Assessing the Editorial Discourse Around the Equal Opportunity Program in New Brunswick

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Abstract

This study contextualizes, and analyzes, the editorial response to a set of reforms that Louis J. Robichaud, as Premier of New Brunswick, enacted during his tenure between 1960 and 1970. Through a discourse analysis of the editorial pages of *L'Évangéline* and the *Daily Gleaner*, two daily newspapers encompassing the province's major linguistic groups, this case study demonstrates how the editors of these outlets framed the Equal Opportunity Program. It is rooted in an inductive approach informed by Charles Taylor (1993)'s notions of nationalism, federalism and minority language politics in Canada. While *L'Évangéline*'s editor supported the Program, his counterpart at the *Gleaner* took an opposing view. The nationalism expressed by *L'Évangéline*'s editor through his support for the Program reflects a focus on collective rights; he supports Robichaud and his Program not simply because of the latter's objectives, but because of the former's Acadian roots. On the other hand, the *Gleaner*'s editor strongly opposes collective rights. He hints at the premier's Acadian heritage to stir up opposition to the Program and expresses a form of nationalism which is rooted in his position as a member of the linguistic majority. He frames the Program – and Robichaud's actions – as dangerous departures from the status quo.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Throughout the 1960s, the relationship between the different linguistic groups that had defined the bilingual nature of Canada, especially since Confederation, underwent a seismic shift. The rise of nationalism, particularly in Quebec, became a defining aspect of the Canadian political discourse for decades to come, and led to collective questioning regarding Canadian identity. However, events that unfolded in the Maritime province of New Brunswick, which was experiencing a societal shift of its own, have not been engaged with to the same degree by scholars. Changes taking place there were in many respects as significant as those taking place in Quebec, and the two realities were intimately related. As such, in order to shed some light over the linguistic dynamics of the decade, the present analysis will analyse the editorial discourse surrounding aspects of Louis J. Robichaud's tenure as Premier of New Brunswick.

During its decade in power, from 1960 to 1970, Robichaud's Liberal government enacted and oversaw the implementation of many reforms. These included the creation of the Université de Moncton in 1963, the Equal Opportunity Program (*Programme chances égales*) in 1967, and the Official Languages of New Brunswick Act in 1969. Furthermore, as the first Acadian to successfully lead a party to power in New Brunswick's history, Robichaud was a powerful symbol for many francophones in the province. While Peter J. Veniot is considered to be the first Acadian premier of New Brunswick, he never led the New Brunswick Liberals to victory; he assumed the premiership in 1923 following the resignation of Premier Walter E. Foster, and his government was defeated in the following election in 1925 (Stanley, 2008). However, Robichaud's reforms, coupled with his Acadian heritage, polarized the province's citizens over whether to support or oppose the premier and the projects he championed.

Thus, this study begins with a contextualization of Robichaud's reforms within the broader Canadian context, then proceeds to an analysis of the editorial section of two of New Brunswick's major dailies, one francophone and one anglophone, to determine how one of Robichaud's signature reforms was framed. To examine it from a communicational perspective provides insights into how each newspaper's editor sought to influence the debate, and ultimately advance the interests of their respective constituencies.

The study focuses on the editorial discourse surrounding the Equal Opportunity Program, implemented in 1967 through 130 different bills (Cormier, 2004). The Program sought to address the inequities in public services highlighted by the Royal Commission on Municipal Finance and Taxation, an inquiry launched by the Robichaud government during its first year in office. It was soon referred to as the Byrne Commission, after its Chairman, businessman Edward Byrne.

As such, the analysis, done through a corpus drawn from one anglophone and one francophone daily newspaper based in the province, aims to identify themes in the discourse used to frame the Program, and analyze them to understand their significance. Succintly, the research question can be put as such:

Research Question

How did the editors of the *Daily Gleaner* and *L'Évangéline* frame the Equal Opportunity Program between November 16, 1965, when the Program was introduced in the Legislative Assembly, and January 3, 1967, two days after the Program's reforms officially came into effect?

Chapter 2: Review of the Literature

Historical Context

Understanding the awakening that occurred in New Brunswick, Quebec and Canada in the 1960s is important to assess the political climate in which the Program was implemented. Since Confederation and for many years prior, New Brunswick's Acadian, French-speaking population had been sidelined within the political realm, leading, according to Thériault (2001), to a "structural underdevelopment of the Acadian regions" (p. 45). But the problem was not limited to the province's Acadians; the problem also extended to anglophone areas. Indeed, much of rural New Brunswick faced the same issues, regardless of language. Cormier (2004) highlights the disparities across the province that kept poor, rural counties, incapable of adequately financing public services, in a perpetual cycle of poverty. Because these county governments could not seem to break even, everything was taxed; a simple paint job on one's house, for example, could make their property assessment jump. This only imposed a heavier fiscal burden on an already struggling constituency. Counties had somewhat equal populations, each with roughly the same needs in healthcare, social services, and education, but unemployment and poverty were especially acute in rural areas. Meanwhile, urban counties were wealthier, because they had a more reliable tax base and thus could better finance their public services. Indeed, as Poitras (2004) illustrates, "in Saint John County, home of the province's industrial base and much of its wealth, the county budget was $180.79 per capita. In Restigouche County, in the francophone north, far from the center of power, it was only slightly more than one tenth of Saint John's - $19.06" (p. 46). As Robichaud (1965) himself points out, "we expect people in a municipality where many lack dependable incomes to provide the same level of services as municipalities where incomes are steady and high" (p. 3). In some instances, "as

many as 30 children in eight grades are taught by one over-worked and often under-trained teacher" (Robichaud, 1965, p. 3). As Young (1987) puts it, "rural counties, like Gloucester, could not cope" (p. 95). Hence, the Robichaud government launched the Byrne Commission; its report was, in Robichaud (1965)'s own words, "an amazingly well documented statement of the problems of local governments and an indictment of the present institutional organizations. Reading this report brings quite forcefully to one's attention the need for immediate reorganization" (p. 4). On November 16th, 1965, the Equal Opportunity Program was tabled in the Legislative Assembly of New Brunswick. The wide scope of its objectives, crucial to why it became so controversial, could certainly be illustrated by the number of bills – 130 – required to make it a reality, but it is worth elaborating on this matter. The Program included reforms to municipalities' taxation powers, the elimination of county governments, the redrawing of school districts, the centralization of local schools, and changes to healthcare delivery, the administration of justice, and social welfare programs. Of all these reforms, the Municipalities Act, which dealt with the elimination of county governments and the subsequent centralization of power at the provincial level, would prove to elicit the most forceful debate.

Simultaneously, over the course of the 1960s, a fundamental transformation of Acadian society in New Brunswick was taking place, in terms of its collective identity and its relationship with the anglophone majority (Thériault, 2001). The simultaneity and the ostensibly similar nature of these changes led Robichaud and "*Chances égales*" to be seen as the manifestation of this Acadian awakening (Thériault, 2001). According to Young (1987), "the revolutionary change in the role of the provincial state embodied in the EO [equal opportunity] program was unique in Canada" (p. 101). Robichaud (1965) himself, in the introduction of the Program, proposes "a break with the past to enable us to accept the challenge of the present and the future"

(p. 5). But while the roots of Robichaud's reforms were certainly in line with the era's modernizing priorities, they were driven by a desire for social justice, not Acadian nationalism (Thériault, 2001). Indeed, Landry (2015) points out that Robichaud reached out to Saskatchewan's social democrats for advisors, not strictly Acadians. The creation of the Université de Moncton in 1963 was also seen, according to Landry (2015), as a dream come true for the Acadian nationalist elite. But for Robichaud, despite not being part of the Program, it fit his disparity reduction plan (Landry, 2015). Towards the end of Robichaud's last mandate, Université de Moncton students occupied the university's science building to bring attention to what they saw as his government's inaction towards the City of Moncton's discriminatory language policies. These events, inspired by the student and worker uprisings of *Mai '68* in France, signalled a split between the old and the new generation of Acadian nationalists. Robichaud took it very personally (Cormier, 2004).

Next door, in the province of Quebec, mere weeks before Robichaud's election, Jean Lesage's ascendency to the premiership of Quebec signalled the beginning of the Quiet Revolution. Under the slogan "*Maîtres chez nous*," Lesage's government nationalized Hydro-Québec, the province's electricity provider, and French-Canadians began to play an increasingly active role in the province's economy (Latouche, 2008). His modernizing efforts mirrored those of Robichaud. Simultaneously, this awakening was defined by a search for a distinct *Québécois* identity, one that would differ from the previous French-Canadian identity that defined francophones living in Quebec (Belkhodja & Ouellette, 2000). This had important implications for New Brunswick – indeed, "*le leitmotiv de l'autonomie provinciale dans le discours modernisateur québécois fait passer la survivance du peuple canadien-français par la promotion d'une nouvelle spécificité québécoise comme étant la seule nation francophone majoritaire*

pouvant protéger le fait francophone en Amérique du Nord" (Belkhodja & Ouellette, 2000, p. 160). The face of this new *Québécois* specificity was René Lévesque, who in 1967 left the Quebec Liberal Party after serving in Lesage's Cabinet to launch the Mouvement Souveraineté-Association. In 1968, it became the Parti Québécois (PQ). It is under the PQ banner that Lévesque became premier in 1976 and in 1980 held the first referendum on Quebec sovereignty.

Repercussions again reached New Brunswick; to the ire of Robichaud, who disliked Lévesque's sovereignist intentions, in 1972, a number of new Acadian elites formed the sovereignist Parti Acadien (Landry, 2015). It advocated for the creation of an Acadian province along New Brunswick's coastal regions, which would have split the province down the middle, and the dismantling of Robichaud's reforms through a reinstatement of local autonomy (Landry, 2015). After failing to elect a single MLA in successive elections, the party dissolved in 1982 (Landry, 2015).

Meanwhile, at the federal level, Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson launched the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1967), known as the Laurendeau-Dunton Commission after its chairmen André Laurendeau and Davidson Dunton, to seek avenues for reconciliation in the context of an increasingly alienated Quebec. Father Clément Cormier, a founder and first president of the Université de Moncton, was one of its commissioners. It was a source of inspiration for Robichaud's project of linguistic equality, which was anticipating its conclusions (Belkhodja & Ouellette, 2000; Migneault, 2007). In 1969, the second to last of its ten years in office, the Robichaud government introduced the Official Languages of New Brunswick Act. It passed unanimously, something which Poitras (2004) calls a "historic moment for New Brunswick" (p. 47). As Migneault (2007) points out, "*pour un document dont l'importance pour la province est maintenant reconnue universellement, il faut avouer qu'il fit*

l'objet de peu de commentaires" (p. 102). Richard Hatfield, who starting in 1970 would go on to spend seventeen years in the premier's office but was then Leader of the Official Opposition, gave "legal force" (Poitras, 2004, p. 27). to sections of the Act which had not been implemented by the Robichaud government (Migneault, 2007). As such, in 1972, "sections permitting motions and other documents in the Legislature to be submitted in English or French became law"; later that year, "sections giving any New Brunswicker the right to a court trial in English or French took effect" (Poitras, 2004, p. 60). In 1977, the last sections of the Act were proclaimed law by Hatfield; they "required that proceedings and reports of the Legislature government documents and the *Royal Gazette* be published in English and French, and that a child's mother tongue would determine the language of his or her schooling" (Poitras, 2004, p. 65). MacMillan (2000) argues that New Brunswick "did not become officially bilingual" until then, though concedes that "the important innovation was that these practices were to be institutionalized as rights" (p. 141). But among all of Robichaud's reforms, the Equal Opportunity Program would be the most divisive. In certain areas of the province, its net effects were regarded as a reduction of local autonomy (Cormier, 2004). Meanwhile, other areas of New Brunswick rejoiced. This polarization was expressed in the editorial pages of some of the province's major news outlets.

The Newspapers

Between 1887 and 1982, *L'Évangéline* was the only French-language daily in New Brunswick, and it was invested in every Acadian nationalist cause (Landry, 2015). Based in Moncton, *L'Évangéline* remained, until its closure in 1982, one of the most important communication channels for Acadians in New Brunswick, and one of the leading voices in shaping public opinion (Landry, 2015; Godin & Renaud, 1997). Because Robichaud's reforms were largely in line with the newspaper's advocacy towards a greater justice for New

Brunswick's francophones, *L'Évangéline* was identified as a pro-Robichaud publication (Godin & Renaud, 1997). Indeed, when the Parti Acadien was formed, the newspaper ridiculed its intentions (Landry, 2015).

