day.<sup>17</sup>

In smaller centres, the Victorian policeman was, as Raymond Fosdick later described the typical American constable, "a sort of glorified town bully." The first objective of policemen on the beat (in 1850s Saint John they were armed with sabres and pistols) was deterring

disorder and 'showing the flag'. The tradition of the "old-time" policeman died hard. Turn of the century New Glasgow, for example, was patrolled by "a legendary pair whose worth as policemen was measured, in the fashion of the time, by their fighting prowess in subduing Saturday night drunks."<sup>18</sup> Moncton's first Town Marshall (1855-62) was "a big man with a reputation for roughness". The small-town cop was also a jack-of-all-trades, often called upon to perform such perilous tasks as collecting poll tax information or counting the number of dogs. John Allard, who served as chief in Hantsport, Nova Scotia from 1946 to 1976, also served as truancy officer, assessor and sanitary inspector. Until 1962 he had no vehicle and prisoners had to be sent by taxi to nearby Windsor. The police also went to court. As the author has stressed elsewhere, the police should not be separated from the lower courts, as most police and stipendiary magistrates simply legitimated the decision of the arresting officer. Neither police departments nor police courts were autonomous institutions. Where lock-up facilities were limited and court sittings intermittent, the town policeman probably functioned like the 1920s New York policeman who stated "There is more law in the end of a policeman's night stick than in a decision of the Supreme Court." More, no doubt, was accomplished through warnings than through threats of violence.<sup>19</sup>

### *The Early Twentieth Century*

Innovations in police administration during the early twentieth century indicate changing urban conditions, the influence of social movements and the rise of new technology. By the turn of the century many urban citizens could contact the police station by telephone. In large North American centres electric signal systems and call boxes linked men on patrol to headquarters. Because of budget-conscious city councils, Halifax and Saint John lagged behind in this area. Until 1929, Saint John policemen kept in touch with headquarters by telephone; in addition, a signal light was placed in the centrally located

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civic market building to summon patrolmen. An electric signal system was installed in 1929 and maintained until 1954. Combined with mounted patrols and patrol wagons, alarm systems saved manpower and supposedly lessened response time.<sup>20</sup> Halifax did not commence a patrol wagon service until 1904; the Saint John department purchased an ambulance wagon in the mid 1890s and organized mounted and patrol wagon services in 1911. A significant development for policing in this period was the growth in automobile ownership and its attendant accident, traffic and crime problems. In 1912 the Halifax police acquired their first motorcycle; seven years later, a motor patrol wagon. Police mobility was enhanced, but most Maritime departments failed to keep pace with the increasing mobility of the population. By the early 1930s, Nova Scotia had roughly 40,000 registered motor vehicles and New Brunswick recorded 30,000. The tiny Amherst police force was forced to borrow a vehicle from the Water Department for night patrol; in New Glasgow the police took taxis to respond to calls. In other communities officers used their own vehicles. Halifax and Saint John were among the first Canadian departments to experiment with radio cars in the 1930s. In these larger centres traffic enforcement gradually came to dominate the service role of the police. Elsewhere nineteenth century methods prevailed. In some small towns the police attempted to catch speeders by standing on the street corner with stopwatch in hand. Fredericton did not expand or modernize its department until after World War II. Amherst's first police vehicle was a 1947 Ford panel van. Stellarton, Nova Scotia, purchased its first patrol car in 1963. By 1947 municipal police in the region operated only 23 radio patrol cars, 10 in Halifax-Dartmouth and 6 in Saint John. In terms of patrol cars and other equipment, there was a hierarchy in the region. As late as 1959, of 28 municipal police departments (including 6 RCMP detachments) in New Brunswick, 6 had no cars and 16 had no radio cars. Roughly half

of the 42 urban departments in Nova Scotia had patrol cars.<sup>21</sup>

The history of policing during the early twentieth century is in large measure related to changing attitudes and government policy towards the use of alcohol. The region was home to strong temperance and prohibition movements at the turn of the century. In 1898 the Maritimes voted heavily in favour of prohibition in a national plebiscite.

Liquor regulation, from regulated sale to varying degrees of prohibition, often was unpopular with a large number of people of all classes. The federal Scott Act (1878) had allowed for local option and by the turn of the century pressure for provincial action was growing; the result was a confusing legal system with competing enforcement arms. The Nova Scotia Temperance Act of 1910 survived, with amendments, until 1929. Prince Edward Island enforced prohibition



*Motorized Police patrol, Moncton. (Courtesy, Moncton Museum)*

Prohibitionists, inspired by religious and social and economic reform motives, were bound to put pressure on law enforcement agencies or demand the creation of new agencies. Unfortunately, with a few exceptions, such as the diary of Nova Scotia Temperance Inspector Clifford Rose, we know less about the enforcement of liquor control laws than about the ideology and politics of temperance and prohibition.<sup>22</sup>

from 1901 until 1948, New Brunswick from 1917 to 1927. In addition, the federal government imposed war-time prohibition in 1917.<sup>23</sup> Yet liquor regulation, as the police often complained, was a highly contentious community issue.

