RINGING CALL FOR REFORM SOUNDED AT CARVELL BANQUET

CLEAN GOVERNMENT IS THE KEY-NOTE AT CARVELL-DUGAL DINNER

(Continued from page 1.)

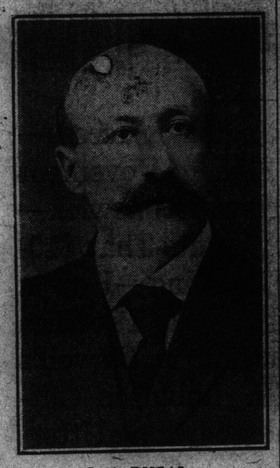
sponse from all classes of the British Empire to the call to arms.

S. C. Matthews, of St. John, was heard in original selections.

W. E. FOSTER.

After thanking the committee for the honor conferred in asking him to preside, Mr. Foster said in part as follows:

You gentlemen of course are well aware of the purpose and reason which brings us together. In the first place, I venture to impress upon you that as far as I am concerned, and I believe I am expressing the sentiments and feelings of the most if not all of this gathering, when I say that we are not here to rejoice over the fact that the charges brought by Mr. Dugal and investigated by the royal commission brought certain



L. A. DUGAL.

revelations to light, and the fact that the good name of the province has been dragged down deep in the mire, nor do we rejoice over the fact that the astounding revelations have revealed the fact that the government which now hold the reins of power in this province is discredited and will within a short time, or at the first opportunity, be swept from power by an angry electorate. Nor are we here to rejoice over the fact that by the report of this commission we have heard the names of several gentlemen mentioned, gentlemen whom we have met from time to time during our travels over this province, and whom we have come to regard as friends, if not political ones, and who have, to use the kindest expression possible, been indiscreet in their dealings with certain interests. These are things that we are not here to make merry about, but we are here to do honor to our guests of the evening, who through loyalty to their party, loyalty to themselves and in the best interests of the province and the electorate, have unearthed the greatest political scandal that has ever been investigated, not only in the province of New Brunswick but, I am safe in saying, in the whole dominion at large.

Praise for Mr. Dugal.

In proposing the health of our guests of this evening, I wish first for a few moments to refer to our friend, Mr. Dugal, and the part taken by him in these charges, and the investigation which followed. Let any of us face the position in which Mr. Dugal found himself, and I am afraid that while some of us will not shrink from much, yet perhaps we would not all have regarded our duties as seriously as he. But Mr. Dugal, characteristic of the noble race to which he belongs, and with the evidence supplied him, undertook his disagreeable task in a brave and dignified manner, realizing as I believe no doubt he did, that if he failed to prove what he charged he would not only forfeit his seat in the legislature of this province but would forfeit the respect of all decent thinking people of his acquaintance, and the respect of the Acadian population which he has the honor to represent; but Mr. Dugal, with the information supplied him, formulated his charges and presented them to the house in the proper form, but lone-handed as he was, he was met almost solidly to a man by a hostile legislature composed of a government prepared and determined by any means to retain office at any cost.

What was the first objection Mr. Dugal met? These men realized that Mr. Dugal, possessed as he was of only a limited knowledge of the English language, would be unable to discuss his motion unless it was in his native tongue. I happened to be a witness in the gallery of the legislature when the motion was presented and there saw a partizan speaker rise in his place and refuse to hear the motion discussed in a language that is spoken by a great many inhabitants of this province. We are, however, proud of the fact and lucky that we live in a land and country of free speech, do our business under the protection of the British flag, and under British institutions, and where under the old flag will you find forty or fifty men gathered together where there will not be shown some evidence of fair play? In this case one would have thought that the Acadian representative of the government would have at once appealed to the chairman on behalf of Mr. Dugal; but not so; he sat silent, and it remained for an independent member of the county of Northumberland to rise in his place and protest against such proceedings. Mr. Dugal was heard, and you all know the result.

Mr. Carvell's Great Work.

