Arthur Rankin a political biograhy.

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LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE NOUS L'AVONS RECUE
ARTHUR RANKIN:
A POLITICAL
BIOGRAPHY

A Thesis
Submitted to the Department of History of the University of Windsor in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts

by

John E. Buja

Faculty of Graduate Studies
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ABSTRACT

The twenty-seven year political career of Arthur Rankin was one of moderate success and bitter frustration. Rankin's initial impetus to enter politics was an intense rivalry with Colonel John Prince for supremacy in Essex County. This feud caused Rankin to ignore the political trends of the day which were infusing politics with a new pragmatism. While politicians were grouping together to form embryonic political parties, Rankin chose to maintain his independence, as had Prince. Rather than become allied with the new leaders in the House, such as John A. and Sandfield Macdonald and George Brown, Rankin followed his own course which often led him into direct confrontation with these men. His fierce independence and insatiable ambition to best John Prince caused Rankin to overstep his limitations, both political and business, and become involved in several embarrassing incidents such as the Southern railway scandal and the Legislative Council election of 1856. After Prince left the county in 1860, Rankin had a new adversary—John O'Connor. To this feud was added a new element. Whereas the Rankin-Prince rivalry was mostly personal, the Rankin-O'Connor rivalry was also political. While O'Connor was establishing himself as an ideal party man, Rankin maintained his independence. As a result, by
the 1870s the people of Essex came to realize that a party man was more beneficial to their interests and began to push Rankin to the sidelines and eventually out of politics. Rankin's refusal to be labelled or politically allied with any group alienated him from the majority of politicians of the time. He came to be viewed as an erratic and untrustworthy outsider who had to be dealt with with extreme caution. Furthermore, Rankin's belief in his right to do anything he wished caused many people to refuse to have anything to do with him. His total disregard for law, precedent or even common sense, with particular regard to the lancer incident, made Rankin a man to be avoided. Overall, Rankin's political career was a failure. He tried to sustain his own brand of personal politics at a time when party politics were coming to the fore and suffered accordingly.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CHAR  Canadian Historical Association Annual Report
CHR   Canadian Historical Review
HWHM  Hiram Walker Historical Museum
MPHS  Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collection
PAC   Public Archives of Canada
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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INTRODUCTION

A study of the political career of Arthur Hankin provides an insight into the politics and political culture of mid-nineteenth century Essex County. It is a fascinating picture of rivalry between local notables for place, preferment and influence. Hankin and his predecessor Colonel John Prince dominated the political life of Essex from 1836 to 1872, and politics were often little more than the personal feuds and rivalries of these two men. Their supporters formed the core of the two major political factions within Essex and set the context for municipal and county as well as provincial elections. No quarter was asked and none given; these election contests earned Essex first notoriety and ultimately the condemnation of the entire country.

John Prince was a man of the old school of politicians; dominated by principle, he never allowed himself to be bound or labelled and often was ruled by emotion. "Had I been a 'Party man', or an 'agitator' or an 'ass'", Prince lamented, "I might have grown rich under popular favor. But that which Elevated 'Smart men' (as Yankees & Canadians have it) has destroyed me, namely Political Honesty; as rare to discover as the Philosopher's Stone."¹ Prince's erratic individualism coupled with his volatile, unpredictable and at times violent character made him a colourful if puzzling enigma.
Rankin carried on Prince's tradition of eratic independence although the appropriateness of such a political philosophy was dubious at best. He came to the fore in the 1850s when Canadian politics were being infused with a new pragmatism. The politics of development required political stability; the stakes were higher and necessitated the formation of more stable political units, i.e. coalitions and parties. Men who could adapt to this new pragmatism, the so-called "rules of the game" were successful as in the case of John A. Macdonald. Those like Rankin who refused to bend remained "loose fish", destined to lonely and isolated positions on the fringes of power. Perhaps the Liberal-Conservative coalition of 1854 best expressed the new needs of Canadian political life—an all encompassing coalition of progressives dedicated to development. Rankin's attempts at "political honesty" which had served Prince well enough were no longer acceptable in an age of railroad politics. As government expanded its operations and scope, the personal politics of the past had to give way to the party politics of the future.

Rankin's belief in his right to do anything, in utter disregard for the rules, caused him to flaunt tradition and earned him a reputation as a political maverick. His determination to contest the Legislative Council seat while still a sitting member of the Assembly was in direct violation of the rules and marked him as a man of unbridled ambition;
his continual search for military glory as evidenced by his ill-fated Michigan lancers not only violated the law but nearly provoked an international incident. And his language in the House and personal assaults upon leading members brought disapproval and led others to question his compatibility if not his sanity.

