

News to Make a Difference:
The Environment and The 4th Estate, 1969–1977

By
Lisa Corra

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Abstract

News to Make a Difference:

The Environment and The 4th ESTATE, 1969–1977

by

Lisa Corra

This thesis is the first lengthy study of The 4th ESTATE, an alternative newspaper published in Halifax, Nova Scotia 1969-1977. It covers the work of journalists in both the alternative and the daily press in the 1960s and 1970s. An examination of print media in the years 2006-2008 puts the thesis into context.

The editors of The 4th ESTATE thought of themselves as a new voice in Halifax and the Maritimes, covering such themes as environmentalism (which is covered in detail in the thesis), poverty, women's rights, the Black movement, mental health, and sexual orientation. The editors contended that Halifax needed a new newspaper in town, one that would be truthful and also activist in its approach. The paper became well known for giving a voice to the underdogs of society.

The thesis also covers politics in Nova Scotia during the time that The 4th ESTATE was published.

November 21, 2008

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I would also like to acknowledge my appreciation to the staff of Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management in making so much material accessible to me, including a complete run of The 4th ESTATE. The Brenda Large Fonds, containing the newspaper's office files, were invaluable in providing background for this study.

Thanks also to the Atlantic Canada Studies program at Saint Mary's University for making this project possible and for providing so much academic support and encouragement. I would also like to thank the Gorsebrook Research Institute for the use of its facilities. The librarians at the Patrick Power Library were always enormously helpful, supplying not just research materials but also excellent advice. Special thanks to my supervisor, Dr. Margaret Harry, for being so patient, understanding, and professional during my graduate years.

Finally, I would like to thank my friends and family, especially my mother Sheryl Melanson, who not only provided the benefit of her own experience of Nova Scotia politics during the 1960s and 1970s, but never failed to be there for me.

Note: All illustrations from The 4th ESTATE and elsewhere are used with permission. Every effort has been made to trace individual copyright holders, and these are acknowledged where appropriate.

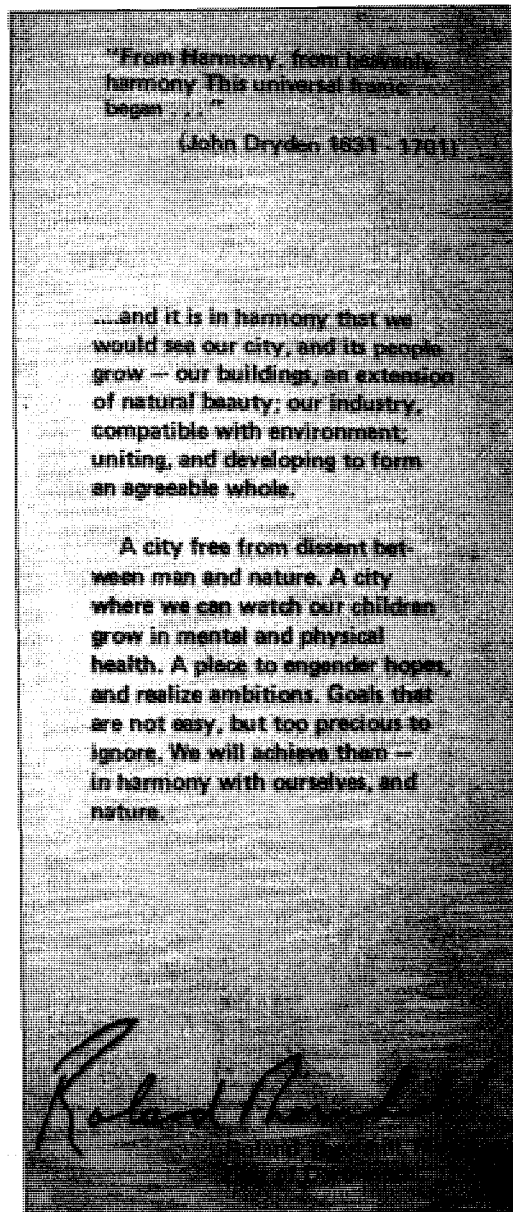


Figure 1: Hope for the Environment — The 4th ESTATE, October 18, 1973 (p. 15).

CHAPTER ONE: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE 4TH ESTATE AND THE THEME OF ENVIRONMENTALISM

Our society will be defined not only by what we create, but by what we
refuse to destroy.

John C. Sawhill

(1936–2000)

The Nature Conservancy

If they blow a hole in my backyard

Everyone is going to run away

And the creeks won't flow to the Great Lake below

Will the water in the well still be OK?

Sarah Harmer

Escarpment Blues

2005

The 4th ESTATE's History: A Précis

A New Name

A New Presence in the Community

Volume I, Number I of The 4th ESTATE newspaper was published in Halifax, Nova Scotia on April 17, 1969. One of the photographs on the front page is of Gerry Regan, the provincial Liberal leader who would become Nova Scotia premier on October 28, 1970, better known as Gerald A. Regan. Another photograph on this cover is of frantic hand-waving students in protest at Saint Mary's University over the right to have a say in policies concerning the hiring and firing of professors. A headline in the top right hand corner of the same page is, "Why a New Newspaper?" referring to the establishment of The 4th ESTATE, and leading to a story on page 7 entitled, "Farewell to *The People*".

Owners Frank Fillmore and son Nick Fillmore had operated *The People and Community News* newspaper with the help of Frank's wife, Irene, since November 21, 1968. The family of three had their business incorporated as N.I.F. Publishing. In their first issue of The 4th ESTATE, the editors made it clear that despite complications with shareholders, the new venture would carry on thematically in a similar vein to *The People* because that was what its readers wished for. Copied from the first issue of *The People* in the first issue of The 4th ESTATE, is a slanted square of words in an editorial by Frank Fillmore: "In other words, *THE PEOPLE* will be endeavouring to tell it like it is. And, sometimes, you won't like that for if we have one over-riding purpose and dedication it is to shake the community and force it to face that which is so difficult to face — Truth."

The editorial appears to be offering consolation to the readers of *The People* as it reads, "For the Editors interpreted the cry 'Save THE PEOPLE' as meaning the type of

newspaper it had become — to save the blood, the guts, and the bones of a little paper that became, in a very short time, a force far greater than its small size would indicate.”

THE PEOPLE

AND COMMUNITY NEWS

VOL. 1 NO. 1 HALIFAX, N.S. November 21, 1968 12 Pages 16¢

FIRST EDITION
COMPLIMENTARY

MIGRANTS BEING NEGLECTED

Governments Responsible

By NICK FILLMORE

All levels of government have ignored the migration of thousands of unskilled workers from the Maritime provinces to Toronto and other large Canadian cities.

The Atlantic Provinces Economic Council estimates at least 20,000 persons migrate from the Maritimes each year. But this is only an educated guess. There may be as many as 40,000.

A high percentage of the out-migrants are suitably educated and have no difficulty finding employment and making a better life in Ontario or Quebec. But perhaps as many as 5,000 or 7,000 who leave each year are poorly educated and not psychologically equipped to deal with the pressures they must face in a big city.

The result often is heartache for the migrants and headache for agencies like the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, which has carried out an extensive study on migration to the city.

TORONTO GETS 12,400

The Council estimates an average yearly flow of persons to Toronto from the Atlantic provinces at 12,400. It does not object to the presence of those Maritimers who find a place in society. But it is concerned about the problems facing thousands of migrants who are unable to adapt to Toronto's complicated style of life.

Migrants from the Maritimes face problems they did not expect:

- The cost of living is much higher than in the small communities most come from. Economically, they are no better off than down east.
- Many find that their skills are obsolete and must resort to unattractive and unfamiliar work to earn a living. They are reluctant to retrain themselves.
- They have a hard time making new friends other than Maritimers. This has created an undesirable Maritime sub-culture within an area of the city.
- This lack of adapting to the new technological and cultural environment may lead to instability of employment, dependence and drifting, personal and family disorganization.
- An increasing number of the migrants are adventuresome school drop-outs who are poorly equipped to deal with big city life. They take casual unskilled jobs and change them frequently. They are dissatisfied with

MIGRATION - PAGE 8



DOES SHE HAVE A FUTURE ? - An area of North-central Halifax has become unsafe at night because of muggings and beatings. This little girl and hundreds like her live in the area and must cope with this environment if they are to have a happy and successful life.

In Central City:
Violence Way Of Life

By ALEX DIXON

To avoid the possibility of getting a head whipping and robbed during a casual stroll some evenings, it would be wise to steer clear of North Central Halifax after dark.

A 40 block area with Gerrish and Creighton Streets as the hotspot has become a breeding ground for violence as several muggings take place in alleyways each week.

Police patrols in the area have failed to cope with the situation. When a mugging or a fight is reported to police, they are usually too late arriving at the scene to make an arrest.

UNAWARE OF DANGER

Many of the 15,000 Negroes and whites who live in the area fear for the welfare of themselves and their children because of the ever-constant threat of being attacked and beaten. Merchants in the area complain that business is down by as much as 50 per cent because of muggings.

VIOLENCE - PAGE 12

"THE OMBUDSMAN"

DO YOU HAVE A PROBLEM ?

Several years ago the Nova Scotia government conducted a study to determine if the Scandinavian custom of appointing a guardian of people's rights should be adopted in the province.

The Legislature decided against the move. But THE PEOPLE believes that someone should protect the rights of individuals.

Do you need help ? Write, or phone THE OMBUDSMAN.

THE OMBUDSMAN solves problems, gets answers, cuts red tape, stands up for rights. It is a unique and exclusive service offered by THE PEOPLE.

Write THE OMBUDSMAN, Suite 305, Barrington Street
Halifax, or call 423-8748

WHO'S FEET ? PAGE 9

Figure 2: The People and Community News first edition, November 21, 1968.

N.I.F. Publishing released issues of *The People* sporadically after the first issue of The 4th ESTATE, but announced its official closure on October 16, 1969, about five months later. From this point, The 4th ESTATE ran as a biweekly for a year until it became a weekly in late October, 1970. It continued to publish on this basis until it closed in 1977.

Sketches of an Editorial Group

During the history of The 4th ESTATE newspaper, there were four central editors, with interesting and intricate relations. The father and son pair, Frank and Nick Fillmore, began the paper as a business, researched and wrote for it, and found writers to contribute to the causes they supported, as the work at this point was voluntary. The only paid staff during the first year comprised Nick and a typist. In terms of capital investment, the proprietors had been able to find funds with donations from a small group of interested people in the metro Halifax area.

At this time, during the inception of The 4th ESTATE, Frank Fillmore was in his late 40s. He had inherited a talent for writing and social activism from his father, Roscoe Fillmore, who was born in 1887 and whose biography Nick Fillmore, an accomplished journalist like his father, wrote and published in 1992. The book about his grandfather is entitled *Maritime Radical — The Life & Times of Roscoe Fillmore*. In 1968, the year *The People* came out, Roscoe Fillmore died. Frank Fillmore had been a freelance writer and broadcaster in Nova Scotia, and had worked in public relations for Nova Scotia Light and Power Co., which he continued to do during his few years with The 4th ESTATE. In 1969, Nick was only 26, with work experience with the Canadian Press wire service in Halifax and Toronto and the Reuters news agency in London, England.

In 1971, Frank sold his shares in N.I.F. Publishing and started his own independent newspaper, *The Scotian Journalist*, which ran from May 11, 1971 to June 26, 1975. Frank's breaking away from The 4th ESTATE was also the beginning of a rift between the Fillmores Senior and Junior. This uncomfortable silence apparently persisted for a considerable number of years while the two newspapers ran independently of each other in spite of what the 1975 Company History Report called "nuisance" effects (1975 Company History Report — Brenda Large files).

Before Frank's departure, in April 1970, Nick married Brenda Large, who came on board The 4th ESTATE as Associate Editor. Large was from Charlottetown, P.E.I., and had worked for the Large family broadcasting company CFCY in P.E.I., and then as a reporter and editor for five years at the Parliamentary Bureau of The Canadian Press in Ottawa. As a couple, Nick and Large successfully operated The 4th ESTATE until the mid-1970s, only approximately two years before the newspaper shut down its doors for good, in April 1977. 1975/76 was a significant turning point, as their marriage was dissolved, Nick's severed his ties to the business when he relocated to Toronto, and Brenda solely took the reigns of the company as president.

Besides Nick, Frank, and Large, another key editor in the history of The 4th ESTATE was Ralph Surette, who also worked with remarkable dedication although without actually being an owner. On September 13, 1973, an editorial on page 6 announced the hiring of Surette as Associate Editor. Surette remained affiliated with The 4th ESTATE until its demise four years later. According to archival notes, Surette continued to work even when the pay became low in the last years when the business was suffering financially.

Both Ralph Surette and Nick Fillmore, after three decades, granted in-depth interviews for this study, shedding exacting light on the business of running an alternative newspaper in the Maritime provinces in a period stemming from the late 1960s and leading well into the decade of the 1970s. Brenda Large was not available for interview.



Figure 3: Frank Fillmore.



Figure 4: Brenda Large.



Figure 5: Ralph Surette.

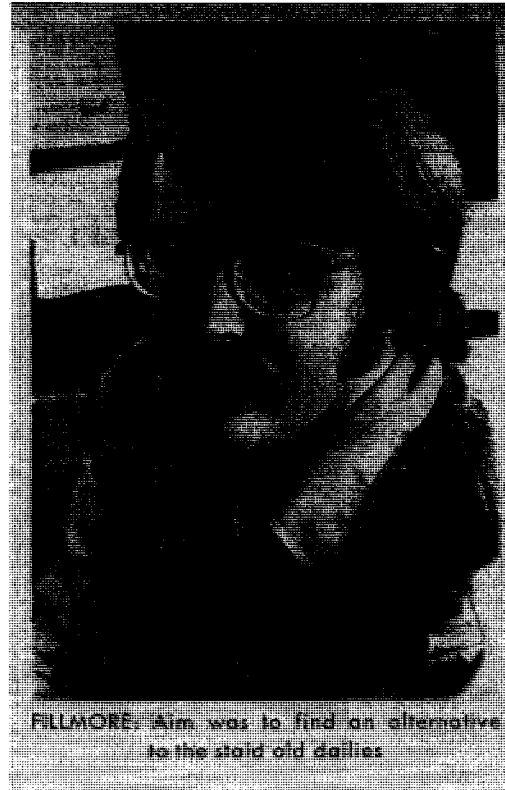


Figure 6: Nick Fillmore; from *Marketing Journal*, Vol. 79, Nov 11, 1974: “The Dog in the Manger of Canadian Publishing — Now Gleaned Reputation for a Respectable Insolence — and Assets”.

Environmental Issues

Good Morning Sunshine

The earth says hello

Galt MacDermot

Rado & Ragni, from the rock musical, *Hair* (1967)

The 4th ESTATE was a publication run by a core group of people supported by shareholders in the company from the Halifax-Dartmouth region. The organization tended to focus on vibrant social issues of the time, particularly ones that may not have seen a lot of coverage in the daily press in the area. Among general themes such as

poverty, health, racism, the provincial government and women's liberation, the environment was a recurring one, which wasn't a general rule of thumb in other media at this time.

Speaking more poetically in terms of the natural world and contemporary times, it is apparent from our social world, reflected through the mass media, that there has been a reawakening of a novel and profound appreciation of the earth. Human awareness of the precariousness of the forests, soil, oceans, lakes, and rivers, each an integral part of a wondrous unit, is almost as ubiquitous internationally as the earth itself that humankind inhabits. The road to this point from thirty-five years ago has been barricaded with felled trees, but its walkers kept making tracks. And at this period in time it is most certainly not a place to stop. Otherwise, as most experts would concur, the earth will be in greater danger in the near future, perhaps in as short a time as a quarter or half century. Many people today are convinced that, to avoid a calamity, the planet must be managed carefully, cautiously, and continually.

Alternative newspapers were pushing political, social, and environmental issues when they were often ignored by the mainstream press of their time. Environmentalists contemporarily ought to be grateful for publications such as these, whose journalists went out on a limb to express what they felt should be heard, when often times it was being ignored by other publications. The media that were considered mainstream tended to cover news from a viewpoint that was less thorough in environmental coverage than it is today.

The 4th ESTATE newspaper of Halifax, which ran weekly for most of its duration, was for me the "spark" that lit an extensive study. The newspaper gave me a

detailed insight into Nova Scotian culture of the late Sixties and Seventies, revealing the progressive attitudes of its editors and writers toward many social issues and concerns in the province at the time. The interests of the editors were wide, covering topics as diverse as women's rights, poverty, health issues, and political corruption. It seemed that a content analysis of The 4th ESTATE's articles would provide an in-depth understanding of progressive thinking in Nova Scotia at this time. However, what emerged from a reading of the newspaper's eight years of publication was a conspicuous and continuing focus on environmental problems. I therefore decided that, rather than attempting to provide an analysis of all the major issues covered by The 4th ESTATE, I would concentrate on their discussion of the environment.

In order to carry out my analysis I scanned all the issues published by The 4th ESTATE, and from these identified all the articles relating to the environment, together with a selection of articles on other issues showing the general context and the diversity of the editors' interests. Within the area of the environment, certain topics — pulp and paper industry pollution, forestry, and pesticide use — received the most extensive coverage, and I decided to concentrate on these in particular. In addition, these topics are currently still the subjects of a great deal of debate, and continue to be relevant today.

To provide a balance, as well as examining The 4th ESTATE itself, I studied related articles in other publications of the time, and also in more recent publications. Further information and opinions were available not only from those editors that I was able to interview, but also from interviews with readers of The 4th ESTATE. For background, I read a number of historical discussions of the period, and discussions of the development of ecological journalism and of the alternative press.

Chapters Two, Three, and Four provide the general background for the period, and discussions of themes covered by The 4th ESTATE but not analysed in detail in the thesis. These include social movements of the Sixties and Seventies in Chapter Two, the political scenario in Halifax when the paper ran in Chapter Three, and a general examination of the era and its journalism in Chapter Four. It can be seen that a younger generation in North America living in the Sixties and Seventies were delirious with the movements that stirred at the time and, in years to come, could not forget what their lives were like, or the way things were outside of themselves. For many life was magical or surreal in these years and partly because of this phenomenon, the alternative press flourished.

Chapter Five deals specifically with the development of alternative journalism, and the relationship between alternative publications, such as The 4th ESTATE, and the mainstream media. It shows how The 4th ESTATE fits into the *alternative* category.

Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight provide a detailed analysis of The 4th ESTATE's coverage of major environmental topics: Industrial and Oil Spill Water Pollution in Chapter Six, The Forestry Industry in Chapter Seven, and Chemical (Pesticide) Pollution in Chapter Eight. Chapter Nine presents some conclusions to this study, and includes an overview of The 4th ESTATE by one of its later editors, Ralph Surette.

Primary sources for this research were mainly obtained on microfilm from Nova Scotia Archives & Records Management (NSARM) on University Avenue in Halifax, especially copies of The 4th ESTATE newspaper itself. As well, Brenda Large donated the bulk of all administrative office files from the N.I.F. Publishing Company to NSARM following the bankruptcy of The 4th ESTATE in 1977 and with subsequent accruals in

1991 and 1996, the Brenda Large Fonds were formally donated in 1997. These 23 boxes of files enabled me to retrieve answers to a myriad of questions that never would have gotten resolved by solely looking at the newspaper or even by accessing interviews done with journalists who worked for the newspaper.

After the chief regional research on the east coast of Canada was essentially complete, I spent the winter of 2007 in Montreal, organizing it and writing the three environment chapters of this thesis. Because of my stay there, these chapters on environment have a more all-round Canadian perspective, as there are at times references to English publications in Montreal such as the “alternative” newspapers, *The Mirror* or *Hour*, weeklies such as *The Suburban* or *The Chronicle*, and quite often to the only English daily published in the city at this time, *The Montreal Gazette*.

Environmental Reality Hits Home at Last

For anybody who’s even remotely connected to the natural world, or who bothered to take a good look, the fact that we’re destroying our earthly habitat has been obvious for a good 35 years.... Now it’s alarmingly late, but the obvious is at least breaking through.

Ralph Surette

“Environmental Reality Hits Home at Last”

The Chronicle Herald, November 4, 2006 (p. A17)

In the days of The 4th ESTATE environmental issues were marginal, and only written about with considerable gusto in “alternative” or “underground” publications.

Today these issues are discussed by all political wings, in all media forms, and at all levels of education. There is considerable *action* today; then mere discussion of action was extraordinary.

Frank Fillmore, who comes across as the most radical of the four editors, shows in a Monday, July 6, 1970, CBC Radio broadcast, how marginalized environmentalists were. In his opinion, it was perceived as outrageous to be concerned about pollution, and his language is angry and colloquial: “And what they think of nuts who worry about the environment cannot be repeated on the airways. Who but a nut would worry about the environment when profit is involved anyway?” (Pollution Files, MG1 Vol. 1437 and 1443; Brenda Large Fonds).

There has been an environmental evolution, if one is to examine current language. Terms such as *biodiversity*, *sustainability*, *climate change*, *global warming*, *Kyoto Protocol*, *the ecosystem*, *biodegradable*, *greenhouse gas reduction*, and *eco-friendliness* did not exist 35 years ago. More so today, there are political figures represented in the media who are connected with the environmental movement that had its roots in the 1970s, but now has flourished and spread throughout North American and European society especially. For example, in Canada and the United States, key personae cut across political parties and times, including, for example, Elizabeth May, Justin Trudeau, Stéphane Dion, David Suzuki, Al Gore, John Baird, and Rosa Ambrose.

Articles are written across the country with respect to environmentalism on a daily basis. Newspaper cartoons are drawn regularly as well, usually poking fun at how a politician unsuccessfully deals with a certain environmental issue. For example, in the Trois-Rivières, Quebec weekly, *Le Nouvelliste*, there is a cartoon by J. Isabelle in the

Opinions section of environment minister John Baird with a bomb attached to his chest with the word “KYOTO” on it (21–22 April, 2007, p. 5).

Environmentalism could be seen as “trendy” in 2006–2007 or as a crucial thread running through the fabric of our society, as the following quotes, from passionate environmentalists in Montreal and Halifax, help to illustrate:

Certainly with the environment reaching the top of Canadians’ priorities, I think there is an opportunity right now to see that the government starts doing things the right way and actually addressing the real issues and not just Band-Aids. That makes it a little more tempting than it has been in a long time to go into politics.

Justin Trudeau

Quoted in *The Chronicle* (Albert Kramberger), West Island, Montreal

February 14, 2007

...I think it’s ridiculous to continue hurting our world just because the federal government is willing to do so. One province could definitely make a difference, so why continue our polluting ways? ...[I]f Premier Rodney MacDonald really wants to make a difference, shouldn’t that include a commitment to helping the environment?

Ashley Forrest

Grade 9 Student, Gaetz Brook Junior High

Letter to the Editor of the *Daily News*, Halifax, N.S.

May 31, 2006

The 4th ESTATE stopped publishing in 1977. The time gap is just over a generation. Most of the writers and editors of the paper are still living, and its readers still remember the weekly that boldly competed with *The Chronicle Herald* and dared to speak on behalf of the underdog in town.

Yet the times have changed dramatically within three decades of the 20th century, more rapidly than a historical context of three decades in the 19th or 18th centuries, if only in terms of technology, which affects all realms of change at the speed of lightning. Paradoxically in regards to this point, however, attitudes in politics, society, and the environment, although visibly advanced, under the surface still share commonalities in spite of the lapse of time.

The 4th ESTATE newspaper has never been studied before in its entirety. By sifting through eight years worth of issues and focusing on many central themes that were favoured as topics for research and publicized opinion, I have come to appreciate its importance to its community. As all newspapers are a record of themes and events of places and time, The 4th ESTATE is metonymic for what was going on in Halifax with regard to social movements of the 1960s and 70s.

CHAPTER TWO: SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN THE SIXTIES AND SEVENTIES

Awake.

Shake dreams from your hair...

Choose the day and choose the sign of your day...

Enter again the sweet forest

Enter the hot dream

Come with us....

The Ghost Song

Jim Morrison (1943–1971)

The Women's Movement

She knew he was right, and that ultimately she was going to give in, marry him, raise children and live white-collarly forever after. But it was not a happy decision. It was like choosing death over life simply because real life required a creativity that she could not seem to find.

Nancy Lubka, "The Summer People"

Queen's Quarterly (Winter 1968) V. 75 pp 727

Women's issues were obviously a matter of concern to the The 4th ESTATE. To illustrate this point, arranged in the list below in chronological order are most of the striking headlines from The 4th ESTATE concerning topics related to women and the

fight for gender equality in Canada, the United States, and in a regional microcosm of the continent, the cities of Halifax and Dartmouth, Nova Scotia. There were a number of articles written on behalf of equality for women; however, it may be noted that local feminists didn't necessarily believe that *The 4th ESTATE* was particularly progressive on this topic, although they did concur that the alternative paper was significantly more so than mainstream ones such as *The Chronicle Herald* in Halifax.

Ontario law changes would help women. Nancy Lubka. 16 Oct. 1969, p. 13.

Women's lib grows in strength. Nancy Lubka. 16 Feb. 1970, p. 13.

Woman can't support family. Letter to the Editor. 9. Apr. 1970, p. .

Woman as sex symbol. Nancy Lubka. 13 Aug. 1970, p. 15.

More unwed mothers keeping babies. 27 Aug. 1970, p. 2.

Women entertain their own children. Nancy Lubka. date, p. 13.

How to get an abortion in New York. Nancy Lubka. 1 Oct. 1970, p. 23.

Woman's life ruined by inhumane welfare. 5 Nov. 1970, p. 21.

Woman on welfare refused apartment. 3 Dec. 1970, cover.

A girl can earn 20,000 a year ... but professor says society must rehabilitate prostitutes. 3 Dec. 1970, p. 2.

Halifax woman doesn't regret NY abortion. 3 Dec. 1970, p. 14.

The bra becomes the symbol of women's liberation. Nancy Lubka. 22 Dec. 1970, p. 2.



By NANCY LUBKA

Figure 7: Women's Editor of The 4th ESTATE, May 15, 1969.

Far-raging feminist formula fails. Re: Book, Politics and the Oppression of Women by Kate Millett. Katherine Thomas. 14 Jan. 1971, p. 8.

Don't criticize NY abortion service — fight for more liberation. 14 Jan. 1971, p. 15.

Status of women report. 21 Jan. 1971, p. 2.

Day care: woman's role or society's problem? Elizabeth Zimmer. 10 June 1971, p. 3.

Demand increasing for male sterilization. Judy Wouk. 1 July 1971, p. ?

'Mockery of justice' for some women. 15 July 1971, cover.

Helping women achieve equal rights in N.S. Susan Perly. 22 July 1971, p. 3.

Victorian morality; guilt plagues unwed mothers. Pauline Janitch. 19 Aug. 1971, pp 13 & 14.

Liberals making mistake by ignoring birth control. Elizabeth Zimmer. 23 Sep. 1971, p. 5.

Women's bureau needed in province. Elizabeth Zimmer. 30 Sep. 1971, p. 17.

Norman Mailer vs. Women's Lib. Books. Katherine Thomas. 14 Oct. 1971, p. 8.

Single women included in birth control plan. Elizabeth Zimmer. 28 Oct. 1971, p. 15.

Labor federation asked to unionize NS women. Elizabeth Zimmer. 3 Feb. 1972, p. 14.

Planned obsolescence — the middle-aged woman. Rose Gladstone. 3 Aug. 1972, pp 8 & 9.

Equal freedom and identity versus traditional roles — open marriage. Elizabeth Zimmer. 21 Sep. 1972, p. 13.

Tough road for women in politics. Pat Verge. 5 Oct. 1972, cover.

Social attitudes inhibit women in politics. Editorial. Pat Verge. 5 Oct. 1972, pp 6 & 10.

Halifax woman rejected by housing board. Brenda Large. 19 Oct. 1972, cover.

Status of women recommendations implemented at MSVU. 2 Nov. 1972, p. 10.

Women and the law. Series. 14 Dec. 1972, p. 15; 11 Jan. 1973, p. 13.

Woman says kicked by policeman after her arrest. Frank Cassidy. 15 Mar. 1973, cover, p. 8; 22 Mar. 1973, p. ?

600 women a year risk mongoloid children. Brenda Large. 1 Nov. 1973, cover, p. 19.

Women's pay behind men for Halifax office jobs. 13 Dec. 1973, cover, p. 23.

Divorce — adultery is still the quickest way. Mary McGeer. 12 Sep. 1974, p. 15.

Women's conference elicits mixed reaction. Ann Graham. 24 Oct. 1974, p. 4.

Women's year 'farce' to cost \$5 million. Ann Graham. 7 Nov. 1974, cover.

There's a good career at sea for women. Ann Graham. 14 Nov. 1974, p. 11.

Female inmates left out of correction programs. Ann Graham. 2 Jan. 1975. p. 2.

Task force on status of women mired in planning stages. 16 Jan. 1975, p. 3.

Women earning one half income of men. Brenda Large. 19 Mar. 1975, p. 2.

We need more women deputy ministers and male secretaries. Editorial. 19 Mar. 1975, p. 6.

Women treated unfairly in government jobs. 2 July 1975, p. 3.

Women working for half what men are paid. Catriona Talbot. 13 Aug. 1975, p. 5.

Quiz on women's rights may surprise public. 3 Sep. 1975, p. 3.

NS women don't know their own strength. Deborah Kaetz. 24 Sep. 1975, p. 3.

Women's committee deplors court decision. 15 Sep. 1976, p. 13.

Women in prison. 31 Mar. 1977, cover.

By 1968 in Canada, and even in the United States, speaking retrospectively from the early 21st century, there was still a distinct discrimination between men and women in social realms. In terms of employment, women were usually paid less than men and often expected to assume positions that were stereotypically designed for women. For instance, a woman, if she was to

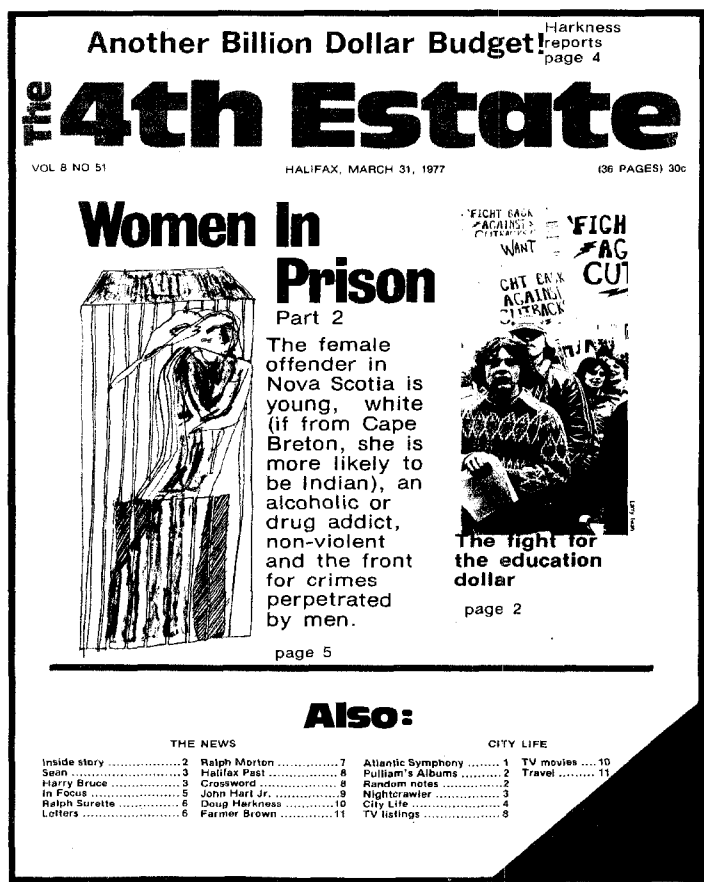


Figure 8: Cover of The 4th ESTATE, March 31, 1977.

take what was alleged to be a respectable job, more often than not became a nurse, secretary, or teacher. Other careers that certain women may have been more than fit for

were still generally taboo to pursue, as were the majority of momentous paths in a woman's life at this time. At a very young age, a woman was pressured from a social perspective to find a husband and begin having children. In other cases, if a pregnancy occurred out of wedlock, she was all the more drawn into a marriage that could very easily end up as an unhappy union. Women often also decided to marry hastily when their salaries were uncomfortably low, as they desired to step out of a trap of unsettling conditions of poverty and adopt a condition that allowed for more freedom in financial terms.

By the late 1960s, societal conditions for women were still dire enough that the state of affairs was screaming for a reverse in trends. Unfairness for human beings of the female gender had been inherent for generations the world over, and by this decade of the twentieth century women began expressing themselves audibly and not just amongst themselves.

Throughout the eight year history of The 4th ESTATE, topics in relation to the women's movement were written and published quite regularly. This flavour of feminism (when at times there were no women aboard the editorial group), can be seen as far back as the predecessor to The 4th ESTATE, *The People and Community News*. There was a genuine impact in the early years of The 4th ESTATE when the "Women's Editor", Nancy Lubka, wrote for The 4th ESTATE, whether writing from Halifax, New York, or New Jersey (in early 1970 she moved to New Jersey with her husband). Even in the last three weeks before the newspaper shut down for good, an in-depth cover article was done on women in prison.

Nancy Lubka and other contributors, such as Katherine Thomas, Elizabeth Zimmer, Pat Verge, Pauline Janitch, Ann Graham, and Mary McGeer, tended to focus on “Women’s Liberation”, but went well beyond what that concept generally entailed. Columns involving research, with a flair for personal perspective in their prose, were welcomed by The 4th ESTATE. Also letters to the newspaper’s “Ombudsman” (continuing from *The People*) were appreciated. For example, one in *The People* published February 13, 1969 was a letter from Jackie Bromaroff with her photograph included, regarding her financial dilemma resulting from the fact that her husband had left and she consequently worked to provide for herself. She wished to connect in a group with similar women who found themselves in this predicament. The piece is entitled, “Women Must Unite and Fight for Their Rights — Has Hopes of Organizing Divorcees, Separated Women” (p. 2).

Various women’s groups in the city of Halifax were featured in The 4th ESTATE. One of the more famous is the V.O.W. or Voice of Women. A letter to the editor (p. 7) was published March 29, 1973 in The 4th ESTATE from Virginia Perry, who was a worker for the V.O.W. On the subjects of media and “Women’s Lib” Perry adds to an affirmation that the Voice of Women considered their organization more as anti-war than as a feminist group:

I think that this attitude [being stigmatized as “women’s libbers”] is a result of the media focusing only on provoking, controversial issues, usually playing up these issues as fads and fetishes. For instance, women’s lib is seldom mentioned without bra-burning also being mentioned, and this causes the real meaning of women’s liberation to be overlooked. It is a

very real possibility that this ignorance is due to the predominance of men in the media ... it is certainly due to the lack of communication among women. (Women's Film Festival Planned this Summer, p. 7)



Figure 9: The 4th ESTATE, Editorial Cartoon, December 10, 1970.

Nancy Lubka wrote thought-provoking pieces that would speak out exclusively to those of her gender. In "Society Has Sick Attitude toward Women" (June 12, 1969, p. 8), she angrily puts fingers to typewriter, aghast at situations concerning illegitimate children and society's value systems. Her solutions education and more day care. In "Freedom Coming Slow for Canadian Women" (May 15, 1969, p. 9), Lubka approaches the topic of men in women's groups, comparing it to whites at black people's groups. With

aggressive penmanship, she addresses gender roles of the day. She says, “This is like describing steak as ‘male’ food”. In the second last paragraph of the article, in three one-syllable words all on their own she says, “I like steak”.

On February 26, 1970, Lubka wrote about a group called the 1895 Revival Group (“Women’s Liberation Grows in Strength”). She gets her readers wondering why it was considered a “failure in life” for a woman to remain unmarried, but not for a man to. As well, it is remarkable to see how balanced gender equality has become in the twenty-first century when reading the three terms that Lubka used to describe stereotypical masculinity, terms apparently not even remotely reserved for the feminine of nature: “energy, aggressiveness, courage”. These are terms a woman whose childhood was lived in the 1970s in Canadian society was fortunate to have been able to learn, due to the women’s movement having made such a conspicuous mark that it is natural, respectable, and admirable to aspire to energetically work and courageously play. Women who fought for change for their own generation in the 1960s and 70s created inspiration for the generation following it.



Figure 10: Reporting on Women in the 21st Century: The Halifax *Daily News*, July 12, 2007, p. 3.

"World's Only All Female Crewed Tall Ship Sails into Halifax as Festival Gets Underway".

Mental Health

It was not unusual for The 4th ESTATE to cover issues related to mental health. It was, however, rather extraordinary that they published a seven part series, the largest story in terms of word count in their entire history, on a young man who had broken the law when in the throes of mental illness. The story was extensively researched and written by Frank Fillmore from the spring until the fall of 1969. It was entitled, “Boy on the Bicycle” and encapsulated what had happened to Thomas (Tom) Edward Boutilier of Jollimore, N.S., who was sent to the forensic unit of the Nova Scotia Hospital in Dartmouth, N.S. for shooting at two other boys when in a delusional state of mind while riding a bicycle. The other boys were killed. The events leading to Tom’s incarceration had occurred in 1964, five years before the writing of the story in The 4th ESTATE.

It is apparent from reading the story that Fillmore was intrigued by what had happened to cause such a tragedy, was eager to find out about the boy’s character, what would become of him, and furthermore, why Boutilier had not been able to receive proper treatment beforehand. Fillmore interviewed many people and frankly questioned them, especially Canadian Armed Forces officials who had discharged Boutilier on to the streets due to mental relapse. Others who Fillmore met with were Tom’s mother, Anna Boutilier, psychiatrists at the Nova Scotia Hospital and the Ontario Hospital in Toronto (where Tom had stayed for a few months prior to his offence), and two commissioners, an Air Canada ticket agent, and a traveller/witness at the Halifax International Airport where Tom was apparently considering escaping police for the murders and evidently changed his mind and surrendered.

The third article in the series on August 7, 1969 entitled, “‘Boy on the Bicycle’ — Spine-tingling Surrender, and Questions about The Law”, told the story of Tom’s being taken into custody.

The commissionaires who Fillmore quoted in this issue were working separate shifts. Each described Tom as friendly but as if “lost”. One stated that it was bizarre that Tom said that he needed a shave, remarking that “mirrors don’t talk like people do” (p. 8). A teenager in the airport also described how Boutilier was dressed: “He was wearing a darkish plaid sportscoat, dark charcoal pants, a white shirt and tie” (p. 8).

