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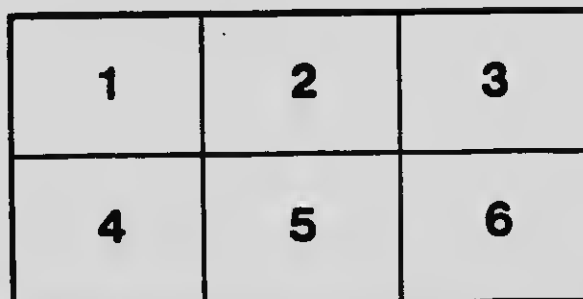
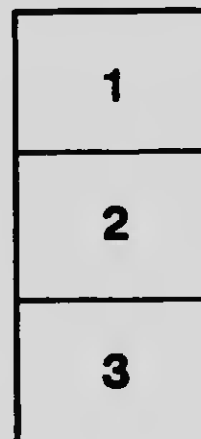
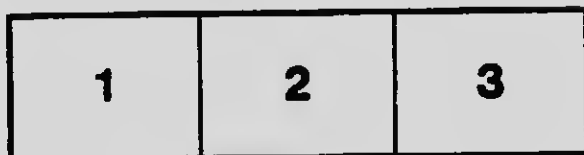
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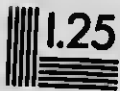
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**A PARTIAL HISTORY**

**OF THE**

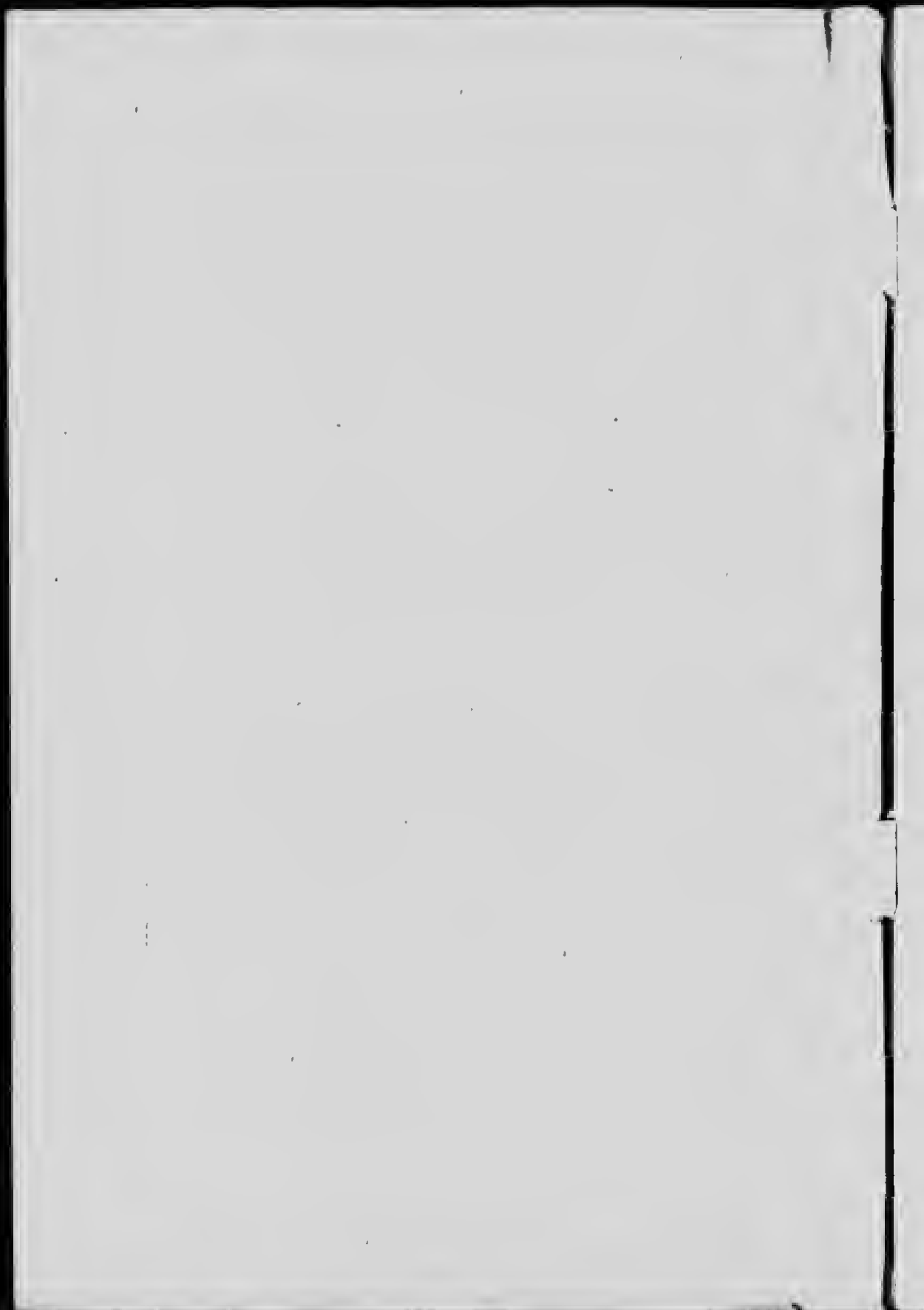
**Corruption and Electoral  
Frauds**

**OF THE**

**TORY PARTY IN CANADA**

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**Whitney's Legislative Record**



## The History of the Tory Party in Canada

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The history of the Tory party in Canada has been one long record of disreputable political practices, open and unblushing bribery both of Constituencies and individuals, stealing of Constituencies by expert gangs of personators and pluggers, ballot box stuffers, ballot stealers and ballot switchers, thumb-nail artists and side-line operators.

The years of Tory rule in Canada have been marked by some of the most glaring instances of corruption and stealing of the public moneys which have ever disgraced a civilized country. Has Mr. Whitney's voice ever been heard in condemnation of Tory corruption? No! but in every speech he makes he lashes himself into a fury about the alleged wrongdoing of a few irresponsible individuals in some recent bye-elections, the evidence against whom has been proven to be purchased. All this noise is made to cover up the nasty record of the Tory party. Below is given a brief summary of some of the things from which Mr. Whitney is so anxious to divert the public mind. Many more instances just as flagrant and scandalous could be given. The attitude of Mr. Whitney and the other leaders of the Tory party in posing as immaculately pure politicians is disgusting to all thinking people.

### THE OLD WAY.

In the olden days of open voting a favorite Tory method was to take possession of the polls and keep the Grits from voting, while men without any qualification were run in to vote for the Tory candidate, and if once was not enough, they would be brought back a second and a third time and as many times as would be necessary in order to make the election of the Tory a sure thing. The Liberals had no redress, as in those days election petitions were tried by partisan Parliamentary Committees. These trials were a huge farce, and seats stolen at the polls would be again stolen by a Tory Committee of the House. To remedy these evils the Liberals agitated for a Ballot Law and the trial of

Election petitions by the Judges. The Tory party, true to the reactionary principles which characterize it to the present day, resisted both of these reforms, and that they were finally brought about is due entirely to the Liberal party.

#### **SOME EXAMPLES OF TORY ELECTION TRIALS BY PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES.**

Many flagrant examples of Tory manipulation of election trials by Partisan Parliamentary Committees might be given. The following specimens will suffice, the first being

##### **The Quebec City Case of 1858.**

when the Conservative Government of the day practically entered into a conspiracy to keep three usurpers in the Quebec seats. At the general elections of 1858, Alleyn, Dubord and Simard, Government supporters, were declared elected, took their seats and voted as members. The petition against the return was referred to a committee of five, which met during the sessions of 1858, 1859, and until April 16, 1860. One of the members of the committee persistently absented himself, and was several times reported to the House, but was excused by party votes. A report was finally brought in on April 16, 1860, stating that huge frauds had been committed, that intimidation and violence were practised to a great extent, that two lives had been lost in the disorder, that a large number of persons voted without qualification, and many several times; that men armed with sticks were allowed to remain in possession of the polls, and gross and open irregularities were permitted by the deputy returning officers; that the poll book was stolen and, when returned, 5,000 fictitious names had been added to it. The Committee, after allowing these three Tories to hold the stolen seats for two years, was forced to declare the election void.

Another flagrant attempt to thwart the will of the people was

##### **The Russell County Case of 1858.**

when Mr. Fellows (Con.) was returned as elected by a majority of 14, but it was afterwards proved that in the township of Cambridge alone 395 names were recorded as having voted, whereas there were but 84 persons assessed. Petitions for a Parliamentary Committee examination on behalf of Loux (Lib.) were refused. Fellows sat and voted during the sessions of 1858 and



1859, when a prosecution being instituted he, with two accomplices, were convicted and sent to gaol, and Loux was elected to the seat he had been cheated out of two years before.