In the urban centres, even if temperance or prohibition sentiment triumphed officially, the police, under the pressure of public opinion,





*Prohibition Enforcement, Moncton (Courtesy, Moncton Museum)*

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exercised toleration, making periodic raids and arrests and collecting fines for the municipality. The memoirs of police chiefs E.M. Slader of Saint John and Hugh Corkum of Lunenburg touch upon the unpopularity of prohibition enforcement. Slader thought that the "spying" involved in enforcing New Brunswick prohibition damaged the legitimacy of the police. Corkum worked on rum running vessels before joining the Lunenburg police in 1938. Clifford Rose, a supporter of the Conservatives, was rewarded with appointment as Temperance Inspector for New Glasgow. His diaries (1925-29) confirm that the legal authorities cynically practiced a form of toleration in return for lucrative fines. Criminal justice officials may have shared the temperance idea that public drunkenness was a rough measure of "crime" in a community, but many questioned prohibition or the extent to which the state should, or could, enforce personal habits such as liquor consumption.<sup>24</sup>

Under prohibition legislation, the provinces appointed a number of inspectors distinct from local police forces and rural constables. Although most of these political appointees lacked experience in law enforcement, the inspectors provide an early example of attempted provincial control in policing. The results were not always impressive. Nova Scotia's Chief Temperance Inspector and several local inspectors were aided by clergymen, sympathetic citizens and urban police departments, but they faced a number of obstacles. Because of difficulties in securing reliable witnesses, the inspectors

depended on raiding premises suspected of serving liquor. This was extremely labour-intensive and frustrating work, from the point of view of securing convictions, as the table below suggests.

They also faced uncooperative magistrates, who, reflecting ambivalent public sentiment, were "antagonistic or passively resistant" to the law. It proved extremely difficult for the inspectors and prosecuting lawyers to secure second convictions and maximum punishments in these cases. Few went to jail. Municipalities, towns and cities appointed, through elected politicians, their own temperance inspectors (some were police chiefs or constables). There were 80 such local officers in Nova Scotia by 1926, but their efforts were not always coordinated with those of the provincial staff and the federal Customs and Excise Preventive Service. In 1929, the final year of prohibition in Nova Scotia, Inspector-in-Chief D.K. Grant criticized these inspectors, arguing that one-half of them were too inactive to justify their appointment. In rural areas with no permanent police presence, and in small towns, inspectors received small salaries and worked on a part-time basis. In Cape Breton they faced "kitchen bar-rooms, speak easies and camouflaged grocery stores". Most open bars were closed by the prohibition forces by the early 1920s, but officials continued to be frustrated by the actions of many physicians, who were allowed to sell liquor for medicinal purposes, and highly organized smugglers and bootleggers who used automobiles and motorboats. The passing of the Volstead Act

in the United States, banning the importation of liquor, provided new opportunities and contacts for Maritime smugglers and bootleggers.<sup>25</sup>

### *Provincial Police*

British Columbia, Quebec and Ontario were the first provinces to develop their own constabularies, particularly for remote and sparsely settled areas. Provincial forces also provided patronage and functioned as symbols of government power. Alberta and Saskatchewan followed suit during the World War I period, seriously diminishing the size of the Royal North West Mounted Police. As in the United States, where there existed a number of state constabularies insulated from municipal politics, provincial police were a potential weapon against organized labour.<sup>26</sup> The Maritime region's experimentation with prohibition and liquor control in the 1920s set the stage for the organization of provincial forces. Politically, these forces, modelled after the RCMP, were designed to lessen criticism from the influential prohibition and religious lobbies when provincial administrations moved to regulated sale of liquor. Financially, they were designed to secure provincial revenues by combatting the illegal manufacture, transport and sale of liquor. They were also a further step in the provincial state's evolving attempts to centralize enforcement of certain laws and secure province-wide standards.

Although they were better trained than most police in the region, the New Brunswick

**Table III:**  
***Nova Scotia Provincial Temperance Inspectors' Cases, 1926-29***

	Searches	Prosecutions	Convictions	Seizures
1926-27	3401	398	269	327
1927-28	3083	381	314	344
1928-29	4795	496	400	511

Source: "Temperance Inspector's Report", *Journal and Proceedings of the Assembly of Nova Scotia*, 1927-29.

Provincial Police, formed in 1927 prior to the opening of government liquor stores, did not lack experienced men. Commissioner E.C.P. Salt, seconded from the RCMP, recruited personnel from the ranks of the 1920s prohibition inspectors. The NBPP by 1930 consisted of 76 men based in 33 detachments, most of them 1 to 3 men in size. This motorized, centrally directed force was more independent than urban police from the local population and in a sense its duties were more streamlined. Mobile, full-time police were a new phenomenon in previously unpoliced rural districts. Their prime task was enforcing the Intoxicating Liquor Act, which outlawed taverns and bars, but they soon became active in enforcing highway traffic regulations and federal and provincial statutes. The NBPP also investigated Criminal Code violations such as murder and other acts of violence, property crime and "offences against religion and morals". In 1930 it conducted 2840 investigations and secured 2300 convictions. In 1931 the number of investigations jumped to over 8500. The force was disbanded before its Commissioner was able to obtain a system of radio communications.<sup>27</sup> Initially the provincial police enjoyed a degree of success in enforcing the liquor law but, according to B.J. Grant, by 1929 "their days were numbered" because of unfavorable publicity.<sup>28</sup> This assessment minimizes, however, the financial incentives involved in the abolition of the provincial constabularies.

