

**REV. MR. HOSSACK'S
OPEN LETTER
TO PREMIER ROSS**

Rev. D. C. Hossack, pastor of Deer Park Presbyterian Church, writes the following open letter to Premier Ross:

The Hon. George W. Ross, Premier of Ontario:

Honorable Sir,—You are appealing to the people of Ontario for their judgment upon your stewardship. I desire to express my opinion in advance of the general verdict. What I have to say I should hear. Your position, and the occasion, make you a fair mark for criticism. My remarks may awaken you to a sense of your true position and enable you to see yourself as you are; but, knowing you as I do, I have my doubts.

While I have no personal end to serve by this letter, I confess that I would like the public to see you, as I see you, for, as you appear to me, I verily believe you are. Little as you may think it, I have thought about you many times, and my views in this correspondence are based upon a long acquaintance with the public affairs of this country. My views are not mine alone, for I believe they are entertained by thousands of others in this province. You may not heed my opinion, but I have decided that you shall at least hear them.

Knows Him Twenty Years.

More than twenty years ago I became acquainted with you as a public man. On that occasion you met Sir Leonard Tilley, on the hustings, in the Town Hall in Cobourg, and as Sir Leonard had the reply you were badly worsted. You had at least the sympathy of a young lad who was there in company of his father, a Liberal of the old school, and who was determined to bring up his boy in the way he should go. I need not say that I was that lad. This incident occurred, as I have said, more than twenty years ago, and I have ever since watched your career. I voted for you and your colleagues and supported you until, with a narrow majority, you began to live by your wits, and my conscience would not permit me to support you any longer.

Looking back I am of the opinion that when I began to watch your career I was prejudiced in your favor, and I suppose the explanation is that I was cradled in Liberalism; not the Liberalism of your Government, but the old-fashioned Liberalism of purity. I believed then that the Reform party, in this country, had its origin in purity. My literature was the Bible and The Globe. You will perhaps remember what The Globe was then; I was taught that Baldwin and Lafontaine and the other great Liberals of that school were politically appointed of the Lord and that George Brown, Alexander Macenzie and Edward Blake were politically their lineal descendants. Liberalism then stood for representation by population, purity in elections, constitutional Government and equal rights to all.

Ontario Liberalism.

Liberalism in Ontario has undergone a very radical change, and is not what it was a generation ago. It no longer stands for purity, constitutional government and liberty. It no longer stands for the people against monopoly, but for monopoly against the people. In fact the Liberalism of a generation ago has perished, and I am bound to say, and I do so with regret, that I know of no individual who is more responsible than yourself for the departure of the old Liberalism of purity and the advent of the new Liberalism of political debauchery.

Your friends are accustomed to make excuses for you. Let us examine some of them. It is said that you inherited all the evil of your regime as Premier, and that therefore you are not to be blamed for it. You have been in the Government for twenty-one years, and during that period you have been responsible for the deeds of the Government. No one holds you responsible for the record of the Government before you became a member of it in 1883, but from that time to the present you cannot deny your responsibility or escape the record. In addition it may be said that the scandals previous to your becoming Premier were insignificant when compared with the saturnalia of political corruption which has characterized your term of office.

Your friends state that you are not responsible for the evil record of the Government, that Messrs. Gibson, Davis and Stratton may deserve blame, and ought to retire from public life, but that you are not only quite innocent, but do not even suspect corruption until you read the daily papers. I need not say that if ever such a theory of responsibility should prevail, responsible Government would cease. But you cannot be quite so innocent as your friends pretend. There were some shady transactions of which you had knowledge. You knew that negotiations were on with Mr. Gagey, for you had in your possession his letter promising you support. A short time before you received it, he seemed unwilling to surrender this letter without a consideration. After you received the letter he was able to exhibit the money. You knew that North Renfrew was disfranchised for a year and a half, and the best proof that you were aware of your guilt was your feeble attempt, at Pembroke, to justify your course. You knew the Legislature was called to delay the trial of the election protests. You knew you made a base appeal to the electors of North Hastings to elect your candidate, Lott, and, by the way, you never uttered a truer word than when you said that Lott was a "curious fellow."