Boutilier had given this young man an envelope and asked him to take it to the Air Canada counter where a 19-year-old Dalhousie student was working. It was reported that in the envelope were two telegraph forms. One had the drawing of a T to indicate roads and an X with the hand-written, “I am here” beside it. On the other was Boutilier’s writing:

I am all mixed up. I want to surrender. But I don’t want any Mounties.
And don’t bring the police dog. Bring the Halifax detectives. I am all
mixed up. Please don’t shoot unless you see me trying to commit suicide
which I have already tried three times. Walk into the woods and fire three
shots in the air and I’ll come out within 15 minutes. (p. 8)

In court, Fillmore reported that Boutilier was represented by former mayor of Halifax, Leonard A. Kitz. The dialogue recorded from this scene was brief and bleak. Dr. James Anderson Brown was the only witness called to the stand and his terse words were merely, “I think he is mentally ill” (p. 9). Fillmore wrote, “Boutilier heard himself described as ‘grossly mentally disturbed’ by the Crown’s Attorney.... And it was the

term ‘grossly mentally disturbed’ that set this writer on an eight-week search to ferret out the truth. For the term ‘grossly mentally disturbed’ means nothing in law and little in medicine” (p. 9).

By the fifth piece in the series, “‘Boy on the Bicycle’ — Escape from the Ontario Hospital, and Police Investigations”, September 4, 1969 — Fillmore reported on his conversation with a psychiatrist in Toronto. One rather hopeful message that Dr. Paul Christie, Superintendent of the Ontario Hospital relayed was the conclusion of a very long quotation:

Many studies have demonstrated that tragedies involving mentally ill patients or ex-patients have in fact considerably decreased in proportion to the development of more modern methods of care and treatment, of which the various features of social therapy in open hospitals is one example. (p. 11)

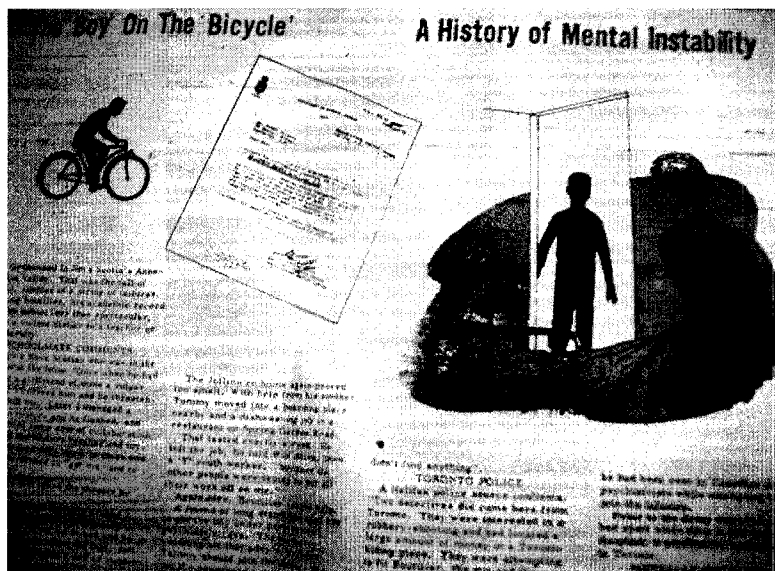


Figure 11: “Boy on the Bicycle”. Fourth in series, August 21, 1969.

The sixth of seven in the series cuts to the chase and is heavy in the seriousness of its tone, concepts, and themes. The first psychiatrist interviewed at the Nova Scotia Hospital for “‘Boy on the Bicycle’ — Shades of Lee Harvey Oswald”, who chose to speak anonymously, referred to Boutilier and blatantly indicated his opinion that he was psychopathic. The second one, Dr. Murray MacKay, did not speak in individual terms (as is more in line with ethics in today’s standards in the medical profession), but helped answer Fillmore’s questions more generally concerning the difference between being a psychopath and a psychotic — for instance whether the term ‘criminal psychopath’ means the individual is suffering from a psychosis.

“No!” said Dr. MacKay. “It means one with a psychopathic personality who has developed definite and persistent criminal tendencies.... There is a tendency to label all mentally ill persons who are in trouble with the law as psychopaths. This is not realistic. A person may easily be mentally ill and in trouble with the law but still not be a criminal psychopath. (p. 11)

In the last of the series, “‘The Boy on the Bicycle’ — Could he be Convicted?” (October 2, 1969), a letter was published within Frank Fillmore’s text approximately equaling it in word count. Pieces of it are included here:

Dear Sir.... I’ve known Tom for 15 years or more and we have been the closest of friends. I have never found him lacking in any of the qualities that tend to make a good citizen. He, like other guys, has, at sometime or another, gotten into mischief, but who hasn’t?... How well I remember Halloween nights and how we would laugh at Tommy. The rest of the guys would all gather to go get candy or to plan some sort of devilment,

but not Tom, he would collect money for UNICEF. Once you couldn't go past Boutilier's without stopping off to see what Tommy had added to his collection of casualties. Every bird with a broken wing, squirrel or other animal that was in anyway injured was brought to Tommy Boutilier to cure. At times it looked like the S.P.C.A. was setting up shop in the Boutilier's backyard.... For the rest of his life? I pray to God that it isn't.... I also tried to visit him. Impossible. I feel he should see some of his old friends.... He needs people, and friends to give him an anchor, to give him roots in the earth, perhaps in society. To teach him values, values that we alone can set for him. Where is God? Help us.... David W.


Harnett, Armdale, N.S. (pp 10 & 11)

Thomas Edward Boutilier, by the sounds of this most full report, was a young man who showed signs of illness as a boy and after five years of being locked away at the age of 23, but had still remained undiagnosed and with no foreseeable future. His friends and family had stood by while society at large had turned its back on him. Another five years later, as The 4th ESTATE reported, Boutilier ended his own life in the Nova Scotia Hospital.

Boutilier boy takes own life in hospital

By MIKE GRAHAM
Thomas Edward Boutilier, 29, who confessed to the random killings of two young boys in Halifax 10 years ago, committed suicide last week in the Nova Scotia Hospital.
Known as the boy on the bicycle, Boutilier was confined to the maximum

security section of the Nova Scotia Hospital.
Both boys, an 11 and 12-year-old, were shot during a quiet summer weekend in August, 1964.
A third boy - who, like the other two, was unknown to Boutilier - was injured in the series of random shootings in the



south end of the city. The boy later said he was shot by a boy riding a bicycle.
All the shootings occurred within a period of 40 minutes and within only a few blocks of one another.
They led to an unprecedented, and unsuccessful, manhunt by the police and

BOUTILIER BOY - Page 2

The 4th ESTATE 20¢

Vol 6 No 6
Halifax, May 16, 1974
60 Pages (Four Sections)

Figure 12: The 4th ESTATE cover May 16, 1974.

The “Boy on a Bicycle” story by Frank Fillmore was certainly done by a journalist who stuck his neck out to recount a tale that concerned him. This work could easily still be considered progressive journalism even after the turn of the twenty-first century.

Black Power

The Black United Front is, or could be, a very constructive concept and a powerful force for improvement in the whole province.... There is no question that much of this change is due to black power — to the emphasis on self-respect and the rejection of white, middle-class uniformity.

“Blacks Struggle to Find Themselves”

Nancy Lubka, *The 4th ESTATE*, July 24, 1969 (p. 11)

The BUF [Black United Front] was first conceived in November of 1968 when there seemed to be a consensus that an all-black organization was needed, and that it should set its own course without influence from white society.

“Black Front Raises Questions: Action or a \$470,000 Bureaucracy?”

Nancy Lubka, *The 4th ESTATE*, November 13, 1969 (p. 3)

Nova Scotia's capital, Halifax, has a history of Black communities that date back to the late eighteenth century. Hammonds Plains between Bedford and Saint Margaret's Bay, Preston outside of Dartmouth, and Africville, which used to be in the north end of Halifax before urban renewal in the 1960s, are areas that were largely populated by Black Nova Scotians. As with other parts of Canada and the United States, history here recounts some tales of slavery in Halifax before the twentieth century and of continuing widespread racism.

By the late 1960s, when Nancy Lubka was writing not only about social issues related to emancipation of womankind but also about the age-old segregation of coloured humankind impressed upon it by white people in authority, Canadian and American society at large still exercised a psychological foundation of inequality.

In clear defiance of the standards and attitudes towards Blacks of the time, American leaders such as Martin Luther King Jr., Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, and Jim Crow, spoke publicly in the sixties, and led others in marches, uniting Black people to fight for civil liberties. Authors who were Black wrote books of their personal life experiences tainted dramatically because of the colour of their skin. For example, Frantz Fanon (1925–1961), who Van Gosse cites in *Rethinking the New Left — An Interpretive History*, was a revolutionary thinker and psychiatrist from Martinique who published his first book in 1952, *Peau Noire, Masque Blanc*, and after his death it was released in English in 1967 as *Black Skin, White Masks*. A later book of Fanon's that left trails of thinkers reeling was *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963), originally entitled *Les Damnés de la Terre* (1961).

In the arts and academic world in North America, when Lubka was writing for *The 4th ESTATE* in Halifax, it was extremely challenging for aspiring Blacks to make the name they wanted for themselves. Gosse, who in the following quotation makes a point in reference to Blacks striving to successfully honour their own talents, in his writing on the leftist movements of the 1960s and 70s generally centres his discussions on the United States; it may be kept in mind that, if anything, the region of Atlantic Canada was another step behind the scenarios portrayed in his text, as it may be argued that central and western Canada tended to be more in line with American social evolution as opposed to the eastern provinces.

However, despite the attention paid to these extraordinary talents, [musicians (like Dizzy Gillespie, Charlie Parker), poets, novelists] well into the 1960s black people were excluded from the nation's cultural apparatus: the universities, academic journals, museums, art theatres, literary magazines and the list of major publishers.... Black Power and the Black Arts Movement that paralleled and fed into it, changed all that. (p. 120)

Some people of African ethnic origin did break through in spite of the racist mentality surrounding them. Another American example is LeRoi Jones (who changed his name to Amiri Baraka in 1968). After graduation from Howard University, he went on to write plays and found the Black Arts Repertory Theatre in 1965. The title of his first poetry book has a rather interesting name, *Preface to a Twenty Volume Suicide Note* (1961), cited by Gosse in *Rethinking the New Left*. Baraka had also founded Totem Press in 1958 (<http://www.beatmuseum.org/baraka/jones.html>).

In 1969, Nancy Lubka, who is from the southern United States, wrote of the dilemma Blacks faced in the city she was working in, Halifax. An article entitled “Ferment in Nova Scotia” was published in *Queen’s Quarterly* in the summer of that year. She recounts tales of the horrible struggle by Blacks in the province; for example, it was recorded that *The Nova Scotia Gazette and Weekly Chronicle* advertised on March 28, 1775 that a “likely, well-made negro boy about 16 years old” was for sale (p. 214). Without dating her findings, she also creates a stark image by indicating that in Truro the railway station had a Whites Only waiting station (p. 214), whereas in New Glasgow there was segregation also, within a movie theatre (p. 215).

In “Ferment in Nova Scotia”, Lubka devotes a section of her paper to personalities and organizations. One local Black person she gives a portrait of is a young Rocky Jones, a lawyer and activist who still inspires others in Halifax today. In 1969 he was seen as

the man who marched next to the Mayor in the peace parade. He is a native of Truro, Nova Scotia, and currently a student at Dalhousie University in Halifax. Young and fiery, he is one of those dynamic personalities whose very existence inspires pride and ambition among black youth. He is tall and handsome, plain-spoken and totally involved in the black liberation movement.... His reputation extends into the United States, where black power followers know little about Canadian blacks except the names of Halifax and Rocky Jones. (pp 221–222)

Smaller, independent, alternative weeklies or monthlies in North America at times acted as a forum for free speech on racism. In Halifax, the *Dalhousie Gazette* put out a

“Special Black Edition”, and a passage from “Open Letter to Halifax” is quoted by Lubka in “Ferment in Nova Scotia” (p. 224). The unnamed author of the letter is quoted beginning with the following sentences, “There are no black reporters, judges, factory owners, or M.P.’s in Nova Scotia. If racism didn’t exist in this province, there would be.”

The Black Movement in the late 1960s was fermenting from South Carolina in the United States to Nova Scotia on the other side of its border. By reading the lines of the above doubly published letter, it can be seen that an e-mail in reference to racism would certainly not be worded the same today. The igniters of Black Power made the difference that humanity needed to see made.

Gay Rights Liberation Movement

One of the most significant movements for social change in the late twentieth century was the Gay Rights Movement. Before the mid-twentieth century in North America it can barely be said that gays were able to convene in groups even on the margins of leftist society. By the 1950s, left of conservative was turning into what was later called the New Left, the phenomenon that took form in the 1960s of societal groups making themselves heard beyond the liberal parameters of their time. These groups tended to unite and support one another.

That is with the exception of those who fell into the category of homosexuals and were self-described so in tiny and scattered groups within the United States and Canada. Van Gosse, in *Rethinking the New Left*, explains that it was usual practice for groups on the left to shun homosexual groups by essentially ignoring them unless making reference

to them with slang epithets. Gosse writes of this provoking reality as “compulsory heterosexuality”, a difficulty exacerbated when gay leftist group members were pressured to behave as if they were straight and with contempt for people who were like themselves (p. 173). Whereas it was customary for men in leftist groups to ridicule other men who were homosexual, feminists, who were often accused of hating men, would also turn their backs on women groups signaling gay tendencies.

On “Social Protest’s ’60s” website, an undated typed newsletter page entitled “Gay Liberation Now” can be found in the Social Movements Collection of the University of Virginia Library. Here can be read an author’s voice trampled by its society who chose to remain anonymous in the publication of his/her words: “...How can I ask for legal rights when it is legal to commit genocide in Vietnam, and on Gays, Women, and Third World People. [sic] at home.”

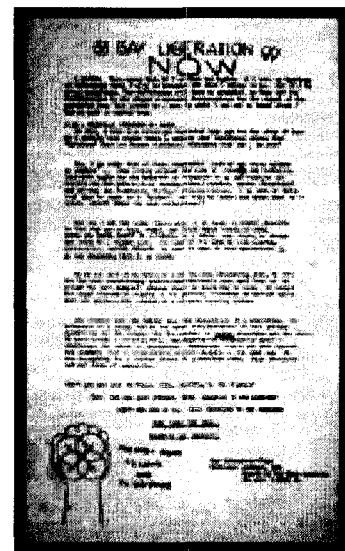


Figure 13: Gay Liberation Now.

In spite of eye-opening research on sexuality, such as Alfred Kinsey’s in the 1950s, homosexual groups (tending mostly to be of the male gender), were mysteriously marginalized by other groups in society who were endeavouring to be regarded with unequivocal equality. And by 2007, although Oscar nominated films with homoerotic love scenes have been enjoyed by mainstream theatre attendees, an angry stigma can be seen in contemporary news media. Journalist David Rhodeniser wrote a story in the *Halifax Daily News* on July 19, 2007 about an article to do with the gay celebration, Pride

Week, and how it had “sparked an outpouring of gay-bashing on the *Daily News*’s online message board....” (“It’s Bigotry that’s the Lifestyle Choice” p. 5).

So where did the left-wing Halifax alternative, The 4th ESTATE, stand on this life-style choice of the 1970s?

In spite of their earnest mandate in favour of social reform, reports on homosexual groups or individuals were virtually not published for most of the newspaper’s existence. However, by the very last issue of The 4th ESTATE, this taboo subject was considerably researched and explicitly addressed in the paper.

On April 28, 1977 Amy Zierler wrote the article, “Jury Room Expels Gays — Protests Planned” (p. 5). She told the story of how approximately twenty people who were suspected to be gay were asked to leave the Jury Room bar. One patron was quoted as saying that The Jury Room on Argyle Street had “an interesting sociology” and that “it’s a nice melting pot within the city”. However, the general manager of the hotel, lounge, and restaurant was in blatant contradiction, and Zierler quotes him as saying, “Society hasn’t accepted them [gays] and I certainly haven’t. I think I’m probably speaking for the average straight person. How can you be sympathetic to those people?” This article continues, “[he] would only say ‘You’re an undesirable’ and finally into the realm of the unprintable”.

Zierler also interviewed and quoted a spokesperson for GAE (Gay Alliance Equality) and discussed what could possibly be done about what they viewed as an affront, about which they could make a formal complaint to the Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission. The group also considered picketing the bar of The Carleton Hotel, a

business still operating today in the same unique structure built in 1759 with stone from the rubble of the Fortress of Louisbourg (Amy Zierler, p. 5).

In the 1970s those who did sympathize with people who were gay were stepping outside of their level of comfort even if it was within the realm of their social and moral consciousness. Editor Brenda Large with a rather shy assertion had introduced Zierler's story in this issue in "Inside the 4th ESTATE" (p. 2). The last lines of her very last editorial give an idea of how homosexual issues would generally be handled in journalism, if they continued to be addressed. Outside of this topic, but stemming from it, the editorial reveals what her purpose was in working as a journalist in the first place:

Our provincial Human Rights Act needs to be amended to protect the rights of any person who may be now subject to harassment or dismissal from a job because of private sexual behaviour. Again I sense this is an unpopular stand to be taking in this community at this time, but I didn't go into the newspaper business to please and placate an often apathetic, bigoted public, but rather to raise issues of public importance and to stimulate community self-questioning and discussion.

CHAPTER THREE: POLITICAL BACKGROUND IN NOVA SCOTIA

Any newspaper operates in a political context, The 4th ESTATE no less than any other. During its period of publication, it consistently responded to international, national, regional, and provincial political debates and issues. The particular political background against which the newspaper worked is therefore of especial significance.

Thematically, it can be seen that political commonalities on the east coast of Canada and within the last forty years, have changed very little. As leader of the NDP of Nova Scotia (1968–1980), Jeremy Akerman sketched, and published on the last page of his book *What Have You Done For Me Lately*, a caption that underlines this very point: “‘Mr. Speaker’ The Faces Change but the Costume Lives On” (p. 84).

Traditional Canadian issues that have been debated in the legislature, rivalry between parties, animosity *within* parties, public scrutiny for politicians, and as well, wide-spread public honour for political celebrities, have been consistently part and parcel of the world of politics in Nova Scotia, in Canada, and outside of this country as well.

Quebec Separatism from the Perspective of the Atlantic Provinces

A long-term topic in Canada, significant in the 1970s and since, is the subject of separatism in the province of Quebec. This was of particular concern to Atlantic Canadians. Being split off from the rest of Canada could suggest the possibility of closer economic and cultural ties with the United States, or even of complete political annexation.

On April 21, 1977, Brenda Large addressed the issue with an opinion of her own in The 4th ESTATE's editorial:

Well, it is a real country, and it belongs to all of its citizens, French and English, Indian and Eskimo, Ukrainian and German. And believe me, if that country suddenly ceases to have a Province called Quebec, then it won't be a real country anymore, but a group of regions splintered and fractured in such a way as to be unrecognizable and unworkable — no matter what constitutional changes or economic accommodations are arranged. (p. 2)

Three weeks before this, on February 3, 1977, an editorial entitled, "Canada's Future", complete with a cartoon, addressed the same issue. The 4th ESTATE's editors did not hesitate to express where they stood on the controversial issue:

Obviously, any debate on Nova Scotia's future in a Quebec-less Canada must consider whether a U.S. option is a realistic or a realizable one. The 4th ESTATE's view, based on nothing more than intuition, is that a searching look will show that annexation would be economically unprofitable and politically unacceptable — for all concerned. (p. 6)

In the earlier days of The 4th ESTATE, Frank Fillmore had written from Montreal and included in his article, "More Separatism for Quebec: If Government Programs Fail to Improve Economy", an interview he had with the notoriously colourful and charismatic mayor of Montreal, Jean Drapeau. Fillmore berated Drapeau for his inconsequential caution regarding illegal fortune tellers in light of wretched poverty in the city, yet Fillmore was impressed by Drapeau for the analogy he used with regards to

separatism. The outspoken journalist explained their discussion as he palpably saw it in this January 7, 1971 piece:

“Seriously, your Worship”, I told him, “a great many people are very concerned with what is happening in Quebec province and I think you should say something about separatism. How general is the feeling that Quebec should say something about separatism. How general is the feeling that Quebec should separate? Is it discussed? Over dinner? At the club?”

He looked at me in that owlish way and spoke this parable; “I think you could compare it to baseball or hockey or football. When the Stanley Cup is on, when the Grey Cup is on, when the World Series is on, there are a great many more sports fans then there are through the rest of the year.

“It is,” he told me, “like that with separatism. When things are going good, only a few people worry about separatism. But let something go wrong and a lot of people are separatists.” (p. 5)

Today, more so in Quebec than in Nova Scotia, separatism is discussed in elite cafes and clubs and in exclusive social gatherings. It is not a subject that is brought up readily with political correctness in mind, even in Atlantic Canadian provinces, despite its being over a third of a century after the dates of the three newspaper passages on Quebec separatism seen above.

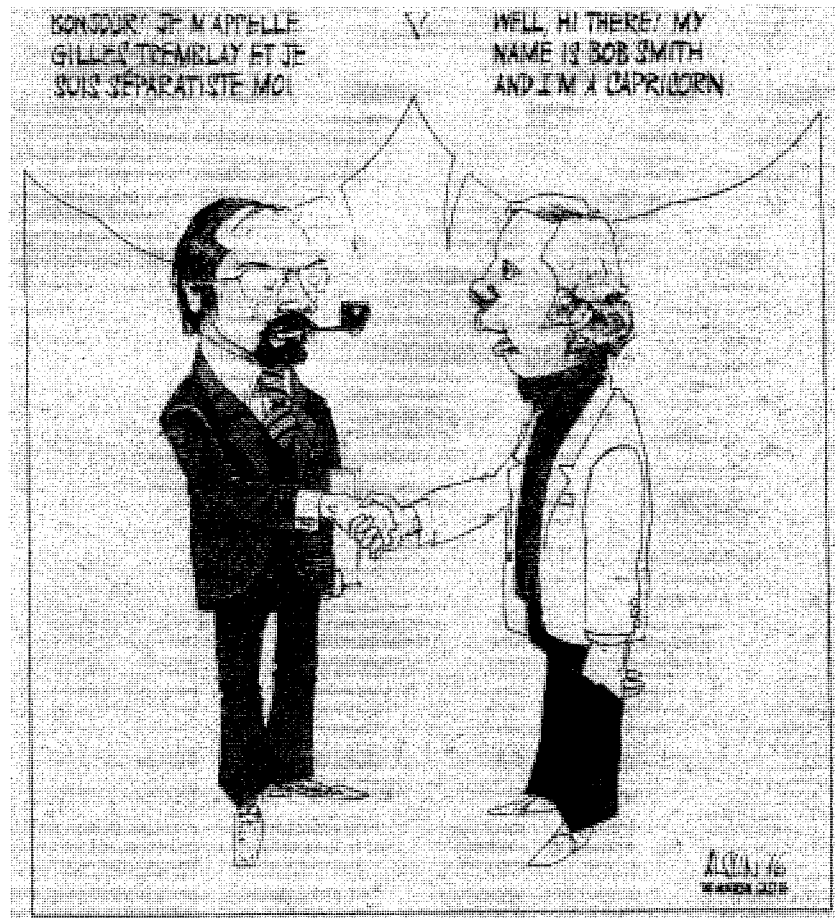


Figure 14: The 4th ESTATE Editorial: “Canada’s Future”, February 3, 1977. Cartoonist Aislin (1976). *The Montreal Gazette*. Used with permission from Terry Mosher (Aislin).

1970s Premier (“Preem”) of Nova Scotia

In the 1960s and 70s there existed debates about Maritime Union, about whether the cities of Halifax and Dartmouth should amalgamate, and about other complicated issues such as racism and rent control.

The most prominent provincial political figures of this time period were Progressive Conservative Robert L. Stanfield (N.S. Premier from 1956 to 1967 and federal leader of the PC opposition to the Trudeau Liberal government until 1976),

Progressive Conservative Leader G. I. Smith (Premier from 1967 to 1970), and Liberal Premier Gerald Regan (Premier from 1970 to 1978).

These three politicians were a strong force on the scene yet may still have been living in the shadow of the well-reputed Angus L. Macdonald, who was Liberal Premier of Nova Scotia until he died in office on April 13, 1954. In *Recollections of the Regan Years — A Political Memoir* by John Hawkins, the author, a politician himself, explains the legacy of Macdonald, after whom the first bridge connecting Halifax to Dartmouth is named and in the construction of which Macdonald played a role in the 1950s. Hawkins wrote, “And when Angus L. died, thousands of Nova Scotians, unconsciously perhaps, looked for another source of confidence and support, another solid leader” (p. 29).

Doug Harkness of *The 4th ESTATE* wrote of Gerald Regan’s gathering of Liberals before his actual election as Premier in 1970. The piece, entitled “The Regan Bash: Solidarity Unparalleled”, was published in *The 4th ESTATE* on October 16, 1969. Parts of it read from the beginning:

Historians, take note of October 2, 1969, the night Gerald Regan came into his own.... 700 Liberals paying respect in a show of solidarity unparalleled in recent years.... Not since the days of Angus L. Macdonald has Halifax witnessed such a gathering of Liberals.... Garbed in their finest, they were a lively, responsive, and cocky bunch.... [W]hether he leads it to victory is a matter only time and the Nova Scotia electorate will tell. (p. 10)

Gerald A. Regan would indeed claim victory, serving as Premier for two terms in Nova Scotia in the 1970s. As is often the case with political leaders in office, he was admired

and also criticized by the public and the press. Hawkins, in his biography of the premier, referred to the media coverage of Regan, “Radios, newspapers and television during that time were filled with the words, the accusations, and the solutions of Greald [sic] Augustine Regan” (p. 102).

Hailing from the Annapolis Valley, Regan had relocated to Halifax as a young man to study at both Saint Mary’s University and Dalhousie University, where he earned a degree in law. Aside from his political occupation, he was an avid hockey player and raised a family in Halifax. Gerald Regan is the one Nova Scotia premier to possess the nickname “The Preem”, a local colloquialism that stuck in connection with his persona for several years.



Figure 15: "Boys in the Cabinet", hand-written in blue ink, labeling this photograph in Brenda Large Fonds, file on Liberals – MG1 Vol. 1436. Premier Gerald Regan sitting underneath portrait of Queen Elizabeth II. Also included in photograph are Scott McNutt, Glen Bagnell, Garnet Brown, and Leonard Pace.

Substantiality of “Maritime Union” Debate

In retrospective analysis, it might be said that certain issues in politics, at least in terms of the Maritime Provinces, have a tradition of being discussed and debated in the news and on the streets, but only remain talk without action. And it may be added, if the talk actually does make it to official fruition, the society in question continues living virtually as if it had not. In terms of the capital of Nova Scotia, the amalgamation in 1996 of the cities of Halifax and Dartmouth, Bedford and Sackville, altered the individual centres superficially but apparently without remarkable depth.

While Quebec separatism from Canada has been a hot and cold debate for considerable decades, so has the concept of the Maritime Provinces uniting as one. However, in the 1970s, the debate about Maritime Union was heated.

A Maritime Union report was made public in Charlottetown on November 27, 1970 at the downtown legislature. The following day, Peter Meerburg, staff writer for *The Chronicle Herald* wrote an article on the front page of the newspaper, its title, in upper-case and in red print, was, “MARITIME UNION”. The article recounts how Premier Gerald Regan, New Brunswick Premier Richard Hatfield, and Prince Edward Island Premier, Alex Campbell, met to discuss the study. None of the premiers, according to this article, appear to have taken a stand, but Hatfield was reported to be leaning toward a Yes, Campbell more towards a No, and Regan “stood on middle ground” (Brenda Large Fonds; MG1 Box 1435 #9; File Maritime Union). Meerburg wrote:

Maritimers, historically strong in feelings about provincial loyalties, are generally cautious about recommendations of full political union

contained in the Maritime union study report.... The note of caution sounded by the region's political leaders, businessmen and heads of institutions, indicates increased co-operation is generally accepted, but full political marriage may be a hard pill to swallow (p.1).

With regards to the fourth Atlantic Canadian province, Newfoundland, not included because not considered part of the Maritimes, this article reports that leaders there conveyed that the study did not affect the province politically, while the majority of people interviewed in the province's capital city, St. John's, hadn't had any knowledge of the study.



Figure 16: Cartoonist George Halverson featured in *The 4th ESTATE*, Vol. 1, No. 2, May 1, 1969, p.

4. The "Old Woman of Argyle Street" was a nickname for the *Halifax Chronicle Herald*.

Around the time that *The Chronicle Herald* was describing events in this Peter Meerburg piece, The 4th ESTATE writers were tending to go beyond describing actual occurrences and ventured into the diverse world of opinion. The 4th ESTATE did not seem to have been either adamantly for union between the Maritime Provinces, nor fervently against it. It rather appears that they wished to throw the idea around for the sake of discussion. Titles of articles on this topic in the late 1960s include, “Union Answer to Maritime Woes?” (May 1, 1969, p. 1, by Nick Fillmore), “Battle Over Maritime Union Just Beginning” (May 29, 1969, p. 10, by Liberal lawyer Brian Flemming), and “Maritime Union and Poverty: The Majority of the Poor are Children” (October 2, 1969, p. 5, by Frank Fillmore). The idea on the streets of Halifax of the Maritimes becoming a large and new united province was à la mode but also a passing fancy.

Stanfield: Conservative Legacy in Nova Scotia

During a lengthy political career, Robert L. Stanfield held office as Premier of Nova Scotia for four terms until a turning point in 1967 when he became federal leader of the Progressive Conservative Party. Born in Truro, N.S. in 1914, Stanfield had been a politician for a quarter century before a biography was written about him in 1973 by Geoffrey Stevens. He led the opposition party until 1976 but didn't retire from parliament absolutely until 1979. In 1996 he is reported to have suffered a stroke and on December 16, 2003 he died. He is buried in Camp Hill Cemetery, Halifax (Stevens, *passim*).

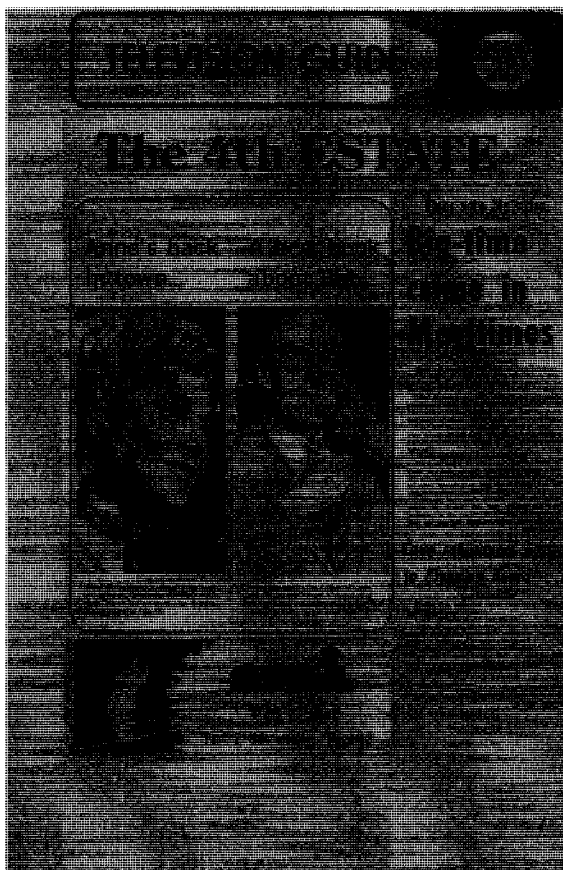


Figure 17: Front page of The 4th ESTATE, September 20, 1973. Singer Anne Murray and Conservative leader Robert Stanfield pictured in inset.

Stanfield was obviously a powerful presence on both the provincial and federal political scenes, and evidently revered both during his lifetime and after his death as well. Accounts of his character make him out to be paradoxically impressive and with subtle presence, unassuming and quiet, yet with force and command in argument. To be sure, he can be read as having been enigmatic to colleagues, journalists, and also to his friends. He was a well-reputed supporter of official bilingualism and came head to head with Moncton mayor, Leonard Jones, who was notoriously opposed to promotion of the French language in this hub city of New Brunswick. With regards to federal politics, Stanfield was one Progressive Conservative Nova Scotian who came staggeringly close

to becoming Prime Minister. In the 1972 election in opposition to the Pierre Trudeau government, the Conservatives were behind only two seats — 109–107.

Globe and Mail columnist Scott Young wrote an article May 24, 1967 on Nova Scotia politics from an Upper-Canadian perspective. It is written from Halifax and is entitled, “Stanfield is the word for Progressive Conservative in Nova Scotia”. Included is a photograph of Stanfield with the caption, “Robert L. Stanfield: he looks as though he just stepped off a Roman coin”. Despite that the story is mostly about NDP leader Jeremy Akerman and Liberal leader Gerald Regan, Young’s lead reinforces the image of regality: “THERE ARE A LOT of things to wonder about in Nova Scotia. First you’ve got this Premier, Robert L. Stanfield, who looks as if he just stepped off a Roman coin...” (p. 7) [Brenda Large Fonds: Box MG1. Vol. 1436, NDP file)].

John Hawkins in *Recollections of the Regan Years* speaks comparatively of Nova Scotia’s premiers who were in office between the 1950s and 1970s. The author’s point is accentuated, clearly coming from a politician’s perspective in 1990 and highlighted in his metaphor denoting momentum:

If we may for a moment forget the brief tenure of Premier G. I. Smith, the shock of the transition from the style of Robert Stanfield to that of Gerald Regan was not an easy one, particularly for older Nova Scotians. The transition from Premier Angus L. Macdonald to Stanfield was not a great one, but comparing Regan to Stanfield is like comparing the hare to the tortoise. (p. 14)

It is apparent, looking at the work of Stevens, Young, and Hawkins, that Canadian political writers expressed themselves with reverence towards Robert Stanfield during his

entire life, both before his retirement and long after it. Nova Scotians today grow increasingly conscious that in death Stanfield became a living legacy.

The New Democratic Party of Nova Scotia



Figure 18: Cover on NDP brochure.

Of all three provincial political parties in the 1960s and 70s in Nova Scotia, the one the most closely aligned with those with increasingly audible voices from smaller groups in society was the New Democratic Party. They themselves were a small group on the federal and provincial scene and had a myriad of challenges to face to succeed in remaining together and competing for seats against the Liberals and Progressive Conservatives.

The Waffle Manifesto

In 1969 a paper written by the NDP was presented at a federal convention in Winnipeg. It was widely discussed in the Canadian media both in anticipation of the convention and after it. At this time in the Canadian political arena, it was not out of the ordinary to be wary of the United States in terms of its being a threat to Canadian culture and economy. From a more Atlantic perspective, the Waffle Manifesto makes the point that, “We suffer a double exploitation from corporations in Upper Canada and in the centre of the American empire” (Brenda Large Fonds; File on NDP # 16 MG1 Vol. 1436).

The NDP’s skepticism about Americanism at this time is clear (especially because of the war in Vietnam), but as well, this document portrays typical criticism of other political parties and a manifesto of socialism at the NDP’s rudimentary core. In a section subtitled, “FOR AN INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST CANADA”, key goals and ideals are laid out:

THE MOST urgent issue for Canadians is the very survival of Canada. Anxiety is pervasive and the goal of greater economic independence received widespread support. But economic independence without socialism is a sham, and neither is meaningful without true participatory democracy.... The major threat to Canadian survival today is American control of the Canadian economy. The major issue of our times is not national unity but national survival, and the fundamental threat is external, not internal.... The American empire is the central reality for Canadians. It is an empire characterized by militarism abroad and racism at home.... In

the barbarous war in Vietnam Canada has supported the United States through its membership on the International Control Commission and through sales of arms and strategic resources to the American military industrial complex.... Without a strong national capitalist class behind them, Canadian governments, Liberal and Conservative, have functioned in the interests of international and particularly American capitalism, and have lacked the will to pursue even a modest strategy of economic independence.... (n.p.)

Mel Watkins of the NDP on the 1960s

In a 1970 newsletter in the Brenda Large Fonds NDP file #16 entitled, “What the Waffle’s All About”, author Mel Watkins stressed independence, socialism, and disparate groups working against what he refers to as “the system”. He praised “the Waffle” but reminded his readers that “Jerusalem will not be built in a day”.

He reflected on the decade of the 1960s just after its closing with words that are freshly retrospective:

The second fundamental change that manifested itself in the 1960s was whole new groups of people collectively demanding basic changes in their lives and prepared to go beyond parliamentary pressures to get those changes. Poor people, minority groups, students, women, workers, — all were putting real democratization back on the agenda of politics. (n.p.)

Speaking from a point decades later, I will take a closer and more general to Canada and the United States perspective of the 1960s and 1970s in the next chapter.

The New Wave of Feminism and the NDP

Women in the NDP in 2007 represent 41% of its caucus, which gives the party the highest percentage of female MP's of any party in the House (<http://www.ndp.ca/page/4741>). In the 1970s it is apparent that they gave a strong voice to women's groups for improvement in social changes. The NDP was predisposed to represent feminist advocates over thirty years ago and these roots allowed for such a blossoming of female representatives in government now.

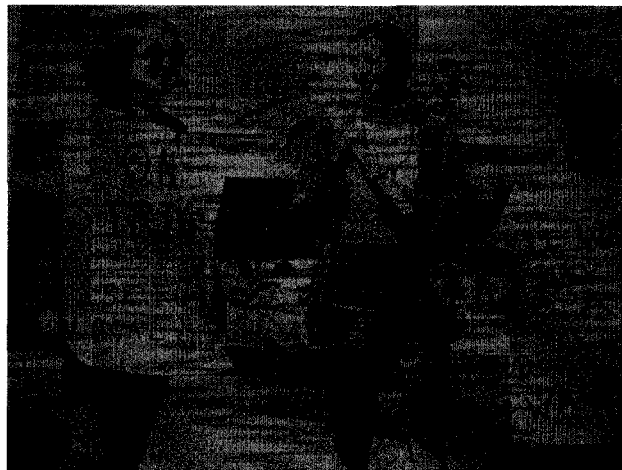


Figure 19: From Newsletters in Brenda Large Fonds; File on Liberals # 16 MG1 Vol 1436.

