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H. C. Brewster Sets Forth True Facts Concerning Enquiry

Liberal Leader Makes Statement Regarding Plugging
Investigation at Victoria—Plugging Pamphlet
is Now Being Circulated Extensively by
Tories in a Futile Effort to Com-
plete the Conspiracy and
Shield the Perpetrators



H. C. Brewster Sets Forth True Facts Concerning Enquiry

The Bowser machine's pamphlet of distorted statements about the plugging investigation at Victoria is being circulated broadcast throughout the province by the government publicity bureau. It is a wily political preparation designed to shield the Bowser machine and eradicate the general impression that it was a part of the conspiracy to ruin M. A. Macdonald, whose sole offense was that he defeated C. E. Tisdall, Premier Bowser's minister of works, in the Vancouver by-election. The pamphlet is unsigned. It bears no printer's imprint and the author is unknown. It contains deliberate and designed mis-statements, even of the evidence before the so-called "committee of investigation" which was controlled by Premier Bowser and dictated to by him and John L. Sullivan, the procurer of thugs and jail-birds of Seattle, who perjured themselves as witnesses. H. C. Brewster, the Liberal leader, and Parker Williams, who represented the minority of the committee, were handicapped in every manner possible, the premier even going to the extreme of getting out a warrant for Scott's arrest to keep him from giving his evidence. Failing to successfully engineer the conspiracy further at the enquiry, the public seeing through the iniquitous effort, the plugging pamphlet is now being extensively circulated in a futile effort to complete the conspiracy and shield the perpetrators. The truth about the matter and the facts of the enquiry are contained in the following statement of Mr. H. C. Brewster:

"There is no phase of the so-called plugging in Vancouver that I am not willing to discuss in all its details with the premier, Mr. Miller, who was the government's chief inquisitor in the enquiry held in Victoria, or any other man in British Columbia.

"Last February my colleague, Malcolm A. Macdonald, committed the unpardonable sin of defeating the minister of public works in the Bowser government in the premier's home city of Vancouver by the overwhelming majority of 4160. There followed what I consider was one of the most dastardly and despicable conspiracies which has ever disgraced the political history of Canada. In what I have to say on that matter I defy Mr. Bowser, Mr. Miller or anyone else to contradict any statement I make.

"Mr. Bowser said he was going to get Mr. Macdonald's scalp, my colleague having delivered a solar plexus blow to the premier which dazed him for a time, changed his whole outlook and led to the introduction and passage of legislation which heretofore Mr. Bowser had always opposed. This could not be permitted; someone had to be made to pay for the premier's loss of prestige and that someone was Mr. Macdonald. Some-

thing had to be done to try to stem the tide.

"I believe there were irregularities in connection with the Vancouver by-election. The Liberal party saw suspicious circumstances that day and did not wait for five or six weeks to investigate them, but next day, Sunday, had men at work in tracing out the facts. The enquiries which were carried on led to the door of one Peter Annance, who was taken before the courts and convicted, and who is now serving a sentence of nine months in jail and in addition has to pay a fine of \$300.

Sullivan and Carroll

"The first revelation of alleged plugging came through Sullivan and his father, proprietor of a Seattle house, the American Cafe. Sullivan senior got his son, 'Dynamite Jack,' on the telephone and asked him if they were going to have an election over in Vancouver. He told him to look out for a letter and this letter arrived a day or two later. It was from one 'Sheriff' Carroll, another of the overlords of the Seattle underworld, one of a type that you would not be safe in meeting alone on a dark night and connected with places

at which you would not stop if you were to go to Seattle. Carroll said he was organizing a crowd to go over and plug on election day—they say he said it was for the Liberals—and Sullivan says the letter added that Carroll did not want to do anything that would be against his interests. Asked what he did with the letter, Sullivan said he took it to F. W. Welsh, of soap fame, an ex-president of the Vancouver Conservative Association and one of the government candidates in that city. Welsh said he took the letter to Bowser and Tisdall. Mr. Tisdall swore—he did not have to swear it, for he is an honorable man and I believe him—that he never saw the letter, to his knowledge.

"They say the letter said that Carroll was engaged to go to Vancouver and plug votes for the Liberal candidate. But when we asked Welsh for the letter he said he had destroyed it. Stop and think what that means. Do you imagine that if that letter contained, as they say it did, reflections on the Liberal party that they would have destroyed it? If there had been any such statements they would have had copies of it made; Mr. Bowser would have seen to that and you would be getting it regularly. They would have had the original carefully preserved even if they had to lay it on gold plate or embalm it in fluid that cost a thousand dollars an ounce. We asked Welsh why he destroyed it. Oh, he didn't want to keep it around!