In 1930 Prince Edward Island, where prohibition was always a lively issue, organized a short-lived provincial constabulary modelled on that of its neighbour. As in New Brunswick, the men wore a para-military khaki uniform patterned after that of a World War I cavalry officer. Each member was also a constable under the Prohibition and Highway Traffic Acts, which indicated that a province where motor vehicles had once been banned was coming to terms with the internal combustion engine.<sup>29</sup> PEI had not abandoned its prohibition law, but the provincial prohibition

enforcement branch had a poor reputation by the late 1920s. The new Commissioner of Police, former Mountie John Joseph Trainor, was responsible to the Attorney General and given a mandate similar to that of the NBPP: liquor control, highway traffic and general policing. Eventually ten of the provincial prohibition inspectors were attached to the force, as was a police matron. The PEI Provincial Police never numbered more than twenty and by late 1931 its numbers had been slashed following the formation of a new prohibition squad.<sup>30</sup>

Under its Constables Act, Nova Scotia had authorized the appointment of provincial police, but prior to 1930 these were mainly special constables sworn in to deal with industrial disputes, notably in Cape Breton, and to aid Temperance Inspectors. The government's move to a system of licensed liquor sales in 1930 was accompanied by a provincial constabulary. The policy had been announced before a Temperance Plebiscite of 1929 as a concession to the dry lobby. As in New Brunswick, much of the work of the new force, organized and commanded by a RCMP staff sergeant, was directed against smugglers and bootleggers. A one month training course made it one of the better trained police forces in the country. Roughly one hundred officers were scattered in 30 detachments equipped with motorized transport. Officially the Nova Scotia Police was a non-partisan agency, but the papers of Premier E.N. Rhodes suggest that despite the hopes of Commissioner F.A. Blake, religious and political factors influenced hiring.<sup>31</sup>

The annual reports of the NSP (patterned after that of the NBPP) would have us believe that by 1931 the province's smugglers and bootleggers were on the run, an unlikely state of affairs, despite the increased number of prosecutions (2421 in 1931). Temperance and church groups certainly did not agree with this interpretation. The force also assumed duties in connection with highway traffic, the game law and other provincial statutes and

the Criminal Code. In early 1932 Blake reported that the province was free from serious crime and noted minor problems associated with summer transients in the Annapolis Valley and Yarmouth districts. Two of the force's more exotic investigations were a case of sacrilege in 1931 and witchcraft (under the heading "Offences Against the Rights of Property") in 1932. Neither case proceeded to court. Public opinion, particularly in Cape Breton, which had bitter memories of emergency provincial police units formed to break coal strikes in the 1920s, was not immediately positive. In fact the official name, Nova Scotia Police, was chosen because the term Provincial Police, associated with strikes in the coals fields, was too controversial in Cape Breton. The story of the three provincial constabularies, which deserve to be studied in detail, suggests that legal history researchers should be sensitive to the political climate surrounding criminal justice innovations.<sup>32</sup>

### *The Law Marches East*

The Mounties, identified in popular culture with the North and the Prairies, have been a fact of life in the "Wild East" for several decades. At present, half of the population of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and one-third of PEI depends on the federal force for police services.<sup>33</sup> In the Maritimes, popular culture has been prone to view the Mounties as somewhat alien and vulnerable to the wiles of the locals, like the officer in Dick Nowlan's Newfoundland song "Aunt Martha's Sheep" who is served stolen mutton after being told it is moose meat. Unlike the Prairie provinces, where the RCMP had performed a number of services for settlers, farmers and ranchers, thus enhancing police legitimacy, in the Maritimes the force had few roots. RCMP policy discouraged recruits from being posted in their home province.<sup>34</sup> Yet because of its international prestige, the force was respected. The RCMP was one of the few public agencies of the Depression era that grew in size and power. Supported by Prime Minister R.B. Bennett, Commissioner Major-

General Sir James MacBrien modernized the force's organization and equipment and expanded into the field of provincial contract policing. Many of the provinces could not afford to maintain their own police systems. In 1932 the three Maritime premiers negotiated with the federal Department of Justice to secure law enforcement outside of incorporated centres by the RCMP. According to New Brunswick Attorney General Charles Richards, this was "part of a general scheme for the coordination of police duties throughout the Dominion" although an underlying provincial motive was financial. The contracts meant considerable savings for provincial and municipal governments; in effect, Ottawa offered subsidized law enforcement.<sup>35</sup>

