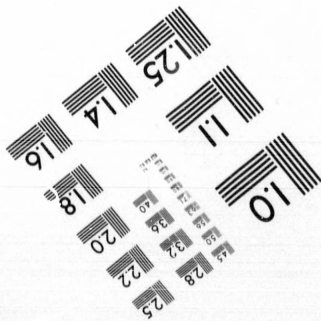
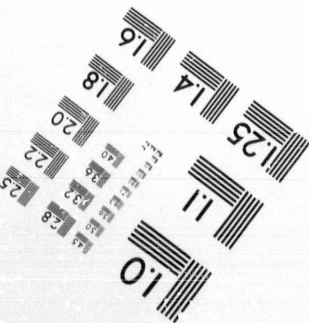
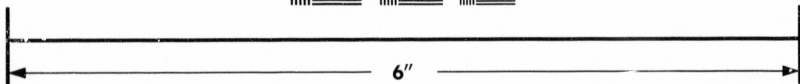
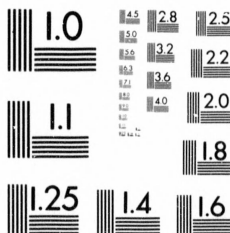


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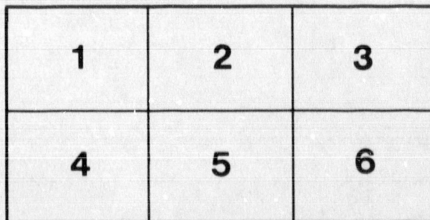
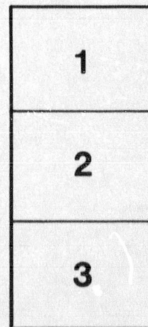
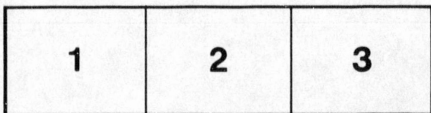
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# SPEECH

OF

## MR. J. D. EDGAR, M.P.

IN THE

### HOUSE OF COMMONS

JULY 3rd, 1894

ON THE

## M<sup>c</sup>GREEVY CONSPIRACY TRIAL

AND THE

### CHARGES AGAINST SIR HECTOR LANGEVIN AND SIR ADOLPHE CARON

Mr. EDGAR. Mr. Speaker, before you leave the Chair, I desire to address some observations to the House. On the 22nd November last, a trial was brought to a close in this city which, in some ways, partook of the nature and importance of a state trial. The defendants in that trial were Thomas McGreevy and N. K. Connolly, and the charge for which they were tried was that of conspiring to defraud the Quebec Harbour Commissioners and the Governor in Council in connection with procuring contracts and with improper dealings in connection with those contracts, the contracts being for very large and important public works between the Quebec Harbour Commissioners and the Government, on the one hand, and Larkin, Connolly & Co., a well-known firm of contractors, on the other hand. The expenditure connected with these works was very large, and their construction extended over some years. The

#### RESULT OF THE TRIAL

was the conviction of the defendants, Messrs. Connolly and McGreevy, and they were sentenced by Mr. Justice Rose, who conducted the trial, to one year's imprisonment in the common jail of the country.

Great and unusual public interest attached to that trial, and it was quite to be expected that it should be so, for a good many reasons. One was the prominence of the defendants. The Hon. Thomas McGreevy had been in public life for many years. He was a prominent figure in this House from Confederation to 1891. He was not exactly in the Cabinet, but he was next to the Cabinet in supporting the Conservative party while they were in power, and also while they were in Opposition. N. K. Connolly, the other defendant, was a wealthy man, and a very large and well-known contractor in the country. This trial attracted public interest for another reason. We know quite well, from the comments of the press at the time, the trial aroused public interest in the events of 1891, when remarkable disclosures were made before a committee of this House respecting Messrs. McGreevy & Connolly, and others, which were, to a large extent, the cause of the downfall of one of the Conservative leaders. That trial also suggested to the public, and brought to the minds of the people something that happened in 1892. The 'Globe' newspaper published throughout the country, with great enterprise, lithographic fac-

similes of certain documents, and those documents were also brought to the attention of the House. Then it must be admitted that the interest the public took in that trial was not lessened by the remarkable circumstance that instead of serving out their term of one year, the

#### PRISONERS WERE ALLOWED OUT

at the end of three months of their sentence. Another matter which still further excited public interest about the trial was the fact that, arising out of those investigations of 1891, where it was disclosed that the Government had been robbed to an enormous extent by the contractors and by Mr. McGreevy, a civil suit had been brought by the Government to recover large sums from those contractors, and that civil suit is still pending in the courts. I cannot help feeling that another, and a still greater reason for public interest attaching to that conspiracy trial was the fact that it was well known that a leader of the Conservative party was still remaining within the Cabinet, although he was largely interested in the distribution at least of the funds that were found to have been criminally received by Mr. Thomas McGreevy from those contractors. I certainly think that the country expects to hear something from Parliament this session, the first session after that trial, on the subject at least of the political aspect of that trial, and the duty devolves on me to-night to bring before the attention of this House what I think is the fair and reasonable conclusion to be drawn from the evidence and records that are before this House in respect to the political action of two of my fellow members who are in this House to-night. What was the consideration, the purpose and

