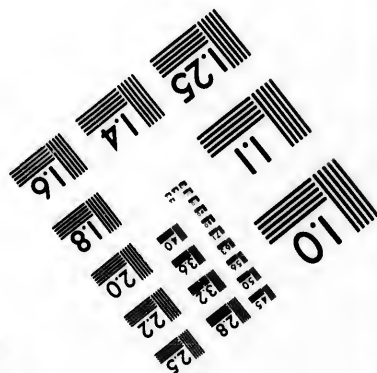
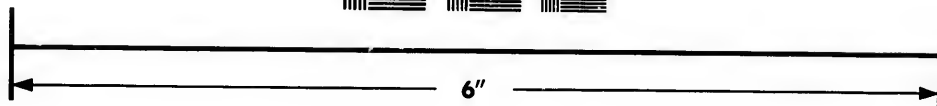
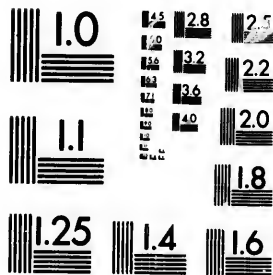


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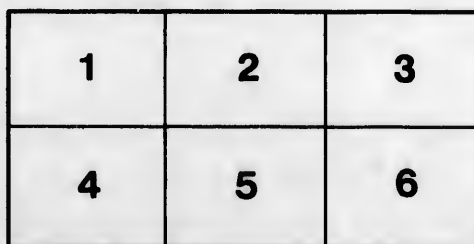
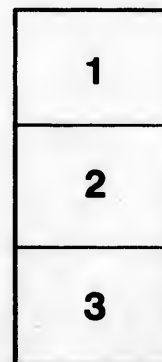
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RECORD OF LIBERAL ADMINISTRATION

How the Joly Ministry Governed the Province.—The
Financial Question.—Liberal Scandals.—The
Joly Policy.—The Railway Question.
The Chapleau Policy.

THE FINANCIAL QUESTION.

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The circumstances which led to the formation of the Joly Administration are too fresh in the minds of the people to require any reference to them now, and in dealing with the special feature of its policy which we propose to refer to to-day, we shall not in any way allude to those circumstances. Mr. Joly took office upon the declaration that he would make expenditures and revenue meet without having recourse to any new sources of revenue. That was the promise upon which he appealed to the people, and it was in consequence of that promise, and from a willingness to afford him an opportunity of fulfilling it, that he succeeded in carrying thirty-one out of the sixty-five constituencies, in May of last year. He has been in office for twenty months, certainly a sufficient time to enable him to fulfil his promise if he was able to do so. Has he fulfilled it? That, it seems to us, is an important question at a time when the people are asked to reject the new Ministers because of their success in defeating the Joly Government.

There is a question which may be referred to briefly before we enter upon the financial question, viz: the extent of responsibility which attaches to each party for the position in which the Province finds itself. We are wont to hear about the embarrassments which have been brought upon the Province in consequence of the policy of the former Conservative Government. It is a sufficient answer to this charge to point out that with the single exception of the objection to assuming the North Shore railways, the policy of previous administrations was

all sanctioned by the Liberal party in opposition, under the lead of Mr. Joly. No single grant by way of subsidy to any railway met with opposition. Indeed, so far from opposition being offered, the Rouges sought to embarrass the Government by complaining that they were not sufficiently liberal in their dealing with the subsidized lines. The policy of aiding railways was not a party policy, but a patriotic one, which not only received its strongest support from Mr. Joly and his friends, but which, if their motions in the Legislature had not been defeated, would have been greatly extended. In so far, therefore, as the present financial embarrassment arises from the grants by way of subsidy to railway companies, including the grants to the North Shore Railway Companies, the Liberals are as responsible for it as their opponents.

Only upon the policy of assuming the North Shore Railways, and completing them as Government works, on the failure of the companies, was issue joined by the two parties, and the Liberals may claim that financial embarrassment would have been avoided had the Government refused to take over the roads. That is true, but it is also true that in that case the Province would not have had the great advantage of these railways, the advances already made by the Government and the municipalities would have been absolutely lost, and we should have had simply the ruins of a half-finished railway to show for the expenditure. The Conservatives may fairly, therefore, claim that their policy was in the interests of the country. If there was any doubt upon this point, however, Mr. Joly himself has removed it. The roads were still unfinished when he

took office. He could have saved something by stopping them. It would have been a foolish thing to do; but only in degree not in principle more foolish than to have permitted them to remain unfinished on the failure of the companies. He did not do this. On the contrary he is actually claiming to-day special merit that, under his administration of the department, these roads have been pressed on to completion. But Mr. Joly went further than this. He did not content himself with completing the contracts actually let; he incurred expenditures to which the action of his predecessors in no way bound him, and to that extent has further embarrassed the financial position as the result of these railways. His construction of the Loop Line at Three Rivers, his contract for the bridge at Hull, and his extension of the line to Aylmer, are all works beyond the obligations imposed upon him by his predecessors in office. We are not condemning these works. They may be all very valuable—that is not the point with which we are dealing at this moment. What we urge is that their having been undertaken by Mr. Joly, of his own motion, without the assent of the Legislature, and in excess of any obligations incurred by Mr. DeBoucherville, destroys all right on his part to complain that his embarrassments arose from the obligations which he inherited from his predecessors, and which, his friends allege, had he been in office all the time would never have been incurred.

It is not necessary to say this much in relation to the plea that the financial embarrassments are the result of a policy on the part of the Conservatives when in office, to which the Liberals, then in opposition, were opposed. We come now to the question: Did Mr. Joly succeed in doing what he promised the electors at the May election he would do, restore the equilibrium without recourse to any system of imposts to increase the revenue? If he did, if he even made a reasonable approach to doing it, then he may claim that he should have been permitted to remain at the head of the Government. If he did not, then he has failed in his mission, the *coup d'état* of March, 1878, is without even the semblance of a result to justify it, and he has been properly restored to the position of leader of the Opposition which for so many years he adorned.

Mr. Langelier at the last session of the

Legislature, submitted a number of statements in order to show the receipts and expenditures of the province during the year ending 30th June, 1879,—a year at the commencement of which the late Government had got safely seated in their saddles, and should have been able to make their skill felt in producing those wonderful financial results which were promised. The first thing which strikes us in dealing with this subject is the extraordinary difference between estimate and expenditure under the Joly Administration. The late Mr. Bachand promised important economies when he submitted his estimates for the year, and we had any extent of rejoicing in the Ministerial press at this wonderful result of a change of Government. People contrasted the estimates of Mr. Bachand with those of his predecessor, Mr. Church, and cried out: See how these Liberals effect economies. But as months rolled on, and the day of reckoning arrived, it was found that their savings were only figures of speech, and not figures of arithmetic. The late Mr. Bachand undertook to carry on the Government, proceed with contemplated public works, and meet the interest and charges upon the public debt, with a sum of \$2,314,041. In his budget speech he was very emphatic upon this point, saying:—"The present Government engages 'to fulfil all the obligations of the Province, legitimately contracted, without injury to the public service, by the adoption of a policy of economy and retrenchment well applied, and without recourse to direct taxation.'" He proceeded to show in what manner, and to what extent, and to what branches of the public this policy was to be applied, and he concluded his statement by the declaration that he anticipated that the financial year closing the 30th of June, 1879, would show all the obligations of the Province honestly met, the public enterprises faithfully carried out, and a surplus in the Treasury of \$17,495. He also "pledged his word that the expenditure of the various branches of the public service would not exceed the amount estimated by him." He unhappily was not spared to see the results of the year's administration; but when the figures came down, it turned out that the actual expenditure for the same services reached the sum of \$2,685,340, a larger sum than has ever been spent in one year on ordinary ex-