Then we have another guest who I am sure you will agree with me played no small part in this investigation, and where over this broad dominion could Mr. Dugal have procured for counsel a gentleman better able in ability and upon whom he could better have pinned his faith, that no stone would be left unturned to safely guard his interests, and in addition who knew the gentleman with whom he had to deal, as a skipper would know his ship from stem to stern. Therefore it is to Mr. Carvell that I also ask you to drink this toast, a man who for twenty years has been the representative of the noble county of Carleton not only in the legislature of this province but in the dominion house as well, and who long ago could have tasted the sweets of office, and who could at the present time have been in receipt of a lucrative salary and position of honor, but preferred to remain in the thick of the fight, and continue to represent his native county, fighting for the principles which he believes to be right, and in the interests of the people as a whole.

I am no prophet, nor the son of a prophet, but I believe and predict that the day is not far distant when the people of this province will show their appreciation of the service rendered by Mr. Carvell in this matter, for I believe it is the first step and will eventually be the means of uplifting this province from the political mire into which it has fallen and place it in the position it deserves, alongside of the sister provinces of this dominion.

Having laid the foundation for better government, we must then build upon this foundation a substantial structure; and how is it to be done? It can only be done by the business interests of this province, the best element of the farmers, the fishermen and the lumbermen awakening to the realization of the duties they owe to themselves, the province and generations to come, by allowing their names to come before the nominating conventions and forming an alliance with the opposing party and assisting to complete a thorough organizing of provincial affairs, not a political party in the sense of the word, but a party from which will spring the best elements representing all these interests, and which when the sound of a general election goes forth, which cannot be long delayed, we will appeal unitedly to the country, with the slogan not unlike that used by one of the other provinces recently, which was "Abolish the Bar," but in this case "Abolish the Bag," that now hangs on the door of the legislature of this province, and in its place inscribe a notice, "Take notice, all ye who enter here, no more legislation in the interests of private individuals, no more foreshore bills, no more guaranteeing of bonds for private individuals and corporations, but legislation that will be in the interests of the people and future generations to come."

F. B. CARVELL, K.C., M.P.

Mr. Carvell said: I have great pleasure in meeting so many friends here tonight, assembled for the purpose of paying tribute to the attempts being made for cleaner and decenter government than we have been suffering under for the past six years.

The question is so big that it would be impossible with the short time at my command to more than touch the fringe of it. The two great questions involved in the investigation were the crown land scandal and the Valley Railway finances, more particularly than any other matters referring to the government of our province.

It is well known to all those who have taken any part in public affairs that for many years past the renewal of the timber licenses, when they expired in 1918, would be an important subject, and, considering the results of the election of 1912 every person who knew anything about the personnel of the present government felt sure that the passage of the monstrous crown land legislation of 1913 (by which the renewal of these licenses was practically left in the hands of Mr. Flemming) would result in nothing but a steal of the most gigantic proportions known in the history of the province.

Tribute to Messrs. Carter and Veniot.

Our friends immediately set themselves at work to discover it, and just here I wish to give to Messrs. Carter and Veniot their full share of credit for unearthing this horrible condition of affairs. Week in and week out, standing the scoffs and jeers of the whole machine in Fredericton and their reptile press over the province, these two brave men stood by their posts, assisted by Messrs. Dugal and Pelletier, in framing questions and obtaining what information they could from the hands of an insolent and unwilling government. The Liberal party of New Brunswick (and not only they but the whole body politic of New Brunswick) will never even know, let alone be able to repay to these two men the debt of gratitude which they owe them for their zeal and integrity and real heroism in unearthing the diabolical steals which have recently been brought to light.

Another matter which I think should be given to the public is the fact that when Mr. Flemming saw the net was tightening around him by means of the questions Mr. Dugal was asking, he had sent to him an invitation to attend the government caucus and when that failed, he met him on the train and again renewed the invitation, promising various favors should Mr. Dugal fall into the trap. Had he succeeded, our last avenue of obtaining information and bringing to light the crimes of this miserable brigand would have been gone, but, fortunately for us, he did not know his man. Mr. Dugal remained true to his friends, true to his promises and true to the best instincts of his race. He heroically promulgated the charges which have led to such a revelation of graft as has been exposed and is here tonight to answer for himself and receive the thanks and plaudits, not only of his political friends but of every other person over the province of New Brunswick, regardless of his political affiliations, race or creed.