#### OBJECT OF THAT CONSPIRACY

of which those men were found guilty? It was the obtaining of money by Thomas McGreevy from contractors in exchange for improper influence and secret information supplied by him to them. That was its object. What was its result, in a pecuniary sense? The result of that conspiracy was that large sums of money were actually paid over by the contractors to Thomas McGreevy, and were received by him, and that out of those moneys a large sum was paid to Thomas McGreevy by the contractors for a specific and clearly-defined object and purpose, that was for the election expenses of the Conservative party. Now, Sir, the amount of these moneys was estimated by one of the counsel for the Crown, Mr. Osler, in his address to the jury at the opening, at something over \$119,000, and the judge, in his charge, said that \$117,000 may be considered upon the evidence to have gone for election expenses, while other sums were

shown before the parliamentary committee, to have gone for political purposes in addition to those I have mentioned, and for other general pecuniary purposes. This might be very interesting, indeed, to investigate further, but I will confine myself now to the political purpose to which those funds were devoted. What I contend is this: That the conspiracy was, to the extent of its providing those

#### FUNDS FOR THE ELECTIONS,

a political conspiracy. The plea may be made that the political object lessened the crime, and in anticipation of a plea or defence of that general nature, that the political object of this conspiracy ought to lessen the crime, one of the counsel for the Crown, in opening the case for the jury, made some remarks which I will take the liberty to quote. Mr. Osler said to the jury:

Those items of larger expenditure with altered entries amount altogether to \$119,438. Now, what is to be said about these? It is said, and will probably appear in evidence before you, that these items were paid out by this firm of contractors to Mr. Thos. McGreevy and others for the purpose of being expended in election expenses connected with various elections that went on from time to time. Well, gentlemen, it will be for you to consider whether that circumstance does not aggravate instead of lessen the offence. If these moneys were paid out for the purpose of corrupting electors it is worse, not better, for the defendants. It is a very serious crime for you to consider if a man by irregular practices obtains public money for his own pocket that is one thing, but if he obtains it for the purpose of influencing the minds of men in exercising their franchise, and that money comes from public contractors, one of the

#### MOST SERIOUS OFFENCES

against good government and the community that is possible is committed.

Again, after the evidence had been put in, and after the appeals had been made by counsel for the defendants to the jury for acquittal on the ground of the political character of this expenditure, Mr. Osler said:

It is suggested by my learned friends, on the other side, that we should have invited those whom my learned friend Mr. Blake, chose to call the *Noblemen* of the country, whoever he may mean. I apprehend he means those higher in authority. By that suggestion he means that something was done with this money which was wrong further on beyond the hands of Thomas McGreevy, and that these are the men we ought to get at. But Thomas McGreevy's counsel says:—"I decline to give those away. I stand dumb. I won't say what I did with the money. I won't say who received it." And he chooses to take the consequences of that, he chooses to plead to you that this was honourable on his part.



What is it that he conceals? What sort of honour is it that calls forth that concealment? And the great poet has described that sort of honour in describing Launcelot's dealings with the Queen:

"His honour rooted in dishonour stood,  
And faith unfaithful kept him falsely true."

Now, did the judge, when he charged the jury, tolerate, for a moment, such a plea as that? He dealt with it as an able and upright judge might be expected to do, and I quote from his

#### CHARGE TO THE JURY,

as follows:

It is no defence to say that this contract was let, or this influence was given or the service was rendered in consideration of a money subscription being given by contractors to assist any Government, any Minister, any member of Parliament in either corrupt or legitimate expenses. The whole confidence of the public in the administration of public affairs would be gone, the whole watchfulness over contractors would be taken away, and the contractor who would sink his conscience sufficiently to give the largest sum would be the man who would have the ear of the departmental officer, and be able to pull the largest amount of money out of the public exchequer. \* \* \* \*

It has been suggested in the course of this trial that such things are not uncommon, and that if it did occur it was in pursuance of a system. If so, it was a system as vicious as can be suggested, and as improper as can be perpetrated.

In passing sentence the judge pointed out in language that could not be misunderstood that there were other offenders on whom the vengeance of the community should be visited. He said:

The offence is one which affects many, which is against public policy, which is against the good government of the people and cannot be lightly treated, and yet I have no desire, and shall not yield to any cry for severe punishment which might visit upon single offenders the vengeance of the community, or the justice which ought to be administered towards many.

#### IS IT A SECRET ANY LONGER

as to who were the beneficiaries of those election funds? It was a mystery before the jury, who had no evidence before them to show who were the "noblemen" of the country, those high in authority referred to by Mr. Osler. Is it, to-day, a mystery who these were? Even the judge had no direct proof by which to identify the Government, the Ministers, the members of Parliament he referred to, who were assisted by these subscriptions, under a system which he characterized as "as vicious as could be suggested and as improper as could be perpetrated." That evidence does exist to-day. It is written in the records and papers before this House. It discloses the names of those who received the proceeds of the conspiracy from the

minor culprits who were found guilty, and it throws upon this House the responsibility of acquitting or condemning the beneficiaries under that conspiracy. The evidence to which I will direct the attention of hon. gentlemen is mainly to be found in two appendices of the Journals of this House. Appendix No. 1 of the Journals of 1891, contains the evidence taken by the committee on Privileges and Elections on charges made by Mr. Tarte, then the member for Montmorency, against Mr. Thomas McGreevy and Sir Hector Langevin. The appendix to the Journals of 1893, in this other blue-book, is a report of a Royal Commission on charges against Sir Adolphe Caron and is accessible to all the members of this House. It will be remembered that the inquiry of 1891 was somewhat restricted by the refusal of Mr. McGreevy to answer questions that were asked him as to the disposal of the election funds that came to his hands; and it will also be remembered that the inquiry of 1893 was also considerably restricted by the Government on that occasion voting down a motion for a full inquiry. Yet, fortunately, an important portion of this very conspiracy fund is traceable with absolute certainty from its criminal source to its disgraceful and corrupt destiny, the debauching of the electorate by

#### TWO MINISTERS OF THE CROWN.

In order to trace a considerable portion of this conspiracy money, I would quote from page 909 of the blue-book of 1891. Mr. Thomas McGreevy was examined, and he admitted that he had received \$55,000 for political purposes. He was asked by the chairman of the Committee on Privileges and Elections, the hon. member for Jacques Cartier (Mr. Girouard), who is still the chairman of that committee, the following questions:—

Q. You say you got \$55,000 for political purposes?—A. Yes.

Q. You did not say on behalf of which party; I think the committee would like to know that?

—A. The Conservative party.