A few incidents in connection with this outrageous stealing of a seat may be interesting. A great number of the 395 names on the Cambridge list were stated to reside at Albany, Rome and Troy, although there were not then, and are not now, any such places in Russell County. The voters voted in a strangely regular manner. First came three persons voting on lot 14 of concession 7, followed by three on lot 15 of the 7th concession. Next, two persons on lot 16, six on lot 17, four on lot 19—all in regular order like a procession. When the voters did not come up in series, according to property, they came up in alphabetical order for a change. Then thirty-two marched up, all beginning with "Mac." They were not all Macleans or Macdonalds or Mackenzies, indicating one numerous family in line, but were just a miscellaneous lot of Macs. The names had plainly been copied from a directory.

One hundred and seventeen people voted as freeholders on the lands of one Casselman, an agent and scrutineer for the Tory candidate. Thus three-fourths of the alleged votes were fraudulent. Here again, without going further into details, we have an old-time and vivid example of Tory practices.

#### **The Russell Case of 1863-5**

is another one in point. In an election held July 1st, 1863, Robert Bell (Con.) was declared elected for Russell. The result was petitioned against and a House Committee appointed, which met and transacted some formal work and then adjourned. It could not, however, be got together again, as the chairman and other Conservative members persistently absented themselves. Their absence was reported to the House, and twice they were ordered to attend, but did not. Bell sat throughout the session. In 1864 the same farce was repeated, the absentees being ordered to be present no less than eight times. Result: No trial, no report, and the member sat through another session. In 1865 the petitioner got tired out and abandoned the case.

#### **The Canadian Pacific Railway Scandal.**

The Government of Sir John A. Macdonald was responsible for this, one of the greatest of political scandals, and which will always remain as a foul blot upon the history of Canada. It

involved the sale of the Canadian Pacific Railway Charter, along with fifty million acres of land and thirty million dollars in cash to Sir Hugh Allan. For this concession Sir Hugh paid to Sir John A. Macdonald the sum of \$360,000.00 for the benefit of the Tory party. The matter was ventilated in Parliament and the whole disgraceful bargain was brought to light. Following are samples of some of the despatches in connection with this big boodling transaction:—

"Montreal, 30th July, 1872.

"Dear Sir Hugh,—The friends of the Government will expect to be assisted with funds in the pending elections; and any amount which you or your Company shall advance for that purpose shall be repouped to you. A Memorandum of immediate requirements is below.

"Yours very truly,

"(Sgd.) GEO. E. CARTER.

"SIR HUGH ALLAN.

**"NOW WANTED.**

" Sir John A. Macdonald .....	\$25,000
Hon. Mr. Langevin .....	15,000
Sir G. E. C. ....	20,000
Sir John A. (add'l) .....	10,000
Hon. Mr. Langevin (add'l).....	10,000
Sir G. E. C. ....	30,000 "

**Sir John A.'s Famous Telegram: "Send me another ten thousand."**

"Immediate. Private.

"Toronto, Aug. 26, 1872.

"I must have another \$10,000. Will be the last time of calling. Do not fail me. Answer to-day.

"(Sgd.) JOHN A. MACDONALD."

Sir John A. actually had the temerity to defend the flagrant job, but the people of Canada were shocked at the disclosures, and in the General Elections which followed, the Tory party were signally defeated.

**East Hastings Election, 1878.**

The Candidates were White (Con.) and Aylsworth (Lib.), and Aylsworth was declared elected by 10 majority. On a recount Judge Lazier allowed ballots marked with numbers on the backs in one poll where White had a majority, and rejected similar ballots in another poll where Aylsworth had a majority, thus giving the seat to White by 22 majority. The Liberals contended that he should either count all numbered ballots or reject all. In the one case Aylsworth would have had a majority of

17 and in the other case a majority of 40. It was only by rejecting them while Aylsworth was ahead and allowing them while White was ahead that the Judge succeeded in declaring White elected. The *Belleville Free Press* (Tory), speaking of the Judge's decision, said: "It is viewed by the whole Reform Party not only with dissatisfaction, but with extreme indignation. . . . They affirm that the Judge acted in a grossly partisan manner." (See daily papers, October, 1878.)

#### King's County, (P.E.I.) Case of 1882.

Dr. Robertson (Lib.) polled 2,002 votes, and McDonald (Con.) 1,940. The duty of the returning officer was to return the Liberal as elected, but on the strength of a statement made to him that Dr. Robertson had not resigned his seat in the local Legislature, he made a "special return." Not even Parliament, much less the returning officer, had the right to pronounce on Dr. Robertson's qualification that duty having been relegated to the Courts. The case was referred to the Privileges and Elections Committee, which, of course, gave the Conservative minority candidate the seat which had been honestly won by Dr. Robertson. (See Hansard Session of 1883.)

#### The West Middlesex Election of 1883.

The candidates were Ross (Lib.), now Hon. Mr. Ross, Premier of Ontario, and Johnston (Con.) A few days before the election one James Weekes, Vice-President of the Conservative Association for Caradoc Township, went into the Liberal Committee Rooms by mistake, and there unintentionally disclosed the fact that he had just received \$100 in the bedroom of an hotel to be used in buying Voters in No. 3 Division Caradoc for the Tory candidate. He exhibited twenty \$5 bills. Several of the Liberals who heard what he said and saw the money made Statutory Declarations to the facts. Weekes a day or two afterwards made a Declaration denying some of the allegations, and it was printed and scattered all over the Riding. The Liberals afterwards had him arrested for perjury, and he was tried in London. Mr. W. R. Meredith, then leader of the Opposition in the Local Legislature, appeared as his Counsel. It transpired in the course of the evidence that the declaration made by Weekes had been drawn up by Mr. Meredith. Mr. Hutchison, the County Crown Attorney, demanded the production of the original declaration, as it was impossible to secure a conviction on a copy

Mr. Meredith either could not or would not produce the original, and Weekes was discharged on that ground, the Magistrate expressing the opinion that there was no doubt of Weekes' guilt, and that the non-production of the original document saved him from imprisonment. The County Crown Attorney characterized Mr. Meredith's conduct as "unworthy of a lawyer, a citizen, and a gentleman." When arrested Weekes said that he told Meredith that he thought the declaration was a "trifle strong," but that Meredith would not change it and said, "Sign it, and I will see you through all right." The Magistrate, in dismissing the case, said, "I think I am not going beyond bounds in despising the conduct of the parties who prevailed upon a weak young man to commit so glaring an act as demonstrated in the fraud practised on the defendant."

**"The Brawling Brood of Bribers." A Daring Attempt to Buy Up a Legislature.**

In 1884 a determined attempt was made to defeat the Liberal Government by corrupting members of the Legislature. A combination was entered into by Christopher W. Bunting, Edward Meek, F. S. Kirkland, a Wisconsin lumberman, one Frederick Stinson (alias Lynch), and others. They hired John A. Wilkinson to approach members of the Legislature with offers of money as a bribe for securing their support of a new timber policy which the combination stated the Conservative Opposition was about to introduce. The members who were approached informed the Government of what was going on, and, at the instance of the Government, three of them agreed to take the bribery money with a view of bringing the combination to justice. The money was paid to the members by Stinson in the presence of Wilkinson and a contractor with the Dominion Government, and on receipt was immediately handed over to the Speaker of the House. On 17th March, 1884, the matter was laid before the House by Attorney-General Mowat, some of the offenders were arrested, and the whole matter was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections. On the recommendation of that Committee a commission of three judges was appointed to investigate the matter. The judges' report was in brief:—

That corrupt offers to members had been made by the conspirators.  
That money was paid and offices in the gift of the Dominion Government were promised to Liberal members on condition that they would vote against the Government.

That telegraphic messages to Wilkinson and the then Manager of the Mail newspaper were destroyed about two weeks after proceedings in the Police Court had been taken.

That all of the persons to whom offers of money and situations were made communicated them to some members of the Government, and had no intention of accepting for themselves any of the bribes so offered.

Owing to the destruction of the telegrams between Ottawa and Toronto, and the absence of the principal conspirators from the Province, the Commissioners were not able to trace the guilt in the affair farther back than the persons named. (See Report of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, Ontario Legislature, 1884, and Judges' Report.)

#### The Queen's County (N.B.) Case.

The Candidates were Baird (Con.) and King (Lib.), and King received a majority of the votes cast. Baird sat through a whole session by the act of the returning officer, who returned the minority candidate as elected on the pretext that the deposit of the Liberal candidate had not been made by the election agent but by another person. The matter was before Parliament several times, but the Conservative Government systematically voted against every attempt to rectify the glaring injustice.

See Hansard of 1887.

#### Wholesale Bribery in Quebec. General Elections of 1887.

In the General Elections of 1887 the Tories had an immense campaign fund "milked" from contractors, who, of course, recouped themselves from the Public Treasury. Following are some of the expenditures:—

Quebec County (Sir A. Oaron, M.P.).....	\$18,500 00
Three Rivers (Sir H. Langevin, M.P.) .....	16,800 00
Quebec West (Thos. McGreevy, M.P.) .....	8,000 00
Rimouski .....	2,750 00
Bellechasse.....	3,900 00
Portneuf.....	3,000 00
Champlain .....	3,000 00
Quebec East .....	2,300 00
Montmagny .....	2,200 00
L'Islet .....	2,500 00
Drummond and Arthashaas .....	700 00
Beauce .....	2,500 00
Lothiniere .....	1,350 00
Quebec Centre.....	4,100 00
Montmorency.....	2,700 00
Levis.....	3,500 00
Berthier .....	1,600 00
Gaspé .....	1,500 00
Kamouraska .....	3,000 00

Temiscouata .....	2,250 00
Yamaska .....	4,000 00
St. Maurice .....	2,500 00
Charlevoix .....	3,000 00
Chicoutimi .....	2,250 00
Megantic .....	2,500 00
Dorchester .....	3,000 00
Charlevoix, again .....	1,000 00

Large sums were paid the subsidized press.