"Then we find Sullivan going to Seattle and on the Thursday morning before election day he was travelling on the Princess Adelaide from Seattle to Vancouver with a crowd. His crowd got rather noisy and out of hand, and then we find him trying to pretend that he had nothing to do with them; that they were a gang of pluggers whom he wanted stopped. We had before the committee Mr. Bird, a purser who was in the employment of the C. P. R. for eleven years. He was very clear in his evidence. Mr. Miller would have his impressions and he told us that his impressions were that Sullivan had these men with him and that he was making a stage play that he didn't want them to land. Bird said that was easily stopped; that all Sullivan had to do was to go up to the wireless room and send a message notifying the immigration authorities in

Vancouver that these men were coming.

"You don't even have to do that; get up early in the morning, come ashore with me and see the immigration officer and point these men out. You know them all?"

"Oh, yes! Sullivan knew them all. Then, Bird said, all he had to do was point them out to the immigration officers and they would be kept in detention and sent back.

The Destroyed Messages

"Sullivan did not do that but he went up to the wireless operator all the same and sent two messages to F. W. Welsh, Conservative Association, Vancouver. Welsh had destroyed these also, but we got copies from the superintendent of the wireless service. They were addressed to Welsh, as I have said, and the arrangements were so perfect that he did not have to sign his name. Strange, was it not? One stated that there was a bunch coming on the Great Northern, another that there was a bunch on the Adelaide, 'young and well-dressed.' He didn't sign these; it was all arranged; Welsh knew all about it; Welsh was the host, reception committee, and did not have to see a name signed to know who the messages were from.

"Where did these men go? We found from Sullivan's own statement that some of them stayed at his place, the Irving Hotel. Where did the rest go? Where do you think they would be likely to stow a bunch of young and well-dressed pluggers that had gone over to vote for the Liberal candidate, as they now claim? Why, to a secret and quiet place where no bad Conservative could find them, and so they were filed past the windows of Welsh's store, the London Grocery, and up to the Albany rooms above his store.

"Welsh was asked by me if he knew of these men being there. I put him over it three separate times so that there could be no doubt. He did not know on Friday, he swore; he did not know on Saturday; he did not hear about it until some time the next week. Then we put his landlord in the box, Mr. Clarke, a Conservative who had voted for Mr. Tisdall; an unwilling witness, because Mr. Welsh was his tenant and tenants are not easy to get in Vancouver nowadays. He swore positively that on the morning of Friday, February 25, as was

his daily custom, he had made a round of his properties. Between nine and eleven o'clock of that forenoon—he was pretty certain that it was between nine and ten but he was positive that it was between nine and eleven—he went to visit the Albany rooms. He found there a larger number of men than usual, a larger number than he anticipated. He asked the woman in charge of the rooms where they had come from and she replied that they seemed to have come from across the line. They were boisterous, had been drinking, and Clarke thought something was wrong. Knowing that next day was election day he thought their presence had some sinister connection with that fact. He went down to Welsh and told him that there was a crowd of men upstairs and stated his suspicions. There must have been something in Welsh's countenance to arouse further suspicion, because he swore that he next said: 'Welsh, if you are responsible for bringing these men over here you ought to be ashamed of yourself and you and the Grits should get together and pitch them into False Creek.'

Welsh Saw Letter

"At that very time, according to Welsh's own statement, the wireless telegrams were before him on his desk. Welsh had seen the letter from Carroll stating the arrangement; that morning he had received the wireless messages that the men were on the way; here comes Mr. Clarke telling him that they had arrived. Yet he swore he never heard of them till the following week. Then was Welsh's opportunity to have stopped this thing. If there was anything in their story about these men having come over to vote for the Liberal candidate, why did he not at once inform the police, have the place surrounded, pick these men out and have them locked up? If that had been done you would have had the story published on election morning in the News-Advertiser in letters of blood half a foot long. What would the result have been? The plot of these bad Grits, who were going to steal the election, would inevitably have affected the result of the election very materially. Did Welsh do it? No, he never opened his mouth, never moved a muscle, never made the slightest

effort to stop what he now claims to have been a Liberal plot.

"Then we have Sullivan's brother, interested in the Regina Hotel in Seattle, a place you would not stop at if you went down there, advising 'Dynamite Jack' of the coming of another bunch. Sullivan got their names and who they were going over under from Seattle. You would say that Sullivan, whose interest in a pure election was so loudly proclaimed, could easily have stopped these fellows. Did he? Oh, yes! But not with policemen. He went to the station of the Great Northern; in fact he went out to Westminster Junction to meet them; and, lo! and behold, who should be at their head but the same 'Sheriff' Carroll, who had written the letter to Sullivan in the first place.