Q. Exclusively?—A. Exclusively.

Q. Nothing went to any other party?—A. No.

The amount was proved to be much larger than this; but we will confine ourselves to the amounts that are admitted. Now, coming right down to a particular occasion, to the general

#### ELECTIONS OF 1887,

and taking Mr. McGreevy's admissions in that old inquiry, he says at page 908:

Q. As a matter of fact, you actually received in connection with the election of 1887 \$20,000?—A. Yes, \$20,000.

There is other evidence, given by Robert McGreevy and by Murphy on that occasion,

showing other and larger sums; but I will not waste the time of the House in discussing whether that evidence should be received or not. We come down to this clear and distinct admission which cannot be denied. Now, what was the position of Mr. Thomas McGreevy in 1887? He said very frankly to the chairman that this money was expended exclusively for the benefit of the Conservative party in the elections of 1887; but then we find that he occupied a special position of trust and confidence in the ranks of the Conservative party in the district of Quebec: he was the political treasurer for his party in that district. This is proved by himself in the Tarte inquiry at page 997; it is proved by himself in the Caron inquiry at pages 161 and 162; it is proved also by Sir Hector Langevin in the Tarte inquiry at page 1,136; and Sir Adolphe Caron himself, in the inquiry of 1892, at page 224, says:

McGreevy received all election funds for the district of Quebec.

Now, in following up this \$20,000 item, it is important to know if it was set apart and applied to any special purpose, or if it was thrown into a

#### GENERAL REPTILE FUND

and distributed among and for the benefit of Ministers, members and candidates. It is clear, from what I will show to this House, that it came under the control of the managers of the general fund, and that they were the beneficiaries of the fund. Take Thomas McGreevy's evidence on that point. In the Tarte inquiry, at page 997, his evidence is as follows:—

Q. Did you take receipts from the parties to whom you paid the money?—A. Well, I had other moneys besides that.

Q. Would you make any exceptions in the political moneys received from Larkin, Connolly & Co.?—A. Well, I will tell you. This money was spent in the general election of 1887. I had other moneys besides that, and they were all mixed together.

Then he says:

They were all mixed up together. They were mixed up with others—the other moneys I had I got them in confidence. I have a large number of receipts, covering a much larger amount than that, but there is no distinguishing between them. The money is all mixed up together; I cannot distinguish between the two.

Now, Mr. Speaker, so far we have it made perfectly clear that the funds McGreevy received were large election funds, in part the proceeds of the conspiracy. We have it made clear that he was the treasurer for the Conservative party for the district of Quebec in the general elections of 1887, that a large portion of the conspiracy funds went into the elections, and that they formed part of a mixed reptile fund for the district

of Quebec. Now, this one branch of the case is complete, and compromises the Conservative party, first, of the district of Quebec, and, secondly, of all Canada, so long as they do not repudiate and denounce the transaction. But now, what do we know of any and the amount of

#### OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS

to this mixed reptile fund? We know perfectly well from the blue-book that Sir Adolphe Caron himself collected for this fund \$25,000, which he handed over to this same Mr. Thomas McGreevy. He collected it from Senator Ross, who was president and practical owner of the Lake St. John Railway Construction Company, who had got Dominion subsidies for that railway passed and afterwards assigned to him to secure his advances to the contractor; and, if anything was left over, he got it from the Construction Company. We see all that on pages 223 and 224 of this blue-book of 1893; and the strange part of it is that it appears from the evidence in that blue-book that after this gift of \$25,000 in February, 1887, by the late Mr. Ross to Sir Adolphe Caron, for this fund, there were \$262,000 of subsidies granted by the Dominion Government to this very Lake St. John Railway Company, every dollar of which subsidies were to go to Mr. Ross. And that \$25,000 was not paid openly; it was not entered openly in Mr. Ross's books. You will see by his book-keeper's evidence in the report of the Royal Commission, at page 177, that it was not charged to election funds at all. It was charged to Mr. Beemer, the contractor; but it was paid by Mr. Ross's hands into Sir Adolphe Caron's hands, and carried by him in dirty bank notes and bills and put into Mr. Thomas

#### McGREEVY'S HANDS

for the political purposes of the campaign. Why, Sir, in this 1887 election fund, we find that Mr. Beemer, the contractor for this railway, is shown by his books to have contributed \$25,000 towards this election fund, which he marked with the letters "G.E.F." these, he explained, not being the initials of the Finance Minister, but General Election Fund. But the other initials, which also appear in his books, "A.P.C." he had to admit were the initials of the Postmaster General. The evidence is so very curious and contradictory as to these items contributed by Mr. Ross and Mr. Beemer, that, when this report was discussed before the House, a gentleman so much accustomed to analyse and sift evidence as the hon. member for Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy), was forced to the conclusion that there was not one sum of \$25,000, but two separate sums. And the photograph of a letter which I have in my possession, and may refer to later, shows that the hon. member for Three Rivers (Sir



Hector Langevin) did not think that Mr. Ross was even doing his duty when he gave the \$25,000, but referred Mr. Valin to him to get more money, should he require more, and not be able to get it from Mr. McGreevy. So far as we have evidence or can find out, there was not one dollar of disinterested contribution to this general election fund of 1887. It was all from contractors or

#### SUBSIDIZED PATRIOTS

—every cent of it. It was much worse than Judge Rose could ever have imagined it was, when he made the comments I have read. Now, another branch of this case is to find out who controlled and who distributed this mixed fund for 1887. In the evidence given before the Royal Commission, Mr. McGreevy threw some light upon that. He said that two things were arranged apparently. He said:

It was arranged that there was a certain amount of money, and it was to be paid according to orders.

