

**CIHM
Microfiche
Series
(Monographs)**

**ICMH
Collection de
microfiches
(monographies)**



Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions / Institut canadien de microreproductions historiques

© 1998

The copy filmed here has been reproduced thanks to the generosity of:

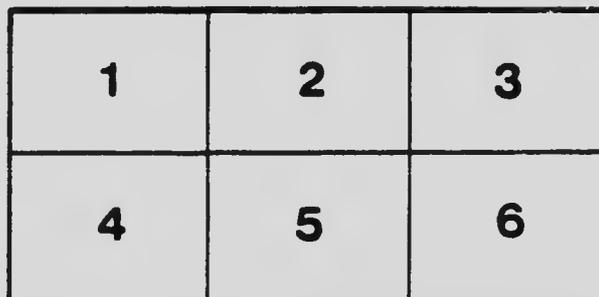
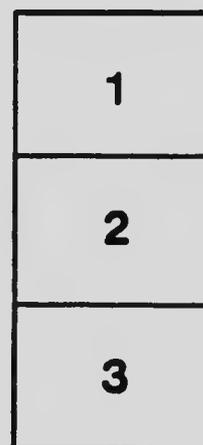
Department of Rare Books
and Special Collections,
McGill University, Montreal

The images appearing here are the best quality possible considering the condition and legibility of the original copy and in keeping with the filming contract specifications.

Original copies in printed paper covers are filmed beginning with the front cover and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression, or the back cover when appropriate. All other original copies are filmed beginning on the first page with a printed or illustrated impression, and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression.

The last recorded frame on each microfiche shall contain the symbol \rightarrow (meaning "CONTINUED"), or the symbol ∇ (meaning "END"), whichever applies.

Maps, plates, charts, etc., may be filmed at different reduction ratios. Those too large to be entirely included in one exposure are filmed beginning in the upper left hand corner, left to right and top to bottom, as many frames as required. The following diagrams illustrate the method:



L'exemplaire filmé fut reproduit grâce à la générosité de:

Department of Rare Books
and Special Collections,
McGill University, Montreal

Les images suivantes ont été reproduites avec le plus grand soin, compte tenu de la condition et de la netteté de l'exemplaire filmé, et en conformité avec les conditions du contrat de filmage.

Les exemplaires originaux dont la couverture en papier est imprimée sont filmés en commençant par le premier plat et en terminant soit par la dernière page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration, soit par le second plat, selon le cas. Tous les autres exemplaires originaux sont filmés en commençant par la première page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration et en terminant par la dernière page qui comporte une telle empreinte.

Un des symboles suivants apparaîtra sur la dernière image de chaque microfiche, selon le cas: le symbole \rightarrow signifie "A SUIVRE", le symbole ∇ signifie "FIN".

Les cartes, planches, tableaux, etc., peuvent être filmés à des taux de réduction différents. Lorsque le document est trop grand pour être reproduit en un seul cliché, il est filmé à partir de l'angle supérieur gauche, de gauche à droite, et de haut en bas, en prenant le nombre d'images nécessaire. Les diagrammes suivants illustrent la méthode.

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)



1.0

4.5

5.0

5.6

6.3

7.1

8.0

9.0

10

11.2

12.5

14.3

16.3

18.5

21.0

23.8

26.8

30.0

33.5

37.5

42.0

46.8

51.8

2.8

2.5

3.2

2.2

3.6

2.0

4.0

1.8

1.6



1.25



1.4



1.6



APPLIED IMAGE Inc

1653 East Main Street
Rochester, New York 14609 USA
(716) 482 - 0300 - Phone
(716) 288 - 5989 - Fax

The Record

.. of ..

The Tory Party

shown to be

**Discreditable
Corrupt and
Scandalous**



The Tory Record

The whole stock in trade of the Tory party in this campaign consists of vague and indefinite charges of corruption on the part of the Liberals and they hope by this method to blind the eyes of the electorate to the real issues, and to have returned to power the men who were responsible for many of the political misdeeds of the Tory party in the past. It is a well-known fact that the Tories had for years an organized gang of expert bribers, personators and pluggers, ballot stealers and ballot switchers, by whose operations they were kept in power, and all this howling about corruption and graft is intended to cover up their own nasty work. Do the people of Canada want to return to power the men under whose rule there existed the worst saturnalia of corruption, graft and political fraud that ever disgraced a civilized country? Following the exposures in connection with the general elections of 1891 the British press commented on the methods of the then Tory Government in seathing terms. Following are only a few of the extracts:

The London Times: "Here in the Mother Country there can be only one feeling, that of deep regret for the wrong done to the fair fame of the eldest of her daughters."

London Graphic: "It is no longer possible to doubt that corruption in its worst form is rampant in a large portion of the Canadian civil service."

London Telegraph: "Enough, unfortunately, is already known in England to make it clear that only the most resolute and drastic purification can redeem public life in Canada from the taint of corruption, the like of which we have not seen in our own country for hundreds of years."

London Echo: "No country can prosper where public departments are in league with fraudulent contractors, and where Ministers are open to offers."

St. James' Gazette: "The existence of an organized system of corruption among public officials in Canada has been conclusively proved, and like everything else on the American continent the bribery has been colossal."

The Graphic Despatch: "Even Tammany Hall smells sweet and clean in comparison with the huge stink-pot of the Conservative Government."

It is our purpose to refer in the following pages to some of the matters from which the Tories are so anxious to divert the public mind. We cannot do more than give a brief review of only a small portion of the electoral and administrative misdeeds of the Tory party during the past few years:

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. Caron, 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 Arthabaska	700.00
Beauce	2,500.00
Lofbiniere	1,350.00
Quebec Centre	4,100.00
Montmorency	2,700.00
Levis	3,500.00
Berthier	1,600.00
Gaspé	3,000.00
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 Elections.

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 one 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.

At the next 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.

Another 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.

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.

Dr. Montague's Letter to the Indians.

In the County of Haldimand, a good old Liberal riding, which was 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 was 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 2,474.)

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 2,587).

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

7

Abrams 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.)

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 majority. Returns were juggled, ballot boxes stolen and stuffed after the elections, and every species of fraud resorted to in order to subvert 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 (Lib.) was declared elected by 36 majority. On the recount it appeared that a deputy returning officer, while the ballots 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 ballots, and with blacker ink, and 7 defaced by marks on the back. The 48 uninitialed ballots 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 ballots had been defaced after the count.

Plainly, ballots were stolen 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 (Lib.) had a majority of 3. The official figures of the Returning Officer gave Hutchins 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 ballots were taken out, 26 marked ballots abstracted and 26 forged ballots, marked for Blythe (Con.) substituted.

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 returns 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*

9

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.

Porter, M.P., Convicted of Voting Twice.

E. Gus Porter, M.P. for West Hastings, voted twice deliberately for the Tory candidate in West Hastings in the general elections of 1891. At that time he was Mayor of the City of Belleville, and on January 15th, 1902, he was elected Tory member for West Hastings. As soon as he found 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. Porter is now one of the noble guard of Tory purists.

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 elections 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.

Mr. Crothers is Tory candidate for East Elgin in this election.

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 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, Maelennan 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. ~~1896~~-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 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 the control of both scrutineers.

"To get control of both scrutineers have one of our men, not a prominent one, but a supposed kieker, 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
Brockville.	101	38
Bruce East	133	34
Bruce West	115	16
Cornwall and Stormont	103	42
Durham 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

	Number of rejected ballots in	
	1896	1900
Middlesex South	100	23
Muskoka and Parry Sound.....	175	58
Norfolk North	114	accl.
Perth South	129	14
Prince Edward	115	25
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

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 (Brechin), 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 Burnham, 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, some for Pratt and some for 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 ballot. 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 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 a 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 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 his 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 subdivisions in the city. In 5 subdivisions there were no rejected ballots whatever; in 2 subdivisions there was 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.

Major Beattie is Tory candidate for London in the present election.

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 subdivision 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. Yes, 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 you paid? 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 showed no disposition to fence with the Council.

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 side-line artists, who did business under the directions of the Tory machine of 1892, are dealt with in a speech delivered by Mr. Lister, 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.)

Sir John A.'s Famous Ten Thousand Telegram.

This refers to Sir John Macdonald's and Sir Geo. E. Cartier's celebrated despatches to Sir Hugh Allan, of which the following are specimens:

MONTREAL, 30 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 and your company shall advance for that purpose shall be recouped to you. A memorandum of immediate requirements is below.

Yours very truly

Sir Hugh Allan.

(Sgd.) GEO. E. CARTIER.

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. (add'l).....	30,000

Send Me Another Ten Thousand.

Immediate. Private.

TORONTO, Aug. 26, 1872.

I must have another ten thousand. Will be the last time of calling; do not fail me; answer to-day.

(Sgd.) JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Bought in North Waterloo.

In 1898 Dr. Laekner (Conservative) was elected M.P.P. for North Waterloo, but was subsequently unseated by the courts for corrupt practices. In the bye-election following L. J. Breithaupt (Liberal) was elected to represent the riding, and he was subsequently (1899) unseated but shortly after, on account of the methods adopted to unseat Breithaupt, he (Breithaupt) was allowed to be elected by acclamation, though the riding in both Dominion and Provincial affairs has, since 1896, shown a tendency to be Conservative.

In the unseating of Laekner there was not even in the mind of the most prejudiced a suspicion that witnesses had been bought or tampered with in any way.

In the election trial against Breithaupt the Conservatives had two star witnesses, whose names were Allan R. Shantz and Albert Bossard. Shantz gave evidence of alleged ballot stuffing, and Bossard had a weird tale of bribery and corruption. No doubt the Judges at the trial were influenced to a certain extent by the stories told by these men, and now it transpires that both of these men were bought to give their evidence, and *it is proven out of their own mouths*. Here is what Shantz was forced to admit on oath:

Q. What bargain was ultimately made as to your telling?

A. I was to get paid for it.

Q. How much?

A. That was left to them at the time.

Q. Who do you mean by them?

A. Ed. Scully.

* * * * *

His Lordship (Meredith)—How much were you to get? What was the bargain afterwards?

A. They deposited a cheque for \$50.00

His Lordship (Osler)—Who?

A. Mr. Reid has the cheque.

Q. Whose was the cheque?

A. It was signed by Mr. J. M. Scully (President of the Conservative Association).

* * * * *

Q. (Reading from letter written by Shantz to one Lewis)—“As I have been fooled so long, I must have the same in twenty-four hours or I will close the deal with the others for more. I am determined to sell.” Sell what? Your evidence, you mean?

A. I suppose so.

And Bossard in an affidavit since made by him voluntarily, and read in the Legislature by Mr. Graham, M.P.P., gives the whole plot away. The affidavit is quite lengthy, and only extracts are given here. The whole affidavit was published in the *Toronto Globe*, in March, 1901. Among other things, Bossard says:

“That John H. Stumpf, Edward Scully and other prominent supporters of the Conservative candidate interviewed me, stating that the Conservative party would be in power and I would have to look to them for an extension of my license, and further, that Messrs. Randall & Roos, liquor merchants, and other influential Conservatives, controlled the License Board of Commissioners of said district, and could procure an extension of said license. In view of said circumstances I promised them my support with the understanding that I was openly to pretend that I was supporting the Liberal candidate. They also told me to try and work in with the Grit organizers and get all the money I could out of them.

* * * * *

"That my license was not extended at the expiration of the said two months, but was subsequently granted after the said Edward Scully paid me a visit and promised me that if I would make a certain affidavit or declaration, which I did, as to the election, and give evidence at the trial, he would, through prominent friends, get an extension of my license, which was carried out.

"That the said Stumpf and Scully individually saw me on different occasions about my evidence and instructed me that they had been told by Mr. W. D. McPherson what I had to say They also told me the story Sheutz, Bohl, Wancke and Polomski were going to swear to at the trial, and that if I told the same story and ask for the protection of the Court, I would not get into any trouble, and that if I did not I would be fined and sent to jail.

"That in consideration of my making the affidavit and giving evidence at the trial as before mentioned, the said Edward Scully and William Reade, apparently acting on behalf of the petitioner and the Conservative organization of North Waterloo, further agreed to pay me the sum of \$100. A day or two afterwards the said Scully came to me and said: '\$100 is too much. We will help you in your business and will see that you get your license, and you ought to be satisfied with \$50.' I said: 'All right.' Scully then showed me a bank cheque for \$50, signed by the proper officers of the Conservative Association, as I was informed. Scully then said: 'This cheque will be placed in the hands of Stumpf and held by him until after the election trial, when it will be handed over to you.'

"A few days afterwards I saw Stumpf, when he said: 'You need some clothes, and you better take that \$50 out with me in clothing.' Between the election trial and the 1st of April of the present year (1900) I received clothing from the said Stumpf to the extent of \$50, which has been paid for by said Stumpf as agreed."

Stumpf adopted an ingenious method to pay Bossard. He gave him clothes on three different occasions and had Bossard sign notes as follows: July 15th, 1899, for \$19.00; January 8th, 1900, for \$22.25; and March 3rd, 1900, for \$17.00—a total of \$58.25. Stumpf discounted these notes at the Bank of Com-

merce, at Berlin, and paid them himself when they became due. These notes were produced in the Legislature by Mr. Graham. M.P.P.