penditure in the Province of Quebec, and no less than \$371,299 in excess of the revenue. Then looking at the statements submitted by Mr. Langelier, what do we find? In order to conceal the utter failure to make ends meet, we have a sum—an exceptional item which in the course of the debate which followed the budget speech, the Treasurer himself admitted could not be claimed as ordinary revenue,—of half a million, obtained from the Dominion Government, on account of a claim arising out of the unsettled assets and liabilities of the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec respectively, classed as an ordinary receipt. We had the balance on hand at the commencement of the year, amounting to \$227,622, treated in the same way. And we have another item of \$79,515 claimed as a receipt, because it was held that in 1872 it had been improperly paid out of the Consolidated Fund to the Richelieu, Drummond & Arthabasca Railway, and, as a mere piece of book-keeping, that fund was now credited with it, the sum being charged against the Consolidated Railway Fund. And then, on the other side, we had the interest and sinking fund of the public debt charged to capital account. Correcting these gross errors—this discreditable system of cooking public accounts—we have the following as the result of the first year's administration of Mr. Joly and his colleagues:—

RECEIPTS	\$2,832,076
Less: Dominion Government. \$500,000..	
Balance on hand at commencement of year....	227,622
Bookkeeping item.....	79,515
	<u>807,137</u>
Ordinary receipts.....	\$2,024,941
PAYMENTS.....	1,958,213
Add: Interest Public Debt.....	727,097
	<u>\$2,685,340</u>
DEFICIT.....	\$860,491

That is the result of the first year's operation of this Government which proposed to make ends meet without resort to taxation, whose only *raison d'être*, in fact, was that they would accomplish this work. There are a number of other items included among the receipts in this statement of Mr. Langelier's which cannot properly be classed as "ordinary receipts;" but we have only deducted those which are absolutely undisputed. The actual deficit of the first year's operation of Mr. Joly's Government will, we have reason to believe, come much nearer to three-

quarters of a million than to the sum we mention. But the figures we have given are beyond dispute. According to them we have, as the result of one single year of Liberal rule, an addition to the public debt, on account of ordinary expenditure, of nearly half a million of dollars. And these are the gentlemen who undertook to make ends meet!

Did they promise any better for the future? Let us see. Here are the estimates for the present year, as compared with the expenditures of last:—

	1879.	1880.
Legislation.....	\$ 153,135	\$ 141,500
Civil Government.....	157,710	157,965
Administration of Justice..	390,770	375,982
Police.....	14,400	14,555
Reformatories.....	57,060	50,300
Inspection.....	2,723	5,500
Public Instruction.....	353,035	320,210
Literary and Scientific Institutions.....	8,680	8,450
Arts and Manufactures....	10,000	10,000
Agriculture.....	64,087	70,000
Immigration and Repatriation.....	14,800	5,000
Colonization.....	38,434	45,600
Public Works and Build'gs.	190,008	258,886
Lunatic Asylums.....	210,542	180,000
Charities.....	60,677	63,230
Miscellaneous.....	26,084	15,000
Pension Fund.....	6,081	1,950
Seed Grain Loan.....	7,700
Charges on Revenue.....	187,319	188,401
Interest and Sinking Fund.	727,097	683,181
	<u>\$2,685,340</u>	<u>\$2,595,661</u>

Although these figures show a nominal decrease in the estimated expenditure of the present year as compared with the actual expenditure of last, there are some features of the tables which show that not much dependence is to be placed upon them. For instance, in one item of interest and sinking fund on the public debt we have an apparent decrease of \$43,916. But the debt has not lessened; on the contrary, it is quite clear that the works which the Government have actually undertaken cannot be completed without increasing it. It is true that the interest on temporary loans, amounting last year to \$95,594.76, has been, as to the difference in the rate, saved by the payment of the loans from the proceeds of the permanent loan since effected. But inasmuch as the works actually undertaken or promised by Mr. Joly will involve another loan of at least two millions, if not three, to say nothing of the new financial method of borrowing money to pay interest, it is quite clear that there will be no decrease in the amounts of this claim when the public accounts are made up.

The difference between Mr. Bachand's

estimates and the actual expenditures to which we have referred, warn us not to accept too readily the statements of a government resolved to cover up their failure by a process of financial cookery. Here are some details of that difference:—In the matter of the administration of justice, the expenditure exceeded the estimate by \$50,719; in education by nine thousand dollars; in public works by forty-four thousand dollars; in charities by four thousand dollars; in miscellaneous by sixteen thousand dollars; and in charges upon revenue by sixty-three thousand dollars. These are illustrations of the difference between estimates and expenditures, and show very clearly how futile is the attempt to judge of the latter in advance by the former. Indeed already we had, in the supplementary estimates, a proof that all these economies were not expected to be realized.

But assuming, for the sake of argument, that the estimates are not exceeded in the expenditures, was the equilibrium between revenue and expenditure established? Mr. Langelier assumed that he would have receipts to the amount of three hundred and sixty thousand dollars in excess of his expenditures. But unfortunately the estimates of receipts included sums that there was not the least chance of his getting, and others which, if obtained, did not belong to the ordinary receipts and could not therefore be held to justify the claim that the era of deficits had disappeared. He claimed that he could obtain another half million from the Government on account of disputed claims with Ontario and the Dominion. That certainly is not an ordinary revenue. Then he estimated that he would obtain \$200,000 from contributions by the municipalities on account of the Municipal Loan fund, a very substantial description of "tax" by the way, upon those municipalities if the same was collected from them. He promised during the budget debate to bring in a bill to enable him to collect this money. But he never produced the bill, and thus abandoned this item of revenue. And finally he estimated another \$200,000 as the result of the lease which was to be given to the famous syndicate as a reward for valuable electoral services. But as the lease was abandoned, this sum becomes an uncertain one. Here, then, are \$900,000 of receipts which Mr. Langelier claimed in his statement, which are

either not applicable to ordinary revenue, or the legislation to enable him to obtain which he never attempted to obtain. So that instead of a surplus of \$360,000 we have an estimated deficit of \$540,000! And that is assuming that his estimates of expenditures are not exceeded by the result, and that his expectations of revenue are fully realized, contingencies in which he was certain, in both cases, of being disappointed. As the result then of twenty months of administration of Mr. Joly and his friends, we have instead of a re-established equilibrium between revenue and expenditure, as we were promised, two enormous deficits, involving an addition to the public debt of over a million of dollars, on account of ordinary annual expenditure. That is the financial result of Mr. Joly's term of office. Contrasted with his promises, we are quite sure the public verdict will be that it does not entitle him either to the sympathy or to the support of the people of this Province.

The claim to economy on the part of the Joly Administration we have already reviewed. An expenditure in the only complete year of its administration of over three hundred thousand dollars, in excess of the estimates which the Treasurer solemnly pledged himself would not be exceeded, and a deficit of over six hundred thousand dollars, as the result of the year's transactions, are the best possible answers to that claim. We come next to the plea on their behalf that their administration has been a pure one. "For twenty months," we are told by the organ of the Jolyites in Montreal, they have "economically and righteously administered the affairs of this Province."—"Honest and pure Government"—are the terms in which the twenty months' record is described. Let us see what claim there is to the title:—

THE TURCOTTE PURCHASE.