Q. I want to know who it was that directed and controlled these arrangements?—A. At what time?

Q. We will say during the elections of 1887?—A. I think it was Sir Hector Langevin and Sir Adolphe Caron. They consulted about it:

Q. You say Sir Hector Langevin and Sir Adolphe Caron. Were there any others?—A. I am not aware of any others. I have paid without written orders some, but the bulk of it was paid out in written orders.

Sir Adolphe Caron is very explicit on that point, because in his own evidence, at page 224, he explains the whole thing in this way:

Mr. McGreevy was one of a committee composed of three, the Hon. Sir Hector Langevin and myself being two of the three, and Mr. McGreevy being the third and the treasurer for the purpose of that campaign. These amounts were distributed after discussion between the three members of that committee, Sir Hector Langevin, myself, and Mr. McGreevy. They were distributed in what we considered to be the legitimate and indispensable expenses of the various counties which we were looking after in the district of Quebec.

We may have to see what these gentlemen's ideas of legitimate and indispensable expenses were on that occasion; but at any rate that is what Sir Adolphe Caron said about them. It is just to observe that Sir Adolphe Caron includes Mr. McGreevy in the committee, whereas Mr. McGreevy modestly disclaimed control himself, and said he simply handled the money for the other two. That, however, does not make very much difference, for if he were not on the committee, no doubt he knew a good deal about it. Then Sir Adolphe Caron further gives us light on that point. He says at page 228 of the report:

The three members of the committee discussed together, and we decided that such and such a county would receive so much. No amount, to my know-

ledge, was ever given out until we three agreed that that amount should be given.

It is therefore clear, beyond a shadow of doubt, that both Sir Hector Langevin and Sir Adolphe Caron were active agents in controlling and distributing the whole of this immense fund, including at least \$20,000 which came out of this

#### CONSPIRACY MONEY

in connection with which McGreevy and Connolly were sent to jail. It is also clear that if any sums were paid out of the funds for their own constituencies, both were parties to the payments, because Sir Adolphe Caron says: "No amount was ever given out until we three agreed that amount should be given." I think, therefore, Mr. Speaker, that in the motion which I shall place in your hands shortly, I am absolutely bound to include both of those gentlemen who controlled and distributed every cent of that fund. I propose to include them both, and under the circumstances I do not see how I can avoid doing so. They both shared the benefits of that fund and should share the responsibilities. In the months of April, May and June, 1893, the Toronto 'Globe' displayed its remarkable newspaper enterprise by publishing a series of documents purporting to be lithographic fac similes of orders, letters and receipts of Sir Hector Langevin and Sir Adolphe Caron, passing between these gentlemen and the Hon. Thomas McGreevy as treasurer in 1887. I have procured copies of the papers of these dates, and will lay them on the Table for the information of any members who may desire to inspect these beautiful

#### PHOTOGRAPHIC ENGRAVURES

A large part of these documents are also on record in the proceedings of this House and in the 'Hansard' of the 15th June, 1892, so that any member may refer to them. Now, the genuineness of these have never been denied. In the Royal Commission Sir Adolphe Caron does not dispute the documents relating to himself, which were produced by Mr. McGreevy. But, in view of any dispute as to these relating to Sir Hector Langevin, I obtained from the 'Globe' people original photographs—which I have here and which I submit for inspection by members of the House—of orders and receipts, &c., something over thirty in number, which connect Sir Hector Langevin with the distribution of these funds in a most striking manner. Now, it will be found that there were written orders on this fund given by Sir Adolphe Caron for twelve counties, and by Sir Hector Langevin for fifteen counties. A number were for the same county, but, in all, they covered twenty separate counties. This does not include Quebec West, but the treasurer himself provided carefully for that—his own constituency—out of

the fund under his own control, but, apparently without anybody's order. No orders have been produced for Quebec West. But I do not suppose that Mr. McGreevy would go through the formality of making an order upon himself to pay for himself. Now, Sir Adolphe Caron ordered at least \$5,100 to be paid for his own county out of the fund. Admitting that he subscribed nothing more, we have an idea of what he considered legitimate and indispensable election expenses.

#### SIR HECTOR LANGEVIN'S ELECTION

cost the fund \$13,150, as shown by vouchers which I have here. The list of vouchers which I hold in my hand connected with the election at Three Rivers covers the period between the 31st of January and the 3rd of March, and includes these items: \$500, \$1,000, \$1,500, \$1,000, \$4,000, \$2,000, \$3,150, total \$13,150. Now, the hon. member for Three Rivers (Sir Hector Langevin) said, in 1891, in the course of his evidence, which I may have to refer to a little later on, that he took care not to know anything about any expenditure for his own county. He was very particular about that. He did not know anything about any of these matters anyway, but about his own county he was particularly careful to know nothing. But he had forgotten what he had said to Mr. McGreevy in a foot note to an interesting letter I have here. Because, after all these sums, excepting the last \$3,150 had been paid to various gentlemen under orders from Mr. Panneton, the manager of the Bank in Three Rivers, La Banque du Peuple, and Sir Hector Langevin's chief election pusher—not agent, but promoter—we find the following letter dated the 26th of February, 1887,—the election was held on 22nd February—addressed to Mr. McGreevy. The letter is in French, but perhaps hon. gentlemen will excuse me from reading it in French. I will translate it.

Some hon. MEMBERS. In French.

Mr. EDGAR. I am afraid that a good many English people would not be able to understand my French, but perhaps that would not be so bad if I was able to believe that the French members could understand it.