Their Friend Pritchett.

The Tories laid great stress on statements contained in an affidavit procured from the notorious J. G. Pritchett, and defiantly asked the Government to prosecute this man. What are the facts? A warrant had been sworn out on behalf of the Conservative party and Pritchett fled to Detroit to evade arrest. Mr. Samuel Barker, M.P., acting as an organizer for the Conservative party, went to Detroit, and along with Mr. Fleming, a Conservative lawyer of Windsor, and Tory candidate for North Essex in this election, procured the affidavit. Pritchett has sworn that the affidavit was made by him on the condition that they would withdraw the warrant and protect him.

They had the warrant with them. It had been given to them by the Conservative constable, in whose hands it had been placed, an illegal, if not criminal, bargain had been made by these gentlemen with Pritchett. That was the method adopted to procure Pritchett's affidavit which, being sworn before some official in Detroit, rendered it impossible to prosecute him for perjury. The statements contained in the affidavit were contradicted at the investigation, and the man was characterized by the judges as a "self-convicted liar."

Imported Experts in 1902.

From the lavish way in which cheques for \$500.00 and other large amounts were sent out from the central fund to Tory workers in the Ontario Provincial election of 1902, the evident purpose of the Opposition was to get into power by any means whatsoever. They sought the aid of aliens and foreigners, importing them specially from New York and Buffalo.

These methods amount to almost acts of treason, for they (the Tories) secured the services of foreigners to aid them in their work of securing certain votes in each constituency. On column four, page two, of the *Mail and Empire*, Toronto, Tuesday, July 15th, 1902, is the statement that "forty expert detectives were brought to Toronto from New York and Buffalo, and assigned to constituencies" from the Provincial headquarters of the Conservatives. The evident purpose of this was clear.

These men could commit all sorts of election wrongs and once over in their own country could not be reached by our laws.

Two of these experts were in Lennox during the election contest, but when they were wanted to give evidence at the trial of the petition against the return of the Conservative candidate they were not on hand, even though they had been properly served with subpoenas. It was announced in Court that these aliens were in Buffalo, and, of course, the Court was powerless.

During the progress of the election trial in North York Mr. T. H. Lennox, M.P.P. for North York, swore as follows:

Q. Did you have a couple of gentlemen from Buffalo over there?

A. There were a couple of distinguished men from Buffalo. I think.

Q. How did they come to be there?

A. They were sent up there by Mr. E. G. Osler. I think. At least, he was instrumental.

Buffalo Experts Again.

During the bye-election in North Grey on January 7th, 1903, one of these Buffalo experts named Mulloy, who had been brought into Ontario by the Tories during the general elections of 1902, appeared in Owen Sound in North Grey and called upon leading Liberal workers, claiming that he had been sent there to work on behalf of Mr. MacKay, the Liberal candidate, and demanded money. One gentleman upon whom he called, Mr. R. McMurchy, immediately went and saw Mr. William (now Judge) Hatton, who was Mr. MacKay's financial agent, and Mr. Hatton replied that the Liberals wanted no such characters in the riding, and gave orders that he was to be immediately deported, which was done. Mulloy then went to Dr. Hough, a leading Liberal in Warton, in the adjoining riding of North Bruce, and represented to him that he had been sent from Owen Sound to act in conjunction with him in buying votes in North Grey and asked Dr. Hough for money. Dr. Hough refused to have anything to do with him and Mulloy left for Toronto to see his Tory employers. The whole thing was a vile plot to entrap the North Grey Liberals, but fortunately it failed.

R. L. Borden's Organizer.

In March, 1903, just two months after this episode, Mr. A. W. Wright, Conservative organizer, went to Buffalo and procured from Mulloy, and a character named Nelson, affidavits that they had been employed by the Liberals to take a gang of pluggers into North Grey, North Perth and North Norfolk. It is significant that these affidavits were sworn on March 20th, 1903, just nine days after the notorious Gamey made his charges on the floor of the Legislature. It was the intention to read these affidavits on the floor of the House as a supplement to the Gamey charges. They were not so used. Why? Because Wright in drawing up Nelson's affidavit had made the fatal mistake of putting into Nelson's mouth the statement that he had been interviewed by Alexander Smith, the Liberal organizer, in Toronto on December 28th, 1902, when Mr. Smith was not in Toronto at all. Wright took another trip to Buffalo and on April 10th, 1903 (Good Friday) he had a long interview with his two chums, Nelson and Mulloy, in a saloon on Washington street. Afterwards Nelson and Mulloy offered to make an affidavit for the Liberals explaining their connection with Wright. and went to a reputable lawyer in Buffalo, named John T. Ryan. and gave him instructions for drawing up the same. Nelson then stole the document and was arrested and found guilty. During the trial Wright sat in the Buffalo police court as the friend and adviser of these two crooks. Nelson in his evidence in the Buffalo police court attempted to square himself on his statement regarding Alexander Smith by swearing that it was Mr. James Vance and not Smith whom he had met in Toronto, and that Vance had represented himself as being Smith.

He repeated this story at the North Grey trial and Wright, when in the box, was forced to admit that he had suggested the change in Nelson's evidence. It was conclusively shown that Nelson could not have been in Owen Sound at all, and the whole story exploded. Nelson was shown to have had a very bad police court record in Buffalo. The two judges, Chief Justice Moss and Mr. Justice Street, refused to believe the story of these two crooks and they left Owen Sound on the next train, accompanied by Wright. They did not even wait to hear the judgment of the court on their story. Does anyone believe that these two characters made these affidavits and went to Owen Sound

to swear to their concocted story without reward? It is ridiculous to expect people to believe that they were not paid handsomely for their services.

Purchased Evidence in North York.

On September 21st, 1904, at the trial of the North York election petition Mr. T. H. Lennox, the Tory candidate, admitted that one T. J. Woodcock, a leading Tory worker in Newmarket, had paid one Hisey, of Detroit, \$100 for evidence. Hisey took the money and then refused to come to Canada to give the evidence. Lennox reluctantly admitted that he had personally gone to Detroit a few days before the trial to induce Hisey to come over, and thus connected himself with knowledge of the payment.

"We Want to be Prepared for the Next."

An extraordinary letter from the Secretary of the Welland County Conservative Association to a Tory heeler:

"You might be able to pick up some new tricks in Toronto."

A gang of heelers imported into Welland in 1900 to defeat W. M. German, M.P.

The last Dominion general elections were held on November 7th, 1900. W. M. German, M.P., was the Liberal candidate in Welland County, and defeated Wm. McCleary by over 200 majority, notwithstanding the lavish use of money on behalf of the Tory candidate. Heelers were imported from Toronto to do the Tory crooked work, and were under the direction of the secretary of the Conservative Association for the county. He writes to one of them on November 10th, 1900, three days after the election: "I have settled with both your claimants, and everything in that line is O.K." Apparently, the gang did not do their work to the satisfaction of the local Tories, as the secretary of the Tory Association writes as follows: "You are the only man of the bunch who secured your men and did it with less money." Then they seemed to have mistrusted one of the gang named Ireland, and the secretary writes: "Ireland might have been playing the doublecross. The Maj. claims he told him everything. I think I will feel Eddie—you do the same with Ireland."

This letter was written on November 10th, 1900, three days after the Dominion general election. The election of Mr. Ger-

man had created a vacaney in the Ontario Legislature, and a bye-election had to be held. That is what the secretary meant when he said: "You might be able to pick up some new tricks in Toronto. We want to be prepared for the next."

Following is a copy of the letter:

**Welland County
Liberal-Conservative
Association.**

C. R. T. SAWLE, Secretary.

Welland, Ont., November 10, 1900.

H. A. Rose, Esq.,
Toronto.

Dear Hugh,—

Your note received. I have settled with both your claimants and everything in that line is O.K. In a few days the finances will be straightened out and I will have Col. Raymond forward you your expenses.

We expect to have another contest on here in a few months and then we will require your assistance again, and if I have anything to do with it the town end will be managed differently. I have pointed out to the local big guns that you are the only man of the bunch who secured your men and did it with less money. They are satisfied I am right.

Eddie was telling Sears last night a little story which leads me to believe Ireland might have been playing the double cross. The Maj. claims he told him everything. I think I will feel Eddie and see if he wwill give up any of his guts to me. You do the same with Ireland.

I am now preparing lists of every Con. in town who voted for us. You might be able to pick up some new tricks in Toronto. We want to be prepared for the next.

Yours truly,

C. R. T. SAWLE.

The Nest of Traitors.

The year 1896 will go down in history as the year in which the Tory misrule received its quietus in Canada. It was in the early days of that year that the dissensions and bickerings which had been going on for months in the Tory Government culminated in the strike of the "Seven Bolters," which was aptly described by the then Premier, Sir Mackenzie Bowell, as "the blackest piece of political treachery on record."

The Ministers of the Crown, the sworn advisers of Her Majesty in Canada, had been quarrelling amongst themselves for months. It is a well-known principle of Constitutional Government that the Ministers of the Crown must be in perfect harmony one with another, and when they fail to agree a change in advisers is imperative. Yet here was a crowd of men, some of whom were not on speaking terms, and one of whom accused another of them of writing anonymous letters villifying his character, holding on to office week after week and month after month for the sake of gain. And all the time the Canadian public were being told by these same men "that never was the Cabinet more united than it is at the present time."

In the latter days of 1895 the Tory Government realized that its days were numbered, and that at the first opportunity the people of Canada would drive them from office. The gang of professional politicians who had been living on the Canadian public, men who could not earn a livelihood in any other way, and some of whom were actually members of the Cabinet, became alarmed and realized that something desperate must be done. They had to face the electors in a number of bye-elections, and a conspiracy was hatched to make a scapegoat of the Premier, Sir Mackenzie Bowell, who was considered by them as a "stubborn old nuisance." Sir Charles Tupper, who was then High Commissioner in London, was secretly sent for. He could be relied upon, at any rate, to let the boodlers and grafters dip into the public chest at their own sweet will. The general elections must take place immediately after the then coming session, and an immense campaign fund had to be provided if the gang were to have a ghost of a chance to hang on to office. In answer to the secret invitation of the conspira-

tors, among whom was Tupper *filis*, Sir Charles left for Canada, ostensibly "to consult the Government respecting the Fast Atlantic Steamship Service." Parliament was called together for January 2nd, 1896, and, meanwhile, "the Cabinet was never more united."

Then came a blow which the conspirators had not anticipated. On December 24th the good old Tory riding of Cardwell elected an opponent of the Government by over 300 majority. On December 27th, in Montreal Centre, a Liberal was elected by over 300 majority, where a Tory had been previously elected by over 500 majority. On December 30th the old Tory riding of Jacques Cartier elected a Liberal by over 500 majority. Three of such blows within a week was appalling, and the crowd became panic-stricken. A portion of the Tory press began to agitate for a change in the leadership.

Parliament met on January 2nd, 1896, and a speech from the throne was read and the House adjourned. Still no signs of the impending "bolt." The House was to meet again on the 7th. On January 4th the "Seven Bolters" got in their work. Hon. George E. Foster, Hon. Sir C. Hibbert Tupper, Hon. A. R. Dickey, Hon. Dr. Montague, Hon. John Haggart, Hon. W. B. Ives, and Hon. John F. Wood sent in their resignations as members of the Government. On January 7th the announcement was made in the House by Sir A. P. Caron, the temporary leader of the Government in the House. A carefully-prepared statement was read by Hon. Mr. Foster, who seemed to be the leader of the "Seven Bolters." This statement has been characterized by old parliamentarians of both sides of politics as the most cold-blooded utterance ever made in a British Parliament, and a Tory newspaper referred to Foster as "Judas Iscariot." Sir Adolphe Caron moved that the House adjourn for two weeks, but the Opposition objected, and the House adjourned for the day. It was then that Sir Mackenzie Bowell said, "I HAVE BEEN LIVING IN A NEST OF TRAITORS." No truer words were ever uttered by a public man.

The House met again on the 8th January only to adjourn. On the 9th the House adjourned until the 14th. In the meantime a determined effort was made to freeze out old man Bowell, but the "stubborn old nuisance" hung on. Then the

conspirators began to realize that there was a danger of the whole thing going to smash, and that their salaries as "Her Majesty's advisers" were in danger of being lost, and they began to eat humble pie. Eventually a compromise was effected by which Tupper, father, took the place of Tupper, son, in the Cabinet, and the "cats came back." Sir Charles Tupper eventually succeeded to the leadership of the party only to drag it down to defeat a few months later. He got his seat in the House by the appointment to the Senate of Mr. McKeen, M.P. for Cape Breton, a safe Tory Riding, for which Sir Charles was afterwards elected.

Thus ended for the time being one of the most diabolical conspiracies ever hatched. No wonder a leading Tory paper referred to them as "a gang of cut-throats and rebels." Yet Hon. George Eulas Foster is to-day Mr. Borden's first lieutenant and chief apostle of purity, and, in the event of a change of Government, would again be among His Majesty's advisers. What a sorry plight for a political party to be in!

The Colchester Carnival of Corruption.