Mr. Joly was beaten at the polls at the general elections, and he knew it. If he had loyally accepted the popular verdict, he must have retired. He did not loyally accept it. On the contrary his very first act was an act of shameless corruption, the purchase of a public man to betray his constituents. Mr. Turcotte was elected as an opponent to Mr. Joly. He could not have been elected on any other ground. Even the suspicion that he

might possibly temporize, aroused such a feeling in his constituency that he was compelled to write his letter of indignant repudiation of being other than a Conservative and an opponent of the Joly Government. After his election he was in communication with the leader of the Opposition, and three hours before he voted himself into the chair, as the nominee of Mr. Joly, he was still a declared opponent of the Government. And by means of the vote thus purchased, and not by means of popular support, the result of the elections, Mr. Joly kept himself in office. The attempt to establish an analogy between the case of this miserable culprit Turcotte, and that of the gentlemen who recently voted against and defeated Mr. Joly, is utterly futile. No one pretends to say that a man being elected as a friend of a Government, is bound during the Parliament to sustain that Government irrespective of what its policy might be. To hold that view would be to destroy altogether the whole theory of responsible government. Gentlemen elected to support a Government, must give that Government such support as will enable them to fully develop their policy; but if that policy, when developed, is not in accordance with their view of the public interest, or if the Government fails in carrying out its programme, they are not only absolved from any obligation to support it, but are bound as honest men to oppose it. That is an essential feature of the theory of our system of Government, which is that Ministers are continuously dependent for their continuance in office upon the confidence—based upon an intelligent appreciation of public policy—of the people's representatives. So, a gentleman elected to oppose a Government, either because of the disapproval on the part of his constituents of its past policy, or of the manner in which it obtained office, is bound in honour to use his vote to defeat that Government, when the opportunity to give it occurs, even if, afterwards, he should, as he may, give to its measures, or to such of them as he approves, a general support. This distinction is so plain that no one, who is not dishonestly interested in misrepresenting the case, can fail to see it. The latter was Mr. Turcotte's case. There was no doubt about the constituency of Three Rivers being against the Government. There was no doubt about his having ob-

tained his election upon the solemn assurance that he shared that feeling of opposition; and it was simply by means of a disgraceful purchase that he was induced to betray his constituents, and keep Mr. Joly in office against the will of the people, as expressed at the elections. That was Mr. Joly's initial step. It was a shamelessly corrupt one, and it paved the way for others to which we will refer.

THE ASBESTOS LAND JOB.

The conduct of the Government in connection with lot 27 in the Township of Thetford, is an illustration of the kind of "honest and pure" Government we have been living under for the last twenty months in the Province of Quebec. We give the facts of the case as stated by the Commissioner of Crown Lands himself. A Mr. Johnston, of the Township of Thetford, had, in the fall of 1877, purchased lot 27, as an agricultural lot, at thirty cents an acre. Subsequently a Mr. Shuster, an American, called upon Mr. Langelier as Commissioner of Crown Lands, informed him that the lot contained valuable deposits of asbestos, and was in fact not an agricultural lot, as understood by the rules of the Department, and urged that it should be put up at public auction along with other lands about to be sold, and that he was prepared to bid liberally upon it. Mr. Langelier, upon these representations, cancelled the sale to Johnston, and advertised it to be sold by public auction at Quebec on the 5th June. On that day the Americans, who wished to purchase the lot, went to Quebec to attend the sale, and were astonished to learn that it had been withdrawn. The reasons for the withdrawal were thus stated by Mr. Langelier in the House of Assembly:—

"In the meantime a number of residents of Megantic, including the Rev. Mr. Ball, Presbyterian Minister, called on him (Mr. Langelier), to express their indignation at the cancellation of the sale to the Johnstons. The member for Megantic also protested against this injustice in favor of an American speculator to two settlers. Convinced of these representations he withdrew the lot from public sale, and the deposits of asbestos on it. He made the Messrs. Johnston pay the amount chargeable to settlers for land containing mineral deposits, \$1 per acre, deducting their previous payment of 30c."

That Mr. Johnston's neighbours, including his minister, were opposed to the cancellation of the lot is quite likely; but we presume it will hardly be urged that that was a good reason for its withdrawal. The

lot was either a mineral lot or it was not. If it was, then the reasons which induced Mr. Langelier to cancel the sale to Johnston, and advertise it at public auction, were not removed by the representations of the Rev Mr. Ball and his neighbors. If it was not, then the sale should have been confirmed as an agricultural lot at thirty cents an acre. It was not confirmed. Mr. Langelier by his own act declared it to be a mineral lot, and having done so, he left himself without the shadow of an excuse for having withdrawn it from public sale. What was the motive for this action? The subsequent facts sufficiently establish that the whole thing was done in the interests of a prominent supporter in the Legislature, Mr. George Irvine. Here is the proof:—According to the records in the registry office at Inverness, it appears that on the 1st October last, Mr. Johnston sold to the Hon. George Irvine and John Mooney two-fifths of the lot, or about ninety-one acres, for \$100; and curiously enough in the deed of sale, the following passage occurs:—"This deed is made subject to and in conformity with a certain agreement made between the said parties at Quebec on the "seventh day of June last" (1878). We have thus these facts established:—(1) A sale of lot 27 in the Township of Thetford as an agricultural lot at thirty cents an acre. (2) The cancellation of this sale on the ground that the lot was a mineral one, and its advertisement to be sold at public auction on the 5th June. (3) The withdrawal of the lot on the morning of the sale, notwithstanding the presence of persons willing to bid upon it, at the solicitation, among others, of Mr. George Irvine. (4) The sale of the lot, by private sale, not as an agricultural, but as a mineral lot, to Mr. Johnston at a dollar an acre, on the 8th of June. (5) The sale by Johnston to Messrs. Irvine and Mooney on the 1st of October following of two-fifths of the lot, in pursuance of an agreement made on the 7th of June, two days after its withdrawal, at Mr. Irvine's instance, from public sale, and the day before its private transfer by the Crown Lands Department. (6) **A loss to the Province of over eleven thousand dollars**, as Messrs. Shuster and Ross were prepared to give at least fifty dollars an acre for the land, the minerals upon it being of very great value. The whole proceeding was simply

a scandalous job, the money sacrificed being more than all the savings effected in the Civil Service, including the reduction of Ministers' salaries, in one year.

THE NUT-LOCK SCANDAL.