Breaks a Pledge.

The blame for broken pledges in regard to temperance legislation cannot rest upon your colleagues, for you alone must answer to that

charge. Years before I first heard you, on the hustings, you were advocating prohibition; you have been speaking in favor of it ever since. You will remember the plebiscite of Jan. 4, 1894. There was a large majority of yeas upon the question: "Are you in favor of the immediate prohibition by law of the importation, manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage?" Shortly after this vote, a convention was held, in Toronto, and a deputation was appointed to wait upon the Ontario Government. It was received by Sir Oliver Mowat and four of his colleagues. Among other things, Sir Oliver said: "The recent vote removes all difficulty in the way of prohibition being demanded by the people." When he closed his speech, he read to the deputation the following statement: "If the decision of the Privy Council should be that the province has the jurisdiction to pass a prohibitory liquor law as respects the sale of intoxicating liquor, I will introduce such a bill in the following session, if I am then at the head of the Government."

"If the decision of the Privy Council is that the province has jurisdiction to pass only a partial prohibitory liquor law, I will introduce such a prohibitory bill as the decision will warrant, unless the partial prohibitory power is so limited as to be ineffective from a temperance standpoint."

Premier Delighted.

The evening of the same day, a mass meeting was held in the Horticultural pavilion. To this meeting the deputation reported. You were present and delivered an address, a part of which The Globe reported as follows: "The result has exceeded his expectations. He expected a majority, but not such an overwhelming one." "The verdict of the people has been accepted by the Government heartily and by me gladly." He was glad the Government were able to express themselves in a way to satisfy the delegates. "It is what you had a right to expect. It is what it ought to do, and," he added, "it is the only kind of a Government I would be a member of."

You will remember the events which followed. Sir Oliver Mowat, in May, 1894, announced, in London, that his policy was to go as far towards prohibition as the power to legislate would permit. A. S. Hardy, when Premier, declared to a deputation that his Government, and you were a member of it, "had not receded from the position of their predecessors, that they considered themselves bound by the pledges of their predecessors." On Feb. 13, 1901, you, as Premier, stated to a deputation, from the Dominion Alliance, that your Government had declared itself upon prohibition and would not recede from that position.

On Nov. 22, 1901, the judicial committee of the Privy Council gave judgment, upholding the Manitoba liquor law, and declaring it to be within the limits of the power of the province. Then you became acquainted with trouble and you have never been without it since. Then began that long game of dodging the temperance issue.

Delays and Excuses.

Not long ago the sincere advocates of the movement to close the bars were cheered by the news that you would reorganize your Cabinet. Their time had come. You had personally made such a strenuous fight against your rebellious followers that now, when you knew the mind of every one of them, you would bring into the Government the men who would give you the necessary support upon this great moral question. You waited a long time; you made a most deliberate selection. Mr. A. G. Mackay and Mr. George P. Graham were chosen. The great convention met, the temperance question was introduced. Mr. A. G. Mackay and Mr. George P. Graham wrecked the temperance resolution while you looked placidly on. After all these years of solemn pledges and temperance speeches, when the crucial moment arrived you said not a word for the temperance resolution, but allowed it to be defeated. Under these circumstances, one is led to ask the questions: Why did you have change in the Cabinet? Was there design in bringing in Messrs. Mackay and Graham for you knew their views on temperance, and since the convention you have expressed your delight at the action which was taken. So nimble have you been that it may be difficult for one who does not know you well to decide where you now stand in regard to temperance. However this may be, there can be no doubt about your sense of humor. Your speeches have always been lighted by it, but your latest production—your temperance manifesto—indicates the greatest development of this quality. "Time's noblest offspring is the last." I doubt if your closest friends imagined that within you played such a fountain of humor as would enable you to solemnly declare to the temperance people that your sacred pledges had been fulfilled by the tricky device of the referendum.

Is No Horatius.