In the same Mel Watkins newsletter as above, he wrote an article entitled, "Women and Socialism" in which he addressed head on where the party stood with regards to the feminist movement and its involvement with the socialistic nature of the political party:

We have focused on the women's question because we feel that increasing the involvement of women must be an essential part of our efforts to democratize the party and to build a strong mass movement for socialism.

Akerman and MacEwan

A Pair of Democratic Pragmatists

The New Democratic Party was spreading throughout Nova Scotia in the 1960s and 70s. It was a new and fresh political party bent on social democracy, on the quest of making itself known province-wide. Stemming from the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), which was set up originally in industrial Cape Breton in 1938, in 1961 it established itself there in its new form as the NDP.

A young Jeremy Akerman from Great Britain became provincial leader in 1968. Until he resigned at age 38 in 1980, he was officially the longest-serving NDP leader anywhere in Canada. Akerman had assumed duties from James Aitchison, a Halifax professor who had been a dominant figure and especially impressive running competitively against Conservative Premier Robert Stanfield, a feat Akerman was considered fortunate to not have had to match. Akerman, besides leading a party and being known as a dramatic and articulate debater in the legislature, is also a writer, editor, artist and actor.

Paul MacEwan was a school teacher, and also a writer. MacEwan and Akerman met in the mid-sixties and from there forged a bond heavily based on their political stances and geared toward their work in the NDP in Cape Breton mainly. One of MacEwan's books is actually a biography of Akerman (who apparently edited the final copy), *The Akerman Years* which gives the book a sense of a more grounded objectivity. MacEwan also published *Miners and Steelworkers: Labour in Cape Breton* (1976), and *Confederation and the Maritimes* (1976).

A comparison of MacEwan's book, *The Akerman Years* (1980) with Akerman's 1981 book, *What Have You Done for Me Lately? — A Politician Explains* enables a

reader to get behind the scenes portrayed by the media and see what it was like to stand in the shoes of politicians and behind a fence that normally exists between politicians and the public.

For instance, MacEwan, in the same year of Akerman's resignation, explains insider information about Akerman and his dealings with the press. It makes it all the more on the inside to be privy to a provincial political party leader's careless habits regarding newspaper editorials:

He craved recognition for what he did, and was not averse, when he felt something had passed by unrecognized to writing a letter to the editor, to be signed by some friend, calling attention to this or that good thing Mr. Akerman had done.... To be sure, this has to be kept in perspective. Akerman suffered from an unusually unfair and destructive press when he was first elected. It was only in later years that the daily newspapers really started giving him anything like fair play (p. x).

On the flip side of the same coin, Akerman shines light on his view of standing in politician's garb and ridiculing the public, perhaps similarly to the way it would him. The title of *What Have You Done for Me Lately?*, it may be noted, stems from a political joke insinuating that the commoner in society is always asking politicians this question. In his introduction, Akerman shares his hope that with his book he was trying give the "character and flavour of political life without being tedious" (p. 6). Examination of the first page of the first chapter is an encouraging sign that Akerman succeeded in this:

Once, a caller left me in no doubt that he was holding me responsible for a train which had become derailed some fifty miles away, while, on another

occasion I was roundly condemned for not “making” the local newspaper print Gaelic poetry... “You’re all crooks and you’re all in it together”, I have been told and, while most would not put it as bluntly as that, I have a strong feeling that thousands share this opinion. (p. 7)

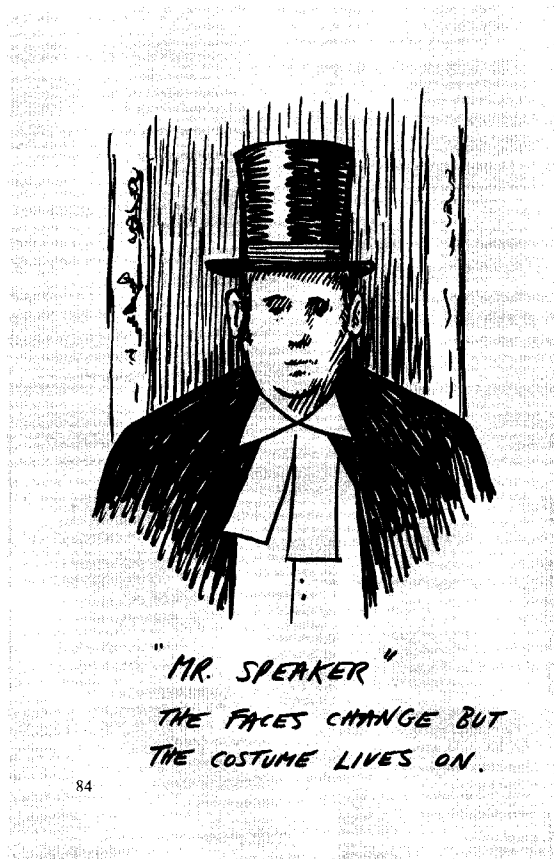


Figure 20: Last page of *What Have You Done For Me Lately?* (p. 84). Sketch by Jeremy Akerman.

(Used with permission from Lancelot Press.)

Members of the public at large weren't a politician's only critics. The NDP of Nova Scotia during these years were infamous for not being loyal to their leader, nor to each other. Peter Stuart MacIntosh wrote a Master's thesis in Political Science at Dalhousie University on this very theme in 1982. Entitled, *The Politics of Discord:*

Turmoil in the Nova Scotia New Democratic Party, 1968–1980, it is a study of the new socialistic party and its difficulties in terms of cohesiveness in light of idealism, and political naiveté. The thesis argues that these qualities were the reason behind a lack of support within the party for Jeremy Akerman and for infighting which was damaging to a party that was fighting for votes from the public.

MacEwan addresses this “discord” within the party frankly in *The Akerman Years*. His explanation is a detailed lesson, free from evasiveness:

What was it which so separated Akerman from his enemies within the party? Perhaps mistrust, but it goes deeper. There has always been dichotomy or “split” within the Nova Scotia New Democratic Party, and there probably always will be so long as that party exists in its present form. The party is in fact a coalition of these two camps plus whatever else has been added recently. The split is not an easy thing to reduce down to a few bare words. It is not quite as simple as Cape Breton versus Halifax, the grassroots versus elitism, or the working class versus the ivory-tower intellectuals, although there are strong elements of all that to it.... What probably would be a good description of the split would be pragmatism and the quest for political power versus “idealism” and the view that power is not important in the overall scheme of things, or is even dangerous (xiii).

Akerman and MacEwan were not considered by themselves to be in the battle of idealism that raged in the Nova Scotian NDP sector in the late 1960s until the end of the 1970s. Because they were not, however, they were criticized and enemies on their own

side of the floor were made. In addition to this, it can be further remarked that Akerman, with MacEwan standing right behind him, was fervent about making the Nova Scotia government a New Democratic Party one. While many MLA's, both New Democrats and other parties, feared the possibility of Jeremy Akerman as premier of Nova Scotia, the increase in popular support for the party cannot be denied. Under Akerman, there were two NDP MLAs elected to the Nova Scotia Legislature in 1970, in 1974 there were three, and four in 1978. For the first time in Nova Scotia history, a third-party candidate had been put up in every riding in the province (*The Akerman Years*, pp vii–viii). As for Paul MacEwan, he was in service in the Nova Scotia Legislature in total for 33 years, “the longest record of continuous service provided by any MLA” (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paul_MacEwan).

The Mayors of Halifax and Dartmouth

Halifax, Nova Scotia's capital, and sister city Dartmouth have been connected intimately since their inceptions as they are separated only by the Halifax Harbour in a physical sense and joined now by two bridges constructed in the 1950s and 1970s respectively, the Angus L. MacDonald and the A. Murray MacKay.

The population ratio of Halifax to Dartmouth from the beginning of the 1960s to the closing of the decade virtually increased two-fold. In 1960 Dartmouth was only a little under a quarter of the size of Halifax, with 24,600 residents to Halifax's 108,700. By 1970, the Dartmouth had a little over half as many residents as Halifax, according to Might's city directories, 72,000 compared to 125,000 (Might Directories Atlantic Limited).

Today, after the turn of the 21st century and a 1996 amalgamation of the two cities, the Halifax Regional Municipality has close to 360,000 citizens. However, the population of Dartmouth itself has remained stable for the last twenty years.

The mayors of both these small city communities, but considered large in the Atlantic Canadian context, had many common links. H. Millard Wright, in *One Region Many Leaders — Mayors and Wardens of Halifax, Dartmouth, County of Halifax, Bedford and Halifax Regional Municipality 1841–2001* (2002), says that they were generally well liked, revered, honoured, and popular. This observation is distinct in comparison with what was written about provincial and federal party leaders, who were more prone to criticism and more serious scrutiny. This can also be considered from what politicians themselves wrote of their profession, e.g. Jeremy Akerman or Paul MacEwan.

R. Allan O’Brien was Mayor of Halifax from 1966–1970. Wright wrote of O’Brien: “His father said of him that he was a socialist who practiced capitalism....[On] his departure from public office he said, ‘Change is always unsettling to those who are comfortable with the status quo’. He was exemplary in striving for the betterment of his beloved City of Halifax” (pp 172–174).

Walter Fitzgerald was Halifax Mayor after O’Brien and was also admired. Fitzgerald served two terms, the first from 1971 until 1973 and the second years later, from 1994 to 1996. *Daily News* columnist Arnie Patterson is quoted in Wright’s book: “I have known all the Halifax Mayors going back to John Lloyd [who was in office in 1943, 1944, and 1961]...but ‘our boy Walter’ would be the tops in terms of his ability to press the flesh and win friends” (pp 175–176).

From 1974 to 1980, Edmund Morris, a former broadcast journalist, was Mayor of Halifax. Wright wrote of him, “He is good for a story about the ‘old days’, and draws a chuckle whenever he stops to chat, ever the politician.... Mr. Morris acknowledges he was ‘born for public life’ and enjoyed every minute of it” (pp 177–179).

On the other side of the harbour, and still referring to H. Millard Wright’s text, Roland Thornhill (Dartmouth Mayor from 1967–1973) and Eileen Stubbs (1973–1975), are featured. Thornhill became Canada’s youngest mayor at age 34. Mrs. Stubbs died in 1993 and mourners were standing outside the church as it was so filled at her funeral, at which Thornhill offered the public tribute. Wright explains of those at the funeral of Eileen Stubbs, “...all of whom carried a deeply rooted sense for a woman unafraid of challenge and fierce in competition” (pp 53–55).

The 4th ESTATE Interviews with Mayors

On May 29, 1969, The 4th ESTATE published a two page article, “INTERVIEW WITH O’BRIEN: Mayor Discusses Metro Government, Housing, Race, Rent Control...” (pp 8 & 9). The first question put to Mayor O’Brien was concerning Halifax and Dartmouth combining as one city. His reply shows that he was of the opinion that socially and economically Halifax and Dartmouth were well connected. But as for amalgamating in the year of 1969, he also opined, “I have discussed it informally with some Dartmouth Council members, with some provincial Cabinet ministers, with members of the Regional Planning Commission but these are strictly informal discussions.... I think it was unthinkable in the political sense five years ago, that five

years from now it will be a very serious topic of discussion and that 10 years from now it may be realized” (p. 8).

In other matters, when asked about the Black movement and their new style of exclusive organization amongst themselves, O’Brien commented that, “In so far as the black people feel a need of it, I favour it. The moment they don’t see the need of it then I will be satisfied that there will not be one” (p. 8). The unidentified interviewer also was curious about Black people and confrontations with police. O’Brien stressed the point that there needed to be “special additional training for the police department” (p. 9).

The 4th ESTATE writers, who were appreciated for their media coverage of various social movements, some of which were discussed in Chapter Two above, had a keen interest in poverty and housing, and it is apparent that they were concerned that there was a crisis in the metro Halifax-Dartmouth area in the late 60s and 70s. When the interviewer asked O’Brien if the housing situation would get better or worse, the Halifax Mayor answered, “The real crisis is for the people in the lower income span and this includes people who consider themselves middle income — particularly those with large families” (p. 9).

Lastly, O’Brien was asked about his impression of news coverage of politics in the area. His short reply sheds a clear light on the question being answered directly from the politician’s perspective: “Adequate in terms of the total amount, but it has not really been my impression that on the average the reporters assigned to City Hall have very much understanding of municipal questions” (p. 9).

On June 30, 1976, after Walter Fitzgerald’s term in office, Edmund Morris was interviewed by Brian Currie for The 4th ESTATE. The article is one full page and has a

large photo of Morris in the centre of the text. This interview was more of a write-up than a display of questions and answers such as in the O'Brien piece. The article is entitled, "Edmund Morris — The Careful Mayor" (p. 5).

At the time of the interview, Morris had been Mayor of Halifax for 20 months and explained that it was nearly two years that were a "tremendous time of coming together, of realization". Key issues on his agenda during this time was a building controversy on Quinpool Road, finalization of the Halifax Metro Centre, and "the changing relationship between the provincial government and municipalities".

The article also reveals that Morris felt Dartmouth had a "small town attitude" and that Mayor Eileen Stubbs and he did not often agree, although he seemed hesitant to discuss any details of this.

As with the O'Brien interview, Morris was asked about political press coverage. He is quoted as saying, "Often some huge yarn is concocted out of one basic piece of information that is totally false, and it often seems as if a reporter will look for an excuse to attack with venom and sarcasm and thinks he has a better story for it. In my opinion it detracts in every case."

While journalist Brian Currie included a personal and private look at this "humanist politician", as Morris liked himself to be described, it can be guessed where the title of Currie's article came from:

Mayor Morris is well-known as a man who pays great attention to detail. There's seldom a wasted word or gesture. He speaks slowly, using large words, and some find his speaking-manner absolutely maddening. But the words are always pronounced correctly, and always used in the right

context, and quite often, Mayor Morris is saying something worth listening to. He's an educated, literate man (p.5).

Currie's very last line in this piece exemplifies his theme of Morris's being The Careful Mayor inherent in the title, "...but he's chosen his words carefully."

On October 16, 1969, an article about Dartmouth Mayor Roland Thornhill (*Amalgamation Set for Dartmouth, Says Mayor Thornhill*) was featured on page 3 of The 4th ESTATE. It discusses the amalgamation of communities on the outskirts of Dartmouth with the city itself, like Eastern Passage, Cole Harbour, Cherry Brook, North Preston and Waverley, a move that Thornhill thought to be beneficial for all concerned.

He didn't feel the same at this point about Dartmouth and Halifax joining. His skepticism of the would-be (but not for another 27 years) union is apparent in this quotation: "Bigness just for bigness is not necessarily good.... Municipal units have a lot to gain by maintaining a certain minimal size." The 4th ESTATE editors concluded from their interview with Thornhill that "While Halifax has been the main centre of development in the past, Mayor Thornhill feels Dartmouth is the city with the brightest future".

Politician Roland Thornhill from a Personal Perspective

According to Roland Thornhill's personal secretary in the years 1971 to 1973, Sheryl Corra (now Melanson) had a "very, very lovely position" receiving guests, keeping appointment books filled correctly, writing letters, taking shorthand, and serving coffee. Ms. Melanson is this writer's mother and through her I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Thornhill myself at the age of 12 just outside of the airplane which was about to fly us to Italy in the 1980s. As this memory is incredibly vivid even though I was

only a young girl, and I became doubly impressed by Mr. Thornhill several years later when I read the excerpt of his submission to *The 4th ESTATE* on the natural and urban environment published in *The 4th ESTATE* in 1973, I used the piece as an epigraph to this thesis.

In terms of ecology in these years, 1969 to 1977, there was a Dartmouth Lakes Committee especially concerned with preventing littering on the lake shores. Ironically, especially seen from 35 years later, there was a lack of concern about the littering of the air in their own government offices: “Everybody smoked, they didn’t worry about anything like clean air! But they did think about the lakes”, Melanson recalls. With regards to industry effluent she whispered, “They didn’t even talk about it”.

As for working directly with Mayor Thornhill on a day to day basis, Melanson touched upon how he treated staff in the building, how he felt about Dartmouth, and how he wished her to handle confidential city issues:

He was very personable, and considerate, very busy and active. When he was in the office there was constant activity.... He was the fastest dictator I ever took letters from. He was so good at writing letters. The words just rolled out of him.... He invited the cleaning lady upstairs along with me to share a glass of sherry sometimes on a late Friday afternoon. He smoked and he had ashtrays all over the desk, full of butts. He took great pride in the city, I think he liked Dartmouth very much.... He loved the country, he had a cottage.... He didn’t want me to spill the beans — I had to keep things confidential — I used to let it go in one ear and out the other ’cause I had too much else to do. Even if I went back in time I still wouldn’t have

the answers [to questions regarding politics]. I just concentrated on coffee, letters, greeting people, and keeping his appointment calendars in order....

As with all the other Halifax and Dartmouth Mayors from 1966–1980, Roland Thornhill, or “Rollie” as he was nicknamed, can be said to have been widely admired.

A Final Word Please, “Mr. Speaker”

This chapter was designed to highlight specific events, issues, and persons associated with provincial and municipal government in decades that were instrumental in terms of social change.

Social movements such as the increasingly audible voices of women were gathering presences in society during this time, and the provincial parties were obliged to bend with changes, as they have been traditionally pressed to do. There were many intellectual, political, and societal themes open for discussion in all realms in the decades when *The 4th ESTATE* was being published on a weekly basis. There was much to write about in a paper that was alternative and with editors and contributors who were so curious about political issues.

As it was fashionable to dislike politicians, and probably still is today, perhaps it was and is tempting to like them after meeting them, be it in person or through research. In summation, the old adage may be borrowed to describe the political profession with brevity, *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE 1960S AND 70S AS AN ERA — AND THE PRESS THAT RECORDED THE TIMES

The underground press is a wildly unpredictable happening; constantly changing and mercurially fluid, it reflects comments on an era faster moving than any other in history.

Robert J. Glessing

The Underground Press in America (1970, p. 5)

Presidents of the United States

L.B. Johnson	1963-1969
Richard Nixon	1969-1974
Gerald Ford	1974-1977
Jimmy Carter	1977-1981

Prime Ministers of Canada

Lester B. Pearson	1963-1968
Pierre Elliot Trudeau	1968-1979

The 4th ESTATE was produced during a period of great social and political change in North America. In Canada, both east and west, the Sixties and Seventies were distinct from each other, yet after forty years they have the vague semblance of being part of the same age. In the North American context, there is an added distinction in that Canada lagged behind the United States in terms of social change. In Chapter Five, which

is a close look at the alternative press versus the mainstream press, Editor Nick Fillmore will be quoted with regards to Canada's emulation of U.S. trends.

With that in mind, this chapter will try and reflect on the spirit of the age that affected both writers and readers of The 4th ESTATE, from a time when the SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) in California and *The Village Voice* in New York were seen through Canadian media, to when it was not uncommon to see protesting undergrads at Saint Mary's University or Dalhousie University where the The 4th ESTATE could be picked up for a dime or a quarter, depending on the decade. The social environment and weekly press in Halifax were *representative* of many, but certainly not all, underground or alternative newspapers sprouting up in cities across the United States, such as *Realist*, *East Village Other*, and *Los Angeles Free Press*, to name but a few.

The Prime Minister of Canada for almost the whole of this period of change was Liberal Pierre Elliot Trudeau. In 1968 he took over from Liberal Lester B. Pearson. Trudeau, as a politician and as a person, had such an impact on Canadian society, from the late Sixties until the mid-1980s, that he left a mark on the epoch like carving on a piece of driftwood.

Trudeau had roots in socialism, which made him appealing to Canadians with diverse political interests, but also fit in with the social concerns of the Seventies. The concept of "Trudeaumania" wasn't merely recognized after the lapse of decades; the vibrant phenomenon described by this term on the tip of people's tongues in this period shows that historically speaking, it was not faddish, but rather evidence that Trudeau made a lasting impression on Canadian culture. Respect and admiration for Pierre Elliot Trudeau had spread like a forest fire in the wind, in both under and above ground society.

Canada — U.S. Connection

Myrna Kostash is from Montreal and in her thirties looked back in time and wrote on the 1960s. In *Long Way From Home — The Story of the Sixties Generation in Canada* (1980) she explains in her introduction how her memory of the Sixties was greatly influenced by what was going on in the United States:

My question was: what did Canada look and feel like in the Sixties? The answer the films gave me was: it didn't look like anything. The Sixties took place in the United States of America. Let's pretend, they say, we were all Americans. (p. xi)

In a 1994 documentary produced by the National Film Board of Canada, *The Summer of '67*, people who lived in and around Toronto in the 1960s at a young age were interviewed and their reflections were recorded as they identified themselves and their current occupations, while others lent voices anonymously. One interviewee put the spirit of the age in context with the United States and offered, "Yorkville was our kind of Berkeley".

The Vietnam War

The Vietnam War has its origins as early as 1959. Until 1973, when many American troops were pulled back from Vietnam, the United States was tremendously affected by this war. Canada was relatively less affected, with only a few soldiers serving. However, the country had enabled refugees from the States, known as draft-dodgers, to escape combat.

Underground or alternative papers were more likely to write of this war, especially in the United States. Canadian publications such as *Our Generation*, out of Montreal, were especially concerned with the Vietnam War at this time. In 1967 the magazine published the article, "Canada, Vietnam and the War Industries" by Phillip Resnick. The following quotation from this piece shows statistically how Canadians were feeling about the war and, perhaps because of its prolonged duration, about their neighbours to the south:

Opinion polls show over 40% of Canadians advocating outright American withdrawal from Vietnam; pressure from the universities and several newspapers has forced the government to reverse course and publicly dissociate itself from continuation of the bombing.... Anti-Americanism is again becoming respectable. (p. 16)

The war also provided fodder for *The 4th ESTATE*. In a column entitled "Washington-Merry-Go-Round" featured in *The 4th ESTATE*, Jack Anderson, the paper's Washington Correspondent, wrote an article on the Vietnam War on April 11, 1974 after many American troops had returned home. Anderson wrote a lament about the soldiers who had very little support from government and the society that they had risked their lives for. Many veterans faced drug addiction, or had become disabled, and most had become traumatized and had difficulties picking up where they had left off.

A country that was rapidly changing socially, and one that sent off young men to war as American heroes, barely offered a soft cushion for them to land on when they returned. These men required counseling and often financial assistance, but virtually none was offered.

Anderson wrote of this eloquently and with dark irony:

Vietnam was a war with no glory and, for the men who fought there, no heroes.... But perhaps the biggest obstacle for the returning veterans is the Vietnam War itself. America hasn't yet recovered from the war. The nation was torn apart, and the wounds are deep and slow in healing.... It is odd that a country, which won't forgive those who refused to serve in Vietnam, also refuses to reward those who did their duty. But the veteran is a living symbol of that war, a reminder to his fellow Americans of a pain they would rather forget. So in a sense, the forgotten veteran has become the last victim of the Vietnam War. (p. 23)

Interview with Vietnam War Veteran, Jerry Smyth

Jerry Smyth is currently the Executive-Director of the St. Leonard's Society and Past-President of AHHA-Atlantic Halfway House Association. He was born in Perth-Andover, which is an American town but is on the border of New Brunswick. He has dual citizenship.

He fought in two different years: 1966/67 and 1968/69.

As someone who in his own person embodies the Canada–U.S. connection from the Sixties onwards, he was able to place his Vietnam War experience in relation to a Canadian context and to the environment:

“...so I went over 66 to 67...the irony is different, when you're in a war zone you get treated one way, and when you're in the United States it's

more of a spit and polish kind of thing, more parade, they wore all that formal stuff and that doesn't turn me on.

"I volunteered for the second year 68/69 and like I said it was night and day.... The first one had tremendous support from the United States; the second one they looked at us almost like criminals when we came back. That's quite a swing in a couple years.

"The first year I came back, my whole town of Perth Andover...had a big party for me, well, I enjoyed it...the second year I came back no one was interested in talking about it and it was no big deal. Very confusing: It wasn't just me, all the guys were going through it. The Prime Minister sent the U.S. packing cause they wanted to cross the border and pick up these guys and they wouldn't allow them to do that.

"Canada didn't have a lot to do with it except for draft dodgers and deserters. We were giving them asylum, there were thousands and thousands looking for it... [T]hey ended up coming to Canada and Canada protected them from the United States forcing them to go back.

"They gave them sanctuary and changed the laws actually, did you know about that. That's something a lot of people don't know, but it was extremely important because it showed how both sides thought about the war.

"Canadians are historically non-aggressive....

And on Agent Orange:

“Yeah, but it didn’t affect me, it affected the guys in the infantry, some of them may still be affected by that...I’m lucky, I was flying mostly. The foliage, the jungle, to get a better view of who was walking around down there. Well, it happened right here in the Maritimes, didn’t it?”



Figure 21: Caricature of American President Richard Nixon from *The Best Political Cartoons*, edited by Jerry Robinson (1981).

Judging only by the statistic of 40% relayed in the *Our Generation* passage, Canadian cynicism about American politics was widespread during the Sixties and Seventies. However, Canadian supporters of the Vietnam War were not necessarily a restricted group during this time either.

1973 As a Turning Point; in Journalism; in History

And the war between the U.S. and Vietnam had nearly ended. In 1973 most soldiers had returned back to the U.S. but technically the last troops were not pulled back until April 30, 1975.

1973 is a year that during the researching and writing of this thesis has often seemed to stand out. It was around this time that the wave of popularity for alternative papers was starting to peter out. Tied in with this type of press was the New Left Movement in both the United States and Canada. The first kept the second alive by telling its stories; the second, in return, provided the first with a printable existence. The following quotation is from I. Unger's *The Movement: A History of the American New Left 1959-1972* (1974).

Unger begins his book with express grief:

The phenomenon we called the New Left is over. For something over a decade it flourished and made the Western world livelier and more exciting. Now that it has passed, Western Europe and America will be less interesting though quieter places. (p. v)

Unger estimated that somewhere between 1969 and 1972 The New Left was phasing out and anticipating how the period may be seen in future years; he adds, "Perhaps a generation from now we will say that only phase one of the New Left ended in these years, but it seems clear to me that with this philosophical overthrow something distinctive came to an end and can now be treated as a completed whole" (p. vii).

On a different note but relating to the year 1973, in 1986 John C. Sawhill and Richard Cotton edited the environmental text, *Energy Conservation — Successes and*

Failures. From the beginning of the introduction the year 1973 is referred to. The first sentence is, “The extraordinary increases in the price of oil that occurred in the wake of the 1973 Arab oil embargo, together with the possibility of future embargoes, forced the United States to seek effective measures to reduce its dependency on imported oil” (p. vii). In the same text, William W. Hogan makes reference to “the oil shocks of 1973” (p. 19) in his chapter called “Patterns of Energy Use”.

All this is to say that in this year of 1973 or thereabouts the economy was hit hard in North America because of the escalated cost of oil. It was the beginning of an energy crisis which lasted until the early 1980s. Some industries and small businesses felt the brunt of this more than others. The newspaper press, requiring oil to print, was one industry that was afflicted, particularly smaller companies such as weekly or monthly publications.

Idyllic Remembrance of the 1960s

A multitude of American books have recorded the Sixties as a hazy dreamy time, full of ideals and laments that it has passed. They often use stereotypical descriptions that may not be historically precise, but do indeed give a feel for what it was like to live then, particularly as young adults. This genre of literature tends to be by authors who wish to experience the waves of the period once again; the closest way for them to relive it is, in virtual fact, to write of it.

Todd Giltin wrote *The Sixties — Years of Hope, Days of Rage* in 1987. The following quotes show the nostalgia for a time long gone, except for in memory:

...the hallucinatory giddiness of the late Sixties especially, whose sheer wildness, even now seems the stuff of another century. (p. 4)

Unraveling, rethinking, refusing to take for granted, thinking without limits — that calling was some of what I loved most in the spirit of the Sixties. (p. 7)

Suddenly the campus mood seemed to shift. Without question a major reason was that the end of the Eisenhower era was looming.... After all the prologues and precursors, an insurgency materialized, and the climate of opinion began to shift, the way spring announces itself with scents and a scatter of birdsong before the temperature climbs to stay. It was as if, all over the country, young people had been waiting for just these signals. (p. 81)

From the perspective of a Canadian writer, one may look at Myrna Kostash and her book, *Long Way from Home*. She wrote:

Everyday life in 1980 is not as spectacular as it was in 1968 — the whole world has changed since then — but there is no law, either, that says the times will never again erupt into revolt, or that there will never again be a generation of hotheads. (p. xiii)

...And so we had been ridiculous with love, with joy, with the first free labour of our young lives. We should be so ridiculous again. (p. 276)

Another Canadian source that shines light on the Sixties is the film *The Summer of '67*, directed by Albert Kish and written by Donald Winkler. The film was produced by

Don Haig and was put out by the National Film Board of Canada. It centres mostly on the hippie culture that permeated society at this time. An Operations Manager reflected, "...because I had long hair that meant something...it meant I had a certain political point of view. There I was, this naïve middle-classed kid and all of a sudden I was included in things". Another interviewee said, "It was great to live in a period where everybody was excited; everybody seemed to be sharing that vision". Someone said, "I think they had a sincere wish to change society", and yet another curiously said, "It all seems so silly now".

A teacher who was interviewed commented on the social and political edge of the period, "It was a social movement mostly — there were some of the political in it". The documentary wraps up with commentary from director Donald Winkler, "The Sixties, it is clear, played a more nuanced role in the minds of many whose lives it shaped than we have often been led to believe".

The Seventies — Tainted with Pessimism?

After the jubilant optimism of the Sixties, in the social realms of the arts and politics, it appears there was a winding down by the early Seventies with an undermined enthusiasm. Some thought the time had lost its liberality, that there was a new turn to the right. Others simply didn't like the new fashion trends that were emerging. There was a sense of decline after the high spirited age of the 1960s.

Bruce J. Schulman wrote "The Seventies" and says in his preface, "Most Americans regard the Seventies as an eminently forgettable decade — an era of bad clothes, bad hair, and bad music. Impossible to take seriously" (p. xi).

Edward D. Berkowitz in 2006 wrote *Something Happened — A Political and Cultural Overview of the Seventies*. He refers to commentators Tom Wolfe, Christopher Lasch, and Lester Thurow, who wrote about the Seventies as they were happening. From them the phrase, “The Me Decade” originated, as it was surmised that interests had become more self-absorbed than universal. Berkowitz explained realistically but rather gloomily what the new decade meant:

These respected critics, who proclaimed the seventies “The Me Decade”, a culture of narcissism, and the zero-sum society, were on to something. They correctly picked up on the bleak economic prospects of the seventies and on the fact that baby boomers in their twenties, concerned about finding their way in a difficult job market and beginning their families, turned inward. The result was self-absorption, which implied a lack of social purpose and a disengagement from public affairs. (p. 158)

Exuberant 60s Turn to Sober 70s

On January 31, 1974, The 4th ESTATE ran the first of a two-part series written by Ralph Surette entitled, “Exuberant 60s turn to Sober 70s — Citizen’s Groups: Pushing Ahead or ‘Cooling Out’?” This piece entails answers to this one big question; in other words, were social groups in the metro area of Halifax and Dartmouth dissipating along with the hype and sensationalism of the feisty 1960s?

Surette reiterates the question in the title of the piece with the following paragraph:

Now that the exuberance and the glow (not to mention the publicity) has largely gone from “the movement” — and that a lot of people who were in it for the style and the action have dropped out — some questions remain. Where are the citizen’s groups going? Are they petering out? Are they more active than ever in a less visible way? (p. 5)

What is interesting is that, based on research and interviews with Alan Ruffman, a geological consultant involved with MOVE (an organization to do with citizens’ groups), and Pat Adams from Saskatchewan, who was about to take over directorship of MOVE, while the enthusiasm had waned, the groups in the city were more abundant, and furthermore, better equipped to deal with bureaucracy than they had been in the sixties:

Groups are now armed with much more information and legal know-how as well as with more understanding of how government bureaucracies work. He [Pat Adams] mentions the Ecology Action Centre and Halifax Welfare Rights as two groups that have been particularly effective on a number of issues because of this thorough preparation. (p. 5)

As a newspaper, The 4th ESTATE reflected the concerns and culture of its times. However, unlike many of the mainstream media, in several areas it was in the forefront of advocating change.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE PRESS — ALTERNATIVE AND MAINSTREAM

Great spirits have always encountered violent opposition from mediocre minds.

Albert Einstein

The Maritimes Gain a Distinctive Voice

Entrepreneurs of The 4th ESTATE:

Up Close

Nick Fillmore, in a 2003 interview in Toronto where he was at the time working on College Street as Director of Development for the association, Canadian Journalists for Free Expression, reflected upon his old paper, The 4th ESTATE, with vivid remembrance. The journalistic venture between himself and his father Frank Fillmore began because they felt the “mainstream was too mainstream,” even more so than contemporarily. This was especially the case with the Halifax *Chronicle Herald/Mail Star*, which was distributed en mass throughout the province of Nova Scotia. Fillmore believes that The 4th ESTATE’s alternative voice in fact enabled *The Chronicle Herald* to improve over a period of time.

Fillmore explained what his working hours were like at the downtown Halifax newsroom (located in offices on Blowers, then Hollis streets during the life of the paper). Typically he would arrive at 9 a.m. and leave at 9 p.m. On press day he wouldn’t get out until midnight. Fillmore’s long hours inevitably helped him discern what was released in

print inside-out. He joked, “I used to pride myself that I knew what page every article was on”. In a more serious tone he confided, “The 4th ESTATE was the most important and effective thing I ever did”.

This new journalistic voice in 1969 was commercially and culturally welcomed because of what was going on politically, the new change in trends, and the feeling that *The Chronicle Herald* was lacking an authentic edge. Fillmore said all these things “gelled” and that they were “lucky” for how the times had changed. It certainly was the onset of an era, as several writers’ work referred to later in this chapter attests to. However, the Maritimes of Canada, or Nova Scotia at least, may have been somewhat behind the United States or the rest of the country in revolutionary spirit according to Nick Fillmore. He opined in the 2003 interview, “The Sixties started in Nova Scotia in the 1970s”.

Throughout the years of The 4th ESTATE’s publishing, the editors always contended that the community was in need of another voice or newspaper. On September 15, 1976, they released an issue, including a mock interview with themselves asking the questions and their own selves answering. One particular question was in reference to ownership of the mainstream papers, both in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

- **There’s always talk about the state of the media in the Maritimes, how does The 4th ESTATE feel about the situation?**
- It’s not good. We’ve all known this for a long time, especially with the papers of K.C. Irving dominating New Brunswick and the Halifax Herald being so dominant on mainland Nova Scotia. And now the situation is even more serious than before in the metro

area, because of the Herald's control of The Dartmouth Free Press. This leaves The 4th ESTATE as the only real voice independent of the Herald in the area. (p. 9)

The owners/editors of The 4th ESTATE remained inspired to put out their paper when they saw that the Maritime daily press was bereft of its own particular perspective. In September of 1971, Nick Fillmore was producing a column called, "Looking through the Papers with Nick Fillmore." On the 2nd of this month, Fillmore wrote a story entitled, "Better Maritime Stories in 'Outside' Dailies". His lead sums up the gist of the article and perhaps the real live situation with the daily press in the Maritimes in the early 1970s: "One of the most disturbing facts about the Maritime daily press is that you can usually read more thorough and thoughtful so-called 'objective' reports on important events in the Maritimes in the Montreal or Toronto papers" (p. 7).

By April 13, 1972, The 4th ESTATE newspaper was celebrating their third anniversary and they published a piece on what their objectives had been and continued to be. The editors were adamant that they would publish the best paper they possibly could, both in the eyes of the public and by their own honest estimation. Part of the editorial "A Serious Need for More Information" read:

The 4th ESTATE started out trying to be an alternative to something — an alternative to the conservative and timid daily press. And to some extent, we feel it is still our responsibility to inform readers when the daily press deliberately misleads them on significant issues or when it ignores issues of importance to our community altogether.

However, The 4th ESTATE has developed a distinctive voice of its own — a voice that reflects the hopes of many of its readers for a more open, progressive approach to the significant areas of education, labor, politics, industrial development, and the environment.

The 4th ESTATE has often been sharply critical of developments in many areas of Maritime life. We make no apology for that, because we believe that honest criticism is in the best tradition of responsible journalism. (p. 4)

When the new Halifax alternative newspaper was starting out with a mimeograph, a name, *The People*, and noble intentions in 1968, it was expressed cynically in the community of Halifax/Dartmouth that the paper could not ever get off the ground. Evolving into “The 4th ESTATE” the following year and at a time when open-mindedness was increasingly in vogue, the paper certainly did get more than a foot off it. People who were connected with parties left of the Conservatives in the Nova Scotia legislature, ended up being enthused about what The 4th ESTATE was reporting. Associate Editor of The 4th ESTATE by 1973, Ralph Surette, commented in interview (2006):

[I]t [The 4th ESTATE] came into a very monopolistic situation where *The Chronicle Herald* was the only game in town.... [A]ll the attitudes that accompany press monopolies had come around so they were very tight with business and with government, they never criticized the Tory government especially, the Stanfield government was in power for I think a dozen years. By the time The 4th ESTATE came on, it basically came on,

I wasn't there then, but my understanding is that there was a tremendous desire, not just among environmentalists or opposition types but among lawyers in Halifax who were kind of you know politically connected.

Most of them probably Liberal who felt that the Conservative government was getting away with too much and not a word was being said.

Marilyn MacDonald wrote in *The 4th ESTATE* on April 26, 1973 with a tongue in her cheek and her chin proudly up a notch:

Several years ago *The 4th ESTATE* was called a rag, a blot on the fair face of journalism. Today all sorts of people who once probably spouted or at least held such views will tell you that they read *The 4th ESTATE*. But they say it as if they expect to be presented immediately with brownie points in the radical thought division (p.19).

“Alternative” Versus “Underground”

Relative Labels of Weeklies

Many new business ventures tend to be highly criticized before they get a fair chance to make a name for themselves. The potential for success may not be readily seen; hence, the absence of support from competition and the market in the community. *The 4th ESTATE* held fast from the beginning that they not only wanted to be a new alternative voice, but one that was needed by that community. As the Fillmores had foreseen, it became a voice that was nowhere else to be found in the community of Halifax and throughout the province of Nova Scotia.