In the general elections of 1904 the popularity of the Laurier Government in Nova Scotia resulted in a "solid eighteen" supporters being returned. Mr. Borden was not only defeated himself in Halifax, but he was left without a solitary supporter from that Province. Therefore, when Colchester became vacant and a bye-election was held in November 1907, the Tories boasted that they would break the "solid eighteen" and give Mr. Borden a lieutenant from Nova Scotia to assist him in his campaign for purity in politics. They succeeded in electing Mr. John Stansfield as a supporter of Mr. Borden. But how? Recent developments in the criminal court, where one A. R. Bayne was put on trial, charged with offences against the Elections Act, show this election to have been one of the greatest carnivals of corruption and electoral debauchery ever known in Canada. We have not heard of Mr. Borden or that other apostle of purity, George Eulas Foster, uttering any word of condemnation of the methods employed in Colchester. Neither have we heard anything from those eminent purists, Fowler, Bennett, Lefurgey, Ames, Gus Porter, Major Beattie, *et al.*

After the election was over the *Halifax Herald*, the chief Borden organ in Nova Scotia, proclaimed in blood-red letters on the front page: "The clean, straight, manly Liberals of Colechester have spoken loud and clear. They set the seal of their stern condemnation on the immorality, the debauchery and the corruption of the men masquerading as Liberals."

A. R. Bayne, a friend and supporter of Mr. R. L. Borden, is a mining operator at Five Islands in Colechester County. At his trial he was defended by Mr. B. A. Ritchie, K.C., a leading Conservative lawyer and friend, and former law partner of Mr. Borden. A great mass of damning evidence was brought out but only a small corner of the curtain was lifted owing to the constant interruptions and objections of Mr. Ritchie. Enough was brought out, however, to show the nasty methods by which the Tories elected a supporter of Mr. Borden in his purity campaign.

Alexander McDonald, of Five Islands, swore that following a long conversation with Bayne on the eve of the election, in which both indulged in praises of Stansfield, he was given six or more bottles of whiskey and \$15 by Bayne. He also swore that Bayne had approached him and other witnesses, had treated them, and endeavored to ascertain what their evidence was likely to be. Among those present when the treating was done was Frank Stansfield, brother of John Stansfield, M.P. Mr. Bayne suggested to witness that he should try to forget he had received the money and whiskey from Bayne. Witness also said that Bayne asked him to come before the magistrate and say he had received no money or liquor. Witness swore, on cross-examination, that Bayne asked him at the Stanley House, Truro, to go before the Stipendiary Magistrate and swear "I had got no money or rum."

Whiskey in Cases.

Robie Falconer, of Economy, swore he got thirty dollars in cash and a case of flasks of whiskey. He got the money in the Stanley Hotel and liquor at the back of the hotel. "He wanted me to work for Stausfield," said the witness. "I said I would be with him in the election."

"What did Bayne say?"

"He said I was to use the liquor for the election, and to put the money down into my trousers pocket. I did not use the money for election purposes. Senator MacKay's son, W. P. MacKay, was with Mr. Bayne just before I got the liquor. I got more liquor from Bayne at Five Islands the night before the election. I got six or eight flasks and a long bottle, the latter for myself. The rest was to be handed out. I saw Bayne fill up a grip of whiskey for my brother, Suther Falconer, in the hotel. Bayne asked one of us if we had a grip. He told me to go out and get one. I did so and we filled both. We got two cases of whiskey. He asked me if I could handle any whiskey for Mr. Stanley down there. I said, 'Yes,' and he gave it to me. Bayne knew I had not been a supporter of Stansfield's party hitherto."

Whiskey in Grips.

Suther Falconer swore that he met Bayne and W. P. MacKay, son of Senator MacKay, on nomination day and got a grip full of booze. He got altogether twenty-four bottles that day, and got about half a dozen bottles from Bayne at Five Islands the day before the election.

McDonald, the first witness, was in the room when Suther Falconer got his liquor. There was quite a crowd in the Stanley Hotel, where he got the whiskey.

J. Bayne Morrison swore that he saw Bayne on nomination day, and he said he thought there was some money for the district of Five Islands. He got some money from Bayne at the Stanley Hotel, Truro. There was a roll of dollars, probably twenty. "He told me," said the witness, "to make the best use of it I could in Stansfield's interests. I treated the boys every time they came along. I got a letter from Mr. Hall, the secretary and agent of the Conservative party here, to Mr. Bayne. I burnt that letter. It told me to call on Mr. Bayne. I called on Mr. Bayne because it was reported he was 'the man behind the gun.'"

Whiskey in Flasks.

"I got a number of flasks from Bayne at Five Islands on the day of the election, or the day before. I also got twenty-five dollars on election day. Bayne called me into a room of Cor-

bett's Hotel, and handed it to me done up in a parcel with an elastic band around it. He apparently had faith that I could pull them in or he would not have given me the dough."

Whiskey in Barrels.

George Corbett, hotelkeeper at Five Islands, got two barrels of liquor from Halifax addressed to Mr. Bayne and took them to his hotel in Five Islands. Advised to see Mr. Ritchie and talk it over. Noble Morrison saw a crowd of "faithfuls" with Mr. Bayne at Corbett's Hotel, had some whiskey and was advised to see Mr. Ritchie and talk it over. Howard Ackles had drinks on election night. Advised to see Mr. Ritchie and talk it over. George McClelland, five flasks from Mr. Bayne. Walter Atkinson found a two-gallon jug in the barn. Advised to talk it over with Mr. Ritchie. Allan Durney, five bottles from Bayne. Advised to talk it over with Mr. Ritchie. Edward Barkhouse got liquor from Bayne. Advised to talk it over with Mr. Ritchie. Wilbert Corbett, carefully attended jugs in Atkinson's barn. Owen Lewis found a basket of whiskey at his front door; Mr. Ritchie anxious to see him. Howard Wells got drinks from the "jug in the barn," talked it over with Mr. Ritchie. Thomas Morrison got six flasks and two bottles from Bayne.

Let it be noted that most of these witnesses held seances with Mr. Ritchie after being subpoenaed and before appearing in the court. John Jamieson, mail driver, swore he got \$5 and a drink from Bayne to vote for Stansfield. The money was taken from a large roll. Joseph Jamieson, brother of the above, also swore to getting \$5 from Bayne about election day or the night before.

Asked to Forget.

Witness after witness testified to the distribution with a lavish hand of rum and money by Bayne. The sensational feature of the case is that all the witnesses for the prosecution assembled, and the distribution of liquor and money took place there. They were treated to drinks and in some cases asked to forget some things.

C. R. Coleman, agent of the Dominion Express Company, swore that on November 26th he received a consignment of ten

cases, marked "choice tomatoes," which he was under the impression was consigned to H. Johnson. He found on examination of his books that they had come addressed J. H. Sullivan. There was no such person in Truro, so far as he knew. He did not know to whom they were delivered, as no one had signed for them. No such package had ever come for such a man before. The ten boxes marked "tomatoes" came from Halifax. He said he was a strong Conservative.

P. W. Linton, agent for the Canadian Express Company, who was called for a similar purpose as the last witness, could not remember anything, and when asked to refresh his memory from his books said he had been instructed by his superior officers not to produce his books. He was excused and ordered to refresh his memory and return to give evidence.

His driver, then called, swore he had delivered ten cases of "choice tomatoes" to two prominent Conservative firms in Truro. He met a man on the street, whom he never saw before nor since, who told him what to do with the "tomatoes."

R. Murray, driver for the Canadian Express Company, swore that boxes of what he took to be whiskey marked "choice tomatoes" had come in on November 26, and had been delivered by him, not to one to whom they were addressed, but to prominent Conservatives in Truro on instructions of a man he met on the street whom he never saw before or since.

Whiskey in Valises.

Ralph Aston swore that his father, a prominent Conservative worker, had got a valise from Frank Stanfield, which he took to the Stanley House, the Conservative headquarters, empty and took out apparently full, and then drove off to Five Islands, with A. L. Davidson, Conservative organizer for Nova Scotia.

Tory Organizer Implicated.

George A. Hall, Secretary of the Conservative organization in Colchester, when questioned concerning his visit to Londonderry on the day when Beecher Carr received the case of whiskey by express, as related by that witness, at first stated he had talked to him for about five minutes.

It developed on further examination that he had been in Carr's company all that afternoon, and drove from Londonderry to Aeadia Mines with him. Asked whether he had been at the express office and signed for any parcel that day, or had given any parcel to Carr, he "could not remember" or "had no recollection." He held Carr's horse for a considerable time at Aeadia Mines, while Carr disappeared in the darkness, but what he did he could not tell.

"Choice Tomatoes."

P. W. Linton, agent of the Canadian Express Company, was recalled, and after great difficulty and in the face of repeated and strenuous objections by Mr. Ritchie, K.C., he told of the consignment of ten cases of rum, marked "choicce tomatoes," which had been received during the election, addressed to a fictitious person, "R. H. Anderson," and delivered to two prominent Tory workers, Messrs. Ross and Maekenzie.

These "choicce tomatoes" were featured in The Halifax Herald during the campaign as being sent into Colchester by the Liberals. This evidence finally exploded its false story, and exposed one of the many pieces of trickery resorted to by Mr. Stanfield's supporters.

Committed for Trial.

Magistrate Crowe briefly reviewed the evidence, stating that certain witnesses swore they were given sums of money and other considerations in Mr. Stanfield's interest, and that this evidence was uncontradicted. He said that anyone who had heard the evidence could come to no other conclusion, and that the rum and money given were distributed by Bayne out of a general fund, and that it was of no consequence where Bayne got the money and the rum if it was used for the purpose charged against him. He further stated that there was considerable evidence that the money was not the property of Bayne alone. By the testimony of witnesses it came from a source outside this man altogether, and if furnished in this way it must strengthen the belief that it was for the purpose of corrupting the electors. There was no other course open but to commit the defendant for trial under the charges made against him.

Whiskey and Money Galore.

On the first day of the inquiry ten witnesses who were examined swore that they had received from Bayne, the universal provider and active friend and worker for John Stansfield in the district of Five Islands, \$100 in money and 96 bottles of rum. This was an average per man of \$16.66 in money and sixteen bottles of rum. In the whole county Stansfield received 2,586 votes. If the average was maintained Stansfield's election required 5,172 gallons of rum (putting the bottles all as pints, although some favored individuals undoubtedly got those of greater capacity), and about \$43.100 in money.

All this evidence has been brought out with the greatest difficulty. Bayne and his friends were adroit enough to corral the witnesses for the prosecution on the eve of the trial, conduct them to Bayne's "throne room" in the Stanley Hotel, treat them lavishly with liquor, and then turn them over to W. B. A. Ritchie, K.C., who had a talk with them about their evidence.

A full and complete report of the evidence and other court proceedings in connection with this case will be found in a 36-page pamphlet, entitled,

"Tory Hypocrisy Unmasked,"

"The True Story of the 'Choice Tomatoes.'"

FRAUD, FORGERY, PERSONATION AND PERJURY.

Crimes by Wholesale Committed in the Compilation of the North Winnipeg Voters' Lists in 1907.

On May 6th, 1908, D. W. Bole, M.P., read affidavits in the House of Commons, showing that hundreds of bogus naturalization papers were issued. Six men worked for twelve hours in the Conservative Club Rooms in Winnipeg turning out these fraudulent documents. One T. Jestremski signed affidavits until exhausted, when others came to his rescue. The applications were passed through the County Court fraudulently, being dated back. Affidavits were read charging W. H. Hastings, Conservative organizer for Manitoba, with knowledge of the fraud. (See Hansard, May 6th, 1908.)

Disreputable, Corrupt and Scandalous

While the Tories are howling about corruption and making vague charges of graft, none of which they have been able to prove, it will be well to direct the attention of the public to a few of the scandalous and corrupt transactions which took place under Tory rule, and which have been proven beyond dispute.

The Rykert Timber Limit Scandal.

Which a sub-committee of the House, composed of a majority of Conservatives, was forced by the evidence to declare as "discreditable, corrupt and scandalous." Mr. Rykert, Conservative M.P. for Lincoln, purchased from the Conservative Government certain valuable timber limits for a trifle of \$2,500. An agent who examined the limits, was bribed with ten thousand to give a false report, upon which the limits were sold for \$200,000, which the beneficiary pathetically described as "a fund for his old age." In the correspondence there occurred the following messages: "I have Bowell working for me. John A.'s son, from Winnipeg, is here, and I intend employing him to go to his father. . . . I think if you had young Tupper here and paid him pretty well, it would help us materially. . . . I have brought Macdonald and Tupper from Winnipeg and hope they will be able to induce their fathers to act promptly . . . they have been working hard for me." After the limits had been secured, Rykert wrote to Adams: "If you can get \$200,000 in cash I would be inclined to let it go, and then go in for something better still." "We deserve something for the trouble we have gone to and the amount of flesh we have lost over it." The House concurred in the report of the sub-committee as above quoted. The Tories of Lincoln afterwards nominated this same J. C. Rykert as their standard bearer.

The McGreevy-Langevin Scandal.

Cost to contractors of work built.	\$2,184,259
Cost to the country.	3,138,234
Contractors' profits, a great part of which went into the Tory campaign fund.	953,975
Loss to the country, after deducting fair profits.	700,000

The Quebec Harbor Works consisted of a dredging contract in the wet basin and tidal dock, a graving dock, a cross-wall contract, and a south wall contract.