*Le Monde*, Sir. H. Langevin's personal organ, received \$35,000. In all, between \$150,000 and \$200,000, "donated" by contractors, was used in Quebec district alone. (See Hansard.)

#### Haldimand Election, 1887.

Until February, 1887, when Dr. Montague was first a candidate in Haldimand, the county was considered safely Liberal. By one of the most disgraceful carnivals of corruption and fraud ever known in Canada, he succeeded in reducing the Liberal majority to 13, which was converted into a majority of 1 for Montague on a recount. The Liberals protested the election, and not only exposed the wholesale corruption which had been practised, but it was actually shown at the trial that Colter (Lib.) had a majority and should have been returned as the member. Dr. Montague had held the seat which had been stolen for him and had pocketed the sessional indemnity which rightly belonged to Colter.

#### The Haldimand Bye-Election, 1887.

At this election in November, 1887, one James Murray was deputy returning officer at Hagersville, and it was afterwards proven that he had spoiled eight ballots cast for Colter by marking them for Montague as well. In face of this Murray was again appointed deputy returning officer, notwithstanding the protests of the Liberals, and at the polling-place where he presided wholesale personation was carried on with his knowledge and assistance. Criminal proceedings were taken against him, he was committed for trial, released on bail and absconded to Buffalo, where he fully confessed his crime.

#### The Haldimand Bye-Election, 1890.

At this election in February, 1890, the disgraceful Franchise Act was worked for all it was worth. In almost every polling sub-division in the riding a few Liberal names were left off the voters' lists and some Tories added on the printing of the lists.

The Revising Barrister, Judge Upper, when questioned about it, said, "It must have been some mistake in copying." Dr. Montague, assisted by Col. Tisdale, M.P., Geo. Moir of St. Mary's, and R. W. Mutchmoor, worked at the poll in the Indian Reserve all day. Moir was stationed in a small log shop all day, of which the outside Tories carried the key, and the Indians were taken in one at a time where "husiness" was done. Mutchmoor held forth in a barn near the polling booth where "liquid joy" was dispensed. Of course, Dr. Montague was elected. (See *Globe*, Feb. 26, 1890, and March 1, 1890.)

#### Haldimand Election, 1891.

A deputy returning officer, Henry J. Ince, to whose appointment the Liberals had strenuously objected, went to the polling place on the Indian reserve the night before the election, and next morning, when the Liberal scrutineers arrived at the polling place, at 8.05 (55 minutes before the poll should have been opened), they found that voting had been going on for some time, and that a large number of bogus votes had already been polled. Some of those who had voted were dead, and others lived in the United States.

A number of Montague's agents were present, aiding and abetting in the fraud. Four of them were afterwards appointed to positions in the Customs. Ince was put on trial, but the jury disagreed, only one man holding out for acquittal. The poll clerk at this poll drove into the adjoining County of Brant and voted before five o'clock on the same day, after the Haldimand poll had been closed and the ballots counted.

A scheme which was successfully worked was the ballot exchange. This is accomplished by securing from the deputy returning officer a ballot marked for Montague with the deputy's initials thereon, and is given to the voter who has been "fixed." He deposits this in the box and returns with the one which has been given to him in the polling booth when he is "settled with." The ballot which he brings out is forthwith marked for Montague, and is ready for the next "subject."

Among those in evidence around the polling booth were R. W. Mutchmoor and John Moblo, a relative of Dr. Montague, who was distributing seed grain among the Indians for the Government. The above facts were all proven in Court at Cayuga, in March, 1901.

**Dr. Montague's Letter to the Indians.**

In the County of Haldimand, a good old Liberal riding, which has been stolen, not only once, but several times, for Montague, the following circular was issued:

**"FOR INDIANS ONLY.**

"To the Indians,—The Queen has always loved her dear loyal subjects, the Indians. She wants them to be good men and women, and she wants them to live on the land that they have and she expects in a little while, if her great chief John A., gets into Government again, to be very kind to the Indians, and to make them very happy. She wants them to go and vote and all to vote for Dr. Montague, who is the Queen's agent. He is their friend, and by voting for him every one of the Indians will please

**"QUEEN VICTORIA."**

On the head of this circular is the British Coat-of-Arms. Dr. Landerkin brought this matter up in the House on July 17th, 1891. Dr. Montague at once denied having anything to do with the circular. (See official "Debates," session of 1891, vol. 2, page 2474.)

On July 21st the matter was again brought up in the House by Mr. Hyman, who read from the sworn evidence at the trial as follows:—"Dr. Montague, sworn: 'I recognize circular; think I saw it the first time the day before the elections, and can almost swear it was the first time I saw it.'"

"It was on the Sunday before the polling day that circular was written. Then again: 'I wrote part of the circular; I do not think I wrote more than one-half of it. I was aware on election day that they were distributed.' Then again: 'I must have got the circular on Monday morning. I gave a few away to show what nonsense they were.'"

Then there is the evidence of R. W. Mutchmore, who says:—

"The Doctor wrote it; I dictated it." (See official "Debates," session of 1891, vol. 2, page 2587.)

Comment is unnecessary.

**The Frontenac Election (Ont.) 1890.**

At the trial of the petition against the return of H. Smith, M.P.P. (Con.), it was proven that whiskey flowed like water. It was dispensed from a hole in the wall, a dentist's bedroom, a drive shed, an ice house, a grist mill, etc. An hotelkeeper named Ahrams filled a bottle with whiskey for the Tory candidate on election day. It was distributed in jugs by a young law clerk named Bates. (Records of Election Court and daily papers, November 22nd, 1890.)



**Hamilton Election Case (Ont.) 1890.**

The candidates were Hon. J. M. Gibson (Lib.) and F. H. Stinson (Con.), and Stinson was elected by a small majority. Every means known to the election crook was resorted to in order to defeat Mr. Gibson. It was proven that the secretary of the Conservative Association had a large number of aliens, some of whom had not been in Canada long enough to become naturalized, sworn to naturalization papers and made them believe that they were entitled to vote. These men took the oath and voted. One Col. Collier, from the States, arranged with Stinson a scheme of bribery, who said, "Go on and do the best you can. Use your own judgment. Anything in reason I will pay if I am elected." Collier did the best he could by spending \$500 in treating and buying votes. He called it his "Home Mission Scheme." There was also a "Master of the cabs" who hired nearly all the cabs in the city. He gave them cards showing what time they went to work and when they left off. One card produced at the trial had the words "a little extra for driving in the evening." Stinson was unseated and narrowly escaped disqualification. At the subsequent bye-election Hon. Mr. Gibson was elected by about 700 majority. (Records of Election Court and daily papers, Dec. 12th, 1890, and following days.)

**Belleville's Mayor Convicted for Voting Twice.**

E. Gus Porter, of Belleville, voted twice deliberately for the Tory candidate in West Hastings in the general election of March, 1891. At that time he was Mayor of the City, and on January 15th, 1902, he was elected Tory member for West Hastings. As soon as he found out that the Liberals had detected his criminal act he took advantage of Police Magistrate Flint's absence from the city and had an information laid against himself late at night before two Tory Aldermen as Justices of the Peace. The words "at 10 o'clock in the forenoon" in the summons were crossed out and the word "forthwith" substituted. Porter then pleaded guilty and was fined \$20 without imprisonment. Afterwards he was indicted before a Grand Jury, convicted and sentenced to one hour in jail.

**The Dominion General Elections of 1891.**

There is no doubt now that the Liberals won a majority of seats in the Dominion general elections of 1891, but that enough seats were stolen for the Tories to give them an apparent major-

ity. Returns were juggled, ballot boxes etolen and stuffed after the elections and every species of fraud resorted to in order to eubvert the will of the people. The following are only samples of what took place in dozens of other constituencies:—

#### **The West Northumberland Case of 1891.**

Hargraft (Lih.) was declared elected by 36 majority. On the recount it appeared that a deputy returning officer, while the hallots were in his custody, had taken them out of the box and put them in his safe. While the ballots were in the safe, some one tampered with them with the result that, on the recount, there were found 55 for Hargraft—48 without initials, and actually printed upon different paper from the regular hallots, and with blacker ink and 7 defaced by marks on the back. The 48 un-initialed hallots were all in four polling subdivisions, namely: 6 in No. 1, Cobourg; 19 in No. 2, Cobourg; 8 in No. 10, Hamilton Township, and 15 in No. 19, Haldimand Township. The seven defaced ballots were all in one division, No. 2, Cobourg. The deputy returning officers and scrutineers all asserted most positively that every ballot counted had the deputy's initials on them and that the defaced hallots had been defaced after the count.