MY DEAR MR. MCGREEVY,—The battle is finished and we remain victorious. I felicitate you upon your success. We are indebted yet in the sum of \$2,689. Sir Hector last evening gave me this word—which you will find herein. I have done for the best. He ordered me not to lose this election. Pelletier has spent on his side at least \$6,000. The fight has been terrible. As this sum has been borrowed from a friend, and as it will be due on Tuesday, will you have the amount deposited on Monday and telegraph it to me. If you prefer to see me, telegraph Monday morning early and I will go down at half past eleven A.M. Sir Hector wishes that nothing shall be neglected. Bien à vous.

P. E. PANNETON.

Then there is this:

I have learned that \$7,000 has been spent by the committee of Pelletier. In the last two days he has made enormous efforts. Destroy this.

P. E. P.

And here is a little memorandum at the bottom of the page, and in a handwriting which I think we all know—

MY DEAR MR. MCGREEVY,—Please hear the bearer.

Sir HECTOR LANGEVIN.

THAT PRAYER WAS HEARD.

You will remember that in this letter Mr. Panneton asked for \$2,689. Apparently, on the 3rd March Mr. McGreevy had not yet paid the amount, for Mr. Panneton addresses Mr. McGreevy again:—

MY DEAR SIR,—The draft in question has been drawn. It is by A. G. Gouin. I have added \$281 to settle some accounts of which I did not know before. It will be presented to you to-morrow morning by the Banque du Peuple. Our friend wishes that all should be arranged in order to avoid all disagreement. We are going to take means not to have any protest.

Yours truly,

P. E. PANNETON.

And here is the draft drawn by Mr. Gouin for \$3,150 on Hon. Thomas McGreevy, Quebec, dated at Three Rivers, March 3rd, drawn at sight, and marked paid. That shows also what Sir Hector Langevin's ideas were of legal and reasonable expenses. Now, you will remember that he cautiously refrained from connecting his name with any order, but, if you will remember, Sir Adolphe Caron has told us that no amount was ever given out until "we three" agreed what the amount should be. Therefore, all three knew what was given to Three Rivers. I can tell you, as a fact of interest, that there were only 640 votes polled for the hon. gentleman at that election. Although there is evidence of a great deal more money provided for this Three Rivers election that I will not refer to, here alone we had \$13,150 paid for these 640 votes, or over

\$20 APIECE

out of this blessed fund. Those are moderate and reasonable election expenses, of course. Now, what does the law say about things of that kind at elections? Section 118, chapter 8, of the Revised Statutes of Canada, says:

The payment, advance, loan or deposit by or on behalf of any candidate, before, during or after an election, otherwise than through the regular agents, is illegal, and the person making the same is guilty of a misdemeanour.

Section 120 says:

The statement of election expenses shall include payments made by the candidate, and any agent



or candidate who wilfully furnishes to the returning officer any untrue statement, is guilty of a misdemeanour.

Now, Sir, we have the published election expenses of Sir A. P. Caron for the county of Quebec, in 1887, as follows:—Personal expenses, \$58; expenses of agents, \$846.46; in all, \$904.46, Mr. H. A. Turcotte being the agent who vouched for that being accurate. Now, deducting that from the \$5,100, for which we find his own orders for his own county, it leaves to be classed as illegal, a balance of \$4,193.54, the payment of which looks very much as if it might possibly be considered by a court and jury to be a misdemeanour if it were brought before them. I am, however, only dealing with political iniquities to-night, not misdemeanours. Now, we have also the published election expenses of Sir Hector Langevin for Three Rivers, in 1887. They are also in their way very curious, and exceedingly moderate: personal expenses, \$30; agent's expenses, \$887.09. They are very particular about cents; it is well to be so when one is honest and above-board. That leaves to be classed as

ILLEGAL EXPENSES

a balance of \$12,232.91. Did the Minister of Justice direct the prosecution of his colleagues? Or will he do so? I do not ask any verdict of misdemeanour against them; I only ask a political verdict from this House. Now, there is another feature in this case. At the Tarte inquiry in 1891, Mr. McGreevy was examined, but persisted in refusing to give particulars as to how he spent the election funds of 1887, received from Larkin, Connolly & Company. Afterwards, in 1892, when he was examined before the Royal Commission, he changed his mind. I cannot tell you all he was asked, but on that occasion in 1891, when he repeatedly refused to answer, he said:

- I decline to answer, it is a matter of confidence.
- I decline because I cannot separate them from the other moneys.
- I decline because it was given to me in confidence.
- I decline because I could not properly separate it.
- I decline because it has nothing to do with this.
- I decline to give the names because I was a trustee of these funds, and it was to be kept in confidence. I am not going to make a breach of confidence.

Now, Mr. McGreevy had declined to compromise Sir Hector Langevin at that time; that is clear, and the opportunity existed for Sir Hector Langevin, if he chose to do so, to make a denial of his knowledge. Sir Hector Langevin was also examined after Mr. McGreevy had refused positively to answer, and decided

TO GO TO JAIL,

decided to be expelled from the House, before he would open his mouth. Sir Hector Langevin was called before that committee and examined, and he did not refuse to answer. I think myself it would have been better for him if he had. Being examined under oath by Mr. Davies, these are some of his answers, as found at page 1,136 of the evidence:

Q. For your own election was there never any money distributed from the party funds?—A. I am not aware of any.

Q. To whom would it be paid if for your benefit?—A. I do not know. I take care when an election comes on to know nothing of the kind.

Q. It seems to me, that as political leader of the party, you must have been aware of large sums of money paid to others for political purposes?—A. Mr. McGreevy never told me those things and I never asked him.