I do not need to go into the details of the timber transactions, because these have all been made public through the publication of the evidence in the newspapers and the findings of the royal commission. That document, in my judgment, is a clearer condemnation of Mr. Flemming and his government than any words which I could express would be.

Robbed the Province.

It must be apparent to any man who thinks that if the lumbermen were willing to pay $100 per mile to the government and $15 per mile to Flemming either for political or personal uses (and I care not which view is taken, because in my judgment they are synonymous) then these lumbermen would surely have been just as willing to pay $115 per mile to the province, the net result being that —argue as you will—Flemming and his crowd for their own purposes and contrary to their oaths of office, attempted to pilfer from the funds of this province the sum of over $70,000, and in making this statement I am not referring in the least to what further sums might have been obtained had ordinarily honest business methods been followed in regard to these timber licenses. That is a subject which will be discussed more fully and at another time, but it is one of the big questions staring the people of this province in the face today and one which can never be settled by the party of grafters now controlling the affairs of New Brunswick.

Flemming Willing to Disgorge.

The only hopeful sign in the whole dismal story is the fact that Flemming is now willing to make restitution of the stolen goods.

I am happy to be able to announce to you here tonight that I have already received the money extorted from the Lynch estate and can assure you that within the next three weeks I have the strongest reasons for expecting to receive much more than half of the fund now in the hands of Mr. Teed and from information of a trustworthy character I feel satisfied that the whole of it will be disgorged in the very near future. While this will in no way prevent the present government from having an enormous boodle campaign in the next election it will at least take this large amount out of circulation for unlawful purposes, such as they claim it was intended for.

Valley Railway Case the Worst.

The other branch of the case is much more complicated than is the timber graft charges, and if the people of this province really understood all of the schemes and plots connected with it they would absolutely drive from the province every man who had any connection with this transaction.

Time does not allow me to enter into the history of this Valley railway question from the beginning, and it is probably fairly fresh in the minds of the most of my hearers tonight, but from the very inception a steal of gigantic proportions was being engineered and no person who was a resident of New Brunswick was allowed even to tender for the construction of this work, simply because the government realized they could not work out their schemes with as great safety in that manner as they could with a foreigner.

I have no hesitation in stating tonight that the sole object of importing Mr. Gould was for the purpose of having this road under a foreign corporation, and having its books kept in a foreign country, and in that manner prevent any investigation into the corruption which was intended to follow the enterprise, and how well they have succeeded is known to every person who watched during the progress of the inquiry the appeals made by my associates and myself for the production of these books, and the frantic efforts made by the counsel for the government and all the parties connected therewith to keep them securely hidden in a safety vault in the city of New York.

A Partial Audit.

It will be remembered that on the day the railway charges were preferred in the legislature by Mr. Dugal, in April last, Mr. Flemming laid before the house the audit of Mr. Blanchette (a gentleman of very high standing in his profession) purporting to give a complete statement of the financial affairs of the railway, but upon investigation we found this report, although made in the month of March, only carried the record of the work done upon the road down to the end of November of 1913, and the payments to the end of December.

We naturally wondered why the audit was not brought down to date, and my colleagues and myself spent many an anxious hour discussing the matter and endeavoring to find the reason why, and let me assure you from the very inception we had no doubts whatever but that a good and sufficiently corrupt reason existed, and set about to discover it. We fully realized that Mr. Blanchette would honestly report what he found, and therefore there must be something between the end of November and the middle of March which they did not want Mr. Blanchette to report.

During the investigation we obtained an order from the commissioners giving us the right to examine the books of the construction company at Fredericton. We spent three days of sweltering July weather in a little 8x10 room, securely guarded by three officials of the company, and made what progress was possible. When we asked the right to question the bookkeeper, whom we knew to be honest, that privilege was denied us; but when we got this same bookkeeper in the witness box then the reason became apparent, and just here I want to give my colleague, Mr. Stevens, the full credit for unearthing the gigantic steal which was being engineered and which was most cunningly concealed in the books, after the date of Mr. Blanchette's audit.