Plainly, ballots were etolen and forgeries substituted. The Judge, however, refused to give effect to the fraud, and the Liberal candidate was declared elected, thus nullifying the base conspiracy.

#### **The North Middlesex Case of 1891.**

On the night of the election Taylor (Lih.) had a majority of 3. The official figures of the Returning Officer gave Hntchins a majority of 2. In the middle of a pile of ballots that had been counted for Taylor (Lib.) were found three together, marked for both candidates. *The extra marks had been made after the election.*

#### **The South Grey Case of 1891.**

Dr. Landerkin's majority was 46. On the recount it was proved that *seven ballot boxes were opened after the election*, the envelopes holding the Landerkin hallots were taken out, 26 marked hallots abstracted and 26 forged ballots, marked for Blythe (Con.) eubstituted.

The polling subdivisions in which the fraud was perpetrated were Nos. 1, 10, 16, 18, 21, 24, 35 and 37. The deputy returning officers in divisions Nos. 1, 16, 21 and 24 made sworn declarations that their retrrns were correct, and that the ballots had

been tampered with after they left their hands, and that the initials on the back of the substituted ballots were forgeries.

**The South Victoria Case of 1891.**

Fairbairn (Con.) was declared elected by a small majority over Walters (Lib.). Large numbers of ballots marked for Walters were rejected by some of the deputy returning officers without reason. It was plain that there was an organized conspiracy to count in Fairbairn. The Liberals asked for a recount and deposited a cheque with the Clerk of the Court for \$100, which he accepted as cash and gave a receipt for \$100. Judge Dean refused to hold the recount on the ground that the deposit had not been properly made. There was no appeal from his decision, and thus the Tories profited by the gross fraud of some of the deputy returning officers.

**The Muskoka and Parry Sound Election of 1891.**

At some polls the Liberal scrutineers were not allowed to vote, and as many as four Conservative scrutineers voted on certificates, although the law permits only two at a poll. The Liberals were left off the voters' lists by the wholesale, and in some cases whole polling subdivisions were disfranchised. In the previous Ontario elections of June, 1890, there were 44 votes polled at French River (41 Liberal and 3 Conservative), and 64 at Frank's Bay (61 Liberal and 3 Conservative). *In this election there were only 11 names on the Dominion Voters' Lists at French River and not one at Frank's Bay.* The contents of two ballot boxes containing Liberal majorities were burned.

**The South Wentworth Case of 1891.**

Carpenter (Con.) was declared elected by a majority of 72 over Middleton (Lib.). On a recount it was found that one deputy returning officer had returned a majority of 35 for Carpenter when it was actually for Middleton, thus increasing Carpenter's majority by 70. In two polling booths more ballots were found in the box than the deputy returning officers had recorded in the poll book. Carpenter was ahead one vote in the recount. Fifteen good ballots for Middleton (Lib.) were wrongly placed in the envelope with the spoiled ballots. The Judge had no authority to open this envelope; the 15 ballots were not counted, and the Conservative was unfairly returned for the riding.

### **The Prince Edward Election of 1891.**

Miller (Con.) was returned by a majority of 39 over Dr. Platt (Lib.). On the recount it was found that some of the envelopes containing the ballots were not sealed and others bore unmistakable evidences of having been opened after they were sealed. There were grave suspicions of fraud at the time and in view of what is now known to have taken place in many other constituencies, at that election there is little doubt that a gross fraud was perpetrated.

### **The Chateauguay Case of 1891.**

When Brown (Lib.) had a majority of 275, but by frauds similar to those practised in Ontario, as before mentioned, it was pared down to only 9. He thus narrowly escaped being cheated out of his seat, and the electors foiled in their expressed wish of a representative.

### **The Brome Case of 1891.**

The candidates were Fisher (Lib.), present Minister of Agriculture in the Laurier Government, and Dyer (Con.). The returns given out by the deputy returning officers on the night of the election gave Fisher a majority. The returning officer declared the vote a tie and gave his casting vote for Dyer. On the recount several packages of ballots were found open and bore evidences of having been tampered with. The result of the recount was to give Dyer a majority of 3. There is no doubt that Mr. Fisher was honestly elected.

### **The Carleton Election Case of 1891.**

The fight was between Dickenson, Machine Tory, and Hodgins, Independent Tory. On the recount Hodgins charged that the ballots had been tampered with and that 18 ballots originally marked for Hodgins had been erased and marked for Dickenson. These Tories evidently know one another.

### **Stuffing Voters' Lists Under the Notorious Franchise Act.**

What took place in North Perth in November, 1891, is only a sample of hundreds of similar cases all over the Dominion. It was proven at the Revising Barristers' Court in Stratford that one Henderson had sworn to a list of 150 names at the instance of the Conservative lawyer, one Shaw, and on being questioned on oath about them, admitted that he only had a personal knowledge of two of them.

### **The East Elgin Election Case of 1891.**

A document, very much soiled and worn, was produced at the trial giving a memorandum of moneys corruptly spent in the East Elgin election of 1891. It was in the handwriting of Mr. Thos. W. Crothers, barrister of St. Thomas, and written on his office paper. It was headed "Memo. for A.B. Sum used \$2,500; disbursements." The document gave a long list of active Tory workers in East Elgin, with sums of money opposite their names amounting in all to \$2,065, and concluded with the words "Forward \$2,065." Crothers was put in the witness-box and admitted that the document was in his handwriting and that the initials "A. B." were intended for A. B. Ingram, M.P., but tried to explain it as a joke. He said that he had got it soiled and worn by leaving it out under an apple tree for two weeks and then had it sent to the Liberal solicitor. The election was voided on other evidence of corruption so that the Judges were not forced to say whether they believed Crothers or not, but commented very severely upon his unprofessional conduct as shown by his own version of the affair.

### **East Elgin Bye-Election of 1892.**

The lists used at this election were shamefully stuffed. The Liberals could not get the revised lists from Ottawa until a few days before the election. When they did get them they found that hundreds of Liberals who owned property, and who had lived in the riding for years, had been left off the lists, while Tories who had not lived in the riding for a number of years, and some who had not earned enough money in years to entitle them to a vote, were on the lists as big as life. For two days before the election every train going into St. Thomas was crowded with voters coming in from British Columbia, Manitoba, Dakota and all parts of the United States. Of course, Ingram was elected.

### **The East York Dominion Bye-Election of 1892.**

The voters' lists on which this election was held contained a great number of bogus voters, nearly all of which were polled for the Tory candidate, W. F. Maclean, M.P., who said after the election, "I tell you, boys, the revision of the lists is where we won the fight."

### The London Voters' List Fraud of 1892.

The Liberals appealed against over 500 names put on the lists by J. H. Fraser, the Tory Revising Barrister. The form of notice which they used had been previously approved by the Revising Barrister, yet when the cases came to be heard he rejected the notice on the ground that it was insufficient, but allowed an amendment and directed new notices to be served. The Tories appealed to Judge Elliott, who refused to make any ruling, admitting that he had no jurisdiction, but expressing the opinion that the notice was invalid. The Revising Barrister then took the ground that in deference to Judge Elliott, he could not hear the objections. The Liberals appealed to the Divisional Court, consisting of Justices Armour, Street and Falconbridge, who unanimously granted a *mandamus* compelling the Revising Barrister to hear the objections. He obeyed, and ruled that 230 of the names were wrongfully on the lists. The names, however, were allowed to remain, pending an appeal by the Tories to the Court of Appeal. This Court, composed of Justices Hagarty, Burton, MacLennan and Osler held that the notice was good. The Tories then appealed to the Supreme Court, and while the Appeal was pending in that Court, the Election was held on February 26th, 1892. One hundred and thirty-one of the illegal votes were polled, notwithstanding the vigorous protest of the Liberals, and 128 of them were for Carling and 3 for Hyman. Not counting these illegal votes, Hyman was elected by a majority of 16, yet the Tory returning officer declared Carling elected by 109 majority. Carling took the seat belonging to Hyman and held it until 1896. On March 9th, 1892, when Carling's election depended upon the counting of the illegal votes, Judge Elliott decided the appeal heard before him in Nov., 1891, holding the Notices invalid and reversing the decision of seven superior Judges. On May 9th, 1892, the Tory majority in the House of Commons voted down Mr. Lister's motion for the investigation of Judge Elliott's partisan conduct. Mr. Mulock charged on the floor of the House that Judge Elliott had written partisan editorials on the subject for the *London Free Press* (Tory), while it was standing for his judgment. (See Hansard, May, 1892.)

### The Chicoutimi Bye-Election of 1892.

The candidates were Savard (Lib.) and Belley (Con.) and another. At the last moment the returning officer telegraphed a

man named Gosselin to hold a poll at Point aux Esquimaux. His telegraphic instructions were:—"Proceed to-morrow as follows: Get a small wooden box made, prepare a certain number of ballot papers and write the names of the three candidates upon them." And again on the day of the Election he wired: "If you have no list allow those who are supposed to be electors to vote and it will be all right." The deputy took the hint and returned 63 votes for Belley (Con.) and none for Savard. Belley had 39 majority in the riding. Without these votes Savard was elected by 24 majority. The Returning Officer declared Belley elected, and a recount was asked for. It was held before a Judge who was a brother-in-law to the Tory candidate. He counted the 63 votes, and Belley took the seat and held it until 1896, backed by the Tory majority in the House.