The construction of those works and the expenditure of the moneys were to be under the control and upon the responsibility of the Minister of Public Works alone. The Quebec Harbor Commission, the majority of whose members were appointed by the Government, had something to do with the works, but all the money came from the Dominion Government. The Government had to do with the plans and the letting and approval of the contracts, and, to quote the words of the Act, "and any moneys to be hereafter paid to the Quebec Harbor Commissioners shall be so paid from time to time as the work proceeds upon the report of the Minister of Public Works." The Department let the contracts and the works were carried to completion under the immediate supervision of the Minister and his officials.

These works were all constructed by the firm of Larkin, Connolly & Co., consisting of Patrick Larkin, N. K. Connolly, Michael Connolly, Owen E. Murphy. Robert H. McGreevy was given an interest in the profits of the firm in nearly every one of these contracts for the purpose of procuring the interest of his brother, the Hon. Thomas McGreevy, then Tory M.P. for Quebec West, and through him of Sir Hector Langevin, then Minister of Public Works. Up to 1889, Robert McGreevy was confidential agent for his brother Thomas and the manager of his private affairs. Thomas McGreevy and Sir Hector Langevin had been for a life-time intimate friends, and while in Ottawa during the session, representing Quebec West in the House of Commons, Thomas McGreevy lived with Sir Hector, to whom he had loaned \$10,000 and never asked it back.

Between 1878 and 1891, inclusive, this firm received in public money \$3,138,234, for which they did \$2,000,000 worth of work. They expended in bribery and corruption \$170,447 according to their own books. Robert McGreevy, who contributed no capital to the firm, received as his share of the profits \$187,800. The Hon. Thomas McGreevy received very large sums of money from the firm, and, according to the sworn evidence, Sir Hector Langevin received \$10,000.

Thomas McGreevy admitted receiving \$60,000, but the accountants who examined the books of the firm showed that at least \$130,000 passed into the hands of Thomas McGreevy.

Thomas McGreevy explained that he received this vast sum of money in his capacity as treasurer for the Conservative party in the district of Quebec, but he refused to say to whom he had given the money, and when threatened with punishment for contempt of Parliament if he did not tell, skipped out.

Evidence showed that out of this fund Thomas McGreevy paid \$25,000 to subsidize the personal newspaper organ of the Minister of Public Works, a paper in which Sir Hector had the controlling interest.

As near as could be judged from the evidence, Thomas McGreevy handled \$170,000 out of the money stolen from the people, and according to his own evidence as well as that of others, he disbursed it for the benefit of the Conservative party in the elections.

Facts Connected with the Dredging Contract.

In this contract Robert McGreevy was given an interest of 30 per cent. It was to terminate in 1884, but was continued until near the end of 1886. There was a lot of underhand work in procuring the contract, such as the putting of a bogus tender in the name of Beauceage, and the freezing out of contractor Ashwith, and the dismissal of Kinniple and Morris, the engineers, who were replaced by engineers chosen by McGreevy, namely by Perley and Boyd, both engineers in the Public Works Department.

Facts Connected with the Dredging of the Wet Basin.

In the winter of 1886-7 Thomas McGreevy made an arrangement with Larkin, Connolly & Co., whereby the firm undertook to pay him \$25,000 on condition that he would obtain for them the sum of 35 cents a yard for the dredging of 800,000 cubic

yards, though McGreevy knew, as the leading member of the Quebec Harbor Commission, that dredging of the same kind, and even of a more difficult kind, had before been executed for 27 cents a yard and for less. This was in December, 1886, or January, 1887, when Thomas McGreevy wanted money for the Dominion elections, which took place February 22nd, 1887. This agreement was in writing and was produced at the investigation. The Government, of course, knowing the need of money in the elections, gave the contract at this scandalously high rate, enabling the contractors to make on this one item alone a profit of \$174,787, and in due course Mr. McGreevy, as treasurer for the Conservative party, received \$25,000. Mr. McGreevy used \$5,000 of this in his own election.

Mr. Valin, who was chairman of the Harbor Commission, swore that he conferred with the Minister of Public Works, Sir Hector Langevin, with reference to this contract for dredging, and the Minister told him that he had spoken of it to Mr. McGreevy and that it was all right. Mr. Valin spoke to the Minister on several occasions and said that on each occasion the Minister had told him to follow Mr. McGreevy and everything would be all right. The Minister had added, "You know that we meet frequently and that we consult together." On one occasion when the chairman of the Commission asked the Minister whether he did well in following the advice of Mr. McGreevy, the Minister had said: "If the Commission does not act properly I shall dissolve it."

Under this contract enormous sums of public money were paid beyond what the work was worth, and a sum of \$22,500 contrary to the terms of the contract. Sir Hector Langevin and his colleagues in the council were responsible for this and for all the other scandals. Mr. Dobell, one of the Harbor Commissioners and a leading Conservative in Quebec, protested against the dredging contract, but was overruled. In his evidence he said: "I never knew a man that seemed to be able to take in every detail as completely as Sir Hector Langevin did in these works, and he did not seem to neglect it. He seemed to be familiar with them all."

Facts Connected with the Contract for the Levis Graving Dock.

Thomas McGreevy agreed with the firm of Larkin, Connolly & Co. to secure them the contract for the completion of the

graving dock at Levis, on condition that he should receive all over \$50,000 of the contract price. The Government gave them the contract and they paid McGreevy \$22,000. The profit on this contract was \$125,000. The Minister consented to pay the firm \$74,000 for work they were already bound by their previous contract to do, and further paid them \$65,000 as alleged damages, and claims for extras to the amount of \$50,000 were allowed by the Minister.

The Cross-Wall Contract.

Thomas McGreevy's brother, Robert, had a 30 per cent. interest in this work and Thomas had a large interest in his brother's finances, because his brother owed him large sums of money and was paying him back out of the profits of these contracts. The amount paid under this contract was \$832,448. Four days after this contract was signed the favored firm of Larkin, Connolly & Co. subscribed \$1,000 to the Sir Hector Langevin testimonial fund. There were five tenders for the work, and of these Larkin, Connolly & Co. were the highest, but two others of the tenders were also put in by Larkin, Connolly & Co., one in the name of Gallagher and another in the name of Beaucage. The tenders were so manipulated, with the connivance of the Department, that the contract was awarded to Larkin, Connolly & Co.. This is accounted for by the fact that the treasurer of the Conservative funds in the Quebec district received \$25,000 from Larkin, Connolly & Co., as the consideration of their securing the contract. The direct loss to the treasury by the passing over of the tender of Peters and Moore, who were the lowest, was \$70,000. In addition to that, Larkin, Connolly & Co. were paid \$22,000 to which they were not entitled.

Contract for the Completion of the Esquimalt Dock.

Robert McGreevy was given an interest of twenty per cent. of the profits in this work, which was the completion of the graving dock at Esquimalt, British Columbia. Again there was a lot of hocus-pocus work about the tenders. The evidence showed that the Minister of Public Works brought his personal influence to bear upon Starrs and O'Hanly, the lowest tenderers for this work, to induce them to withdraw, and Mr. Starrs swore that Sir Hector threw so many obstacles in his way that he did

finally withdraw. On the same day the Minister hurried to council with a report awarding the contract to Larkin, Connolly & Co., whose tender was \$30,000 higher than that of Starrs and O'Hanly, the figures being \$374,559 and \$338,945. No sooner had Larkin, Connolly & Co. got the contract than they wanted a change in the length of the dock, the substitution of granite for sandstone, a heavier coursing of stone, and a reduction of the \$50,000 which it was agreed they should pay for the plant belonging to the Government already on the work. There was a strict agreement that no reduction of this \$50,000 was to be made, but after a while they were allowed a rebate of \$20,000. The firm offered Thomas McGreevy \$50,000 to have the dock lengthened 100 feet and Sir Hector Langevin sent a report to council advising that the dock should be lengthened 100 feet, and that an Imperial contribution should be applied for, but as the Imperial Government refused the scheme was dropped.

To show how the Minister and contractors worked together in all these matters, the substitution of granite for sandstone is perhaps the best illustration. N. K. Connolly, who was on the work in British Columbia, thought it would be to their interests to have the graving dock built of granite instead of sandstone, as provided in the contract. Shortly afterward Michael Connolly wrote that the granite was terribly hard and the quarry 180 miles distant, and strongly advised against any such change. Meantime Nicholas Connolly's request had been complied with in the Department, chief engineer Perley reporting to the Minister in favor of changing from sandstone to granite at an extra cost of \$45,000. An Order-in-Council authorizing the change was prepared by the Minister, but then came the news that the firm had changed its mind and did not want the change, and the Order-in-Council was torn up. The request of the contractors that the coursing should be three feet thick instead of one foot was granted on condition that it was to cost nothing extra, but the contractors were afterwards allowed \$45,000 for it. The contractors wanted three-foot masonry instead of one foot because they had discovered a quarry in the locality furnishing three-foot stone and the change was therefore in their own interest, but notwithstanding this the change was used to steal another \$40,000 from the public in order that the Government should get back a portion of it to be used for party purposes in the elections.

The cost of the dock when completed was \$581,841, being \$207,168 more than the amount of the tender. The contractors' profits in this contract amounted to \$240,979, in addition to \$27,000 paid in "donations," namely, bribery and corruption.

Government Corruption.

The reason why the Government willingly paid so much money to these contractors is shown by the evidence. An extract from the books of the firm showed a charge against the Esquimalt dock of \$35,000 in seven different mysterious sums. This money was paid corruptly in return for the favors shown to the firm by the Government. The sum of \$5,000 was given for the Three Rivers election. Three Rivers was the constituency represented by Sir Hector Langevin, the Minister of Public Works. The Conservative managers relied largely on the contributions of Larkin, Connolly & Co. Mr. Valin, then a member of Parliament, gave this evidence at the investigation:

"I applied again to Mr. McGreevy and to Mr. Murphy. Mr. Murphy told me: 'We have placed all that is necessary in Mr. McGreevy's hands and we have advised him to help you especially; apply to him and you will get some.' Then, having applied to Mr. McGreevy, he said to me the elections in the County of Quebec are costing heavily. The Ministers are costing us very heavily and I have no money to give you. Caron is always after me and I cannot satisfy him with money. We have Sir Hector at Three Rivers and, besides, other counties."

It will, therefore, be seen that Mr. Thomas McGreevy was simply the custodian of these corruption funds, and that the members of the Dominion Cabinet were, with others, the beneficiaries.

Sir Hector Langevin gave an order on Mr. McGreevy, February 2, 1887, for \$600 to be spent in Bellechasse; for \$200 for the County of Portneuf; for \$300 on one occasion and \$750 on another for Champlain election; for \$500 for Quebec East; for \$500 for L'Islet; for \$500 for Drummond and Arthabaska; for \$200 for Beauce and for \$200 for Lotbiniere.

An official list of expenditures in the campaign of 1887 shows that \$112,700 was drawn from the reptile fund and expended over a score of Quebec constituencies according to a preconcerted arrangement between Sir Hector Langevin, Sir Adolphe Caron

and Hon. Thomas McGreevy. A list of the counties was drawn up and the sum that was to be spent in each was placed opposite. This arrangement is referred to by Sir Hector Langevin in a letter to Mr. McGreevy, dated February 18, in which the Minister says: "You know that Montplaisir (the candidate in Champ'lain) was to receive altogether \$2,000 for his legal expenses."

Larkin, Connolly & Co. were kept busy receiving money from the Dominion Government with one hand and giving a portion of it back to Thomas McGreevy with the other hand.

The expenditure in Quebec County was \$18,500; in Three Rivers, \$16,800; Quebec West, \$8,000. Large sums were paid to the subsidized press.

Langevin's Clear Guilt.

Sir Hector Langevin was Mr. McGreevy's political chief, and it is admitted that Mr. McGreevy squeezed between \$150,000 and \$200,000 out of these contractors as contributions to the fund of the Conservative party, of which he was the custodian, and it was paid out on orders signed by Sir Hector Langevin himself, including \$35,000 which Mr. McGreevy said he paid for *Le Monde*, Sir Hector's own personal newspaper organ (Sir Hector thought that the sum paid was only \$28,000). Thomas McGreevy admitted that he applied to the firm for the money which Sir Hector Langevin admits he asked Thomas McGreevy for.

In the light of these facts can anyone believe that the Minister of Public Works did not know all about the manner of raising this money, or that he did not lend his influence as a Minister, and his colleagues also, to accomplish their ends? The contractors could only pay out these vast sums to the treasurer of the Conservative party on condition that the Conservative Government allow them to make that much extra out of the contracts, and something besides for themselves. Thus you find bogus claims set up and allowed, extraordinary prices paid for ordinary work and changes made from time to time in the contracts with the result of transferring large sums of the public money from the Dominion treasury into the pockets of the contractors.

One of the members of the firm of Larkin, Connolly & Co., Owen E. Murphy, swore that he went to the house of the Min-

ister of Public Works and laid a little parcel upon the table before him as a present, that the Minister took the parcel and put it into a drawer of the table, that nothing was said further and Murphy went out. That little parcel contained \$10,000, Murphy swore.