It was in the southern railway affair that Rankin's limitations and outmoded political ethics were most clearly exposed. Railways were at the very centre of the new politics, and railway charters had become the richest and most sought-after political prizes. The risks were too great, the sums of money too vast and the political implications too immense to allow individual eccentricities to endanger the outcome. Rankin's ethics were neither better nor worse than his peers, but his myopic view of politics caused him to violate the cardinal rule of silence. His personal ambitions and frustrations led him to expose the entire railroad world to public scrutiny and to endanger other projects and even the national interest. And so badly did he handle his experience with master railway speculators like Buchanan and Zimmerman that the "Rankin job" became synonymous with jobbery and corruption.

Rankin's political career falls into four stages. The first, from 1851 to 1856, marks his period of ascent when he first achieved office and found the confidence to challenge the dominance of John Prince. In the second stage, from 1856 to 1860, Rankin's career reached the height of success only
to plunge to the depths of despair, allowing Prince the ultimate victory in their personal rivalry. Rising phoenix-like from the ashes, Rankin rebuilt his political career and enjoyed moderate success between the years 1861 and 1866. The era of good feelings surrounding Confederation gave this early advocate of British North American union an opportunity to become one of the Fathers of Confederation. Instead, he nearly became famous as the man who deprived the nation of its first prime minister. The final stage, 1867 to 1878, was a time of frustration. Denied the ultimate justification of his political career—to have served as a Father of Confederation—he suffered a final indignity when the electors of Essex denied him a seat in the new Confederation Parliament. Although he attempted to mend his political fences and regain office, he continued to be defeated. His final attempt to build a dynasty by propelling his son George into a political career failed; and the final irony for Rankin the Showman was that his two sons found their futures in the theatre.
CHAPTER I

THE EARLY LIFE OF ARTHUR RANKIN

By the time Arthur Rankin entered the political arena in 1851 at the age of thirty-five, he had already had adventures enough to last two lifetimes. Born into a family whose members had travelled to half the known world, this restless spirit emerged in Arthur at fifteen when he ran away from Montreal College to become a cabin boy on a New York to London packet-boat.

George Rankin, Arthur's father, was born in Enniskillen, Ireland on 1 October 1762. After attending university in England, George returned to Ireland where he secured a post as a school teacher. Arthur's mother, Mary Stuart, was born in Bunker Hill, Massachusetts, daughter of a British Army officer. After the American Revolution, her father was stationed in Jamaica and then northern Ireland. George and Mary were married there in 1793. Shortly thereafter, the Rankins moved to Upper
Canada and settled in Bytown. In 1814 the Rankins and their six children, John, Charles, George, James, Susan and Kate, moved to Montreal where, in early 1816, Arthur was born.

Soon after Arthur embarked on his maritime adventure, the family moved to Amherstburg, Upper Canada, where George had acquired a teaching position. Returning to the Canadas in 1835, Arthur chose to join his brother Charles in Grey County where Charles was a Provincial Land Surveyor. Arthur studied with Charles and was appointed a Provincial Land Surveyor on 6 April 1836.¹ To supplement his income, he purchased a small tract of land with the intention of taking up farming.

Unsuccessful at farming, Arthur gave it up and joined his family in Amherstburg. It was here that Rankin first publicly exhibited his fiery temper and deep sense of personal honour. While at a tavern in Sandwich, Rankin became involved in a brawl with a Detroit lawyer over the honour of a lady. Rankin challenged Henry Richardson to a duel and on 23 November 1836 the two faced each other with pistols on Belle Isle. Richardson fired and missed; Rankin's aim was better and he hit Richardson in the groin. Thinking he had committed murder, Rankin turned himself over to the local magistrate in Sandwich but Richardson recovered and Rankin was freed.²
Wishing to make himself scarce, Rankin left for Toronto where he volunteered for the militia and received a commission as an ensign in the 2nd Queen's Light Infantry. Perhaps family tradition influenced his choice. His grandfather on the Stuart side had been a British officer in the American Revolution. His uncle, Charles Stuart, had served thirteen years with the forces of the British East India Company, during which time he had helped quell a mutiny, earned the rank of captain and an $800 annual pension. Rankin's brother George was also in the Company's forces as a surgeon.

While returning to Toronto from leave in Sandwich in September 1837, Rankin's temper again manifested itself in a more famous and publicized event. At Toledo three bounty hunters with a captured runaway slave boarded the steamer on which Rankin was travelling. Outraged at such a display of inhumanity he immediately began planning the emancipation of the slave. When the steamer arrived at Cleveland, Rankin boldly approached the slave's captors and demanded the man's release. The men refused and pulled out their weapons. Rankin quickly felled them using his pistols as clubs and, holding a crowd at bay with the same pistols, fled with the slave into the bush. For most of the day they were pursued by several constables and a large party of men; warrants for their arrest had been issued by the local authorities. The fugitives finally
arrived at an inn where a sympathetic proprietor hid them and helped them secure safe passage to Upper Canada.⁵

This event made Rankin something of a local hero and was later much publicized in England by his uncle Charles Stuart. An ardent abolitionist since 1825, Stuart travelled in England and North America speaking for the cause and published numerous anti-slavery books and pamphlets.⁶