Q. Are you aware that Mr. McGreevy paid, as Treasurer of the political fund, large sums of money for political purposes in Quebec?—A. I do not know. He may have done so, but I do not know.

Q. Your answer is that you do not know that he paid any personally. You may have your presumption but you do not know?—A. I say that I do not know personally that he has done so. I believe that he contributed to these elections, but I have no knowledge about my own elections.

Q. Or other elections?—A. If I were asked how much Mr. McGreevy has contributed to this election or that, I do not know.

Q. It is not the contributions of Mr. McGreevy, but the contributions from the fund that he was Treasurer of?—A. That is what I mean.

Q. You never applied to him for money for political purposes during these elections?—A. I do not know that. I might tell him that there were wants in a certain county or another county. I may have told him that.

Q. Did you specify approximately the amounts that would be required?—A. I do not think so.

Q. You would leave it entirely to Mr. McGreevy to say what amount would be given to each district?—A. Yes.

Q. I do not want names. I want generally the amount?—A. I can not give you that information.

Q. You swear you cannot give any information on that point?—A. I never knew what amount he might have for election purposes in his hands as treasurer or organizer.

Q. Did you apply to him for political purposes to be paid in any part of Quebec?—A. No.

Q. And you are not aware that he paid any?—A. No. I believe he has, but I do not know.

Q. Did you direct any body to do that?—A. Do what?

Q. To go to Mr. McGreevy and see that moneys were paid for political purposes?—A. I might have referred parties who came to me: "You must go and see Mr. McGreevy; I have nothing to do with that." If you ask me to name any person, I could not do it.

Now, Mr. Speaker, you have seen what hap-

pened about his own election. You have seen his own directions to Mr. McGreevy : that he was to hear the bearer Panneton, and you have also heard from the bearer Panneton what it was for and what he got, and you have heard that

#### SIR A. P. CARON SWORE

that no amount was ever given out "until we three agreed what amount should be given," and that \$13,500 is covered by those amounts distinctly and clearly. Then as to the other cases apart from Three Rivers, we have seen that he arranged for the fund, that he and Sir A. P. Caron sat down and apportioned the whole of it, and he distributed part of it. I have here, as I say, thirty-two different orders of his own, signed by himself, containing directions in detail, many of them. Some of them I might trouble the House with reading. For instance, here is the first one to Mr. McGreevy about Mr. Valin :

MY DEAR MCGREEVY,—Mr. Valin has come. He says that he wants some help for his legal expenses.

Oh, yes ; legal expenses ; always legal expenses.

Do what you think proper and necessary and send him for any more to Senator Ross. This county is very hard.

Then there is at the foot of the letter a receipt for \$500. These letters are all signed by Sir Hector Langevin and are

#### IN HIS OWN HANDWRITING.

This \$500 was received by Mr. Valin. Again, in regard to the county of Portneuf. There is a final amount on 21st February of \$200. The papers show that the treasury had been previously drawn on for \$3,000. Here is a letter to Mr. McGreevy :

MY DEAR MR. MCGREEVY,—Please let Mr. Dionne have \$200 for legal expenses, on account of Portneuf. That is the last.

This shows the scrupulous care exercised in intrusting the funds to proper parties, so that they might not go wrong. I will now read a letter from Sir Hector Langevin to Mr. McGreevy, dated 17th February, 1887. It relates to St. Maurice, and is as follows :—

MY DEAR MR. MCGREEVY,—Mr. F. L. Desaulniers has sent the bearer, Mr. F. M. Gelin, a trustworthy man, to receive the balance of what comes to him for his legal expenses in St. Maurice. Please do so.

H. L. LANGEVIN.

P.S.—You should obtain a receipt of course.

"Received \$500, F. M. Gelin."

That shows the businesslike care and accuracy with which the whole matter was

carried out. It is extraordinary that Sir Hector Langevin's memory was so utterly blank as regards the whole of this subject in 1891. I hope these papers will refresh his memory to-night. Here is another document showing the care that Sir Hector took—it relates to the county of Rimouski. It is a letter to Mr. McGreevy :

DEAR MR. MCGREEVY,—Mr. Charles Taché, brother of our candidate in Rimouski, leaves tomorrow morning for Rimouski. I think you might on the balance alloted for legal expenses of that county let him have \$800. He is a safe man.

Received, \$800, J. C. Taché.

He is a safe man—they were all very careful about the kind of men to whom they intrusted the balance. There were

#### ORDERS SIGNED

by Sir Hector Langevin for all of these. Here is another document which shows the trouble Sir Adolphe Caron sometimes gave Sir Hector, and I think it was hardly fair. This letter is in regard to the Bellechasse election, and is as follows :—

MY DEAR MR. MCGREEVY,—Mr. Bealleau (Narcisse), brother of Isidore Bealleau, our candidate in Bellechasse, has come down with Mr. Labrecque, for balance of what may come to the election for legal expenses. It is urgent it appears. Please do what can be done. They have been running after Sir Adolphe all day. They cannot find him. Perhaps you might tell them where he is.