The Fredericton-based *Daily Gleaner*, on the other hand, was among the most anti-Robichaud papers in the province (Belkhodja, 2001). New Brunswick's oil and lumber magnate K.C. Irving began integrating it into his growing media empire in 1957, but at the time its publisher was Michael Wardell, whom Cormier (2004) considers Irving's "unconditional ally" (Poitras, 2014; p. 212). The latter owned all other anglophone dailies in the province. Before cozying up to Irving, Wardell worked for another of New Brunswick's prominent citizens, and one of the UK's principal press barons – Max Aitken, otherwise known by his peerage title, Lord Beaverbrook (Poitras, 2007). It was in 1950, after working in London at the *Evening Standard* and the *Daily Express* for a number of years, that Wardell bought the *Daily Gleaner* and settled in Fredericton (Poitras, 2007). This partnership seems to have been crucial in the development of Wardell's editorial personality. Indeed, Beaverbrook's newspapers, notably the *Daily Express*, were known for their "editorial crusades" (Poitras, 2007, p. 57; Poitras, 2014, p. 29). At first, Wardell's attempts to replicate this "only spawned resentment" (Poitras, 2007, p. 57) in Fredericton, but he would not relent; among its various stances, the *Daily Gleaner* remained aggressively pro-Beaverbrook, calling out individuals for their disloyalty or ungratefulness to the press baron. By 1966, though, his relationship with the Beaverbrook family had more or less dissolved, and it is from that point on that Wardell would turn to K.C. Irving, who "opposed Robichaud's ambitious social and taxation reforms" (Poitras, 2007, p. 153). In fact, "Wardell used the *Gleaner* to attack the premier and his program," pandering to "anti-French bigotry" by "repeatedly caricatur[ing] Robichaud in the *Gleaner* as Louis XIV" (Poitras, 2007, p. 153). The

premier started receiving death threats, and he was assigned an RCMP security detail (Poitras, 2014).

Irving' newspapers, among them the *Telegraph-Journal*, editorialized against Robichaud; however, as Poitras (2014) points out, contrary to the *Gleaner*, despite its negative editorializing, "the *Telegraph-Journal*['s] […] coverage was straight" (p. 37). Indeed, "the *Gleaner*'s nasty hyperbole reeks of Wardell's personality, not Irving's" (Poitras, 2014, p. 37), but the nature of Robichaud's reforms meant "a showdown was inevitable" (Poitras, 2014, p. 36) between the two men. Irving, as Belkhodja (2001) argues, feared losing "fiscal privileges" (p. 128). An eminent industrialist, he was one of the most influential individuals in New Brunswick. Indeed, "when Robichaud won his third majority the following Monday [October 23, 1967], it was said to be the first time K.C. Irving had lost an election" (Poitras, 2014, p. 40).

Described by Poitras (2014) as "taciturn" and "frugal" (p. 29), Irving was sceptical of government involvement. He would arrange to pay as few taxes as possible, going as far as moving to Bermuda at the end of his career with his multi-billion-dollar fortune to avoid New Brunswick's estate tax (Poitras, 2014). As such, in 1965, when Irving thought the Program would rob him of tax concessions, he went on the offensive, though this time in a much more public manner than was customary for him. Indeed, he typically preferred to address issues with as little fanfare as possible. But this time, Irving landed at the heart of the debate around *Chances égales*, first by testifying in front of a legislative committee studying the elimination of tax concessions. He criticized the Program and deplored the negative consequences it would have on his businesses.

However, the political tide would shift with the arrival of Richard Hatfield at the helm of the Progressive Conservative (PC) Party. Indeed, "from 1967 onwards the extremist positions of

some anglophone groups were marginalized by the political will of both traditional parties to recognize bilingualism" (Belkhodja, 2001, p. 130). A francophile, Premier Hatfield strengthened and built on the project of linguistic equality his predecessor had begun, but this led to a split within the PC ranks. In 1989, disillusioned tories formed the anti-official bilingualism Confederation of Regions (COR) Party under the leadership of Arch Pafford (Belkhodja, 2001; Poitras, 2004). COR sapped away at the PC's traditional support base, so much that the latter was shut out of the Legislature in the 1987 election (Poitras, 2004). It is not until the installment of Bernard Lord as leader in 1997 that the Progressive Conservatives were able to successfully begin a reconstruction, first and foremost by bringing COR MLAs and supporters back into the fold and convincing them to accept official bilingualism as a core tenet (Poitras, 2004).

Having set the historical context, it remains to be seen how each newspaper editor framed Robichaud's reforms. The following theoretical and analytical tools were used to determine this.

Theoretical Foundation

The analysis draws from two disciplines: communication and political science. From communication, it borrows theories of discourse analysis and framing, and from political science, a theory of identity, which is itself informed by notions of federalism and nationalism described by Charles Taylor (1993). By pairing Taylor (1993) with a theory of framing, one can examine how these notions express themselves through news discourse in New Brunswick.

Discourse Analysis

According to Angermuller et al. (2014), discourse analysis examines the interplay between language, practice, and context. Similar to these notions, Cheek (2004) defines discourse analysis as an analysis that situates texts in their context, whether it be social, cultural,

political, or historical, while they are examined to "uncover the unspoken and unstated assumptions implicit within them" (Cheek, 2004, p. 1145).

Framing

Framing, according to Entman (1993), looks at the salience of elements in the texts, and their effects on the audience. Frames highlight bits of information about an item, which increases its importance (Entman, 1993). It becomes more noticeable and meaningful, thus more likely to be seen and remembered. This, in turn, promotes a particular problem understanding, moral evaluation, causal interpretation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described. Placement, repetition and association with familiar cultural symbols are enumerated as strategies, though the frames can be more salient due to the receiver's existing own belief system (Entman, 1993). Looking specifically at political framing in the news, news media are seen as the "instigators of framing" (Meriläinen & Vos, 2013, p. 120). According to Pan & Kosicki (1993),

> the domain in which the news discourse operates consists of shared beliefs about a society. These beliefs, despite the elusive nature of their content, are known to and accepted by a majority of the society as common sense or conventional wisdom […] [framing analysis] deals with how public discourse about public policy issues is constructed and negotiated […] pays close attention to the systematic study of political language, the coin of the realm in political communication that is often ignored or only dealt with in a highly abstract manner. (p. 57, p. 70)

Overall, framing aims to influence one's values and beliefs, or influence their decision-making process (Meriläinen & Vos, 2013).

Nationalism, Minority Language Politics and Federalism

As mentioned earlier, the theory of framing is used to examine a question suggested by Taylor (1993): in which ways did nationalism, over the course of the 1960s, express itself in discourse among certain minority language groups in Canada, and particularly New Brunswick? The lens through which this discourse is viewed, along with the previously outlined historical context, is Taylor (1993)'s *Reconciling the Solitudes: Essays on Canadian Federalism and Nationalism*. Two chapters in particular are used: "Nationalism and the Political Intelligentsia," and "Shared and Divergent Values."

In "Nationalism and the Political Intelligentsia," Taylor (1993) argues that until the 1960s, separatism had never been a central issue of French Canadian nationalism; it was more concerned with protecting a way of life. "New nationalism," on the other hand, wanted to "build a modern French society" (p. 168) in North America. It rejected tradition, and espoused socialist ideals. According to Taylor (1993), its rise was due to the work of an "intelligentsia" (p. 169), composed of a newfound French-Canadian professional class. In the professional world, they realized that their prospects were not the same as their English-Canadian counterparts. But it was about more than jobs; it came down to identity. French Canadians "identi[fied] themselves over and against the North American norm as something different" (p. 176). In comparison to English Canada, they, until the 1960s, had lagged behind in "economic achievement, social progress, and democratic mores," and were "nagged by a sense of collective inferiority in those fields that they prized" (p. 176). Therefore, reforms needed to be brought about. New nationalism called on the state to "francize" (p. 177) the economy and increase the French-Canadian community's prestige; it was "with an eye more to national greatness than to welfare benefits" (p. 182).

Further, in "Shared and Divergent Values," Taylor (1993) discusses the implications of having an undefined Canadian identity. For separatists, if Quebec was to remain a province, Canada needed to play a role in ensuring the survival of the French-Canadian nation. In practice, this meant granting French and English equal status within the federation and ensuring that the French-Canadian nation had the ability "to act as a unit" (p. 163). But English dominance needed to be "justified in purely utilitarian terms" (p. 164); thus, treating French and English as equal languages would be seen as inherently favouring the former. In addition, tension arose between the collective goal of securing the survival of the French-Canadian nation and the goal of protecting francophones' individual rights, for instance, to receive governmental services in their own language.

As Taylor (1993) points out, over time, a "de facto special status" has been developed to accommodate Quebec's "different" (p. 165) needs within the Canadian federation. But whenever the question of recognition in principle is brought up, there is "powerful resistance" (p. 165) from English Canada. Indeed, granting Quebec special status within the Canadian federation is "plainly justified on the grounds of the defence and promotion of *la nation canadienne-française*," which is "a collective goal" that aims to "ensure the flourishing and survival of a community (p. 165). This runs into conflict with English Canada's understanding of the Charter of the Rights and Freedoms as well as its underlying philosophy, which focuses on individual rights. It is seen as breaching the principle of equality between provinces. As such, the "philosophy of rights and of non-discrimination" at the basis of the "new patriotism" which coalesced around the Charter makes anyone who embraces it "highly suspicious of collective goals" (p. 165). While official bilingualism can be justified under those terms, a special status for Quebec cannot. "With these media-driven perceptions, we go easily from one exaggeration to

another" (p. 167), Taylor (1993) argues regarding the timing of this fracture. "Quebeckers were not as powerless before and are not as powerful now as they think" (p. 167-168). To get out of this predicament, Canadians must "see each other's aspirations for what they are, as free as possible from the rhetoric of resentment" (p. 181). Taylor (1993) calls on Canada to embrace "deep diversity," where "a plurality of ways of belonging would also be acknowledged and accepted" (p. 183).

Summary

While the frames put forward by the editors of *L'Évangéline* and the *Daily Gleaner* are specific to the historical context and to their personal backgrounds, they are both underpinned by the notions of nationalism, federalism and minority linguistic rights Taylor (1993) describes. *L'Évangéline*'s editor hails from a francophone background and writes for a newspaper traditionally supportive of Acadian causes, at a time when the premier's office was occupied by a reform-minded individual who shared his linguistic background (Landry, 2015). In line with the broader awakening that took place among French-Canadians in New Brunswick and Quebec, Robichaud's goals were looked at by *L'Évangéline*'s editor through a nationalist lens. As such, he supports not just a program, but a fellow Acadian with a goal of enacting policy which stands to benefit Acadians. For the editor, whether Robichaud shared his nationalist view – he did not – matters less than the fact that he sought to address inequities in the province. However, he shares Robichaud's belief that the needs of Acadians can be accomodated from *within* the "federation" that is New Brunswick – a significant departure from the "new nationalism" which Taylor (1993) argues was fundamental to the shift which took place in Quebec's political and cultural realms. The editor's background also makes him more inclined to support reforms underpinned by notions of collective rights, because preserving a culture is inherently a collective goal.

Meanwhile, the *Gleaner*'s editor, who inherited Beaverbook's penchant for editorial crusades, saw these reforms with a completely different (although still nationalist) eye (Poitras, 2007). Indeed, he had no stake in reforming the status quo, because as a member of the linguistic majority, it did not threaten either his individual or his collective rights – in fact, he benefited from it. But nationalism still expresses itself in his reactionary, visceral repulsion towards the collective goals of the Program, which he describes in vitriolic language. He frames Robichaud as attempting to take the province down a dark path – and it also becomes his patriotic duty to use his platform to denounce the premier's actions.

It is through the elements outlined above that Taylor (1993)'s analysis of how nationalism took on a different form in Quebec in the 1960s informs my[1] understanding of the parallel debates which took place in New Brunswick during the same decade. As such, using Taylor (1993) and framing as theoretical starting points allows me to approach the corpus inductively, but with a few broad themes in mind, namely nationalism, minority language politics, and federalism. In turn, this will help me identify – and better understand – the dominant themes' relation to the historical context. As such, this study combines theories of framing and discourse analysis with a theory of identity focused on minority language politics in the Canadian context. These theories work hand in hand to inform the operational aspects of the study.

[1] My use of the first person is deliberate. It is meant to acknowledge the specific perspective I bring to the study

Chapter 3: Methodology

In order to determine the appropriate range of perspectives (in other words, which newspaper to analyze), I considered first and foremost the historical context, from which the following considerations stemmed: geography, language, editorial style, and representation. Then, throughout the coding process, I opted for an inductive approach informed by the study's historical and theoretical framework. My coding followed a two-step process outlined by Saldaña (2009): first, I identified keywords, then grouped them into categories, before distilling these categories into three themes for each newspaper.

The review of the literature contextualizes Robichaud's tenure, and the study aims to extract meaning from the editorials, not to prove a pre-established conclusion. As such, in order to make sense of the data, a qualitative paradigm is most appropriate. Creswell (2014) describes qualitative research as as "an approach for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem" (p. 32). Since I am engaged in an exploratory exercise, this mode of inquiry is preferred over a quantitative one. Furthermore, when reconstructing a historical narrative, newspapers and historical documents are more suitable than survey research and in-person interviews, as many of the key players have since passed away. Thus, using what was said in news outlets allows me to gather the appropriate range of perspectives. Determining the "appropriate" range of perspectives, however, is making a conscious choice about what to include or leave out of the corpus. In light of the historical and theoretical background which I laid out in previous sections, I opted for one French-language and one English-language newspaper, which encompass the province's two major linguistic groups. *L'Évangéline* is an obvious choice: until its closure in 1982, it was the only francophone daily in the province, and it was based in one of New Brunswick's major cities, Moncton. On the

other hand, when it comes to anglophone newspapers, the task is more arduous. There were – and there still are – three major dailies, one in each of the major cities: Saint John, Fredericton, and Moncton. But the historical context, geography, editorial style, and representation guided me in my choice. The one I chose, the *Daily Gleaner*, was – and is still – based in Fredericton, the seat of provincial power, precisely where the Legislature was debating the merits of the Program. Moreover, having familiarized myself with the history of the newspaper and the editorial style favoured by Michael Wardell, the publisher, I chose it because its editorials provide an interesting counterpoint to the pro-Acadian *L'Évangéline*.