With the outbreak of the rebellion in Upper Canada in early December 1837, Rankin embarked upon an unending quest for fame. What caused this intense desire for recognition can only be surmised. Possibly it was the notoriety he had achieved by freeing the slave. Perhaps he wished to match his grandfather's military career or his uncle's military and humanitarian achievements. Whatever the cause, Rankin entered almost every field of human endeavour with an insatiable lust for fame and glory. No longer would he be content with the mundane life of a surveyor, farmer or "gentleman loafer."⁷ By his death on 13 March 1893, Arthur Rankin had been a soldier, entrepreneur, journalist and printer, miner, real estate speculator, financier, politician, businessman and humanitarian.

Having suffered defeat in their initial attempts at rebellion, William Lyon Mackenzie and his rebels were thumbing their noses at the Canadian authorities from their outpost on Navy Island in the Niagara River. Rankin and a friend, Edward Hadout, devised a daring plan to destroy the
Caroline, an American-owned steamer supplying the rebels. Having secured permission to travel to the Niagara peninsula, the two were disappointed to find that Colonel Allan MacNab had already approved just such an expedition under Captain Andrew Drew.

On 27 February 1838, Rankin returned to Essex when his regiment was ordered to Sandwich. Here Rankin became acquainted with the local magnate and commander of the 3rd Essex Militia, Colonel John Prince. On 31 July 1838 the 2nd Queen's Light Infantry returned to Toronto, but without Ensign Rankin. Feeling that his chances of seeing some action were better in Essex, Rankin had secured a transfer to the 2nd Battalion of Provincial Volunteer Militia stationed at Sandwich under the command of Captain John P. Sparke.

The rebels had been extremely active on the western frontier during 1838. In January the schooner Anne was captured near Amherstburg. Rebels were engaged at Fighting Island in February and at Pelee Island in March. Three Canadian officers were pelted with stones, eggs and mud while visiting Detroit in May. Colonel Prince, who was also Member of Parliament for Essex, believed the rebels were preparing for an invasion. Rumours abounded, particularly around the Fourth of July, and the withdrawal of the 2nd Queen's Light Infantry at the end of July left the frontier poorly defended. Rebels in Detroit seized arms
and a cannon and began plotting their invasion.

On 4 December 1838 the worst fears of the residents of Essex were realized. At approximately 3:00 a.m. a force of 150 rebels under General Lucius Bierce crossed the Detroit River and landed opposite Belle Isle. The rebels moved on Windsor, destroyed a guard post and by 6:00 a.m. held the town. Rankin, who was officer of the evening at the Sandwich barracks, received news of the invasion and immediately mustered a force of sixty men. Captain Sparke, who was ill, ordered Rankin to march on Windsor. The company was joined by a division of Captain Bell's Provincial Volunteer Militia under Ensign Powell and three companies of Essex militia under Captains Fox, Elliott and Thebo. At about 7:00 a.m. the militia caught the rebels in a crossfire at Saby's orchard and forced them to retreat. James Dougall, a local merchant who had joined Rankin's company a few minutes before, offered $100 to whomever shot the rebel standard bearer. Captain Harvell soon fell. Rankin ran forward and took the standard from the wounded Harvell who was then bayoneted despite Rankin's protests.

At about 9:30 a.m. Colonel Prince and his men arrived. Fearing an attack on undefended Sandwich he ordered pursuit of the rebels halted and all forces returned to Sandwich. Rankin volunteered to take twenty or thirty men and attack the remaining rebels, but Prince ordered
him to remain in Sandwich until the regulars and canon arrived from Fort Malden.  

At this point Prince made a decision that had repercussions lasting years and caused a controversy that ultimately reached the House of Lords in England. Angered by the release of rebels captured at Pelee Island, the damage done to Windsor, and the cruel murder by rebels of his friend Doctor Hume, Prince ordered all prisoners taken shot. Three were quickly dispatched.

By 1:00 p.m. a force of regulars with artillery and mounted Indians joined Prince at Sandwich and marched on Windsor. As they marched two more rebels were executed. The remnants of the invading army fled back to the United States signalling the end to the Battle of Windsor and the Upper Canada Rebellion.

For several months after the Battle of Windsor controversy raged in Essex. While most of the county and Upper Canada praised Prince, a party of men led by W. R. Wood denounced him for his conduct regarding the prisoners. Prince was eventually exonerated by a military court of enquiry but not before he fought a duel and challenged several others.