Sir Hector Langevin accepted \$10,000 from Mr. McGreevy, according to the evidence, and he accepted a testimonial of \$22,000 in cash, subscribed for the most part by contractors having dealings with the Department. The milking of contracts and the squeezing of contractors were reduced to an art by the Tory Government, and Sir Hector Langevin was acting for the Government in which he held the second position, and the Government got the benefit of it all.

The Curran Bridge Steal.

In the session of 1892 Parliament voted \$170,000, this being the despartmental estimate of cost, for a new bridge over the Lachine canal, at Wellington street, in the City of Montreal, and to renew the Grand Trunk bridge alongside. This work was proceeded with during the winter of 1892-93. The chief engineer and other officers of the Department and the Minister himself visited the works in the course of construction.

The whole work was under the immediate supervision of the Department at Ottawa, and was done by day labor instead of by contract, and it will be seen that as much money could be stolen from the public under the administration of the old Tory Government under the day labor system as under the contract system.

The outside quantity of timber and lumber which could have been used in the work was 2,594,000 feet b.m., and there was charged and paid for 3,613,000 feet, or a steal of over a million feet, representing at least \$15,000 for that item.

The stone-cutting, which could have been done for \$6,000, amounted to \$40,000. Upon the Wellington street bridge (commonly called the Curran bridge, after the Hon. J. J. Curran, M.P., of Montreal), the cost of stone-butting by piece work should have been about \$3,000; the amount paid by the Government was \$16,715. On the Grand Trunk bridge, what would have cost by piece work some \$3,000, cost the Government \$23,180.

The substructure of the Grand Trunk bridge should have cost (according to the estimate of the commissioners appointed by the Department to enquire into these matters) \$56,000. The pay-list for the labor alone on this substructure, without taking into account material, plant or false works, amounted to \$140,000.

The chief engineer of the Grand Trunk Railway, Mr. E. P. Hannaford, swore that the Grand Trunk were ready to build the substructure of the Grand Trunk bridge, and on the 28th December, 1892, the willingness of the railway company to build the substructure for \$35,000 was sent to the Department of Railways and Canals. As early as October, 1892, the Grand Trunk wrote the department, giving their estimate of the cost of the bridge they were willing to build as \$35,000 for the substructure. The estimate for the superstructure, about which there never was any dispute, was \$35,000, making the total cost of the bridge as estimated by the Grand Trunk chief engineer, \$70,000. Under Mr. Haggart's direction it cost \$136,000 for labor alone.

Mr. Hannaford swore that in his estimate of \$70,000 he had calculated a profit of \$10,000 for the company, leaving the actual cost \$60,000.

The original estimate of cost for the substructures of both bridges, allowing for an 18-foot navigation, was \$122,000. This was afterwards increased to a 20-foot navigation, for which the **total cost** was estimated at **\$160,000**. The actual cost of the work was **\$430,325**, of which \$394,000 was actually paid over, a steal from the taxpayers, in Mr. Haggart's Department, of at least **\$234,000**.

It is estimated that the man who furnished the labor made \$150,000 out of the job. This was Mr. E. St. Louis, a cousin of the Hon. Mr. Ouimet, Minister of Public Works, and a prominent Conservative contractor of Montreal. He falsified the pay-lists, which contained the names of men who were never employed on the works at all, and there were five times as many men employed as was necessary. It was reported on the 8th March, 1893, that 1,300 men were employed on the work. Mr. St. Louis explained to the Parliamentary committee of investigation that he had to make a good many political subscriptions, and for that reason had to make large profits. He destroyed his books, vouchers and other documents, because there were some entries he did not wish to make public.

It was sworn to that Mr. Louis had stated that he gave \$1,500 to Mr. Emard, the legal partner of the Hon. Mr. Ouimet, for the Vandrenil election. That evidence will be found at page 344 of the blue book, 1894.

The whole evidence in this atrocious scandal showed that the loss of hundreds of thousands of dollars was due to the neglect, extravagance and mismanagement of the Department of Railway and Canals, presided over by Hon. John Haggart, under whose nose all this stealing took place. There was no Government time-keeper, no proper checks on what being done; the only man who was exercising any efficient supervision being dismissed at the beginning. This man was Dr. Desbarats, an engineer. The overseer of the canal, Mr. Edward Kennedy, who was appointed on the recommendation of the Hon. J. J. Curran, M.P., was bossing the job, and he and Mr. St. Louis had everything their own way. It was because Mr. Kennedy did not wish the interference of Mr. Desbarats that the latter was dismissed by the Government.

Sir Richard Cartwright moved a vote of censure on the department for its conduct of this work; but Mr. Haggart resisted it and every one of his followers supported him. The division list appears on page 6,520 of the Commons Hansard of 1894.

A commission was appointed to report on this contract and they presented a special report to the Government in 1894. Below are some of the facts stated:—

Samples of Curran Bridge Wages, etc., Paid by Government.

- \$4 a day for foreman.
- \$6 a day for foreman for night or overtime.
- \$8 a day for foreman on Sunday.
- \$12 a day for foreman on Sunday, over-time.
- \$5 a day for team.
- \$10 a day for team on Sunday.
- \$2.50 a day for derrick.
- \$3.75 a day for derrick for over-time.
- \$7.50 a day for derrick for over-time on Sunday.
- St. Louis puts on all the men he wishes and gets paid for them.
- 2,000 men on the works at one time.

Large numbers idle.
 No Government time-keeper.
 No regular count.
 No Government foreman.
 No Government supervision.
 No Government record of men or materials.
 No Government classification of labor.
 Unskilled labor paid for as skilled labor.
 No public tenders for timber.
 Inferior timber supplied.
 Carter's delivery tickets for lumber, etc., missing.
 No checks as to quality of timber and lumber supplied.
 Large quantities missing.
 New timber burnt as firewood, carted away, stolen, etc.
 Government teams haul lumber that contractor was to deliver.
 \$39,806.04 paid for \$6,000 worth of stone cutting.
 \$16,715 paid for \$3,000 worth of stone cutting.
 Stone hauled by team 20 miles along railway, running from quarry to works.
 Government warned all along of frauds but allow them to continue.
 Pays bills as they come in.
 When work completed Government issue commission to investigate.
 Pending investigation, Government pays St. Louis balance of \$105,000 for wages that Chief Engineer discredited and would not certify to.
 Commission unanimously report incompetence, extravagance and fraud.
 People's money lost.
 No one held responsible.

THE CARON SCANDAL

In 1892 Mr. J. D. Edgar, the member for West Ontario charged Sir Adolphe Caron with being a corrupt member of the Administration and asked for a Committee of the House to investigate the charges which Mr. Edgar formulated and declared upon his responsibility as a member of Parliament to be true.

The Government first refused point blank to allow any investigation, on the ground that the charges were not specific, but upon Mr. Dalton McCarthy, who was then a supporter of the Government, and others demanding that something should be done, the Government proposed to appoint a royal commission to investigate the charges, first altering the charges to suit the accused.

Mr. Edgar had ten paragraphs in his indictment, the truth of which he was willing to leave to the judgment of a Committee of the House upon which there should be a Government majority. The Government in refusing an investigation by the House were condemned by their own act. The text of the charges can be seen in the Votes and Proceedings of the House of Commons of 6th April and 4th May, 1892. The Lake St. John Railway is a road in the vicinity of Quebec, which received upwards of one million of dollars as subsidies from the Dominion Parliament. The company which undertook to build the road made a contract with another company, known as the Construction Company, by which the Construction Company became the contractor for the railway and entitled to receive every dollar of Dominion subsidies voted by Parliament. Sir Adolphe Caron was a shareholder of the Construction Company and a director. Subsequently the Construction Company sub-let or assigned the work they had undertaken to Mr. H. J. Beemer, who undertook to build the railway on consideration that the Construction Company transferred to him all unpaid subsidies and gave their bond to use every effort to procure for Mr. Beemer additional subsidies. The company which thus pledged itself had Sir Adolphe Caron for a director, and, moreover, when the Construction Company made the contract with Mr. Beemer, Sir Adolphe Caron was present in person. The sum already spent on the road was put down at \$450,000, which Mr. Beemer agreed to pay back to the Construction Company out of the bonds and subsidies. In addition to that he agreed to pay Sir Adolphe Caron and his fellow directors and shareholders of the Construction Company \$11,000 per annum for office expenses. The whole subscribed stock of the Construction Company was \$94,250, so that what Mr. Beemer was to pay them amounted to more than 450 per cent. upon their entire subscribed capital. Subsequently the company applied for subsidies at Ottawa and with Sir Adolphe Caron's assistance got them. In other words, the Minister sat in the Cabinet and voted

a million dollars of subsidies to a road in which he was financially interested. The president of the Construction Company was the Hon. J. G. Ross, who had large private transaction with Mr. Beemer, who assigned all the subsidies to which the Lake St. John Railway was entitled to Mr. Ross as security for moneys advanced by Ross; thus Mr. Ross was doubly interested in these subsidies both past and future; interested in Mr. Beemer's financial success as the sub-contractor of the road, and interested in the profits of the Construction Company of which he was president. Mr. Ross and his brother held more than half of the entire stock of the Construction Company, and the evidence was that unless more subsidies were obtained and the road completed the \$450,000 due the Construction Company would have been lost. Mr. Ross himself, therefore, would have on this one item have lost \$118,000. Mr. Beeman had not a cent's worth of interest in these subsidies, when his arrangement with Mr. Ross was considered.

Caron's Confession.

Under these circumstances the general elections of 1887 came on and what took place shortly before they were held is shown in the evidence of Sir Adolphe Caron himself, given before the Royal Commission of 1892:

"I had occasion to require some funds for the campaign, and I called on Mr. Ross. I got from him personally an amount which I would not be absolutely precise about, but it was between \$5,000 and \$10,000 on the first day. From his office I drove up to the office of the Hon. Thos. McGreevy, a witness examined in this investigation. He was one of a committee composed of three, Hon. Sir Hector Langevin and myself being two of the three, and Mr. McGreevy being the third and the treasurer, for the purposes of that campaign. I took the money which I had received from Mr. Ross, and handed it personally to Mr. McGreevy, who received it from me. He gave me a receipt for the amount, and in a period of time extending, probably, over seven or eight days, or ten days possibly, I drew out at different periods. The different amounts up to the \$25,000 which had been promised by Mr. Ross, through me, I placed in the hands of Mr. McGreevy as I had done the first instalment, and got receipts from him. These amounts were distributed after a discussion between the members

of that committee, Sir Hector Langevin, myself and Mr. McGreevy. They were distributed for what we considered to be legitimate and indispensable expenses of the various counties which we were looking after in the district of Quebec.

Gross Corruption.

Although the prosecutor before the royal commission was an appointee of the accused, and, of course, avoided asking ugly questions, Sir Adolphe Caron himself had to admit the receipt of \$25,000 from the beneficiaries of the Lake St. John Railway. The fund, which reached at least \$100,000 for the district, was distributed in part upon the order of Sir Adolphe Caron himself. The Minister was running in Quebec county at that time and his own orders on the fund for Quebec country alone amounted to \$5,100. Sir Adolphe Caron did not go to the Minister of Finance at Ottawa and get \$5,000 from the public exchequer direct and squander it in corruption but what he did do was to hand large sums of the public money to the promoters of the Lake St. John Railway and then receive from those who were to be benefited by the Government subsidies, a portion of those subsidies for election purposes, handing the money in bank notes to Thomas McGreevy and then drawing it out again upon orders signed by himself. It was a clear case of steal, but Sir Adolphe Caron rather gloried in the fact that he was stealing for the party and not for himself. Speaking in the House of Commons July 3rd, 1894, Sir Adolphe said:

"I take the full responsibility for my action and for assisting my friends, because it was necessary to assist them under the peculiar conditions existing in the district of Quebec, which I was looking after. . . . I am prepared to stand or fall by what I have done, and considering that I have helped my friends to the extent that I have considered legitimate, I say that under the same circumstances what I did on that occasion I would do again to-morrow, in order to help my friends."

Although \$18,500 was spent to elect Sir Adolphe Caron in Quebec county, (according to the official list of expenditures from the fund), Sir Adolphe Caron's agent on that occasion, in publishing the return of expenses required by the Statutes swore that the personal expenses of the candidate amounted to \$58, and

that the expenses of his agent amounted to \$846.46; or a total expenditure for the county of \$904.46. These were the legitimate expenses, the "legal" expenses so often referred to in the orders on the reptile fund.

Sir Adolphe Caron stated that the fund was merely used to pay the legal expenses of poor candidates. Dr. Landry was the Conservative candidate in Montmagny and a man of wealth; nevertheless he received \$1,000 from the fund.

Caron gave many other orders, photographs of which were produced in Parliament by Mr. Edgar, as well as those of some orders signed by Sir Hector Langevin. A copy of the official list of the expenditure in the Quebec district made from the fund in the campaign of 1887 can be seen on page 16 of the Votes and Proceedings and in Hansard of June 15, 1892. The total sum was \$112,700.

Caron Whitewashed.

Failing to get a select committee and failing to carry a motion protesting against the substitution of a new set of charges drawn up by the accused or his colleagues, the Liberals, while not recognizing the royal commission, used the evidence given before it, partial as it was, and challenged a verdict from the House upon it March 22, 1893, in the following motion in amendment to the motion to go into supply.