Found the Steal.

During the progress of the investigation Mr. Stevens on going over one of the books found an entry of $338,000 as a charge or item entering into the cost of the road, which he immediately called to my attention, and upon consultation that evening we decided we had found the steal, and the next morning, on examining Mr. Hoben, the whole thing came out. Under the legislation authorizing the government to assist the railway company by the guarantee of bonds, they were allowed to pay the company not $25,000 of bonds nor yet $35,000, but such an amount as would represent the cost of the road not exceeding the amount of the two bond guarantees, and if the railway company could convince the government that the road cost $1,000,000 more than it actually did, then they would have $1,000,000 of clear cream to divide up among them and their political associates, and once having Mr. Blanchette's audit down to a certain date certifying that all was well, it would be an easy matter to hand over to the company on the completion of each section money or bonds representing the cost of the road, as shown by those books.

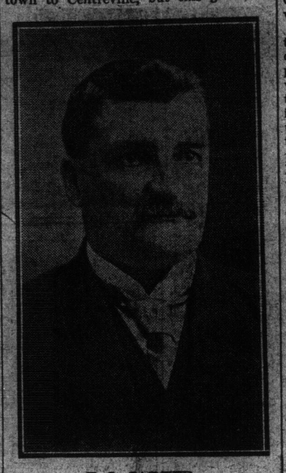
In the month of January, they deliberately added $338,000 on the costof the road from Gagetown to Centreville, which did not represent the expenditure of one cent of money or money's worth, but was simply an arbitrary amount of ten per cent. added to the total cost of the road up to that date, and each month thereafter ten per cent. was added for each payment made by the company in connection with the construction of this work. For instance: when they paid Mr. Gould $5,000 salary, it appeared in the books as $5,500; when they paid Norman Winslow $8,000 (because he wanted it), it would appear as $8,800; when they paid Jimmy Crocket $1,000 sheer graft (because he wanted it), it appears as $1,100; when they paid $50,000 interest on the bonds, it appears $55,000, and today those books show the road between Gagetown and Centreville to have cost nearly $500,000 more than it actually has cost.

Saved the People $1,000,000.

Had this body of plunderers been allowed to finish their work and complete this road, they would have had about $1,000,000 added on to the cost of the work which represented nothing but absolute graft, and had not these charges been laid and investigation held, the people of this province would have paid to Mr. Gould and his political associates in New Brunswick $1,000,000 of absolute graft to be divided among themselves.

The people of this province can thus see what they have been saved by the heroism of Mr. Dugal and by the energetic detective work of Messrs. Carter and Veniot, and when you realize this fact I think the statement which I made early in the evening as to the debt due these men is more than borne out, and the people will just commence to realize the enormous abyss of financial ruin over which we were sleeping, and will, when the proper time comes, condemn to oblivion the men who made this condition of affairs possible.

And even after this gigantic steal has been stopped the condition of affairs is so bad that one wonders what the end will be. The road as constructed is absolutely useless as an earning proposition. It is true, if it were ever operated, it would be a boon to those people along the line of railway from Gagetown to Centreville, but this great un-



E. S. CARTER.

dertaking was never justifiable from a provincial standpoint excepting as a through line connecting the Transcontinental with St. John.

Tory Mismanagement.

Forty per cent of the earnings of the road, as now constructed, will not commence to pay the interest upon the bonded debt, and the balance must be made up by the taxpayers of this province, and I see nothing staring us in the face but direct taxation, because of the mismanagement of this great undertaking by the party in power. We have been told by the Conservative party, from Mr. Hazen down, that this road was to go to Grand Falls. One of the members from Victoria, Mr. White, promised his electors on the hustings that if the road was not completed immediately to Grand Falls he would resign his seat. At the investigation, Ross Thompson swore that they had not even surveyed beyond Andover, and even should they attempt to connect with the Transcontinental, it was intended to do so by the Salmon River viaduct and not go within six miles of Grand Falls.