Rankin became involved in February 1839 when a report in the Detroit Morning Post claimed he was to fight a duel with Prince. Though asserting that he was an admirer of Prince, Rankin's denial of the claim had the flavour
of a challenge itself. He assured everyone that he would never "trude the character, or seek to injure the reputation of any gentleman, without being willing to give him any satisfaction he might require."16

Rankin and Prince became good friends, the two dining often together at Prince's home. Prince, in his capacity as boundary commissioner, employed Rankin as a surveyor many times. This early relationship between Prince and this "fine gentlemanly young officer"17 must have gone a long way towards shaping the future of Rankin. Rankin was friends with an acknowledged military hero and successful politician, exactly the kind of man he wished to be. Prince was the local lord of Essex, admired by most people and undisputed leader of the westernmost county of Upper Canada. This presented Rankin with a challenge a man with his ambition could never resist: to replace John Prince in the hearts and minds of the people of Essex. Though it took several years for Rankin to realize this challenge had been presented to him, he may have unconsciously begun the battle with his rather aggressive reply to the Morning Post. Perhaps he resented the praise for Prince's actions at the Battle of Windsor when it had been himself and not Prince who was present for the entire battle and risked his life several times.

In 1840 Rankin took an important step into the local elite with his secret marriage to Mary McKee, daughter
of Alexander McKee of Sandwich. The reason for the secrecy is not known but the vagueness of the birthdate of a son leads one to conclude that Rankin may have had no choice in the matter.\textsuperscript{18} The Rankin’s two sons, George Cameron and Arthur McKee, each became famous in his own right. George was a fairly well-known playwright and businessman while Arthur McKee was one of the great leading men of the American stage. The children of McKee Rankin all married into the famous Barrymore family of actors.\textsuperscript{19}

Rankin remained in the militia until 25 April 1843 when the 2nd Battalion was disembodied. During this time he had achieved the rank of lieutenant and had unsuccessfully attempted to secure an appointment to the colonial corps.\textsuperscript{20}

Released from his military commitments, Rankin organized a venture he hoped would gain him both fame and fortune. He had become acquainted with the Indian volunteers during the Rebellion and had subsequently worked in the lands of the Ojibway nation. Now Rankin conceived the idea of taking an Indian or "Wild West" show to England. When the idea was broached to the Indians the whole tribe volunteered.\textsuperscript{21} With the aid of Albert Cadotte, a half-breed interpreter, Rankin and his company of nine Ojibways left for England.

Landing at Liverpool the troupe began a tour of the British Isles. Word of
STURROCKS' REAL BEAR'S GREASE.

TESTIMONIAL from A. RANKINE, Esq., under whose guidance
THE OJIBBEWAY INDIANS
were brought from their Native Homes, and by whom they were exhibited in this Country:

To Messrs. Sturrock and Sons, Performers in Her Majesty,
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It is a regular and constant use is of the utmost importance, and for Children it is invaluable, being a mild and effective preservative and stimulant.

* * * When obtained elsewhere than at their Establishments, it is necessary, to secure the Grease, to observe the Engraved Label on each Pot and Bottle, bearing a copy of the above Testimonial, and a Participle of the Signature of the Proprietors.

STURROCK & SONS,
5123 BUCHANAN STREET, GLASGOW, AND
33 PRINCES STREET, EDINBURGH,

* * * The above-mentioned Pots, are 6d. each, the next 3d. each, and in Stopper Bottles at 3d., 6d., 1s. 6d., and 10s. 6d.

Printed by Robert James & Co., 26 Princes Street, Edinburgh.
the extravagant and gorgeous display of his troop, driven by himself, as an Indian chief, in a van made for the purpose, with his team of six gorgeously caprisoned cream-coloured horses drilled to the quick step of a brass band in attendance.

Spread quickly. In December 1843 the show appeared at Windsor Castle at the request of Queen Victoria.

In late 1844 Rankin returned to the Canadas with between ten and sixteen thousands dollars after selling the show to a man named Catlin. The troupe had been unhappy for several months because of the tension caused when Rankin disapproved of Cadotte's marriage to an English girl. After a widely publicized wedding in May 1844, Cadotte and his bride left England for Upper Canada.

The months in England with the "Wild West" show came back to haunt Rankin in later years. More than any other event, the show was used as an example of Rankin's lust for public attention and recognition, and his betrayal of those who trusted him. Rankin the showman was never forgotten.

Upon his return to Sandwich, Rankin set himself up as publisher and editor of the Sandwich Standard. Rankin was a flaming Tory and soundly criticized Reformers like Robert Baldwin and Francis Hincks in his editorials. Rankin soon got himself into trouble, however, by crossing swords with John Prince. In July 1845 Prince published a list of men he wished appointed as magistrates. Immediately this caused excitement. On 24 July Prince faced "A
good deal of bother at Beeman's [Tavern] about it with Rankin and others. 26 In an editorial in the Standard it was alleged that nominee Jean Laliberté had two wives and could not write; and nominee François Caron was a "political incendiary" from Lower Canada who was preparing local French Canadians for the overthrow of the British. 27

Libel charges were promptly laid against Rankin by Laliberté, Caron and L.J. Fluett. On 11 September Rankin entered a plea of not guilty at the Western District Assizes and faced trial on the twelfth. Prince, as prosecutor, charged Rankin with deliberately publishing and perpetrating falsehoods about his nominees and then attempting to tamper with the jury. Also, by criticizing the Governor's appointees, Rankin was contravening the political allegiances and philosophies of his paper.