#### **Kent, N.B., Bye-Election of 1892.**

The candidates were McInerney (Con.) and Leblanc (Lib.). At Batouche Bay the Conservative scrutineer was permitted to mark the ballots of 52 illiterate voters who desired to vote for Leblanc. He made the crosses so that part of the cross on each came down over the line between the names of the two candidates, and the deputy returning officer refused to count them. The Tories also worked in this election the ballot exchange which did such good execution on the Indian Reserve in Haldimand. (See above.)

#### **Dr. Nesbitt's Deal for the Tory Nomination in Cardwell.**

In October, 1894, it was on the boards that R. S. White, M.P. for Cardwell, was to be appointed Collector of Customs at Montreal, thus creating a vacancy in Cardwell. W. B. Willoughby, Barrister of Toronto, had the Tory nomination for the riding. Dr. Beattie Nesbitt was very anxious to get into Parliament, and made a disgraceful bargain with Willoughby to get Willoughby to retire in his favor. Nesbitt has recently been appointed chairman of Whitney's organization committee. The agreement was put in writing, and was in Willoughby's hand writing on three pages of the letter paper of the firm in which Willoughby was a partner. Nesbitt agreed to pay Willoughby \$350 on his nomination and \$1,000 on his election for Cardwell; to appoint Willoughby his election agent and his solicitor in the event of a protest being entered; to use his influence towards the settlement of a claim of one Jennie Bolton against Willoughby and to procure her

an appointment to a position; to procure the appointment of Willoughby as a County Court Judge, and in the event of his failing to do so, to pay Willoughby \$4,000; to transfer to Willoughby the conduct of all his legal business; to have Willoughby appointed a Queen's Counsel and to have Willoughby's brother promoted to the grade of second class clerk within two years after Nesbitt should enter Parliament. A pretty bargain, indeed! The full text of the written agreement was published in the *Toronto Globe* on Dec. 22nd, 1895.

#### The Manitoba Election Frauds of 1896.

It was proved before the Public Accounts Committee that wholesale frauds were perpetrated in Manitoba during the Dominion General Election of 1896. The conspiracy was hatched in Winnipeg. One, Freeborn, went up from Ontario, stating that he came from the chief organizer of the Tory party. Mr. N. Boyd, the Conservative candidate in Marquette, to whom Freeborn was sent, telegraphed to the organizer, and received in answer:—

"He was a first-class man in North Bruce."

Freeborn was thereupon employed in the election, and his employment was for the express purpose of teaching deputy returning officers how to manipulate ballots. In this nefarious business he was helped by two men named Anderson and Waller. These three worthies went through the Province into several constituencies, and it was proved by incontestable evidence that they instructed many deputy returning officers, through whose crimes hundreds of Tory ballots were substituted for Liberal ballots. Several of the criminals confessed their guilt; prosecutions were entered against others, and some of them were convicted.

This man Freeborn swore that he got certain instructions from one Turner, who told him they were given him by the Conservative organizer in Toronto. These instructions read:—

"We have the printing of the ballots, therefore a sufficient number should be printed extra to enable the deputy returning officer to have them marked for our candidate and ready to use after the count to replace those read out wrongly to the scrutineers. Or the deputy returning officer can have them marked and folded in his pocket to slip into the box in place of an opposition ballot if the opportunity happens. This, of



course, will occur quite frequently if we have control of both scrutineers.

"To get control of both scrutineers have one of our men, not a prominent one, but a supposed kicker, for instance, apply to the opposition to be put on as scrutineer inside. They are generally short of workers, and a few plausible men will turn the election in a close constituency. Or the man can write to their headquarters for scrutineer papers if he lives in the country.

"Efforts should be made to make these methods work in wards that give the heaviest opposition vote.

"Having control of both scrutineers, a large vote can be polled—dead and absent voters, etc., can have their ballots marked; there is no redress if both scrutineers were present.

"A friendly constable should be present to keep the poll clear of loungers and inquisitive people.

"The deputy returning officer should be a reliable, sharp and plausible man, so that if we do not get control of the opposition scrutineer, he can, when the counting time arrives, ask both scrutineers to take a piece of paper and record the vote of their candidate as he reads the ballots, which have been emptied on the table. He will then have a chance to read out wrongly, so that a majority can be secured for our candidate. The ballots should be put back into the box as quickly as they are read. The extra ones will do to fix things correctly when he goes home.

"Spoiled ballots can be made sure by a little doctoring. Opposition ballots can be spoiled by the lead out of a pencil fastened under the little finger with beeswax, drawn across opposite our candidate's name in opening the ballot.

"If you cannot get control of opposition scrutineers, have your deputy returning officer announce that he is against you, so as to lead him astray if possible."

In the city of Winnipeg where 5,000 or 6,000 ballots would have been sufficient in an honest election, there were 10,000 printed, and yet all had been used up at two o'clock and the polls had to be closed while more were printed. Altogether the Manitoba elections furnished an instance of the boldest and most colossal election fraud in history, under the auspices of the "party of purity."

**Further Evidence of the Tory Plot to Steal the Seats  
of the Liberal Members in 1896.**

The above circular of instructions points out four methods of doing up the Grits as follows:—

- (1) *Slipping*—(i.e. calling out a ballot for the Tory candidate when it is in reality marked for the Liberal.)
- (2) *Switching*—(i.e. stealing ballots marked for the Liberal candidate, and putting into the ballot box ballots marked for the Tory candidate.)
- (3) *Stuffing*—(i.e. polling votes of dead and absent men with the connivance of both scrutineers.)
- (4) *Spoiling*—(i.e. by making a mark on the ballot marked for the Liberal candidate opposite the name of the Tory candidate with a piece of lead fastened under the finger nail.)

The extent to which the last method (Spoiling) was practised is shown by the very large number of rejected ballots in 1896 as compared with other elections. The following table is taken from the official returns:—

	Number of Rejected Ballots in	
	1896	1900
Addington.....	181	32
Bothwell .....	167	37
Brant South.....	165	32
Brookville .....	101	38
Bruce East.....	133	34
Bruce West.....	115	16
Cornwall and Stormont.....	103	42
Dnrham East.....	59	6
Elgin East.....	99	32
Essex North.....	96	38
Grey North.....	125	37
Hastings East.....	79	25
Hastings West.....	84	27
Huron South.....	70	8
Kent.....	189	49
Kingston .....	215	33
Lambton East.....	133	25
Lambton West.....	70	19
Lincoln and Niagara .....	136	47
London.....	296	47
Middlesex South.....	100	23
Muskoka and Parry Sound.....	175	58
Norfolk North.....	114	acol.
Perth South.....	129	14
Prince Edward.....	115	25

	Number of Rejected Ballots in	
	1896	1900
Russell .....	72	22
Simcoe East .....	93	23
Victoria South .....	78	29
Waterloo South .....	164	28
Wellington Centre .....	129	22
Wellington South .....	101	33
Wentworth South .....	304	50

#### The East York Dominion Election of 1896.

The candidates were W. F. Maclean (Conservative M.P.) and H. R. Frankland (Liberal). Frankland was declared elected by the returning officer by a majority of 86. Maclean succeeded in getting the seat by a majority of 3 on the recount. Some ballots were allowed to him on the recount which did not have the initials of the deputy returning officers. Strange to say, these ballots were all marked for Maclean. In St. Matthew's and St. Paul's Wards, which are part of the city of Toronto, but which are in East York for Dominion electoral purposes, the voters' lists were stuffed with the names of hundreds of Tories who had not the least foundation of a right to be on the list. Nearly all of these men voted, and, needless to say, they voted for Maclean. On election day an organized gang of pluggers operated from Toronto in Maclean's interest. Frankland had a large majority of the honest voters polled in East York.

#### North Ontario Election of 1896.

The candidates were Duncan Graham (Independent with Liberal support), and John A. McGillivray (Conservative). The Tory returning officer declared McGillivray elected. Mr. Graham applied for a recount of the ballots. Upon opening the envelopes it was found that the ballots had been tampered with in a most rascally way in five polling subdivisions, namely:— No. 4 (Thorah), No. 18 (Breachin), No. 19 (Town Hall, Mara), No. 27 (Bracebridge), and No. 3 (Draper). In these polls 21 ballots marked for Graham had been extracted, and 21 marked for McGillivray substituted therefor. The substituted ballots were not even folded, and His Honor Judge Burnbam, before whom the recount was held, expressed the opinion that they were fraudulent. Major McGillivray occupied the stolen seat in the House for one whole session, and pocketed the sessional indemnity, which rightly belonged to Mr. Graham.

### The Lincoln Election of 1896.

In the Lincoln Election of June, 1896, an organized and dastardly attempt was made to steal the seat for J. C. Rykert from Wm. Gibson, M. P., but fortunately Mr. Gibson's honest majority was so much larger than his opponents anticipated that the plot failed.