"That Mr. Speaker do not leave the chair, but that it be declared that in the opinion of this House the evidence taken by the royal commission appointed last session to enquire into certain charges made against the Hon. A. P. Caron, K.C.M.G., M.P., which was reported to the Government on the 24th November last and is now laid before us, established facts which should have prevented the subsequent appointment of Sir A. P. Caron to be an adviser of the Crown and also renders it highly improper that he should continue to hold such office."

This grave censure upon a member of the Government was endorsed and supported by several prominent Conservatives, including Mr. Calvin, Conservative M.P. for Frontenac, Mr. Dalton McCarthy, Dr. Weldon, M.P. for Albert, N.B., and Col. O'Brien, M.P., each of whom by this vote declared Sir Adolphe Caron unfit to be a Cabinet Minister. Nevertheless, Mr. Bowell in forming his new cabinet in December, 1894, took Sir Adolphe Caron into his Government.

SECTION " B " SCANDAL.

On September 23, 1891, Mr. Lister formulated charges on the floor of Parliament against the Hon. John G. Haggart, Minister of Railways and Canals. He charged that in the year 1897 Messrs. Alexander Manning, Alexander Shields, J. J. Macdonald, Alexander Macdonald, James Isbester and Peter McLaren entered into a contract with the Government for the construction of a portion of the C. P. R. between Port Arthur and Rat Portage, known as Section " B.," and that Mr. Haggart, who, during the whole period of the contract, was a member of the House of Commons, was beneficially interested in the profit of the contract which accrued to the share standing in the name of Peter McLaren and received large sums out of the profits and otherwise derived direct and substantial pecuniary benefits from the contract; and that the contractors during the progress of the work made large contributions for political purposes with the knowledge and assent of Mr. Haggart which were charged against the profits of the firm, and that unsettled matters relative to the contract, which were in dispute between the firm and the Government were at that time, or subsequently, settled in favor of the contractors. Mr. Lister moved for a select committee to examine into these charges and report to the House. The committee named by Mr. Lister in his motion were four Conservatives and three Liberals, or seven in all, having the right to vote.

Mr Haggart denied the truth of the charges, as had Mr. Rykert, and Mr. Greevy and Mr. Turcotte, and Sir Adolphe Caron, and others who were subsequently shown to have no defence to the respective charges brought against them, and two of whom were expelled from the House in consequence of the charges being established which they at first denied. Mr. Haggart stated that he had arranged the partnership between Mr. McLaren and the other partners for the purpose of constructing section " B.," and overlooked the carrying on of the contract and the final settlement, but said he got no large sums from McLaren.

In the debate which followed, the Government practically took the stand that it was nothing wrong for public contractors to pay back to the party composing the Government, tens of

thousands of dollars for the purpose of debauching and corrupting the electors. Section "B." contract involved over \$4,000,000, and was not finished until 1885 or 1886. The Liberals took the ground that if the charges were true Mr. Haggart was not the kind of man to continue to be an adviser of the Crown.

Notwithstanding Mr. Haggart's statement that there was no truth in the charges, and that he could get a declaration from Mr. McLaren in confirmation of his denial, he refused to consent to an investigation, and the Government supported him in that refusal, and every Conservative member at that time in the House voted down the motion for an enquiry, the division being 102 to 78.

The Harris Land Job.

The Government purchased a piece of property in St. John, N.B., containing about 216,000 square feet, for the purposes of the Intercolonial Railway and paid \$200,000.

The land first required was covered by a vote of \$80,000, but by a private arrangement, in violation of a pledge which had been given to the House that nothing would be done except by way of legal expropriation, the whole of the Harris property was purchased, 1892, and the sum of \$200,000 paid. That this was a sum fully \$100,000 in excess of what should have been paid was made very clear. Within a year of the time of the purchase the owners of the land swore that the value was \$93,401, and the property was assessed as of the value of \$66,000. In the opinion of Mr. Adams, the Conservative member for Northumberland, N. B., the land had been purchased for three times its value. Without going into the details of this job, the language of Mr. Adams in the House of Commons, May 13, 1892, may be quoted. He said:—

"You are to-night committing a public crime. You are trying to force an expenditure upon the people you cannot justify. There is no evidence to justify this Legislature in passing \$200,000 for the purchase of this property. No Grit, no Tory, high or low, from the richest to the poorest, could say that \$200,000 was the actual price paid by common law, prudence, or justice. It is simply a job. It stands un-

paralleled in the history of purchases. I am quite clear that this property has been purchased for three times its value, beyond all question."

This was the language not of an opponent but of a supporter of the Government, and one who knew the city of St. John and the property in question.

It was generally understood in St. John that part of the money paid over by the Government, ostensibly for this land, was applied in payment of election expenses in St. John.

The Tay Canal.

In 1882, when a vote for \$50,000 was taken for the construction of this canal, which is a ditch running from the Rideau Canal six miles to the town of Perth, the home of the Hon. John Haggart, the Minister of Railways and Canals, said that the total cost of the work, exclusive of the cost of the land required, would be \$132,660. In 1883 another vote was taken in Parliament, when Sir Charles Tupper stated that the canal would cost \$240,000. In that year to justify the vote, and to reply to the protest of the Liberals, Mr. Haggart promised that smelting works would be erected at Perth, which would require this canal. In 1884 another \$100,000 was asked, and very little more was heard of the work until the session of 1887, when an additional vote of \$55,000 was asked. The Government then stated that the expenditure to date had been \$256,000, and that \$55,000 would complete the work. In the session of 1888 there was voted an additional sum of \$78,000, and in reply to some Opposition criticism the Government said that the work had been finished. The demand for money for "Haggart's Ditch" nevertheless continued, and in 1889 Parliament was asked for a further sum of \$25,000 "to complete the work." At that time the total cost was \$364,951, or \$124,951 more than Sir Charles Tupper told the House in 1883 the total cost would be. In 1890 a further sum was asked of \$11,000 for the Tay Canal, and the then Minister of Railways and Canals was again questioned by Sir Richard Cartwright, who made the following sarcastic remark:

"This, I understand, is really a useful work; it drains the county of Perth."

To which Sir John Macdonald made the following reply:

"If it does not drain the county of Perth it drains the public treasury pretty well."

It was officially stated that this last vote of \$11,000 was "to settle with the contractors and finish the Canal." Notwithstanding this, and during the same session, another sum of \$20,000 was asked and voted, making the cost so far \$440,613, or \$200,000 more than the Government assured Parliament at the beginning the work would cost. In the estimates for 1891-92 there appeared a further vote of \$30,000 to "complete" the Tay Canal.

This was found to be all the public money that could possibly be spent on this work without actually pouring it into the ditch from a dipper, so as extension of the Canal was undertaken and placed under contract, namely, an extension from the basin in the centre of the town of Perth to a place called Haggart's Mill, an extension not constructed in the public interest, and undertaken without the sanction of Parliament at a cost of \$18,466.

According to the official returns the vessels using the Tay Canal consisted of two tugs, one pleasure boat of fifteen tons, two small boats of eight tons each, one scow of thirty tons, and one skiff of one ton. The canal is five and a half feet deep, which justifies the name applied to it of "Haggart's Ditch." The extension of the canal to Haggart's Mill was made for no other purpose than to give the mill a greater head of water.

The annual cost of maintenance, including interest on the capital invested, was about \$28,000, or about \$4,700 a mile.

The revenue from the Tay Canal amounted in 1891 to the total sum of \$58.81, and the revenue for the year 1893 appears to have been nil, as no mention is made of it in the Auditor General's report, where the receipts from all the canals appear.

Mr. Haggart defended the expenditure in the House, and claimed that his county was entitled to something.

A motion made by Mr. Cameron, of Huron, that the expenditures on the Tay Canal were in violation of pledges to Parliament, and the extension to Haggart's Mill an unwarranted undertaking, was voted down by 100 to eighty-two, every Conservative in the House voting approval of the expenditure.

**The Little Rapids Lock—Original Estimate of Cost, \$44,000;
Actual Cost, \$300,000.**

In the month of December, 1886, two months before the general election of 1887, the Public Works Department entered into a contract with Mr. W. J. Poupore, Conservative M.P.P. for Pontiac County, Quebec, for the construction of a lock and dam at Little Rapids, on the Lievre river, a stream running through Ottawa county, and discharging into the Ottawa river at Buckingham, twenty miles below Ottawa city. The idea, it is said, was to facilitate the shipment of phosphates; though, as a matter of fact, the effect was to largely increase the cost of phosphates reaching the railway at Buckingham station. Work was not begun until the latter half of 1887, and dragged along until April, 1892, so that it extended over two general elections. After the contract was let, the Department of Public Works extended the work so as to include a guide-wall, a retaining-wall, a cross-wall, and a landing wharf at the lower end. All this additional work was to let to Mr. Poupore without tender, and at greatly increased prices over and above the original contract.

The original estimate for the work was \$44,000, but when the original contract was completed the final estimate made by the department amounted to \$76,680, exclusive of the lock gates, which were built of Michigan pine by the Government at a cost of about \$10,000. Mr. Poupore, however, received \$260,000, and claimed for extras \$61,000. The actual cost of the work was about \$300,000, for which the original estimate was \$44,000, and the final estimate \$76,000.

The Galops Channel: Estimate \$300,000; Expenditure, \$900,000.

What is known as the Galops Rapids scandal consists of a scandalous waste of public money in the dredging of a channel on the north side of the Galops Rapids, opposite the electoral district of Dundas, St. Lawrence River. A channel known as the South Channel already existed. The contract for this work was awarded in 1879, when Sir Charles Tupper was Minister of Railways and Canals, to Denis O'Brien for the sum of \$239,750 for a fourteen-foot navigation. Mr. O'Brien withdrawing, the

contract was awarded to Messrs. Davis and Sons of Ottawa, for the sum of \$306,600 for a fourteen-foot navigation. Davis and Sons assigned their contract to Messrs. Gilbert and Sons at Montreal, who were subsequently required by the department to make a seventeen-foot navigation. The contract was entered into August 5, 1879, to be completed in 1881. It was not completed until 1888, when it was taken over by the department, whose engineer reported the work to be completed, and stated that it was "two hundred feet wide, thirty-three hundred feet long, straight, and from sixteen and a half to seventeen feet in depth.

Although it was officially reported as completed in 1888, it was officially stated by the Minister of Railways and Canals in the House of Commons in 1894 that it was of no use—that is, that it was not used. The following is extracted from page 3531 of Hansard, 1894.

Mr. Davies: Is this channel used for navigation?

Mr. Haggart: No.

The Minister admitted that up to that date there had been an expenditure of \$446,500 and that the contractors had claims amounting to a further sum of \$130,000. In order to prove that the department's engineer, Mr. Rubidge, who had the general directions of the work, had given a wrong certificate in certifying that the work had been completed according to contract, the sum of \$18,000 was expended in a new survey.

The total expenditure, departmental and contractors, upon this ditch in the St. Lawrence has been about \$900,000, and yet the Minister in charge stated officially in Parliament six years after the work was taken over as completed, *that no one will use it.*

The Sheik's Island Dam.

The Auditor-General for Canada in his public reports to Parliament took the Government to task for passing an order-in-council on March 26, 1891, authorizing the loan of \$60,000 of the public money to Messrs. William Davis and Sons of Ottawa, government contractors. The Auditor-General pointed out that there was no legal authority for such an act, but he was overruled by the Government. The date of this order just three weeks after the general election, and the fact that the Government desired to protest sixty elections, requiring a deposit of

\$1,000 each, made this extraordinary advance of \$60,000 to Davis and Sons a peculiarly suspicious transaction.

The whole scheme of the enlargement of the Cornwall canal was changed in 1893, by which Davis and Sons obtained without tender a new contract worth \$384,000 for building what is known as the Sheik's Island Dam. The object of this dam was to convert the north branch of the river into a navigable channel by throwing dams across it at the head and foot of Sheik's Island, forming a deep water basin about three miles long. This basin would form a navigation past sections 6 and 7 of the Cornwall canal, which were under contract to Messrs. Gilbert and Son of Montreal, who had already been paid \$125,000, and who were afterwards paid a further sum of \$30,000 as damages for the loss of their contract, because sections 6 and 7 were rendered useless by the adoption of the Sheik's Island Dam scheme.

The engineer of the department, the late Mr. John Page, fully considered the scheme of erecting dams at this point, when the enlargement of the canal was undertaken, and reported in February, 1889, against the scheme, and it was decided not to adopt it.

When this policy was reversed by Mr. Haggart for reasons best known to himself, and when the beneficiaries of the new policy to the extent of the profits on \$384,000, were Messrs. Davis and Sons it is not hard to smell a rat. To give Messrs. Davis this new work it was necessary to break the law, which provided that no contract was to be given without tenders being called for.

According to the admissions officially made the public lost \$150,000 by the cancelling of the contract to Messrs. Gilbert & Sons.

A resolution introduced by Messrs. Laurier in the House July 3, 1894, reciting the facts and censuring the Government for their course was voted down, every Conservative present voting against it.

The St. Charles Branch.