"Sullivan introduced Carroll to ex-Alderman Hoskins, a well-known Conservative of Vancouver. Carroll and some of these men were put up in Sullivan's hotel and remained there until Saturday night, and no hand was raised to stop them.

Pluggers in Park?

"On the Friday night there had been a great meeting at which Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper spoke, a meeting so great that it overflowed into the ballroom of the Hotel Vancouver and then overflowed again. It was quite apparent that the sentiment in Vancouver was three to one for M. A. Macdonald. Sullivan saw that something must be done to have what is known as a 'come-back,' so along between two and three o'clock of the afternoon of election day, in order to have this 'come-back,' as the astute Mr. Sullivan would put it, he went to the police and told them that the Liberals had pluggers in the city. Chief MacLennan and Assistant Chief McRae told us in the committee that they had so little confidence in Sullivan, owing to the conditions under which he and his family ran their places in Seattle and Vancouver, and their political records on the other side, which are bad, that they needed more information than Sullivan's mere say-so. They asked him where the men were and were told that they were out in Stanley Park. What do you suppose pluggers would be doing out there? Dropping their ballots in the birds' nests or bear pit, or associating with their brother hyenas? The police went out there but they

didn't find them, of course; Sullivan didn't want them to.

"After, and only after, the Liberals had succeeded in having Annance indicted, Mr. Bowser decided that the courts were not big enough to deal with this matter. He had a special committee of the legislature appointed in which there naturally would be a government majority. The government members on this committee were two of the best lawyers in the house, Mr. Ernest Miller of Grand Forks and Mr. Mackay of Kaslo, and Dr. McGuire of Vancouver. I do not know whether it is because of their activities on this committee that Mr. Miller, who was a sort of prosecuting attorney, and Dr. McGuire have since been taken into the government and can now style themselves 'honourable.' On the opposition side the only lawyer we had was Mr. Macdonald, and he could not be a member of the committee, because his seat was in question. The opposition members were Mr. Parker Williams and myself, and when we asked that we should have counsel to assist us in cross-examining the witnesses this was refused.

Witnesses Immune

"When that committee was appointed a resolution was adopted by the house granting immunity to the witnesses who would come before it from prosecution for any offences they might have committed, except perjury. We discovered that Sullivan had been very busy securing witnesses from the underworld of Seattle—naturally he knew just where to lay his hands upon them—and that when it passed the resolution of immunity the legislature of British Columbia was simply fulfilling the promises made by Sullivan to Seattle thugs a week before. We found from the evidence that he had told these men in Seattle that such a resolution would be passed. A dignified position for a British legislature, is it not?

"The first witness to come before us was one John J. Kelly. He swore twice that that was his name and then I compelled him to swear that it was not his name. That is what they refer to when they say I intimidated witnesses. Intimidated this poor, shrinking jail-bird, fresh from the Seattle stockade and ashamed of the name he was born under! I asked him if Kelly was the name he gave

the last time he was arrested. At once Mr. Miller and the chairman jumped to his assistance. We had no right to ask him that! We had no right to ask him what his real name was, because to reveal it would hurt his sensitive nature! We compelled him to admit, though, that Sullivan had got him in the stockade and that someone had paid his fine, because he had been released. Later we forced the information out of Sullivan that he had paid Kelly's fine and that he had been reimbursed out of the treasury of the province. Sullivan advanced the money and the government of British Columbia paid it back to him! The people of this province will have to pay that fine through their taxes.

"Kelly perjured himself in more matters than that of his name. He would not give his real name, and Mr. Mackay and Mr. Miller told him that he did not have to answer. He swore that he worked for a certain cereal company, for which he never worked, as our subsequent enquiries proved. His face and his finger prints are on record in every police headquarters on this continent. We found his and those of others of Mr. Bowser's and Mr. Sullivan's choice witnesses in the rogues' gallery. Four or five of the Seattle witnesses never came before the committee at all. We saw them herded in another room, but I suppose Mr. Bullock-Webster could not make their stories fit in.

Bowser's Threat

"But all this was getting them nowhere. This was not tying up the Liberal party nor was it implementing Mr. Bowser's threat to get M. A. Macdonald's scalp. So they reached down into the gutter and we had the man Gosden introduced into the enquiry. I do not know whether he thrust himself into it or whether he was purchased to give the perjured testimony he did. Gosden is a black-mailer, a man who lives by his wits. We traced his record from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from San Diego to Prince Rupert, and found that he had been run out of every place. We found that in Victoria he and another man of the same kind, one Matt Fraser, had tried to blackmail a farmer by threatening to swear that he had broken the game laws. Altogether a most undesirable type of citi-

zen, but a willing tool to Mr. Bowser's hand.