Worse than that, the road is not open through to Andover (from Centreville to Andover) which, if constructed, would open up a large amount of business. The government will pretend to say this was impossible on account of the financial stringency, but they forget to tell you that away back in 1912 the bonds for this section of the road were sold and the money obtained therefrom and placed in the hands of the Prudential Trust Company, and has ever since that date been there, or supposed to have been there, for the purpose of extending this road to Andover. Therefore, the claim of lack of money is only a subterfuge. The real reason is because Mr. Gould and certain members of the government quarrelled over the location, and, as usual when the interests of Mr. Gould and the province of New Brunswick clashed, Mr. Gould won out.

Where is the Million?

The result is the Prudential Trust Company, acting on the authority given by the government of New Brunswick, have practically $1,000,000 of our money in their hands which their manager ad-

W. E. FOSTER.

mitted on oath was being loaned out to stock brokers and other borrowers, which might appear proper to him; and the Lord only knows where the money is tonight. We hope the securities will some day realize the money which we placed in the hands of these people for private investment. We do know that $97,000 of it is in the form of a note signed by Mr. Gould, Mr. Ross Thompson, Mr. MacDonnell and Mr. Lisman, the latter of New York, and also the famous financier who, according to Mr. Flemming, was going to finance the second mortgage bonds.

We also note that this $97,000 represents the greater portion of the $100,000 which Gould paid to Flemming in the month of June, 1912, and for which he holds Flemming's receipts today. We do know that this money can all be found in the books of the railway company of New York, if they could be procured. What other securities the Prudential Trust Company holds for our million dollars, we know nothing about, but if anything goes wrong, if the people in that portion of New Brunswick fail to get the railroad they will know that the blame falls directly upon the government, and is not due to the financial conditions owing to the great war which is now in progress in Europe.

Only Touched the Fringe.

We have proved much, as is evident by the report of the commission, but let me tell you that we only touched the fringe of all the graft in connection with both the timber lands and the Valley Railway. Had we been able to get the evidence of Mr. Berry; had we been able to get the evidence of James H. Corbett, who paid $10,000 to Mr. Flemming at the Brunswick Hotel in Moncton in the month of May, 1912; and had we been able to get the books of the railway company, which have been locked up in New York, we would reveal to the people of this province a tale of graft by men in high authority (including others beside the premier) which would have paled into insignificance anything heretofore brought to light in Canada or any portion of the civilized world.

But Berry was securely entertained at the best hotels of Boston and Calais during the summer, at the expense primarily of the province of New Brunswick; Mr. Corbett, on account of certain threats made from Ottawa, found it necessary to remain in Pennsylvania until after the investigation was closed; the books of the company were locked up in New York, and Lisman was in Europe, and the treasurer, Goodman, was away on a short trip, and unfortunately when the legislature created the commission they took very good pains not to give them the power to go beyond the limits of the province of New Brunswick for the purpose of obtaining evidence; and therefore with this limited power their hands and ours were completely tied, excepting as to witnesses within the province.

However, now that the commission has reported, both Mr. Berry and Mr. Corbett have been able to return to New Brunswick. The newspapers are making statements about Mr. Berry, which Mr. Clarke cannot ignore, and Mr. Corbett is determined that Mr. Flemming shall return to him the $10,000 which he swore he (Flemming) did not receive, and probably when these two suits are concluded the public will have some inkling of the evidence which was denied them by the government and its officials at the investigation.

L. A. DUGAL.

L. A. Dugal, in response, said:

"I am confident that no one in this meeting will begrudge me the privilege of addressing my more extended remarks in the French language. If I am your guest tonight, it is not because I sought this signal honor, but circumstances coupled with the position in which the fortunes of political warfare have placed me are accountable for it.

"As my conduct in the legislature, which received the approbation of a large number, and the criticism of some, was actuated solely by a sense of duty, so tonight I am here in answer to the call of the friends of honest government and to still further do my modest share in helping the friends to accomplish the object had in view by the late investigation.