During their short term of office the Joly Ministry succeeded in piling up so many scandals that they may fairly claim to have carried out the peculiar political theories of the Liberal party to a greater extent than even the Mackenzie Administration at Ottawa had done. The most glaringly corrupt of these is known as the Nut-Lock Scandal, and the evidence adduced as to the relations of the Government in the transaction shows them to have been guilty of selling a public contract for money with which to assist their friends in the elections then pending. In November last Hon. Mr. Joly recommended to Mr. Peterson, Engineer-in-Chief of the Government railway, the trial on ten miles of the road of a nut-lock, patented by a Mr. Mackay, a clerk in the Railway Department. The cost of the new lock was to be thirty dollars per mile, the Government bearing the expense of placing them, but for some reason or other, Mr. Peterson did not act on the suggestion of the Premier, probably because he regarded the proposed outlay as useless, and nothing more is heard of Mr. Mackay and his nut-lock until the following May, when Hon. Mr. Joly being absent in England, and that distinguished purist, the Hon. Mr. Starnes, discharging the duties of the Commissioner of Railways, an opportunity was afforded for the hatching of a job. On May 15th, on the recommendation of Hon. Mr. Starnes, an order-in-council was passed directing that the nut-lock be supplied over the whole length of the Government railway, sidings and branches included, at a cost of fifty dollars per mile, the contractor providing the labor. It is important to notice that the first offer of the inventor was to furnish the nut-locks for thirty dollars a mile, so that in his second proposition, that accepted by the Government, he allows twenty dollars a mile for the labour of placing them. The order-in-council having been passed, and no obstacle interposing to prevent the carrying out of his little scheme, Mr. Starnes wrote to Hon. Mr. McGreevy, contractor for the eastern section of the railway, urging that the work should be gone on with, but in the meantime a more pro-

fitable course of proceeding had suggested itself to the fertile imagination of Mackay, which he apparently communicated to Mr. Starnes and received his assent to it; for on June 5th we have Mr. Starnes writing to Mr. Peterson that Mackay thinks the work would be better done by the regular section men, and asking for an estimate of the cost of placing the nut-locks. This letter was answered by Mr. Scott, the Superintendent of the railway, who said that the cost of putting on the locks would be five dollars a mile, but recommended that three or four dollars should be taken off the contract price per mile, and that the Government bear the cost of placing the locks, if Mackay will consent to such an arrangement. But Mackay declined to allow more than two dollars per mile for the expense of placing the locks. Let it be remembered that this man had offered to supply the Government in November last with these nut-locks at thirty dollars a mile; that in his second tender he had claimed twenty dollars a mile for the cost of placing them, and that now he demanded forty-eight dollars a mile for the lock, and was willing to allow the Government only two dollars a mile for labor for placing them, and an idea of the nature of the job can be formed. And Mackay did not in vain demand this exorbitant price for the lock which he was anxious to dispose of a few months previously for thirty dollars. The correspondence shows that Mr. Starnes directed that the amount of forty-seven dollars a mile should be allowed to the inventor, and that he did this against the advice of the Chief Engineer, and with the knowledge that he was sacrificing the money of the people. On June 7th, after learning from Mr. Peterson that Mackay would only allow the Government two dollars a mile from the contract price, for the performance of the work of placing the locks, Mr. Starnes writes to the Chief Engineer requesting him to comply with the original terms of the contract, but adding that if three dollars a mile will do the work to proceed with it himself, Mackay, who clearly was working in harmony with the Acting Commissioner of Railways, having consented that the Government should do the work. To this letter Mr. Peterson replied, "I don't think the 'nut-lock can be put on in anything like 'an efficient manner for three dollars,'" and yet in the face of that statement, Mr. Starnes orders the Superintendent, Mr.

Scott, to proceed with the work at the expense of the Government, and to notify Mr. Peterson of the arrangement. Could any job be more palpable? **Mr. Starnes, knowing that the work could not be done for three dollars a mile, knowing that his arrangement brought the cost to the Government of the locks considerably in excess of the contract price, fifty dollars per mile, knowing that he was giving the inventor forty-seven dollars per mile for an article that he had been anxious to dispose of for thirty dollars, deliberately goes on with his arrangement in the face of the adverse opinion of his engineer, and proceeds to make a scandalous waste of public money,**

That the Acting Commissioner of Railways was in collusion with Mackay is evident from the rapidity with which the locks were forwarded, after Mr. Starnes, failing to get the consent of Mr. Peterson to the job, determined to carry it through on his own responsibility. In a letter to Mr. Starnes on June 6th, the Chief Engineer had written of Mackay, "he is under the impression that under his contract he will get a good many extras, and that altogether it will be to his advantage to do the work himself." How true this was is shown by a letter from Mr. McGreevy on June 14th, enclosing a report from one of his section men, who says that the nuts of the fish-plates were unscrewed to put the lock on, and not screwed back far enough to be safe from the danger of the engine wheels running upon them. Beside the danger to life and damage to rolling stock, he threatens to charge the Government for the expense of extra men to screw them up. He also says that Mr. Mackay was proposing to take off the fish-plates on a length of from half a mile to a mile at a time, causing so much danger as to make it necessary to stop trains altogether, for which the Government is again threatened with damages.

There were thirteen miles of the western section of the Railway furnished with these nut-locks, the cost of placing which was

\$174.90, or \$13.45 per mile, while the Government undertook to relieve Mackay of the expense of placing the locks, and to perform the work for \$3 per mile. Thus Mackay pocketed \$47 a mile for a nut-lock he had offered for \$30 per mile, and the Government, in addition to this exorbitant price, had to assume an additional expense of \$13 a mile for placing the nut-locks, the total cost being thus \$60 per mile.

WHERE THE MONEY WENT TO.

A Committee of enquiry into this transaction was asked for in the Assembly and refused by the Government, but the Legislative Council, taking cognizance of the matter, appointed a special committee to ascertain the truth of the charges made against the Ministry. On August 27th a meeting of this Committee was held, at which Col. F. C. Farjana being sworn, deposed as follows :—

I met Dr. McKay on 25th July at Ottawa, and conversed with him at the Russell House on this nut-lock question for about half an hour. He told me he had made a very good transaction, but that he had made nothing up to the present, as he was obliged to divide a certain amount between members of the Government. He would, however, be all right in the future. He said the amount he had to divide was between \$4,000 and \$5,000, and that it was to be used for election purposes.

Q. Did he mention the names of those members of the Government? A. Dr. McKay told me that he divided the money between Mr. Langeller and Mr. Starnes for election purpose. There being two Langellers in the House I do not know which he meant. Dr. McKay mentioned Mr. Langeller and Mr. Starnes in regard to another transaction with Mr. McGreevy for building a portion of the road. Dr. McKay, a few weeks before the elections, told me he could get my claims settled if I gave him \$5,000 for election purposes to support the Government. The \$5,000 were to be taken out of my contract claim. I told him it was useless, as I had written to Mr. Joly and had received a reply which obliged me to go to court.

Q. What was the amount of your claim? A. \$28,000 against Mr. McGreevy; but I claimed it against the Government under clause 9, by which the Government were responsible to me as a sub-contractor. On the Government replying that I should go to law, I dropped everything with the Government; and entered proceedings against Mr. McGreevy.

Q. The Government was to pay you in full, and Dr. McKay was to get \$5,000? A. Yes.

Q. Did he tell you to whom the money would go? A. He said that was none of my business, but in a friendly way offered to get the claim settled for \$4,000. He told me if I had told him before, he could have had it settled without loss of time or trouble.

That testimony remains unimpeached. Although every effort was made to subpoena Dr. Mackay, in order that he might give his own version of the transaction, he could not be found, having been spirited away from Quebec to prevent the ex-

posures his evidence would necessarily make.

WHAT MACKAY WAS PAID.

In August last, three months after Hon. Mr. Starnes had given out the contract, Mackay had delivered to the Government only \$1,500 worth of nut-locks and not more than thirteen miles of the railway had been finished with them, yet at that time no less a sum than \$10,500 had been paid by the Government to Mackay, of which, according to the evidence, \$5,000 was paid back by Mackay to assist the Liberal candidates in the elections in June. Mr. MacEwan, cashier of the Union Bank, deposed that he had advanced Mackay \$5,000 on the strength of the following letter :—

QUEBEC, May 27, 1879.

To P. MACEWAN, Esq., Cashier Union Bank of Lower Canada:

SIR,—Dr. Mackay being, as I understand, desirous of applying to you for an advance to enable him to carry out his contract with the Government for the placing of "nut-locks" on the North Shore Railway, I undertake at his request to retain from the moneys coming to him under the said contract the sum of (\$5,000) five thousand dollars, to be applied towards the payment of any advance which the Bank may think proper to make to him.