However, while they may hold opposing views on the merits of the Equal Opportunity Program, the *Gleaner* and *L'Évangéline* share a characteristic which, beyond what was already mentioned, shows why these two newspapers are great counterpoints. As their mastheads show, both explicitly claim to be the voice of a specific group within the province. *L'Évangéline*'s masthead states that it is "*Le seul quotidien français aux maritimes*." As the *only* voice of francophones and Acadians in that region, *L'Évangéline* has a duty that extends beyond reporting. It must also support Acadian-led efforts, because if it does not, then nobody else will. The *Gleaner*, on the other hand, brands itself as "The Voice of Central New Brunswick." The rural, overwhelmingly anglophone area has long had a conservative strand, making its citizens inclined to regard Robichaud's reforms with a suspicious eye. But there is a sense that their views and their needs, much like those of Acadians, are not necessarily taken into account by politicians in Fredericton. It thus becomes the *Gleaner*'s duty to ensure that they are.

Due to time and project constraints, it was not possible to analyse every single newspaper in the province. However, I do acknowledge the distinct styles of coverage deployed by the

Telegraph-Journal and the *Times & Transcript*, the province's two other major English-language dailies (Poitras, 2014).

The following section outlines in further detail the contents of the corpus.

Data Sources

The corpus includes 177 editorials drawn from Fredericton's *Daily Gleaner*, and thirty-one editorials from the Moncton-based *L'Évangéline.* Pieces are drawn from within the following timeframe: November 16, 1965, the day the Program was introduced in the Legislature, and January 3, 1967, two days after the Program officially came into effect. To be included in the corpus, editorials need to either make mention of the Equal Opportunity Program or allude to it. The scope is limited to the editorial section. This is an effective way to get a pulse on each editor's leanings and see how they are framing the issue within the parameters of the historical and theoretical framework. Once again, it is a conscious choice to leave out or include certain editorials. Indeed, the same can be said of the choice to examine editorials in itself. According to Saldaña (2009), it is ultimately through experience that one can identify relevant pieces of information. In this case, my knowledge of the historical context as well as my theoretical underpinning grant me the necessary experience. To add thoroughness to the study, instead of using a word search tool, I read the editorial section of each edition to determine which editorials were relevant. Doing this allowed me to include editorials which may not explicitly name the Program, but still refer to it.

In addition, the reader may notice that the corpus contains quite a few more editorials from the *Daily Gleaner* than *L'Évangéline*. The much larger number of editorials says something in itself: the Equal Opportunity Program seems to have evoked a greater emotional reaction from the editor of the *Gleaner*.

As for access, the process for each newspaper is slightly different. For *L'Évangéline*, I began by going through Google News' database of digitized microfilms. At first, in order to identify which editorials should be included in the corpus, I went through each edition individually and noted which ones fulfilled the criteria. Once this was done, I made my way to Library and Archives Canada, which holds microfilm reels for *L'Évangéline*, and printed out the thirty-one editorials I highlighted during my online search. For the *Daily Gleaner*, since neither Google News or Library and Archives Canada held copies, I ordered the necessary microfilms from the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick by going through the Ottawa Public Library. The same process was repeated here; I went through each individual edition, and noted which editorials fulfilled the established criteria. The relevant editorials were saved to a USB key in PDF form for later consultation.

However, as Saldaña (2009) mentions, there is a danger in leaving out certain parts of the data, as it could leave me without "the unknown units of data that could pull everything together" (p. 15). Opting for an inclusive approach when building my corpus reduces the likelihood of such an occurance and certifies that there is "sufficient quality data with which to work" (Saldaña, 2009, p. 15). Throughout, a discourse analysis will be the primary analytical tool. In order to do this, I am drawing from the coding method elaborated by Saldaña (2009).

Coding Design

Saldaña (2009) provides a coding method divided into two main steps: first cycle coding methods, and second cycle coding methods. Complexity increases with each step. In essence, the goal is to find patterns among the data, so that one can draw conclusions from it (Saldaña, 2009). Coding, then, is "the initial step" (Saldaña, 2009, p. 8) toward eventual analysis and interpretation of patterns that are found. It is a cyclical act, and as one keeps cycling through

their findings, one keeps refining their observations, leading to better understandings of meaning (Saldaña, 2009). As such, the goal is to codify, in other words "to categorize" (Saldaña, 2009, p. 8) data that shares similar characteristics

In practice, coding was mostly done on a computer – on one side of the screen, I had a Microsoft Word document open with my coding notes, and on the other side, I had the editorial itself. In the first round of coding, I divided my coding notes first by newspaper, then by individual editorial. Drawing from broad categories rooted in the study's theoretical and historical underpinnings, I identified relevant sentences, passages and words. Whenever I flagged something as important, I quoted it in full in my coding notes, so I would be able to come back to it in the second round of coding. Aside from the categories, the element of experience also influenced what I considered to be relevant. As I delved further into my reading, I began to notice patterns. For instance, there were certain names that kept coming back, or specific interpretations that the newspaper would apply to the subject at hand. Because my perspective was informed by the historical context, certain words immediately stood out – for instance, discussions of French and English tensions, or language (dis)similar to that used by Robichaud to describe his government's Program. With this in mind, I also identified patterns or repetitions throughout the corpus, which I interepreted as indicative of importance, and subsquently part of a broader theme – or frame – which the editor conveyed.

With this in mind, in the second cycle of coding, I went back to re-examine previous editorials, making sure I did not miss patterns that only emerged later. By doing so, I simultaneously refined emerging categories by highlighting portions of passages or sentences which I had previously flagged. Then, in another section, I amalgamated all of this information to form categories and flesh out their meaning. After major categories were formed, I compared

them in order to "transcend the 'reality'" of the data and and move towards the "thematic, conceptual and theoretical" (Saldaña, 2009, p. 8). A theme, according to Saldaña (2009), is "an outcome of coding, categorization, and analytic reflection" (p. 13). The final number of themes "should be held to a minimum" (Saldaña, 2009, p. 21), but the nature of the analysis determines that number. I began by grouping the keywords into broad categories – for instance, in *L'Évangéline*, I grouped all of the arguments used to argue in favour of the program in one category. Then, this category evolved into a theme – support for *Chances égales*. Ultimately, I settled on three themes for each newspaper. These themes were created by combining keywords which had a through-line in how or why they were used; for instance, "election," "responsible government" and "dictatorship" were used by the *Gleaner*'s editor to frame Robichaud as a dictatorial premier, one that posed a threat to responsible government and could only be thrown out of office by means of an election. This characterization extends to the causes Robichaud championed, such that the Equal Opportunity Program becomes a "power-grab."

Limitations

Several limitations frame the study. First, the corpus offers a glimpse into the arguments made by some who claim to speak on behalf of New Brunswick's two main linguistic groups, but it cannot claim to represent the entire news landscape, or all viewpoints. Smaller, local publications as well as other dailies editorialized on the Equal Opportunity Program. But this is beyond the scope of my study, which is constrained by limited time and resources. It is why I made the conscious choice, as explained earlier, to pick two newspapers which cover important geographical, linguistic and historical aspects of the province, and offer conflicting views of the Program. Each offers a specific editorial style, while claiming to be the voice of two distinct groups bound to be affected by the reforms.

Furthermore, it goes without saying that during the coding process, I bring along a baggage which could influence the study. Thus, it is critical to put up safeguards against these potential biases. As a francophone who grew up in Dieppe, NB, I am, to an extent, a product of Robichaud's reforms. Furthermore, as a member of a linguistic minority, my perspective on Taylor (1993), *L'Évangéline* and the *Daily Gleaner*, and the way I relate to them, is very different than the perspective a member of a linguistic majority would adopt. This is in large part because the latter does not experience the insecurity that comes along with being part of a community whose language is constantly, at varying degrees, threatened. This is true of francophone and particularly Indigenous commmunities in Canada.

Moreover, because Robichaud is seen by francophone New Brunswickers as being the first premier in the province's history to acknowledge the specific barriers they faced, he benefits from a degree of respect and recognition afforded to few in the province. Combined, these elements contribute to shaping my perspective on the debate and the frames put forward by each newspaper. As such, I am instrinsically inclined to see the *Daily Gleaner* with a suspicious eye, and *L'Évangéline* with a more favourable one. It could thus be easy to fall into a mythologizing of Robichaud and a demonization of the *Gleaner*, but awareness allows for reflexivity, and ultimately a fair portrayal.

Summary

As such, I am undertaking a case study, one "bounded by time and activity" (Creswell, 2014, p. 43), of the editorial response to the Equal Opportunity Program put forward in *L'Évangéline* and the *Daily Gleaner*, two New Brunswick dailies. Opting for an inductive approach, the open coding of the editorials is guided by the themes of nationalism, federalism and minority language politics identified in the theoretical section. The goal is to identify

patterns across the corpus as they present themselves. But the concern when adopting such an approach is the effect which researcher bias can have on the results. Indeed, I must account for the fact that I grew up, as a francophone, in the province which I am examining. In fact, my initial interest in the topic was motivated by my background. From the onset, a study of this type is full of conscious choices which motivate it, direct it and will ultimately influence its results. However, by acknowledging my own biases, and recognizing that my study is influenced by these conscious choices, I can engage with them, and ultimately mitigate their influence.

Chapter 4: Results and Analysis of Findings

Having set the methodological framework, the following section presents my findings, beginning with the keywords I identified during the first round of coding. The subsequent sections outline the categories and the themes which emerged from those keywords, then proceed to the analysis.

The following grid contains the keywords which I identified during the first round of coding. They are displayed in descending order, from most to least prominent. It was noticed that both editors dress their portrayals of the Program early and do not digress from it. They tend to offer very similar interpretations of the Program from one editorial to the other, often recycling ideas or passages; however, this does not preclude them from sometimes contradicting themselves.

Table 1: *Keywords in editorials about Chances égales in L'Évangéline and the Daily Gleaner, Nov. 16, 1965 to Jan. 3, 1967*

L'Évangéline	**The Daily Gleaner**
Affiliations/petite/questions/intérêts/aveuglés par/ la politique(s) – 9	Opposition to the Program – 27
Opposition to the Program – 9	Responsible government – 25
Équitable, égalité, justice, juste, bien commun – 8	Dictator(ship), authoritarian, undemocratic – 24
Historique, Histoire – 8	Program of centralization, centralization of authority/of control, concentration of power – 23
Gloucester – 7	Election, by-election – 12
Nécessité/Nécessaire – 6	County Councils – 11

Pas parfait – 5	Non-partisan/No political affiliation/Impartial – 6
De notre temps – 4	French/Acadians – 5
Leonard Jones – 4	Edward Byrne – 3
Irving – 3	Irving – 3
Daily Gleaner – 2	*L'Évangéline* – 2

Already, frames begin to emerge. The high frequency with which the *Gleaner*'s top three keywords appears is telling. In this instance, members of the anglophone majority who benefit from the status quo – and thus see no reason to question it – are framed as being in peril of losing their rights to a dictatorial premier and his "program of centralization." Meanwhile, the francophone minority, which the status quo disadvantages, stands to benefit from the Program; but the editor's framing underlines that in order for francophones to access better opportunities, anglophones will have to give something up. Yet he disavows any such link, and instead argues that *all* New Brunswickers, and particularly Acadians, stand to lose from the Program. Ultimately, in this equation, which applies the notion of "Robbing Peter to Pay Pierre" (Poitras, 2014, p. 39) to the Program, it is those who benefit from the status quo which find themselves on the losing end. As such, as the most prominent keyword shows, the *Gleaner*'s editor feels a duty to support opponents to the Program. Meanwhile, keywords found in *L'Évangéline* illustrate its position as the defender of the francophone minority, and by extension Robichaud. Paradoxically, it mirrors the *Gleaner*'s framing. Like its anglophone counterpart, the top two keywords highlight criticisms of opponents to the Program, while the third most prominent keyword emphasizes what is framed in the *Gleaner* as one of its impossible objectives: equality. Through its framing, *L'Évangéline* promotes the notion that *everyone*, and particularly

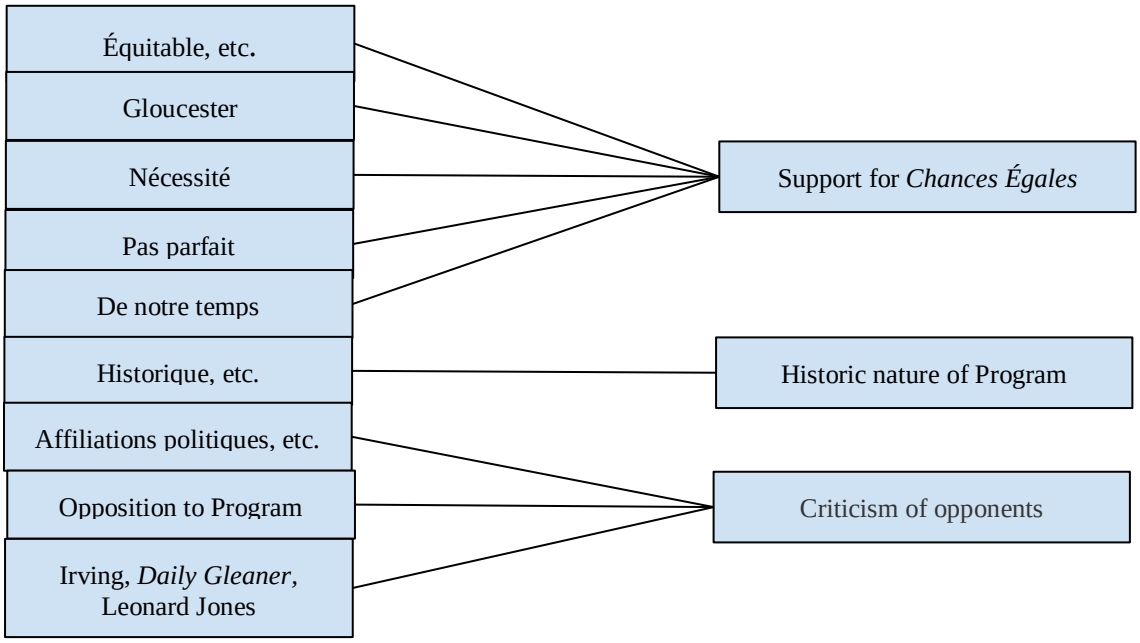
francophones, because they have the most to gain from it, will be better off under the Program. On the other hand, those who oppose it do so out of self-interest or bigotry.