At the same time, the editors of The 4th ESTATE believed that their professionalism, journalism education and experience, and vow of respectability, made them an alternative biweekly/weekly on a par with any daily newspaper in Canada at the least. They were not, on the other hand, so ready to categorize themselves as “underground” or “dissident” press per se.

By the turn of the Seventies, Nick and Frank Fillmore considered themselves social activists who certainly questioned the system, who dug for problems within it in order to expose them to a public who they felt had a right to learn as much as possible about what they may not otherwise have been able to find out. The father and son hired writers for their paper with the same convictions as themselves, which resulted in a compilation of articles of one solid product allowing for greater economic feasibility.

Having social and political roots did not necessarily mean that they were at all part of the “hippie” or “psychedelic” press that was raging in North American cities at this time. Nick Fillmore explained in the 2003 interview that the journalists on his paper were not inclined to use drugs — that this style of living and professional journalism would not complement the latter by the former. By contrast, the press known as “the underground” put out papers with similar ideals as The 4th ESTATE, based on fresh journalistic subjects such as women’s liberation, the environment, or mental health, but may not have had the stamina to produce as packed, lively, or ultimately as lasting weeklies.

Senator Keith Davey made headlines with his research on the state of media in Canada. A three-text publication, *Report of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media* (1970) was released in large cities all over the country. In the volume on newspapering,

Volume II, Selected Print Media, Chapter 4, Davey addressed “The Underground Press in Canada”. The senator chairman put into general context the “hip” community, the “alternative”, and “the underground”. Although the definitions cover the reality of types of people and press, they are also unreliable, as the senses of the meanings seem to at times mesh together. A close look at Davey’s introduction in this fourth chapter may highlight this point of hazy categorization:

“Underground press” is a term used to describe those publications which are produced to serve the “hip” community. As such, it is a type of *journal de maison* which validly reflects a small community of people who have adopted similar life-styles and goals, and the contents of the underground press are not usually projected beyond that community.... The underground press in Canada serves as an alternate press — an alternate to the commercial dailies and weeklies and magazines that carry little material which relates directly to the hip community.... [Regarding drugs] Because of the demands for freedom in the hip philosophy, a large part of the life-style of the hip community centres around and is the offspring of the use of drugs, and the hip community began as a community through the communal use of drugs for “mind-expansion”, and a freeing of the conscious mind to accept new experiences and phenomena. (pp 271–272)

Recap of a Particular Halifax “Underground”

One Copy Remaining at the Library on Spring Garden Road

One of the major complaints held by the members of the established power structure when discussing the revolution and change is “what are we changing to”....Communication is the answer. We have found the meaning of life, the meaning of freedom, and if we wish to see humanity throw out its inhumanity and live, we must communicate to the masses what living is all about.

John Mulley, “Ramblings by John”, *Gandalf*, p. 12

July 14, 1971— A paper called *Gandalf* costing 15 cents an issue and, published at 6177 South Street in Halifax, was available to the more “hip” community in the area for a short time. Volume I, Number 6, was printed on this date. (One issue in original format can be found at the Halifax Regional Library on Spring Garden Road.)

The second page has a column called “Grunts”, which asks why hashish should not be legalized. Also on this page is “Urban Survival Info”, which is helpful in that it offers phone numbers in the community, from Dalhousie Legal Aid to Free Art School.

By the third page there is “Focus on Communes”. One line is written carelessly, but advises with care: “Shit work, and there is plenty of it, must be shared by all, cleaning toilet bowls is not only women’s work”.

“Mad John” begins on page 7: “Welcome freaks, junkies, hippies, yippies, jerks, slobs, and other assorted rich people to the weird wonderful world of reality....”

“Together” on page 8 is about the profits made by LSD and marijuana sellers. The word *fuck* is used three times.



Figure 22: From *The Best Political Cartoons*, Edited by Jerry Robinson.

It is “EARTH WEEK” commemoration on pages 10 and 11, with *Gandalf* congratulating CBC, the National Film Board, and Olands for their contributions.

Page 15 has a piece about Free Food at Victoria Park (rice, vegetables, breads, salads), “donated to New Morning by the Earth Week people”.

The issue includes movie and music reviews as well as a listing of all the hostels available in the Atlantic provinces, from Wolfville in Nova Scotia to Port Aux Basques in Newfoundland.

It is clear from a comparison that, while *Gandalf* and The 4th ESTATE shared some common concerns, they were not the same kind of newspaper. *Gandalf* appealed to a particular Halifax *subculture* — “junkies, hippies” (p. 7) — and is therefore correctly classified as *underground*. This is not the case with The 4th ESTATE.

A Page from The 4th ESTATE:

Accusations of Being Half Underground

Who Should Be Heard on the CBC?

No-One From a Half-underground Paper, Says Ottawa

Journal

(Editor's Note: We thought our readers might be interested in the following exchange between the Ottawa Journal and The 4th ESTATE.)

Hot Air on the CBC

The CBC wants someone on Preview Commentary to discuss the conference. Fine. Perhaps a law professor from Dalhousie or the University of New Brunswick. Perhaps an expert in civil rights.

Who does some CBC producer find? The executive editor of Halifax's underground (or half-underground) paper, that's who.

Surprise! He doesn't like the way the attorneys-general or, apparently, the majority of Canadians, think about anything. That's his right. The CBC also has the right of taking its commentators where it finds them; that's important too.

[Quoted from the *Ottawa Journal*, July 20, 1970.]

The 4th ESTATE, August 13, 1970 (p. 20)

Directly below the Ottawa Journal quote is a letter to the editor of the same paper. Nick Fillmore wrote a passionate rebuttal to their derogatory comments regarding his paper and the executive editor in question, his own father, Frank Fillmore. Affronted, the younger Fillmore writes at great length of the virtues of his paper and the professionalism of his father as a renowned journalist as well as that of his Associate Editor (and wife) Brenda Large, a young experienced reporter:

The paper appears on more than 300 newsstands throughout Nova Scotia; is recognized by many journalists in Canada as a fore-runner of its kind; and carries advertising from such well-known corporate citizens as Eatons, Simpsons and the federal government.... Frank Fillmore, the man who your editorial attempted to discredit, has been a freelance broadcaster with the CBC for seven years, on television both regionally and nationally. He is the former news editor of the weekly Dartmouth Free Press, and is currently press liaison advisor to A. Russell Harrington, president of Nova Scotia Light and Power Co., Ltd.... Mr. Fillmore has been a regular contributor to The Toronto Telegram for many years, and has been a

freelance writer for Agence France Presse ... MacLean's Magazine ... and others.... The 4th ESTATE's Associate Editor, Brenda Large, has, ironically, had her byline published in your own newspaper on many occasions during her five years with The Canadian Press.... (p. 20)

The label "underground" and the epithet "half-underground" were obviously hurled at The 4th ESTATE with less than well-meaning intentions, especially in the context of the charge that the CBC should have associated itself instead with a law professor at a large Maritime university. Fillmore, in his written and published defence to the Ottawa Journal editors (it is not known if the Ottawa Journal published the letter but it is known that the newspaper no longer exists having shut down in 1980), conspicuously avoids using the term "underground" to imply that his paper was not. The alternative writer may have considered himself, his father, his wife, and his paper above this.

An Alternative to The 4th ESTATE

Out of Fredericton, New Brunswick

Another fresh voice of print journalism that resonated distinctly throughout the Maritimes was a magazine called *The Mysterious East*. English professor Donald Cameron and a group at the University of New Brunswick started the alternative magazine for the Atlantic Canada region in 1969 and The 4th ESTATE welcomed the news of its hitting stands with a review in its October 30, 1969 issue. Nancy Doull, who was on The 4th ESTATE's Board of Directors and owned Minerva Books Ltd., wrote "A New Magazine for the Maritimes!" in the "Books" section of the paper (p. 12). The

article spreads across most of the entire page save for advertisements by companies such as Salon Micheline, British Motors Limited, Jack and Co. Ltd. [general insurance], and Check Mate [a clothes shop on Dresden Row] and *Mysterious East* itself [\$5.50 for 12 issues].

Some crucial points that Doull made about a publication of a similar vein as the paper she was writing for are:

- Who could disagree with the editors of ‘The Mysterious East’ that their venture is challenging and necessary?
- It isn’t an easy publication to skim — more likely to be saved for a rainy day.
- Advance promotion talked, earnestly, of honest communication, promised to be aggressive and also promised good journalism. It’s clear they don’t want to be commended for youthful freshness and naïve idealism.
- The journalism is good. The very long piece on pollution in the Maritimes and the Canada Water Act is impressively researched. It is well written and, at last, focused on this region.
- They promise to be fair, hard-hitting and lively. The last will be hardest for them.
- How much? 35 cents only. Is it worth it? Yes, no doubt about it.

The Mysterious East magazine was published rather erratically until late 1972. It is kept in archives at the Harriet Irving Library at the University of New Brunswick. On *The Mysterious East* Fonds site of the university, the mandate of the publisher of the

magazine, Rubber Duck Press Inc. is explained: “The company’s primary function was to publish and distribute *The Mysterious East*, an alternative monthly magazine intended to provide Atlantic Canadians with critical, in-depth analysis of social, political, cultural and economic issues.” Such issues, its editors maintained, were often glossed over or largely ignored by mainstream presses or covered from a single viewpoint.

On the same 1996 UNB Archives site, under “Scope and Content”, one may find a description of the type of articles written by *The Mysterious East*: “...pollution, housing, censorship, birth control, drugs, police policies, and native problems.” (The Mysterious East Fonds — <http://www.lib.unb.ca/archives/finding/myst/myst.html>.)

The Mysterious East appealed to a similar type of readership as The 4th ESTATE. The essential difference between the two publications was that they were dealing with different schedules and working out of capital cities of separate provinces in the Atlantic. They read one another’s product, they quoted one another, they boosted one another’s morale.

“Down but Not Out”

Keith Davey Commission’s Words

The Report of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media has another section on the underground or alternative press in the first volume of its three-volume publication. The text is called “The Uncertain Mirror” and the chapter in question is entitled “Down but Not Out” and conveys the typical struggle of this kind of press (usually financial), but also the strong passion behind the work. Ralph Surette referred to

The 4th ESTATE in interview as a “labour of love” and, without coincidence, a few authors of books studied for this thesis wrote of the underground/alternative press in the 1960s/70s with the exact same expression to describe the feeling behind the work which often overrode the dollar value of checks that may or may not have been coming in.

Senator Davey’s piece is ultimately very compassionate to these types of writers, editors, and publishers. He saw their work as a “new consciousness” (p. 189), a term borrowed from Charles A. Reich cited on the first page of this chapter. Davey also uses his own specific terms to describe what he refers to as the underground press in Canada: “Set against the debates, and other turgidities that make up so much of the content of conventional journalism, the underground papers sometimes provide a delightful contrast; and beautiful, alive, funny, green, and free” (p. 189).

That being said, it is as if Davey and committee cannot help but criticize the non-mainstream press in a global perspective. The overall sentiment was that some of the underground/alternative weeklies were very good, but some were also very bad. *Georgia Straight* of Vancouver is a good example of an underground weekly that not only made a scream in the late 1960s, but continues to be economically viable today, over 30 years later. The 4th ESTATE editor and writer Ralph Surette (who also wrote in the 1970s for alternative *Last Post* of Montreal) joked in interview (which will be analysed in greater depth later in this chapter), “The Georgia Straight has gone straight”. The paper has enjoyed such success that it would no longer be considered “alternative”, perhaps. Also, it could be argued that “alternative” is another word for “popular” in the 21st century. At any rate, in 1970 Davey introduced the lasting Vancouver alternative in his media report:

We wish all the underground newspapers were as good as the *Georgia Straight* often is. We wish they would do more digging into Canadian issues from the vantage-point of their own lifestyle, and less automatic reprinting of the latest manifesto from Chicago or San Francisco. We wish they wouldn't call policemen "pigs" quite so much.... But mostly we wish them well. We've already described in another chapter how underground newspapers have been harassed in several Canadian cities. We hope their editors will see this persecution for what it is: a kind of accolade (pp 189–190).

On the opposite coast of Canada, in Halifax, The 4th ESTATE was reaping profits from their alternative by charging for newspaper copies and selling advertising space. During the eight year life of the paper the cost per issue increased from 10 cents at the beginning to 30 cents at the end. If the paper was bought outside of the greater area of Halifax, it was usually 5 cents more, as was the norm with alternative/underground weeklies in cities all over North America.

Davey contended that many "undergrounds" were wary of even advertising because publishers felt that commerce and convictions together did not mesh to their liberal standards or in terms of the organization's heart-felt beliefs. The report continues to explain that this in itself was the obvious demise of many of these sorts of papers, "You can't put out a newspaper indefinitely on love alone" (p. 190).

The suggestion, as well, in this report is that an underground does not become an alternative until it is "financially sound". The writers of "Down but Not Out" frankly pointed out with their final paragraph how to avoid being cut out from the game for good:

But without some reasonably assured source of income, without some guarantee of a reasonably regular wage for the people who produce them, we can't see how underground newspapers can hope to rise above their present level of jolly amateurism. Our recommendation, then, is: get businesslike, but don't let it show in your pages. (p. 191)

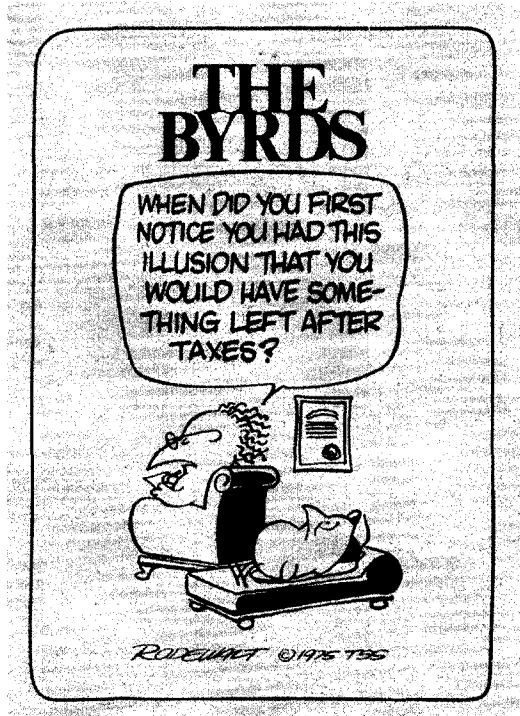


Fig. 23: Used with permission from Vance Rodewalt. On cover of *The 4th ESTATE*, November 19, 1975.

Alternative Publications in the East

A Critique from a Western One

Another lasting Canadian alternative, besides *Georgia Strait*, is Winnipeg's *Canadian Dimension*. The magazine has impressively been publishing since 1963 six

times a year as a rule. This publication has been known to be “for people who want to change the world” and with that being said, it is most likely clear that it is of left-wing political thought.

In 1971/72 writer Richard Dahrin published “There’s Nothing Underdeveloped about the Maritimes Alternate Press” for *Canadian Dimension*. Dahrin reflected honestly, with both criticism and approbation, on raging alternative papers of the time in Canada such as *Georgia Strait* in Vancouver, *Last Post* in Montreal, and more overtly, *The Mysterious East* and The 4th ESTATE in the Maritimes. Dahrin’s initial paragraph puts alternatives such as *Last Post* and *Georgia Strait* in light of *Time*, *Maclean’s* and *Saturday Night*, and goes so far as to say that the bigger magazines “can celebrate the existence of the Georgia Strait and The Last Post as proof of their own liberality” (p. 59).

Richard Dahrin saw the area of the Maritimes, where the two “successful”, as he described them, alternatives operated, The 4th ESTATE and *The Mysterious East*, as reaching this level because the region was not populated enough to house competing markets with publications such as the *Toronto Daily Star* or the *Vancouver Sun*.

Half way through his four page article, Dahrin finally got down to the crunch and supplied readers with a candid critique of the two eastern Canadian alternatives. The writer expressed himself from both a personal and professional stance; a combination of serious and sarcastic on the surface as well:

I can report that nothing since the ascendant nationalism of the Toronto Star has given me quite so much newspaper reading pleasure as looking through recent back copies of *The Mysterious East* and The 4th Estate.

They're not overpowering. They're not superb. Far from it. They have a lot of unprofessional weaknesses. My praise is subjectively loaded. What can be said objectively of them, though, and particularly of The 4th Estate, is that they deal with human affairs in a human way, which is the touchstone of community journalism. [Dahrin refers to the underground press as if to say it is of a completely different category as these Maritime alternatives.] I wouldn't say the same of the underground press, although I have to admit I'm losing touch with it. The underground press can become demoralizing sectarian and routinized. Although the Georgia Straight may still be doing a good job, I no longer bother to buy it. (p. 61)

Richard Dahrin hones in on The 4th ESTATE newspaper on the last page of his article. He brings the paper into his discussion with basic information on the Fillmores and the "punch" they had like any popular newspaper. In this paragraph as well, a researcher of The 4th ESTATE may get an idea where the paper was in terms of finances. Dahrin indulges, "Average sales are now over 14,000 with a potential of 20,000. Overhead is about \$1000 a week. Eighty per cent of the budget comes from advertising. Wages and fees for articles, though, are still at rock bottom" (p. 62).

Interestingly, Dahrin conceptualizes that politics in Nova Scotia and how their being in a muddled state of affairs is the hook that The 4th ESTATE was fortunate to latch onto by 1970. It was an alternative paper's dream, as political exposure was facile and accessible, even on a weekly basis. Dahrin in Winnipeg wrote confidently of Nova Scotia, having researched thoroughly the Nova Scotia media and, apparently, also politics in the area:

The Conservative and Liberal parties, for example, have been worthless for about half a century. The 4th Estate said they were worthless, in so many words, and the state of journalism in Nova Scotia being what it was, the weekly had itself a scoop. When Nick Fillmore says his paper's main success has been a *start* at some decent level of public discussion, we have to take him literally.... Even more remarkable, for this kind of paper, they've been able to explore the large economic issues with a solid, intellectual grasp. (p. 62)

With the wrap up of this article, a reader can only take Dahrin with more than a few grains of salt; however, most jokes do have shreds of truth in them, and one can most likely expect that there is a ring of authenticity to Dahrin's words in "There's Nothing Underdeveloped...." He finished with the following paragraph:

The Mysterious East and The 4th Estate are not anti-trade-union; they occasionally find something good to say about the NDP, and they have links to the communities of freelance journalists working in public broadcasting, which is probably the only way independent journalists can make a living in the Maritimes. Even for non-Maritimers, it's almost enough to make one weep for joy and with expectation. (p. 62)

“The Volkswagen Press”

Four Alternatives in Canada Make an Impression

Keith Davey (and senators) made an impression on this researcher by creating an analogy between quality alternative publications and quality motor vehicles. The idea of creating a link between a car such as the Volkswagen and newer alternative newspapers of the time allows one to vaguely have an image in mind of Davey’s concept: A fine independent weekly = a pristine 1970 Volkswagen Beetle.

The papers that Davey classified as “Volkswagen” were alternatives that may not have been completely sound financially or “hip” in the sense of underground popularity, but they were papers that certainly had an edge that allowed for competition with larger dailies of the respective cities that they were in.

The four papers that Keith Davey identified as being Volkswagen Press are:

1. Canadian Dimension (Winnipeg)
2. Last Post (Montreal)
3. The Mysterious East (Fredericton)
4. The 4th Estate (Halifax).

(Mass Media Vol. 1, “For a Volkswagen Press, pp 75–79)

By December 17, 1970 The 4th ESTATE printed the news of the release of the Davey Mass Media Report. The article is called “Providing an Alternative: The 4th ESTATE Praised by Senate Committee” (p. 2) and revels in the idea of being included as part of the Volkswagen Press motif. This article offers several passages from the Senate report, for example, the article’s second paragraph reads: “The committee said the

emergence of a ‘Volkswagen press’ in Canada ‘is the most hopeful development in print journalism for many years’”.

“Providing an Alternative...” recaps some of what the committee wrote in their report cited from The 4th ESTATE about each of the papers chosen as Volkswagen. The following is a recap of what The 4th ESTATE cited in its report:

- The Mysterious East: Edited for love by a group of academics from the University of New Brunswick....
- Last Post: Tackles subjects that are important, and usually handles them with flair, wit, and professionalism.... [Comments in interview from Ralph Surette, who wrote for this Montreal alternative: “It was kind of a Frank Magazine type of thing in some ways. The civil servants used to laugh it up. They used to drop a pile that high in The Parliamentary Press Gallery. And the civil servants used to scoop it up and see who had been named. This was kind of considered very tight stuff.... For all these publications it was the same thing. At some point if you were going to continue to exist you’re going to have to go straight and you had probably already burned too many bridges even if you wanted to”.]
- Canadian Dimension: Probably the most authoritative and thoughtful of the Volkswagen periodicals, but sadly deficient in a sense of humor.... [The 4th ESTATE wrote of the magazine in “Looking Through the Papers with Nick Fillmore”, September 30,

1971: "...ivory tower intellectuals and NDPers and is the oldest of the alternate press at eight years" (p. 7).]

- The 4th ESTATE: [is] providing the kind of journalism that the province's monopoly newspaper fails to deliver. [It also says The 4th ESTATE is probably closer to financial viability than most Volkswagen periodicals because of the advertising it had attracted].

This article as well reports a vital fact of the times in terms of Maritime journalism, which is that the Senate report mentioned that The 4th ESTATE was the largest weekly newspaper in the Atlantic provinces with a circulation of 14,750.

Usage of the Volkswagen automobile to represent four Canadian alternative newspapers was not exactly impressive to writer Richard Dahrin of *Canadian Dimension* despite the fact that this paper was included in Davey's analogy. In his article, "There's Nothing Underdeveloped about the Maritime Alternate Press", Dahrin described Davey's praise of the Volkswagen Press as "fulsome" (p. 60). He went on to analyse:

The analogy with Volkswagen was, of course, a bit too easy. Volkswagen began as a mass-produced item sponsored by a totalitarian government with absolute powers to allocate resources. After the war, it was particularly well-suited to the new mass market in Europe. Its ability to force a new taste, but still a minority taste, in North America and Canada, came from its mass strength ... [and] its mercantile power ... at home. (p. 60)

Dahrin's charge that the Volkswagen press analogy is anything but sincere gives the semblance of oversensitivity at best and of harbouring a bitterness which seems to come off sarcastically at worst. Despite that Davey et al. reported that *Canadian Dimension* was lacking in humour in its "authoritative and thoughtful" pages, one would think that a writer would nonetheless be flattered to work for a paper that has been intended to be classified as one of top quality, or at least one suited to a mass market, in the 1960s/70s alternative journalism world of Canada.

Comments in *Commentator* on Davey Media Research

Mass Media Only a Product of Society

In the February 1970 issue of *Commentator*, Michael Nolan, previously of the Parliamentary Press Gallery in Ottawa and at the time of his writing, a radio reporter in London, Ontario, published an article regarding Keith Davey's and senators' investigative report on the state of mass (and alternative or underground) media in Canada in 1970. Nolan calls his piece, "I Hope the Davey Reports Will Not Just Be Filed and Forgotten".

Nolan expressed concern in this article on whether the work of the committee headed by Keith Davey would be shelved by the Trudeau government and neglected indefinitely after its publication and country-wide tour planned to discuss the findings. The main findings that Nolan observed as crucial regarding the state of media at large in Canada at this time was that something about it overall wasn't quite ideal:

But maybe the media itself wasn't completely to blame for its insufficiencies. Perhaps the Canadian media was not only a product of its own making but even more so a reflection of the public it served. (p. 8)

Michael Nolan took exceptional notice of a point that Keith Davey discovered and reported — that there was apathy in society with regard to mass media, that its audience suffered with social anguish, that “if the media turn people off, it's because society at large turns them off” (p. 8). Also regarding this accountable society phenomenon, Nolan wrote, “A society gets the type of media it deserves and an apathetic audience deserves apathetic media” (p. 9).

To come to grips with the listening, watching, reading public, the committee advised generally that media would have to re-evaluate what constitute news. As Michael Nolan reported the reports of Davey et al., “...don't expect the moon from the media, but then don't settle for moonshine, either” (p. 9).

Disillusion with Daily Print Media — Creates a Reaction

All over America, newspapers were shutting down or, worse yet, as in El Paso, they were entering into joint operating agreements, which basically meant that one company was running both papers, therefore eliminating competition and the quaint notion that the fourth estate might serve as guardian of the people. (p. xi)

Steve Almond

Introduction to *Notes from the Underground*, Ed. by Nancy Armstrong, 2005

The mimeograph machine “played the same part in the American revolutionary movement that machine guns did in the Russian”, Dwight MacDonald noted ironically years after the last ink of battle had dried. “The mimeographs were the instruments of production, which, as any school boy knows, are the base of power of every ruling class, and many a faction fight was decided by who seized control of them first”. (p. 18)

Laurence Leamer

The Paper Revolutionaries —The Rise of the Underground Press, 1972

Four Headlining Passages from The 4th ESTATE

Taking Issue with Mainstream Media 1969-1970

June 26, 1969

‘Maritime dailies don’t have the kind of social conscience that goes with newspapering’.

By JEROME KLEIN — FREDERICTON

I don’t care much for newspapers that are continually shooting their mouths off about everything, but neither am I greatly stimulated by papers which refuse to sound off about anything more important than highway safety and the owner’s business problems. Surely, a meaningful publication should be prepared to get its hands dirty occasionally.... (pp 8–9)

April 9, 1970

**Brief to Media Committee Uncover 14 Cases of Halifax News
Suppression**

Many of the reporters who suffered from interference by the editors and publishers have since resigned from the papers in disgust.

One such reporter is Dulcie Conrad, now working with the P.E.I. Development Corp., who was involved in three of the more serious cases of interference cited by The 4th ESTATE.

Miss Conrad, who worked several years for the two newspapers and was well-respected as a top-calibre reporter, was told on occasion not to write stories involving certain people appearing in court while she was on the court beat.... (p. 13)

December 17, 1970

Media Failing the Public

What Good Is A Free Press If It Isn't Used?

By NICK FILLMORE

To quote Committee Chairman Senator Keith Davey: "There has never been a period in the nation's history when the press has been so distrusted, so disrespected, so disbelieved." (p. 7)

December 17, 1970

The myth of...

“Newspapers instruments of social change or stagnations.”

(Editor’s Note: The following article on journalism in the United States, reprinted from *The Nation*, also applies to the development of the daily press in Canada. Mr. Deitch writes on economic and financial affairs for the *Boston Globe*.)

By DAVID DEITCH

However, all attempts thus far to accommodate newspapers to the needs of society have failed, and all the evaluations have turned out to be indexes of failure rather than progress toward some satisfactory result. Criticism that does not lead to structural change is simply an exercise in reformist frustration and the effect has been that the press today is one of the least trusted of the country’s national institutions, public or private. Rightwing critics complain that the papers undermine confidence in democratic institutions by striking at the government. The Left insists that, by adhering to so-called balanced reporting, they in fact stabilize the worst features of an inequitable system. The confused middle is rapidly losing its faith in the ability of the daily press to sustain the image of impartiality that newspaper managements — not readers — have demanded. (p. 10)

The Halifax *Chronicle Herald* 1960s/70s

Ralph Surette in a 2006 interview:

RS: “I think it got the university crowd and so on and the *Chronicle*, we were always on the *Chronicle*. The *Chronicle* was kind of, I don’t know an antique at the time, especially in the eyes of the young people. I remember we used to get on the *Chronicle*’s back all the time. Nick especially called it the ‘Old Lady of Argyle Street’”.

LC: “Was that just his term?”

RS: “I think he started it. But I think it was used more generally.”

Nick Fillmore in a 2003 interview:

“Readers didn’t mind taking a crack at *The Chronicle Herald*. They did it by reading The 4th ESTATE.”

“The Chronically-Horrid”

The Chronicle Herald was a paper that was as highly criticized as it was widely read in this period. Both it and *The Mail-Star* of the same company, The Halifax Herald Limited, has been a journalistic fixture in the province of Nova Scotia since the 1870s. Not only has it been a tradition to receive the morning *Chronicle Herald* or the afternoon *Mail-Star* at the door on a daily basis, it has been delivered well beyond the city of Halifax throughout the province (the morning paper had more of a provincial orientation

especially). The large Nova Scotian company should also be commended if only because it has been an independently owned newspaper for well over an entire century.

“HALIFAX BOY WINS TRIP TO DARTMOUTH” was one of the lame front-page headlines in an exclusive issue that hit Halifax stands January 20, 1977. The newspaper was *The Dalhousie Gazette*, the publication of which was reported on in *The 4th ESTATE* on the following January 27th. The entire issue was meant as a satiric parody of the Halifax *Chronicle Herald* and was prepared by Phillip Saunders and Harvey MacKinnon in about two weeks. The press run was 12,500, but they found out after printing that they needed more copies.

MacKinnon and Harvey dropped some off at *The Chronicle Herald* office on Argyle Street, much to the humour and chagrin of the employees there: “They loved it, thought it was very funny. I hear that people at higher levels didn’t like it all that much, though”.

In regards to mocking *The 4th ESTATE* MacKinnon said: “It would be harder to parody *The 4th Estate*, but it’s possible” (p. 2).

“(Your envelope will be in the agreed-upon place, Harvey.)” — Last lines of this *The 4th ESTATE* article entitled, “A New Newspaper Makes It’s Debut” (p. 2).

Other front page headlines of *The Chronically-Horrid* are “Trudeau in Homo Ring”, “Japan Surrenders”, and “No Haligonians Dead in Crash” — “...Mayor Edmund Whatsisface expressed relief that no Haligonians were killed, injured or even inconvenienced by the crash. He also announced plans to erect a monument to all those who were not hurt but who might very well have been.... This is the fourteenth serious air crash this year in which no Halifax residents were killed. The new monument will be

erected in Point Pleasant Park, immediately alongside the other thirteen. Mr.

Whatsisface's brother Tombstone, a local monument salesman, expressed his pleasure at his brother's decision" (p. 2).

Typically sardonic columnist "Farmer Brown" commented in *The 4th ESTATE* (Jan. 27, 1977): "The Dalhousie Gazette gang did a fantastic job with their take-off of the *Chronicle Herald* ... every few years one of the student papers undertakes to send up the *Herald* and this *Gazette* job was one of the best I've ever seen. It puts a lot of my barnyard wit to shame and all hands involved deserve a loud round of applause" (p. 15).

Writers of more alternative periodicals or weeklies, in spite of the often impressive and authentic heritage of the mainstream press, continued to denounce mainstream papers such as *The Chronicle Herald*. For example, Richard Dahrin of *Canadian Dimension*, discussing the scene on the east coast from his base in Winnipeg, wrote in "There's Nothing Underdeveloped About the Maritime Alternate Press" of the only newspaper that *The 4th ESTATE* was essentially up against in terms of sales. It can be seen that word of the nickname that Nick Fillmore had coined for *The Herald* spread. Dahrin offered his perspective from Western Canada:

The two Halifax dailies — "Old Women of Argyle Street" — are of notoriously poor quality (how could a region that has produced such good folk songs and fishermen produce such appalling newspapers?)... And according to managing editor Nick Fillmore, the Old Women have begun to run scared, when nobody thought they could run at all. (p. 62)

The 4th ESTATE Doesn't Hesitate to Slam The Herald in Their Pages

The 4th ESTATE's only competitor in Halifax was *The Chronicle Herald/Mail-Star*. The two papers had distinct reading markets, were on separate scales of circulation (The 4th ESTATE's was a fraction of *The Herald's*), yet some of the same staff wrote for both the weekly alternative and the daily mainstream of Halifax in this 1969 to 1977 period. Usually, however, pseudonyms had to be assumed when a *Herald* employee wrote for The 4th ESTATE.

The Halifax weekly seemed to have a mandate that they were in business to bring otherwise hidden news to the public eye for the sake of uncommonly spoken of journalism ethics. If it meant blatant exposure of a company or individual person in order to "do the right thing", the newspaper can be seen to have done this for the entire eight years of its running. Recapped below are a few snippets from The 4th ESTATE that censure *The Chronicle Herald* in their moments showing less than professional journalism, at least in the opinion of the editors at the Halifax weekly, including the Dulcie Conrad story already discussed:

April 9, 1970

Brief to Media Committee Uncover 14 Cases of Halifax News Suppression

Miss Conrad's story appeared on the front page of *The Chronicle Herald* under her own by-line, but the lead she had written had been changed without her knowledge by night editor Stan Fitzner. The story indicated

that Harrington had come out with both barrels blazing against Maritime union [sic]. The change was designed to fit in with a preconceived headline of which Fitzner knew Dennis would approve.

Miss Conrad wrote an apology to Harrington, telling him the lead on the story was not hers, and she accepted full responsibility for the story beginning at the second paragraph. (p. 13)

April 6, 1972

The Herald in Another Era

[Lead] The Halifax Transit strike is now in its fourth week as we go to press, but the city (superficially at least) maintains an appearance of “business as usual”.

How tragic it is for this community that now, when our daily papers take up a cause (the first real cause of any kind they have supported for a number of years) it is one which supports not the thousands of ordinary working people who buy and read that paper every day, but the rich — the top of the barrel in Nova Scotia have high-class worries like estate taxes.

We suggest that the ordinary people of Nova Scotia are intelligent enough to see that The Chronicle Herald and The Mail-Star don't care about the interests of the poor, the working poor and those in the lower middle-income brackets. (p. 4)

April 19, 1973

Long Line of Journalists Have Left the Old Women ('Farmer Brown')

You can figure the reason out yourself for such a high turnover.... Most of the people named have left the Herald in very recent years. If we named all those who have left in the last 10 years, we'd fill the page. (p. 9)

January 13, 1977

Spraying: The Decision, by Brian Currie

Dr. Ian MacLaren, Professor of Biology at Dalhousie, Director of the Nova Scotia Resource Council and former president of the Canadian Nature Federation, chaired the conference, and set the tone for the discussions that followed.

First, he launched a scathing attack on the coverage the budworm issue had received in the provincial daily, The Chronicle Herald. The newspaper, said MacLaren, had been carrying on a pro-spraying campaign using "comic English and laughable logic" and may have created serious misconceptions about the problem in the public mind.

Several opinion pieces arguing against a spray campaign had been submitted for publication to the paper, said MacLaren, but they hadn't been printed. In contrast, he said, pro-spraying opinion pieces were printed the day after submission.

The newspaper had also played up news stories that put a favorable light on arguments for spraying, while relegating anti-spray stories to the back pages of the paper.

All in all, said MacLaren, the newspaper had done a great disservice to its readership in handling the issue the way it had. His sentiments were echoed at various times by other participants in the news conference. (p. 11)

The Halifax Media Scene — Who Plays a Social Role in the Community?

Encounter on Urban Environment: Pamphlet No. 10 — Media Voluntary Economic Planning

Halifax, 1970: A team of North American researchers (with the exception of one from Great Britain) gathered together to take notes and report on urban culture topics ranging from the Arts and Tourism to Pollution and Media. With less pretension than not, the epigraph in the foreword to each of the 18 published booklets prepared by the Voluntary Economic Planning reinforces the easy stance behind their thorough and broad based work: “WE ARE IN YOUR COMMUNITY, IT HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY CLEAR, AS A TEMPORARY STIMULANT” (i) For the pamphlet on media there was a meeting recorded to be published.

The researchers’ mandate was to raise questions in an objective manner on various urban themes in the city of Halifax in order to lend an ear more so to the idea of action than the documented discussion itself. Pamphlet No. 10 of *Encounter on the*

Urban Environment is on Media (T.V., radio, and newspapers), and surprisingly the first specific media outlet written of in the publication is The 4th ESTATE. T. J. Scanlon was leading the discussion on the role of media in the community and brought up the newspaper in the context of subjective and opinionated journalism as opposed to non-participatory and record-keeping journalism. Scanlon remarked that he didn't "entirely agree with" Frank Fillmore, the Executive Editor of The 4th ESTATE at the time. Admitting in this part of the discussion that the newspaper was one that played a social role and that there *was* a market for this type of newspaper, T. J. Scanlon commented in the same light:

I don't want to get confused between how he does it or what he does; but what he tries to do is inform you about the problems as he sees them. He selects those problems he feels are important. He doesn't wait for someone to get into a fight in an Encounter meeting, but he pokes these out on his own and he chases after them and he reports them because he thinks they are important. My disagreement with Frank, I only toss this in to show you that this procedure does not necessarily involve the way Frank does it. You can do this entirely by reporting facts and by not expressing opinions at all. Frank's paper gets more involved than that and goes into the area of opinion which is an area of the press that has become very much expanded lately. But this is quite a different concept. This means that you decide you are a participant in the community and you do care. (p. 3)

Further to the notion of playing a subjective role as a reporter was the idea tossed about that not doing so would make an explicit statement on its own, one that denoted

that the non-participant was not especially in favour of something new. The strictly “objective” journalist was passive, as they were saying “We don’t want change”. It was also expressed in this part of the discussion presented by Scanlon that the Halifax *Chronicle Herald* did not write one line on the Encounter research project and that this in itself was another explicit statement.

Near the end of the section on the role of media in the community in Pamphlet #10 on the same in Halifax by the Voluntary Economic Planning committee, Dr. Scott Greer, chairman of the Encounter session on Communications, addressed the daily press from a different angle by saying that the mass media can also act as “social eraser” (p. 6) in that history gets eliminated by failing to report the news, and gives an example of “lack of reportage” (p. 6) with regards to the industrial development commission. An unnamed commentator soon added that the daily press is “very, very biased” and not “impartial” and invoked an image of reading a Halifax paper that leaves out crucial parts of what a Toronto newspaper may report on the exact same event (p. 7).

In the small section of the Voluntary Economic Planning committee’s Pamphlet # 10, “Women and the Media”, it was stated that newspaper and television media propagated the idea that women were inferior. Examples were given of female roles portrayed in subservient positions or, at best, as “objects of beauty”, to borrow language from the report. As well, it was found that media in Halifax ignored the “working woman” and her career responsibilities and also “the problems faced by women who are the heads of single-parent families” (p. 15).

Impressively, the report concluded two paragraphs on this accusation, which was made by Colette Malo of the Women's Liberation Front, with the following statement:

“The 4th Estate was excluded from these criticisms” (p. 15).