I remain yours truly,

H. STARNES,
Commissioner *ad interim*.

In addition to this amount, Mr. Ed. Moreau, Secretary of the Railway Department, deposed that he had paid Dr. Mackay \$5,000 in June by a cheque signed by Hon. Mr. Joly, and later he had paid him a further sum of \$500. We add the evidence of Mr. A. L. Light, who deposed :—

"I am Government Engineer on the Eastern Division of the North Shore Railway between Quebec and Montreal; I know Dr. Mackay's nut-locks; I am not aware that a contract was made by the Government with Dr. Mackay on account of his nut-locks to be placed on the road in May last; I don't know personally if these nut-locks were put on the road since May last on my division between Quebec and Montreal; if anything of the kind had happened, I think I would have known it; no report was made to me; section men may have considered it their duty not to report, and I do not know anything of it; as a general rule anything important concerning my section is reported or should be reported to me; in May last I have not been consulted about that nut-lock contract by the Government; I have not seen one nut-lock put on the road in my section in May last or since."

Such is the history of this scandalous job. It is as glaring a piece of corruption as ever disgraced a Government in this or any other country, a direct sale of a public contract for election purposes. No link is missing in the chain of evidence; the record is complete and unimpeach-

able, and stamps the Ministry which could perpetrate such a job as unworthy of the confidence of the people of this Province.

THE GOWEN TRANSACTION.

During the session of the Legislature which has just closed Mr. Tarte, M.P.P., from his place in the House made serious charges against the Government in connection with the sale by them of the claims of the Crown on Notre Dame des Anges property, asked for a committee of enquiry, and Messrs. Irvine, Lynch, Flynn, Sheyn, Loranger, Racicot and Taillon were appointed to ascertain the truth of the charges. We propose here to deal solely with the report of the committee, prepared after many days laborious and searching examination into all the details of the transaction, and which cannot be claimed to be prejudiced presentations of the evidence elicited. The charges of Mr. Tarte were (1) that the Government had disposed of claims of the Crown amounting to \$17,000 to Hammond Gowen, a brother-in-law of the Premier, for \$5,000; (2) that Gowen had borrowed upon the claims so acquired \$9,600 on the day of their transfer to him; (3) that an offer of \$8,000 had been made a few months previously by Gowen for the same claims and refused by the Government, and (4) that in thus disposing of the claims for \$5,000 the Government had wittingly sacrificed the property of the Crown. The report of the committee is divided into two parts, one relating to the transfer of the rights of the Government on Bickell's bridge and the other to the sale of the claims on the Notre Dame des Anges farm. As regards the transfer of the rights of the Crown on the bridge, the committee appears to have been unanimous in the opinion that the Government had no rights whatever which were affected by the transaction, and that therefore they were quite justified in making the transfer, but the report goes on to state that "if the usual practice of obtaining from the law officers of the Crown a written opinion of the Government claims had been followed, and if the terms of the transfer to Mr. Gowen had been more explicit than they are, the difficulty which has arisen respecting the matter might have been avoided."

As regards the sale of the claims on the Notre Dame des Anges farm, however, a different story has to be told, one which,

in every particular, bears out the statement made on the floor of the House by Mr. Tarte. The farm, since it was first granted by letters-patent to Mr. Charles Smith in 1828, for the principal sum of \$8,800, and an annual rental of \$440, has passed through various hands, until several years ago it came into the possession of William Bickell and Hammond Gowen, as joint owners. In the meantime, the claims of the Government on the farm for rent had been rapidly accumulating, only one payment having been made since 1863, and at the close of the year 1877 the DeBoucherville Government commenced proceedings against Gowen and Bickell for the payment of the balance of arrears then due. In consequence of this proceeding, on January 22nd, 1878, Gowen wrote to the then Commissioner of Crown Lands Hon. P. Garneau, offering eight thousand dollars for the claims of the Government on the Notre Dame des Anges property. This offer was referred to Mr. P. Huot, agent of the Jesuits' estate, who, on January 25th, reported that the Government would be justified in accepting an offer from Gowen of eleven or twelve thousand dollars. On February 5th, 1878, Gowen wrote again to the Department, asking for a reply to his offer, but no answer seems to have been given, and nothing further occurred until a year later, when, on February 13th, 1879, Mr. Dechenes, advocate, of Quebec, who had been the attorney of Bickell in all his litigation with Government, wrote to Hon. F. Langelier, then Commissioner of Crown Lands, offering \$4,500 for the claims of the Government on behalf of his client Bickell. This offer of Bickell, like the former one of Gowen, was referred to Mr. P. Huot, who reported that it could not be accepted, inasmuch as it did not cover, as he says, one-half of the Government claims, and, further, that the offer of Gowen was still open, and that *Gowen had since expressed his willingness to pay ten thousand dollars for the claim.* In March, or about five weeks later, Hon. Mr. Marchand became Commissioner of Crown Lands, and as such Mr. Gowen was introduced to him by Hon. Mr. Langelier. Gowen then pressed upon Mr. Marchand the acceptance of Mr. Bickell's offer, made through Deschene, and we are told that although the Commissioner knew that Gowen was a brother-in-law of the Premier, he was not aware that Deschene's

offer of four thousand five hundred dollars was really made on behalf of Gowen. Be this as it may, we cannot but regard the conduct of Hon. Mr. Marchand at this juncture as singular, for after being urged to the acceptance of Deschene's offer by Gowen, we find him referring the offer to Mr. Huot with *special instructions* "to report as to the amount which would be realized from the Government claim if judicial proceedings were taken against the actual proprietors of the land. As to the means, if any, to obtain payment, apart from the seizure of each of the lots conceded by Bickell & Co., and seeing the difficulties and cost which would attend these proceedings, what amount in cash he would advise the Government to accept for the claim on the property." The whole tone of this letter shows a desire to obtain an opinion from Mr. Huot that the Government would do as well to accept Bickell's offer, through Deschene, which it must be remembered was really the offer of Mr. Joly's brother-in-law, as to force the property for sale; and Mr. Marchand succeeded in his purpose, for the reply of Mr. Huot was, as anyone would expect, to the effect that the property, if sacrificed in the then depressed state of the real estate market, could not be expected to realize anything like its real value. Acting on this warrant, Mr. Marchand expressed to Gowen his willingness to accept \$5,000 for the Government claim, which amount was paid over by Gowen and the transfer of the Crown rights completed, the transfer being made first to Bickell and then by him to Gowen, and on the same day (May 15th) Gowen borrowed \$9,600 on the security of the property, the first claims on which, amounting to \$17,000, he had just purchased from the Government for \$5,000. Shortly after, Mr. Marchand had agreed to accept the offer of \$5,000, we are told that the Commissioner, discovering that Gowen had a personal interest in the transaction and knowing that he was a brother-in-law of the Premier, and desiring for that reason to take what he considered exceptional precautions, informed Gowen that a valuation must be made of the property. The names suggested by Mr. Gowen as valuers were Daniel McGie and William Bignell, N.P., who were accepted by the Commissioner as competent and reliable men.

We pass over comment on the farce of accepting valuers named by the buyer of the claims whose interest was to depreciate their value, and turn to the report of the committee to ascertain their opinion of this proceeding. Here it is:—

"The valuation of Messrs. McGie & Bignell had little value inasmuch at the former never having seen the property, and being unaware of its extent, was incompetent to judge of its value, and the wife of the latter having a hypothec on the property subsequent to the claim of the Government, he was interested that it should be reduced in amount."