The defense, handled by John Wilson of London, argued against outdated libel laws. He believed that Rankin would have been neglecting his duty to the public if he had remained silent for fear of being jailed. Lastly, Rankin implied no censure of the Governor; the Governor did not knowingly appoint unfit men. Only one man was responsible for the poor choices - John Prince. 28

In his address to the juries, one for each charge, 29 the Judge stated his belief that Rankin had undoubtedly committed libel and should be found guilty. The juries disagreed and found Rankin not guilty. Amidst the cheers
of the spectators, a subscription raised over half of Rankin's court costs.  

Many recognized that the verdicts were contrary to the law, but it was believed the juries acted properly based upon the evidence presented. The libel laws were unconstitutional and in need of reform and the jurors deserved "the praise and thanks of the community...for their independent and just verdicts." Prince, however, was disgusted at this miscarriage of justice; though he did get some satisfaction when Rankin withdrew from the newspaper business to concentrate on more commercial activities.

In October 1845 Rankin entered into partnership with an old friend from Grey County, John Waddell, now of Chatham. It was their intention to take advantage of the wheat and timber boom and Chatham's rapid growth by forming a joint stock company to run a direct shipping line between Chatham and Montreal. Their propeller steamboat, to be built in Amherstburg, was to be 136 feet long, 25 feet 9 inches wide, have a 9 foot draught of water, an average speed of 10 miles per hour and accommodations for fifty passengers. It would be "fitted to combine strength and elegance." Plans were made to have the boat ready for service by June 1846.

The company was formed and the first steamer, Queen of the West, was prepared for launching in mid-July 1846. A second steamer, George Moffatt, was launched soon
after. These steamers were considered safe investments for capitalists and "evidence of the rising importance of our commerce and trade" by western businessmen. A wharf and dock were built in Chatham and two more steamers were built in 1847 and 1848 but the venture was doomed. A series of accidents left one steamer sunk and another irreparably damaged. A financial panic, caused by the Depression of 1847-50, caused investors to withdraw and the company dissolved.

In the meantime, Rankin had turned his attention to the only field of endeavour at which he showed consistent success - mining. With his brother-in-law, Alexander McKee, Rankin had discovered potential copper deposits and obtained licences for several locations on the north shore of Lake Superior. The Huron and St. Mary's Copper Mining Company, formed in 1847, partnered Rankin with several Montreal capitalists also involved in other mining companies. Shortly, disputes broke out among the directors of the Bruce Mines, one of Rankin's locations. John Prince, himself involved in Lake Superior mining, was asked to arbitrate. The settlement left Rankin with approximately $70,000 after selling out to the Montreal Mining Company. Pleased with the outcome, and perhaps wishing to make peace, Rankin gave Prince five hundred stock shares of another company. Prince, however, chose to pay for the shares rather than accept a gift from the upstart who had embarrassed him at the Assizes. Another company, the Huron Copper
Bay Company, was formed in 1849 but Rankin was losing interest in mining and wished to focus his efforts on Essex County.

Rankin returned to Essex determined to make his presence known. His first opportunity came in July 1849 when he chaired a committee to present a silver trumpet to the Detroit fire department. A disaster had been averted in April 1849 when the Detroit firefighters had come to Windsor's aid after a fire broke out at Dougall's warehouse. Rankin was able to establish contacts in Detroit who would later become useful.

Having married into the local elite in 1840, Rankin now took the next step. In late 1849 he purchased the W.R. Wood residence, Thornfield, located on lot 68 of the first concession of Sandwich. This home, recognized as one of the finest residences in the District, secured Rankin's position as a member of the local landed gentry.

In February 1850 Rankin had another go at Prince; this time over Prince's views on annexation and independence. It had been hinted that Prince favoured annexation and had the support of his constituents. Prince's reply, in the form of a letter to Rankin, became known as his Independence Manifesto. This manifesto called for Canada's independence from Britain but not annexation to the United States. He also wanted British North American confeder-
ation. In an article published in 1848, Rankin had expressed similar views regarding independence and confederation; therefore he was forced to back down.

Rankin had partially achieved his wish for eminence in Essex for, in August 1850, he, Prince and Thomas Woodbridge, deputy-reeve of Sandwich Township, were selected to draft an address to Governor General, the Earl of Elgin, who was to pay a visit to the county later in the month. This was the last time Rankin and Prince worked together publically.