The St. Charles branch of the Intercolonial Railway branches off from the Intercolonial road to Point Levis, a distance of fourteen miles. When the Government entered upon the pro-

ject it was estimated to cost \$136,000. Up to May, 1894, \$1,723,000 had been paid on account of this branch, and there were other outstanding claims amounting, Mr. Haggart said, to \$37,719, and the Government were taking at that time a further vote of \$17,000. Mr. Haggart stated that the road itself cost \$822,000 but that the amount required for land, damages and expenses was over \$900,000. It is very evident that the people along the route of the branch were in some cases dealt with very generously by the Government. If they voted right they must have been allowed to claim almost anything they pleased, and although the Government might refer it to arbitration or some other tribunal, they would take care not to make any good defence.

The Great Interrogation Laurier or Borden ?

Which of the Two Chieftains is the True Exemplar of Political Rectitude ?

A great interrogation is before the electorate of Canada. It is, "Shall the Laurier administration, under which Canada has prospered and progressed to a degree scarce dreamed of by the most ardent patriot twelve years ago, be sustained? Or would it be in the best interests of the people for the destinies of the Dominion to be transferred to the guidance of Mr. R. L. Borden and his chief lieutenants, Messrs. Foster, Fowler, and political aspirants of the type of Bennett, Lefurgey and Rufus Pope?" The answer means much to every Canadian. The question is many sided. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in placing it before the people of the Dominion, has submitted the proposition that it should be answered upon a basis of evidence and the merits of policies. The leader of the Conservative party declines to meet this challenge of the Dominion Premier. With a declaration of personal purity, Mr. Borden prefers that the Federal election be narrowed down to a scandal campaign. He desires that policies of commercial and industrial development, transportation expansion, postal facilities extension, be shelved and the purity issue to fill the whole of the political stage.

Foster Exposed.

It is an axiom of law that witnesses should be of good reputation. And in the sphere of statesmanship the political leader who essays to achieve the confidence of the country must be able to vouch for the integrity of his associates. How far Mr. Borden is in a position to thus acquit himself is indicated by the records of the Royal Commission appointed by the Dominion Parlia-

ment to investigate the affairs of the life insurance companies holding federal charters. The revelations were as surprising as they were far-reaching. Revelation followed revelation until the community at large looked with amazement upon the exposures of trust violated, and men who had occupied the highest positions in the gift of the people confessing, when denial was impossible, that they had extorted or knowingly accepted rake-offs and commissions which would not have been available had not they been either active or passive participants in the high game of graft played with masterly skill. These experts in self-aggrandizement are seeking the limelight as preachers of rectitude. What does the record show?

Mr. Geo. E. Foster, who is Mr. Borden's standard-bearer in North Toronto, held the high position of trust as manager of the Union Trust Company. It was a shock for those who regarded Mr. Foster as an apostle of purity and rectitude, to read in the report of the Insurance Commission that "certain officials, high in office, for their own benefit in the transaction in which they were personally interested, have made use, have been permitted to make use, of a very large amount of the moneys of the company (Union Trust Company)."

Nipped This Plot.

Again the record discloses (see evidence of Mr. Stevenson, report of Insurance Commission, Vol. 3) that Mr. Stevenson, Supreme Counselor of the Independent Order of Foresters, called into Foster's office and met Wilson, McGillivray, and Foster. They proposed buying some Quebec timber lands, and that Stevenson should join them. It involved several hundred thousand dollars. They said McCormick and Irwin, who were practical lumbermen and men of substance, would go in with Fowler to an extent of 49 per cent., borrowing the money from the Union Trust Company, and suggested that they should go into it for 51 per cent.

Stevenson said he had not the means, and they suggested borrowing it from the Union Trust Company. To this Stevenson demurred, on the ground that directors of a trust company were trustees for the funds, and had no right to use them for their own profit; that they would have to apply for the loan, and as directors pass upon it. At that the matter dropped."

Again the record shows that the Union Trust Company had 50,000 acres of Northwest land. The Western Settlers' Land Company was organized by Dr. Montague, manager, intending to go into a colonization scheme. As a result of the agitation against subsidiary companies, and on the advice of Stevenson, the Union Trust Company turned back upon this scheme, and the lands were taken over by a syndicate of Hamilton men, organized by Dr. Montague at \$6.75 per acre, giving their note to the company for \$100,000 as a guarantee. They then became the Mutual Settlers' Land Company. The stock of the Union Trust Company for \$100,000 was cancelled, and the Hamilton men became shareholders for \$100,000, the Union Trust Company finally lending them that amount on their notes secured by their stock. The Union Trust Company made a profit of \$117,000 on this operation.

The Royal Commission report, vol. 3, gives the formal records of a transaction of a most lucrative character for those who put it through. The records are inscribed:—

Manipulates Foresters' Funds.

In April, 1903, Mr. Rufus H. Pope, ex-M.P., and Mr. Geo. W. Fowler, M.P., obtained an option from the Canadian Pacific Railway for the purchase of 200,000 acres of land in the Northwest at \$3.50 per acre.

Subsequently Lieut.-Col. John A. McGillivray, Supreme Secretary of the I. O. F., Hon. Geo. E. Foster, Managing Director of the Union Trust Company, and Mr. Matthew Wilson, K.C., Director and Solicitor for the Union Trust Company, appear to have become possessed of a one-half interest in the option, which was transferred by the original owners, Messrs. Pope and Fowler, to the Union Trust Company at an advance of \$1.00 per acre.

“Ultimately the option and the lands it covered were turned over to the New Ontario Farm and Town Sites Company, a concern which had no liabilities, and, as Mr. Shepley suggested, no property either, in the organization of which Messrs. Foster, McGillivray and Wilson were active. This was done under an agreement which required that there would be an advance in

price, which would net to those three gentlemen paid-up stock in the company to the amount of \$95,000. The whole purchase price of the lands was paid by the New Ontario Farm and Town Sites Company by the transfer to the Union Trust Company of one thousand shares of stock of the company.

By a change of name this company became the Great West Land Company, which is controlled by the Union Trust Company and holds the lands in question.

Mr. Foster positively refused to produce the stock book showing who composed the company and the number of shares held by each individual.

"The transaction involved an investment of the funds of the I. O. F. amounting to some \$958,000.

The Union Trust Company does not figure in the documents as having handled the lands, the conveyance having been made direct from Messrs. Pope and Fowler to the land company.

The evidence disclosed that at one time the I. O. F., in investments made through the Union Trust Company and other subsidiary companies, held 400,000 acres of Northwest lands, involving an investment of \$2,000,000.

Mr. Stevenson, in his evidence before the Commission, testified that the Union Trust Company, of which Mr. George E. Foster was manager, advanced to Messrs. Pope and Fowler \$337,000, and agreed to advance them another half a million dollars to pay upon certain lands. When Mr. Stevenson asked that the account be closed he was assured that this would be done within six months. A year and a half elapsed without the loan being repaid. Then Mr. Stevenson insisted that the Union Trust Company be given a first claim on the land.

Mr. Foster's Stock Book.

During the investigation of the various transactions in land by the Great West Land Company, an inspection of the stock book of the company (the production of which was so strenuously resisted by the Hon. G. E. Foster) disclosed the fact that Mr. Foster and his colleagues, Lieut.-Col. McGillivray and Mr. Matthew Wilson, had an interest in the second purchase of land

which was bought from Pope and Fowler to make up the shortage in acreage turned over under the original option for 200,000 acres.

It also transpired that when turning over the lands they selected under their option Messrs. Pope and Fowler retained 6,878 acres of selected lands, which they apparently still retain. Mr. Foster testified that he supposed that the Great West Land Company were getting all the lands selected under the option. As managing director of the Union Trust Company he had been authorized to accept an offer which, as vice-president of the Eastern and Western Land Company, he had made to sell lands in the West at an advance of 50 cents per acre on the price paid for them.

Foster Could See no Difference.

Mr. Foster said he could not see that there was any conflict between interests of vendor and purchaser, both of whom he represented.

Another revelation was that Mr. Fowler, according to a document produced, had held 350 out of 650 shares in the Kamloops Lumber Company, standing in his name, in trust, for Hon. Geo. E. Foster. Mr. Foster's interest in these shares was not disclosed until the investigation commenced, and he had since endorsed the stock over to the Union Trust Company.

Mr. Shepley read from the minutes of the Great West Land Company of July 9, 1903, to show that when the purchase of the 8,640 acres was recommended no mention was made of the fact that the syndicate of Messrs. Wilson, McGillivray and Foster were interested in the transaction personally.

"Did you think," he queried, "it was necessary or desirable that the report should have stated that you were an intermediate purchaser having a personal interest in the property?"

Mr. Foster—"I am not sure of that."

"Does not that view appeal to you?"

Mr. Foster—"I think it would probably have been better to have mentioned it. I have also an impression that it was thoroughly understood by the members of the Board."

He admitted that Messrs. Wilson, McGillivray and himself were the Executive Board having control of the administration of the lands.

Admits Dual Position.

“Did you observe the emphatic nature of the dual position that the very gentlemen who were endowed with executive power in respect to the affairs of the Great West Land Company were the very gentlemen who were interested in the transaction?”

Mr. Foster—“Yes, that was true; the dual position is plain and unmistakable.”

“Do you say that Sir John Boyd knew of it?”

“I can't say that.”

How Mr. Roblin Unloaded.

Premier Roblin, of Manitoba, at one time was loaded up with Swan River lands. Mr. Roblin sent Mr. Pritchard, his private secretary, to Toronto to sell them to Mr. Foster's company with an offer of \$5,000 commission for Mr. Foster.

Mr. Pritchard asked Mr. Foster to take a generous view of the matter, meaning that Mr. Roblin found it hard to carry the land. Afterwards Mr. Foster wrote, offering \$5 per acre net, with 25 cents per acre commission.

Mr. Roblin dictated the letter of the 28th of December accepting Mr. Foster's offer.

Witness thought as he was on vacation when he tried to sell the lands to Mr. Foster, he was not acting as private secretary, and that he should have a commission himself.

Before he saw Mr. Foster, witness said, Mr. Roblin had instructed him to sell these lands at \$5 per acre.

Whenever witness started to talk to him afterwards about his commission Mr. Roblin became too busy to talk to him about it. Witness told Mr. Roblin that he had been willing to sell to Mr. Hamilton at \$5 per acre, out of which he would have to pay 25 cents commission, but Mr. Roblin refused to discuss the matter, and said that witness went down to Toronto as his private secretary.

Borden and Lefurgy.

Mr. Lefurgy's evidence before the Commission of how he became interested in Northwest lands has a decidedly spicy flavor at this time in its bearing on Mr. Borden's campaign of vituperation. Mr. Lefurgy recounted that the idea of the C. P. R. land option originated while he was on a tour of the West with Mr. Borden and a large party of other Conservatives. Mr. Lefurgy was asked before the Commission if he desired to modify his evidence in relation to Mr. Borden, which he gave in the suit between Mr. Peuchen, Mr. Bennett and himself. Mr. Lefurgy said he did not wish to modify that evidence. The testimony in question was as follows: He believed Mr. Borden indicated his willingness to join; he did not know just when, but anyway during the trip Mr. Borden indicated that he would be able to come in with them."

Fowler's Flim-Flam.

Mr. Fowler's constituents will be surprised to learn that in the declarations which he is making on the stump of fair business methods in the open market, he is alluding to transactions such as that of passing off upon the Union Trust Company a fictitious option for \$225,000 when the real purchase was \$170,000. Mr. Fowler is shown to have acted as agent of the Union Trust Company in the purchase of certain timber limits and mills. The cost price in the option delivered to the Union Trust Company was placed at \$225,000, while the actual price received by the owner was but \$170,000. This was worked on the flam-flam principle. Mr. Fowler first secured an option at \$225,000, which the next day he affected to reject. He succeeded in securing a new option at \$170,000. The larger one at \$225,000 was that transferred to Mr. Foster's company.

For Geo. E. Foster.

Mr. George E. Foster, in his testimony before the Commission admitted that Mr. Fowler held 300 shares of stock in the Kamloops Lumber Company in trust for him, and that he was receiving financial assistance from Mr. Fowler in 1904.

Attorney-General Campbell's Commission.

A piercing light flashes through the storm of turbulence with which Mr. Roblin of Manitoba is aiding Mr. Borden in beclouding the real issues of the campaign. That flash of light startled the people of Manitoba when Mr. Pritchard exposed before the Insurance Commission the extortion of a \$1,000 rake-off by Mr. Roblin's colleague, Attorney-General Campbell. The evidence is interesting indeed at a time when the Conservative Premier of Manitoba is arrogating all the virtues for himself and his party friends in that Province. The attributes of Mr. Borden's chief lieutenant, Mr. Foster, are also illumined by the same flashlight. Here is the revelation:—

Mr. Pritchard explained to the Commission that he had effected a sale of 40,000 acres of land belonging to the Ontario and Western Land Company (of which Mr. Campbell was president), his reward being a commission of 25 cents an acre. Half of this \$10,000 he turned over to Geo. E. Foster, manager of the Union Trust, and his adventures with regard to the remaining \$5,000 he thus recounted, in his cross-examination by Mr. Shepley:

“Did you make a proposition about this to Foster?”

“Yes, I wrote him, offering to divide the commission. I said I would split it in two.”

“That left \$5,000 to you and \$5,000 to Foster?”