"Gosden is the man who made an incendiary speech in Vancouver at a time when 150 miners were in jail. He made threats against Mr. Bowser; said he had better have someone taste his coffee in the morning, and that if he found himself in the woods he might be taken for a bear! No language could be more calculated to give the government a reason for keeping the miners in jail. Parker Williams had to take the platform to offset the effect of this speech, and remarked that in case of trouble Gosden would be found twenty miles in the rear. We next find Gosden in the strike zone on Vancouver Island, where the military were in control and even old residents could not move about freely. Gosden addressed a meeting of strikers; told them: 'This is a good night to start something and I'll show you I won't be twenty miles in the rear.' No notice was taken of him by the military or the authorities. Not long after that Parker Williams was surprised to see Gosden working as a janitor around the provincial government buildings in Victoria!

Gosden the Perjurer

"Gosden swore that M. A. Macdonald met him in a secret and clandestine manner and handed him \$50. For this no less a place was chosen than in front of the post office on Government street in Victoria. The moment this perjurer told this story Mr. Macdonald went out and secured a warrant for his arrest, knowing that the man was lying and not stopping to think about the corroborative evidence that is required to sustain a charge of perjury. The case went to the assizes and in usual course it was tried by a court where Mr. Bowser and his minions did not have control, and the result was as indicated in the foreman's statement to the judge, 11 to 1 for conviction. One man, the foreman said, stood out stubbornly, refusing to discuss the evidence with the other jurors or to give his reasons one way or the other. The case stands over to the fall assizes, on that and another count. That one jurymen we know, and we know that he is in the debt of J. S. H. Matson, the man who got his arm into the treasury up to the shoulder and draws about \$30,000 a year for his newspapers.

"Plugging is no new thing in elections on the part of the government machine. We know what happened in Cranbrook in 1909. We have heard of Ben Teed, the man who voted seven times for T. D. Caven, so enamored was he of the McBride railway policy. We know of the case of Tom Whelan, who voted twice at least for the Honourable W. R. Ross in Fernie, which place Mr. Ross has left for Fernie's good. We know of twenty other cases besides Whelan's, but what happened? Whelan went before a complaisant justice in Elko, one Ross, and was fined a nominal sum instead of being sent to jail as the law requires. Then when he came up in court on the prosecution he was able to plead that his case had already been dealt with.

The Love-Price Letters

"There are the letters which passed between W. H. Price, secretary of the Victoria Conservative Association, and Victor H. Love, secretary of the Vancouver Conservative Association, showing what took place at the federal election in 1911.

"Victoria Conservative Club,

"Victoria, October 6, 1911.

"Re Dominion Election, Sept. 11.

"Victor H. Love,

"Secretary Vancouver Conservative Association,

"Vancouver, B. C.

"Dear Sir,—I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of October 4, and like yourself, regret very much that any misunderstanding should have taken place in reference to Vancouver voters in Victoria. In reference to the amount furnished:

53 men tickets at \$3.50

10 men tickets at \$2.70

22 berth money at \$1.00

"The above amounts to \$334.50.

We have also advanced to your men the amount we advised them they would receive, same being, viz., \$10 each, this being \$70, and some fifteen men are persistently around the headquarters here demanding same amount.

"In squaring up we would like to get a list of the men paid by yourself, so that in settling up we shall not be called upon to pay over the amount thought necessary. A number have mentioned that they were going to write to you demanding their

expenses, and if this has been done kindly advise me.

"It has been most unpleasant for us, a number of these men calling at my residence every evening when they could not locate me at the office.

"However, I trust that we will be able to settle everything satisfactorily, and keep the members of the party in good humor.

"With kind regards, I am,

"Yours respectfully,

"W. H. PRICE."

"Vancouver Conservative Club,

"570 Granville Street,

"Vancouver, January 31, 1912.

"W. H. Price,

"Honorary Secretary,

"Victoria Conservative Club,

"Victoria, B.C.

"Dear Mr. Price,—I enclose herewith my cheque for \$304.50, being amount of your claim against us for transportation of passengers.

"I attach hereto your statement and payment is made according to same. If you examine your statement you will find that where you have \$234.50, you added it \$340.00. By adding \$50.00 you get the amount covered by the cheque.

"I regret that this matter has been allowed to stand over so long, but I have reason to hope that this settlement will be satisfactory to you and your association, and that the good feelings that have always existed between the two organizations will continue.