The understanding promoted by each newspaper's editor, rooted in the tension that surfaced between the anglophone majority and a surging francophone minority in the 1960s, mirrors the situation outlined by Taylor (1993). Indeed, the resentment which arises from (in)equality between regions and linguistic groups is a core feature of Canadian federalism, and it expresses itself in New Brunswick through nationalism. As Taylor (1993) points out, "it is clear that this issue of regional equality is a very troubled one in Canada […] it is on one hand an indispensable part of the answer to the unity question, while on the other it seems to many to be largely unrealized" (p. 160). It is central to understanding each newspaper's framing.

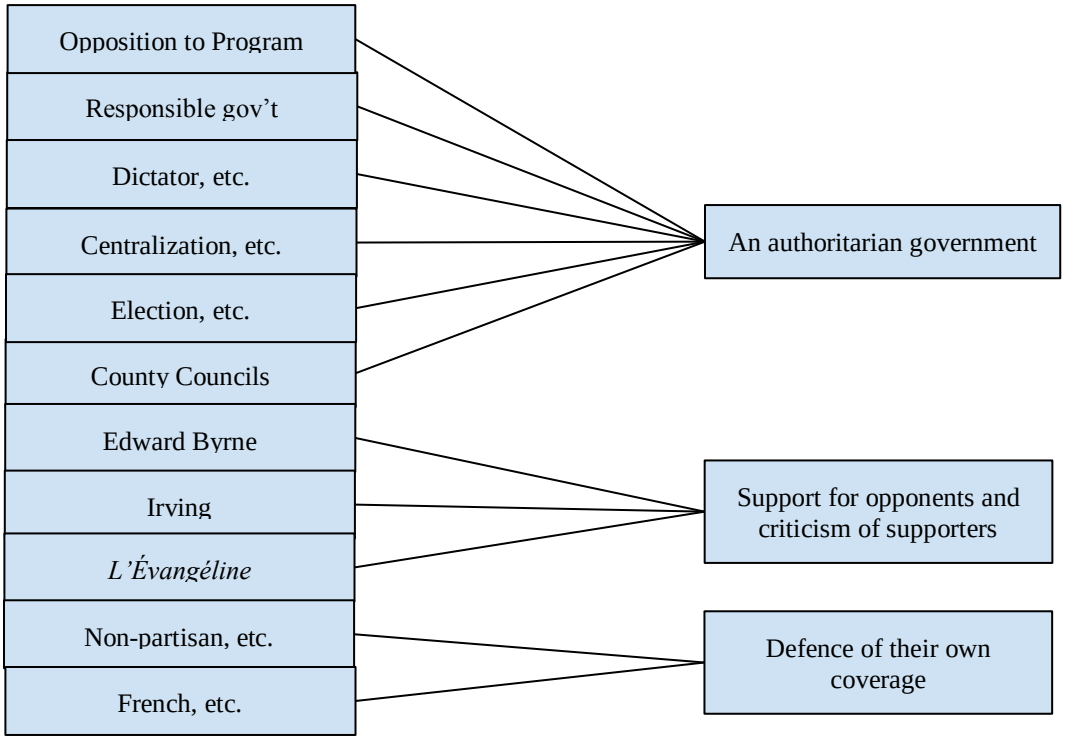
The following grid, Table 2, demonstrates the distillation of keywords from each newspaper in order to form categories, then themes. As explained earlier, keywords are grouped according to a through-line. In the case of *L'Évangéline*, the words which the editor uses to describe the Program – "*équitable*," "*nécessaire*," "*de notre temps*," etc. – all have something in common in that they present the Program as something positive, something which will address New Brunswickers' woes. They also share many rhetorical similarities to the language the Robichaud government uses to sell the Program. As such, when grouped together, they form a category, which then translates into a theme: "support for *Chances égales*." Subsequently, the same principle applies to the keywords found in the *Gleaner*. For instance, the keywords "French" and "non-partisan" are related in that the editor emphasizes them when defending his coverage. When grouped, keywords gain further meaning. As such, they inform my understanding of each newspaper's framing because they are integral components of the dialogue which occurs between *L'Évangéline*, the *Gleaner* and the era's various stakeholders.

Table 2: *Grouping keywords (Table 1) in categories, and themes (Table 3, Table 4), for L'Évangéline and the Daily Gleaner, Nov. 16, 1965 to Jan. 3, 1967*

L'Évangéline



The *Daily Gleaner*



L'Évangéline

Table 3: *Themes in Editorials About Chances égales in L'Évangéline, Nov. 16, 1965 to Jan. 3, 1967*

This table is a product of the distillation process which occured in Table 2. It expands upon the rationales which underpin each theme found in *L'Évangéline*.

Theme	***Summary of Theme's Logic***
Support for *Chances Égales*	All New Brunswickers deserve the same opportunities, and all should support this principle. Despite the Program's imperfections, its reforms are long-due and necessary.
Historic nature of Robichaud's Program	The Program is a landmark moment in the history of the province and will restore pride and confidence among communities.
Criticism of opponents of Program	Opponents of the program are self-interested bigots who do not have the best interest of New Brunswickers at heart.

During the first round of coding, the first editorial in my corpus, written by Bernard Poirier and published on Nov. 18, 1965, revealed several potential themes. Its title, "*Une journée historique*," denotes one of them: the historic nature of the Program the Robichaud government sought to implement. The day they table the first bits of the *Chances égales* legislation is of great historical importance, according to Poirier ("*Une Journée Historique*," Nov. 18, 1965). Almost a year later, on Dec. 29, 1966, in his end-of-year editorial entitled "*L'année en deux mots!*" the

same theme comes back. Poirier speaks of a historical year because of those two words: "*Chances Égales*" (Dec. 29, 1966). Yet, in an attempt to distance himself from the government's agenda, he also adds that they were "*choisis au hasard"* (Dec. 29, 1966). In "*Une journée historique*," Poirier links Robichaud's legacy to the legacy, especially economic, of the entire province (Nov. 18, 1965). If this attempt were to fail, people will still have to recognize the premier's willingess to innovate, he argues, adding that county governments are unable to respond to modern needs (Nov. 18, 1965). He also calls for "*une opposition forte et à l'esprit constructif*," and finishes off by saying "*le principal, c'est d'être de son temps*," hailing modernization as something inherently good (Nov. 18, 1965). Overall, this first editorial encompasses all three of the themes which I highlighted in *L'Évangéline*. The following sections, using further examples drawn from the corpus, elaborate on those themes and their relationship to both the historical context and the study's theoretical framework.

Support for *Chances Égales*

Besides supporting Robichaud and his government, Poirier focuses on notions of equal treament for all, support and acceptance of the Program despite its imperfect nature, and the necessity of the reforms to bring New Brunswick up to par with the other Canadian provinces. As a strategy, he often uses rhetorical questions to emphasize his framing. These elements are similar to those Robichaud (1965) highlights in his speech about the Program.

In "*Attitude Constructive*," published on Dec. 22, 1965 – about a month after the first pieces of legislation were tabled – Poirier expresses being "*en FAVEUR*" of the Program and endorses its "*principes*" and "*modalités essentielles*" (Dec. 22, 1965). By not endorsing it wholesale, *L'Évangéline*'s editor gives himself a window to criticize the means used to reach the Program's objectives. However, he never truly does so. Only twice is Poirier critical of the

government's actions, criticisms which stand out for being mild in comparison to those directed at the Program's opponents. On Dec. 7, 1965, in "*Un mauvais départ*," Poirier criticizes the committee put in place by the government to study the Program's legislation, and in "*Quels seront les résultats?*", he expresses disagreement with the process taken by the government in the appointment of Speaker H.H. Williamson, but this criticism is overshadowed by more numerous criticisms of the Opposition (June 24, 1966). Otherwise, Poirier promotes and defends the government's agenda.

As mentioned earlier, rhetorical questions are an important part of Poirier's editorial strategy, as they work to steer the reader to certain conclusions about the Program, its goals, and its opponents. As such, they reflect the frames he puts forward. In "*Les réformes scolaires*," Poirier frames inequities in the province as nonsensical by asking his readers how a situation where "*les jeunes du comté de Restigouche ou de Kings doivent se contenter de professeurs moins compétents parce que des régions plus fortunées comme Moncton et Saint-Jean peuvent offrir des salaires et des conditions de travail plus alléchantes*" can be justified (Nov. 29, 1965). Again, in "*Attitude Constructive*," Poirier asks, "*y a-t-il encore des gens bien pensants dans cette province qui s'opposent à la justice sociale, à un traitement équitable et juste pour TOUS les citoyens de la province*?" (Dec. 22, 1965). And on Mar. 10, 1966, he inserts a question in the title of his editorial: "*Y a-t-il d'autres solutions en 1966?"* thus implying the necessity of the Robichaud plan. Despite its imperfections, which Poirier readily admits to – without pointing out exactly what they may be – it becomes almost a duty for New Brunswickers to throw their support behind the Program. Indeed, by presenting its objectives as something everybody *should* aspire to, Poirier frames its opponents as being insensitive to their neighbours' struggles. The same logic applies to opposition to the Program rooted in anti-French sentiment: in "*Les*

Réformes Scolaires," Poirier responds to accusations of pro-francophone bias directed at the government by arguing that these are unfounded, since there are anglophones counties which will benefit from the Program (Nov. 29, 1965). It frames opponents either as bigots, or as self-interested.

It is through this that the notions of federalism and nationalism which were highlighted by Taylor (1993) emerge from this theme. In order for a federation to work, its constituent parts must be willing to work together to accommodate each region's needs. By framing opponents of the Program as self-interested – or bigoted – individuals preventing New Brunswick from reaching its full potential, Poirier questions their loyalty and patriotism towards the province, but also makes an argument in favour of the continued existence of the "federation" that is New Brunswick. Poirier frames the Program as the means to ensure its continuance, while framing those who oppose it as attempting to drive a wedge between New Brunswick's linguistic groups and thus destroy it. This could also explain why *L'Évangéline* was so opposed to the Parti Acadien's objectives. The nationalism Poirier expresses is distinctly Acadian, but it is also firmly rooted in the belief that this group and its needs can be accomodated within New Brunswick.

Furthermore, Poirier often uses the example of Gloucester County, one of the poorest counties in the province at the time, to demonstrate the Program's positive aspects (1965: Nov. 19, 29, Dec. 9, 14, 22; 1966: Mar. 10, Aug. 22). The county encompasses the Acadian Peninsula, a particularly francophone region of New Brunswick. Poirier frames it not only as an example of the problems plaguing the province, but also as a county that will benefit immensely from the Program. Yet, when he mentions it, he sometimes also mentions the benefits to be felt in counties such as Kings and Charlotte (1965: Nov. 29, Dec. 22). Notably, these are both heavily anglophone, though they share Gloucester's rural geography. In the same vein, in "*Y a-t-il*

d'autres solutions in 1966?" he implies that some anglophone counties face challenges similar to Gloucester's (Mar. 10, 1966). Poirier's choice to mention anglophone counties could be an attempt to reach out to them, and highlight the fact that they, too, will benefit from the Program, which would fit in with the notion of equal treatment for all. But it could serve another purpose: counter attacks aimed at the government that the Program will only benefit Acadians. When a member of the Official Opposition accuses the province's newspapers of publishing propaganda on the government's behalf, Poirier calls his allegations baseless, and expresses his belief that *L'Évangéline*'s journalists have sought to be fair in their coverage ("*Des paroles en l'air*," Dec. 13, 1965). Tellingly, he did so despite the fact that *L'Évangéline* was not named as one of those newspapers.