CHAPTER SIX: INDUSTRIAL AND OIL SPILL WATER POLLUTION

There was a time not too long ago when Big Business tended simply to fight environmentalists, arguing that many measures to keep things clean were at best half baked and posed a threat to profitability. But as public concern about the environment grows, there is an increasing acceptance in executive suites that industrial reform can be good for the environment *and* good for profits. Efficient use of energy and materials and a reduction in waste can help the bottom line. Everything that is recycled reduces the expense of buying raw materials.

Eric Roston, "The New War on Waste".

Time Magazine Vol. 160, No. 9

Aug. 26, 2002 (p. 54)

The Arrow Tank Oil Spill

The waters in around Nova Scotia are not free from industry or oil spill pollution and were perhaps even more vulnerable in the 1960s and 70s. Between a commercially active Atlantic Canadian sea and seaport industry and little in terms of available pollution abatement technology, there was inevitable potential damage to sea life, ocean aesthetics, air quality and quiet for local residents. The 4th ESTATE featured articles on water pollution generally; for example, there was extensive coverage of the notorious Arrow

tanker disaster which occurred on Sunday, February 8th, 1970. The Liberian oil tanker hit Cerebus Rock in Chedabucto Bay, off of the shore of Guysborough County in Nova Scotia. The tanker, according to The 4th ESTATE, lost “3.8 million gallons of molasses-like bunker oil” (Rob Smith, “Transport Dept. Bungles Arrow Oil Catastrophe”, Feb. 26, 1970, p. 1).

By June 4th of the same year, after several columns and articles concerning the disaster, The 4th ESTATE angrily confronted the issue in an editorial. The newspaper atypically cursed in its language, but more typically offered its personal stance on the irresponsibility behind such an occurrence. The following are lines from “THE INCREDIBLE ARROW INCIDENT”:

...With visibility he [Captain George Anatasobolos] claimed was down to less than a mile and the crew unable to see land, the Arrow was pushing along at about 8 ½ knots.

In fact, the Arrow was practically blind, poorly equipped, with a crew that was effectively lost. It was being sailed either by guess or by God damn or by the seat of the Captain’s pants or some of each.

And it was sailing too fast under the circumstances existing at the time — incredible. Totally incredible!

....And that when we Canadians have had forewarning of other marine tragedies around the world, we should fail to protect ourselves from the carelessness and recklessness of such irresponsible persons as were involved in this tragedy.

The 4th ESTATE believes there are lessons we can learn from the grounding of the tanker Arrow but there are also valuable lessons we can teach those who would risk the destruction of our environment by transporting bulk oil in vessels that are so clearly unfit for the job.

Tough legislation and regulatory action is required to serve notice that from here on any such incident involving our coastal waters will bring down upon the guilty parties the full wrath of the Canadian nation. (p. 4)

While The 4th ESTATE's coverage of the Arrow disaster was hard-hitting and clear, the incident was only a single occurrence, not likely to be repeated frequently. The paper was actually more concerned, on an ongoing basis, with the continuous industrial pollution caused by companies permanently established in Nova Scotia.

Pulp and Paper Mills and Logging Companies — Controversy and the Hope for Action from the Nova Scotia Government

The pulp and paper industry in North America in the 1960s and 1970s was prominent in its culture and economy and in its pollution. Stories concerning the forest industry seemed to be prominent amongst other types of industry reported in the media, particularly in Nova Scotia's The 4th ESTATE. In a more global context, for example, *The North American Reference Encyclopedia of Ecology and Pollution* (1972) cites paper and allied products high on its 1963 industrial pollution chart with considerations to wastewater, standard BOD (Biochemical Oxygen Demand), and settleable and suspended solids before treatment. *Paper and allied products* rank in millions and billions of gallons

(of wastewater, standard BOD, and settleable and suspended solids) next below *Chemical and allied products*, which are at the very top of the scale in these two categories, but paper and allied products exceed all types of industry listed in Table 8 (p. 185) in the category of *Settleable and Suspended Solids*, at 3,000 million lbs before treatment. Other industries (out of thousands in North America) high on the scale include Primary metals, Petroleum and Coal, and Food and kindred products.

The 4th ESTATE reflected these statistics in its industry pollution coverage as the newspaper, as alluded to before, was very much concerned with the pulp and paper industry in the province of Nova Scotia. The newspaper published articles on Scott Maritimes in Boat Harbour at Abercrombie Point near New Glasgow (Pictou County), Anil in East Chester (Lunenburg County), and one article in particular was on both Bowater-Mersey in Liverpool (Queen's County) and Nova Scotia Pulp in Port Hawkesbury (Inverness County).

This chapter will analyse The 4th ESTATE's coverage regarding government action, and inaction too. Other sources discussed will include an alternate perspective from the Nova Scotia government in a specific document, *The Rust Report*, which was researched and written by Rust Associates Ltd., concerning the pollution of Boat Harbour by Scott Maritimes. A moving CBC documentary (1970) on the pollution at Boat Harbour is reviewed in this chapter. Also included for analysis are pieces from the *Washington Monthly* that address the issue of water pollution in Liverpool by Bowater Mersey (a company partially owned by the magazine's newspaper competition, the *Washington Post*) and currently owned by Georgia Strait Corporation.

In Halifax, an article from *The Chronicle Herald* concerning effluent from Scott Maritimes addresses the controversy on the Northumberland Strait regarding harmed sea life and the hope for federal government interaction. These particular articles not from The 4th ESTATE can be found in files donated to The Nova Scotia Archives by Brenda Large. The ones on pollution are kept in two boxes; MG1 Vol. 1433 and Vol. 1447.

Scott Maritimes Pulp Ltd. and Boat Harbour

The Controversy Permeates the Air on the Northumberland Strait

The pulp and paper mill of Scott Maritimes at Abercrombie Point outside of New Glasgow was one of the most significant pulp companies in Nova Scotia in terms of economic importance, ecological threat, and media attention. Boat Harbour, an inlet on the Northumberland Strait, was designated for Scott's waste flow of 24,000,000 U.S. gallons per day (Rust Associates, 1970, n.p.). The company had been incorporated in 1967 and is still operating today, but under a different name and ownership, Neenah Paper. A definition of water pollution is found in *Ecology, Pollution, Environment* (1972):

The pollution of water, then, is the addition of undesirable foreign matter which deteriorates the *quality* of the water. Water quality may be defined as its fitness for the beneficial uses which it has provided in the past — for drinking by man and animals, for the support for a wholesome marine life, for irrigation of the land, and for recreation. Pollutant foreign matter may

be either non-living, such as compounds of lead or mercury, or living, such as microorganisms. (Turk et al. p.110)

In most critical terms, water pollution and its impact on human beings may be more direct than perceived at a first glance. If marine life is tainted by industry effluent in any capacity, there is an inevitable threat to human beings who may consume shellfish, salmon, cod, or trout. While some members of the government did not appear alarmed that there existed a danger, various others in the community at large were deeply concerned. In an essay in *Teaching Maritime Studies*, Raymond P. Cote points out that in 1972, 500 people in Montreal and Quebec City were diagnosed with gastroenteritis after consuming tainted oysters from Caraquet Bay in New Brunswick (p. 263).

The Rust Report, formally entitled *A Review of the Boat Harbour Waste Treatment Facilities for Nova Scotia Water Resources Commission* (1970) was prepared by Rust Associates Ltd. in Montreal and commissioned by Nova Scotia Water Resources. Reports were collected from two engineering consultants, the Canada Fisheries Research Board, Canada Department of Fisheries, data from Scott Maritimes, and testimony from a public meeting on March 25, 1970, as well as research data collected by Dr. Gordon Ogden, a biology professor at Dalhousie University, who was featured frequently in The 4th ESTATE's various issues of general environmental coverage.

The report states that studies of the effects of Bleached Kraft Mill Effluent (BKME) had shown that effluent had caused both damage to the immediate environment and concern by various members of the public. It explains the problem was "esthetic" at Boat Harbour; that there are odours, insects, and discolouration of water. The document lists recommendations to control the problem, one being to continue using insecticides to

control the abundance of mosquitoes and other insects despite the fact that the first chemical used was inefficient in killing the pests.

The report's definition of the problem at Boat Harbour lists all concerns of the public, the last of which is "declining lobster catches" (p. 2). Based on the studies of Canada Fisheries Research Board (CFRB) and Canada Department of Fisheries (CDF), it asserts:

These agencies have studied the effects of...[BKME] on lobster larvae and adult lobsters and conclude that there are no detrimental effects. They also conclude that the decline in lobster catches is not attributable to the operation of either Scott Maritimes or Boat Harbour. (p. 3)

By 1971, the next year after the Rust Report was released, the Halifax *Chronicle Herald* addressed the issue of declining sea catch in the region of Boat Harbour. The article, "Davis Asked to Check Effluent from Scott" was published on July 24 and was reported from New Glasgow. The opening sentence sums up the gist of the piece like an inverted pyramid: "The Northumberland Strait pollution control committee has requested Environment Minister Jack Davis to check the outflow from Boat Harbor to determine if Scott Maritimes Pulp Ltd.'s effluent contains substances poisonous to fish" (p. ?).

From Premier Gerald Regan's point of view, according to the *Herald*, the government was still trying to decide the most feasible way to spend the allotted funds for the clean-up of Boat Harbour (more than 1.5 million dollars). Meanwhile, the protesters, formed with the name The Northumberland Strait Pollution Control Group, complained of sewage in East River, a noticeable decline in local fishing revenue, and government inaction.

The 4th ESTATE published both letters and articles surrounding the Boat Harbour controversy. One letter from a Dr. S. D. Wainwright of Rockingham, N.S. and captioned “Boat Harbour: ‘Crime Against Humanity!’” (1970), is clear, focused, and angry. Wainwright acknowledged recent legislation by the provincial government. However, Dr. Wainwright was deeply concerned because he felt there was a lack of *enforcement* of the legislation.

Wainwright was apparently inspired to write to The 4th ESTATE after seeing a CBC documentary titled *It’s All Gone Now* (April 19, 1970), which examined the “disaster” created from Scott Maritimes industry effluent. The video clip is currently available for viewing in CBC Television’s archives in Halifax. The documentary unfolds quietly like a drama or horror film. The scenery in it is mostly of Boat Harbour itself; a placid sea inlet, seemingly clean and serene at first glance. Subsequent shots, however, reveal a reporter scooping the effluent-based liquid into a tall glass vial. The content is described as being like “black coffee”, because of its dark colour and also its warm temperature. The narration by journalist Peter Brock of *It’s All Gone Now* is in simple diction; almost poetic in its language: “...For swimming, can’t do that anymore...waterskiing...can’t do that anymore...it’s all gone now...quiet, not a sound, eerie, like death. An Indian fishing ground...no one’s using it they said, let’s dump the effluent there...25 million gallons, 25 million gallons each day....”

The following quotations are from unnamed interviewees who were residents in the area of Boat Harbour in 1970 and were filmed in this documentary:

- “The flies are unbelievable.” [1/4 of a mile from the pipeline]
- “Not just lobster; people! People are involved!”

- “To me it’s like leading a blind man across the street and leaving him there.”
- “I shudder to think what it could be like in ten years time.”
- “The implications...are misleading and perhaps are meant to be.”

[Peter (Weston) Brock]

Dr. Wainwright, writing to the editors of The 4th ESTATE soon after viewing *It’s All Gone Now*, fervently explains mid-way through his letter, “This is more than a glaring example of placing the interests of private industry ahead of the welfare of the public” (1970, May 7, p. 8). Further on in his letter, it can be seen that Wainwright’s phrasing is used by the paper as a title, “We consider those responsible for the present situation at Boat Harbor to be guilty of a serious ‘crime against humanity’”. Finally, the editor’s note (p. 8) found at the bottom of the published letter promises that The 4th ESTATE will continue dedicating space in its paper to the “fight against pollution” and also points out that 22 other concerned citizens signed the letter.

The 4th ESTATE’s August 13, 1970 article, “The Boat Harbour Fiasco, Questions the Government Must Answer”, outlined the basis of the Rust Report, the data of Dr J. Gordon Ogden compiled in the Rust Report, and asked questions regarding the information available. Sketching a brief history of Scott Maritimes Pulp Ltd. in Port Hawkesbury, N.S., it highlights that Boat Harbour is approximately 335 acres and sits in the middle of an “Indian” reserve. Also pertinent to the paper’s story is that Scott Maritimes was paying “user-charges”, under an agreement with the Nova Scotia Water Resources Commission, directly to the province. This was in exchange for the government’s receiving and treatment of the mill’s waste. On a side-note, it is interesting

and perhaps also ironic that the Rust Report introduced its findings declaring that 24 million U.S gallons were dumped into Boat Harbour daily, *The Chronicle Herald* reported the figure as 22 million, while The 4th ESTATE explained that it was 20 million (the CBC film's narrator told of it being 25 million). More importantly, the editors of the The 4th ESTATE analysed the problem from their own perspective:

Any body of water can accommodate a certain amount of waste without its usefulness being impaired but when it becomes "overloaded" it becomes a menace to public health: fish and other desirable wildlife may be killed or disappear; swimming and other recreational activities are rendered unsafe and unpleasant; and the waste's colour, taste and smell offend and assail the senses, especially the nose. (p. 12)

The 4th ESTATE's piece goes on to list five of Dr. Ogden's findings, number 4 being, "That an absolute lack of predators guarantee a growing problem with mosquitoes". Ogden's suggestion was that there needed to be a radical change.

It seems The 4th ESTATE wished to contribute to that change by asking questions about the matter and, in turn, get its public thinking about the need for action and what could possibly be done. Questions in the concluding paragraphs of "The Boat Harbour Fiasco — Questions the Government Must Answer" are:

- How can the province of Nova Scotia collect "user-charges" if there is no record of the effluent dumped?
- What are the user charges?
- Have they been collected?

- Why did the provincial government accept Scott's effluent in the first place?
- Are the people of Nova Scotia expected to pay for Scott's waste treatment?



Figure 24: Used with permission from cartoonist Vance Rodewalt. On cover of *The 4th ESTATE*, June 16, 1976.

What action could the public, the Nova Scotia Water Commission, and Scott Maritimes Pulp Ltd. have taken to limit Boat Harbour's pollution

and to sustain this pulp and paper company in Nova Scotia? Almost forty years later the situation at Boat Harbour has not changed much. Ross MacFarlane, a landowner in Pictou Landing, wrote a "Special to The Daily News" 2007 story, "Pollution Continues to be Long-term Problem for Pictou". His frustration may be seen in his factual statements, as well his language and questions. The following quotations are extracted from MacFarlane's article:

Foul Odor Persists

- The fumes belching from Abercrombie Point, and the devastation of Boat Harbour and the coastline, have resulted in significant depression of county land values and many lost opportunities.

Pictou will never realize its great potential from recent redevelopment of its historic waterfront under the current fume-laden atmosphere that prevails in the warm summer breezes.... Tourists leave with only memories of the smell. This is devastating publicity for Pictou's, as well as the county's, future."

Harmony with their Communities

- This is Canada, not a Third World country. It's 2007, not 1962. Mills of the same vintage as the Abercrombie Mill have been successfully cleaned up and operate today in full compliance and harmony with their communities.

Will there be a Solution?

- How can our government challenge the terrible fumes belching from Abercrombie Point while being responsible for Boat Harbour?

(April 25, 2007, p. 15)

Bowater Mersey Paper Company Limited

Editorial Controversy in U.S. Capital

In 1929, the town of Liverpool, located on Nova Scotia's scenic south shore, became home to a pulp and paper mill that altered the pace, culture, and economy of a historical village in growing need of improved employment and fresh identity within its

province, within its country. By the 1970s, the local residents had grown reliant on the mill, especially for steady and decent paychecks. In general, there was greater wealth overall in the region of Queen's County because of Bowater Mersey Pulp and Paper mill, which still stands majestically over Liverpool's small harbour.

Almost half of Bowater's ownership was *The Washington Post* (49%) in 1970 and this publication benefited doubly as it made a viable profit in Canada from the company and got its paper from the mill for its pages for print. In late 1970, The Post's competitor, *Washington Monthly*, took exception to *The Washington Post's* questionable declarations about pollution concerns in Liverpool, and subsequently published pieces on the topic, including columns, editorials, and letters. These articles were collected by 4th ESTATE Editor Brenda Large and can be found in The Nova Scotia Archives in her pollution files.

Writer Dirk van Loon brought the topic of pollution in Liverpool to *Washington Monthly's* readers (and perhaps some of the *Post's* too) in an in-depth article in the December 1970 issue. Van Loon had moved to Liverpool and was appalled by what was going on there ecologically. He integrated into his column pieces of letters written between himself and executives of *The Washington Post* and Bowater Mersey. The correspondence continued in *Washington Monthly's* February 1971 issue with a letter of retort by the president of *The Washington Post*, Paul R. Ignatius. Both articles in *Washington Monthly* are entitled "Pure Thoughts and Dirty Water".

Dirk Van Loon's December 1970 article was predominantly a letter spanning four pages. It was dated November 7, 1970 from Liverpool, N.S., and was addressed to Paul R. Ignatius, President of *The Washington Post*. Preceding the letter are two introductory

paragraphs, while the article ends without final remarks by the writer as the last lines of Van Loon's letter are sufficiently explicit.

Van Loon began by blasting the poor environmental situation in Liverpool, blaming none other than Bowater Mersey Paper Mill. He stated, "My shock was overwhelming — as if I had learned that Winston Churchill had run guns to the Germans, or that Ralph Nader was a front man for the FTC, or that Vince Lombardi had given his plays to the other team" (p. 20). Midway through Van Loon's letter to Ignatius, he continues to paint a picture of dismay, described vividly enough that one can sense the odour experienced in the town of Liverpool and surrounding area:

The odor of sulfur dioxide is sharp and pervasive. It can be smelled 20 miles downwind from the Bowater Mersey mill. Within five or six miles it is strong enough to sting the nostrils. In the immediate vicinity of the mill, occasional temperature inversions trap the gases. Lawns turn brown. (p. 22)

Van Loon had researched solids and chemical discharge into the estuary caused by the mill. He throws many figures at Ignatius; for instance, he is deeply concerned that there were 14.5 tons of "wood fiber, bark, grit, and dirt" (p. 21) and that 180 tons of chemicals were released into the Mersey River daily. He complains of an acidic pH of 4.8 to 5.2. This contamination was the result of producing, in Van Loon's estimation, 180,000 tons of newsprint per year.

Reading the published letter to Ignatius, one may get the feeling that it is, indeed, an article designed for the press. The lengthy letter itself includes four passages printed in *The Washington Post* by its editors and also one from a letter received by Van Loon from

Ignatius. It may slip a reader's mind that the letter is a story of correspondence rather than a columnist's article. An example of a passage (1970, March 18) quoted in the letter indicates that *The Washington Post* editors certainly wrote of environmentalism with conviction:

...This is what the politicians and other leaders should begin talking about: that the environment will not be saved — and ourselves with it — by some kind of vague, collective “concern.” It will be saved — if it is saved — by specific, individual sacrifice of personal comfort and economic growth. This is a dismal thought, perhaps, but easier to live with than the environment we will encounter in good time if we do not face up to it. (p. 22).

This letter to Ignatius also describes Van Loon's meeting with Mr. M. G. Green, president of Bowater Mersey, set up by the president of *The Washington Post*. Van Loon admitted that he was heartened that Bowater Mersey was thinking of spending between \$750,000 and a million dollars for treatment at their facility. However, Van Loon soon felt that the plans were too vague. Later on in the paragraph concerning Bowater Mersey's plans, Van Loon presents a visual scene in the locale, “The beaches of Sandy Cove just west of the mill are drifted high with the rotting remains of weed chips and fibers, and the company has no plans to restore the miles of beaches” (p. 23). Van Loon seems both amused and horrified with the ironic reality that *The Washington Post's* enterprise produced pollution while the newspaper protested fervently that it was against it. The letter (and article) ends ridiculing the *Post's* editorial:

In the absence of such honesty, editorials like the one on February 11, 1970, may turn back on you some day:

The deep horror concerning the environment is not that we have ravaged and poisoned our section of the planet — but that we live with the horror so calmly.

Sincerely, yours,

Dirk Van Loon

The President of *The Washington Post*, Mr. Ignatius, responded to Van Loon with a letter of his own which was published in *Washington Monthly* in February 1971, two months later. In “Letters”, the “Pure Thoughts and Dirty Water” debate continued. Ignatius addressed many of the important points made by Van Loon. With regards to pulp and paper mills in general, he contested that they all pollute, but that Bowater Mersey wasn’t as bad as some as it is located on the ocean as opposed to a lake or stream, and secondly, that it is a “sulphite mill rather than a sulphate mill” (p. 4), which he explained is better in terms of foul odor such as that of rotten eggs.

Ignatius flatly denied some of Van Loon’s charges. Whereas Van Loon had stated that fish and plant life were dying in the area surrounding Bowater Mersey, Ignatius quotes the plant’s chemist, “No dead fish have been observed in Liverpool Bay to my knowledge. Salmon still go up river as far as the river dams will allow, and Pollock, cod and mackerel can be caught from the breakwater a quarter mile below the mill” (p. 5). Concerning the pH levels (Van Loon was concerned that they were 4.8 to 5.2), Ignatius

defends that this level is precisely the same as the natural source of water used by the mill.

As for the odour of the mill operation, Ignatius relayed in his letter to *Washington Monthly* that the president of Bowater Mersey had relayed to him that it can only be detected at certain times, three or four times a year, for several hours. Concluding his letter, he reconfirmed the ecological concern that *The Washington Post* had and would continue to have.

The editors of the *Washington Monthly* add at the bottom of Ignatius's letter that they were pleased to publish the full text of his letter and that they only regret that Van Loon's letter was not printed in *The Washington Post*.

Bowater Mersey in Liverpool is still today providing employment and can now boast of an abatement program that treats its waste thoroughly. Although the town's tap water has become unfit for drinking, it is hoped that with limits on pollution the quality of the water will be sustained in the future.

The Elusive E. L. Rowe (or E. L. L. Rowe)

Interview with the Chairman of the N.S. Water Resources Commission

E. L. Rowe was the chairman of the Nova Scotia Water Resources Commission in 1970 and was the contact person for journalists with any questions to do with the provincial government's department dealing with water. The 4th ESTATE published an article to do with Bowater's effluent, "Bowater Mersey, N.S. Pulp Ltd. Have Major Pollution Problems" (1971, August 26). Journalist Glen Wanamaker explained that the

problems in Liverpool were more severe than at N.S. Pulp in Port Hawkesbury. He also pointed out that the pollution in Boat Harbour wasn't necessarily worse, just more "visible". E. L. Rowe is quoted as saying in the article, "The amount of effluent is about what you'd expect would come from any sulphite mill" (p. 17). Wanamaker paraphrases Rowe, who apparently felt that the exact measurement of effluent is "not of that great importance when it is already known that there is widespread pollution from the mill and nothing is being done about it" (p. 17).

Halifax journalist Stephen Kimber (who for a time worked for The 4th ESTATE) wrote of his interview with E. L. Rowe in "Industry Winning Pollution War" (1970, January 19, *The Dalhousie Gazette*). The article shows a photograph of Rowe drawing on a cigarette. Kimber personifies Rowe in his introduction:

To reporters he is an enigma, a puzzle that they have never bothered to piece together. When they need the government side of a story on pollution they invariably contact Rowe. Yet, while his name now appears almost daily in the press and on the radio, few reporters know anything about him. "I've called him dozens of times", a Halifax reporter confessed when I asked about Rowe, "but I've never met him and I really don't know anything about his background". (p. 11)

Kimber's article outlined the drawbacks to pollution control, made more complicated when Nova Scotia as a province was in more desperate need of boosting its industrial scope on the national stage of economics. Rowe's sentiments appear to be summed up in two of his sentences, "All pollution abatement is basically a financial problem. If it was cheap, everyone would do it" (p. 11).

By the 1970s, individuals and institutions reluctant to be a part of a new environmental friendliness were beginning to be criticized publicly. Glen Wanamaker in *The 4th ESTATE* passed the word about the negative press received by *The Washington Post* in the pages of the *Washington Monthly*. He referred to *The Washington Post* in his article on Bowater Mersey as “a newspaper which has been quite outspoken in fighting pollution in the United States, but found it very embarrassing recently when information of their own mill reached the U.S. press” (p. 17).

Anil/Louisiana Pacific in East Chester, N.S.

Clips on Anil hardboard plant from the 1970s — The 4th ESTATE

Anil Canada Ltd. was a company with a hardboard plant in East Chester, Nova Scotia. It began business there in 1967, collecting logs of trees delivered by large trucks and processing the wood into hardboard. A similar process is still taking place today in the exact same East Chester plant, only by different workers and by a different company, an American one. The pollution caused by the plant in the early seventies was of grave concern to some local residents, and as well, of great interest to the Halifax newspaper media, particularly *The 4th ESTATE*. The following is an analysis of some of the articles written by *The 4th ESTATE* from 1970 to 1975 on the Anil hardboard plant.

1970 — ANIL POLLUTING MAHONE BAY — Marine Life Dying

Nick Fillmore laid out the bottom line in his first sentence in this November 12, 1970 story which addressed environmental concerns: “Pollution abatement measures at Anil Canada Limited’s hardboard plant at East Chester are unable to cope with the plant’s

daily discharge, and it may take strict enforcement of the new Canada Water Act to bring the matter under control” (p. 1).

Fillmore criticized the Nova Scotia Water Resources Commission for not being “tough” enough on the plant and explained how there was the potential of them being fined \$5,000 per day for polluting the water under a new Canada Water Act. The writer paraphrased E. L. L Rowe, chair of the commission, who said that “the effluent was not toxic and that there are other pollution problems facing Nova Scotia that are more serious” (p. 24).

One may be suspicious of Rowe’s comment when local residents around Chester were observing dying fish. Halfway through Fillmore’s article he wrote that, “[Mr. L. H. Coffin, Anil General Manager] said the aeration scheme was working, but reports from the Chester area indicate fish that have been seen swimming into Mahone Bay in the area of the Anil plant, swim to the surface of the water, gasping for oxygen. Local residents refuse to eat fish caught in the area and one fisherman was reported to have sold an entire catch for bait when it was learned he had caught them in Mahone Bay” (p.22).

1973 — How Dangerous Is Anil pollution?

Mike Graham wrote an East River report concerning an Anil plant worker named Rod Hayward on October 4th, 1973. Hayward is presented as a “man-in-the-middle”, as he yearns to speak out against the pollution in his home area caused by the plant, and by the same token, is serious about keeping his job there. A one sentence paragraph in The 4th ESTATE piece summarizes the different levels of apprehension experienced by the Anil worker: “Like many of the other 700 plant workers he was living a schizoid life —

railing at the pollution while at home yet [sic] afraid to speak out for fear that he would lose his job if the plant closed” (p.3).

Graham unravelled the story of how Hayward’s union card was threatened to be pulled as he had organized a protest and petition in East River. According to this article, Hayward mustered up the bravado to post a sign on his front door that read, “My job has been threatened because I believe the Anil plant should clean up” (p. 3).

Essential questions inherent in Hayward’s petition are published for The 4th ESTATE readers, such as what were the contents of the effluent rushing out to sea and would this be threatening the health of consumers of nearby shellfish.

1973 — “*The Anil Story*”: A History of Wishful Thinking and Lack of Foresight

Within the October ’73 Ecology Supplement of The 4th ESTATE’s October 18th issue, Halifax freelance journalist Rorie Smith unleashed an unprecedented in-depth piece on Anil and the six year operation to date. Smith was reportedly the first journalist to visit the plant in its controversial history — “It is an interesting comment on the local media”, a line in the introduction to this article reads (p. 5).

This article spreads across an entire page with an aerial photograph of the hardboard plant in the centre. The subtitles throughout “The Anil Story” tell a story collectively: “RIVER BROWN FROM EFFLUENT”, “NO GOVERNMENT STUDIES”, “SETTLING PONDS INCREASED”, UNANSWERED QUESTIONS REMAIN, and “WOULD DO IT DIFFERENTLY”.

Smith undoubtedly exposed the Anil hardboard plant for blatant pollution of East River and Mahone Bay; however, he unfolded the pieces of the story objectively, looking

at both the government's and the company's points of view. For example, while on one hand he wrote, "It used to be a good trout river but it is now dead to all but the lowest forms of marine life", later on the same page Smith touched upon Environmental Minister Glen Bagnell's dilemma: "He recognizes the seriousness of the pollution problem but says he can't push Anil too hard in case Anil 'mail me the keys and leave'". With regard to advocating on the company's behalf, Smith pointed out, "There is no doubt that Anil has made some attempts to clean up the plant." As well, Smith speaks in terms of what Bob Manuge, Anil's most up-to-date general manager, had confided: "But they feel that within the limits of their finances and technology...they're doing the best they can."

Nevertheless, The 4th ESTATE in this piece still had pertinent questions about how and why this situation of utter contamination had happened. As with the coverage on Scott Maritimes, writers for the paper did not hesitate to clearly ask those questions, as unremittingly as a child might, but in published form; regardless of how uncomfortable it may have made the persons connected with the area under discussion feel, and also, regardless if they were to get a clear answer from them:

- Why was the plant built in a relatively populated area in the first place?
- Why wasn't a buffer zone put around the plant so that the immediate residents would not be disturbed?
- Why hasn't the company taken more time to inform the local residents about what they are doing as regards the pollution?
- What is the true financial position of the company?

- What is to be done about the air pollution arising from the plant's effluent?
- What is perhaps more to the point, why weren't more adequate pollution safeguards taken to begin with, and then again when the plant expanded? (p. 5).

A government grant to help with clean up was hoped for by Anil and the report by Rorie Smith states that if one came through it would have been unprecedented. If one wasn't to be forthcoming, it was suggested that Anil might manage to get a bank loan to help repair the environment contaminated by the plant's operation.

4. The 4th ESTATE, September 18, 1969

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 Managing Editor: Nick Fullmer

"If I was not always right, I was looking for the right."
Upton Sinclair

NO INFLUENCE IN OTTAWA

Before the Atlantic Development Board passed into history five months ago, both James MacKinnon, the former ADB chairman, and Joseph A. Likely of St. John's, the former vice-chairman, called on the government to establish a body of private citizens to advise Jean Marchand and his new Department of Regional Economic Expansion on development policies affecting the Atlantic Provinces.

The ADB and such other regional development programs as the Area Development Agency, ARDA and FRED were absorbed by the new department when it was officially born on April 1. The legislation also provided for an Atlantic Development Council (ADC), much as Mr. MacKinnon and Mr. Likely had advocated. It was in Mr. Likely's words, "no advice - and, if need be, to admonish" Mr. Marchand and his department on Atlantic regional matters.

Shortly after, the ADC was given tangible existence when W. Y. Smith, a University of New Brunswick economics professor and former APEC president, was named chairman. In an interview with the Toronto Globe and Mail, Mr. Smith emphasized that the ADC was not going to be a passive body to rubberstamp the actions of the regional development department. It would, he said, have ideas of its own for a strategy of Atlantic development which it would insist be listened to.

That was the last we have heard of the Atlantic Development Council. The other 10 members of Mr. Smith's council have not been appointed, nor have any appointments to the permanent staff of the council been announced. Mr. Smith remains a one-man gang and a very silent gang it has been.

In the meantime, new industrial incentives legislation has been passed and Mr. Marchand's department is well advanced in its planning and programs for the Atlantic Provinces. By the time the government gets around to making the ADC operational, it will be a council without a cause.

Mr. Marchand might be advised to forget the whole thing. It is apparent that the ADC can have little if any effect on the actions of the Department of Regional Economic Expansion. Better that the council die - thereby then create the illusion that the Atlantic Provinces actually enjoy some influence or control over Ottawa's regional development schemes.

"No, it wasn't from the pollution, it was shock!"

STANFIELD AND THE GUARANTEED INCOME

Robert L. Stanfield may be in for the fight of his political career at the upcoming P.C. Thinkers' Conference on the weekend of October 11. He's previous to urging up on his party acceptance of the concept of providing a Guaranteed Annual Income program for all Canadians.

Mind, it is not yet clear just what Mr. Stanfield has in mind nor is it impossible that he has not fully evolved his thinking on the matter. This was indicated at the brief news conference in Halifax early this month.

Nonetheless, his basic idea of developing a GAI program has to be a major departure in the history of Conservatism in Canada.

In essence, Mr. Stanfield seems to be saying that a GAI program would mean an improvement over the existing welfare system because it would leave the recipient with a sense of freedom and a sense of independence especially because any workable GAI program would carry with it built-in incentives for persons to better themselves.

It would also free trained welfare workers to tackle some of the non-financial problems of the poor and free them from their existing work as little more than grocery clerks.

As indicated, the 4th ESTATE does not know exactly what Mr. Stanfield has in mind but he is doing the nation a real service in stimulating debate on a course that appears to us to be the only certain method of ensuring that no Canadian will be forced to live in abject poverty and degradation.

THE 4th ESTATE

\$4.75 for 52 issues \$2.50 for 26 issues

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Figure 25: The 4th ESTATE Editorial, September 18, 1969.

1974 — “Organized Citizens Fight Anil Pollution”

One may deduce by reading the article “Organized Citizens Fight Anil Pollution” that the problem with Anil was on a road with a solution in sight. The story was written on December 12th by freshly employed Associate Editor Ralph Surette.

Anil had finally made a proposal to clean up 80% of its toxic waste. Citizens’ groups such as the South Shore Environmental Protection Association felt it should be brought up to 97%.

A new government environmental commission for Nova Scotia had been formed by this time, the Environment Control Council. It employed three men, one of whom was the former water commission chairman, E. L. L. Rowe; another was working as president and chairman, Charles Campbell.

It had been stated at a recent hearing that Anil pollution was as great as the city of Halifax’s. The potential reality of this must have been fodder for the fight for the citizens of East River. Robert Whiting of the South Shore Environmental Protection Association was quoted as saying, “There is no way we can let up on them now” (p. 4).

In the other corner of the ring, manager Bob Manuge argued that his company had spent more than \$800,000 on pollution abatement that did not work.

1975 — “More Time Needed by Anil”

Over a year after “The Anil Story” in October 1973, on February 20th, 1975 the Anil story was revisited. The pressure to clean up the plant had heated more increasingly as the ECC, Nova Scotia’s new Environmental Control Council, tabled the “gross pollution” (quoted from the ECC report) issue in the legislature. It was now stipulated at this point that Anil should find the means of cleaning up the residue physically emitting

from the plant in several different forms. A ten-page report was drawn up by the ECC as a result of meetings with citizens' groups in the area of East River.

The costs of abatement were to be born by Anil, but help could be available through Industrial Estates, who helped finance the business in the first place.

The ECC referred to foul odours in the area, red dust which could be seen on snow and clothes hanging out on lines to dry, as well as unpleasant industrial noise.

1975 — “Get Serious with Anil”

On September 17th, The 4th ESTATE published a letter from a Mr. Robert Isaacs of Hubbards, Nova Scotia, a community just south of East River. Mr. Isaacs had been led to write a letter as he had recently read in the *Halifax Mail-Star* of how Inland Steel Company had been fined 1.9 million dollars for polluting Lake Michigan. He asks the question, why can't Anil get fined? If it were, he concludes, the Nova Scotia government would make money and it would also prevent other industries from polluting.

1976 — “Anil Deal Was Collusion, Says Jolly”

According to this June 30th economic article by Lyndon Watkins, Anil had gone bankrupt. The full-page article (p. 7) with photos does not make allusion to the pollution problem. It is essentially a report on an interview with Govin Jolly, who was president of Anil Canada. The reason blamed for the shut down was because of the U.S. recession. Most of the shipment of hardboard was to the States and the sales there had gone down drastically. The hardboard plant known as Anil was shut down for good.

LP: Louisiana Pacific

Owners of the Old Anil Plant

The closest it appears an outsider can get to what is going on at the old Anil plant is to drive to the front gate. There, you may inquire with a solitary worker about who to talk to regarding environmental matters while hefty trucks stacked with incredibly long tree stems drive by noisily and clumsily. After explaining the purpose of your inquiry, that employee may readily provide a name and a phone number for you to call. However, a researcher full of serious questions may or may not find it so uncomplicated later to get through to a spokesperson that is as forthright in discussing any of this company's affairs.

The name of Anil has changed several times since the seventies, perhaps as many as six times. The locals of East River, in 2006, refer to the plant as "L.P.," which stands for Louisiana Pacific, a huge American company that has an infamous reputation with environmental groups who lobby against cutting California Redwood trees.

As far as newspaper archives of Atlantic dailies are concerned, there appear to have been no stories on Louisiana Pacific in East River published in the last couple of decades. Journalist Ralph Surette, who wrote of Anil in the seventies, commented in interview that he had not read anything about the hardboard plant in a long time.

Eco-Efficiency Centre is a Business Assistance Program in Nova Scotia that helps increase environmental awareness for small and medium-sized manufacturers. Their website has a page featuring Louisiana Pacific Corporation at their East River Mill. While Anil had a larger workforce of 700 employees, the current mill employs half the number, 350. According to the web page, the hardboard plant "strives to be environmentally responsible" and "successfully implemented a composting operation

which converts plant wastes to a saleable compost product and wood waste...as a fuel to produce steam”. The page also indicates that Louisiana Pacific in East River is considering converting from heavy fuel oil to dual fuel, allowing for the utilization of wood waste as fuel.

Louisiana Pacific as a corporation is based in the United States, as mentioned previously. To environmentalists there, the problem is no longer as much to do with air, water, odour, or noise pollution as it is to do with the cutting of trees, especially ones of rare species or mature trees. Judi Bari is a radical environmentalist who strove to stop large logging companies from cutting indiscriminately. In her speech in front of Louisiana Pacific’s new chipping mill in Ukiah on June 16, 1989 and published in her book, *Timber Wars*, she wanted to make it clear that her group, Earth First! was not out to criticize loggers or mill workers, but only the president of Louisiana Pacific, who she quoted as saying that the company will log until “infinity” (p. 21). This extreme group in the 1990s was known to physically stand in the way of logging trucks.

Through examination of The 4th ESTATE’s five years of coverage in East River and concentration on what is going on in the same plant thirty years later, it can be seen that a company such as a hardboard one, like Anil Canada or Louisiana Pacific Corporation, has the tendency to brush disagreeably against journalists, but very much more so against environmentalists with a revolutionary bent.