By 1850 Rankin had established the patterns that were to guide him in his political career over the next twenty-five years. Having emulated his uncle, Charles Stuart, in the military and humanitarian fields, he set his sights on John Prince, the guiding light of Essex County, as the man to rival and surpass. Prince, to some extent, had already recognized this rivalry when he addressed his Independence Manifesto to Rankin, the leader of a circle of Prince's critics. Until 1860, when Prince left the county, Rankin's actions would be solely for the purpose of discrediting Prince and advancing his own interests. After 1860 Rankin sought to erase the memory of Prince from the county and place himself at the forefront of Essex.
CHAPTER II

THE RISE OF THE LORD OF THORNFIELD

A. The 1851 Election

The only way Rankin could hope to replace Prince as the most notable personage in Essex County was to gain election to the Legislative Assembly in his stead. Unfortunately for Rankin, Prince was too deeply entrenched; he had not been defeated since first standing for office in 1836, and was once awarded the ultimate honour of being acclaimed.¹ Rankin had no choice but to seek election outside Essex, perhaps to return better qualified and more experienced to challenge Prince in a future contest.

The obvious choice for Rankin was the United Counties of Kent and Lambton, where Rankin had friends and business connections and where the local monarch, Reformer Malcolm Cameron, was not seeking re-election.² A Tory-Conservative candidate had already emerged in the person of Edwin Larwill, a Chatham tinsmith. Therefore, Rankin would have to run as a Reformer. Such a strategy, however, would require intricate maneuvering as Rankin was known as an extreme Tory, having roundly denounced the Reform party in his newspaper, the Standard.
In normal times, political convictions like religious beliefs, could be shed only with great risk, but these were not normal times. Canadian politics were undergoing a major transformation, and the comfortable tags of Reformer and Tory were no longer an adequate reflection of the political spectrum:

...the province of Canada was entering upon a period of rapid economic growth which would foster optimism, speculation, and the formation of close links between government and certain sectors of the economy. Simultaneously, however, the province was moving into a phase of acute ideological conflict in which the relationship between the churches and state and the two cultures would be the principle centres of concern. The political tensions generated by these developments would expose the (dominant) Reform party in its true guise as a marriage of convenience between certain groups in Canada East and West to secure a firm grip on the levers of political power and the distribution of patronage, rather than to effect major changes in the social and political order. In the wake of this process of illumination, the Reform party began to disintegrate.

The Reform party of the 1840s under the competent leadership of Baldwin and Lafontaine had set out the goal of Responsible Government and achieved it by 1848. Once achieved, however, the Reform party seemed to flounder, lacking the will or even the political consensus necessary to establish new goals. The Tories, on the other hand, by their mindless reaction to Responsible Government which resulted in the burning of the Parliament buildings in Montreal, were thoroughly discredited and offered no viable alternative. The retirements of Baldwin and Lafontaine pre-
cipated a political crisis.

Francis Hincks and A.N. Morin attempted to perpetuate Reform control through the introduction of moderate and pragmatic policies. They succeeded for a time because of the weakness of their Tory opponents but the pragmatic course of the Reform party did not please everyone. A small number of ultra-Reformers split from the main body and became known as Clear Grits in Canada West and Rouges in Canada East. They demanded more radical measures and the fulfillment of the Reform programme; they were not content with middle-of-the-road government and were appalled by the opportunism of the Hincks-Morin government. The election of 1851 was the first in which these groups of the extreme left participated and gained strength.

As heir-apparent to the Baldwin-Lafontaine leadership, Francis Hincks attempted to adapt the Reform party to these new conditions. A keen practitioner of the art of political management and pragmatism, Hincks offered a splendid opportunity for more moderate Conservatives to shed their old-Tory image and join a coalition of the centre. Under these circumstances, Rankin was not alone in shedding his past affiliations for the possibility of participating in the politics of the future.

Early in September 1851, Rankin announced his candidacy as a government supporter in Kent and Lambton. In his initial address to the electors he surprised many by
adopting Reform principles. The government's successful establishment of Responsible government was a national blessing, he said. The Clergy Reserves should be secularized and the money obtained from their sale used for educational purposes. Caught up in the railway mania of the 1850s, Rankin supported Hincks's Grand Trunk Railway scheme which offered special advantages to the Sarnia-Lambton area. As he had done since 1848, Rankin advocated maintenance of the British connection combined with union of the British North American provinces. Perhaps Rankin saw this last point as a way of strengthening Canada both politically and economically, thus averting a repetition of the events of the late 1840s which resulted in the ruination of his shipping company.

The sudden conversion of a High Tory like Rankin to the principles of Reform was viewed with some skepticism; but Malcolm Cameron's support indicated a willingness on the part of the Hincks government to accept his conversion. Cameron's Clear Grit past, jettisoned when he accepted a Cabinet post in the Reform government, indicated his own political pragmatism.