Moreover, Poirier's steadfast belief in the necessity of the reforms brought forward by the Equal Opportunity Program translates into a moralizing tone (1965: Nov. 19, 25, Dec. 18; 1966: Aug. 22). At times, Poirier expresses faith in New Brunswickers' ability to understand, and ultimately accept the necessity of the reforms, but he simultaneously promotes how much the Program stands to improve their lives. In "*Une répartition plus équitable des taxes*," he warns his readers: expect massive changes (Nov. 19, 1965). He then goes on to add, "*il faut reconnaître l'obligation morale et légale de payer des taxes*," and repeats it in "*Service-Argent-Taxes*" (Nov. 19, 1965; Aug. 22, 1966). In a sense, Poirier is laying the groundwork for the government, who was busy sending officials across the province to explain the Program's objectives and hopefully garner citizens' support. He repeats his warnings in "*Le bien commmun avant tout*" (Nov. 26, 1965). This time, Poirier points to "*l'esprit de conservatisme*" of Maritimers as a possible reason why New Brunswick lags behind other provinces - change and modernization should be embraced, he argues (Nov. 26, 1965). In "*Des signes de progrès*," Poirier tells New

Brunswickers that in order to give future generations a fighting chance, "*il va falloir combiner des districts, changer des routines et des habitudes, et avaler quelque peu notre esprit de clocher*" (Dec. 18, 1965). For him, the prevalence of a conservative attitude among his fellow New Brunswickers stands to put the Program in jeopardy. As such, *L'Évangéline*'s editor embraces the role of a newspaper editor as being a thought leader in the community, a member of the *intelligentsia* who is responsible for steering the public's understanding of political issues.

While the 1960s in New Brunswick and in Quebec were characterized by a secularization of society, the paternalistic approach of the Church towards its parishioners is still present in Poirier's editorials. In fact, some editorials contain overt religious themes. In "*Attitude constructive*," upon endorsing the Program, Poirier adds that "*en chrétiens que nous sommes, nous nous devons de prendre cette attitude constructive*" (Dec. 22, 1965). Later, in "*Services-Argent-Taxes*," Poirier criticizes the amount of money individuals in Gloucester County spend at NB Liquor, the province's liquor commission (Aug. 22, 1966). *L'Évangéline*'s editor thus straddles a line between *collective* and *individual* responsibility, and rights. He embraces the notion that government must lend a hand to those in need, but he also admonishes inviduals for their irresponsible habits. There is a duality which informs his perspective on the challenges affecting New Brunswick, and paths towards solving them. Much like Taylor (1993) highlighted, it proves difficult to reconcile, as one's outlook usually emphasizes individual *or* collective responsibility and rights, not both. This raises further questions about Poirier's support for Robichaud and his actions.

Historic nature of Robichaud and his Program

In this instance, Poirier frames the Program as a pivotal moment in the history of New Brunswick, something which will radically change the lives of its citizens for the better.

In light of what was said previously, while Poirier promotes the importance of individual responsibility, he tirelessly promotes the Program, which emphasizes collective responsibility and rights, and is informed by secular notions of social justice, not necessarily the Catholic Church. Indeed, in his speech to the Legislature, Robichaud (1965) states that "we can no longer close our eyes and hope for a God-given miracle to end these disparities which are contributing to an irreplaceable waste of our most treasured possession – our people" (p. 3).

As such, Poirier's support for Robichaud and *Chances Égales* stems from a duty to support an embattled premier with Acadian roots, which for the first time New Brunswick's francophones saw as one of *theirs*, rather than strict agreement with the Program's objectives. In light of this, the frames Poirier puts forward in *L'Évangéline* are more nationalist in spirit than purely political or ideological. There are a lot of similarities between the kind of nationalism expressed by Poirier and the "new nationalism" outlined by Taylor (1993): there is a sense that New Brunswickers, and particularly Acadians, have been "lagging behind" (p. 18), and that the state must rectify this situation. However, Poirier never calls for separation or outright "francization" (Taylor, 1993, p. 167); his nationalism remains carefully rooted in tradition. One of the notable differences between Quebec and New Brunswick francophones is geographic: while the former has borders to rely upon to determine where the "nation" starts and ends, it is not the case for Acadians. Spread out over different provinces, and then countries since the *Grand Dérangement* in 1755, while Acadians may be concentrated in New Brunswick, they do not have claim to a homeland in the same way that the *Québécois* do. Importantly, they also remain a minority within their own province, while the French-speaking *Québécois* are a minority within Canada, but a majority within their own province. Poirier thus embraces an Acadian awakening from within New Brunswick's borders, one focused on individual rights but

with a collective appeal. This thinking would prevail: in 1993, Premier Frank McKenna successfully ensured the entrenchment of New Brunswick's francophones linguistic rights in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Poitras, 2004). On the other hand, when the Task Force on Official Languages published its report, "Towards Equality of the Official Languages in New Brunswick" (1982), which Poitras (2004) argues "echoed the nationalist, collective-rights ideas espoused by the Parti Acadien" (p. 88), it elicited considerable consternation among anglophones, and played a major role in bringing down the Hatfield government. This echoes Taylor (1993)'s observation that anglophones who embrace the Charter's focus on individual rights are also "highly suspicious of collective goals" (p. 165).

The very last editorial in the corpus, "*À nous de choisir*," published on Jan. 3, 1967, illustrates Poirier's "new nationalism" penchants by calling for a restoration of collective pride. The title implies an urgency, an opportunity for New Brunswickers to take control of their province's destiny. Poirier uses Robichaud's language to emphasize the Program's collective benefits:

> *Ce programme […] a pour but d'améliorer les standards des services publics dans la province et surtout de donner à <u>tous</u> les résidents de la province une <u>chance égale</u> de profiter de ces services publics* […] *le gouvernement Robichaud a voulu mettre tout le monde sur <u>le même pilier</u> lorsqu'il s'agit de la qualité des services gouvernementaux* […] *Le premier ministre Robichaud et son gouvernement ont eu le courage d'avancer un programme qui a pour but de <u>standardiser les services</u> et améliorer leur* qualité [emphasis added]. (Jan. 3, 1967)

Moreover, he brings back this notion of small-mindedness which plagues the province and prevents it from embracing modernity: *"[…] nombre de gens qui, par crainte d'être*

dérangés dans leurs habitudes de vivre, préfèrent tolérer l'injustice et le marasme économique et intellectuel" (Jan. 3, 1967). It is "*nécessaire de déranger bien des habitudes*," he opines (Jan. 3, 1967). Like he has done before, he acknowledges the imperfect nature of the Program, but argues that it is still the best plan that has been put forward so far for New Brunswick.

The editorial concludes as it began, with another call to New Brunswickers to take control of their own destiny. However, this time, the language is more forceful, evocative and particularly Christian: "*il faut que ce deuxième centenaire de la Confédération soit pour le Nouveau-Brunswick un genre de paradis terrestre, de terre promise […] ce miracle, c'est nous qui devons le fabriquer* [emphasis added]" (Jan. 3, 1967). The last paragraph goes as such: "*le plan Robichaud n'est pas un miracle; il est l'outil attendu pour permettre à la population de saisir les opportunités qui s'offrent à elle […] C'est maintenant ou jamais à nous de choisir*" (Jan. 3, 1967). Once again, the notion of duality between collective and individual responsibility surfaces. Robichaud and his government, treated as quasi-saviours, have given the province the tools to better itself: it is now the responsibility of each and every New Brunswicker to make good use of them. Poirier imbues his framing with a nationalist bent. It is not only about improving living conditions, but about restoring self-determination, dignity and pride in the hearts of the province's citizens, particularly among francophones. Indeed, Poirier often uses the "*nous*" in this article. By writing in his mother tongue, the language of the minority, he addresses this to his fellow francophones.

His outlook on the Program and the results he hopes for are, as Taylor (1993) said, "with an eye more to national greatness than to welfare benefits" (p. 19) than Robichaud himself. But Poirier shifts the focus away from the fact that the Program will benefit francophones because he

is aware, through what is said by opponents, that this notion could only serve to fuel their efforts and delegitimize Robichaud.

Criticism of Opponents to Program

Building on what was said previously, when it comes to the Program's opponents, Poirier frames them as obstructionist, small-minded and self-interested.

Members of the Official Opposition are framed by Poirier as blinded by partisanship. He decries their inability to put forward concrete alternatives to the Program (1965: Nov. 26, Dec. 13, 14, 18, 21, 28; 1966: May 4, Jun. 24.) Poirier also extends this notion of "*petite politique*" to the opposition at large ("*Il faut des alternatives*," Dec. 14, 1965).

In particular, he admonishes William T. Walker and Leonard C. Jones, mayors of Fredericton and Moncton, respectively, for their opposition to the Program (1965: Dec. 21, 28; 1966: May 28). The strongest attacks come on May 28, 1966, in an editorial tellingly titled "*Démocratie en danger!*" As it turns out, it is Jones' actions which, according to Poirier, raise the spectre of dictatorship on the Moncton City Council.

Jones is again mentioned on Aug. 6, 1966, in "*Ces 'fameux' dossiers!*" The title references the refusal of the Moncton and Fredericton city councils to hand over a number of documents required by the provincial government to undertake their reforms. Poirier argues that they could be punished for not collaborating with the premier. Five days later, in "*Le mord aux dents*," Poirier brings it up again, opening up the editorial by stating that Moncton "*est en train de vivre des moments historiques, pour ne pas dire ridicules*" (Aug. 11, 1966). Further, he asks his readers, "*sommes-nous en Rhodésie, ou au Vietnam?"* in reference to the mayor's actions (Aug. 11, 1966). Poirier is comparing Jones to heads of dictatorial – and in Rhodesia's case, apartheid – regimes in order to further discredit one of the Program's most vocal opponents. But

it is important to remember that in this case, Jones' offence is refusing to grant the provincial government access to certain files. This is the first (and in the corpus only) instance in which Poirier makes use of such hyperbolic language to describe the Program's opponents. But it is not a coincidence that he applies it to Jones.

As pointed out earlier, *L'Évangéline* was based in Moncton; this issue likely hit harder than if it was happening elsewhere in the province. Moreover, and most importantly, one needs to look at the history of the relationship between Jones and Moncton's francophone community to understand the dynamics at play. The relationship, to say the least, was never very good. In fact, it was rather toxic. Jones opposed granting bilingual status to the city and was resolute in his conviction not to make any concessions to francophones, even in the face of significant student-led protests at the end of the 1960s. These events are shown in the 1971 movie *L'Acadie, L'Acadie?!?*, where protesters infamously left a pig's head at Jones' doorstep (Brault & Perreault, 1971). Notably, several of these students were also involved in the occupation of l'Université de Moncton's science building. For many francophones, Jones was the embodiment of the old-stock, reactionary Loyalist, an obstacle those in favour of bilingualism kept hitting (Poitras, 2004, p. 47). As such, he became a symbol against which to rally for those who, like the editor of *L'Évangéline*, were advocating for the rights of francophones. This again denotes the nationalist lens which Poirier applies to the situation.

Thus far, opposition to the Program has been limited to provincial and municipal legislators. But there are voices outside of the political arena which are highlighted by *L'Évangéline*'s editor as harmful to his cause. It begins with industrialist K.C. Irving, who is mentioned for the first time in "*Enfin, des alternatives*," in the context of his afore-mentioned testimony (Dec. 16, 1965). For Poirier, it was difficult to believe that Irving's companies would

go bankrupt without the tax concessions Robichaud sought to eliminate, although he concedes that "*le vibrant plaidoyer qu'[Irving] a fait devant le comité de révision vaut une considération toute spéciale*" (Dec. 16, 1965). However, in "*La nouvelle 'vague'*," Poirier asks his readers about a "*revirement d'atittude*" among the province's English-language newspapers following Irving's testimony (Jan. 6, 1966). He further argues that opposition to the Robichaud plan "*vient de ceux qui par le passé ont joui de concessions de taxes permettant de réaliser des millions en profit*" (Jan. 6, 1996). In this context, this is an insinuation that Irving funds opposition to the Program, including that which came from the *Gleaner*. Faced with a broadside from one of New Brunswick's most powerful businessmen against the Program, Poirier reacts by framing him as greedy and insensitive to the plight of those less fortunate than him. This sends a message to his francophone readership that upholding the status quo will continue to benefit the province's wealthy, hence the necessity of the Program, which francophones have everything to gain from.

This frame put forward by Poirier echoes the popular consensus among New Brunswick's francophones that it was, as Poitras (2014) points out, "'the Irving newspapers'" which "set out to destroy Louis Robichaud" during the 1967 campaign, on the back of "anti-French bigotry" (p. 37). But Poitras (2014) considers the situation to be "more complex" (p. 37). Indeed, as pointed out earlier, "the *Telegraph-Journal* editorialized against the Equal Opportunity Program, but its news coverage was straight. Wardell's *Gleaner* […] was indeed vicious, but not during the 1967 campaign" (Poitras, 2014, p. 37). Notably, thirty-seven years after the fact, the *Telegraph* relented. By then, "[Robichaud] was revered an an icon […] the day after his death, an editorial in the *Telegraph-Journal* – then run by K.C.'s great-grandson Jamie Irving – did something newspapers rarely do. It renounced the editorial posture it had adopted decades earlier" (Poitras,

2014, p. 41). However, this shows the extent to which a frame can be powerful since it continues to influence New Brunswickers' perceptions of events.