I do not know whether the hon. member for Bellechasse will take any interest or not in this communication. Possibly the party was told where Sir Adolphe Caron was ; but at all events these matters were kept quiet and he took a receipt for \$500. I dare say I have presented enough facts to refresh the hon. gentleman's memory ; but I could run over the whole business. In Beauce he wants to intrust \$200 to a faithful friend. It will be observed that they are all faithful friends apparently, because the amounts were rather in excess of the amounts required for legal expenses. An hon. friend says legal appropriations. They were not in excess of the appropriations, but they were in excess of the statements of legal expenses published by the candidates. For what reason was Mr. McGreevy expelled from this House ? He was expelled for refusing to answer inquiries of this kind. Sir Hector Langevin did not. I will not characterize the nature of his answers ; I will leave that to the House to do so. Now, Mr. Speaker, it is reasonable to ask, what have Sir Hector Langevin and Sir Adolphe Caron to do with this particular sum of \$20,000 received from Larkin, Connolly & Co. for the 1887 elections ? I say they have



## EVERYTHING TO DO WITH IT.

Mr. McGreevy has explained it in the evidence I have read. There were certain moneys placed in his hands—the evidence is to be found at page 162—and orders were given to pay them out. It was arranged, he said, that there should be a certain sum of money, and it was to be paid out according to orders. The evidence was as follows:—

Q. I want to know who it was that directed and controlled these arrangements?—A. At what time?

Q. We will say during the election of 1887?—A. I think it was Sir Hector Langevin and Sir A. P. Caron; they consulted about them.

Q. You say Sir Hector Langevin and Sir A. P. Caron; were there any others?—A. I am not aware of any other.

Those gentlemen, Sir Adolphe Caron and Sir Hector Langevin, had intimation of the exact extent of the funds, because Sir Adolphe Caron, in his evidence, at page 228, said:

The three members of the committee discussed together, and we decided that such and such a county would receive so much.

Therefore, they had the whole funds before them when they arrived at that decision. There is direct evidence that both knew of this large contribution by Larkin, Connolly & Co. But no direct evidence was required. They accepted the money, they gave no possible or pretended consideration for it, to Mr. McGreevy at least, and they dealt with it and distributed it as if it was their own. Did they suppose it

## DROPPED FROM THE CLOUDS ?

Did they shut their eyes to other sources of supply, besides the McGreevy source? No. Sir Adolphe Caron had his eyes open, and kept them open, and received in bank notes \$25,000 with his own hands. He did not shut his eyes to the source of supply. So far it appears that not a cent of the reptile fund came from disinterested political supporters. Can any sane man believe that either of those gentlemen was ignorant of every one of the foul sources of supply? Was the nature of the fund so irreproachable, was its object so pure, was its distribution so legitimate, that the distributors could wrap themselves in a mantle of virtue and sternly demand from Thomas McGreevy to know that this golden stream only flowed from pure and unpolluted sources? No. It was never pretended that they asked such a question of Thomas McGreevy, or ever received or could have received such an assurance, a false assurance from him. They knew all about the Larkin-Connolly fund. They knew as much as we knew, and a great deal more. What were the relations of Sir Hector Langevin and Mr. McGreevy? They were of a prolonged and intimate character. For ten

years Mr. McGreevy had lived with him in his house, and they had shared the same office. In public and private life they were bound up together. The evidence shows—I can give all the pages—that Mr. McGreevy during this time indorsed, financed and floated a \$10,000 note for Sir Hector Langevin, and paid the interest on it out of his own pocket for years and years for Sir Hector Langevin. The evidence also shows that Mr. McGreevy contributed \$35,000 to support Sir Hector Langevin's personal organ 'Le Monde.' Mr. McGreevy in a moment of weakness disclosed to his brother his relation to Sir Hector Langevin. Here is a letter dated 1st of March, 1886, which was

## QUOTED BY THE JUDGE

at the conspiracy trial, and also to be found in this report of the proceedings of 1891, as exhibit J-2 at page 20. Mr. Thomas McGreevy writes to his brother:

I have had a long interview with Perley on harbour works and graving docks at British Columbia. Fleming was to have signed his report today on harbour works. It will be shown to me as soon as signed. I will see it to-morrow and Sir Hector and myself will decide what is to be done for future. He will adopt my views. I will see you and Murphy about it before doing anything. It is a big thing for the future.

Can there be any possible question about Sir Hector Langevin's relation to Thomas McGreevy. What was Thomas McGreevy convicted for? He was convicted of conspiring, and using his influence with Ministers in order to wring a reptile fund out of contractors. Is it not infinitely more discreditable for these very Ministers to have conspired, as they did with Mr. McGreevy, to use that very fund to debauch and corrupt the people at the general election? Is it not more disgraceful to have conspired as they did, with Mr. McGreevy, to flood their own constituencies with enormous illegal sums out of these very funds collected by a crime? Mr. Speaker, before the Carleton jury were brought, only Thomas McGreevy and N. K. Connolly, and again to quote the judges charge to the jury:

Those who stand high or low may be equally guilty, and it might be right to have them brought before the Bar of Justice and their punishment awarded them, but with that, neither you nor I have anything to do.

And the judge was right. But with that this House and every member of it has everything to do. I bring before this House for their judgment

## TWO OF THE OFFENDERS.

and I ask, not that a criminal but that a political sentence be passed upon them. I charge that common political decency demands a verdict and a sentence at our hands. When

these glaring facts of political corruption are laid before you, as I formally lay them before you now, you cannot, you dare not, ignore them. Are we to advertise ourselves as a pack of arrant hypocrites and pass here laws against electoral corruption; and piece severe laws upon the Statute-books against trifling offences, and yet allow these crimes to go without condemnation. Shall the illegal expenditure of a dollar, unseat, or perhaps disqualify a member of this House before a judge, and shall illegal expenditure of \$4,000 by one Minister in his constituency, and \$12,000 by another Minister in his constituency, not meet with the censure of this House? Mr. Speaker, after the disgraceful exposure of 1891, the First Minister was a party to the celebrated profession of

#### LOFTY VIRTUE

expressed by the promise that the Government would bring to justice all offenders, be they high or low, rich or poor. What has he done? The inquiry of 1891 at the instance of Mr. Tarte, and the investigation, pressed on by members of that committee who are not on the Government side of the House, disclosed facts for many weeks, in spite of the strenuous attempts to suppress these facts by counsel, hired and paid by the Government for that purpose. At any rate the facts of this conspiracy were disclosed, which was partially tried last November, and the Minister of Justice was forced by the parliamentary inquiry to institute that trial. The Ontario Government took part in it also, and after many adjournments it was pressed to a trial and the judge and the counsel for the Crown commented on the absence of the greater culprits. Why did the Minister of Justice not prosecute them? The Minister of Justice knew every damning fact which I have laid before the House, as well as we know them to-day. Why did he stay his hand? Why, Sir, it was to save a colleague and

#### TO SAVE HIS PARTY.

I wonder if I might not venture to quote to the Minister of Justice these words, which were applied by Mr. Osler to Thomas McGreevy; the words of Tennyson, as to Launcelot's position. Is it not a fact that the Minister of Justice, too, was in the position that:

His honour rooted in dishonour stood,  
And faith unfaithful kept him falsely true.