"I regret to have to announce that my worthy and devoted colleague, Mr. Pelletier, could not be here tonight owing to a very severe illness. I feel it my duty to say that the persons most worthy of praise and honor in the matter of the Flemming investigation are our friends, E. S. Carter and F. J. Veniot. It is not necessary for me to sing the praises of my chief counsel, Mr. Carvell, and his associates. You who have followed their conduct of the investigation are in a position to appreciate the great work accomplished by them.

"Mr. Carvell, in responding to the toast of our guests, has, so eloquently and feelingly thanked you for your kindness, and the honor conferred upon the two of us, that I will content myself by merely saying that he has fully expressed my views in that respect."

Speaks in French.

After the above remarks in English, Mr. Dugal spoke in French. He referred to the honor conferred on him by the friends who organized this magnificent banquet. He said: "I have not been in the habit of speaking ill of anyone, but having had placed before me what I consider sufficient evidence to warrant me in making the charges of misconduct and corruption, I felt that a sense of duty compelled me to speak out boldly and fearlessly from my seat in the legislature. I simply followed the dictates of my conscience.

"The accomplishment of one's duty, either in public or private life, should be actuated by justice, sincerity, devotion and the determination warranted by the circumstances. The pages of history, which are now being written in this province, will tell to future generations how those placed in the high and honorable positions accomplished their duty. All glory to those who have honestly done their duty, and those who have failed in doing so will, I hope, receive their just reward at the hands of those to whom they must sooner or later render an account."

He referred to the late elections in which he had asked to be elected for the purpose of establishing an honest administration of affairs, and he hoped that the work he had been called to do would some day bear fruit. He had hoped that the foundations of honest government would have been laid before tonight. He also expressed the hope that every one present would do their utmost to bring about a reform that would surely safeguard the interests and the honor of our province.

Scores Mud Slingers.

He referred to the canvass used by some that all politicians were more or less given to a desire of accumulating riches at the public expense. He made a protest against such flippant assertions, adding that such attempts made to besmirch the character of many great men who had adorned our legislative halls could not and should not be tolerated. He instanced the congratulations showered on Sir Wilfrid Laurier in his 73rd birthday to show how easy it was for public men to be upright and receive therefor the plaudits of their fellow citizens, and referred to the presence of Senator Costigan, whose long political career stood as a monument of public honesty and integrity.

Mr. Dugal next referred to the generosity of J. L. Stewart, and L. P. D. Tilley, when they so nobly came to his assistance at the time the speaker of the legislature refused him permission to address the house in French, and obtained for him by their efforts the unanimous consent of the legislature to explain more fully in his mother tongue what he had to say about the charges, he was then making against the premier. He wished to express publicly his deep appreciation for their good services and to thank the other members who responded to the call for fair play. All honor to that spirit of fair play which animated the founders of our grand British constitution; all honor to the king under whose benign influence, liberty and freedom of speech is guaranteed wherever the Union Jack unfurls its folds to the breeze.

In conclusion, he expressed the hope that New Brunswick would always in the future have as its legislators men who would so administer its affairs as to be able to leave the fair name of our province unsullied and respected by all.

Mr. Stevens spoke briefly, dwelling principally on the Valley Railway charges, and the discovery of the transactions revealed before the royal commission.

Mr. Stevens introduced a new note by speaking of Madawaska county, and its thriving centres and just before taking his seat, spoke of the need for a leader in the opposition party in New Brunswick, and suggested Mr. Carvell as a man of the necessary courage, honesty and industry.

P. J. HUGHES.

Peter J. Hughes, one of the counsel in the inquiry for Mr. Dugal, was called upon, and spoke briefly. Mr. Hughes said:

I am sure that after so much has been said of a complimentary nature by the gentlemen proposing the toast and by the other gentlemen who have spoken, I should have very much perefrred if I could have been relieved from making any remarks at all.

Suffice it to say that all of us engaged as counsel in the inquiry attempted to to our duty. The task of managing that inquiry, which was assigned primarily to our friend Mr. Carvell, was not light. When Mr. L. A. Dugal, unskilled as he was in legislative procedure and unfamiliar with the language in which he was compelled to speak, arose on the floors of the legislature and in the face of Mr. Flemming, the premier of the province, holding in his hands the machinery of the investigation, backed by a house subservient to his will, and hurled in the teeth of the premier the charge of extortion and corruption, let me tell you, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen that Mr. Dugal exhibited the qualities of a hero. As such he is well deserving of our honor tonight.