To substantiate the case against the Government it is necessary to make two more extracts from the report of the Committee, as follows:—

"Your Committee after examining a large number of witnesses, and after giving this branch of the case submitted to them their most earnest consideration, beg to report the following facts as satisfactorily established:—"

(1) "That on the 1st May, 1872, when the discharge of the Government claims on the Notre Dame des Anges farm, was virtually concluded, such claims consisted of the following sums:—1. Eight thousand, eight hundred dollars being the principal of the rent created by the letters-patent of date the 24th June, 1828. 2. Eight hundred and sixty-one dollars and sixty-six cents, being the amount for which the seignorial tenure on the said farm was commuted on October 7, 1854. 3. Five thousand eight hundred and sixty-six dollars and sixteen cents, being the balance of the arrears of rent due on the said two principal sums for past twenty-three years, making a total of \$15,527.82—of these constituted rents, were not exigible and were proved, assuming this security to be good, to be worth the full amount less a discount of one-third: the Government had only a prior hypothecary claim for five years, namely, for \$2,455 as regards subsequent hypothecary creditors.

(2) That considerable difference of opinion exists among competent persons as to the value of the property in ques-

tion, but your committee are of opinion that it offered a tolerably safe security for the greater portion of the Government claim, and they are principally lead to this conclusion by the fact that at the time the transaction in question had been agreed upon **a loan for \$9,600 had been negotiated, secured upon the same property and which had been assented to by persons of business capacity."**

Thus it will be seen that the conclusions of the committee sustain to the fullest extent the statements of Mr. Tarte in the Legislature, and in doing that, they convict the Government, or more properly, perhaps, Hon. Mr. Marchand, of gross neglect of the most ordinary precautions in conducting the business of his department. It is true that the judgment of the committee is a lame and impotent conclusion to the evidence given before it, but it goes so far as to charge the Government with an error of judgment, and in administrative acts a blunder by a Government is akin to a crime. For what in a word does the committee report?

That this claim for sixteen thousand dollars, which the committee, from the evidence, considered amply secured, has been sold to a brother-in-law of Hon. Mr. Joly for five thousand dollars.

That was the charge of Mr. Tarte; that is the finding of the committee. The property by all the evidence is proved to have been ample security for the Government claim, on the very day of the transfer nearly ten thousand dollars having been borrowed on it; and the Commissioner of Crown Lands, Mr. Marchand, is shown throughout the whole transaction to have acted without the slightest regard to the interests of the Province, and apparently with a single purpose to meet the wishes of the Premier's relative. So far as the statement is concerned, that the Government would not have realized a larger amount than five thousand dollars for their claims, had the property been forced to sale, it is an utterly absurd one to advance in defence of the action of Mr. Marchand. Every one knows that valuable real estate at auction has been disposed of during the past three years

for a mere song, and it is puerile in the last degree to draw a conclusion favorable to the Government transaction from the fact that a forced sale of the Notre Dame des Anges farm would not have realized anything like its real value.

The facts remain that the claims of the Government were disposed of to a brother-in-law of the Premier for less than one-third their value, and that through the incapacity and negligence, not to use harsher terms, of the Commissioner of Crown Lands, more than ten thousand dollars of the people's money has been squandered.

THE GALE FARM PURCHASE.

One of the remarkable transactions with which Mr. Joly signalized his administration of the Public Works Department was the purchase of a portion of the Gale Farm property for the use of the railway. Whether it was wise to purchase this property or not is a question open for discussion. It is a matter of public policy upon which opinions may fairly differ. Mr. Joly claims that he had the recommendation of Mr. Walter Shanly for making the purchase, and we are quite ready to admit that on such recommendation no serious fault could be found with him for obtaining the land. What is complained of is that when the necessity for procuring it arose, instead of paying for it a reasonable price, he, knowing that one of his colleagues, Mr. Starnes, was interested in the property, consented to pay three times its real value. The history of this property is as follows:—In 1874 the farm was purchased by Messrs. Hogan & Beaufort, Mr. Starnes, we believe, subsequently becoming interested in it, for \$330,000, \$25,000 being paid in cash, another \$25,000 on the 1st November, 1874, and the balance, \$280,000, in ten years from the said 1st of November, with interest at seven per cent., payable annually. The property was divided into three parcels, numbered in the official plan 147, 152 and 148, the first containing 5,980 feet, the second 30,654 feet, and the third 662 arpents, or 24,262,362 feet, and to secure the payment of the balance unpaid, the hypothec or vendor's privilege resulting from the sale, was limited as follows:—First, to the sum of six cents per superficial square foot

upon the lots 147 and 152, and upon that portion of the lot 148, extending to a depth of two arpents from the highway or turnpike road; secondly, to the sum of five cents per superficial square foot upon this portion of the lot No. 148, lying between the distance of two arpents, and four arpents from the said highway or turnpike road; thirdly, to the sum of four cents per superficial square foot upon the portion of said lot, No. 148, lying between the distance of four arpents, and six arpents from the said highway or turnpike road; fourthly, to the sum of three cents per superficial square foot upon the portion of the said lot No. 148, lying between the distance of six arpents, and eight arpents from the said highway, and the sum of one and a half cents per superficial square foot upon the rest of said lot No. 148. The purchasers had the right at any time, within ten years, to make payments of not less than \$10,000, and on such payments being made, vendors agreed to release such portion of the estate, as purchaser might choose within the hypothec. Thus it will be seen that the highest price paid for any portion of this property—the favorite portion of it—amounted only to six cents a foot, that is, the purchasers had a right at any time to obtain possession of the very best part by the payment of that price. The average price paid for the whole property was a fraction over one and one-third cents per foot. That was the price paid for this property in 1874, when, as every one knows, property in the vicinity of Montreal was bringing fabulous and speculative prices. In 1876, the Railway Commissioners had occasion to purchase the right of way through the property, having obtained 1,134,000 feet of this land, for which they paid \$53,154.80, or an average of a shade over $4\frac{1}{2}$ c. a foot. Property generally continued to go down in price until 1878, when bottom prices may be said to have been reached, and yet in spite of this reduction in the value of the land, Mr. Joly paid for 1,140,556 feet the enormous sum of \$141,375.02 or an average of over 12 4-10 cents a foot. The purchase made by Mr. Joly was as follows:—

1,074,446 feet at 12 cents,	\$128,933.52
38,870 " " 25 "	9,717.50
27,240 " " 10 "	2,724.00
1,140,556	\$141,375.02

Thus while the railway commissioners

were able to purchase 1,134,000 feet for \$53,154.80 in 1876, Mr. Joly has paid the same vendors in 1878, property having, in the meantime, decreased in value, the enormous sum of \$141,375 for 1,140,556 feet of adjacent property.