The RCMP agreed to absorb personnel from the provincial constabularies. In addition it absorbed the Customs and Excise Preventive Service and operated a Marine Section to investigate smuggling. The Mounties were better coordinated, trained and equipped than their predecessors; for example seaplane patrols were initiated. But like the temperance inspectors and provincial police, the RCMP encountered resistance to liquor control. The officer in charge of H Division reported in 1935 that the customs and liquor laws could never be enforced properly "without more sincere support from the better class of citizen" who were the chief customers of the smuggler.<sup>36</sup>

The RCMP, by most accounts, were more effective against smugglers and bootleggers. They represented a distant authority, but they were not always "from away". The absorption of the NBPP, for example, meant that most RCMP detachments in 1930s New Brunswick were headed by native sons. Technically, the contract force was responsible to the provincial Attorney General, but in organization, equipment and esprit de corps the detachments were influenced by Ottawa. By the mid 30s, about one-fifth of the total force was based in the Maritime provinces, in

H (Halifax), J (Fredericton) and L (Charlottetown) Divisions.

In Nova Scotia, enforcement of the provincial Liquor Control Act was a major RCMP task; in fact, the Liquor Control Commission contributed a significant sum towards the RCMP contract. In 1937, the force made 5,000 unproductive searches under the Act. Although on PEI the public generally did not

**Table IV:**  
**The RCMP in the Maritime Provinces**

	N.B.	N.S.*	P.E.I.
1935	121	363	34
1941	234	326	34
1944	290	468	29
1950	181	424	42

\*Includes Marine Section

Source: *Report of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, 1935-50*

**Table V:**  
**Nova Scotia Liquor Control Act: RCMP Investigations**

	Cases	Convicted	Dismissals
1934	3032	1074	178
1935	2313	1040	112
1936	6875	1450	150
1937	7404	1350	104
1938	7762	1479	124

Source: "Report of RCMP H Division", Nova Scotia, *Journal of the House of Assembly*, Part II, 1935-39.

assist L Division against moonshiners and bootleggers, there was little serious crime on the Island. As in Nova Scotia, liquor searches yielded slim results but were thought to act as a deterrent. The link between liquor policy and policing was explicit in several J Division reports which suggested that the force and the New Brunswick Liquor Control

Commission had a common goal-eradication of bootlegging. When the Commission lowered the price of proof strength rum and extended its retail hours to compete with bootleggers, the RCMP commanding officer at Fredericton approved. By World War II, the RCMP was an important institution in the Maritimes. In 1950, the region's federal police presence, which outnumbered municipal forces by 3-2, consisted of several hundred Mounties, based in 84 detachments. Communications were maintained by a developing police FM radio network. By 1954, eleven towns in the region had disbanded their police forces and availed themselves of RCMP services. The question for historians to pursue is the impact of this federal agency on the region over the past fifty years. Both the Mounties and the provincial constabularies remind us that, in addition to the towns, the rural areas, where the presence of the state was seldom felt, are worthy of study.<sup>37</sup>

**The Police and Labour**

A number of historians have portrayed the police as instruments of capital against labour, or of middle-class respectability against working class culture.<sup>38</sup> In all historical periods most of the people arrested and incarcerated have come from the lower end of the socio-economic ladder. There is no doubt as to the class function of many police actions in nineteenth and twentieth century Canada, such as monitoring poorer neighbourhoods and enforcing restrictions against working-class leisure.

Along the 1870s Saint John waterfront and in industrial Cape Breton the police also intervened against organized labour. A large RCMP force was sent to Saint John in 1921 to guard against violence and vandalism during a street railway strike. The first major RCMP task as a provincial contract force in Nova Scotia was keeping order between rival labour organizations in the Cape Breton coal fields in 1933-34. Cape Breton's labour history

included violent strikes in 1909, 1922, 1923 and 1925 which pitted miners against scabs, company police, special constables and Canadian military units. The reports of H Division of the RCMP in the 1930s make special mention of industrial conditions yet argued that most labour groups cooperated with the police.<sup>39</sup>

Not surprisingly, the most vocal anti-labour police were in the private sector, the railway and corporation police. Their job was not to enforce the law but to protect company property and guard against theft. The railway police were the elite of the private sector police. In 1925, the head of the British Empire Steel and Coal Corporation police prepared a paper entitled "The Industrial Police and Some of Their Problems" for the Chief Constables' Association of Canada convention. BESCO was the giant conglomerate which controlled the livelihood of tens of thousands of Nova Scotians. It company police, much criticized in the 1920s, did not patrol the streets of Sydney but protected corporation property and monitored employees. Their head officer accepted the right of trade unions to organize and negotiate, but stressed that the Communist Party was the greatest threat to industrial relations.<sup>40</sup>