The returning officer, one Wm. J. Carroll, was a partner of the secretary of the Conservative Association, one Potter. During the election Carroll was kept intoxicated by Potter and other Conservatives, in order to allow Potter and others to perform the duties of returning officer. The ballots used at the election were printed at the office of the *St. Catharines Star*, the Conservative organ, and 500 extra ballots were printed and deposited in the safe of Potter and Carroll, to be used for fraudulent purposes. A number of shady characters, one of them an ex-convict, were appointed to act as deputy returning officers at various points in the riding. The names of about ten of these deputy returning officers were not disclosed until after midnight of the night before the election, and only then after repeated requests on behalf of the Liberals. About two days before election these men met by appointment at the Breen House, in St. Catharines, where they met one Quakenbush, a Yankee from New York State, and were by him instructed how to substitute Rykert ballots for those marked for Gibson, and for that purpose were supplied by Potter, Quakenbush and McNulty, the proprietor of the hotel, with a large number of duplicate ballots to enable them to carry out the fraud. They were each paid a sum of money on account, with the promise of a bonus to the man who would steal the largest number of ballots. The man who gave the instructions was imported from the United States for the purpose. Over 300 duplicate ballots were supplied to these deputy returning officers, and a large number of them were used. (See Hansard of May 17th, 1900).

### The Parry Sound Election of 1896.

In this election the candidates were W. H. Pratt (Liberal), Geo. McCormick (Conservative), and Col. O'Brien (McCarthyite), and Mr. McCormick was declared elected. Some time afterwards over forty ballots were discovered in one ballot box which had been marked for Pratt and O'Brien, and plainly tampered with. In some cases the crosses opposite Pratt's and O'Brien's names were erased, but done so clumsily as to be detected with the

naked eye. In other cases a cross had been put opposite McCormick's name different in appearance to the cross originally put on the ballots. The conspirators found that the work had been done so clumsily that they substituted new ballots, and failed to make away with the original ones. If over forty votes were stolen in one polling subdivision, is it not a fair inference that there was an organized plot which resulted in the seat being stolen for the Tory candidate? (See Hansard of May 17th, 1900)

#### **The Kent, Ont., Election of 1896.**

The candidates were Archibald Campbell (Liberal), and William Ball (Conservative). One Warren Lambert, of Chatham, a "pop" maker, was the returning officer. Extra ballots were supplied to some of the deputy returning officers by Lambert, with instructions to substitute ballots marked for Ball for ballots properly marked by the voters for Campbell. Notwithstanding the fraud Campbell was elected, but in fair election his majority would have been much larger. (See Hansard May 17th, 1900).

It is evident that the instructions issued by the Conservative organizer (see above) "The Manitoba Election Frauds of 1896," were followed in Parry Sound, Lincoln and Kent, as well as in Manitoba. No doubt these nefarious practices were put in operation by the Conservatives in many other constituencies throughout the Dominion.

#### **The London Election of 1896.**

The candidates were Major Thos. Beattie (Con.) and C. S. Hyman (Lib.) The Liberals felt that Mr. Hyman had been fraudulently deprived of his seat in 1892 and conducted a vigorous campaign to elect him in 1896. He received a large majority of the honest votes, but was again deprived of the seat through one of the worst carnivals of corruption and fraud ever practised in Canada. The Returning Officer refused to disclose the names of his deputies and the Liberals had not the slightest idea who these men were until they appeared at the polls on the morning of election day. The instructions contained in the circular sent out from Conservative headquarters in Toronto were very faithfully carried out in many of the polling subdivisions. There were 296 rejected ballots, nearly all of which were "spoiled" in accordance with the instructions. From the official returns it would appear that this work was carried on in 15 out of the 26 polling sub-

divisions in the city. In 5 subdivisions there were no rejected ballots whatever; in 2 subdivisions there were only one rejected ballot in each, and in three other subdivisions there were only two, three and four respectively. In 11 subdivisions there were only 16 rejected ballots, a reasonable number for an intelligent electorate, but in the other 15 subdivisions there were 280. In one subdivision, No. 8, the deputy rejected over 40 ballots marked for Hyman, on the excuse that he could not recognize his own initials. These, however, were counted by the judge on the recount.

It was proven at the trial of the election petition that the London Conservative Association had a large building fitted up as a club room, in which were a billiard and pool room, card rooms, smoking rooms, reading rooms, and the whole of the top floor was ostensibly used as a gymnasium. This gymnasium, however, was used as a lockup for Liberal voters. It was stocked with whiskey, beer, sandwiches, crackers and cheese, etc., and large numbers of voters who were disposed to vote for Hyman were enticed into this place and invited to partake of something. They then found themselves locked in with several "bouncers" in charge and a guard on the door outside who could view the scene through a little peep-hole in the door. Some of these victims were roughly handled and one man was confined to his bed for several days as a result of the injuries received in trying to escape from the place.

Men were detailed to look after the non-resident voters. A large number were brought from Detroit, Toronto and other places and received their railway tickets and sums of money ranging from \$4 to \$10 each for their votes.

As an instance of the desperate means resorted to in order to elect Beattie, one man was paid \$20 for his vote by the chairman of one of the Tory ward committees on the pretence of buying from him an empty cigar box.

When the petition came on for trial over 20 men who had been concerned in these disreputable practices and who had been served with subpoenas to appear and give evidence, failed to respond to their names when called. These men were all sent to the United States by the Tory managers, as they could not be depended upon to "swear the thing through." A well-known Toronto Conservative, who had "attended to" the voters living in Toronto, developed a sudden attack of "subpoena fever" and went to the Southern States for his health.

Notwithstanding all this saturnalia of corruption, personation, ballot stuffing and every species of electoral fraud known to the most expert election crooks, Major Beattie was only returned by 41 majority. He, however, occupied Hyman's seat in the House for over 4 years.

**Wholesale Bribery in South Ontario, and Gigantic  
Corruption by a Tory ex-M.P.**

In the general elections for the Ontario Legislature, held on March 1st, 1898, Mr. Whitney had an immense campaign fund, and in certain constituencies money flowed like water. In Dundas County \$1,000.00 was spent in one township alone to elect Mr. Whitney. In South Ontario, where Mr. Calder defeated Hon. John Dryden by 96 votes, as high as \$15.00 and \$20.00 each was paid for votes. That election alone cost the Tories over \$7,000.00. Mr. Calder was unseated mainly on the admissions of one Baker, who undertook to make a change of 20 votes for Calder in one polling sub-division for \$100. The money was paid to him by one Luke, on the written order of Wm. Smith, a Tory ex-M.P. At the trial of the petition Luke was missing, but Smith had the hardihood to deny the whole story on oath. The Judges, however, accepted Baker's evidence as more credible. Subsequently, on January 9th, 1900, the whole matter came before the Court on the trial of the persons reported for bribery. Smith, the Tory ex-M.P., on this occasion practically admitted the whole thing. It was a pitiable exhibition of human depravity on the part of an ex-member of Parliament, a man who, in 1896, was slated for Minister of Agriculture in the Tory Government. Following is an extract from Smith's evidence, on January 9th, 1900:—

Cross-examined by Mr. Lount—

- Q. Did you use any money during that election? A. I did.  
 Q. For what purpose? A. I suppose it was for buying votes.  
 Q. How much did you use? A. I cannot tell you.  
 Q. About how much? A. I cannot tell.  
 Q. Over \$100.00? A. I never bought a man personally myself.  
 Q. Over \$100.00? A. Yes.  
 Q. Over \$200.00? A. It might be.  
 Q. Over \$300.00? A. It might be.  
 Q. Over \$400.00? A. It might be.  
 Q. Over \$500.00? A. It might be.  
 Q. Over \$600.00? A. It might be.

Q. Over \$700.00? A. It might be.

Q. Over \$800.00? A. It might be.

Q. Over \$900.00? A. It might be.

Q. Over \$1,000.00? (No answer).

Judge Osler—It might be over \$900.00?

Mr. Lount—Over \$900.00 you used for buying votes at that election? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then you were willing to use money for buying votes at that election? A. Yes.

Q. Did I understand you to say you did not pay out any money yourself? A. Not to the individual voters.

Q. How did you work it? Did you select persons to pay it out? A. Yee, sir.

Q. Can you tell me the persons? A. No, sir.

Q. Do you decline to name the persons? A. I do.

Q. Do you know the persons but decline to name them? A. I do.

Q. How many persons were there that you gave money to? A. I do not propose even to tell that.

Mr. Lount—I ask your Lordships—

Judge Osler—I think he may be asked that question.

Mr. Lount—How many persons were there to whom you gave money? A. Half a dozen.

Q. How much to each? A. I cannot tell that from memory.

Q. Have you a memorandum? A. No.

In answer to further questions witness admitted that Baker showed him a list of money that would be required in Cedardale, to the extent of \$100.00.

Judge Ferguson—Can you tell us how much more than \$900.00 you paid? A. No, I can't.