When one views your present position and then reads your speech delivered in the Horticultural pavilion, he is inclined to do a deal of thinking. He wonders what kind of expert political contortionist you are. You remember your speech. "The verdict of the people has been accepted by the Government, heartily, and by me gladly," and again, "It is the only kind of a Government I would be a member of." The only kind of a Government, pledged to prohibition. Messrs. Mackay and Graham are with you. What kind of a Government are you in now?

When one views your solemn pledges, fervid speeches, continued membership in temperance societies, your manifest dread of both the liquor vote and the power of moral sentiment, your long continued game of dodging, your whole tortuous course with its inglorious fiasco at the convention, what is one to think of you? Notwithstanding all your brave speeches, you are no Horatius at the bridge; no patriot and sun-crowned statesman, under whose benign influence freedom broadens down

from precedent to precedent. If the honest and observing elector should view your course, in regard to temperance, with charity, he will conclude that you are at least too weak and vacillating to remain Premier of Ontario.

"Deplorable" Corruption.

It is sometimes said that you and your colleagues are not responsible for the corrupt acts of Liberal organizers and agents. You have, on several occasions, encouraged this theory by declaring that you were not in favor of corruption, and would stop it, if you could. I think the word you used was "deplorable." You deplored the corruption. Once at least you exclaimed, "righteousness exalteth a nation." On other occasions you took high ground in regard to political purity and denounced political rascality in the abstract. The sworn statement of Mr. Hale, your candidate in Renfrew, would indicate that an enormous sum of money was promised for his election by one of your ministers. Of course, Mr. Stratton denies this, but Mr. Stratton denies nearly everything. There is no doubt that Mr. Hale's statement is correct; he has not found it necessary to make many denials. The evidence in the Sault inquiry involved your Government. The evidence in the West Elgin case touched your Government. Beside all this, when you "deplored" the scandals, one would think you would have tried to stop them. It seems never to have occurred to you to refuse to retain office by a majority obtained by corruption. It did not even occur to you to give the courts time to determine whether you held office by corruption or the will of the people. If you "deplored" the evil I would have thought you would not have hastened the meeting of the Legislature, but rather delayed it that the truth in regard to your election might be known.

When you "deplored" the evil why did you not prosecute the culprits? You did not have the excuse of not knowing who they were; the judges named them. You and you alone controlled the machinery of the law. When a private individual tried to bring the villainy of the Government before the public, the courts were used to frustrate his efforts. At the Sault certain men were named for corrupt practices. The Controverted Election Act says that "it shall be the duty of the Crown Attorney to prosecute such persons." The Crown Attorney at the Sault not only neglected to do his duty, but declined to enforce the law when appealed to by a private prosecutor. The Attorney-General, who holds office at your pleasure, far from insisting on the Crown Attorney at the Sault enforcing the law, himself refused aid, when appealed to by the private prosecutor. When the private prosecutor went to the courts he was opposed by the recognized counsel of your Government. Why did you not have the Crown Attorney at the Sault dismissed when, notwithstanding his oath of office, he refused to do his duty? Why did you not ask the Attorney-General to resign and choose a successor who would do his duty if you were sincere when you "deplored" the evil and were of the opinion that "righteousness exalteth a nation?"

Protection to Culprits.

Your protection of the culprits is strong evidence that they are working for you, and that, in some way, they receive their pay from you. Under your administration the law refuses to punish the man who transgresses in order to keep you in power, but the same law will move with alacrity and ferocity, as in the Callaghan case, against one who will dare to say anything against you or your Government.

Callaghan, in an affidavit, made statements more or less damaging to your Government. At once he was prosecuted on a charge of theft which had no connection with the affidavit. Of intent to steal, in my opinion, and in the opinion of many competent to judge, he was not guilty. There are many judges who, if it had been their duty to try the case, would have so directed the jury. It was a case in which the Crown might have taken a most lenient view. But the Crown had seventeen jurors challenged in its effort to convict this man whose offense was that his statements reflected upon your Government. Such is the administration of justice under your Government. Such is the barbarism of Russia. It has been your custom to pose as a patriot and reformer while you "deplored" political corruption and expressed your desire to stop it. You have used many apt quotations in your speeches; let me suggest one for future use. It is this: "When Dr. Johnston defined the word patriotism as the last refuge of a scoundrel, he had not learned the infinite possibilities of the word reform."