For legal historians, relations between the police and the working class can be employed to confirm the hypothesis that society's power relations, expressed through the justice system, have been marked by

ambiguity, not sheer domination. All too often labour historians have mentioned the police only in the context of strikes, important flash points in understanding class relations, but flash points all the same. The municipal police, particularly in towns with a strong labour presence, were not always the villains encountered in labour and working class historiography. The RCMP no doubt exaggerated the amount of goodwill between the police and working people, but generally the police and labour got along far better than most labour historians prefer to admit. Strikes, lockouts and strikebreaking were for the most part episodic, not sustained conflicts, and the police depended on a degree of community support. During the Cape Breton conflicts, for example, the town police often sympathized with the striking miners-or at least maintained a low profile. Similarly, during the 1920s and 1930s, although the police monitored transients and the unemployed, it was difficult for them not to experience some degree of compassion for the poor. It should be remembered that socially the average constable had much in common with the average working man. Secondly, there is the need to study the actual *enforcement* of laws aimed potentially at working class activity.<sup>41</sup>

**Police Organizations**

From the turn of the century onwards, municipal police began to organize on two levels, the rank and file and senior officers. An examination of both types of organizations is useful for the understanding the development

of public sector labour relations and police professionalism. Studies of the police as workers in addition to enforcers also add to social and labour history. In the tradition of fraternal orders and trade unions, police associations or unions grew out of concerns over job security, working conditions, disciplinary matters, pensions and public accountability. The Saint John Police Protective Association was one of the first important police unions in the country. A Police Relief Association, concerned with sickness and injury benefits, was incorporated in 1900. Saint John's rank and file developed strong links with the Trades and Labour Council and was caught up in the police union movement of the World War I years. In 1918, with a large measure of public support, it formed a union affiliated with the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada. When political opposition arose, the union secured the dismissal of the Director of Public Safety and a second elected official. Most police associations did not retain their World War I militancy and formal ties to labour, but the Saint John Police Protective Association survived. Until the post-World War II years, most municipal policemen in the region were under the thumb of town police committees. According to former Lunenburg chief Hugh Corkum: "In those days you had to stand up alone to protect yourself and your department. Things are different today. Police have all kinds of protection: unions, commissions and committees to settle grievances".<sup>42</sup>

**Table VI: Police Personnel: The Six Major Urban Centres, 1920-1949**

	1920	1925	1930	1935	1940	1945	1949
Halifax	72	64	69	72	73	110	124
Saint John	52	55	59	59	52	77	70
Sydney	20	21	20	19	20	26	32
Moncton	12	15	17	17	22	32	37
Glace Bay	9	14	16	15	16	19	21
Charlottetown	6	10	8	9	10	15	15

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, "Police Statistics", *Criminal Statistics of Canada*, 1920-1949



The Chief Constables' Association of Canada (now the Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police), organized in 1905, has held annual conventions since 1906 and published a journal since 1913. The Chief Constables' Association was dedicated to securing inter-city cooperation and standardization of police procedures. Maritime police officials, including police chiefs and officers from railway and industrial police forces, were involved in the CACP as delegates, provincial representatives on the executive and committee members; Chief W.W. Clarke of Saint John (1910-11) was the first President from the region. Since 1905, seven Maritimers have served in this capacity. During the 1940s, roughly one-fifth of the organization's membership was based in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island.

Despite this involvement, the association was perceived as being dominated by the larger police departments of central Canada. A number of conventions were held in the region, but because of financial and logistical problems, many Maritime chiefs found it difficult to attend conventions in Quebec, Ontario or the West. In 1951, fourteen senior officers attending the CACP convention from Atlantic Canada formed the Maritime Association of Chiefs of Police. Over the next decade the MACP met in convention to discuss training, civil defence, parole, juvenile delinquency, uniform crime reporting, technological advances and police pensions and lobbied Provincial governments on legislative matters. One goal was uniformity in legislation affecting policing and the establishment of police commissions to enhance the independence of the chiefs from city and town councils. Maritime chiefs continued to be active in the CACP, but like their counterparts in other regions, they discussed local concerns in a regional forum. Under the auspices of the MACP, the Halifax Police Department operated the Maritime Police School for the benefit of the smaller municipalities. The CACP and MACP are management organizations not always in agreement with police unions but the issues

**Table VII:**  
**Population and Police per 1,000 Population: The Six Leading Urban Centres, 1921-41**

	1921		1931		1941	
Halifax	58,372	1.2	59,275	1.2	70,488	1.0
Saint John	47,166	1.1	47,514	1.2	51,741	1.0
Sydney	22,545	0.9	23,089	0.9	28,305	0.7
Moncton	17,488	0.7	20,689	0.8	22,763	1.0
Glace Bay	17,007	0.5	20,706	0.8	25,147	0.7
Charlottetown	12,341	0.4	12,361	0.6	14,821	1.0

Source for Tables VII-VIII: DBS, "Police Statistics".