Q. Can you say not as much as \$1,200.00? A. It could not be more than \$1,200.00.

Q. Will you say it was not more than \$1,200.00? A. No, I cannot.

After some further questions Judge Ferguson asked:—Have you any means of saying where Baker got the money that he actually did spend? Does he own a bank? A. No, sir.

In the course of the argument of Mr. Patterson, counsel for the accused, he claimed that Smith, the Tory ex-M.P., had given his evidence in a candid manner.

Judge Osler—I should not call Mr. Smith's manner candid.

Mr. Patterson—He shewed no disposition to fence with the counsel.



Judge Osler—I should call it brazen; that is the word.

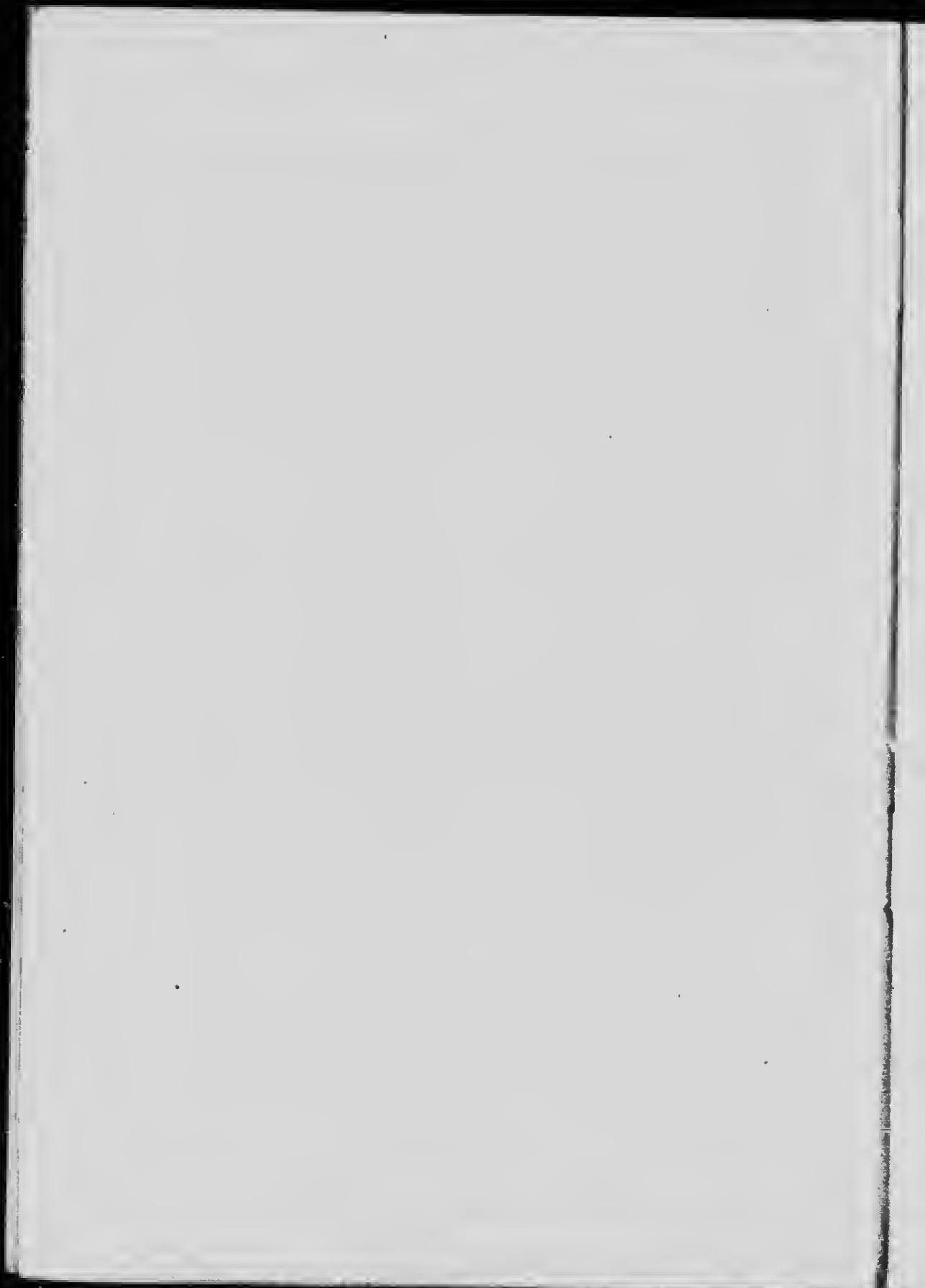
In giving judgment, Judge Ferguson remarked:—“I look upon the evidence of Smith as being a brazen, distinct, strong denial—a denial that I do not believe, and I prefer to take the evidence of Baker as against the evidence of these other two. I think Mr. Smith's evidence cannot be too strongly condemned. As it bears on the question it is discredited by his admission that he was guilty of this gigantic corruption.”

Judge Ferguson said further:—“I have some regrets that this large offender, Mr. Smith, is not before us. I have nothing to say to him but that his evidence is the most glaring piece of corruption I ever heard.”

**NOTE**—The ballot box frauds of 1891 are fully dealt with in a speech delivered by Dr. Landerkin, M.P., in the House of Commons, on Sept. 14th, 1891. (See Hansard, session of 1891).

The operations of the gang of pluggers, personators and eideline artists, who did business under the direction of the Tory machine of 1892, are dealt with in a speech delivered by Mr. Lieter, M.P., in the House of Commons, on May 30th, 1892. (See Hansard, session of 1892). This gang operated in South Victoria, East Elgin, East Hastings, East Bruce, London, East Simcoe, South Perth, West Northumberland, West Huron, Haldimand and other constituencies.

The frauds of 1896 are fully dealt with by Mr. Cowan, M.P., in a speech delivered in the House of Commons on May 17th, 1900. (See Hansard, session of 1900).



# The Legislative Record of J. P. Whitney, M.P.P.

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## **A Non-progressive and Reactionary Public Man.**

Mr. Whitney's Legislative record has been one of unreasonable opposition to everything proposed by the Liberal Government. He has opposed many of the best legislative features of the Government, which have since been sanctioned by public opinion. He has initiated nothing. He has proposed nothing new. According to the *Ontario Tory*, a monthly journal issued in the interests of the Conservative party, Mr. Whitney has no constructive policy and is a man of small ideas. The following extracts from his legislative record will prove the truth of the above statements and show how ill-fitted he is to become Premier of this great Province of Ontario.

## **Opposed the Early Closing of Shops.**

By reference to page 137, Journals of 1888, it will be noticed that on the third reading of the Government Bill "to regulate the closing of shops and hours of labor therein," Mr. Whitney entered his vote against it.

## **Opposed the Appointment of a Minister of Agriculture.**

✓ During the session of 1888 a Government Bill was brought in "respecting the Department of Agriculture and other industries." It was moved by Mr. Meredith, seconded by Mr. Creighton, that "while this House concurs in the proposition to give greater attention by the Executive Government to the agricultural interests of the Province than has hitherto been done, it is of opinion that that end can be attained without incurring the expense of adding another member to the Executive Council, and the inevitable additional expense which will be consequent on such addition, and that therefore the said bill be not now read the third time, but be forthwith referred back to the Committee of the Whole House, with instructions to amend the same by striking out the third section thereof." (Page 136, Journals.)

The section of the bill which it was proposed to strike out reads as follows: "The Act respecting the Executive Council is further amended so far as the same restricts the Executive Council to six members."

Had Mr. Meredith's resolution prevailed there could not have been a Minister of Agriculture.

Mr. Whitney voted for this amendment and by doing so opposed the appointment of a Minister of Agriculture. By this vote he clearly put himself on record in opposition to one of the most important and most beneficial moves the Government ever made.

#### **Wanted to Abolish the Office of Minister of Education.**

Mr. Whitney voted for the abolition of the office of Minister of Education in the following amendment, moved by Mr. White, seconded by Mr. Clancy, on April 30th, 1891, (p. 163, Journals): "That the said bill (consolidating and revising laws respecting the Education Department) be not now read the third time, but that it be resolved that it is expedient to place the Education Department under the control of a non-political head and that the bill be referred back to the Committee of the Whole House with instructions to amend the same by providing for the abolition of the office of Minister of Education after the dissolution of the present House." Mr. Whitney was, therefore, then and is now in favor of an irresponsible oligarchy to control our educational interests, instead of the present system of Governmental responsibility. Again in 1894 (p. 148, Jls.) Mr. Whitney voted for a similar amendment.

#### **Opposed the Appointment of a Drainage Referee.**

During the session of 1891 a Bill was introduced by the Government "respecting disputes under the drainage laws," and providing for the appointment of an expert drainage referee. Mr. Whitney opposed this under an amendment introduced by Mr. Meredith (p. 173, Journals). Mr. Whitney also repeated his vote on March 29th 1899.

#### **Opposed the Appointment of Superintendent of Neglected Children.**

Mr. Whitney opposed the appointment of a Superintendent of Neglected Children—a branch that has fully justified its establishment and existence. Mr. Meredith moved an amendment to the bill "for the prevention of cruelty to and the better protection of children" and Mr. Whitney joined with the Opposition in voting against it, (p. 150, Journals).