In other words, while the commissioners arranged for this property at four and two-thirds cents per foot, Mr. Joly has actually paid an average of twelve and four-tenths of a cent a foot for practically the same land. Or, while in 1874 the vendors had the power to obtain the choicest corner of the land at six cents, Mr. Joly has paid now as high as twenty-five cents. It is true that the price of the property was fixed by arbitration, but the arbitrators were all strong partizans of the Government and intimate friends of Mr. Starnes, who was deeply interested in effecting a good sale. If this were even not so, no one is bound by an award which bears injustice, if not fraud, upon the very face of it. The idea of property which had been purchased when values were inflated at less than two cents a foot, the right of way through which had been purchased two years afterwards at $4\frac{1}{2}$ cents a foot, which had been offered to the former Government at seven cents a foot, being paid for at a period of the greatest depression, when the land was worth comparatively little—at over twelve cents a foot—is simply preposterous. The result of these transactions to the gentlemen who purchased the land was eminently satisfactory. They purchased this property, as we have seen, in the days of wildest speculation, for \$330,000. They have, in consequence of this happy hit, already received for parts of it, assuming the sales to private parties to be *bona fide*, the handsome sum of \$243,938, and they still retain 21,482,420 square feet, out of the 24,362,362 square feet contained in the original purchase! And the country has lost, taking into account the real values of this property, from \$75,000 to \$100,000, simply from the accident that Mr. Starnes happened to be a Minister with a pliant chieftain willing to sacrifice public interests for the advantage of him and his friends.

THE NORMAL SCHOOL FURNITURE JOB.

Another instance of the recklessness of the late Government was what our readers will recollect as the

Jacques Cartier Normal School contract job. Attention was called to the matter by Mr. Taillon, on the 1st of August, while the House was in Committee of Supply. The contract had been given to one Berger at \$18,300, although it was proved beyond cavil that Mr. Lavigne had offered to do the work for \$10,000 or \$8,300 less. Mr. Lavigne was, moreover, informed by the Premier that the contract could not be awarded without a previous advertisement for tenders, yet, subsequently, without anything of the kind, it was given to the above mentioned contractor for the sum named. In the investigation, at which the witnesses were examined under oath, Mr. Lavigne testified that in June and July, 1878, he went over the building, measured the rooms, and got thereby, as well as from the specifications, a thorough idea of what was wanted. He then offered to do the work for \$10,000, and he expected to make a handsome profit out of that. He had done similar work for the Catholic Academy, and had a capital idea of what was wanted, and what it would cost. However, in the interviews he had with Mr. Joly, he was told that the Government would not like to spend any sum over \$1,000 without advertising for tenders. Notwithstanding this assertion, made to him in all apparent honesty by the late Premier, he was not a little astonished and disappointed to learn that the job—in more senses than one—had been awarded, WITHOUT TENDERS, to Mr. Berger, who was only a joiner, for the nice little sum of \$8,300 more than he, expecting to have a fair profit, had previously asked. It also came out in the evidence that the specification on which Berger worked proved to be a duplicate of that on which Lavigne had based his offer. Mr. Lavigne's testimony on this point, as on all others, was corroborated by that of the Abbe Verreault, the Principal of the Jacques Cartier Normal School, who stated that he had handed one specification to Lavigne and the other to Berger, both being exactly alike. The charge was, therefore, fully proven in the face of the House and of the country at large, while Mr. Joly and his Government had been nauseating with their loud and perpetual professions of honesty and economy, and Mr. Marchand was stricken dumb, and did not even attempt to excuse himself. Let us recapitulate the simple facts of this case as

brought out in the evidence before the Public Accounts Committee, the Government having refused a special committee:

(1.) Last year L'Abbe Verrault, the Principal of the Jacques Cartier Normal School with the assistance of the Government Architect, prepared specifications for the furniture of the new building, and duplicates were given to Mr. Lavigne and Mr. Berger respectively, the former being one of the best known cabinet makers, the other a carpenter and joiner.

(2.) In July, 1878, Mr. Lavigne went to Quebec, saw Messrs. Joly and Marchand, and offered to do the work for \$10,000 or \$12,000, the latter sum including the altar, balustrade, &c., for the chapel. The answer was that no contract exceeding \$1,000 in amount could be given without tender.

(3.) Mr. Lavigne saw Mr. Joly again in Montreal in the beginning of Autumn, and renewed the offer. He was referred to Mr. Marchand who, the Premier said, was specially charged with the matter.

(4.) Mr. Lavigne subsequently met Mr. Langelier, the treasurer, on the Quebec steamer, showed him his plans, and renewed the offer. He received for answer that the furniture was too expensive, and that the Government could not afford to pay so much.

(5.) In January last Mr. Lavigne saw Mr. Marchand in Montreal, and once more renewed the offer. He was then told that he (Marchand) would have to consult the political friends about the distribution of patronage.

(6.) And in March the contract was let to Mr. Berger, without tender, and at \$18,300, \$8,300 more than Mr. Lavigne had offered to do it for! Mr. Lavigne in his evidence stated that he had examined the contract, that it was for the same work, and that he would, had he obtained the contract at \$10,000, have made \$3,000 profit. And this was done by the "pure and honest" Government whose defeat we are asked to deplore.

THE GOVERNMENT POLICY.

We have already shown that in the matter of the administration of the finances the Joly Administration utterly failed to fulfil the promises with which they took office; that their first estimates of expenditure were exceeded by over \$300,000 by the actual results; that so far from their making ends meet, restor-

ing the equilibrium between revenue and expenditure, their first year's transactions showed a deficit between ordinary receipts and expenditure of over \$600,000; that by their estimates for the second year's business, taking ordinary receipts and expenditure, and even assuming that they had better luck than in the former year, and did not exceed their estimates, there was a prospect of a deficiency of nearly half a million; and that, therefore, as to their leading *raison d'être*, they have utterly failed in fulfilling the promises which they made to the people, and upon the strength of which they carried thirty-one constituencies in May, 1878. We propose now to show that in other respects their policy has been equally at fault. Failing as financiers they have equally failed as legislators. Take the last session alone as an illustration. In the Speech from the Throne, with which the session was opened, they promised several very important measures, among them being:—(1) A bill for the abolition of the Legislative Council; (2) a bill for the organization of public instruction; (3) a bill for the regulation of the Municipal Loan Fund; (4) a bill for macadamizing the public roads; (5) a bill for the establishment of a petition of right. These measures really comprised the programme of the Government, and strange to say, they were either not introduced at all, or if introduced were withdrawn. The bill for the abolition of the Legislative Council was not introduced, and if any evidence were needed that the claptrap in which they are indulging in relation to that body is utterly insincere, this fact would establish it. It is somewhat remarkable that the question of the abolition of the Legislative Council never was a party question until the session of 1878. When Mr. Holton was elected for Montreal Centre he advocated the abolition of the Council as a prominent plank in his platform, but he never ventured to challenge the opinion of the Legislature upon the subject. In the elections of 1875 the subject was scarcely mentioned; and only when it became necessary as part of the conspiracy between the Liberal party and Mr. Letellier to strike out some new platform did the party take the question up. The bill was introduced last year and, as every one expected, and as in fact in the case of so great a constitutional change, was, in accordance with