Then there was a civil suit which is in progress to-day. How could the Minister of Justice avoid bringing the civil suit, when this big volume of 1891, is full of the clearest proofs that the country was robbed and defrauded by these contractors. It is a long time since 1891, and the civil suit has not been finished yet. I do not know whether it will be or not, but I want to draw the attention of the Minister of Justice to the fact that he knew then, as well as we know now,

that at least \$20,000 of that money that he is suing these contractors for, was traced directly into the very hands of his colleagues, and was spent by them for his and their benefit for illegal and corrupt purposes. A public crime was added to the private one of Thomas McGreevy. Why is not the law put in motion to recover at least that \$20,000 as to which the evidence is conclusive? Why did he stay his hand? I would answer again: to save a colleague and to save his party. Is any colleague worth saving at such a price, Mr. Speaker? Can any party be saved from the acts of its leaders unless it repudiates those leaders? And, Sir, is it necessary for me to say anything as to the necessity of bringing these matters before the House at this session of Parliament? Why, Sir, the charges arise from that trial and that verdict and that sentence, and from the judge's language, which constitutes an

#### INVITATION TO PARLIAMENT

to take action on these matters, if any words that ever fell from the lips of a judge could be so construed. Moreover, I want this House to understand clearly, that this House heretofore has not judged in this matter—not at all; nothing like it. In 1891, how did Sir Hector Langevin clear himself from the charges brought in connection with this conspiracy fund? Why, Sir, he denied receiving or expending or distributing any of these moneys. That was the evidence that was before the House when the House considered the report of the Privileges and Elections Committee in 1891. Was that a true state of affairs? Do we not know now, from the evidence that we have here in unlimited quantities? The evidence of Mr. McGreevy contradicts that; the evidence of Sir Adolphe Caron contradicts that; and the orders by the dozen given by the hon. gentleman under his own hand and signature also contradict that evidence. Therefore, I say that was not an adjudication so far as Sir Hector Langevin is concerned. Then, Sir, as to the hon. Postmaster General. In 1893, the evidence taken under the Royal Commission was considered by this House; but there was no reference in that Royal Commission anywhere to the Larkin, Connolly case—no reference whatever to it in the inquiry as it was sent by this House to the Royal Commission. I had made a charge, and asked for a committee of this House to inquire into it, which included and covered this conspiracy of Larkin, Connolly & Co., for the appropriation of

#### ELECTION MONEYS;

but, Sir, that charge was struck out by the House at the instance of this Government. And, Sir, you will remember that the inquiry of that Royal Commission was limited to two railways, to the subsidies granted to those



railways, and to matters connected with those subsidies; and upon those matters alone did the House pass judgment. Yes, Mr. Speaker, an inquiry was asked by me involving these very election funds, and refused by the Government, on the excuse that the time for petitioning against members implicated in corruption had elapsed. But, Sir, that excuse cannot avail to-night. I ask to unseat no member. I ask for no committee of inquiry. I simply have brought evidence before you, clear and conclusive evidence, and ask you to deal with it. Even to those who cynically affect to believe that politics is only a game, and that votes are the stakes we play for, I say, let us at least have an honest and fair game, and let us unite in punishing those who are caught cheating and playing with loaded dice. Neither would I appeal to others on any very lofty ground of political morality. I only say that

IN COMMON JUSTICE,

influenced by a proper regard for public opinion and for the opinion of our own constituents, we ought to visit with our censure the transactions which I have submitted to this House. For that reason, Mr. Speaker, I move:

“That all the words after the word ‘That’ be left out, and the following inserted instead thereof:—‘from the public trial and conviction of Thomas

McGreevy and N. K. Connolly for conspiracy to defraud, and from evidence and papers already before this House, it appears that large portions of the moneys which were found, upon said trial, to have been criminally received by the said Thomas McGreevy from Government contractors were so received by him for the purpose of being expended in elections in the interest of the Conservative party, and for distribution by Sir Hector Langevin, M.P., and Sir Adolphe Caron, M.P., for the election of themselves and of other supporters of the Government at the general elections held in February, 1887.

“That it further appears that large portions of the said moneys, together with other large sums collected by Sir Adolphe Caron from those interested in Governmental railway subsidies, were expended and distributed by Sir Hector Langevin and Sir Adolphe Caron, and in lavish and illegal amounts, to assist in the election of themselves and of other supporters of the Government, in the district of Quebec, at the general elections of 1887.

“That the said Sir Hector Langevin and Sir Adolphe Caron were then, and are now, members of this House, and on the roll of Her Majesty’s Privy Councillors for Canada, and the said Sir Adolphe Caron is a Cabinet Minister and Postmaster General.

“That, in the opinion of this House, the said Sir Hector Langevin and Sir Adolphe Caron are deserving of the severest censure for their connection with the said transactions, and that it is a public scandal and an injury to the reputation of Canada that Sir Adolphe Caron should continue to hold the position of a Minister of the Crown.”