**Voted against much-needed Accommodation for the Insane in Eastern Ontario.**

On April 12th, 1892, (p. 199, Journals) Mr. Whitney voted against a resolution respecting a new Asylum for the Insane for Eastern Ontario, afterwards located at Brockville, although it was soon filled with patients, showing the wisdom of increasing the accommodation for the insane at that time.

**Unreasonably Opposed to the Ontario Agricultural College.**

✓ Mr. Whitney's attitude towards the Guelph Agricultural College has never been one of blind and unreasonable opposition, though the value of the establishment has been again and again proved by the farming community. On page 196 of the Journals of 1893 it is recorded that Mr. Marter moved, seconded by Mr. Kerns, "that the resolution respecting grant (in aid of agriculture) be not concurred in, but be forthwith referred back to a Committee of the Whole House, with instructions to strike out the proposed vote of \$1,500 for the salary of an assistant in the Department of Natural History, Librarian, etc., for the Ontario Agricultural College." Mr. Whitney voted for this motion, and in so doing evidenced his antagonism to this most useful and well-conducted institution.

**Opposed to a Survey of Our New Territory.**

Mr. Whitney is on record as voting against the yearly surveys of new townships in Northern Ontario—surveys that were absolutely needed as settlement advanced. On May 26th, 1893, Mr. Clancy moved, seconded by Mr. Miscampbell, "that a resolution (respecting the expense of the Crown Lands Department) be not now concurred in, but be forthwith referred back to a Committee of the Whole House with instructions to strike out the item of \$33,000 proposed to be voted for surveys of townships in new districts." (See p. 197, Journals, 1893.)

**Opposed Appointment of Clerk of Forestry.**

✓ Almost every new departure by the Government, which the country has again and again approved, was voted against by Mr. Whitney. On April 30th, 1894, Mr. Monk moved, seconded by Mr. Preston, "that the resolution respecting grants (in aid of agriculture) be not now concurred in, but be forthwith recommended to a Committee of the Whole House with instructions to reduce the item by \$2,000, being the salary and disbursements of

the Clerk of Forestry, which office was now vacant, and in the opinion of this House should be discontinued." (See p. 181, Journals, 1894.)

Mr. Whitney joined with the Opposition in voting for this resolution, and yet no branch of Government was more needed or has proved itself more valuable than the Forestry Branch. Mr. Whitney has never grasped the importance of the great subject of forest preservation and reforestry.

On March 29th, 1899, for the third time Mr. Whitney voted to abolish the office of Clerk of Forestry.

#### Opposed School for Training of Teachers.

A vote was taken in the House on April 30th, 1894, (p. 179, Jls.) to grant a certain sum for the Ontario School of Pedagogy. Mr. Whitney opposed the grant and voted against it.

#### Opposed to Good Roads.

True to his old-fashioned and non-progressive ideas Mr. Whitney, during the session of 1896, voted for the following resolution, which was moved by Mr. Meacham and seconded by Mr. Magwood: "that all the words of the motion after the word 'that' be struck out and the following substituted—'this House views with alarm the tendency of the Government to create new offices and is of the opinion that the office of Provincial Highway Commissioner with a salary of \$1,500, exclusive of expenses, is unnecessary, and places an additional and useless burden on the Province.'" (See p. 185, Journals.)

The creation of a new office of Provincial Road Commissioner has been more than justified by the subsequent experience, and the Government has received more praise for their advanced policy in this than almost any other one act. And yet, as has been said, Mr. Whitney did all in his power to block progress in this direction.

#### Voted against the County Council Bill.

The public will recall the excellent and much-needed legislation of 1896 to reduce the number of county councillors, thus effecting a great saving in time and expense in this realm of municipal government, besides simplifying the election and procedure. Mr. Whitney moved a six months' hoist of the bill, thus opposing another legislative reform demanded and since sanctioned by the people (p. 166, Journals.)

**Opposed to the proper Audit of Municipal Accounts:**

On April 9th, 1897, on a resolution in Committee of Supply to vote \$2,100 for the purpose of a Municipal Auditor's salary and expenses, Mr. Whitney voted against it. The published reports of this officer are the best evidence of the need of such appointment, which has saved municipalities thousands of dollars and effected a much-needed reform.

**Voted against the encouragement of Poultry Raising.**

Page 152 of Journals, 1897, records the following motion: "Mr. Carnegie moved, seconded by Mr. Kidd, that the resolution (respecting grants in aid of agriculture) be not now concurred in, but be forthwith referred back to the Committee of Supply with instructions to reduce the item by \$2,000 for the farm proper of the Agricultural College and \$1,400 for the Poultry Association." Mr. Whitney's name is among the supporters of this motion, which is indicative of his attitude and that of his party toward agricultural interests.

**Opposed School for Training of Public School Teachers.**

While in Committee of Supply in the House on March 30th, 1899, (p. 287, Jls.), an amendment was supported by Mr. Whitney to do away with a proposed grant of \$22,000 to the new Normal School at London.

**More Opposition to Agricultural Interests.**

The Journals of the House of 1899 (page 264) show that Mr. Carnegie moved, seconded by Mr. Little, "that the resolution (respecting grants in aid of agriculture) be not now concurred in, but be forthwith referred back to the Committee of Supply with instructions to reduce the item by \$8,100, being \$2,500 voted for instructions in fruit spraying, \$1,000 Pioneer Dairy Farm and \$2,600 Western Dairy School, and \$2,000 reduction in vote for printing." Here again Mr. Whitney proved himself to be an obstructionist in much that pertains to the development of our agricultural interests.

Again, on April 26th, 1900, Mr. Whitney voted for Mr. Carnegie's motion to strike out of the estimates the sum of \$2,600 for the Western Dairy School at Strathroy.

Mr. Whitney talks of establishing three or four Agricultural Colleges in Ontario; still, he has voted for the abolition, prac-

tically, of a Dairy School which costs the Province a trifle, and which has been the means of giving instruction in butter and cheese making to a large number of people.

**The Public Works Department also ! Wanted to Wipe It Out.**

As late as the session of 1899 Mr. Whitney voted to do away with the Public Works Department, thus wiping out of existence this important branch of Government, which for 25 years has been under the control of a Catholic Minister of the Crown. On March 29th, 1899, (p. 249, Journals), a resolution of the Committee of Supply was opposed by an Opposition amendment, which read, "that the resolution be not now concurred in, but be forthwith referred back to the Committee of Supply, with instructions to reduce the item by \$18,750, being the salary and expenses of the Public Works Department."

**Voted Against Immigration.**

By reference to page 262 of the Journals of 1899 it will be seen that the Leader of the Opposition supported a Conservative amendment "that the resolution respecting immigration be not now concurred in, but be forthwith referred back to the Committee of Supply with instructions to reduce the item by \$4,825, being immigration vote for agencies in Europe."

**Voted Against the Victorian Order of Nurses.**

The Government brought in a resolution on March 29, 1899, voting \$2,500 for Lady Aberdeen's Victorian Order of Nurses (p. 259, Journals.) Strange to say, Mr. Whitney voted against this small vote for such a deserving philanthropy.

**Opposed the Opening Up of New Ontario.**

Notwithstanding the fact that the electors have clearly evinced a wish that the opening up of New Ontario should be facilitated, Mr. Whitney opposed the important Railway Bill of 1899, by personally moving several detailed amendments, although he refrained from voting on the bill as a whole. It will be remembered that the railway resolutions of 1899 provided for assistance to railways that would tap Moose River on James Bay, and that would bring within reach the Lake Abitibi region and the country lying west of Lake Temiscaming. It also provided for assistance to the Ontario and Rainy River Railway. Mr. Whitney, however, did all in his power to negative this assistance on the part of the Province.



**Opposed the Encouragement of British Immigration.**

On April 26th, 1900, Mr. Whitney voted to strike out of the Estimates the sum of \$4,825, being the amount expended for maintaining an Emigration Office at Liverpool, this was done, notwithstanding the fact that what Ontario wants most at the present moment is the encouragement of farm laborers and settlers on her wild lands.

**Another Vote Against the Development of New Ontario.**

On April 27th, 1900, Mr. Whitney voted against the third reading of the Bill providing a land grant to the Algoma Central Railway. Mr. Whitney characterized this land grant as a "phenomenal steal," although he afterwards practically apologized for his vote at a meeting held in the Victoria Hall, September, 1901, in the City of Toronto.

**Opposed the Development of the Pulp Industries of the Province.**

Mr. Whitney voted against all the agreements submitted by the Government in the session of 1900 for developing the pulp industries of the country. For instance, he voted against a grant to the Nepigon Pulp and Paper Manufacturing Company. On the same day he voted against a grant to the Blanche River Pulp and Paper Company. On the 10th April he voted against a grant to the Spanish River Pulp and Paper Company. If Mr. Whitney had his own way, no progress would have been made in the development of the pulp industries of the country, which are promoting settlement, and which have already given employment to a great number of people, and in the course of a few years will form the nucleus of small towns in Northern Ontario.