Whenever Irving is mentioned, often so is the *Daily Gleaner*. In fact, every editorial mentioning the *Gleaner* also contains a reference to Irving's opposition. The newspaper is mentioned for the first time in "*Le programme 'chances égales' rompt avec le passé*" (Dec. 21, 1965). Donald Langis, the author, deplores the fact that the *Gleaner* "*publie quotidiennement des caricatures et éditoriaux condamnant le programme et demandant une élection*" (Dec. 21, 1965). In "*La nouvelle 'vague'*," the language intensifies: Poirier speaks of the *Gleaner*'s "*croisades*" against the Program (Jan. 6, 1966). Thus, he was aware of the words published by the editor of the Fredericton daily, and made a display of condemning them. Indeed, it is the only newspaper he names explicitly in the corpus. Despite often directing criticisms at Irving, this focus indicates that it was the *Gleaner* which Poirier saw as the most anti-Robichaud newspaper in the province. These insinuations serve to delegitimize opposition to the Program in the eyes of *L'Évangéline*'s readers, and by the same token, potentially boost support for it. However, it also raises questions regarding *L'Évangéline* and the *Gleaner*'s readership.

In a society characterized by the notion of *les deux solitudes*, cultural and social interactions between francophones and anglophones, especially in the province's rural areas, were fairly limited. Moncton was the only major city aside from Bathurst where there was a fairly even demographic split between the two major linguistic communities, which partially explains why it became the epicentre of protests in favour of official bilingualism. The presence of the Université de Moncton also played no small part. As such, the likelihood of francophones reading the *Gleaner*, and anglophones reading *L'Évangéline*, was rather small. Yet, their respective editors feel the need to diminish the other's stance on *Chances Égales* and question

their integrity. This points to the fact that instead of being outward-looking, Poirier's editorials are inward-looking, aimed at the francophone community. By discrediting the most virulent elements of opposition to the Program, he intends to convince francophones of its positive aspects, in part because he seems unsure about his own community's ability to realize it for themselves without his guidance, hence the moralizing tone which was discussed earlier.

Summary

As such, despite his support for Robichaud's non-nationalist agenda, the frames Poirier puts forward are rooted in a nationalist view of the Program's intent and goals; they extrapolate a nationalist meaning from it. This sets Poirier apart from the government and aligns him in part with the "new nationalism" Taylor (1993) highlights, which saw Quebec francophones call on their government to "francize" (p. 177) the economy. Indeed, Poirier supported the Program not simply because he agreed with its principles, but because he saw Premier Robichaud, himself an Acadian, as an ally, as someone who was willing, unlike his predecessors, to shake up the status quo and improve Acadians' plight. But contrary to "new nationalism," which touted independence as the only solution to francophones' woes, Poirier presents accomodation for francophones as something which can be achieved from within the existing "federal" structure that is New Brunswick, at least as it relates to language and economic opportunities. Two elements drawn from Taylor (1993) could explain this: first, "the sense that the larger entity [Canada] was the home of *la nation canadienne-française*," and second, "a certain attachment to a constitutional home which had become familiar and which their leaders had a hand in building" (p. 168). The "larger entity" becomes New Brunswick, while the "*nation canadienne-française*" becomes the *nation acadienne*. This aspect squares him up with Robichaud's vision of unity between the province's different regions and groups, regardless of language or identity. It is this

unifying vision, combined with his support for the Program as well as his dissatisfaction with the status quo, which differentiates Poirier from the editor of the *Gleaner*.

The *Daily Gleaner*

Table 4: *Themes in Editorials About Chances égales in the Daily Gleaner, Nov. 16, 1965 to Jan. 3, 1967*

The following table expands on the themes outlined in Table 2 and gives a glimpse of their rationale.

Theme	Summary of theme's logic
An authoritarian government	Robichaud's Program is a power-grab that threatens responsible government, local traditions and citizens' safety, which is why the editor remains anonymous.
Defence of their own coverage	The *Gleaner* is non-partisan and does not incite anti-French bigotry – in fact, it has the best interests of Acadians in mind.
Support for opponents and criticism of supporters of Program	All opponents to the Program are courageous defenders of responsible government, while supporters are the government's mouthpieces.

Throughout the corpus, the author of the editorials published in the *Gleaner* remains anonymous, something which, as will be discussed later, plays an important role in his framing strategy. As such, for the sake of simplification, and because it is likely, given the time, that it is a male author, the masculine form will be used. With striking regularity, the editor directs his

criticism at people and actions which Poirier praises, and vice-versa. He makes use of similar frames but applies them differently. Moreover, the number of editorials in the corpus – 177 – speaks of the extent to which he seeks to influence public opinion on *Chances égales*. Sometimes, up to three editorials about the Program were published on a single day. Based on the frequency with which editorials condemning the Program appear in the corpus, as well as the unequivocal language the editor uses, it could be that the *Gleaner*'s readership was seen as being more likely to be swayed than *L'Évangéline*'s. The following pages will elaborate on the frames he made use of to convince his readers.

An Authoritarian Government

This theme presents the Robichaud government as power-hungry. Its authoritarian actions, and particularly the Program, should be cause for concern among the province's citizens.

On Nov. 25, 1965, just over a week after Robichaud presented the Program to the Legislature, "The Welfare Acts" is the first editorial on the subject to appear within the study's timeframe. The editor opines that "the great unanswered question posed by the new legislation is whether the province can function as effectively in this field" (Nov. 25, 1965). He calls the Program "a major break with precedent" which "removes from the municipalities a responsibility which has belonged to them in jurisdictions with the British form ever since the time of Queen Elizabeth I" (Nov. 25, 1965). This last passage, a recurrent theme throughout the corpus, frames county councils as central to the identity of the province and imbues them with a historic quality (1966: Jan. 14, 20, Feb. 9, 18, Apr. 20, Jun. 18, Jul. 4). Drawing from the nationalist pride of New Brunswickers, it portrays Robichaud as stripping New Brunswick of a piece of its identity.

Indeed, while *L'Évangéline*'s editor frames the Program as the way to bring the province forward and calls upon New Brunswickers to abandon their conservative mindsets, his

counterpart at the *Gleaner* worries is sceptical about this departure from the status quo. In fact, the frames each editor puts forward find common ground in nationalism. The former argues that the Program, while not perfect, will *restore* pride and greatness in the province; the latter argues that pride and greatness is *already there*, as it is rooted in the status quo. It just needs a bit of tweaking, not, as the Program – and Poirier – call for, reform. Compounding this is the fact that it is an Acadian premier who is trying to enact these changes.

Quickly, the language used to convey this scepticism becomes hyperbolic, recalling Michael Wardell's penchant for editorial crusades. But by withholding his name, the author reinforces his framing. When anonymous death threats are directed at the premier, he decries anonymity as "the cloak of cowards," something "utterly contemptible" when "used to convey abuse and threats" ("Anonymous Threats," Jan. 26, 1966). But the sentence that follows this condemnation is revealing: "[Anonymity] is a necessary protection for some of the people who feel bound to express their beliefs which might make them victims of a vindictive government" ("Anonymous Threats," Jan. 26, 1966). While the editor deems the use of anonymity in this particular case to be unacceptable, he does not write it off completely. It suggests that against a government which he considers "vindictive," anonymity is acceptable in any case – including his – short of conveying "abuse and threats" ("Anonymous Threats," Jan. 26, 1966). In addition, he shuns Attorney-General W. Meldrum for using words that

> tend to the belief, probably unjust, that these anonymous threats, real though they are, are being used as part of a political campaign by Mr. Robichaud to smear his opponents, whom he defames in the most abusive terms while appealing, at the same time, for public sympathy for himself. ("Anonymous Threats," Jan. 26, 1966)

By questioning whether these threats could in fact be Robichaud's own machinations, the editor frames the premier as someone willing to go to any length to defame his opponents. While he never acknowledges his own use of anonymity, it is implicit that it is due to fear of retaliation. In fact, his reliance on it bolsters that frame. It is further justified in "Foreigner," when the editor argues that "the duty of a free and independent press is to criticize without fear or favour. […] The *Daily Gleaner* will not be silenced" (Mar. 1, 1966). Through this, he presents himself as standing up to a tyrannical government.

In addition, this frame of a vindictive government expresses itself not only through the use of anonymity, but through the words published in the *Gleaner*'s editorials. For instance, the editor states that it is not only responsible government, but the very physical safety of New Brunswickers which is threatened (1965: Dec. 11, 22, 24; 1966: Feb. 14). "There will be no security in New Brunswick if [Robichaud] is armed with such authority," he warns his readers in "The Robichaud Smokescreen" (Dec. 11, 1965). In "Christmas Crisis," he evokes an even bleaker situation:

> With Louis Robichaud, it is 'your money and your life' that are at stake […] this is war *à outrance* – to the death […] the public should remain vigilant in spite of the Christmas season, and be on their guard. Crisis will be their companion in the coming days and nights. (Dec. 22, 1966)

While the government as a whole is framed as vindictive, much of the attention is focused on Premier Robichaud, whom the editor calls a dictator on many occasions (1965: Dec. 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 20, 22, 24, 31; 1966: Jan. 4, 5, 7, 13, 14, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, Feb. 4, 9, 14, 16, 25, Mar. 1, 2, 21, 24, Apr. 2, 11, May 3, Jun. 14.). When it comes to Robichaud's "so-called program of evolution," as the editor puts it, he is never trying to *pass* it through the Assembly; he

forces it, *rams* it, *steamrolls* it (Jan. 3, 1966; Apr. 19, 1966; Jun. 20, 1966; Jun. 14, 1966). While the editor often opts for blunt language to frame Robichaud and his government as dictatorial, he also relies on the power of suggestion. For instance, on Jan. 24, 1966, he publishes the verbatim text of the Schools Act, introduced in the Legislature shortly beforehand, and entitles it "The 41 Steps to Dictatorship," thus presenting the reader with a not-so-subtle message.

However, the editor's framing of Robichaud and his government as dangerous and repressive rings hollow when looking at the historical context. New Brunswick never came close to becoming a dictatorship. A frame which blurs reality and fiction, meant to lead New Brunswickers to believe that their government was going to turn against them, could have prompted some of the afore-mentioned death threats made against the premier. Robichaud brought these allegations against the newspaper, which the editor called "a disgraceful utterance, made without the authority of any evidence whatsoever" ("Intolerable," Feb. 25, 1966).

Instead, to counter this authoritarian government, the editor emphasizes the importance of democracy, much like *L'Évangéline*'s editor does, albeit on different terms. While for Poirier, democracy expresses itself through an effective Official Opposition, the *Gleaner*'s editor prefers to let individuals speak for themselves through an election (1965: Dec. 13; 1966: Jan. 12., 13, Apr. 7, Jul. 27, Aug. 1, 2, 8, 17, Sep. 12, 13), convinced that it will see Robichaud be booted out of office. However, the Saint John by-election, held in September 1966, which the editor frames as a referendum on the Program and on "responsible government," produced results which forced him to change his position ("The By-Election," Jul. 27, 1966). Following a Liberal victory, he argues that this was "very far from giving a mandate to Premier Robichaud for his Program for Equal Opportunity" ("The By-Election," Sep. 13, 1966). The eventual general election, called in 1967 *after* the Program came into effect, handed Robichaud and his party

another majority, although it was to be his last mandate. Thus, New Brunswickers did eventually get to express their will, which divided them along linguistic lines – the Liberals carried virtually all francophone counties, while the Progressive Conservatives captured almost every anglophone county. The editor argues that the election "could have been won by a large majority [by the Progressive Conservatives] if the issue of centralization had been clearly put before the people" ("The By-Election," Sep. 13, 1966).

The frame of an authoritarian government is that which is most prominent in the corpus. The editor presents himself as standing up against Robichaud's dictatorial actions and calls on New Brunswickers to do the same. In essence, the nationalism he expresses is an antithesis to Taylor (1993)'s "new nationalism" and Poirier's nationalism, because far from being new, it is rooted in the old. Longstanding institutions, particularly county councils, are framed as integral to New Brunswick's identity *because*, not *in spite*, of their age; it does not matter whether they still suit the needs of modern society or not. Robichaud, through his reforms, is framed as attacking that which is dear to New Brunswickers. Far from rejecting tradition and embracing socialist ideals (Taylor, 1993), the editor accuses Robichaud of doing so. Instead, he attempts to rein in the reform-minded ambitions of the 1960s. His stance against the Program and Robichaud would attract criticism and force him to defend his words.

Defence of Their Coverage

In light of accusations of inciting anti-French bigotry and having ties with some of the province's business interests coming from the government and *L'Évangéline*, the editor stresses the *Gleaner*'s independence, and disavows inciting anti-French sentiment (1965: Dec. 24; 1966: Feb. 7, 17, 25, Mar. 1). Through this, he demonstrates an awareness of how Robichaud's linguistic background plays into the politics of *Chances égales*.

On several occasions, the editor turns accusations of inciting anti-French bigotry on their head by arguing that he has the best interest of *all* New Brunswickers, including Acadians, in mind (1965: Dec. 20; 1966: Jan. 19, 22, Mar. 1, 11). In "The Robichaud Record," he deplores the "intense propaganda […] promoted by professional practitioners in publicity to present this picture [of equality] and to paint all opponents of the scheme as reactionaries insensitive to the plight of their poorer neighbours" (Dec. 20, 1965). Then, in "The Issue," he insists that the charges brought "against Louis Robichaud and his government colleagues […] are not based upon bias or bigotry" (Jan. 19, 1966). Three days later, in "The French and the English," he claims that it is in fact "the campaign of Louis Robichaud" which "is fanning a new hatred between the races" (Jan. 22, 1966). In "Mischevious Propaganda," the editor provides the following explanation to Robichaud's accusations of his opponents being anti-French: "since there have been no articles or speeches against the Acadians of New Brunswick, it must be argued that Mr. Robichaud presumes his plan of equal opportunity to be a measure designed solely for the benefit of French-speaking Canadians" (Mar. 11, 1966).