**Table VIII:**  
**Persons Sheltered in Police Stations, 1920-49**

	Halifax	St. John	Sydney	Moncton	Amherst	Charlottetown
1920	—	136	10	163	—	3
1921	1132	573	60	473	52	18
1922	400	36	111	119	54	14
1923	—	114	40	87	28	5
1924	450	100	62	73	2	7
1925	175	82	—	42	40	21
1926	365	119	110	526	38	16
1927	730	90	30	32	38	10
1928	732	609	100	577	65	15
1929	328	532	285	861	200	11
1930	500	695	263	1555	510	29
1931	743	1025	154	2618	1050	210
1932	786	717	503	2615	1542	33
1933	375	462	363	1511	558	30
1934	208	514	335	2643	479	18
1935	765	514	309	3365	813	35
1936	410	582	289	3141	970	48
1937	117	685	267	3114	1000	60
1938	196	1443	360	4664	—	73
1939	26	1376	165	3686	47	79
1940	88	1154	399	3526	83	72
1941	493	1165	555	1905	72	120
1942	186	696	487	538	61	66
1943	61	541	307	785	38	90
1944	97	440	234	748	27	94
1945	56	609	228	1005	44	68
1946	110	640	605	809	116	121
1947	192	1092	595	1192	168	134
1948	139	1346	490	1490	125	153
1949	176	1576	513	1920	256	90

**Table IX:**  
**Police Personnel, Maritime Provinces, 1985**

	N.S.	N.B.	P.E.I.	Total
RCMP*	728	426	119	1273
Municipal Police	711	636	61	1408
Railway Police	22	49	1	72
Ports Canada Police	—	15	24	39
Other	—	113**	—	113
Total	1485	1239	181	2905

\* Includes Provincial and municipal contracts

\*\* New Brunswick Highway Patrol

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, *Policing in Canada* 1986.

they have addressed over the years serve as a barometer of social concerns: white slavery in the World War I era, atomic attack during the Cold War and more recently, victims' rights, AIDS and multiculturalism.<sup>43</sup>

### Conclusion

Canadian historians generally have ignored the power of police records as social indicators and the usefulness of the police institution for examining social relations. The police, as with other agencies and institutions that mediated between social groups, pursued both 'hard' and 'soft' policies. Obviously there are limits to police history. Their influence was not always pervasive, but in cities and towns police departments were the one 'social service' available twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. Partly as historical contingency, the police took on a much more eclectic role than that envisioned by mid-nineteenth century police reformers and lawmakers. This social role, beyond the scope of most legal historiography, probably was more important than the formal recorded response to crime — the decision to arrest and lay charges. As the examples above suggest, police statistics are a potential minefield, but with sufficient internal criticism they could facilitate generalizations about crime, or the fear of crime, in the region.

### Notes

The helpful comments of C. Mark Davis are gratefully acknowledged.

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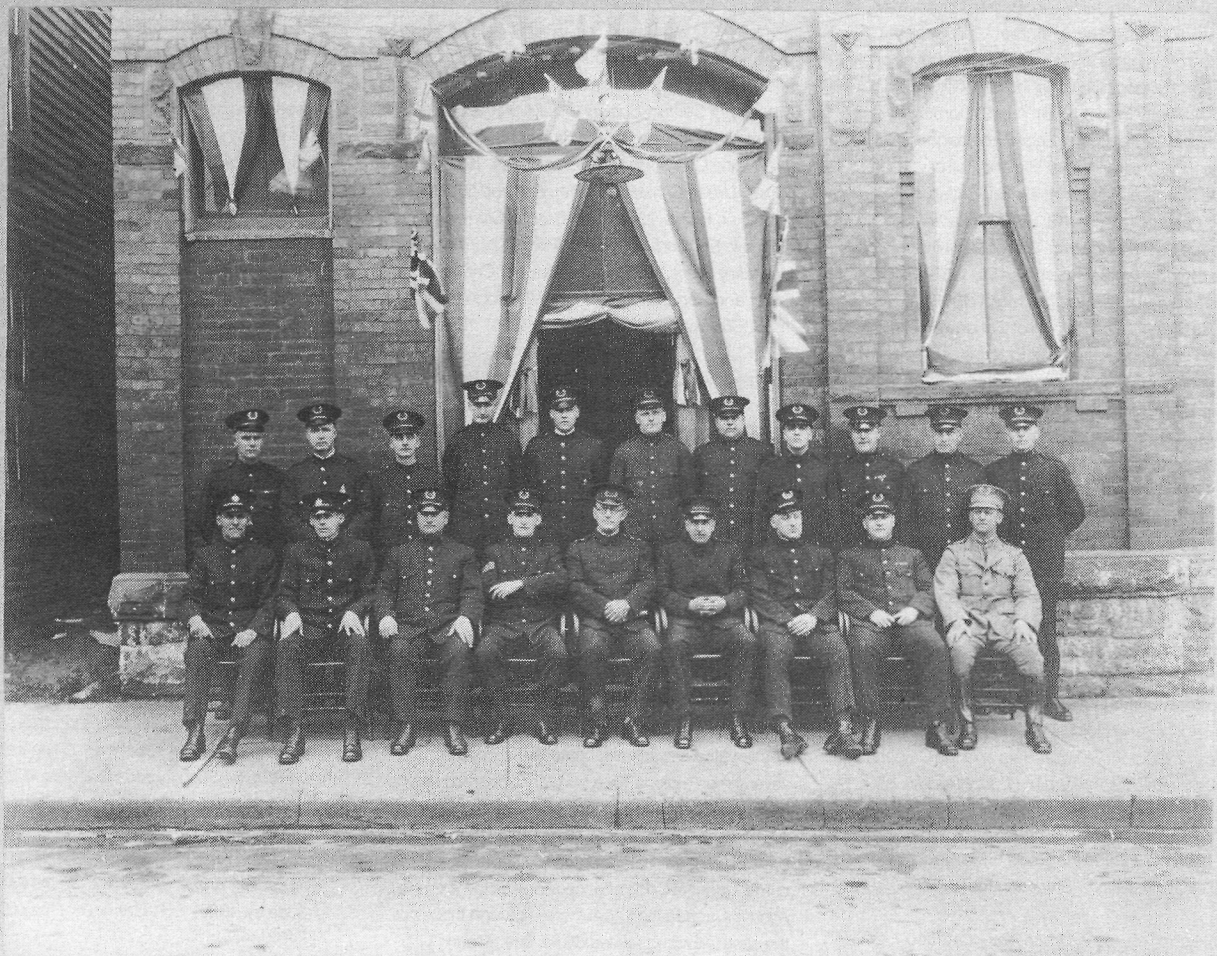
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- 8 Monkkonen, "Municipal Reports," 57-65. For the nineteenth century Maritimes, printed reports include: "Report of the City Marshall" and "City Prison Reports", *Halifax Corporation Reports*, 1860-; "Annual Report of the Chief Constable," *Reports and Accounts of Saint John*, 1862-; "Stipendiary Magistrate's Report," *Reports and Accounts of Charlottetown*, 1877-.
- 9 *Crime and Policing*, Ch. XVI. Beginning in 1916 the annual report of the Chief Constable of Saint John contained a Police Matron's Report, describing the disposal of all female cases.
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- 13 DBS, "Police Statistics," 1930-40. Under the new system, 'offences known to the police' offered a conservative depiction of crime levels. For example, if several men took part in a burglary it counted as one offence. Recent Statistics Canada data suggests that there is less "social stress" in the region than in other parts of Canada. Rates of property crime, violent crime, Criminal Code offences and suicide are lower in Atlantic Canada than elsewhere, although this is not the case with drug-related crime. See: Atlantic Provinces Economic Council, *Atlantic Canada Today* (Halifax: Formac Publishing Company, 1988), 20-21.
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## Monton Police