But Mr. Dugal would hardly have succeeded without the assistance of the other gentleman whom we are gathered to honor this evening, whose perseverance, whose dauntless courage, whose skill as an advocate and whose great knowledge of men were all required to bring the great task to a successful conclusion, our friend Mr. Carvell. It was a great pleasure to serve under him, and Mr. Stevens and I gave him the best service of which we were capable. We will leave it to you to say whether the result of our labors has been satisfactory. Our labors were given ungrudgingly in a great cause, and we leave it to you to measure the result.

Some of Mr. Flemming's friends say our work was a complete failure, that Mr. Flemming was entirely exonerated. Then why does Mr. Flemming so bitterly complain of his exoneration? May the Lord deliver us from such an exoneration! That exoneration reminds me of a recommendation or certificate of character of which I once heard. A young man of rather neglected appearance came into a large mercantile house looking for employment. After discussing his qualifications for the position, he was asked for his references for character. He had none. He was asked if any person in the town knew him. He was a stranger. Then he remembered that he had seen an acquaintance driving one of the delivery teams of the establishment. So this man was sent for and asked if he knew the applicant. "Yes I do." "Is he an honest man?" The driver paused a moment, scratched his head and said: "Well, yes, I guess he must be. I have known him to be arrested three times for stealing and every time the jury found him not guilty, so I guess he must surely be honest."

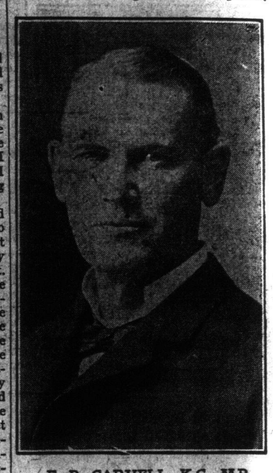
That recommendation was pretty nearly as good as Mr. Flemming's exoneration. Perhaps there is one lesson which we can learn from the present situation. We are living in unexampled times. We have lived to see the civilization of Euorpe and the free institutions and honor of the British Empire ruthlessly attacked upon the plains of Flanders, and we have been privileged to see men rushing from every corner of the world to bring aid and comfort to the old grey mother in the hour of trial. From her they had received freedom, from her they had inherited the cherished institutions under which they lived, and they realized only too truly that if the British Empire fell, this freedom and these institutions would fall also, so they hasten to resist the new onslaught of the barbarian, the new avalanche of Hun and vandal, and to lay down their lives if necessary that the empire may be saved.

Shall we gentlemen in this supreme hour of our country's need, shall we fail to show in any less degree our appreciation of that heritage which is ours as well as theirs? Shall we, while our kinsmen for the purpose of thrusting back the onrushing hoards and preserving our inheritance, take their places in the trenches, and before the cannon's mouth, aye leave their homes to whiten by the banks of the Aisne, the Marne, the Meuse and the Yser, shall we sit quietly down and permit these institutions, for which they suffer, to be undermined and destroyed by venality and corruption of those high in office? Or shall we here and now resolve that the corrupt politician shall have no place in this province. Shall we here and now resolve that we, on our part, shall so act that those of our countrymen who offer their life's blood as a sacrifice in their country's cause shall not die in vain.

E. S. CARTER.

I have heard it stated that but for Carter's meddling the present state of affairs would not have been made public—Flemming would have retired, as he intended, and the province would have been saved the expense of the investigation. I do not feel that there is any reproach coming to me for enlisting the good offices of my friends, Messrs. Dugal and Carvell, and making public the shameful misdeeds of New Brunswick's premier. The fault lies not with me but with those who are guilty, who put this shame upon their province, and who made it possible for such a discovery to be made.