Keep Them in Favor.

Not only have you not prosecuted the offenders who have been named by the judges, but you have not repudiated them and have retained them as organizers and agents of the Liberal party. Why did you not drive out of the party the Sullivans, the Boles, the Sutherlands, the Vances, the Gilligans, the Hewitts, the Pritchetts, the Cahills, the Lewises, the Palmers, the Wildfongs, the Jacksons, and other agents who have been engaged in disreputable political work for the Government? You are now receiving the benefit of their labors and are holding office on account of what they have done. You "deplore" the evil and declare you would like to stop it, and, at the same time, you are very careful to retain an Attorney-General who will put the law against the evil-doers. You make loud professions and continue to be a receiver of stolen goods, filched from the liberties of the people, by the worst gang of political desperadoes which has ever figured in Canadian courts. I have often wondered what was your candid opinion of yourself.

A section of the Liberal press is making a great effort to have you judged by what you promise rather than by what you have

less you would prefer this test. This was partly the object in calling the Liberal Convention. The press is calling for a forward movement, and you have requested the people to forget the ugly past. Forgetting seems to be a favorite occupation with your Cabinet. You have desired to seal the black record of your administration with "seven seals." I presume you employ that phrase because seven is a Bible number and you like the phraseology of Scripture, or because the seven members of the Cabinet wish to have part in hiding and sealing the disgraceful record. The public will not be misled, however, and will judge you by your record. What a record for a Liberal Government! It is said that when a man is about to be drowned the events of his past life pass through his mind. You are now in very deep water and I would like to recall some of the events which will probably soon be fitting through your mind, if the procession has not already started. The following are a few of them: The Maybee pamphlet; your speech at Madoc in favor of Lott; the West Elgin frauds; the burning of the ballots; the concealment, by the Government, of the burning of the ballots; the Macnish confession; the appointment through the influence of Hon. E. J. Davis of Cummings as deputy returning officer, and the subsequent naming by the judges of Cummings for fraud; the offer to buy Donald Sutherland, M.P.P.; the purchase of perjured evidence in the South Oxford trial; the offer of \$10,000 to Mr. Boyd of North Grey; the offer of patronage to Mr. Gagey; The Globe interview with Mr. Gagey, which the Hon. Mr. Stratton prepared; Mr. Gagey's letter, promising support to your Government, and found in your possession; Captain Sullivan's \$9,000 timber limit; the payment during the election of men at the Sault; the disfranchisement of North Renfrew; the sworn testimony of Mr. Hale, and the immense sum sent to North Renfrew as an election fund; the guilty ignorance of Mr. Stratton and Mr. Davis when in the witness box; the refusal of the Attorney-General to prosecute offenders; your pledges to the temperance people, and how you kept them.

Evil Day for Liberalism.

I think you would hold a higher place in Canadian history if you had never been Premier, or had been defeated at the last general election. It was an evil day for Liberalism, for Ontario, for public morality and for yourself, when you came into power.

In the approaching contest you may have the support of the now, veteran machine, the personnel of which has not, greatly changed, and which moves from riding to riding, helping you with its nefarious work, while you publicly deplore its misdeeds and solemnly declare to a confiding public that "righteousness exalteth a nation;" you may have the aid of many people who have been deceived in the past, and who will again thoughtlessly vote for your Government, which is Liberal in name and the opposite in principle; but there are thousands of Liberals who will not support you and who now hang their heads in shame to see the flag of Liberalism trailed in the dust, that you and your colleagues may retain power by chicanery and corruption. Ninety per cent. of the Liberal party are right at heart, and would like to do what is best for the Province, but they have too often lost sight of the principles upon which their party was founded, and have been deceived by the men who hold office and call themselves Liberal leaders.