Brown with Anger

Two journalists discussed in this chapter used the word “brown” to describe the remnants of industrial operation. Rorie Smith of The 4th ESTATE used it to head a

section in his article, “River Brown From Effluent” in East River, while American writer Dirk van Loon rather facetiously reported that “Lawns turn brown” in Liverpool. The colour brown holds multifold meaning as it is a sickening of the hue green, which not only indicates the healthy vivid colour of grass, plants, or trees, but also symbolizes something politically; the pursuit of environmentalism, most notably by the turn of the twentieth century.

In the newspaper material reviewed and analysed concerning pollution by industry in the 1970s in Nova Scotia, a degree of irritation can be noted. Editors were compelled to publish letters from disheartened members of the community.

On the other hand, people in industries like pulp and paper or logging were feeling cuts. Ron Hayward, for example, had a job at the Anil plant doing work that he was consciously aware had ill effects. He felt further trapped as he had no other comparable job in the area to pick up. Even the manager of a plant like Anil (L.H. Coffin in 1970 and Bob Manuge in 1975) found it difficult to control production effectively and also manage to limit pollution. In terms of government, Environment Minister Glen Bagnell or Nova Scotia Water Resources chair E. L. L. Rowe were under intense pressure to make changes on alarmingly opposing sides.

Newspapers such as The 4th ESTATE provided education, information and a forum for debate on industry pollution. The paper tended to declare a point of view on topics associated with it and often came up with questions that the writers felt the public needed answers to. The controversies were heated and the hope for action even more so. Concern about the environment developed in the seventies and prevention of greenery-turned-brown was being demanded in a new fashion. A solution seemed to be on the

horizon and to a great extent this would be achieved by continuation of lobbying and publishing. All that was truly needed was time.

CHAPTER SEVEN: INTO THE WOODS

“...Almost taste the scent of fresh green...”

Shelagh Rogers, Broadcaster

Halifax CBC Radio Two

May 14, 2007

“There’s huge economic value in wood.”

Halifax CBC Radio One — Interviewee

November 8, 2006

Jodie Couture, 11, spends a lot of time worrying about deforestation, global warming and energy conservation. “When I see a forest being cut down, it makes me really sad”, said the Christmas Park Elementary School Grade 6 student. “If we don’t make a difference fast, it won’t be good in the future.” (p. 6)

“Global Warming is a Big Thing for Me”

Kristin Morency

The Suburban West Island Edition, Montreal

“Quebec’s Largest English Weekly Newspaper”

December 13, 2006

Cuts from History

The technology associated with cutting down trees has evolved drastically over the centuries. By the same token, social perceptions involved with cutting trees have also evolved drastically, only more intensely and most significantly within the last third of the twentieth century. Ralph S. Johnson was chief forester for Bowater Mersey in Liverpool, Nova Scotia for over 30 years. In his book, *Forests of Nova Scotia* (1986), he portrays in a glimpse of Nova Scotia's history the French at Port Royal at the turn of the seventeenth century. Logs were then cut in amounts perhaps without measurement with axes (tools which had become good trade for furs with Natives). Johnson continues to chronicle the evolution of forest technology with the event of the first sawmill in America, "a waterpowered pit saw or whip sawmill", in 1612 (p. 25). Also in the seventeenth century, explorer Nicolas Denys wrote of his adventures in the forests of Nova Scotia throughout his life until his death in 1688. He is now famous for what he documented so avidly. Johnson quotes a passage from Denys describing the forest untouched by mass clearing or modern industry:

All the trees are very fine and large. There are oaks, beeches, maples, black birches, cedars, pines, firs and every other kind of woods. Seven or eight leagues up [East River, Pictou], there is a little island covered with the same woods and grape vines. The land on both sides of the river towards its source is covered with large and small pines for a league. The land and trees are better inland where the beeches are large in height and thickness. (p. 27)

Over 400 years later, the process of forest clearing had gone so far as to establish itself into an industry vibrant with the advancement of technology available. From the mid-twentieth century onward this went on to increase appreciably with each decade. L. Anders Sandberg and Peter Clancy wrote in an Atlantic Canadian text on forest industry workers, *Against the Grain* (2000), “While pulp cutting was done by woods crew with hand tools well into the 1960s, since then there has been a transition toward large-scale mechanical harvesting. Pulpwood contractors perform this task with skidders, forwarders, and tree harvesters, often working around the clock to make payments on their machines and to feed the pulp mills’ insatiable hunger for fibre” (p. 15).

Against the Grain chronicles the working histories of seven prominent foresters in Nova Scotia. The work is valuable as it is meant to encapsulate the “rich variety” in Nova Scotia’s forest history. The writers speak idealistically of how to sample what has happened in this province and in this profession:

It would include careers spent in industry, government, and the voluntary sector. It would also explore practices such as corporate woodland management, Crown land management, research, extension or private lands forestry, service to trade associations, and government policy making. This is a tall order, and it points to the need for careful choice. (p. 17)

An “Environmental Movement”???

In terms of the decade of the 1970s, according to Sandberg and Clancy, the years were “transitional” (p. 19) and it was only the beginning of industrial silviculture in Canada. With careful examination of letters and articles of the seventies time period, it may be clearly seen that deep concern over the forest in Nova Scotia prevailed. Documents pertaining to the early years of the seventies and The 4th ESTATE are available in Brenda Large’s box files at the Nova Scotia Archives. Murray Prest, who wrote articles for The 4th ESTATE on the topic of forestry, and chaired the Sawmill Stabilization Committee of the Nova Scotia Forest Products Association, was the author of an article in *ECO Newsletter* (May 1970). It is entitled, “Nova Scotia’s Forest Heritage” and shows the writer’s unease regarding the need for secure silviculture in view of plans on the part of the government to cut more trees than traditionally forested. Criticism of the 1970 state of forestry affairs was made known in the region through local media. Environmentalists such as Murray Prest in Nova Scotia were comparing their own province with other areas of the world where they believed the sector was better organized. These words are underlined in blue ink on the white newsletter originally stored in Large’s files at The 4th ESTATE’s downtown office on Blowers Street (finally situated on Hollis Street):

The forestry section of the Nova Scotia Development Plan for 1970–71 stresses the need for a perpetual yield of up to three times the present productive level. This is an excellent long-range objective but does not

provide an immediate answer nor an immediate program of reforestation and silvicultural techniques designed to achieve this objective. It certainly indicates that we are staking our future and that of our children on a forest management concept that is already being abandoned in other countries (n.p.).

By the turn of 1970 there appears to have been a movement in ecology that was rather undefined and perhaps unasserted; however, in its small numbers, it was deep rooted and full of conviction and passion. According to Associate Editor Ralph Surette (then of The 4th ESTATE; in the 1980s working for *Atlantic Insight*; and currently a columnist for *The Chronicle-Herald*), an “environmental movement” per se, was not something he was consciously aware of. In interview he explained that Rachel Carson’s *Silent Spring* and the analysis of DDT dangers was certainly a starting point for tremendous change. But to Surette, he personally found that the environment naturally signified an important concept all by itself:

I never thought of it as a movement, basically I was connected to nature and I saw that as being devastated.... And so in the beginning it was chemical pollution and it was part of the whole context of issues, Agent Orange stuff in Vietnam, Love Canal, I don’t know if that rings a bell with you, massive chemical dump in upstate New York was a huge issue back in the sixties or seventies and all of a sudden there was this awareness of chemicals, the DDT issue and so on and then I think there was an awareness, at least on my part, we were destroying too much in order to feed industrial society.

Surette spoke as well of the concern over too many trees being cut down in the area of Nova Scotia: “Although perhaps the one thing that was annoying me the most was the clear cutting. I grew up at the forest and so on here was, here it was just being wiped out”.

Apprehension regarding clear cutting at this time was ignited sporadically but intensely. K.W. Robb, the Nova Scotia Land Surveyor, wrote a three page brief (June 2, 1970) to The Honourable George Snow, Minister of Lands and Forests in Nova Scotia. The document was kept by Brenda Large and written of as well in *The Chronicle Herald* sixteen days later. Robb’s brief is indicative of unashamed outrage and the expectation of dire change. The provincial land surveyor is promoting selective cutting and outlines in detail how and why a new approach should be taken. Robb begins patiently but frankly:

Dear Mr. Snow:

The fact that we are wasting and mismanaging our forest resources here in Nova Scotia continues to cause alarm to many Nova Scotians over your department’s lack of initiative and leadership in implementing a proper scheme to protect our forest heritage. I find it difficult to believe that your department has shown such a lack of concern over the serious problems that are arising daily in our forest resources due mainly to policies adopted by your government. It is becoming increasingly clear that something must be done. (p. 1)

Robb took exception to the provincial government’s “indifference” to the lack of policies concerning pulp and paper and points to the United States Forest Service as a role model that has classified selection cutting. Interestingly, Robb explained in his brief

that some members of government are also alarmed but “they are afraid to speak out because of fear of reprisals”, while members of pulpwood companies seem to lean toward being in favour of clear cutting.

Robb pleads for there to be better forest management in Nova Scotia and goes so far as to offer photographs of how the forest looks after these cuttings. His request is to ultimately protect the forest for “economic use and natural enjoyment”.

This brief spawned a trail of published and unpublished stories in the media. For instance, *The Chronicle Herald* analysed the K.W. Robb brief in its article, “Accuses Government of ‘Indifference’”. *Herald* Staff Writer Peter Meerburg wrote this and it was published on June 18, 1970. The article is essentially a factual description of the brief. It accurately describes the Land Surveyor’s letter to the Minister of Lands and Forests, the Honourable George Snow. In addition, Meerburg does enlighten readers on Snow’s reaction to Robb’s well-circulated brief.



Figure 26: Used with permission from cartoonist Vance Rodewalt. Page 3 of *The 4th ESTATE*, September 15, 1976.

One can easily imagine how the recipient of the brief took exception to it by these lines in *The Chronicle Herald* journalist's report:

Asked to comment on the brief, Mr. Snow said he did not wish to become embroiled in a "newspaper war" with Mr. Robb....Mr. Snow said that if Mr. Robb is genuinely concerned about clear-cutting procedures, he is prepared to conduct a tour of sections of the province which were clear-cut 25 years ago, and have now been regenerated. (p. 5)

The 4th ESTATE Writes with Concern on Forestry

In The 4th ESTATE's February 11th, 1971 issue two stories on forestry take up two pages. In May 1972 the paper put out a special section entitled "Forestry '72" which comprises three articles over four pages. By September of the same year, the newspaper published an Ecology Supplement which included a lengthy article on the need for better forest management in Nova Scotia and was written by two members of the Ecology Action Centre. Dulcie Conrad wrote of the threat of the lumber industry by Scott Maritimes on April 5, 1973, while Ralph Surette analysed the sawmill industry and its potential demise on account of government and pulp mill companies on March 14, 1974.

Proactive; Murray Prest and Nick Fillmore

Murray Prest, previously referred to regarding his words in the May 1970 Eco Newsletter, was also a Tory nominee against Garnet Brown in 1969. At this time he was a forest operator from Mooseland, in Halifax County. On February 11, 1971, his fervent article was published in The 4th ESTATE, alongside Nick Fillmore's "Raping The Forests

For Short-term Employment”. Prest wrote “Indiscriminate Clearcutting Killing Nova Scotia’s Forest Heritage”. The article shows not only how adamant the writer was in his views, but also how intimate he was with his topic. He reflected on history and law in forestry, e.g., by mentioning the Small Tree Act of 1946 and a principle that was laid down in Washington State Court. Prest quoted from the American court of around this time on how forestry should be handled with the “utmost care”: “An unwritten compact between the dead, the living, and the unborn, requires that we, the living, leave the unborn something more than debts and depleted natural resources” (p. 10).

Prest soon addressed clear cutting head on. The subheading in the article here is “NOT ALL CLEARCUTTING IS BAD”. He goes on to make the argument that if it is done discriminately, this is acceptable:

Clearcutting, when carried out on a restricted area, governed by species, the age of the trees, effects on regeneration, and watershed, becomes in itself, selective. But when cutting is carried out, with the main objective being only to harvest all the wood fibre possible, in the cheapest way possible, in complete disregard for the consequences, it becomes indiscriminate clearcutting. (p. 10)

Prest also explains in this article how with so many large patches of trees gone, soil nutrients are lost in water run off into the streams. The following lines continue to show how dire Prest believed the cutting situation was in the forest:

If the cost of re-establishing a forest was added to the harvest cost, then I am sure we would find it less costly to practice selective cutting....

Indiscriminate clearcutting will eliminate the large trees needed to supply

sawlogs; This, in turn, will mean elimination of the sawmills.... Morally and socially, indiscriminate clearcutting is wrong—even if carried out only on land controlled by the operator.... Indiscriminate clearcutting is socially wrong when it destroys future productive capabilities of the land. It is eliminating that heritage which rightfully belongs to youth. Those persons and industries responsible for such practices are generating social unrest and disenchantment with our present system. (p. 11)

Nick Fillmore's squared off small article may be found on the same page as the first half of Prest's: "Raping The Forests For Short-term Employment". It explains that Prest's article on indiscriminate clear cutting was actually the text of an address he had made to the Nova Scotia Products Association in Truro the week before. Fillmore wrote that "[Prest] is one of a very few native Nova Scotians who has had the courage to speak out publicly against indiscriminate clearcutting" (p. 10).

Fillmore rests the blame for indiscriminate clear cutting on pulp companies while ponderously questioning the leading provincial government parties:

Nova Scotia Pulp and Scott Maritimes are the major culprits who encouraged clearcutting to become the most economical method of harvesting pulpwood in Nova Scotia — even though the companies and the government know of the undesirable long-term effects.... Will the new Liberal government bring in new, strict regulations that prohibit indiscriminate clearcutting? And will it demand to negotiate stronger agreements with the big companies.... No, the Liberal government won't do any better at protecting our forest resources than did the Tories. That is

a sad comment on a government only three months in office, but when it comes down to it, the Liberals — like many Nova Scotians — would rather have the jobs today and worry about the forest tomorrow. (p. 10)

With regards to the general public and its correlation with the provincial government, it is noteworthy that Fillmore does not mince words. According to him, the public at large, perhaps without conscious realization, was also raping the forests for short-term employment.

“Does Anyone Really Care About Our Forests Anymore?” is the title of the cover article of the Forestry’ 72 Special Section in The 4th ESTATE. Written by Nick Fillmore, it is reflective of his article on forestry three months prior. Fillmore shows concern that there is no legislation in Nova Scotia to govern the taking down of multiple trees.

Whereas the Small Tree Act of 1946 was a step in the right direction, the 1965 Forest Improvement Act was merely formal legislation at best. There was, in spite of the 1965 legislation, a lack of both improvement and of action, especially where pulp and paper companies were concerned: “But even it would have been little value in protecting us from the exploitation of the internationally owned pulp companies that dominate the province’s forest industry today.” (p. 9)

According to Fillmore, while Nova Scotia was gaining as many as 4,500 jobs, they were not secure as he contends that the industry could collapse at any time. On the flip side of this precarious gain, what could be potential profit is not even readily available as the pulp mills channel their income to other countries, a strategy to enable them to rebuild plants in other locations.

“Reasonable legislation” was what Nick Fillmore was advocating in this article, reminding his readers that he is not completely opposed to pulp mills in the province. He also expresses his apprehension regarding reforestation practice. If there are 300,000 tree plantings in Nova Scotia, supposedly to be 1,350,000 annually in 1975, by pulp companies, then that would only be “a drop in the bucket when you consider the kinds of reforestation programs that are taking place in some other areas of the world” (p. 9).

This cover article extends to the following page with a discussion of tree legislation in other areas such as Scotland, Britain, and British Columbia. Success in these regions gave Fillmore the distinct impression that wildlife in the forest experienced a generous rebirth there:

One of the unexpected benefits is a great increase in wild life populations — deer, rabbits, foxes, pheasants, and even some species that were almost extinct in Scotland, such as the wildcat and Golden Eagle, has prospered by the rejuvenation of the land. (p. 10)

Fillmore concluded with comments on the need for restrictions by government which would fuel the concern that society needs to have and vice versa. He wrote:

Unfortunately, most Nova Scotians neither understand nor care about what is happening to our forests. Too many of us want to play the modern, industrial development game. This is unfortunate because we will suffer over the long term, and our natural resource industries — forestry, farming and fishing — will continue to wither and die unless there is enough public awareness to force the government to change public awareness to

force the government to change outdated and politically expedient policies. (p. 10)

On the Government Side of the Coin

At the end of Fillmore's rhetorically entitled article, "Does Anyone Really Care About the Forests Anymore?" he seems to reluctantly introduce written perspectives from the Nova Scotia Government. In a "footnote" Fillmore points out that only two articles were chosen for the supplement and that even these don't accurately portray "the reality of the forest industry in Nova Scotia in the 1970s" (p. 10). One is on parks and the other is regarding a statement by the then Lands and Forests Minister, Benoit Comeau.

Conversely to Fillmore's and Prest's concerns over pulp companies' clear cutting, Comeau in his boxed statement integrated into Fillmore's article and with the title, "Increased Tree Planting An Encouraging Sign", exalts pulp companies for having replanted thousands of trees. What Fillmore had called a drop in the bucket on the preceding page, Comeau noted that 300,000 trees were planted in 1970 compared with only 10,000 eight years before. Comeau sounds optimistic that 1,350,000 were to be planted in 1975. Another apparent fact is that over 17 million trees had been reforested since 1927.

According to this particular Lands and Forest Minister, Benoit Comeau, the forest industry in Nova Scotia was one that enabled it to be a traditional leader on the continent of North America. Also, it could presumably withstand more cutting as the forest area was quick to regenerate itself:

The minister also said that the recuperative powers of Nova Scotia's forests are amongst the highest in North America with a longer history of logging operations than any other Province. Natural regeneration of most of our forest stands is higher than average (p. 10).

This Forestry '72 Special Section in The 4th ESTATE has one other article in it, another by Murray Prest, and encapsulates the one analysed by Prest above; "Indiscriminate Clearcutting Must End Before N.S. Forests Are Beyond Recovery". As in previous writing (but not alluded to here), Prest used the metaphor of a woman to describe the forest and the environment:

It seems too good to be true — But all this can be ours and mine just by being compatible and consorting with the most wonderful and generous woman we will ever know. Only a damn fool could turn down such a proposal. We should also keep in mind that while Mother Nature is quite a lady, Hell hath no fury like a woman scorned. (p.12)

Humankind's Impact on Forestry; Clear Cutting; A 'Pulp Economy': The Ecology Action Centre

In addition to many individual articles, The 4th ESTATE published three supplements on the environment, in the years 1972, 1973, and 1975. In the 1972 issue (September 21), Ecology Action Centre (EAC) representatives contributed a long and extensively researched article entitled, "Proper Forest Management Lacking in Nova Scotia". The writers are Sue Diplock and Dave Macdonald.

Diplock and Macdonald begin their article with heartfelt and poetic musings on the *change* of the forest, always present as long as humankind has been and still is, on earth to take advantage of the wood from trees.

Throughout the history of its exploitation by man, the forest has not remained unchanged. Man has altered the character of Nova Scotia's forests by clearing land for agricultural use, cutting timber for ships, building supplies, and fuel, and through setting fires. The towering trees early settlers found so awesome — massive spruces, pines, hemlock and large hardwoods, have been replaced by smaller trees and lesser species.

(p. 10)

The EAC writers go on to discuss “succession”, a modification of the forest which includes stages leading finally to an ecosystem climax community.

As was typical with The 4th ESTATE and forestry issues, the journalists addressed clear cutting in Nova Scotia with a flair for making themselves clear on the contentious issue. Diplock and Macdonald give their own definition of what it actually means to clear cut a forest:

Clearcutting is a method of harvest cutting which involves removal of all merchantable wood from an area at one time. It has been used as a method of harvesting wood for many years, but was not done here on a large scale until the major pulp and paper mills were established. Timber companies do not do much clearcutting since they can use only selected trees, but pulp companies clearcut exclusively (p. 10).

At this time, there was the expectancy of greater production in the forest. According to this article, the official figure for increment in Nova Scotia was a quarter of a cord per acre. Technology advancement with regards to cutting would inevitably result in an increase in the proportion of trees being chopped down to the trees left standing:

The expected increase in annual cut depends largely on new developments in pulp and paper technology including the increased use of machinery in cutting operations. Newest types of machinery include tree harvesters, which can cut, strip, and section a tree in one continuous operation. (p. 10)

Diplock and Macdonald explained the pros and cons of clear cutting, or the opposing perspectives on the practice. Believers in clear cutting argue that the regeneration rate of Nova Scotia trees is high. Of course, the economic benefits are enjoyed as well. Environmentalists such as these writers may say conversely:

The present controversy over clear cutting has included claims that it can inhibit regeneration, change species types, and favor balsam fir and other such species, cause soil damage such as nutrient loss, soil packing, erosion, and dessication; harm wildlife; degrade water quality through siltation, nutrient over-abundance (from nutrient loss to forest) and resulting “stream death” (eutrophication) and fish kills. (p. 10)

For proper forest management, there must indeed be a change in how we have made changes to the forest. What is taken out must be put back in again. Sue Diplock and Dave Macdonald show in this article that there is a need for concern and awareness for the sake of the forest sector of the environment.

Ability, Resources, Power.... Budget of Scott Maritimes

By 1973, The 4th ESTATE was still publishing environmental articles to do with the forest industry in Nova Scotia. Local writer Dulcie Conrad wrote a full page story on April 5th with Murray Prest, the sawmill owner and writer of articles discussed above; prominently featured as a spokesperson. The corporation of Scott Maritimes was shown as a company which posed a threat to the lumber industry, especially in Halifax County. The piece is based from Mooseland, N.S. and its main title is, “Scott Maritimes Threat to Eastern Shore Lumber Industry”.

Prest addressed the issue of legislation on forestry of the time and also contended the alliance between the 1965 Robert Stanfield Conservative government and the company of Scott Maritimes. Dulcie Conrad enlightened The 4th ESTATE readers after the research that took her out of the city and into the woods of the Eastern Shore. Conrad paraphrased Murray Prest:

He says that any legislation that existed to protect the forests from wholesale rape was virtually wiped out in 1965 when the Stanfield government signed an agreement with Scott Maritimes. On the day the agreement was signed, the Small Tree Conservation Act was repealed, and legislation which had been promised — the Forest Improvement Act of 1962 — has never been proclaimed. (p. 17)

Under the agreement between Scott and the Department of Lands and Forests, all cutting must be done with approval from the government. Prest states, “If this is being done, then Scott has been given a mandate to rape our forests” (p. 17). Murray Prest is passionate when discussing the budgets of both Scott Maritimes and Swedish-owned

Nova Scotia Forest Industries, when they were larger than that of the government on an annual basis; “There is just no limit to their ability, resources, and power to bring pressure on every aspect of our way of life” (p. 17).

Murray Prest’s fervent views on the perceived threat by the pulp and paper company, Scott Maritimes, may have been ignited all the more personally because he was having trouble getting lumber for his sawmill. Scott Maritimes owned the majority of the land and Prest couldn’t get wood at a fair cost. The avid view of another business owner is available in the Dulcie Conrad piece. Greg Coady, a wood builder, had to stop taking orders for his business as he also couldn’t get the needed material to build. Conrad’s article concludes with a quote from Coady:

Our woodlands in Halifax County are being used to feed the Scott Maritimes pulp mill in Pictou County and in a few years time all we’ll have is a pile of rubbish.... As long as Scott has complete monopoly over our timber there is no possible way we can attract a lumber industry to the Eastern Shore. (p. 17)

Surette on Sawmills

According to “Sawmills are Dying off while Government Forest Policy is in the Tow of Pulp Companies” (1974, March 14), by Associate Editor of The 4th ESTATE, Ralph Surette, of 13 million acres of land in Nova Scotia, 11 of them are forested. Fifty-three percent of this is made up of softwood (spruce, fir, pine, and hemlock) and 17% is hardwood. The remaining 30% is mixed. The 16 percent of non-forested land, interestingly, is made up of agricultural land, bogs, marshes, roads, urban area, and power lines.

Surette's double-full-page article, complete with black and white photographs of logging practices both in and out of water, delivered a full exposure shot of what was going on with the local sawmill industry and how it was affected by government and pulp mills. Whereas the then Department of Lands and Forest Minister, Bob Burgess, suggested that sawmills can "capitalize", Surette argued that they cannot. He explained that smaller sawmills couldn't afford the new technology available, such as chipping machines — "to change waste wood into chips for pulp" — as larger sawmills could.

Ralph Surette is obviously critical of the government mentality. It appears this journalist got some "inside information" and was able to report upon it with irony. He wrote eloquently and not without a touch of defiance:

Vigorous government intervention to bring order to the forestry sector seems unlikely. One official in the department of lands and forests says with resignation that any mention of government action makes the industry people 'howl blue murder'. That seems to sum up the general government attitude. (p. 10)

Surette continued to evoke a strong argument that government was irresponsible in this manner as they would not act upon the problem of sawmill phasing out:

"Do nothing", in other words, could be a conscious policy decision: let the saw mills die and the pulp companies take over everything. This fits in nicely with requirements for new and expensive wood producing technology that the smaller sawmills cannot afford.(pp 10-11)

The number of sawmills, according to Ralph Surette's article, has dropped steadily since the nineteenth century. During the shipbuilding period of the 1800s there

were 1400 sawmills. Looking at the 20th century, there were 794 in 1955, 509 in 1961, and only 300 in 1971. The sawmills appear to have been dying off, certainly. (In fact, in 2008, only 32 remain.) The feeling by The 4th ESTATE and other Nova Scotia environmentalists was absolutely evident that government and pulp companies were linked to their decline.

Into the Future One Third of a Century Later

*The green space is disappearing,
 'Neath an asphalt tsunami,
 Let's fight deforestation,
 Keep the green space asphalt-free
 For we have to have our wild spaces
 Eight per-cent and not three
 Rare species a-disappearing
 Next ones are you and me*

From "Ecoterritory Blues"

George Boutilier and Lewis Poulin

(Inspired by Johnny Cash's "Folsom Prison Blues")

The Gazette, Montreal

February 1, 2007 (p. F7)

“I’m not against the fact of cutting trees, but I’m for the fact of doing it intelligently. And for that it seems we’ve got to fight, so I fight by necessity.”

Richard Desjardins

Poet quoted in “Quiet Revolutionary”

By Isa Tousignant

Cover Story in Montreal’s alternative, *Hour*

January 18 to 24, 2007

By 2006 many, if not all, of the changes advocated by The 4th ESTATE have been implemented. Perhaps one of the more significant changes is increased public awareness of these issues by ordinary people.

Into the Woods

Tantallon, N.S. Bobby Monroe fixes cars. He’s a professional in the auto body industry, but another forte of his has been making himself aware of what goes on in the trees up behind the steep hill on the other side of the secondary highway leading to the South Shore from Tantallon by his bayside house in Mason’s Point, Nova Scotia. He’s keenly self-educated when it comes to the forest industry in his own province. One early evening last November, Bobby handed me a hunter orange suit and we assembled ourselves and a bag of lunch onto the back of his ATV vehicle.

Bobby and I had discussed my thesis research on forestry. I was explaining how big an issue clear cutting was in the 1970s.

“It’s still going on. I’ll show you.”

The simplistic form of today’s forestry legislation is that harvesting is allowed to occur in vast areas, but a certain amount of trees are required to be left standing. These are spots, according to the Wildlife Habitat and Watercourses Protection Regulations website, called “Special Management Zones”, designated by the provincial government. Some are also referred to as “green belts or buffer zones left to protect the watercourse and provide habitat”. This SMZ legislation was made law as recently as January 14, 2002 (Wildlife Habitat and Watercourses Protection Regulations. (2006: <http://www.gov.ns.ca/natr/wildlife>)

Areas of trees not connected to water must be left in “clumps”. At least 30 trees per clump and at least one clump per 8 hectares must remain standing: “The regulations require ten trees per hectare [100 acres] must be left standing on all harvested sites over 3 hectares” (Wildlife Habitat and Watercourses Protection Regulations 2006).

Travelling along on the small gravel roads, Bobby pointed out clumps of trees left standing. He attributed these stark images to government and pulp and paper companies, made all the more bleak to this onlooker by the onset of late autumn darkness. Further up the hills, we came to a Nova Scotia Power plant, a corporation that my guide let me know plays a crucial role in the clearing of trees in the area.

The lake we stopped at for a break was quiet but not entirely unpolluted. No sounds rang in the air, as a matter of fact. The mark that industry had left in parts of the forests, not so far from the city of Halifax, seemed remote. The lonely bare trees standing rather crookedly in empty patches of woods were left for the soil at their trunks and for

wildlife species weaving by. Their on-the-spot semblance, however, was that they were in need of other trees close by like themselves, too.

September 24th to 30th, 2006: National Forest Week

For the sake of awareness concerning the need for proper forest management in Canada, National Forest Week has existed for many years. It dates back to the 1920s, when it was a week that was celebrated with the goal of forest fire prevention. Since then it has evolved into a more elaborately planned anniversary week in its forest management promotion and strategies. The week scheduled for the event has changed over time, while the title of it has consistently remained the same.

On September 26, 2006, the Halifax *Chronicle Herald* published a Special Advertising Feature supplement by the Forest Products Association of Nova Scotia. The first article is by Steve Talbot, Executive Director of the Forest Products Association of Nova Scotia. Talbot addressed the media rumour in “Sun Far from Setting on Nova Scotia’s Forest Products Industry”, that the industry is in decline. He admitted that there are problems currently but denied that the industry overall is in danger.

Another page is dedicated to students: an article on “Envirothon”, an education program delivered by Nova Scotia Forestry Association, and an article on a book set on forestry to be delivered to 40 elementary school libraries through Nova Forest Alliance (NFA) Communications Committee.

One of the last articles of nine in the Special Advertising Feature is on the spruce budworm and the threat it poses to the forest. This article was submitted by Natural Resources Canada and gives scientific details on studies and the advantages of killing the budworm with chemicals.

It is noteworthy that none of the articles in the entire supplement address the issue of over-harvesting or “clear cutting” — such a balanced approach obviously would have no place in *advertising*.

Politics and Forestry Intricately Linked

It seems probable that most environmentalists, journalists, government officials, and foresters themselves would agree that it is inevitable that the forestry industry must be closely aligned with politics. The intricate link may be seen by examining articles from the 1970s and also by looking at journalism pieces or texts from just after or precisely on the turn of the 21st century. L. Anders Sandberg and Peter Clancy make a forceful argument on this idea in *Against the Grain* (2000). In the conclusion, speaking of the biographical stories relayed in their book, they explain:

The principal message of the stories is that forestry is as much about politics as it is about trees. Foresters are coloured by the organizations for which they work, the place of these organizations in larger institutional frameworks, and the positions that individual foresters hold within their organizations. (p. 271)

Echoing the same notion concerning how political the forestry business is, the following passage is from an untitled internet document under the page “state authorities” with a link to Nova Scotia Natural Resources. It is an articulate expression of the complexity of politics in general, and the Acadian forest in particular:

The activity of politics arises wherever distinct interests must be contained or reconciled within a common setting or institution. While we tend to think of government, politics is also a part of non-governmental domains

such as corporations, unions, churches, and even families.... The Acadian Forest domain is no different than others in this regard. In order to appreciate its political character, and the power relations which shape its development, we must explore its diverse interests, organizations and decision making sites. (Nova Scotia Natural Resources)

Harvesting/Clear Cutting/"Rape" of Forest

Language tends to shift euphemistically when points of view alter drastically. By the same token, the essential meaning of words alters over the course of time. An example of this may be seen by examining the term, *environmentalist*. It was typically used in previous decades to clearly classify individuals and types of groups who were bent on standing up for ecological issues. Today, in 2007, the concept of *being* an environmentalist is not only accepted, but expected, the globe over. Whereas in the seventies, companies and government were not considered particularly environmentally conscious, almost as a rule, today these institutions, by as unyielding a rule as then, must strive absolutely to always consider the environment in significant decision making.

Leaders of the "big three" currently active Canadian political parties, Conservative prime minister Stephen Harper, Stéphane Dion of the Liberals, and Jack Layton of the NDP, all have environmental agendas, however varied in their intensity. The fact that a fourth party is running in political alignment with the above-mentioned three parties, The Green Party, denotes a sweeping change in ideas, attitudes, and mentality of Canadian society from the days of needing to protest "at the top of your voice" to be heard on the most basic of environmental concerns.

Nonetheless, former *The 4th ESTATE* journalist Ralph Surette commented in interview that the newspaper headlines to do with environmentalism *are still the same thematically as they were 35 years previous*. In interview setting, original copies of *The 4th ESTATE* just dug out from Mr. Surette's attic were in piles on the living room coffee tables in the home he shares with Mrs. Surette.

Incidentally, the Halifax *Daily News* ran a story as recently as September 30, 2006 which proves that clear cutting is still a recurring issue covered in the press. The story concerns the cutting of a large section of trees where wildlife abounds. The title is “‘Nothing Has Changed’ — Environmentalists Angry Province Is Allowing Chignecto Clear Cutting” and is written by regular columnist Brian Flinn. Chignecto is a vast game sanctuary and hunters felt it would be eliminated with such a reduction in the amount of trees left standing there. Flinn paraphrased Natural Resources Minister David Morse as saying, not without a hint of sarcasm, that Chignecto “is a wildlife sanctuary, not a tree sanctuary” (p. 8).

Petitions were signed to “save Chignecto” by 395 people, the article reports. Author Harry Thurston, who wrote *The Sea Among the Rocks — Travels in Atlantic Canada* (2002), was among one of the opponents against the clear cutting and was a part of the group, Cumberland Wilderness, which formed to promote wildlife and protest over-harvesting. In expression of the heart of the group's coming together, Thurston is quoted as explaining, “We're not talking about a few people who have radical ideas. The majority of people want the landscape protected and habitat for wildlife protected” (p. 8). Thurston's comments and a comparison of what is written today and what was written 35

years ago lend themselves to the idea that being concerned about the environment does not signify extremism in the 21st century.

The same Halifax paper published on the same topic as this, but seven years previous to this article. On October 24, 1999, Stephen Bornais of the *Daily News* wrote a piece on the subject with a peculiar but interesting title: “Wood that it Were: There is More Cutting than Ever, but Anything but Clear-cut”. As with the contrasting views between David Morse and Harry Thurston in the last article discussed, this one also can be analysed in its comparative view points. In the Bornais piece, Charlie Restino, a Cape Breton environmental activist who owns a small woodlot area is quoted as saying that, “Over-harvesting is happening at an extraordinary rate” (p. 4). It appears that with the theme of environmental journalism, there is usually a completely altering outlook. Tony Mee, vice-president of Northern Fibre Terminal Inc. and Great North Timber Inc., a company exporting hardwood chips, said, “That panic sense that everybody is out there raping and pillaging is not, in my opinion, what is happening” (p. 4).

“Wood that it Were...” pinpoints the reality of woodsmen overstepping boundaries laid out by the government. This is not a new theme and can be seen in government legislation as early as the 1800s, for example. Ralph S. Johnson in his look at Nova Scotia forestry history, *Forests of Nova Scotia* (1986) nails down the technical concept of illegal forestry when he examines fish and wildlife legislation in the nineteenth century. Johnson makes a reference to Campbell Hardy, who was the founding member of the People’s Fish and Game Protective Association and also Captain of the Royal Artillery in Halifax from 1852 to 1867. Johnson writes of Hardy and the official “law of the land”:

He wrote that, despite its formation, the fish and game laws of the time were of “no account”, that Indians and settlers regularly fished at night by the light of birchbark flares, that salt water netting of salmon was destroying fishing stocks, and that Indians were killing many salmon with the “murderous and forbidden spear”.... Hardy wrote in 1868 that “the Sackville River offers no sport to speak of now for the sawmills and their obstructive dams have quite cut off the fish from their spawning grounds”.
(p. 119)

As well, on the same page of *Forests of Nova Scotia*, Johnson makes another reference to ignorance of government bans, only this time to do with water pollution: “In 1854 legislation was passed providing for regulations to prevent mill refuse — a major contaminant — from being dumped into rivers. The practice continued, however....”

In the 1999 *Daily News* of Halifax article, Stephen Bornais reported on the AAC, or the “annual allowable cut”. The journalist explained that 5.8 million cubic metres were cut provincially, when the AAC for the year 1998 was only 5.2 million cubic metres. In reference to these figures, Charlie Restino was quoted as saying, “It’s gone right off the chart. It’s beyond even absurd” (p. 4).

In competition with the *Daily News*, the other leading Halifax daily, the *Chronicle Herald* disputes controversies in the forestry industry in Nova Scotia articulately and with apparent accuracy, but also with a discernable lack of opinion of its own. The Sunday issue of the *Herald*, with the distinct name, “*The Sunday Herald*”, reported on clear cutting on October 1, 2006. Lois Legge wrote “Can’t See the Forest; Surprise! Environmentalists and the Government Don’t See Eye to Eye on How to Revamp Nova

Scotia's Forestry Policy" (p. S3) and with environmental empathy starts with the following succinct paragraph: "A September breeze rustles the leaves on the little trees. In the distance, the sun glistens off the waters of Bedford Basin."

This article does not address forestry legislation in Nova Scotia, but does discuss a forestry strategy that was being planned. Minga O'Brian, who has a master's degree in ecology and works at the Ecology Action Centre in Halifax, is portrayed as being averse to clear cutting, with the fervent hope that Premier Rodney MacDonald will use Voluntary Planning for the strategy. On the exact opposite side of the line, Steve Talbot, executive director of the Forest Products Association, is unable to see the benefit of any other people running the consultations than Natural Resources of Nova Scotia.

An idea of a dichotomy between these forestry contact individuals can be seen by looking at the following quotations in this *Sunday Herald* article. The first one, by Minga O'Brian, it may be noted, happens to be reflective of The 4th ESTATE's article written by EAC members Sue Diplock and Dave MacDonald for the Ecology 1972 supplement. Diplock and MacDonald wrote of the *change* in the forest over time 34 years before. O'Brian uses the same word. In another section of the article, O'Brian is quoted on the subject of wildlife such as fish when there is a loss of trees:

It upsets me because when you're looking at 500 square kilometers of our forest being treated like this every year, what you're seeing is a huge change in the composition of our forests ... and the structure of our forests and all the biodiversity associated with the forest.... If they [fish] don't have that, that habitat is simply unsuitable and what the trees do is keep all the streams beautifully shaded. (p. S3)

Talbot, on the other hand, perceives that clear cutting is often times necessary and that reserving land to sit freely will tie up jobs. Legge quotes Mr. Talbot:

So in a lot of cases what we've got to work with is not necessarily stands that will allow you to selection manage the areas. And in order to get into a selection management situation, you have to conduct a clear cut and go back and actually start a new generation of trees in a newer, healthier forest, and eventually you'll be able to bring it back to where you can actually selectively manage it.... If we set aside land for no use whatsoever, other than letting nature take its course, what are the economic consequences of doing that? I mean if next door, we've got a sawmill that depends on a certain amount of fibre, what are the consequences if that sawmill shuts down?... There may be 50 jobs that are gone. Well, those 50 people may now be on social assistance or they're on EI or whatever. Is the province willing to accept that as a consequence of the decision they made? (p. S3).