precedent in England, rejected by the Legislative Council. But the Ministers ought to have introduced the bill again if they were sincere. They did not do so, and that was the first of the measures promised and strangled in its birth. Then the bill for the organisation of public instruction was never introduced, as our readers are aware. The abolition of school inspectors formed a prominent plank in the platform of the party at the elections of 1878. During the first session the Government did not venture to touch the question, but in the interval they made strong efforts to induce the Council of Public Instruction to modify their view upon the subject, going so far as to offer to the Roman Catholic Committee that they would hand over the inspection of schools to the Roman Catholic *cures* throughout the Province. That suggestion was indignantly declined by His Lordship the Archbishop, who very properly took the ground that already there was a complaint of too great interference on the part of the clergy with the secular concerns of the people; and it was not desirable to increase the opportunities for that complaint. Notwithstanding, however, this failure, the measure was promised, but as in the case of the Legislative Council, it never was permitted to see the light. So that, what Mr. Joly meant by the better organisation of public instruction remains one of the enigmas of provincial politics. Then the Municipal Loan Fund bill was never produced. Mr. Langelier, in his budget speech, assumed that he would receive \$200,000 as the consequence of this measure. When asked if he intended to introduce the bill, he answered in the affirmative, intimating that it was in fact already prepared; and yet, although forming a part of "Ways and Means," announced in his budget speech, and although, therefore, an essential feature of that larger part of the Government's policy relating to finances, the bill never was introduced, and to-day the people are left in ignorance as to the manner in which Mr. Langelier proposed to fulfil the promise that there should be no taxes while taking out of their pockets an additional \$200,000 to meet the requirements of the public service. The bill providing for the macadamizing of public roads was introduced, but the Ministers appear to have become alarmed at the sight of the evi-

dence of their own temerity, and the bill was withdrawn. The same thing occurred in the case of the bill relating to the petition of right. It was introduced, but abandoned. In this latter case we can hardly believe that there was any sincerity on the part of the Ministers in connection with this bill. The object of it was to enable contractors with the Government, having disputed claims, to get them settled by the Courts in the same way as is provided by the Dominion Act conferring upon the Court of Exchequer authority to settle such disputes. If Mr. Joly really intended to bring in this bill, then assuredly the claims of Mr. Macdonald ought not to have been submitted to the arbitrament of Mr. Walter Shanly. A few weeks' delay would not have been a matter of much consequence, and so important a claim ought, if there had been any serious intention to introduce the measure providing for the petition of right, to have been reserved for decision by the courts. These are the results of one single session's operations—a session of more than ordinary length, and in which certainly Ministers could not complain of want of time in which to bring down their measures. Of a truth, there never was a Government to which the title of the Government of frauds and hypocrisies could with more justice be applied. They had no policy. They simply carried on the affairs of the country at haphazard in a species of hand to mouth style, distributing patronage to their friends, squandering the public money in disgraceful jobbery and leaving a record of nothing, so far as the statute book was concerned, as the result of their two sessions' work, of which they may well feel ashamed.

THE RAILWAY QUESTION.

But it is claimed that Mr. Joly has succeeded in arranging the disputes with the municipalities on the subject of their subscriptions to the North Shore Railways. In the speech from the Throne, we had this extraordinary announcement upon this subject:—"The Government of this Province has succeeded in effecting an amicable settlement of the most important claims against the municipalities pledged to aid the building of the Montreal, Ottawa & Occidental Railway." Let us see how those "amica-

ble arrangements" have been made. In the first place, so far as Montreal was concerned, it is well known that the strong ground of opposition in the city to the payment of any money was that the line instead of being brought in direct by the *bout de l'isle* route, was diverted by the way of Terrebonne. When Mr. Joly took office, instead of stopping all works upon the Terrebonne section west of Maskinonge, until he had made a full inquiry into the matter, he permitted work to go on, thus increasing the difficulties of reverting to the *bout de l'isle* route in the event of the Engineer's deciding it to be the better one. Then he induced Mr. Walter Shanly to make a report upon the subject, the result of which was that the decision of his predecessors in office, which had formed throughout the elections the special battle-cry against them, was confirmed, and we have Mr. Joly to-day claiming special merit upon the ground that he has pressed forward the work by that route. His arrangement with the City of Montreal was simply an abandonment of the claim which the Government had upon the city, because \$50,000 which they were to give him would be more than swallowed up in the work of bringing the railway to a point not in any way contemplated in the original agreement. That undoubtedly is an easy way to settle disputes with the city.

As to other places the cases are still more extraordinary. The City of Quebec, for instance, owed \$790,000 on account of its railway subscription. Mr. Joly had occasion to purchase some land from the city for the use of the railway, the amount agreed upon being \$120,000; but as Quebec was indebted to the Government in a very much larger sum than that, it is quite clear that they should simply have been credited with the amount in the general settlement. Instead of that, however, what do we find? That Mr. Joly, in his anxiety to be popular with the municipalities and to appear to have the knack of settling things in a more excellent way than his predecessors, deliberately ignored altogether the indebtedness of the city of Quebec to the Government on account of the railway and paid to them in cash for this land, less a debt on another account of some \$40,000. That is a kind of "amicable settlement" which we fancy the public at large will not consider entitles Mr. Joly to any special

merit on the part of the people. The result has been not to lessen the embarrassments of the country, but to increase them. Although the railway to-day is built and running according to Mr. Joly's own contention; although, in fact, he was arranging to take it over from the contractor as a completed work, the city of Quebec still owes on account of its subscription \$600,000, which might at least have been reduced by the \$80,000 paid in cash out of the public treasury had Mr. Joly thought more of the interest of the Province and less of his own personal popularity among his surroundings in the ancient capital.

The other important place where there was a difficulty was the city of Three Rivers. The Government was entitled to receive from the city \$100,000 when the Piles Branch was completed. The Piles Branch was completed the moment the connection was made between the city of Three Rivers and Grand Piles, and yet, what do we find Mr. Joly doing in his effort at "amicable settlement?" In order to get half the subscription, \$50,000, and that in bonds of the city and not in cash, he undertook without the authority of the Legislature to complete the loop line, upon which he has already expended \$90,000, and which, before its completion, will involve another expenditure of probably \$50,000 more. So that, as a matter of fact, Mr. Joly might have made the city of Three Rivers a present of its subscription of \$100,000 to the railway and still have saved \$40,000 to the Province had he simply done nothing. That, again, is a kind of "amicable settlement" for which the public at large will hardly be prepared to give him credit. The County of Ottawa is another of the counties concerned. It is being to-day sued by the Government for \$200,000 subscription, not a cent of which has been paid. No approach even to an "amicable settlement" has been made with that important municipality, while as to other and smaller subscriptions they stand exactly in the same position in which they stood when Mr. Joly took office, not one dollar having been collected from them. We ask the electors of the Province of Quebec in all sincerity whether this record is one which entitles Mr. Joly to

claim, in so formal a document as a Speech from the Throne, that he has "succeeded in effecting an amicable settlement of the most important claims against the municipalities pledged to the building of the Montreal, Ottawa & Occidental Railway."

THE POLICY OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

We have to-day the policy of the New Administration, and we are quite certain that if at the end of twenty months their record shows equal failures with those of Mr. Joly they will be entitled to the same condemnation which has so justly come upon him. Upon this point, however, we have no fears, as we believe the Government sincere in the declaration of its policy, and amply able to carry it out. Here it is:—

I. Financial Reform.

(a). Sale of the North Shore Railway to the Federal Government.

(b). To press the just claims of the Province on the Dominion.

(c). To liquidate the Municipal Loan Fund.

(d). Reduction of expenses.

II. Development of our Resources.

(a). Encouragement of manufacture of beet sugar.

(b). Encouragement of the manufacture of cheese.

(c). Encouragement of phosphate mining.

(d). Revision of general mining laws.

(e). Attention to education.

This is no clap-trap general promise, but a statesmanlike *expose* of a wise and prudent policy, and it must be remembered that the Cabinet is composed of men able to carry it out. No one can doubt the financial ability of the Hon. Joseph Robertson, who is no novice in the art of administering well the public finances, and the other members of the Government are all men of unblemished reputation, high character and great ability.

With this well-devised policy and the guarantee for its performance afforded by the *personnel* of the Government, the success of the Administration must be regarded as certain.