Realizing the potency of inciting anti-French sentiment to stir opposition to the Program, but also the risks associated with it, instead of arguing that Robichaud's Program was only going to benefit francophones at the expense of anglophones, the editor opts to paint the Program as something which will leave not just anglophones, but *especially* francophones, worse off. There are references to Robichaud's French heritage, but they are found mostly in cartoons depicting him as a despotic Louis XIV renamed "*Le Roi Louis*," "part buffoon and part authoritarian" (Poitras, 2014, p. 38). As such, in "Resistance Hardens," The editor deplores the negative effect the Program will have on Acadian families, "for it is the people with smaller incomes and larger families who will suffer most," and argues that "the Opposition Party will have to continue the

fight item by item and gradually build up the case against it so that it can be understood by all electors, including the Acadians" (May 6, 1966).

Similarly, the editor highlights the efforts of the Independent Committee on Legislation, formed in opposition to the Robichaud plan, and accentuates the Acadian roots of its leader, J.A. Rioux, whom he calls a "formidable political figure, and this in spite of the strictly non-partisan nature of his organization" ("The French and the English," Jan. 22, 1966). He also points to the fact that Rioux voted for Robichaud in 1963. Further, he argues that "all New Brunswickers – both English-speaking and French-speaking – owe J.A. Rioux a debt of gratitude for his campaign to tell the people that those who are opposing Louis Robichaud are not opposing the French. They are opposing a loss of responsible self-government" ("The French and the English," Jan. 22, 1966). By focusing on Rioux's origins, the editor attempts to avoid accusations of anti-French bigotry, and in the same stroke, discredit his critics. It is in this spirit that in "Patronage," he corrects television anchor Kingsley Brown, who had profiled Robichaud's path to the premiership. "His one major blunder," he says, was "his reference to Premier Robichaud as 'the first Acadian to rise from the bottom to the top in politics' in obvious unawareness of the previous achievements of Premier P.J. Veniot in both provincial and federal politics" (Feb. 16, 1966). The claim ignores the intent of the statement, which is to say that Robichaud, as pointed out earlier, was the first Acadian to successfully lead a party to victory and form government. Furthermore, he had been premier at this point for almost six years, while Veniot lasted two, and his government was defeated at the earliest opportunity. When compared against the broader historical context and the editor's leanings, it reads as a way to minimize Robichaud's achievements and discredit him.

However, the accusations lobbed by Robichaud, someone who, as shown by *L'Évangéline*'s favourable editorial coverage, carried significant credibility within Acadian circles, likely hurt the *Gleaner*'s attempts to convince them that *their* premier was not looking out for them. Indeed, in a society where *les deux solitudes* prevailed, Acadians looked to *their* institutions – political, religious, media – for guidance, not to an English-language newspaper which a sitting Acadian premier accused of inciting people to murder him ("Intolerable," Feb. 25, 1966). This notion explains why the editor focuses particularly on Rioux's origins – since francophones looked to francophones, he plays up Rioux's background. Furthermore, *L'Évangéline*, the leading French-language newspaper in the province, was harsh in its criticism of the *Gleaner*. Thus, with some of the main instances to which francophones looked up to criticizing it, the editor's stated concern for Acadians likely rang hollow.

In addition, when defending the *Gleaner*, the editor often highlights the non-partisan, independent nature of his organization, particularly so when he defends opponents of the Program. When Irving comes under fire, the editor defends the former's newspapers, doing so much like he defends the *Gleaner*'s coverage of the Program: by emphasizing non-partisanship and independence from the province's moneyed interests (which, coincidentally, are those who he defends). In "Unfit to Govern," he seems to reference claims made by *L'Évangéline*'s editor:

> The attempt by *Mr. Robichaud's followers* to smear the newspapers controlled by Mr. Irving with the suggestion that they are being conducted in the interests of Mr. Irving's industries and against the public interest was as offensive a charge as it palpably false. *The Irving newspapers, as everyone knows, have been conducted so impartially as to be generally neutral on all provincial issues in an effort to be scrupulously fair to both sides* […] The *Daily Gleaner*, independent and non-partisan, *and on whose policies Mr. Irving*

> *has no particle of control*, can for this reason better defend him and his publications than can his own [emphasis added]. (Feb. 7, 1966)

While Irving eventually absorbed the *Gleaner* into his media empire, he had bought a minority stake in the newspaper in 1957, which Poitras (2014) describes as "the moment the paper came under Irving's influence" (p. 31).

Criticism of Supporters and Support for Opponents of the Program

The editor offers considerable positive coverage to the opponents of the Program. Meanwhile, those who support it are vehemently criticized for doing so.

An authoritarian regime would not be complete without its propaganda arm, and according to the editor, these duties are not only fulfilled by government officials, but also by Edward Byrne, the Chairman of the Royal Commission on Municipal Finance and Taxation (1966: Feb. 10, 12, Mar. 14). At first, in "About-Turn," he praises the work of the Commission, finding himself in agreement with its recommendations, particularly its rejection of "political control of the centralized responsibility"; he also admits that "reforms are needed" (Feb. 10, 1966). However, the Byrne Commission recommended the abolition of county governments, and the eventual absorption of their responsibilities by "other levels of government," observing that "even as matters now stand, the counties have mainly become tax collecting agencies – a function which they are singularly ill-equipped to perform […] They possess vestigal administrative powers which cannot be exercised on their present fragmented basis" (Byrne, E. et al., 1963, Ch. 1, p. 25). This aspect of the Commission's report is hardly in line with the editor's views – indeed, it throws into question their claim that Byrne "had made the rejection of provincial control of the services a paramount issue" ("About-Turn," Feb. 10, 1966). In fact, the Commission wanted to prevent any undue political pressures from stalling what they saw as

crucial reforms, but the solution they put forward was the implementation of an unelected commission of government, which would oversee the province's affairs until such time as reforms had been implemented, and the fiscal situation had improved (Byrne, E. et al., 1963). While the editor characterizes this proposal as "altogether foreign to Canadian custom and usage" ("About-Turn," Feb. 10, 1966), this language, compared to that with which he characterizes Robichaud, is quite tame.

In this instance, the Commission's report is taken out of context in order to support the editor's theory of an about-face from Byrne when the latter in fact advocated for more radical measures than Robichaud himself. Indeed, the government rejected the installation of an unelected commission, opting to leave Cabinet and the public service in charge. In his speech, Robichaud (1965) addresses this issue:

> The […] Report provides one path towards the implementation of the responsibilities of government today. We were *not* satisfied that it was the only path. […] The Royal Commission has proposed a system of extreme centralization, a system of less local government […] This government, Mr. Speaker, has rejected these aspects of the Royal Commission Report. (p. 12)

On Feb. 12, 1966, in "A Reasoned Case," the editor continues to lash out at Byrne by calling him the premier's "chief propagandist." But the language with which he describes the Commission's recommendations stands out for its neutrality against that used to characterize Robichaud and his actions.

Byrne is not the only one to be criticized by the editor. He extends his reach to certain media publications, including *L'Évangéline*. In the corpus, this is the only newspaper which he names directly, though he does reference "local partisan weeklies," which Robichaud "has to

search […] for praise" ("The True Position," Jan. 25, 1965). *L'Évangéline* is mentioned by name for the first time in "A Drastic Program." The editorial seems to reference an editorial the French-language newspaper published on Mar. 10, 1966, entitled "*Y a-t-il d'autres solutions en 1966?*" In this instance, the editor begins with praise for the Acadian daily. But his tone changes rapidly:

> *L'Évangéline* […] then goes on to say that the Robichaud plan offers salvation. Is it not worth sacrificing democracy, asks *L'Évangéline*, to have 'three meals a day, good clothes, respectable lodging, public services comparable to other provinces and opportunities for advancement?' This is the sort of argument used by Mussolini and Hitler. […] this is typical of the Robichaud propaganda. (Mar. 21, 1966)

In this instance, the editor extends the frame of Robichaud as a dictator to *L'Évangéline*, and insinuates it is a mouthpiece for the government, much like the latter's editor hinted at the notion that the *Gleaner* is bankrolled by the province's business interests.

Meanwhile, those denounced by *L'Évangéline*'s editor as self-interested are framed as defenders of democracy. The editor praises Progressive Conservative leader C.B. Sherwood, Finance Critic D.D. Patterson, Fredericton Mayor William Walker, and industrialist K.C. Irving for their opposition to the Program. The single instance in the corpus in which any of them receives bad press is in "Startling," on June 16, 1966, when Sherwood is criticized for "secretly" agreeing to a salary inrease for MLAs. On Dec. 15, 1965, for instance, in "Devastating Rebuttal," Irving's intervention at the Law Amendments Committee receives a favourable treatment: "instrumental in applying the pressure were Mr. K.C. Irving and other industralists." The following day, a caricature in the editorial section features a boot branded "IRVING"

kicking Premier Robichaud in the behind. It is in "Unfit to Govern" that the editor is particularly deferent towards Irving, describing him as

> the man who has done more than all others to bring industry to New Brunswick […] Irving has done more to promote industry in this province than have all the governments at all levels put together […] *Louis Robichaud seems to have forgotten what he owes to Mr. Irving* [emphasis added]. (Feb. 7, 1966)

This last sentence seems to suggest that Robichaud should comply with Irving's needs, because of the industrialist's record in creating jobs in the province. He offers a very nationalist view of Irving, framing him as a patriot and a benefactor to a province which he could have easily left behind, like many before him did, including Lord Beaverbrook, Wardell's former boss. As such, New Brunswickers, including the premier himself, out of gratefulness, should do whatever is necessary to ensure his continued presence in the province – and in this case, this means abandoning the Program.

Summary

As such, the notions of nationalism expressed in the *Gleaner* differ significantly from those outlined by Taylor (1993), because they are published by a member of the linguistic majority, one who is inclined to favour the status quo, despite the fact that, as mentioned earlier, poor, rural anglophone areas also stood to benefit from the Program's reforms. This is also a significant aspect of what sets him apart from frames found in *L'Évangéline*. Since francophones had traditionally been sidelined in the province's political and economic spheres, when a member of that linguistic minority, under the banner of "Equal Opportunity," seeks to implement a Program which, to the benefit of francophones, will make significant changes to the existing political and economic order, it automically arises suspicions. The burden of proof was placed on

Premier Robichaud and his government; his background meant he needed to prove to anglophones that his programs were not solely aimed at benefiting francophones. Indeed, Taylor (1993)'s call for Canadians to "see each other's aspirations for what they are, as free as possible from the rhetoric of resentment" (p. 181) is particularly applicable here.

Despite the *Gleaner*'s editor stated concern for the well-being of Acadians, his remarks still come off as divisive, because they attack a figure which carries significant weight and credibility within that group. Under such circumstances, the solitudes become impossible to reconcile and federalism crumbles. For the *Gleaner*'s editor, there is no such thing as an instance where everybody is left better off – indeed, for the Program to go through, according to him, certain New Brunswickers will have to be on the losing end. While he may claim that it will be Acadians, it rings hollow in light of the historical and editorial context.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Signficance of the Study

In an era where the validity of official bilingualism in New Brunswick is again questioned, a narrative often paired with a populist approach to the province's issues, this project matters not only to Acadians and francophones, but to New Brunswickers at large. The tensions which Taylor (1993) identified in an era that now seems bygone are still present, despite a positive consensus which cuts across linguistic borders about Robichaud's legacy to the province and the accomodations which were made for linguistic minorities, notably through the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Indeed, "it has been one of the remarkable achievements of the last thirty years, and particularly of the Trudeau government, to have established bilingualism almost integrally" (Taylor, 1993, p. 164).

First introduced to reduce the strength of an increasingly appealing independentist option in Quebec, accomodations – and recognition – were eventually extended to New Brunswick francophones when Premier Frank McKenna worked with the federal government to enshrine their linguistic rights in the Constitution (Taylor, 1993; Poitras, 2004). However, from inside their provincial borders, Quebec francophones do not face the same issues as their New Brunswick counterparts, largely because of their demographic majority status. Instead, New Brunswick francophones' intra-border challenges are more akin to those faced by all francophones in Canada outside Quebec (COQ), once again highlighting the notion that New Brunswick can act as a microcosm of Canada (Taylor, 1993). Like at the federal level, the validity of bilingualism in the province is questioned on the basis that it is, as Taylor remarks, "necessary to operate in a country which for many purposes was run much more as a nation with one hegemonic culture, with more or less generous provision for minorities on a regional basis"

(p. 169). Furthermore, the "disappointment" in Atlantic Canada, which stems from "the failure of federal programs actually to improve regional standards" (Taylor, 1993, p. 160), has been an important variable in stoking resentment against bilingualism. While provisions in New Brunswick have been more generous than in other parts of the country because of francophones' demographic weight, that generosity is questioned in light of the region's ongoing economic and demographic struggles. Much like it was used by COR, the repealing of official bilingualism becomes a target for right-wing populist parties seeking solutions to New Brunswick's economic issues (Martin, 1998).