As this *Sunday Herald* article says, clear cutting has "long been considered a dirty word by environmentalists" (p. S3). By looking at alternate view points portrayed within the pages of newspapers in Halifax, Nova Scotia, no matter the decade, it may be seen that the term is virtually avoided by certain government and corporate forestry officials, ones who may or may not be seen as *environmentalists* by certain forest advocates. Dramatic shifts in perspective tend to result in a differing use of language, as can be seen with the study of environmentalism, and clear cutting in forestry in particular.

The forest industry in other parts of the country, and the world, is distinct from the province of Nova Scotia in its environmental journalism coverage and the kinds of issues featured. At the same time, the “dichotomy” of ideas concerning the trees is existent in other areas. In the province of Quebec there is a raging controversy on the conservation of old-age trees such as the Triton forest. Mark Cardwell reports in the *Montreal Gazette* in a double full page article on January 27, 2007 entitled, “Saving the Mighty Triton”.

Luc Bouthillier is a forestry professor at Université Laval and is quoted several times in this article regarding the Triton:

“My jaw dropped”, he said. “It was absolutely spectacular to wander among these gigantic trees that I thought still only existed in old photographs”.... “You simply can’t substitute an ancient forest with new seedlings”, he said. “It’s not just wood. It’s a specific habitat and landscape that cannot be replicated.” (p. B2)

Guy Chevrette is a government minister and president of the Quebec Forest Industry Council. As former Montreal Canadiens hockey player, Joe Juneau is fighting to protect the Triton, and environmental film maker of Quebec Richard Desjardins is working to support preservation in an artistic forum. Chevrette blames their endeavours and feedback on “hype” rather than truth. He downplays their intentions:

“Joe Juneau is just trying to save his private fishing club”, Chevrette told The Gazette last week from Florida, where he was vacationing.... “Show us science, not the arguments of people who are trying to protect cottages in the woods”.... “I’m the first to admit that mistakes have been made in the past.... But (Richard) Desjardins’s film, which was filled with lies and

distortions, has created a kind of hysteria in Quebec about cutting trees.

It's ridiculous". (p. B2)

Beyond the Canadian borders, troubles in the forests are all the more politically intense, their controversial spectrums of attitude all the more dichotomized. *National Geographic* published a cover story in January 2007 on the Amazon forest in Brazil. The lives of the trees are not merely what is at stake. People protecting those trees literally fear for their lives. Jose Rosa, a rancher, is quoted as saying, "These are land grabbers. They have a lot of money. If they find me out here alone, they will kill me" (p. 69).

Historical analysis of forestry in other parts of the world show that devoting a life to preservation of the forest can result in the direct loss of that life. In the province of Nova Scotia, environmentalists were and still are deeply concerned about the loss of too many trees and how it affects not only wildlife species literally sleeping under the trees, but human beings habituated in civilization near by. If all people affiliated with the forest industry choose to continually appreciate the need to take care of every precious clump of trees, our currently living generations will be all the better for it, and so will their descendents.

Interview — "The World According to Garth" or the Forest Industry in Nova Scotia According to a Forester.

Garth Spencer graduated from a forestry program at the University of New Brunswick in 1985. He has worked in the industry ever since.

Spencer's self-made house sits regally upon a hill over-looking Saint Margaret's Bay, N.S. It is of octagonal shape with a brick fireplace in the centre of the circular and

spacious room on the main floor. The ceiling, walls, and floors are all made with pinewood. Two small framed art pieces adorn a wall along side a window. They portray silhouetted trees against a sunset background. The artist of the paintings is the owner of the house and the interviewee featured below. In this wooded room we conducted an audio-taped interview about the forestry business in Atlantic Canada, particularly in the province of Nova Scotia. Here are some cuts from it which shed light on themes of technology, science, economy, legislation, and environmentalism.

In an interview in November, 2006 Spencer commented on his experience in the industry.

GS: I have basically worked in the industry my whole life: Sawmill sector, pulp mill sector, woodlands, and manufacturing as well as the practice of forestry.

LC: Has there been a tremendous change in technology over the centuries and particularly within the twentieth?

GS: Oh, definitely. Well, forestry is probably one of the last manufacturing or production parts of all industry to really evolve since about the early eighties. Equipment has become the way that we do business, I guess from the days of horses to skidders to farm tractors, all our equipment today is done with computers, for the industrial part of the business it is mostly mechanized, the ones that aren't are more small private operators.

Spencer noted that many regulations have been adopted since the Seventies, and commented particularly on increased awareness by "our customers".

LC: Do you have a theory on what brought about the public awareness?

GS: Well, media and special interest groups — they certainly had an impact on legislation and regulation and certification.

Spencer commented further on the uniqueness of Nova Scotia's current forestry practice in comparison with other places:

We definitely have a good forestry practice in Nova Scotia and that doesn't mean they don't have good forestry practices elsewhere 'cause they certainly do. But we do have some unique programs in Nova Scotia that you don't find in North America or anywhere I know in the world....

The one has only been in since the late 90s/early 2000 called the sustainability regulations and it doesn't just apply to government or crown land, it's also applied to small private ownership as well as industrial crown.

After some discussion of clear cutting practices, Spencer remarked on the recent consolidation of the industry in the province: "The industry today in Nova Scotia is one sector will not survive without the other; it's that integrated.... Most of the companies here now do not cut trees and take the whole tree for pulpwood. It first goes to a sawmill and the chips are sent for making lumber, the chips go to the pulp mills...." He described some of the measures taken by the industry to reduce pollution overall: "... a lot of the industry has converted from burning fossil fuels to generating steam to using shavings of the sawmills ... some good examples of that here in Nova Scotia". In addition, he elaborated on some philosophical changes that have occurred:

LC: As for regeneration, are we planting a lot of trees?

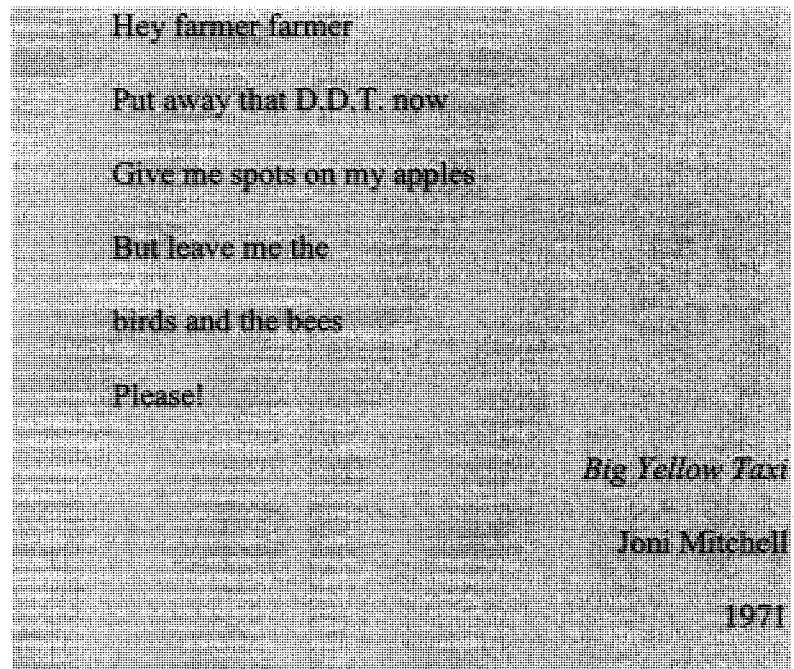
GS: We continue to plant trees but the philosophy has changed a lot. Originally, at least in my belief ... because of the environmental movement ... but as foresters and places that were cut ten, fifteen, thirty years ago, we know very well now that they need not to have been planted. And we are more selective now than perhaps we were from the eighties even to the early nineties.... A human's need to consume fibre is not going down; it's going up, so with that in mind, we have to grow trees ... the more trees have to be grown on smaller pieces of land.

In conclusion, Spencer expressed a somewhat optimistic view of the future, dependent on a cautionary *scientific* approach:

Maybe in 70 or 80 years you might have something, whereas if you intensively managed it, you might do it in 40.... We wouldn't want to do anything that science tells us that we are damaging any part of the ecosystem.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CHEMICAL CONTROVERSY

Political Outrage in the Press takes Root in the Sixties



The extraordinary thing about this new consciousness is that it has emerged from the machine-made environment of the corporate state, like flowers pushing up through a concrete pavement.... For those who thought the world was irretrievably encased in metal and plastic and sterile stone, it seems a veritable greening of America.

Charles A Reich

Reflections: The Greening of America

The New Yorker, September 26, 1970 (p. 11)

[Epigraph to Chapter "Down but Not Out"

Special Senate Committee on Mass Media Volume I, The Uncertain Mirror, 1970]

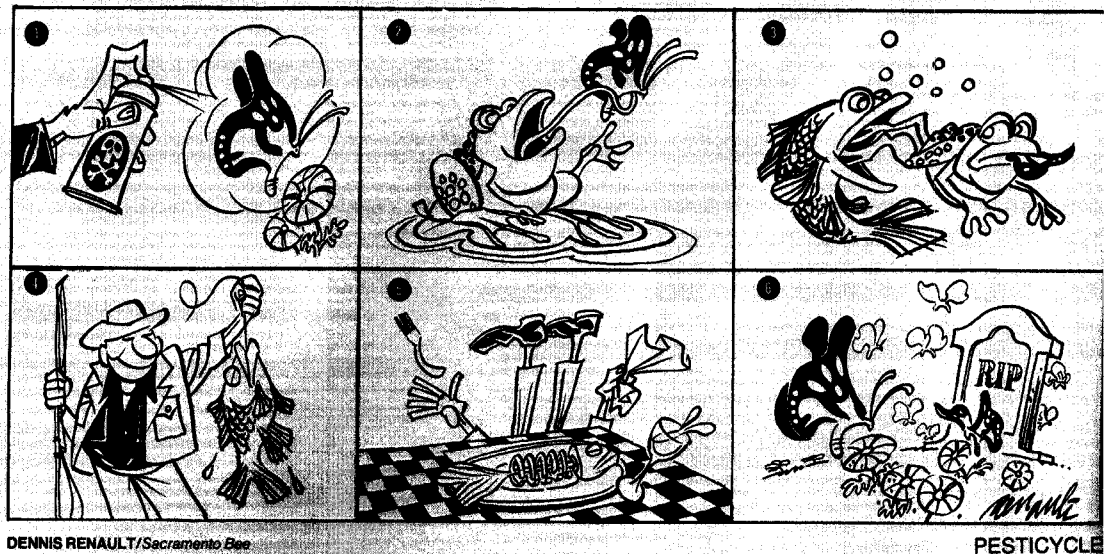


Figure 27: From *The 1970s, Best Political Cartoons of the Decade*, Edited by Jerry Robinson.

Ignorance Won't Prevent Danger

Lack of Knowledge, in Environmentalists' Favour

The chemical DDT, used for killing aggravating insects, that gardeners and government and corporate industry were predisposed to use, is at present, at the time of this writing, banned in Canada. Nevertheless, in the 1960s and much earlier, it was widespread and this was seemingly unconquerable to mollify. The issue was a raging controversy that The 4th ESTATE wrote about as early as October 16, 1969, only six months after the newspaper company was incorporated as “The 4th ESTATE”.

Chief editor of N.I.F. publishing, Frank Fillmore, put out the article, “What Price Pesticides... Or, Who Needs DDT Anyway?” on this October date. He certainly lives up to the other denotation of his first name as he begins, getting right to the point, “Nova Scotia is taking it cool in the matter of banning the use of the killer chemical DDT”.

Fillmore was critical of people in Nova Scotia because they didn't appear to be "panicking" with regards to the bug spray, when they probably should have been more concerned (p.5). Also, he points out that there is not nearly enough study by government on this subject by either federal or provincial authorities. A theme which runs through numerous articles examined for this chapter on pesticides/herbicides (all of the pages on chemicals always reviewed from an environmental stance, of 375 issues, compile a total of 46 pages), is that not enough was *known* about commonly used chemicals in the world.

Not everybody knew this. Many didn't wish to know it. One might ponder cynically that the old adage, "ignorance is bliss" could be applied to businesses or government corporations who were making excessive dollars and may not have done so without the killing of insects. Part of the article by Fillmore warns:

There is much that we don't know for certain about pesticides as yet but there are one or two things we do know. Pollution residue from pesticides has reached such a point on land and in water in wide areas of the world as to destroy large numbers of living organisms — lower organisms than man, to be sure, but living organisms nonetheless.... If that comes about, mankind will not be far behind. And, seriously, who would want to be anyway? (p. 5)

Ignorance obviously won't solve the problem. It appears that some doctors, who certainly would have read reports on toxicity within herbicides and its potential danger, dismissed such information as nonfactual, perhaps rumour-based, maybe just the "folly" of the new consciousness of ecological awareness. Whatever the case, Brenda Large (allowing her interviewee to be quoted anonymously) spoke to a doctor in government,

who proved to diminish the concerns of many citizens. In a section of her editorial, “Herbicides: Do We Know Enough?”, with the subtitle, “‘DON’T GET EXCITED’”, Large described the doctor as a “well-meaning but unformed scientist”. He apparently thought, for example, that concern about mercury pollution was a fuss and was “overdone”. He belittles the grave concern with: “People get killed by cars everyday. Why don’t we stop driving cars?” (April 6, 1971, p. 19) (Ironically, at the time of this writing, concerned environmentalists, including successful lawyer, activist, and federal leader of the Green Party, Elizabeth May, *are* selling their cars for good in order to reduce auto emissions.)

Lack of knowledge is, in a sense, a good thing for environmentalists in the 1960s and ’70s. They may have argued that spraying be halted because it was too risky to “play with fire”, in other words, to spray chemicals when not enough is known about what people are exposing themselves and our environment to. On the other hand, pro-sprayers argued that they should continue to kill bugs, make money, etcetera, *until* there is proof that spraying was dangerous.

President Nixon of the United States employed a Science Advisor who articulated the lack of knowledge in this area clearly. Dr. Lee A. DuBridg is quoted by Large in an eye-opening, in-depth, impressive article on June 17, 1971 (six pages all together in this particular issue concerning chemical awareness). It is entitled “2,4,5-T Leaves Path of Destruction”:

...I will have to admit that there has been almost no work done to elucidate the metabolic handling of this herbicide [2,4,5-T] in the animal organism. There is little known in biochemical terms of the mechanism of

its action and there is essentially no knowledge of any possible interactions between this chemical and other materials. (p. 16)

A Myriad of Chemicals

A Dearth of Statistics — 1970s

What kind of information was available at this time for a curious and concerned public, as well as journalists?

In 1969, *Degradation of Herbicides* was published in New York. The work is edited by P.C. Kearney and D.D. Kaufman writing on behalf of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. They report that 125 herbicides were commercially available (p. v) and describe the “degradation process” of the chemicals and how all organic herbicides undergo transformations (p. v). Kearney and Kaufman mention basic chemicals and explain when they were first used:

The chlorine-substituted phenoxyacetic acids, 2,4,-D, MCPA, and 2,4,5-T were introduced as selective weed killers at the end of World War II....

During 1966 the U.S. production of 2,4-D, the most widely used phenoxy herbicide, exceeded 68,182,000 lb. (p. 7)

The same authors list six main herbicides:

MCPA	2,4-D (Dichlorophenoxyacetic)	2-CPA
4-CPA	2,4,5-T (Trichlorophenoxyacetic)	2,6-D

This text, as its title points out, is more about the degradation process rather than the chemical potential for danger or proof of past harm.

In Canada in 1974, a study of statistics on the use of pest control products was conducted. This work, entitled *Environmental Contaminants Inventory Study No. 1*, was done by John N. Thomson of Environment Canada in Ottawa. Thomson admits in his introduction to the study that he experienced a “confidentiality problem” compiling the statistics (p. 1), despite seeking information from each of the ten provinces across the country. The following is a brief review of the Atlantic region, paraphrased from Thomson’s report of what was found in Canada at this time (pp 3–4):

New Brunswick	Statistics not available. Contact D. B. Finnamore, Entomologist, Department of Agriculture, Fredericton.
Newfoundland	Statistics not available. Pesticide use was not considered “significant”.
Nova Scotia	1970 — 19 insecticides; only partial data available, especially for 1971 and 1972.
Prince Edward Island	Not compiled. “However, the province’s Pest Control Specialist has expressed interest in the future surveying of the island’s pesticide situation”. The Pest Control Specialist is Frank Houston, Department of Agriculture and Forestry, Charlottetown.

By 1977, in the United States, B.G. Page and W.T. Thomson published *The Quick Guide — Insecticides, Herbicides, Fungicides*. This book is essentially a guide designed

for gardeners or anyone else interested in using chemicals. For many pages, more than half of the text, it lists alphabetically all chemicals in existence for greenery or insect termination. In the back of the book there is a list of all known manufacturers of these chemicals complete with their addresses.

For the purpose of this thesis, chemicals that were described by the media in the 1960s/70s era will be written about here. The chemicals most familiar to reporters then were 2,4-D, 2,4,5-T, DDT, Sevin, and Fenitrothion. Some of these were combined together and given names which are easier to retain in memory for the non-scientist, such as “Agent Orange”, a mixture of the first two chemicals just mentioned.

Environmental Journalism

Story Books of Non-Fiction

With regard to contemporary non-fiction, within the last decade and a half or so, for instance, there sits a cluster of texts (mostly with green covers) on most North American library bookshelves. A few of them concern a rather recent concept, *Environmental Journalism*. The self-explanatory term was born out of the realization that many news outlets were becoming dedicated to covering environmental issues, including the mainstream press. A few books that deal with the subject are Craig L. LaMay’s and Dennis E. Everette’s *Media and the Environment* (1991), Alison Anderson’s *Media, Culture, and the Environment* (1997), and Michael Frome’s *Green Ink* (1998). There is another invaluable text, this one Canadian, unlike the three just mentioned. It is called *Covering the Environment, A Handbook on Environmental Journalism*, and was written

by Michael Keating in conjunction with The Graduate School of Journalism at The University of Western Ontario. It was sponsored by the National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy and published in 1993. The entire text is available on the internet.

There were a few environmental texts in the 1960s and 70s which addressed chemical use directly. Three outstanding ones are Thomas Whiteside's *The Withering Rain* (1971), Ruth Mulvey Harmer's *Unfit for Human Consumption* (1971), and Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* (1962). Of the trio, Carson's is the most well known, both over forty years ago, and still today. Halifax's Neptune Theatre showed a play in the month of May, 2006, about Carson, her work and her life. Rachel Carson is still quoted in contemporary news, alternative and mainstream. The woman who penned *Silent Spring* is an environmental icon all over the world.

Carson may be almost solely responsible for starting an environmental revolution. Stephen Bocking suggests that it was a combination of "the times" and Rachel Carson's book that sparked the revolution in the early 1960s. In the essay, "The Background of Biodiversity: A Brief History of Canadians and Their Living Environment" (2000), he opens up a section of his study with this paragraph:

In the 1960s the environment emerged as a major political issue ... traces of pesticides everywhere all suggested that Canadians had become a dominant, even malignant factor on their landscape. Television programs and books like Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* explained what these phenomena meant, even as greater economic security and more leisure time encouraged Canadians to concern themselves with not only the

necessities of life, but the amenities — clean air, clean water, pristine wilderness — that could only be provided by a healthy environment. (p. 15)

The fight against excessive pesticide use was certainly noticed in an era permeated with social causes. Carson, who was born in 1907 and died in 1964, just two years after *Silent Spring* came out, is still the high-profile American advocate of earth preservation who had written a number of books on the wonders of the forests and seas surrounding civilization. Her work in the 1950s and 60s shows a deep and thorough appreciation of the environment which she described articulately with her natural gift as both a scientist and a writer.

In 1962 *Silent Spring* was initially published in installments in *The New Yorker*



magazine. The United States, both politically and socially, was barely on the verge of admitting equal rights for Blacks and women at this time, let alone acknowledging such alarming news concerning the spraying of vexatious insects. Just the same, the famous text had an impact in a time period remarkably of its own, and long after. Carson received “a tidal wave of letters” (p. 7, *Silent Spring*), written to

Figure 28: From *The 1970s, Best Political Cartoons of the Decade*, edited by Jerry Robinson.

The New Yorker. Anyone who was remotely interested in pesticide/herbicide spray or the environment in general probably would have read Carson's book or at least heard something about it. There are references to Carson within the 46 pages on chemicals in The 4th ESTATE. Brenda Large quotes Carson in ten newspaper lines from *Silent Spring*, interpolated into a January 28, 1971 article. Large sheds light upon the scientist's concerns:

On page 75 of a paperback edition of *Silent Spring*, Rachel Carson writes, "The most widely used herbicides are 2,4-D, 2,4,5-T and related compounds.... Some very recent work indicates that reproduction of birds may be adversely affected by these and certain other herbicides at levels far below causing death". (p. 15)

The study of chemical harm to the environment naturally leads one to pick up a copy of *Silent Spring*. As for the other texts of the "trio" mentioned above, each one available in the Seventies-Era, this chapter will refer to Whiteside and Harmer ahead in sections to do with the politics of pollution by chemical spray enforced by government, corporate industry, or private gardeners.

Government in Nova Scotia

Sweeping Under the Carpet

Governments can often be difficult to get through to. Activists need to be persistent letter-writers and also with the cunning to manipulate the press effectively. Halifax was fortunate to have a public forum such as The 4th ESTATE. An examiner of

all the newspaper's 375 issues would get the feeling that the editors must have worked harmoniously as a unit, connecting in their viewpoints, akin to the way a jazz band may click musically. They were not inclined to neglect what they yearned to write about; their mandate was to voice the concerns of social groups who weren't normally represented, and it is impressive how they were not intimidated by provincial or federal government and could therefore criticize it freely.

The 4th ESTATE insisted that there was secrecy on the part of the government regarding chemical pollution. In at least four pages of 46, the writers point to this. The January 28, 1971 issue has three pages devoted to chemical harm. One article entitled, "Public Pressure Needed to Ban 2,4,5-T — N.S. Companies Using Dangerous Defoliant" is by Brenda Large, who tended to write about this subject in nearly every issue around this time. Large explained that there were warnings on various chemical products for individual users (who often neglected taking caution despite this), but at the same time, there existed secrecy in the government regarding the politics of this complicated and contentious issue. Speaking of the United States, Large enlightened her readers :

It is interesting that the 1969 reports on 2,4,5-T by the Bionetics Laboratory were withheld from the U.S. public for several months. They finally came to light after a member of Ralph Nader's consumer protection team (known as Nader's raiders) uncovered them. (p. 15)

Concealment with regards to pesticides and herbicides (sometimes these terms are used interchangeably, it seems) does not stop with the American government. Here in Nova Scotia, in 1971, the government denied details concerning an accidental disaster of chemical dumping in the Annapolis Valley, commonly referred to in the province as "The

Valley”. The 4th ESTATE reported, “But department officials later denied the spray contained 2,4,5-T. which has been linked with birth deformities in both animals and humans in reports...” (Brenda Large, “Chemical Blights N.S. Farm”, Apr. 6, 1971, p. 1).

Jumping ahead to the year 1976, Nick Fillmore, in his editorial column *Inside the 4th ESTATE* (soon to be taken over by Large as Fillmore moved permanently to Toronto), introduced the story of the dreaded budworm and its resulting killing chemicals. The 4th ESTATE published a description of meetings in the Gerald Regan Liberal government as going on “behind closed doors”, assuring readers that, “The 4th ESTATE will be watching this situation closely in the weeks to come and will seek out all the facts on the present, and future, situation of the spruce budworm in Cape Breton” (September 29, 1976, p. 2).

The 4th ESTATE asked questions that the public needed the answer to and continued to criticize government for not being forthcoming on this matter. The one actually asking and criticizing in the following example is Scott Cunningham, a Dalhousie PhD candidate at the time, as well as a member of Halifax Field Naturalists and the Nova Scotia Resource Council. His letter to the editor appears in the October 20, 1976 issue and is approximately 160 words. Here is a paragraph of it, found half way through the letter:

As appears to have been the case with almost every other pollutant from mercury to DDT to radioactive fallout, the dangers of aerial spraying are being ignored or they are being swept under the carpet. What are the effects of insecticide spray on the people exposed, both immediately after contact and in the future? What are the effects of long term, low dose

exposure as has been the case in New Brunswick? Are there any? (“There Is a Budworm Solution, but It Needs Company Support”, p. 8)

The Nova Scotia government was not quick to respond to letters, articles, or calls



for moratoriums. By 1976, however, The 4th

ESTATE reported that the provincial government

announced they would study the implications of

herbicides. By this time, 2,4,5-T and 2,4-D had

recently been banned by the N.S. government.

However, the ban did not apply to the “agriculture

industry or municipal spraying programs” (Jan. 18,

1971, p. 9). At least the partial ban was a step in

the right direction in minimizing the degree of

toxic chemical applications in Nova Scotia.

Figure 28: Used with permission from Vance Rodewalt.

On cover of The 4th ESTATE, October 1, 1975.

Ecology versus Economy

A Recurrent Theme

The Economy is what caused the crackdown on spraying to take as long as it did.

Large chemical companies were profiting, and the loss of jobs (particularly with the New

Brunswick government and its decades old problem with the Spruce Budworm) would

mean unemployment payouts. For the sake of the economy, those in control,

metaphorically speaking, had bugs in their ears. Corporate industry such as the pulp and paper business (fearful that they'd lose the wood from their trees infested by the insects), or government industry such as Nova Scotia Power Commission, Nova Scotia Highways Department, and Canadian National Railways, wished to clear roads and power lines obscured by brush by applying herbicides. These large organizations were very much in favour of keeping chemicals on the market. Brenda Large writes in The 4th ESTATE's April 6, 1971 issue:

What many members of the public don't know is that the strongest lobby in favor of continuing use of 2,4,5-T and related chemicals comes from the chemical industry — particularly Dow Chemical — an industry which makes millions of dollars out of the manufacture of defoliants for private and government use. (p. 19)

The government may argue that successful companies fuel the economy. They may also back up the pro-spray argument by voicing concerns over lost jobs. The 4th ESTATE printed: "If they don't get that permission [to spray the bud worm in Cape Breton], they say hundreds of jobs will be lost as the industry goes into a slump which it will be hard-pressed to recover" (Oct.13/76 p. 4) — Could they not find jobs for people who are willing to, for example, clear brush by hand?

Advice of Scientists and Societies

Advice of Scientists: The 4th ESTATE interviewed many scientists, including physicians, biologists, and entomologists. A few were based in Halifax and were referred

to on more than one occasion. On January 28, 1971 Dr. Gordon Ogden (see Chapter Five above for his data compiled for the Rust Report) asked for a moratorium on chemical spraying, an event which was reported on the following April 6, and he was quoted for the first time. The article reads:

A Halifax biologist, Dr. J.G. Ogden, says information about 2,4,5-T has been circulating for at least two years “but nobody seems to be listening”. He says its use should be totally banned until scientists know more about it, in the light of what U.S. experiments have uncovered. (p. 14)

By the time *The 4th ESTATE* was able to make positive news headlining their October 26, 1972 front page: “HERBICIDES PARTIALLY BANNED — Birth Defects Result From Chemical Use”, their writers were still consulting Ogden. The October piece was done by Pat Verge, a writer not especially familiar to the paper. A paragraph on the front page reads:

Dr. Gordon Ogden, professor of biology at Dalhousie University, and vice-chairman of the Nova Scotia Resources Council, told *The 4th ESTATE* he was “delighted that the province has demonstrated a responsible attitude towards the serious incidents that could occur from the use of herbicides and pesticides, and because of the fact that we do not know what the residual effects of the herbicides are.... There is evidence that makes the ban long overdue”, he said. (pp 1, 18)

Ogden continues to be quoted by *The 4th ESTATE* on this topic. The doctor is obviously concerned and he helps matters by speaking in “laymen’s” terms and also by being specific. In the same issue he says, “There’s the possibility that a wild herd of deer

or moose might browse near power lines or railroads which have been sprayed. You'll never find out if the cow aborts, because you won't see the fetus in the morning. You just see the non-replacement of a deer herd" (p. 18).

Other scientists were consulted on the matter during these years of careless pesticide/insecticide use. They include Dr. Avery, Dr. DuBridge, Dr. Webb, and Dr. Galston. Ogden was referred to on the majority of occasions. Most of these specialists contended that further research was needed. Another common sentiment was that in the meantime government should not take chances with the lives of wildlife and human health waiting for more concrete results.

Advice of Societies: The main societies which were consulted by The 4th ESTATE were always ones which were trying to alert the public about the hazard of spraying chemicals. By 1971 DDT was banned, but herbicides were still being used sparingly all over Nova Scotia. Groups of people gathered together to bond in their concern and express themselves through media. The Nova Scotia Medical Society, The Nova Scotia Resource Council, and the Ecology Action Centre were the largest societies in the province and therefore the ones with the most media coverage, especially by a local Halifax alternative newspaper, in contrast to Halifax's *The Chronicle Herald*, which was still extolling DDT in January 1977 — "And nobody involved in the application of DDT, who mixed and handled the spray solution, got soused with it when turning the sprayer against the wind, even inhaled some of the dust, never even got sick ... Group Paranoia" ("Insecticides No Brake on Longevity", *The Chronicle Herald*, Jan. 5, 1977).

As early as February 3, 1971, Brenda Large was in solemn communication with the Nova Scotia Medical Society. “*DOCTORS WANTED DEFOLIANT BANNED*” begins with a forthright paragraph concerning the society’s views, suggestions and warnings, and also the government’s indifference:

The Nova Scotia government was strongly warned last year by the Nova Scotia Medical Society about the potential birth-deforming effects of the defoliant 2,4,5-T. The 4th ESTATE has learned that the doctors urged the Conservative government to completely stop the use of 2,4,5-T in Nova Scotia until more research has been done on the potentially dangerous chemical. The doctors apparently never even received a reply to their letter. (p. 1)

By March 18, 1971, the Nova Scotia government had changed parties from Conservative to Liberal, with Gerald Regan as the new premier. On this date The 4th ESTATE reported that the Nova Scotia Medical Society had re-issued their concerns to the new government and that “it is hoped that [they] will be more receptive to the medical warning” (p. 9)

Professors at the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design: These weren’t exactly a “society”, but they were a pair of concerned citizens. On September 30, 1971, The 4th ESTATE reported the action of two NSCAD professors. Neither of them had personally suffered from contact with chemicals, but they did wish that the government would look more closely at the matter. In “NSCAD Professors Join Fight Against Use of Defoliants”

(September 30, 1971), *The 4th ESTATE* quoted from a letter that William G. Smith, professor of environmental design, and G. Robert Parker, wrote to Gerald Regan:

The letter to the Premier says that the highways clearing policy has “destroyed much of the natural beauty of Nova Scotia’s environment. People come to Nova Scotia to experience its winding roadways, small village and ‘national park like’ atmosphere. And yet we visually remove the motorist from much of the close-at-hand beauty of spruce, tamarack, alders, wild flowers and other natural growth”. (p. 18)

Cancellation Versus Suspension (The U.S.)

An Unhurried Process in Canada as well

The outlawing of actions occurring widely across the country, despite its happening in other countries, is not necessarily something that occurs immediately or even very rapidly. It is definitely a process that happens over a period of time.

Thomas Whiteside, an American journalist in the 1970s, was startled to hear of reports of chemicals being tested on animals and what the results were. Because of the regular deformities of lab mice, Whiteside began researching and attempted to print his work in mainstream newspapers, with little luck. He decided he needed to write a book in order to alert the public as to what was going on. *The Withering Rain* (1971), like *Silent Spring*, was initially published in *The New Yorker*. In Whiteside’s work, he brings an important point to mind, that the government would use euphemisms to make it look like the chemicals were outlawed. In the United States they used the term “cancellation”.

What did this truly mean as oppose to what it implies? The following discussion was printed June 7, 1970 in *The New Yorker* and can be found in the text of *Withering Rain*.

The word “cancellation”, which has such an air of finality about it, and which seems to signify drastic action, is really one of the weaker words in the federal-regulatory lexicon — far weaker than the word “suspension”, which the Department of Agriculture has applied to its action on the registrations of liquid formulations of 2,4,5-T used around the home and around lakes, ponds, and irrigation ditches.

To illustrate one of the powerful distinctions implicit in this upside-down bureaucratic language, when the Department of Agriculture *suspends* the registration of a product for certain uses, the suspension takes force immediately, and under federal law shipments of the product in interstate commerce must stop.... When the Department of Agriculture *cancel*s the registration of a product for certain uses, however, the movement of the product in interstate commerce is brought to no such automatic halt. (p. 68)

An example of government taking diminutive steps in the direction towards responsible action can be seen by the language used in the following The 4th ESTATE article by Brenda Large (January 28, 1971). The following lines are used to describe government and its reaction to an already building concerned public. The piece is entitled, “Public Pressure Needed to Ban 2,4,5-T — N.S. Companies Using Defoliant”:

A chemical defoliant which is suspected to have caused deformities in Vietnamese babies is still being widely used in Nova Scotia — despite the

fact that both the U.S. and Canadian governments have taken steps to *curtail* its use and issued warnings of its potential danger to human life.... A spokesman for the Highways Department says the department sharply *reduced* its use of the potentially dangerous chemical following a 1969 review of its use for roadside brush control.... On May 14, 1970, Agriculture Minister Bud Olsen announced *restrictions* on the use of the chemical.... [Olsen said,] “In view of the potential seriousness of the effects demonstrated in laboratory animals and the availability of alternate materials, it is considered prudent to *minimize* possible exposure of women in childbearing years by withdrawing 2,4,5-T formulations from use around home, aquatic and recreational areas, as well as food crops”.

(p. 14, my emphasis)

By October 1972, The 4th ESTATE gladly reported the “partial ban” on herbicides. “HERBICIDES PARTIALLY BANNED” by Pat Verge, explains the details of what was no longer permitted; however, “But the ban includes only government departments — not private companies. And it includes only the spraying of rights of way — not spraying for weed killing, clearing land around fire-control towers, or clearing land for agricultural use” (Oct. 26, 1972, p. 1).

Despite the fact that the Nova Scotia government was advised by the Nova Scotia Medical Society as well as the Nova Scotia Resources Council, it took them a year and a half to enforce a partial ban. New Brunswick had issued one on herbicides a few weeks before.

Stories from around the Globe and in Nova Scotia

Covered by The 4th ESTATE

There were various peculiar happenings reported around the world that involved certain interaction with herbicides and pesticides. Some occurred as a result of deliberate spraying, others were accidental. These stories were spoken of in environmental circles and reported upon in less mainstream news in the 1960s and 70s. The following is a recap of most of the ones reported in The 4th ESTATE during its course from 1969 to 1977. Stories in the initial years were mainly concerned with herbicides, while the issues pertaining to the Spruce Budworm infestation in Cape Breton were written later.

- A. SWEDEN — *The Sunday Times* reported the story of a pregnant Swedish woman coming into contact with 2,4,5-T when driving through the countryside with her husband and two children. Seven months later the nurse gave birth to a girl who was disabled. Her birth defects were various, including a missing thumb and only three fingers on her right hand. The 4th ESTATE did something they didn't normally do. They printed the London *Sunday Times* article in full. ("Liberals May Take Action on Dangerous Chemical", March 18, 1971, pp 1, 9).
- B. ANNAPOLIS ROYAL, N.S. — The story about the Warren farm was written about the most in the 46 pages of articles on chemical harm covered by The 4th ESTATE. Robin and Belinda Warren's farm came into contact with a nearby area that was sprayed heavily. The family got frightened as they became ill and most of their cattle died. To add insult to injury, their crops were destroyed. After a long fight in court, they were compensated by government. It was enough to cover

their exorbitant legal fees (“CHEMICAL BLIGHTS N.S. FARM”, Apr. 6, 1971, p. 1).

- C. GOLDRIVER, N.S. — 2,4,5-T was flowing through a Canadian National Railway hose, which breaks. It was suspected that this occurred close enough to the DeMont’s well to result in the family, along with their pet dog, getting severely sick. The main symptom Mrs. DeMont experienced, for example, was extreme lethargy. This didn’t stop there from being spraying near the area again (“2,4,5-T Occurred When CNR Hose Broke”, July 1, 1971, p. 23).
- D. In Brenda Large’s September 21, 1972 editorial she outlined two interesting stories. The first is of how people in British Columbia protested against threats of herbicide spraying in their area. “Residents of the area had threatened to form a human chain around the spraying machines; they called off their demonstration when it was announced the spraying would be stopped” (“A Lesson From Out West”, p. 6). The other story was of a lesson in Nova Scotia which was positive but not permanent. Clam diggers in Nova Scotia were hired by the provincial government to cut brush. Unfortunately, it was only for a temporary period (Sep. 21, 1972).
- E. “The forest was as silent as a graveyard. There were no birds, or bees, or small animals, and fish were floating belly-up in the lakes and streams. That’s when we began to change our minds about spraying” (“Budworm Politics...” Oct. 13, 1976, p. 4). These are the words of Mitchell Franklin, a wealthy landowner in New Brunswick, who regretted spraying so badly he became a very influential activist against spraying the budworm there.

- F. An accident occurred in the state of Michigan when cattle got sick and the people who ate beef got ill as well. Ralph Surette reported the horrible scenario: “[They] had to slaughter cattle by the thousands” (July 15, 1971, p. 2).
- G. The same article deals with another story. An explosion in a chemical plant in Savesso, Italy occurred and resulted in human fetuses being aborted for fear of deformities.