“It left \$5,000.”

“Why don't you say yes? Was there something that was not for yourself?”

“Well, there was something that I did not get.”

“What did you not get?”

“Well, Mr. Campbell—”

“What Campbell?”

“The Attorney-General. He thought that he had had a good deal of trouble over these lands in one way and another, and he ought to come in for \$1,000, so I finally consented to let him have that amount.”

“You say that Mr. Campbell, who was the president of the selling company?”

"Yes."

"He said to you that he thought that for his trouble he should get \$1,000?"

"Yes."

"When did he say that?"

"Well, as I received these letters or telegrams I showed them to Mr. Campbell."

"That is to say, you kept Mr. Campbell, who is the president of the company, advised as to the progress of matters as they were going on?"

"Yes."

"That is to say, you were candid in disclosing everything to him?"

"Yes."

"During the progress of the negotiations?"

"Yes."

"Did you disclose to him that you had written to Mr. Foster offering to divide the commission?"

"Well, I think that was disclosed by the telegram which he—"

"Which telegram?"

"The telegram mentioning the commission?"

"The one you sent?"

"No, the one I received from Mr. Foster."

"Then up to that time had Mr. Campbell suggested that the \$1,000 should be paid to him?"

"No, it was when the thing was finally going through, when it was a bargain."

"So that nothing was said by him as to the division of the commission until the matter was ready to close?"

"Yes, that is right."

"Just what was said?"

"Well, he said, 'I think that it would be to your advantage to give me \$1,000 of this commission.'"

"What did he mean by that?"

"I said, 'On what ground, what have you done for it?' and he said, 'Well, it will be to your advantage to give me the amount;' and he said, 'You go and think it over.' So I went home and thought it over, and I thought there must be something somewhere between or he would not say that unless it was true. So I 'phoned him and said that I decided to give him the \$1,000, and he said he thought that I had acted wisely. I gave him \$1,000 cash. I kept the balance, \$4,000."

The public would undoubtedly be pleased to have Mr. Campbell give his explanation of this transaction. They would like to be informed as to the moral and legal grounds upon which he demanded the payment of the thousand dollars.

Beyond Wildest Hopes.

Mr. Borden's chosen friend and supporter, Mr. Fowler, the Conservative candidate for King's and Albert, is not appealing to his former constituents on an issue of personal purity. Mr. Fowler in King's, like Mr. Foster, is in the pillory, and on his defence. Mr. Fowler calls his share of the Union Trust Company transactions and the grab of C. P. R. lands "fair and honest business" in "the open market." Does Mr. Fowler's letter to his partner in the plot entitle him to be a field marshal in Mr. Borden's army of purity? Let the voters of the Dominion take a few moments to ponder over Mr. Fowler's marvellous and historic epistle. It was dated October 4, 1902, and reads:—

"Dear Lefurgy,—We have succeeded beyond our wildest hopes. We wired D. M., and he met us at the train, Toronto, and took us to his office, and gave us the route so far as located; of course, under cover of the strictest secrecy, so keep it mum, except to Borden, Bennett and yourself. We expect to have a wealthy Englishman named Lister, and Col. Pellatt in the combine with us. We have increased the thing to 200,000 acres. On arriving here we interviewed Sir Thomas Shaughnessy, and have every reason to expect most generous treatment as to terms and price. He said we should get the best that was going. We want to arrange a meeting there when the party returns from Montreal. Tell Messrs. Borden and Bennett about the meeting. It will be necessary for at least two of us to go this fall and locate as it could not be done in the spring, and that is one of the things that must be arranged at the meeting. Geo. W. Fowler."

Let it be remembered that "Dear Lefurgy" is one of Mr. Borden's noble standard-bearers as the Conservative candidate in Prince, Prince Edward Island.

To whom did Mr. Fowler refer in his letter to Mr. Lefurgy? Merely railway magnates whose secrets were worth hundreds of thousands of dollars to shrewd speculators such as Conservative members of Parliament like Messrs. Fowler and Pope.

The Royal Commission evidence reads like a romance at this period. It details that the gentleman whom Mr. Fowler and Mr. Pope met at the train was Mr. D. D. Mann, of the Canadian Northern Railway. The information he gave was as to the route of that railway through the lands of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Having got that information, they next went to Sir Thomas Shaughnessy, who appears to have been most gracious to them. Eventually a purchase was made of 200,000 acres of land along the line of the Canadian Northern, at \$3.50 an acre. Messrs. Fowler and Pope put up \$200 each, and turned to their Conservative friend, Mr. Foster, who had the Foresters' millions in his safe keeping as manager of the Union Trust Company.

Mr. Foster's Friendly Aid.

It would not look nice for a personage of Mr. Foster's ideals to have been a direct beneficiary of the Conservative high financiers. It became necessary to have a tollgate for a rake-off to be collected with dignity by statesmen of his traits of character. To meet this exigency a company called the Great Northwest Company was literally created with Foster, McGillivray and Wilson in control.

Messrs. Fowler and Pope, having bagged the game, took their pick of the spoils by appropriating the best 8,000 acres of the C. P. R. area to hold for their personal profit—on the side—when prices soared. In the main transaction Messrs. Fowler and Pope sold to this Great West Company, or, in other words, to Foster & Co., at an advance on the price paid or promised the Canadian Pacific Railway of \$1 an acre, so that on a capital of about \$400 and a \$40,000 note, these two eminent financiers cleared a considerable share of \$200,000.

Mr. Fowler in these dealings bought property at 170,000, and had the deed prepared as if he had paid \$225,000 for it. What does Mr. Borden think of Mr. Fowler's qualifications as an assistant teacher of public probity?

Mr. Fowler is the member of Parliament who requited the kindness of the C. P. R. for making the \$200,000 deal, and the 8,000 acres for himself and Mr. Pope, a possibility by the malignity of his opposition to the Grand Trunk Pacific. Was this Mr. Fowler's realization that gratitude is "a lively sense of favors yet to come"?

Another Foster Tollgate.

It is refreshing to recall with what celerity and ease Mr. Foster's tollgates worked. Here is one of them in operation, as revealed in a letter to the *Manitoba Free Press* from Mr. James W. Betts, manager of the Manitoba, Ontario and Western Land Company:—

To the Editor of *The Free Press*;

Sir.—In your issue of to-day under report of proceedings of the Insurance Commission in Toronto, there appears the statement made by Mr. Foster in answer to Mr. Shepley's inquiry as to lands purchased from the Ontario, Manitoba & Western Land Company. Mr. Foster is reported as stating "that these lands were held at \$5.00 per acre, which the syndicate refused to pay. The manager of the company said he did not wish to lower the price of his lands, but as he was getting 25 cents an acre as his commission, he agreed to give a rebate of 12 $\frac{1}{8}$ cents per acre, making \$5,000, for which a cheque was made payable to him (Foster)."

The facts are: I had no correspondence with Mr. Fowler. I wrote to one of the directors of the Union Trust Company, who was also a director in our company, offering the 40,000 acres at \$5.00 per acre, but received no answer. Subsequently Mr. Pritchard offered us \$5.00 per acre with a commission of 25 cents an acre, which we accepted.

We gave Mr. Pritchard a cheque for \$5,000, and Hon. Geo. E. Foster a cheque for \$5,000. I was not a member of any syndicate to purchase the above lands, and had no interest, only as stockholder and manager of the Ontario, Manitoba and Western Land Company, and did not participate in any part of the commission paid to Mr. Foster or to Mr. Pritchard. If Mr. Foster made the statement as reported in your despatch from Toronto, I am surprised, as I had no negotiations with Mr. Foster until after the offer by Mr. Pritchard had been made and accepted. I was confident, at the time, the \$5,000 went to the Union Trust Company through Mr. Foster as the manager.

JAMES W. BETTES.

Winnipeg, Oct. 13.

The foregoing purchase by the Union Trust Company of 40,960 acres of land from the Ontario, Manitoba and Western Land Company, is a perfect illustration of the way Foster and his colleagues carried on their game of graft with the trust funds of the Foresters.

It will be noticed that when the land was offered to the Union Trust Company direct for \$5 an acre it was too costly, but when offered at \$5 an acre to the Union Trust Company, of which 25 per cent. had to go as rake-off, \$5 an acre immediately commanded Mr. Foster's O.K. mark.

Got Another Big Plum.

One morning Messrs. Fowler and Pope discovered that the Foster-McGillivray wing of the syndicate in transferring 200,000 acres of land from the Great West Land Company to the Union Trust Company at an advance of 50 cents an acre were having too much of a good thing. With prompt business alacrity a demand for another slice was demanded, and they secured an addition of 5,000 shares to their previous allotment of 50,000 shares in the Great West Land Company. These Conservative members of Parliament thus, according to Mr. Borden's gospel, became duly qualified for guardians of the public exchequer, if the Dominion electorate became converts to his doctrines.

Mr. Foster's Methods.

The original exclusive option as read before the Royal Commission was given to Messrs. Fowler and Pope on May 15, 1903. A company called the New Ontario Town and Farm Sites Company was organized to handle it. This company became the Great West Land Company. Mr. Foster secured a loan of \$140,000 of the Foresters' money for the subsidiary company. The land company took up the C. P. R. option, less 8,000 acres held back by Messrs. Fowler and Pope. The price of the land was 1,000 shares of stock of the land company. The actual money was that furnished by the Foresters. Of this 1,000 shares of stock Mr. Stevenson says in his evidence that Messrs. Foster, McGillivray and Wilson, in the transaction, "loosed" to themselves \$1,500, \$1,000 and \$1,000 of stock, respectively. Mr. Stevenson deposed before the Commission that "*If they protected the Trust Company they must necessarily take money out of their own pocket; if they protected themselves they would do it at the expense of the Trust Company; and that I regarded as an inconsistent position for gentlemen to occupy as trustees.*"

When Mr. Foster was called upon by the Royal Commission to produce the stock book of the Great West Land Company he twice refused, but eventually adopted the Falstaffian policy and produced it.

Conservative Editors Convinced.

The foregoing evidence was so conclusive and unanswerable that in the minds of the editors of two Conservative newspapers it called for the retirement from public life of men so discredited. This is demonstrated by the following utterance from the *Montreal Star* on the night that Mr. Foster was the great conspicuous absentee from Mr. Borden's meeting in Toronto.

"The Liberal press is constantly asking why Mr. Foster does not accompany Mr. Borden on his tour. We are even told that Mr. Foster, who is the Conservative candidate for one of the Toronto constituencies, will not appear with his leader at the big Toronto meeting. To these questions neither Mr. Borden nor Mr. Foster offers any reply. But it is surely to Mr. Borden's credit—if this divorce be of his making—that he declines to preach his policy of purity from a platform upon which sits,

ready to speak after him, the man who, as manager of a trust company, poured the funds in his keeping—'the trust funds of the widow and the orphan'—into a speculation for his own personal profit."

The above is what the Conservative *Montreal Star* thinks of a man who has hopes of again becoming Finance Minister of the Dominion.

Condemned by Editor Willison.

The *Toronto Evening News*, one of the strongest papers in Ontario, paid tribute to the Conservative candidate for North Toronto on June 15, 1907, in these trenchant terms:

"Mr. Foster, the Conservative candidate in North Toronto, will urge the electors to condemn at the polls the reckless handling by the Government of the public funds, he will talk of the selling of the contract system of purchase, of the alienation of public lands to speculators, of the outfit of the steamer *Arctic* and of the furnishings of the ice-breaker *Montealm*. His whole argument will rest on the fact that the Government is extravagant with its money, careless of its future obligations and 'good' to its friends. Moreover, he will show that all the money pouring into the Ottawa Treasury, at the rate of over \$1,500,000 a week, comes from the people of this country, and is held in trust by the Administration for the public good. And all this will be true.

Acme of Effrontery.

"Yet the men of North Toronto will be urged, as a protest against this extravagance, to elect Mr. George E. Foster, ex-Manager of the Union Trust Company. *It was Mr. George E. Foster who was unable to see any conflict of duty in his dual position as Manager of this company and partner in a Western land company which used Union Trust money to carry on its speculative and hazardous business. It was Mr. Foster who believed, or affected to believe, that the mere transfer of money from the Independent Order of Foresters to the Union Trust Company left that money free for speculative investment, that it ceased to be held in trust for the assured in the Independent Order of Foresters. It was Mr. Foster who knew perfectly well the laws of this country concerning the investment of trust*

funds, and who violated those laws by borrowing money on behalf of a syndicate from the Union Trust Company, of which he was Manager, on the security of stock in a speculative land company. Later the present Supreme Chief Ranger insisted on the return of the stock, and the substitution of a mortgage.

“It was Mr. Foster who, in the face of these undeniable facts, alleged with the most remarkable assurance that the insurance inquiry was instituted solely to injure him, and that it probed unduly into his private business. *And it is a man of such remarkable obliquity of moral vision and such a superb quality of ‘nerve’ who asks for election as a condemnation of the mishandling of trust funds by the Ottawa Administration.* Mr. Foster would have made a better figure before the public if he had admitted the impropriety of his act like a man, instead of wailing about political persecution and private business. It is not private business to handle trust funds. It is public business, and the more public it is the better for the owners of the money.”



MILN-BINGHAM PFG CO
TORONTO