"Yours truly,

"VICTOR H. LOVE,

"Assistant Secretary.

"Kindly return receipt and oblige.—V. H. L."

Bowser Didn't Prosecute

"I called this to the attention of Mr. Bowser, but do you think he would take any steps to prosecute or have it referred to a special committee of the legislature? You can wager that if he had such letters passing between two Liberal secretaries you would never hear the last of it. Mr. Bowser does not want to prevent plugging. If he did he would have accepted my amendment to the Elections Act last session, which would absolutely prevent plugging in the cities. This calls for the signing of his name by each voter as he comes

up to vote, and the comparison of his signature with that on his application for registration. Instead of this Mr. Bowser has had an amendment made compelling voters to write their names in a signature book but not providing any means of check. If a man has made up his mind to steal another man's vote, he will not balk at writing the name in a book when there is no opportunity of detecting his crime.

"The name of John T. Scott has been mentioned many times in this matter. They say in a pamphlet which is being distributed—an anonymous pamphlet, which bears no name of author, publisher or printer, and which does not carry a union label—that M. A. Macdonald engaged him in Alberta to come to this province for political purposes. Mr. Bowser and his machinists could not tell a bigger lie—and they can tell some whoppers. Scott was in Vancouver for a year before he was engaged to do canvassing work in checking up the 36,000 names on the voters' list, not half of which represented voters actually there. Had he done that no one could say anything against him, because his work was to find what voters were there, who had gone away and who might come back. But I believe Scott was not straight, that he was either wished on us by Sullivan as part of Sullivan's game or that he sold out to the other side after he was engaged for that work of canvassing.

Scott Came Back

"A subpoena was issued for Scott by the government side of the committee, but we did not know that. As a matter of fact we never knew who the next witness on the government side would be, but if we wanted a witness we had to notify the chairman. Afterwards they said they were looking for Scott. Well, Scott came over to Victoria one day, passed the guard at the entrance to the Parliament Buildings, signed his name on the book, shook hands with different newspaper men whom he knew and introduced himself in the name of John T. Scott to one newspaper man who did not recognize him. He was in the Liberal members' room and asked about the probable day for his appearance before the committee. He had scarcely gone home to get his papers together when the Vancouver

Province came out with a story that there was a warrant for his arrest, and the inspector of provincial police, who held the warrant, went around telling everybody that he had it. Who ever heard before of police officials notifying a man they wished to arrest of their intentions?

"The issue of this warrant was in direct violation of their own resolution of immunity. Scott was a most necessary witness. Much of the testimony in the Annance prosecution and before the committee led up to Scott. Where did Scott get the money? The chairman of the committee agreed with me that we should have Scott before us, but in spite of all this we find a warrant issued for the purpose of driving him out and keeping him out of British Columbia. You will hear people say that if Scott has nothing to fear the warrant should not keep him away. I represented that to Scott myself, and his answer was that the same power which had procured perjured evidence before the committee could procure perjured evidence to railroad him to the penitentiary, as he put it.

Bowser Afraid of Testimony

"At 11 o'clock on the night before dissolution Scott got me on the long distance telephone from Seattle and said he was ready to come across that night to testify if the warrant was withdrawn. I spoke to Mr. Mackay and he agreed that we should have Scott. He went away to see Mr. Bowser and came back in half an hour to say that it was useless, that Mr. Bowser would not withdraw the warrant. The public can draw their

own inferences as to why Mr. Bowser does not want to have Scott come back; as to why he is afraid of the testimony Scott will give.

"We find that Sullivan's activities did not stop when the committee investigation ended. We have had men over in Seattle trying to have Scott extradited on another charge, political offenses not being extraditable. Who do you find busying himself to prevent Scott from being brought to this country? Why, Sullivan! Having been very active in getting men from Seattle over to Vancouver, Sullivan is now found using every effort to keep men from crossing the line into this country. What more testimony is needed that Sullivan was in this thing as one of the chief wheels in the machine? There is another bit of evidence along that line in the telegram published in the Vancouver Province from Vandervere, Scott's attorney in Seattle, addressed to Sullivan and notifying him that Scott needed money or he would tell the whole story. Why this message to Sullivan if he were not the man who was looking after Scott and trying to keep him away?

"The Liberals began this enquiry and will finish it, with the assistance of the people at the polls on September 14, when they get the higher-ups who are responsible for one of the most dastardly conspiracies ever hatched. It is not that they want to get either Scott or Annance, for they recognize that these men are not principals but simply pawns, and they will not rest until they get the man or men actually responsible and land them behind the bars."