As this study has shown, contrary to some of the frames put forward by *L'Évangéline*'s editor, Robichaud did not see the Equal Opportunity Program through an Acadian nationalist lens. The goal was to put every New Brunswicker on an equal footing, but due to francophones' marginalized position, they were going to be some of the primary beneficiaries. Had an anglophone premier been implementing these reforms, the suspicion seen in the *Gleaner* would likely not have been so immediate. In fact, when it came to linguistic issues, Robichaud's successor, Richard Hatfield, followed in his predecessor's footsteps by giving "legal force" (Poitras, 2004, p. 27) to the Official Languages of New Brunswick Act. His anglophone background allowed him to do so without initially arising ire, even though this was much more explicitly to the benefit of francophones than the Program. However, as mentioned earlier, his party did eventually pay a political price; they were shut out of the Legislature in the 1987 election, and many of their members flocked to COR, partly because of the premier's personal blunders, but also because of his stance on bilingualism, which was perceived as being too tilted towards Acadians (Belkhodja, 2001; Poitras, 2004). In their editorials, both *L'Évangéline* and the

Gleaner's editors play down any notions of favouritism towards any linguistic groups, which attests to the charged atmosphere which prevailed during Robichaud's time in office.

Robichaud's decade at the helm of New Brunswick has been studied by a number of scholars of political science, among them Della M.M. Stanley, whose dissertation on the subject was turned into a book (Stanley, 1984). However, *Chances Égales* has not yet been the subject of an in-depth study rooted in both communication and political science, which looks at the issue through the lens of editorials from two of the era's major newspapers. In the face of a popular consensus defined by simplistic tropes about the good and the evil forces in the debate, to re-examine it through this lens offers an opportunity for new discussions, findings, and conclusions. As was stated earlier, the 1960s were a turning point in New Brunswick's history, a break with the past in terms of the relationship francophones entertained with their anglophone counterparts, their government, and themselves (Cormier, 2004). It is thus important to understand the debates of decades past in order to make sense of this sustained, and recently reinvigorated, opposition to bilingualism.

The positive consensus surrounding Robichaud's legacy to New Brunswick is a testament to how far the province has come on language issues since the latter's time in office. Again, Taylor (1993)'s hope that Canadians – and New Brunswickers – anglophone and francophone, may one day see "each other's aspirations for what they are, as free as possible from the rhetoric of resentment" (p. 181) rings true. While it may be optimistic, it is certainly a worthwhile goal.

As such, I hope that this project will spark a renewed or newfound interest among scholars and the broader public in New Brunswick politics, a realm often overshadowed by its provincial and federal counterparts, but one that can tell us loads about Canada as a whole. While language may not be the divisive issue that it once was, especially at the federal level, it

continues to play a defining role in shaping Canadian politics. Lessons from the Robichaud era – the ways in which nationalism can be used in order to draw suspicion towards another group, linguistic or otherwise, the difficulty of articulating policy in a non-nationalist fashion when so much of the surrounding discourse is nationalist in its outlook, the inherently different viewpoints of the majority and the minority group, and the ripple effect his reforms had on New Brunswick politics for decades to come – can provide insights into how to navigate the issue of linguistic and cultural accomodation in an increasingly fragmented context.

Further Study

An area of study which has yet to be covered is the impact – if any – that *Chances égales* had on First Nations in New Brunswick, predominantly the Wolastoqiyik (Maliseet) and the Mi'kmaq. Fifty years after the fact, First Nations communities in New Brunswick continue to be plagued by severe poverty, high levels of unemployment and unequal access to services (CBC News, 2010), and there seems to be no overt acknowledging of this situation by the Robichaud government, at least in the documents within the corpus. However, despite this lack of formal acknowledgement, it would be interesting to do a study of any effects of the Program might have had on these marginalized communities, whose historically close relationship with Acadians in the region has suffered a number of setbacks (Smith, 2017). This could be done through either a qualitative or a quantitative lens and could inform an understanding of current conditions on First Nations reserves across the province.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Corpus

L'Évangéline: 31 editorials

18 nov. 1965: "Une journée historique"

19 nov. 1965: "Une répartition plus équitable des taxes"

26 nov. 1965: "Le bien commun avant tout"

29 nov. 1965: "Les réformes scolaires"

2 déc. 1965: "Prévention et réhabilitation"

3 déc. 1965: "Un thème tout trouvé"

7 déc. 1965: "Un mauvais départ"

9 déc. 1965: "Nouvelle taxe d'égalité"

13 déc. 1965: "Des paroles en l'air"

14 déc. 1965: "Il faut des alternatives"

16 déc. 1965: "Enfin, des alternatives"

18 déc. 1965: "Des signes de progrès"

21 déc. 1965: "Le programme 'chances égales' rompt avec le passé"

22 déc. 1965: "Attitude constructive,"

28 déc. 1965: "Une mesure, deux poids? ..."

31 déc. 1965: "Une année de progrès"

6 jan. 1966: "La nouvelle 'vague'"

7 jan. 1966: "Foi en l'avenir"

10 mars 1966: "Y a-t-il d'autres solutions en 1966?"

4 mai 1966: "Nouvelle alternative"

28 mai 1966: "Démocratie en danger!"

16 juin 1966: "Journée historique!"

24 juin 1966: “Quels seront les résultats?”

28 juillet 1966: “Une importante élection”

6 août 1966: “Ces ‘fameux’ dossiers!”

11 août 1966: “Le mord aux dents”

22 août 1966: “Services-Argent-Taxes”

29 décembre 1966: “L’année 1966 en deux mots!”

3 janvier 1967: “À nous de choisir”

The Daily Gleaner: 177 editorials

Nov. 16, 1965: “The Changes”

Nov. 16, 1965: “The Legislature”

Nov. 19, 1965: “The Questions” and “Uneasiness”

Nov. 20, 1965: “A New Municipal Structure”

Nov. 22, 1965: “Excessive Provincial Control”

Nov. 23, 1965: “The County Councillors”

Nov. 24, 1965: “Rigid Control”

Nov. 25, 1965: “The Welfare Acts”

Nov. 26, 1965: “Information Needed”

Nov. 27, 1965: “The New Schools Act”

Nov. 29, 1965: “Little Authority Left”

Nov. 30, 1965: “The Unanswered Question”

Dec. 1, 1965: “The Justice Legislation”

Dec. 2, 1965: “Mr. Sherwood Attacks” and “The Health Legislation”

Dec. 3, 1965: “Tightening of Control” and “Arrogance”

Dec. 4, 1965: “Wrong Emphasis”

Dec. 6: “Red Light for Danger”

Dec. 7: “The Price Tag”

Dec. 8: “The High Cost of Louis Robichaud”

Dec. 9: “A Bludgeon Blow”

Dec. 10: Centralization and Taxation”

Dec. 11: “The Robichaud Smokescreen”

Dec. 13: “Public Opinion”

Dec. 14: “The Cushion” and “Centralized System”

Dec. 15: “Abrupt Change of Policy” and “Devastating Rebuttal”

Dec. 16: “Turning Turtle”

Dec. 17: “Chain Reaction”

Dec. 18: “Mass Protest” and “Devastating Blow”

Dec. 20: “The Robichaud Record”

Dec. 21: “Liberals Should Reject It”

Dec. 22: “Christmas Crisis”

Dec. 23: “Circle of Confusion”

Dec. 24: “Christmas 1965”

Dec. 28: “Slow Death”

Dec. 30: ‘Demand For Election”

Dec 31, 1965: “Exit 1965”

Jan. 3, 1966: “Public Support Needed”

Jan. 4: “The Case of Mr. Gray”

Jan. 5: “The Fight Resumes”

Jan. 6: “Beating a Retreat”

Jan. 7: “United Front”

Jan. 8: “The City and the Future”

Jan. 10: “The Truth Must Be Known”

Jan. 11: “New Tax Facts”, “Angry and Afraid”, “It Offers Nothing”

Jan. 12: “A Break in the Battle”

Jan. 13 “Centralization”

Jan. 14: “No Confidence”

Jan. 15: “Eager to Fight”

Jan. 17: “Vigilance the Watchword”

Jan. 18: “Power Struggle”

Jan. 18: “The Issue”

Jan. 20: “Serious Charges”

Jan. 21: “The Time for Reckoning”

Jan. 22: “The French and the English”

Jan. 24: “Reply to Robichaud,” “The 41 Steps to Dictatorship”

Jan. 25: “The True Position”

Jan. 26: “Anonymous Threats”

Jan. 27: “The Resignation,” “Driving the Wedge Deeper”

Jan. 28: “The Petition,” “Very Serious Charges”

Jan. 29: “More Misrepresentation”

Jan. 31: “The Right to Know”

Feb. 1: “Vilification”

Feb. 2: “Doing Their Duty Well”

Feb. 3: “The Lid is Off”

Feb. 4: “The Premier’s Tantrum,” “Steady Fire of Criticism”

Feb. 5: “Classic Arrogance”

Feb. 6 and Feb. 7: “Unfit to Govern”

Feb. 8: “Another Contradiction”

Feb. 9: “Meeting Under Sentence”

Feb. 10: “About Turn,” “A Fundamental Right”

Feb. 11: “Steadfast Under Fire”

Feb. 12: “A Reasoned Case”

Feb. 14: “Fear”

Feb. 15: “Fifty-Cent Seesaw”

Feb. 16: “Patronage”

Feb. 17: “Mr. Meldrum and the Press,” “Well, Mr. Webber?”

Feb. 18: “Rural Education”

Feb. 21: “Defiance”

Feb. 22: “The Legislature”

Feb. 23: “Strange Session Ends”

Feb. 24: “‘Equal Opportunity’”

Feb. 25: “Intolerable”

Feb. 28: “The Robichaud Story”

Mar. 1: “Foreigner”

Mar. 2: “Resistance”

Mar. 3: “Double Taxation,” “The Contrast”

Mar. 4: “Fooling the People”

Mar. 5: “The Time is Short”

Mar. 7: “Inexplicable Refusal,” “Bewildered Officials”

Mar. 8: “Education Week”

Mar. 10: “A Drastic Program”

Mar. 11: “School Trustees Speak”

Mar. 14: “Vacillating Mr. Byrne”

Mar. 15: “Unwise Tax”

Mar. 17: “The Magistrates”

Mar. 18: “No Double Taxation”

Mar. 21: “A Cruel Hoax”

Mar. 22: “Crucial Session”

Mar. 23: “The Throne Speech”

Mar. 24: “Fredericton’s Surplus”

Mar. 25: “One Obsession,” “Arrogance”

Apr. 1: “Wasted Days”

Apr. 2: “The Premier’s Speech”

Apr. 5: A Serious Misquotation”

Apr. 6: “Desperate Straits”

Apr. 7: “Election, the Only Answer”

Apr. 11: “Power and Patronage”

Apr. 12: The Budget”

Apr. 13: “Still a Mystery”

Apr. 14: “The True Position”

Apr. 15: For Good Government”

Apr. 19: “The First Step”

Apr. 20: “The Schools Act”

Apr. 22: “Assessment”

Apr. 25: “An Election?”

Apr. 27: “The Outsiders”

Apr. 28: “Denigration”

Apr. 29: “Arousing Public Opinion”

May 3: “The Municipal Structure”

May 5: “Statement of Principle,” “The Teachers’ Submission”

May 6: “Resistance Hardens”

May 10: “Useful Submissions”

May 12: “A Warning”

May 13: “Ill-Conceived Legislation”

May 17: “A Splendid Bequest”

May 24: “The Legislature Resumes”

May 27: “Strong Objections”

Jun. 2: “Remedy Not Acceptable,” “Failure and Delay”

Jun. 3: More Centralization”

Jun. 8: “Campaign Preview”

Jun. 9: “Section 14”

Jun. 14: “Now the Schools Act”

Jun. 15: “Taxes and Salaries”

Jun. 16: “Startling”

Jun. 18: “By Constrast”

Jun. 20: “An Incredible Session”

Jun. 21: “Shrunk by $2 Million”

Jun. 22: “Sombre Reflections”

Jul. 4: “The Last Session”

Jul. 27: “The By-Election”

Jul. 30: “‘Equal Opportunity’”

Aug. 1: “The People Will Decide”

Aug. 2: “The By-Election”

Aug. 4: “The Press”

Aug. 5: “Meeting Under Sentence”

Aug. 8: “The Municipalities”

Aug. 17: “Test of Strength”

Aug. 19: “Ill-Chosen Words”

Aug. 31: “Fighting On”

Sep. 12: “A Day of Testing”

Sep. 13: “The By-Election,” “Completely Ignored”

Sep. 22: “Institution Threatened”

Sep. 24: “‘Time is on Our Side’”

Sep. 27: “Mr. Sherwood’s Course”

Oct. 11: “Democratic Self-Government”

Oct. 17: “The Big Question”

Nov. 1: “Facing the Cost”

Nov. 4: “New Tax Act”

Nov. 16: “The Take-Over”

Nov. 18: “Power and Patronage”

Nov. 25: “On the Books”

Nov. 26: “A Vital Decision”

Nov. 30: “The County Councils”

Dec. 12: “The County Councils”

Dec. 21: “The Counties”

Dec. 22: “McAdam’s Mayor”

Dec. 31: “A Year Ends”

Jan. 3, 1967: “New Brunswick’s Loss”