The Globe, George Brown's Clear Grit organ, was not at all convinced and warned the people of Kent and Lambton not to be deceived by the Tory Rankin. Brown had been openly critical of Cameron's conversion to government supporter and he had now greater confidence in the ex-M.P.'s
protege. To many Reformers in the United Counties an ex-Tory was simply not acceptable. These men, led by Alexander and Hope Mackenzie and Archibald McKellar, turned to George Brown as their choice.

The Mackenzies and McKellar promptly set about organizing support for Brown. On 26 September Lambton County Reformers met at Dresden and nominated Brown. Thomas A. Ireland, editor of the Kent Advertiser, failed to carry Rankin's nomination. Brown's supporters charged that Rankin was a "man of straw" for the Ministry whose candidacy was nothing but a "burlesque." The Reformers of Lambton had expressed their dissatisfaction with the government of Francis Hincks and quickly swept away his candidate.

George Brown, cautious after an earlier by-election defeat, did not immediately accept the Reform nomination. Firstly, the Dresden Reform Convention was scarcely representative of the United Counties; only 17 delegates from five of twenty-two townships were present, and they were all from Lambton. Secondly, the Hincks government was strongly entrenched in the United Counties and Malcolm Cameron had committed his ministerial weight to Rankin. Lastly, he was wary of the situation in Kent where a strong Roman Catholic vote would oppose his voluntarist beliefs. After visiting the area and assessing his chances, Brown agreed to run as an Independent Reformer under no colie-
ation to the existing Hincks Government. 16

Throughout the autumn campaign the focus remained on the two Reformers, Rankin and Brown. The Conservative candidate, Darwill, seemed to have been forgotten. It was assumed that a Reformer would win the election; the question was what kind of Reformer. Rankin's Central Reform Committee, led by Cameron, considered Brown an intruder, encouraged by the Tories to split Reform ranks in the counties. 17 Brown's supporters, on the other hand, thought Rankin a Tory in disguise, an opportunist who realized that an avowed Conservative could never win in the counties. 18 The very fact that Rankin could completely reverse his views was proof to his detractors that he could not be trusted and was only seeking to gratify his ambition.

Religion was one of the burning issues of the 1851 campaign. The contest was seen as a battle between those who advocated a state church (Tories) and those who wanted complete separation of church and state (Grits). Brown's voluntarist principles, expounded through the Globe, made him the confirmed enemy of the Roman Catholic Church which clung to its corporate control over education, health and charitable services. While Brown believed in total religious liberty and did not wish to restrict the civil rights of Catholics, he and other voluntarists objected to any church interfering with the civil rights of
the community. Brown's views on the Clergy Reserves, the most important question before the country, made him unpopular with the Church of England as well. He wanted to secularize the reserves and use the proceeds for education. The abolition of rectories, money grants to clergymen, and the establishment of non-sectarian education completed his voluntarist platform.

Rankin's secularist views were similar to Brown's but his critics refused to believe his conversion from Toryism. As a member of the Church of England, they argued, he was bound to defend the concept of a state church; his marriage to a Roman Catholic, conversely, made him an obvious friend of that church. If additional proof of Rankin's insincerity upon the issue of church-state relations was needed, Brown's supporters claimed that Cameron was actively rousing the Catholics and Methodists against Brown.

Cameron, who had promised Brown a "coon hunt on the Wabash" if he dared enter the contest, brought the resources of the Ministry behind Rankin. Cameron had earned the enmity of Brown who denounced the Reform coalition as unprincipled and a betrayer of the movement which had won Responsible Government. For his part, Cameron regarded Brown as one of the "upstarts who dared to challenge his authority" and was willing to work for anyone who opposed Brown, even an ex-Tory like Rankin. With Cameron's intervention, the contest within the Reform party became
a "war to the knife." 28

By the end of November Rankin had been overshadowed by Cameron. Cameron did most of the debating with Brown at rallies and it was he who issued the infamous 21 November handbill questioning Brown's motives for running.

This handbill proved more harmful to Rankin than Brown because it revealed the motives behind Cameron's support of Rankin. 29 Cameron did not seem to care much for Rankin, who at one point is referred to as William, or even to know exactly what Rankin's platform was. Rankin, while possessed of honesty and integrity, was a poor substitute for the local men Cameron had wished to see as candidates. He urged electors to look to those who recommended Rankin, to his own record, to see if Rankin was worthy of their confidence. Rankin's qualifications and past were ignored. Cameron did not even express confidence in Rankin's ability to win, taking it as a foregone conclusion that Brown would win the Reform vote. Cameron's handbill was a direct attack upon Brown, a "political prostitute" and noted liar.

One can see by this handbill that Cameron did not care about Rankin but only wanted to hurt Brown. He even expressed the hope that Larwill be elected rather than Brown. Brown's criticisms of Cameron in the Globe had caused Cameron to bluster and hurt Rankin's chances of victory. By the end of November the Brown-Cameron contest
had reached its peak and Cameron began to falter. Brown was winning more and more of the hours-long debates with Cameron and Cameron was losing interest in Kent and Lambton, becoming more concerned with his own campaign in Huron.