You are a good speaker. You have a cheerful, jaunty style, which is quite attractive. On the stump you are, I think, one of the most expert political conjurers of our time. I would rather hear you speak than read your speeches. While you are lacking in literary instinct you have a stock of standard quotations, and you use some of them and paraphrase others so that your speeches sound well. Macaulay is a favorite of yours. How often have we heard you appeal to the brave days of old when none was for a party and all were for the state. With your stock of poetry you have concealed many a weak point and bridged many a dangerous chasm in your argument. I have a quotation in mind which I will commend to you. It will be more appropriate in the coming contest than "common rights and equal laws, the glorious dream of Harrington, and Sidney's good old cause." It is this:

"Nor florid prose, nor honied lies of rhyme
Can blazon evil deeds, or consecrate a crime."

The Hour Has Struck.

I have personally no ill-will towards you. We have not often met, and, on these occasions, I have found you courteous. We have never had any intercourse, which could be the foundation for either a difference or an agreement. Were it not for your public career I would not have entered upon this correspondence. My occupation has made me more reticent upon public questions than perhaps I had a right to be, but there are, however, times and occasions when a man must sacrifice his citizenship, when he must be true to his country, no matter what happens to party, and when he must speak out, even at the risk of personal loss. Such a time has arrived, and, therefore, do I write to you.

I may be mistaken, but I think the hour has struck for your political departure. Looking back to the day when, as a boy, I heard you speak in the Town Hall in Cobourg, now more than twenty years ago, I am constrained to say, and I assure you it is with sincere sorrow, that I believe that your career has not fulfilled its early promise, that you have duped and besmirched a great political party, which once stood for purity, and that you have not completed a rather dark chapter in Canadian history.

THE CASH STORE. H. H. MOCKLER.

We wish all our Customers and Friends

A Very Merry Christmas

THERE are a few things which you will have to buy Friday or Saturday. The prices which we are making on a line of Christmas Groceries should ensure a large crowd of shoppers for Friday and Saturday. All the goods listed below are of the very finest quality.

- Choice Walnuts, per lb, 15c
- Choice Almonds, per lb, 15c
- Choice Filberts, per lb, 15c
- Choice Turkish Layer Figs, per lb, 15c
- The best Mixed Candy made, 3 lbs for 25c
- Fine Chocolates, per lb, 15c
- Choice Table Raisins, per lb, 20c
- Choice Holly and Mistletoe at lowest prices

Remember

We have one of the largest stocks of Christmas Dry Goods in town. Also the largest and prettiest assortment of Handkerchiefs. Our new Neckwear for ladies and gentlemen show many new things in shapes and colors and are going rapidly.

One of our nice DOWN COMFORTERS or MARSEILLES QUILTS will prove a very acceptable gift for the home. We want to see all our friends Christmas Eve and wish "Merry Christmas." We have a few CALENDARS for those who did not receive one.

Highest Prices Paid for Fowl on Farm

We want lots of TURKEYS and GEESE and can pay big prices for them on Monday.

H.H. MOCKLER

GREAT SALE OF Winter Goods

BEFORE NEW YEARS \$3000 worth of goods must be moved from our stock. That means large selling. It also means Great Bargains in all lines of Winter Goods such as:

- Dress Goods and Suitings
- Ladies' Skirts and Jackets
- Girl's Ulsters and Reefers
- Ladies' Fur Jackets
- Small Furs of all kinds
- Men's Tweed and Worsted Suitings
- Ready-made Clothing
- Men's and Boys' Overcoats
- Men's Fur Coats
- Wool Blankets and Overshoes.

MEN'S HEAVY RUBBERS—all sizes.

Lumbermen's Snag Proof Rubbers at \$2, \$2.50, \$2.75, \$3.
Heavy Rubbers at \$1.25, \$1.50, \$1.75.
Men's Leggings at .75c to \$1.50.

FELT SLIPPERS—for everybody.

We have a lot of nice Fancy Felt Slippers, very suitable for Christmas giving. Call and see them—all sizes, prices 30c to \$1.

Millinery.

The balance of our Winter Millinery will be sold at Less Than Half Price. We Won't have any left if cut prices will clear it out.

New Stock of Groceries for Christmas.

JAS. IRELAND

REMEMBER THE PLACE