There were many people who more than suspected—who knew that the province was being plundered, who knew that contractors were being held up, who knew, not only that there was a vast campaign fund in 1912, but also that a large amount of it was left over. The disposition of this large balance of the corrupt fund caused much dissension, open charges of wrongdoing, and a small portion of the public gradually became aware that the "honest government," so-called, were snarling over the spoils. That was in the late summer and fall of 1912—after the election. This distrust of their leader was evident before the crown lands legislation of 1913. We all know what happened that spring and summer. We know how the funds from Gould, Corbett, Hibbard and Kennedy, with additions from other large corporations—whose names have not been made public yet—were swelled out of all proportions by the extortions from the crown land lessees, and yet we have the amazing declaration from those who were closest to Mr. Flemming and boon companions of his assistant, Berry, that they did not know anything of what was going on! They must either think the people are credulous fools or else confess that they themselves have not the ordinary perception of men. I do not say for one moment that all the members knew or suspected what was going on, but those who did know are now trying to make Flemming their scapegoat, and unwilling to face the penalty



F. B. CARVELL, K.C., M.P.

are advising their leader to cling to power, embarrass the governor and save them, if possible, from the wrath of the people.

The Foreshores Bill.

They may delay the inevitable, but they cannot avert it. In spite of all their powers to corrupt and buy the electorate, I believe there are enough honest men in New Brunswick to stamp out such iniquity. If there are not—if the honest men of the country can be outvoted by the boodlers—then God help New Brunswick. To continue such a group of grafters in power, to entrust them with making the laws to govern us, is risking attempts similar to the Foreshores Bill, which inflamed the people to a few hours of intense indignation, and was then hurriedly withdrawn. That measure lived from Friday night to the following Monday and then disappeared from sight. But not from the memories of the people who have in the framing and introduction of that infamous measure evidence sufficient to drive any man, or set of men, from public life. And yet, one can hardly credit the boldness of these political buccaneers, who talk of reorganization, with the author of the Foreshores Bill as attorney-general! The man who was willing to deprive the people who had shore frontage, no matter where—on sea, lake or river—of their water rights, who drew the measure known as the Foreshore Bill, would make a nice attorney-general of this province! After he drew the Foreshore Bill, he did not have the courage to present it, but foisted it on to a willing premier. Had that measure passed there would have been millions of illegal profit to the men in power, and the huge corporations seeking shore frontage from St. Martins to Dipper Harbor, would have trampled by legislative authority over the rights of anyone who owned land bordering on the sea.

The inside history of the Foreshores Bill has not been written yet. The evidence is all available, and when it is given, the public will wake up to the real character of the manipulator who tried to take their rights from them. The man who creates legislation to enable him to steal the property of the people is worse than the ordinary pickpocket, for the latter takes a chance of being caught and punished, while the legislator, the lawyer member, sworn to do his duty to the people, makes himself safe from the law before he starts to rob.

Don't you think that the private member who drew the Foreshores Bill would find some way to accomplish his object if he were elected attorney-general of the province, and—just by way of illustration—if the people from St. Martins to Dipper Harbor, including Courtenay Bay, warned of what may happen, find later that their shore property is confiscated; who will be to blame but themselves?

How They Went Wrong.

The position New Brunswick finds itself in today is but another striking illustration of the force of example. How could a premier who was doing wrong, who was holding up contractors and knew of extortion from licensees of the province reproach private members who sought to enrich themselves or their clients by private legislation which would rob the people? How could he stand out and say, No! when he was guilty of like practices? And so the greater part of the legislators sought privileges to enrich themselves by railway franchises and bond guarantees. What greater disgrace has New Brunswick borne than the Southampton Railway exposure? Pinder bore the blame—Pinder bore the exposure, and yet who believes that Pinder did not divide the profits of the bond proceeds, and the additional money filched from the Dominion government?

Then there were the Drummond Mines, and the Drummond Railway, and those notorious extortions from the Valley Railway. A large portion of the provincial funds raised to build this road found a place in the pockets of the place hunters, the lawyers in the government and supporting the government, the sons and relatives of the members and the grafting supporters of the administration.

And with all this going on can any one be surprised at the appearance of a man like Berry—who extorted money for his Premier and at the same time was filling his own pockets. And to the shame of the people of New Brunswick be it said that these men are free men to day, as free as honest citizens, who