1867 — DIAMOND JUBILEE — 1927



N. MacKinnon; G. Aloor; W. R. Welch; W. C. Snyder; J. MacKinnon; R. A. Steeves; E. Bourque; E. Steeves; E. Crosman; H. Arsenault; L. I. Coates  
Sergt. Chief Inspector  
J. Wedge; L. Lund; S. D. Richard; F. P. Murphy; L. S. Hutchinson; H. V. Harris; P. J. Randall; J. K. Randall; L. W. Trites

*Monton Police Department, 1927 (Courtesy, Monton Museum)*

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- <sup>22</sup> E. R. Forbes and A. A. Mackenzie, eds., Clifford Rose, *Four Years With the Demon Rum, 1925-1929* (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1979); Forbes, "Prohibition and the Social Gospel in Nova Scotia," *The Acadiensis Reader: Volume II: Atlantic Canada After Confederation* (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1985), 260-285; Jacques Paul Coutrier, "Prohiber ou contrôler: L'application de l'Acte de tempérance du Canada à Moncton, N.-B., 1881-1896," *Acadiensis*, XVII, 2 (Spring 1988), 3-26.
- <sup>23</sup> Forbes, "Prohibition and the Social Gospel in Nova Scotia"; C. Mark Davis, "Rum and the Law," in James H. Morrison and James Moreira, eds., *Tempered by Rum: Rum in the History of the Maritimes* (Porter's Lake: Potter's Field Press, 1988), 40-52; "Small Town Reformism: The Temperance Issue in Amherst, Nova Scotia," in Larry McCann, ed., *People and Place: Studies in Small Town Life in the Maritimes* (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1987), 125-134; "I'll Drink to That: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition in the Maritime Provinces, 1900-1930" (Ph.D., in progress, McMaster University).
- <sup>24</sup> Slader, *From the Victorian Age to the Space Age*, 128; Corkum, *On Both Sides of the Law* (Hantsport: Lancelot Press, 1989); Rose, *Four Years*.
- <sup>25</sup> "Temperance Inspector's Reports, 1912-29," *Journal of the Nova Scotia Assembly*, 1913-1930; Megeny, *The Stellarton Police*, Ch. 6-7; McGahan, *Crime and Policing*, Ch. VII; C. Mark Davis, "Atlantic Canada's Rum Running Tradition," *Acadiensis*, XIV, 2 (Spring, 1985), 147-158.
- <sup>26</sup> Higley, *O.P.P.*; Jose Ville-Arce, "The Alberta Provincial Police," *Alberta Historical Review*, XXI 4 (Autumn 1973), 16-19; D. F. Robertson, "The Saskatchewan Provincial Police, 1917-1928," *Saskatchewan History*, XXXI (Winter 1978), 1-11; Hamar Foster, "Law Enforcement in Nineteenth Century British Columbia: A Brief Comparative Overview," *B.C. Studies*, 63 (Autumn 1984), 3-28.
- <sup>27</sup> *Report of the New Brunswick Provincial Police*, 1930-32; *Canadian Annual Review*, 1927-28; Arthur Doyle, *Front Benches and Backrooms* (Green Tree Publishing Company Limited, 1976).
- <sup>28</sup> Grant, *When Rum Was King: The Story of the Prohibition Era in New Brunswick* (Fredericton: Fiddlehead Poetry Books, 1984), 53.
- <sup>29</sup> Ch. 16, "An Act Respecting a Provincial Police Force," *Acts of the General Assembly of PEI*, 1930, 151-54.
- <sup>30</sup> Peter M. German and Alan A. McIvor, "The Prince Edward Island Provincial Police," *RCMP Quarterly* (Winter 1981), 30-37.
- <sup>31</sup> PANS, MG2, E. N. Rhodes Papers, Vol. 650, W. H. Currie to L. W. Fraser, n.d.; A. H. Cormier to E. Rhodes, May 29, 1932; F. A. Blake to W. L. Hall, June 1, 1932; "Regulations Nova Scotia Police"; "Memo re Organization of Nova Scotia Police."
- <sup>32</sup> "Report of the Nova Scotia Police," *Journals of the House of Assembly*, 1931-32, Part II; R. C. Toner and D. C. Perrier, "The Nova Scotia Police," *RCMP Quarterly*, (Summer, 1982), 33-45; David Frank, "Class Conflict in the Coal Industry: Cape Breton 1922," in Gregory Kealey and Peter Warrian eds. *Essays in Canadian Working Class History* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), 161-184; John Mellor, *The Company Store: J. B. McLachlan and the Cape Breton Coal Miners, 1900-1926* (Halifax: Formac Publishing Company Limited, 1984), 174-75; 193-94.
- <sup>33</sup> Statistics Canada, *Policing in Canada 1986* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1986).
- <sup>34</sup> Carl Betke, "Pioneers and Police on the Canadian Prairies, 1885-1914," in MacLeod, *Lawful Authority*, 98-117. For the symbolic power of the RCMP, see Keith Walden, *Visions of Order: The Canadian Mounties in Symbol and Myth* (Toronto: Buttersworth, 1982).
- <sup>35</sup> *Synoptic Reports of the Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of New Brunswick*, 1932.
- <sup>36</sup> *Journal of the Nova Scotia House of Assembly*, 1935, Part II; Vernon Kemp, *Without Fear, Favour or Affection; Thirty Five Years With the Royal Canadian Mounted Police* (Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1958), Ch. 15.
- <sup>37</sup> *Report of the RCMP*, 1935-59; *Report of the Nova Scotia Liquor Commission*, 1949-51.
- <sup>38</sup> Haring, *Policing a Class Society*; Rogers, "Serving Toronto the Good"; Fingard, "'A Great Big Rum Shop': The Drink Trade in Victorian Halifax," in Morrison and Moreira eds. *Tempered by Rum*, 89-102. For a critique of legal historians who ignore class tensions and conflict, see Brian Young, "Law in the Round," *Acadiensis* XVI (Autumn 1986), 155-165.
- <sup>39</sup> Marquis, "A Machine of Oppression," 64-69; Megeny, *The Stellarton Police*, 56-59; S. Calhoun, *The Lockport Lockout: An Untold Story in Nova Scotia Labor History* (Kentville, 1983); Slader, 137; Mellor, *The Company Store*; "Report of RCMP H Division," 1934-40.
- <sup>40</sup> CCAC, *Convention Proceedings*, 1925, 95-102.
- <sup>41</sup> Mellor, *The Company Store*; Frank, "Class Conflict"; Slader, *From the Victorian Age*, 179-185; Marquis, "Doing Justice," 55-57; "Police Unionism," 259-277; "Working Men in Uniform," 109. S. W. Horall has argued, in the face of pro-labour writing, that the RNWMP acted in a neutral fashion during the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919: See, "The Royal North West Mounted Police and Labor Unrest in Western Canada, 1919," in MacLeod, *Lawful Authority*, 133-150.
- <sup>42</sup> Corkum, *On Both Sides of the Law*, 145-146. Today none of the Maritime provinces have legislation outlawing police strikes. For police unionism, see Marquis, "Working Men in Uniform"; "Police Unionism in Early Twentieth Century Toronto"; Christopher Armstrong and H. V. Nelles, "The Great Fight for Clean Government," *Urban History Review*, 2 (February 1976), 50-66. The Halifax Police Athletic and Social Club was organized in the 1920s.
- <sup>43</sup> Corkum, *On Both Sides*, 148-153; *CACP Convention Proceedings; Canadian Police Bulletin*, 1951-60.