Propaganda — for Spraying

By circa 1971 there were several reports in the media about the hazards of chemical spraying, deliberate and accidental, as mentioned before. There were reports in the alternative press and the mainstream media, as well as a small number of texts on the subject, such as Rachel Carson’s *Silent Spring* as early as 1962. A few writers followed in Carson’s footsteps in terms of covering the concern about pesticides in lyrical prose, with the benefit of being based on thorough scientific research, about potential harm. Carson did insist that she was not suggesting zero tolerance of pesticides, which perhaps was a wise tactic to prevent more alarm in her society than need be.

Ruth Mulvey Harmer picked up a few years after Carson left off, in 1971, with *Unfit For Human Consumption*. She is also American and as well first published material from Chapter 6, in the magazine, *The Nation*. Harmer addresses several issues pertaining to pesticides, including the subject of propaganda *for* chemical spraying. Most would agree that readers’ views can be easily manipulated by what is portrayed by media. Historically, there always have been two-sided controversies in the press, simply as this is

the nature of mainstream media, whereas alternative/underground papers tend have a point of view and to side with one another collectively on the most pressing, larger topics. Harmer devotes eight pages in her book to explaining the details involved in the propaganda on behalf of killing insects fast and effectively in American society:

As protests about pesticides have increased, so have the defenses — in both volume and tone. *Baron's*, the widely circulated business and financial weekly, warned in a recent editorial about the “liberal folklore” notion that man’s use of chemical poisons is harming the environment. Under the title of “Up With People and Down With the Venomous Foes of Chemical Pesticides,” it put down Rachel Carson, members of the Environmental Defense Fund, and other objectors as mischievous myth-makers of left-wing or anti-business bias.... In addition to thousands of articles in magazines and newspapers, popular books have encouraged the belief that without pesticides all would be lost....” (p. 137)

Similar propaganda can be seen in the Halifax region. The 4th ESTATE referred to *The Dartmouth Free Press*, a popular newspaper of the early 1970s, to make the point of how the local mainstream covered the issue of pesticides:

In an article by Rev. W.T. Slaney in the *Dartmouth Free Press* Nov. 19, 1970, the Power Commission is quoted as telling the Board of Trade the mixture used by the Power Commission is a “standard herbicide comprising a mixture of 2,4,-D and 2,4,5-T....” That mixture is a substance very similar to Agent ORANGE used in Vietnam. The letter, which unfortunately was not reproduced in full, said there was “no

evidence suggesting that the regular use of 2,4,5-T since 1948 when the herbicide was first introduced has caused adverse effects in man or animals.”

Apparently ... the Power Commission letter made no reference to the possible dangers to pregnant women from 2,4,5-T. If the letter did mention that fact, it was not reported in Rev. Slaney’s dispatch. (Jan. 28, 1971, “Public Pressure Needed to Ban 2,4,5-T”, p. 15)

Ralph Surette, in an article entitled, “Spraying the Budworm Would be a Gross Admission of Failure”, points to the local propaganda urging government to spray. He wrote, “It is a timely topic because of the spruce budworm question — not only the decision to spray or not to spray, but the propaganda campaign in favor of spraying that has been carried on by Nova Scotia Forest Industries and the *Chronicle Herald*” (Feb. 3, 1977, p. 6).

A parallel may be drawn between the notion of a connection between the government and corporate sector of Nova Scotia society and the largest mainstream newspaper of Nova Scotia, *The Chronicle Herald*. Jason F. Mullen completed an Honours thesis for the Sociology department at Saint Mary’s University in 1998. The 75-page document is an analysis of *The Chronicle Herald* and the gambling issue in Nova Scotia between the years 1992 and 1996. Mullen saw a direct relation between government and corporate business “sources” and this particular newspaper. Most extracts taken from the newspaper exalt gambling because of its benefit to the economy. This theme runs throughout the thesis.

As well, Mullen includes factual information that tells of the non-reporting of *The Chronicle Herald* of various groups in society who were against gambling:

Sources such as social workers, victims or players were rarely cited.

Reporters were not likely to have easy access [to] them and these sources were much less likely to state information in a way that was in line with the format needs of a news organization. Conservative and religious groups and secular critics, such as People Against Casinos in Nova Scotia ... were not displayed prominently in my news sample either....” (p. 51)

Mullen explains that there was divergence of issues surrounding government, but finalizes his paper in his “Conclusions” on this note: “Nevertheless, promotional themes in the public forum were far more prominent than rhetoric debating moral suitability or social costs of gambling. In this sense, the news tended to converge around corporate and governance clusters of connotations” (p. 67).

Returning to the 1970s era, and an entirely different subject, although one that has also gotten various people “up in arms”, an analysis of *The Chronicle Herald* at this time corresponds with what Surette was pointing out in his February 3, 1977 article. From January 5, 1977 to January 10, 1977, the *Chronicle Herald* reported on the controversial developments regarding aerial spraying. One only needs to look at the titles of the articles during these five days to see their stance on the issue:

- Jan. 5, 1977 — “Insecticides No Brake on Longevity”. (p. 7)
- Jan. 6, 1977 — “Early Spray Decision Urged by Foresters”. (p. 3)
- Jan. 7, 1977 — “Spraying Important for Blueberry Crop”. (pp 1 and 2)

- Jan. 7, 1977 — “Sevin Defended as Safest Insecticide in Use Today”. (p. 1 of 2nd section)

Jan. 8, 1977 — “Budworm Is ‘Serious Problem’”. (p. 1)

- Jan. 10, 1977 — [Editorial] “Premier Regan’s Stand”:

In approaching a most difficult and demanding task, Premier Regan should, however, be given in the first instance the support and encouragement of all Nova Scotians who are concerned with the maintenance of job stability and of a viable economy in this province. (p. 6)

Who Is Most Susceptible to Toxic Harm

People and Wildlife Dying

Illness as a result of chemical spraying in the Maritimes afflicted some people as children as they were diagnosed with Reye’s Syndrome. Harry Thurston wrote *The Sea Among the Rocks: Travels in Atlantic Canada* (2002), and includes in his stories a tearful tale of a boy in New Brunswick who was stricken with symptoms of acute illness and soon passed away. Parts of the story are quoted here:

Jimmy Singleton died on the day after his tenth birthday, June 29, 1979.

As of this writing [1982], he was the most recent child to die of Reye’s syndrome in New Brunswick — the last one diagnosed and reported, that is. Earlier I had met with Dr. Ken Rozee, who heads a team of researchers at Dalhousie University in Nova Scotia. They had verified, with blood samples from actual Reye’s patients, that the syndrome is sparked by a

viral-enhancing effect which they had previously linked to the petrochemical emulsifiers in the spray.... Near the end, one of the Moncton doctors asked something that took the Singletons completely by surprise: “Did they spray in your area?” (pp 197–198)

Jimmy’s parents hadn’t known for certain that Reye’s Syndrome was a disease caused by chemical spray in the vicinity of their home until they read of it three weeks after the boy’s funeral, in *The Moncton Times*.

Two stories in the October 13, 1976 issue of *The 4th ESTATE* make reference to Reye’s Syndrome (p. 5). The one printed at the bottom of the page is entitled, “Reye’s Syndrome: Is It Linked to Budworm Spraying?” The article addresses the subject head on with this lead:

Reye’s Syndrome was first identified by Dr. R. D. K. Reye at the Royal Alexandra Hospital for Children in Sydney, Australia in 1963.

At least nine New Brunswick children became sick during the winter of 1971-72 and 1972-73 with symptoms of Reye’s Syndrome. Five of them died.

If human beings have been harmed, it should be added that animals have been too. The *Sunday Times* of London reported that 50 reindeer had died. The article was reprinted in *The 4th ESTATE*, which also included reports throughout their eight years of publication, of the death of a cat (he had eaten a sparrow who, as in a chain reaction, had eaten chemically tainted food), and in another issue, of a family farm dog who had become ill. Wildlife, in all its thousands of species, were suffering or having an end put to

their already short lives. The 4th ESTATE's P.E.I correspondent, Jack McAndrew, reported from Charlottetown:

And the use of pesticides is causing an undetermined amount of damage to wildlife, undetermined because no significant amount of research has been done to determine exact levels of toxic content. ("Pollution in P.E.I. — The Garbage Can of the Gulf?" Nov. 13, 1969, p. 11)

The Law

Compensation Available

Charlottetown — Jack McAndrew continued to explain in the same article referred to above on pesticides how the law was concerned: "the pesticide problem is different and more difficult to resolve... It is difficult to bring the law to bear on these cases, because convictions depend on catching the perpetrator in the act" (Nov. 13, 1969, p. 11).

Halifax — Brenda Large on January 28, 1971 was researching and reporting at this time as Associate Editor, and filled her readers in on defoliants and how the law is designed to minimize their use. She refers to the Nova Scotia Pollution Control Act:

In the Act, pollution means any alteration or variation of the physical, chemical, biological or aesthetic properties of land, air or water which results or may result from any act or omission over which the Legislature of Nova Scotia has jurisdiction. The Pollution Act is definitely NOT a strong one, but it does provide fines for polluters. (p. 15)

There is no mention in the 46 pages of pesticide analysis of anyone getting charged by law. But there are stories of compensation, on the other hand, by the Nova Scotia government for those who were affected financially and in terms of health. Mr. Warren, the farmer already mentioned in the section on stories reported by *The 4th ESTATE* (see p. 173 above), was represented by lawyer Peter Nicholson and was eventually compensated with \$9,600. Brenda Large wrote about it and commented, “Mr. Warren is probably due a lot more financial compensation than he ... received” (“CHEMICAL KILLS N.S. ANIMALS — No Action on Warren Farm Case”, p. 19).

The law on chemical pollution in Canada is not necessarily similar to laws in other countries of the world. Why such pollution was not completely banned or restrictions severely enforced, as many environmentalists in the 1960s–70s timeframe figured, is because short-term gains were more urgent to Canadian government than potential long-term dangers. Publisher Brenda Large writes in her editorial column on January 13, 1977, *Inside The 4th ESTATE* (The paper was by this point completely taken over by Large as Nick Fillmore had left):

In Sweden, aerial spraying is **against the law**. I believe the provincial government must decide that the long-term dangers (both for the forests and for people) of chemical spraying are too great to justify the saving of a few jobs. (p. 2)

Political Outrage in the Press Branches Out

“SEEING RED OVER AGENT ORANGE”

“Sprays Applied Liberally”

Victims were quoted as saying...

- “There’s no other reason on this Earth why I would be having about 15 different diseases and ailments that are going to eventually turn into cancer.... I guess the way I can sum it up is it’s too soon. I don’t deserve to be dying at 57. I don’t deserve this and no one who worked there deserves any kind of illnesses they have.” (Ken Dobbie, President of the Agent Orange Association of Canada: “Agent Orange and Agent Purple” by Louise Elliot, cbc.ca, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/agentorange/>)
- “We have had this whitewash going on for 50 years and I would say there is a conspiracy to try and push this issue onto the back burner or off the stove entirely”. (Ken Dobbie: “Agent Orange Compensation Package Promised” by Chris Morris — CP; *The Cape Breton Post*, Aug. 12, 2006, p. A10)
- “It affects the many people who went through Gagetown over the decades and also their families and future generations”. (Art Connolly: “Ontario Man Ponders an Agent Orange Link”, by Bill Powers; *The Chronicle Herald*, Aug. 25, 2006, p. B3)
- “They’re waiting for veterans to die. Why is that? Because it’s cheaper. That sounds so cruel and heartless, but that’s how they’re looking at it”. (Art Connolly:

“Feds Stalling on Agent Orange Compensation: Group”, by Melanie Patten, *The Telegram*, St. John’s, Aug. 27, 2006, p. A5)

- “Guys are getting older and they’re dying off faster. We’ve got to get something for them”. (John Chisholm: “Feds to Review Agent Orange Compensation Package for Gagetown”, by Chris Morris — CP; *The Daily News*, Oct. 14, 2006, p. 9)
- “I don’t care how much it is as long as something is there, or there is at least an apology for what has taken place.... I know there are lots of people who are very sick and I’m sure they’re going to see compensation”. (John Chisholm: “N.B. Veteran Confident in Agent Orange Budget Funds”, by Chris Morris — CP, *The Daily News*, Mar. 20, 2007, p. 9)
- “My husband would come home from work with chemicals on his clothes. My children would meet him at the door with hugs and kisses, and now we’re paying the price.... I’ve had to get my stomach removed, my hair is falling out, but worst of all, my husband died because of asbestos on his lungs”. (Muriel Miller: “Seeing Red Over Agent Orange”, by Sarah Regan, *The Daily News & The Canadian Press*, Aug. 27, 2006, p. 3)
- “In 1969, my wife lost our first child. We didn’t know the reason why, we were just young at the time.... I do know this much right now that the Merchant Law Group have got the government right where they want them”. (Paul Thompson: “Retired Soldier First Nova Scotian in Agent Orange Class-action Suit”, by Jennifer Taplin: *The Daily News*, Aug. 21, 2006, p. 3).

- “They took most of me bowels away and me backside.... My backside is now at the front of me body, which I have to laugh about or I’d go crazy”. (Keith Pilmoor: “Britain Awards Compensation to Former Soldier over Agent Orange at N.B. Base”, by CP; *The Guardian*, Charlottetown, Apr. 26, 2007, p. B8).
- “I remember seeing the planes spraying mist over the trees.... It smelled like kerosene. During training exercises, we crawled through that poison, through the mud, the dirt and the stench.... Look at me, I have a hole in my neck. I have no taste, I have no smell, I can’t take a shower or I will drown, and every day is a struggle to speak. They can’t take anything else from me. Now, I want something in return”. (Ross Mason: “Seeing Red Over Agent Orange”, by Sarah Regan, *The Daily News & The Canadian Press*, Aug. 27, 2006, p. 3)

Agent Orange, the dual composition of defoliants 2,4-D and 2,4,5-T, was reported in two Halifax newspapers on October 14, 2006, to have been “sprayed liberally” at CFB Gagetown, N.B. The latter chemical was banned in 1985 in Canada, and the mixture of the two is now known notoriously as an herbicide used in Vietnam during the Vietnam War in order to clear greenery to make way for taking control of the country adroitly. Journalist Chris Morris of *The Canadian Press* wrote this October 2006 article regarding compensation for veterans who were afflicted at Gagetown, New Brunswick. *The Daily News* piece (p. 9) reads, “The money could be handed out next year to people who say they are suffering because of the chemical sprays applied liberally to the sprawling training base from the 1950s to the 1980s”. *The Chronicle Herald* article matches almost identically, “The money could be handed out next year to people who say they are

suffering because of the chemical sprays applied liberally to the sprawling training base A10....”

The media has indicated in 2006–2007 that there have been hundreds, or as many as 1500 people who have been affected by the liberal spraying in this small area. Lawsuits are being considered, the federal government has been investigating, but only a handful of victims have been compensated to this date. Some government officials appear sympathetic in the news; for example, Jody Carr, MLA representing Oromocto and Gagetown, was featured by Louise Elliott of CBC on line as saying, “To try to determine how many civilians, a particular number, it’s very difficult, but the fact is that regardless of the costs. The federal government has the moral and ethical responsibility” (<http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/agentorange>, retrieved May 18, 2007). Meanwhile, Greg Thompson, Veterans Affairs Minister, is quoted in the *Cape Breton Post* on August 12, 2006 (Agent Orange Comensation Package Promised, p. A10): “The whole story will not come out on the testing simply because it happened so many years ago.... All of those people can’t be wrong; some of the evidence we know is out there can’t be wrong and there’s obviously a lot of evidence that would be missing simply because of the passage of time.... At the end of the day, we will be coming up with a compensation package for those people.”

Figures for potential compensation range from one thrown around by the government of \$20,000 to one of a million dollars or even billions by lawyers taking on suits. Veterans, who are suffering physically in the meantime, have the added stress and worry of being compensated only \$20,000 as they fear that won’t cover the costs of medications for long, and even worse, that they may pass away waiting for it to arrive.

Action

There really is no mystery to “fighting city hall”. Left, right, or centre, organizing for change is about putting a case together, getting the word out, persuading the public that your cause has merit and finding ways to translate that public support into pressure on governments.

From Chapter 1 — Democracy 101 (p.11)

How to Save the World in Your Spare Time

Elizabeth May

2006

Pressure on government was exactly what was needed in Nova Scotia in order to outlaw DDT, and to get a “partial ban” on herbicides. Judging from the 375 issues of The 4th ESTATE newspapers and the 46 pages specifically analysed for this chapter, it seems that the paper *did* make a difference in the battle against chemical spraying. The writers encouraged concerned citizens to write letters and to keep on reading their paper to find out how to do more. To illustrate this point one can look at the way The 4th ESTATE typically concluded their articles:

- January 28, 1971 — “If the Americans are stopping the use of 2,4,5-T in Viet Nam, why are we still using it in Nova Scotia? It’s a question you might want to ask your local MLA. — Researched by Jim Haggarty and Brenda Large” (p. 5).

- March 18, 1971 — “Just write to Premier Regan, care of Province House, Halifax. You could include a copy of this article and the London *Times* article reprinted on the opposite page. Back issues of The 4th ESTATE which dealt with 2,4,5-T are available at The 4th ESTATE office.” (p. 9)
- April 6, 1971 — “If you are as ‘unnecessarily’ concerned as I am, please write to your provincial MLA and federal MP about 2,4,5-T and tell them you think both the federal and provincial officials are acting in a highly irresponsible way in allowing the continued use of these chemicals. Pregnant women might be particularly interested in writing to their political representatives.” (p. 19)
- November 24, 1976 — “Accordingly we would invite the readers of The 4th ESTATE to write to Mr. Vincent MacLean and express their support for our call along with 60 other N.S. groups for a Ban to all Spruce Budworm programs in N.S. — Letter by Alan Ruffman, Member, *Ban Spruce Budworm Spray*, Board of Ecology Action Centre., p. 10.

The 4th ESTATE covered many of the undersized stories swirling in environmental activists’ circles of writings and discussions. A thorough collection of articles published from this newspaper over a significant period, written on the subject of chemical spray — herbicides and pesticides — occurring in the province and around the world — would historically shed light on a complete picture.

Individual writers, as well, wrote of the saga of pesticide/herbicide promotion and demotion in many countries. In Nova Scotia, the author of *Budworm Battles* (1982), Elizabeth May, began to stand out as a unique environmentalist, fighting to make a difference on behalf of people, particularly those in Cape Breton, who were threatened by

government permission to use chemical sprays. In the tail end of The 4th ESTATE's life, in 1976–77, May was a young undergraduate, ready to devote her career and personal life to this cause. In *Budworm Battles* she recounts her frustration with government, corporate industry such as pulp and paper, and media such as Halifax's *The Chronicle-Herald*. She refers to The 4th ESTATE: "A well-respected Halifax weekly, 'The Fourth Estate' [sic], editorially opposed spraying and backed up their position with a well-researched article, published in mid-October" (p. 28).

Currently it is certainly considered normal to be concerned about chemical spray on the surface of our fruit and vegetables or about our farm and domestic animals developing illnesses or even dying in worst case scenarios. If groups of people, sponsored by our governments, were allowed to spray freely, as if there was absolutely no danger, human beings would be dying of fatal diseases, or their offspring would often be born deformed. Research on this topic has shown that this has happened.

However, in the 1970s, there had not been enough research done to convince people that it was a certain threat. They were throwing chemicals around in the dark, so to speak, because they suspected the economy would suffer if they did not. They feared they would lose many dollars from their pockets. To stand up to them took bravado and vigor.

To voice the opinion, "Let nature take its course", with regards to insects in the forest was a lot more difficult 35 years ago, but nonetheless, The 4th ESTATE made a stance with their publication. They literally addressed the issue and explained directly where they stood on it: "After a careful examination of the problem, we at The 4th ESTATE have concluded a spray program will do nothing to solve Nova Scotia's spruce

budworm problems. In fact, it will aggravate the problem” (“Budworm Politics”, Oct. 13, 1976, p. 4).

This examination of the activism behind the writing of *The 4th ESTATE* on chemical spraying in Nova Scotia shows that they were a group of revolutionary journalists working ahead of their time to make a difference in future years, as did environmentalists across North America in the 1960s and 1970s.

CHAPTER NINE: THE END OF THE 4TH ESTATE

The 4th ESTATE was a privately owned newspaper that covered social and political news in Nova Scotia from 1969 to 1977. As all newspapers are a record of history and location, The 4th ESTATE is an artifact of period and place, already important in 2008 as a historical document. Its study is reflective of the Halifax-Dartmouth community and of events and perspectives of a younger generation in the grand picture of North America in the 1960s and 1970s, particularly in the Maritimes.

It is known what some of The 4th ESTATE's main editors are doing at present, but others' whereabouts are uncertain. Nick Fillmore still works in journalism in Toronto and Ralph Surette writes a column for *The Chronicle Herald* as well as freelancing for other publications. Frank Fillmore died in 1978 and Nancy Lubka, who moved to the United States in the 1970s, could not be found. Brenda Large returned to her home province, Prince Edward Island to retire.

The 4th ESTATE during its eight years had many contributing freelancers who had the opportunity to use the paper as a foundation for their career in writing. It was not uncommon, during the research for this thesis, to come across their names in other various Canadian publications such as books, newspapers, or magazines.

“I Suppose We Were All Idealists and We Weren’t Being Paid Much....”

Reflections of Ralph Surette

Challenging the Establishment; Capitalizing on Disillusion with the Press

Ralph Surette began working at The 4th ESTATE in 1973, after a seven-year stint in Montreal as a journalist for *The Canadian Press*, *The Montreal Star*, and *Last Post*. Nick Fillmore had called him from Halifax and urged him to leave the city of Montreal and join the full-time staff at The 4th ESTATE in its office on Hollis Street. Surette and his wife subsequently uprooted from their Montreal home and headed to the Atlantic coast.

Surette’s title was Associate Editor and he worked for the Halifax alternative until near the end of its incorporation, after which he still remained employed on a part-time basis as a columnist. In a 2006 interview, Surette discussed details of The 4th ESTATE newspaper in general, the theme of environmentalism, and other papers he worked for, with analytic intellect and gregarious openness. He is a Saint Mary’s University graduate and currently writes a column for the Halifax *Chronicle Herald*, as well as doing broadcasting work with French CBC radio.

- **On issue/fact reporting...**

“It wasn’t always reporting in the standard sense of the term. Ah, we were trying to get at certain issues. The whole paper [The 4th ESTATE] was meant to deal with issues, not to just report on the news.... I mean it wasn’t just a matter of reporting the facts. It was also a matter of getting

out what the opinions were. And where the whole ball of wax stood at any particular time”.

- **On how the issues were dealt with...**

“And a lot of issues we dealt with were sort of dealt with in the spirit of, of ah, contesting or provoking, and ah, which was really new at the time, I mean now, you find that standard stuff in the media, but at that time it was kind of, ah risqué or bold or brazen, because you were expected to be polite and know your place I guess politically, it was kind of not done, to more or less hiss and spit at the political establishment”.

- **Was The 4th ESTATE “underground” per se?**

“So it wasn’t really an underground paper of hippies and leftists and so on. There was also a fair layer I would say of liberal lawyers who you know liked to see the word get out. There was always a straight element to The 4th ESTATE as well”.

- **On what fueled the writing...**

“Basically The 4th ESTATE gathered up the pent up progressive opinion, and published it. When I say progressive opinion I don’t mean you know, liberal in the American sense of the word. The established business, media, government, structure — brought it out and let it scream and don’t forget that even doing that it didn’t have a big impact at the time. It wasn’t big circulation but it still got around, sort of always fired a shot and created a bit of a stir”.

- **On contemporary alternative newspapers...**

[e.g. *The Coast* of Halifax] “Yeah, I mean that’s I don’t know, sex, drugs, and rock n’ roll to a great degree. The alternative culture is where the money is these days, if that’s what you want to call alternative culture. I mean they do do political stuff but almost as an aside. It’s got to be dramatically different [from in the 1970s]. You never touched that kind of stuff in *The 4th ESTATE* in those days. *The Coast* as far as I know is commercially successful. And *The Coast* exists within a context in which publications are covering the same things. I don’t see them here but I pick it up when I’m in Halifax ... it deals with an issue that is not being dealt with by anyone else but they’re not usually the huge issues.... Back when *The 4th ESTATE* started environmentalism, you had to scream and holler to get heard, I mean, now it’s the main debate in the legislature”.

- **On the NDP party...**

“Another factor that accompanied all this, in Nova Scotia, with the election of a couple of NDP members, the NDP was the alternative political party and over the long run, the NDP had drove and drove and drove to challenge what was basically the old political establishment of Liberals and Tories. So in a sense it came to ah, to make the point on a lot of stuff that nobody wants to talk about. Especially political patronage, that’s at the core of Nova Scotia politics. And in a way that’s what the whole fight has been about over time”.

- **What was the key problem in Nova Scotia politics?**

“The fundamental problem in Nova Scotia was the secretiveness, the culture of secrecy and control and really undemocratic politics. And trying to break that up was a big part of the problem. There’s still this tendency to sort of, hide things but at least they are being challenged now. At the time they weren’t”.

- **How does a paper like this survive?**

“A newspaper like that required, it was kind of a labour of love, it required people to ah work ah, ah work like slaves basically, work seven days a week to keep it going and keep putting it out, in some ways it was a stressful place because of that. I mean I suppose we were all idealists and we weren’t being paid much”.

In between Mainstream and Underground

In the 1970s there existed a genre of newspaper writing that was certainly not what one would consider “mainstream”, but was not exactly “underground” either. There were only a handful of these, for lack of sufficient terminology, “alternative” papers in Canada and more often than not they were in closer competition with the daily press than the underground papers were, employed trained, educated and experienced journalists, and tended to attract higher advertising revenue as well as enjoy longer publishing years.

The 4th ESTATE could fairly accurately be said to be in this admittedly hazy category in an era when what was “alternative” in terms of media may not be considered

as such in the early twenty-first century. Also, people in the late sixties and onward until the 1980s were much more critical of the mainstream media than in the early 21st century, partly as it was the fashion to challenge tradition and partly because, generally speaking, the daily press in North America was genuinely corrupt. Whether it has sufficiently recovered after over thirty years is most likely an issue of debate; whether it has improved over this time is most likely a point that veteran journalists would agree is a fact.

Keith Davey's term, "Volkswagen Press", aptly sums up four Canadian newspapers that were selected for this classification in the 1970 senate report on mass media in the country. This report was discussed in newspaper, radio, and TV news circles at the time. Michael Nolan entitled his article from *Commentator* about the Davey report, "I Hope the Davey Reports will not just be Filed and Forgotten" to imply his appreciation for Davey's research and suggestion that it should be preserved with historical distinction. Many may agree that *Last Post* of Montreal, *Canadian Dimension* of Winnipeg, *Mysterious East* of Fredericton, and The 4th ESTATE of Halifax should not be forgotten or filed away either.

A Reader's Remarks

A social worker in Dartmouth wrote an environmentally focused letter to The 4th ESTATE ombudsman, which was published August 13, 1973 (p. 3). The letter, entitled "Who's Responsible for Melville Cove?" was written by Jackie Pace, who was at the time a high school student concerned about derelict boats in the Northwest Arm in

Halifax. After 34 years Pace remembered that the paper had pinned the problem on the Armdale Yacht Club and that, because of this action, the boats were removed. Jackie Pace commented October 30, 2006 in an interview:

And clearly in desperation I must have thought that this paper could help me and clearly they did because they were able to give me information that I was able to go back to the yacht club with.... It must have been that I wrote to The 4th ESTATE because I couldn't get any help anywhere. So, I think I saw them as "if anyone's going to help me, they are". Alternative, you know, not mainstream. I'm sure I didn't write the *Chronicle Herald* or *Mail-Star* and hope to get a response, so, um, and I think I had read enough stuff about The 4th ESTATE that, boy, just a phone call from them to the Department of Highways or to the Armdale Yacht Club was going to make a far better difference than to me doing it. You know, I'm just the local Joe, right?

Ms. Pace, who currently reads several newspapers including *The Globe and Mail*, *The Chronicle Herald*, and *The Coast* of Halifax, remarked in hindsight that there is something missing on the local scene today in terms of political and social news, although not so much in terms of arts and entertainment coverage. She said,

I'm not sure that we don't need The 4th ESTATE back again. All the garbage happening that we don't know the truth about ... I don't think of our newspapers as really good forums for understanding and bringing people an understanding about environmental issues. For example, the tar ponds. We see pictures of it and I go "ugh, I wouldn't want to live next to

it” but I don’t know when I think of The 4th ESTATE, you know, we would have been much more enlightened had they been around to know all the politics of tar ponds and how that got to be and how people put up with that and how their houses are sinking.... If The 4th ESTATE were around those hard questions would have been answered. And I don’t think we have a paper that does that....

Jackie Pace spoke specifically about today’s TV and print news in Nova Scotia and across Canada. Our interview concluded with her final remarks on her recollection of The 4th ESTATE:

So I think there is lots happening to us that we are ignorant about.... So, there’s a whole gap here. I don’t know what happened after ’77 but just think it’s a shame. I’m sure I went in search of it to become informed. So that’s what I’d say about it. I think there’s a whole gap there, it makes me wonder. I feel ill informed about where my water money has gone for years or how did the tar sands come to be, all that kind of stuff. And I think they would have filled the gap for me or helped me do that.

A Dalhousie Professor Speaks of Days Gone By

Not without coincidence I met Alan Ruffman (whose letter to The 4th ESTATE is featured previously) at a Halifax café in July, 2008, where I was editing this thesis. He is also mentioned in Chapter Four in connection with “MOVE”, a citizens group of Halifax. The geological consultant recalled The 4th ESTATE without hesitation:

The 4th ESTATE was an important part in the growth of Halifax...The 4th ESTATE was valuable to MOVE...The *Chronicle Herald* were seen to be conservative; they probably supported the conservatives. The 4th ESTATE was liberal and Halifax had never had anything like that.

Alan Ruffman is currently the Honourary Research Associate at Earth Sciences at Dalhousie University. He is also a charter member of the Ecology Action Centre. He volunteers with the Sable Island Preservation Trust and is a member of Friends of Public Gardens Society. Ruffman is the author of *Titanic Remembered: The Unsinkable Ship and Halifax*.

According to The 4th ESTATE ... Memos and Reports

Warning Signs

The 4th ESTATE's last issue was April 28, 1977. It is not evident by reading the last issues that the paper was about to shut its doors for good. The work, at a glance, has the appearance of being as lively and sound as it had ever been. The demise of the publication is abrupt and mysterious.

The paper was sadly headed for bankruptcy despite its having outlasted the usual life of alternative papers on the continent, its having a steadfast group of loyal readers in the community, and its national profile which was at its peak in the mid-seventies.

In an April 27, 1975 Brenda Large file (MG1 Vol. 3672) is a 16-page document labeled as "confidential" and entitled "Company History — A Summary of its Development and Current Position." The typed piece is an outline of significant events

that occurred during the course of the business's life up until 1975, with descriptions of how Editors Nick Fillmore and Brenda Large viewed their paper in context with other newspapers:

- a. The 4th ESTATE, now entering its seventh year of publication, is one of a very few of the early "alternative" publications still in existence.... (p. 4)
- b. The 4th ESTATE immediately attracted national attention (being written of in Maclean's magazine, Weekend, and central Canadian newspapers as an unusual development in the midst of the highly conventional Maritime media). (p. 6)

It is apparent sifting through The 4th ESTATE's office files that the business was strong, but also under threat because of a number of factors. There was discussion in letters about selling the company, or even trying to make it a daily paper. Nick Fillmore and Brenda Large separated as a married couple and the former left for Toronto; Large was to operate the company on her own as president around 1975-76.

Arnie Patterson, President and General Manager of CFDR, wrote a letter to Large on December 20, 1976. The final paragraph of his letter, written on CFDR letterhead, is encouraging, but the fact that Large is considering selling may be a tell-tale sign that the future of The 4th ESTATE was dubious:

Brenda, you have a good property there. With the circulation and reputation that the paper has built up over the years it would be difficult for someone to set up in opposition to you. Don't sell it. Just work to achieve a higher profit, keep talking to your banker so he will know the

direction you are headed in, and take a better living out of it for yourself as you proceed (p. 2).



Figure 29: Brenda Large. From University of Saskatchewan Archives. *Portrait of the Woman, 1974-1977*. Used with permission from photographer John Reeves.

Theories

Putting Two and Three Together

I believe there are several factors that contributed to the demise of The 4th ESTATE. To paraphrase Ralph Surette, “The paper did its job for its time”, while Nick Fillmore explained that an accident occurred with an advertisement that was published embarrassingly and the sponsor pulled its business, one which had been greatly relied upon.

The mid-seventies was a hard time for many alternative papers. They were going out of style and seemed to be going out of business, for whatever reason. The economy was suffering, which had an adverse effect on newspapers, particularly independent ones with small circulations.

Fillmore's moving and doing less viable work with the paper was probably a significant factor in The 4th ESTATE's hardships.

Office files reveal that the business was in financial crisis as early as 1975. There were memos between Fillmore and Large discussing the need for bank loans from Scotiabank, with figures such as \$5,000 and \$50,000 being thrown around. The 1975 Company History report has a financial statement on pages 15 and 16, the last two pages of the document.

From this, it can be seen that overall gross revenue rose steadily from 1970 to 1975, but printing expenses and wages also took a great leap, to the point where expenses started to exceed advertising, circulation and subscription revenues. In 1974 the retained earnings are listed as \$8,426, but these decreased substantially in a year to a deficit of -\$11,011.43 in 1975.

Other references in Large and Fillmore's files suggest that the former may have been struggling with unspecific health problems. Being the sole proprietor of a company without good health and in impoverished economy, would have been like speeding towards a brick wall, a situation which was probably even more challenging for someone of the female gender in the 1970s when, as pointed out in Chapter Two above, women were discriminated against in the workforce.

One last theory of mine as to why The 4th ESTATE went under is because by the mid-seventies the group of editors was shifting its focus from its regular alternative audience to a bigger, more mainstream or popular one.

With mere observation of the cover of the paper in the last couple years of its life, one may see a different look; there seems to be added colour and modern design. The editors were also concentrating more on arts and entertainment as well as a big T.V. Guide that broader audiences were looking for. They were changing because they felt the times were dictating that they do so — if only to stay in business. In this effort the editors spread themselves thin. The April 27, 1975 Company History file states frankly:

Another important factor affecting the growth of The 4th ESTATE in the past six months has been the inability to publish the kind of hard-hitting, in-depth journalism that had been so popular among our hard-core readership previously. Previously, the two co-publishers had been deeply involved in day-to-day editing and news coverage and were the chief instigators of the strong journalism for which the paper attained its forceful image. But with the attempt to professionalize the newspaper, the two owners were required to spend long hours developing aspects of the operation not related to its content. Much attention was given to advertising, circulation, hiring new staff, administering the staff (which had more than doubled in the space of a year) and so forth.... The general decline in editorial content, plus an erroneous but fast-spreading impression among hard-core readers that The 4th ESTATE was suddenly only interested in “making money”, has led to a falling off of circulation

since the fall of 1974, with the worst effects beginning in January of this year. (pp 10–11)

The 4th ESTATE's downfall was evidently circumstantial, something which may have been exacerbated by self-affliction. A precious journalistic creation of two business owners, soon to be only one, was slipping away despite their working like slaves to keep it intact.

Featured Twice in the Journal *Marketing*

Marketing published an article based on an interview with Nick Fillmore on November 11, 1974. John Cotter wrote, “The Dog in the Manger of Canadian Publishing — Now Gleaned Reputation for a Respectable Insolence — And Assets” (p. 29).

The entire piece is positioned from Fillmore's perspective, with many direct quotations and paraphrasing. Fillmore's photograph is large (the same featured in Chapter One of this thesis) and the article ends with an excerpt from a readership flyer that The 4th ESTATE had prepared. From this document it is ascertained that 73.3 per cent of the readership of The 4th ESTATE had a college education and that 49.2 per cent were in professional occupations. Cotter concludes with these words from the flyer, introducing them by emphasizing The 4th ESTATE as a newspaper with a social conscience:

Some people say you shouldn't rock the boat in Nova Scotia. The 4th Estate has been shaking up the ships of state, commerce and other fields of endeavor since its beginning with factual broadsides and socially responsible opinion ... because its early emphasis was on articles of social

concern, the 4th Estate has had to outgrow an undeserved “radical” image. We’re still concerned, and may be deservedly called the overground press of Nova Scotia. (p. 26.)

Just three years later *Marketing* would write again about The 4th ESTATE, only not to pay tribute to the newspaper and its mark on the Nova Scotia community as it had in 1974, but to include the paper in a story about the demise of Canadian community newspapers.

On December 5, 1977, seven months after The 4th ESTATE’s last issue, *Marketing* published “Final Editions: 4th ESTATE, Victorian Go Under”. The article begins on a sober note and plays a sad tune until its conclusion:

The community newspaper industry may have the highest failure rate of any segment in Canadian publishing. The reasons are not difficult to discover. While production costs are high and profit margins often low, it does not take a major investment to launch a weekly newspaper. But it may take a substantial investment over a period of years to establish a new publication, develop advertising revenues and ride out the hard times....

Another paper introduced its own entertainment guide. *Mayflower*, published by the Halifax Herald, was the third in the market with the same product. Said 4th ESTATE publisher Brenda Large when she announced the closing: “With a fight looming between the Telecaster and the *Mayflower*, I knew I couldn’t last” (pp 23–24).

In the 1960s and 1970s political and social issues were in a muddled but fascinating state of affairs, which gave The 4th ESTATE plenty of opportunity for action.

There was news in Halifax to report on that wasn't being written about in other papers such as in the established press. In communities across Canada and the United States in these vibrant decades of the 20th century, similar tales are told in print journalism.

The idea that smaller papers with an edge were providing their respective communities with information laced with inspiration is prominent in research about the alternative press, particularly in relation to the decades that The 4th ESTATE ran.

They dared to write of issues like environmentalism, for example, because it was news that ought to be explored, certainly for the sake of lakes, the sea, and the forest, but ultimately for humanity that is so intimately connected with it. Emphasis in writing on women's rights, racial discrimination, health, sexual orientation, or poverty made these publications an integral part of the left-wing movement that pushed for more fairness.

The 4th ESTATE and newspapers like it provide a source for historians to enable them to get a clearer and fuller picture of a frame of time and place. Speaking metaphorically, the view seen through a camera with a wide lens is open, reliable, and accurate. It sheds light on truth while the photographer has the intention of making a difference in society. This establishes seeds of awareness that grow to bloom in the generations to follow.

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