At the hustings at Chatham on 3 December four candidates presented themselves: the Tory Edwin Larwill and three Reformers -- George Brown (Independent), Arthur Rankin (Ministerialist) and Frederick T. Wilkes. Wilkes appeared late in the race as a compromise Reform candidate. An attorney from Toronto, and a Reformer of the old school, Wilkes called upon Rankin and Brown to withdraw from the race and end the internal dissention that was tearing apart the counties' Reform coalition.

The nominating convention proved to be a victory for the Tories. When a show of hands was taken, Larwill had 350, Brown 300, Rankin 50 and Wilkes 2. This was a good showing for Brown considering that Chatham was Larwill's stronghold, but it did reveal how the Reformers' refusal to compromise did nothing but hurt them. Rankin's poor showing was in part due to Cameron's losing steam and reports indicate he was not even present on 3 December to bolster Rankin. A poll was demanded and the candidates prepared themselves for the election.

A week later the electors went to the polls. Brown was unofficially declared the victor by a majority
of almost 200. Fears that two Reform candidates would split the vote and allow a Tory victory were groundless as Brown's popularity proved strong enough to overcome Rankin's presence. The official results were: Brown 836, Larwill 739 and Rankin 490.

A sharper picture emerges when the results are broken down by county. In Lambton the results were: Brown 508, Larwill 216 and Rankin 118; in Kent, Brown 328, Larwill 523 and Rankin 372. Clearly both counties cast Reform majorities with 1326 out of 2065 votes, but Larwill's strong showing in Kent mirrored that county's Tory and Loyalist history. Although finishing third, Rankin actually polled more votes than Brown in Kent and overall garnered a respectable total of nearly 500. This was not a bad showing for a political novice.

At the official declaration of Brown's victory at the Chatham courthouse on 20 December, Rankin was a perfect gentleman and an honourable loser. He congratulated Brown who, though not more honest or firm than he, was a politician by profession and would probably be a better representative for the counties. Besides, Reform principles were responsible for the present prosperity of the nation and those principles had triumphed. Rankin had no regrets for the course he had followed and had had no intention of hurting Brown's feelings during the campaign. He ended by shaking Brown's hand. Perhaps this last was Rankin's
way of disassociating himself with and apologizing for Cameron's outbursts.

Rankin returned to Essex a loser, but having been "blooded" in political battle. Prince in the meantime had been re-elected to the Assembly for Essex, maintaining his policy of "manly independence," but generally seen as being in the opposition camp. Prince had actually been involved in the Kent-Lambton campaign, having been "specially import(ed from Sandwich" to abuse Brown, an old personal and political enemy. He was of no help to Rankin, however, and claimed to have been appalled at Rankin's "having suddenly 'chopped round' from high conservatism." Almost as soon as he arrived in Essex, Rankin faced Prince's sarcasm and received "a terrible 'hauling over'" before a large crowd at Fabien Parent's Inn in Sandwich.

Possibly Rankin realized his loss in Kent-Lambton was necessary to establish his Reform credentials so that he might challenge Prince. His gentlemanly conduct toward Brown may have signalled an awareness of Brown's potential as a Reform ally against the common enemy, John Prince. At least Rankin had staked out a position as a Reformer and Ministerialist and had taken the first step towards a direct challenge to Prince in Essex.
B. The 1854 Election

After his defeat in Kent, Rankin spent his time cementing his position and credibility in Essex. Having married into the local aristocracy and bought his way into the local gentry, Rankin began to play the part. The local populace had already recognized that Rankin was a man to notice when he was given the tasks of presenting the silver trumpet to the Detroit fire department and drawing up an address to the Governor General. The early 1850s marked the rise of Windsor as the dominant urban centre in Essex when the Great Western Railway chose that river community as its western terminus and gateway to the United States. Rankin narrowly missed a skirmish with Prince over some land on the railway's route. Prince, as the Great Western's solicitor, had to approve Rankin's purchase. Prince gave his approval but in later years Rankin would claim he had been duped. Rankin continued to purchase land in Essex and Montreal and at this time commenced a vague relationship with the Sandwich and Windsor Plank Road Company.

By the middle of 1854 Rankin was fully prepared to test Prince in Essex. Rankin's following had grown; he could count upon the support of the Salters, Charles Baby, Sheriff W.D. Baby, Deputy-Sheriff Dennis Moynahan, John O'Connor, a Sandwich lawyer with powerful Irish connections, and John McEwan, station agent for the Great Western and
soon to become editor of the Windsor Herald. That Prince would stand for re-election was a foregone conclusion, but Rankin's confidence in his ability to defeat Prince in a direct confrontation had grown considerably.

Rankin's hopes, however, were dashed when it was announced that Prince had retired in favour of his son Albert. The Prince dynasty in Essex was to be continued by the heir, and few expected anyone would dare challenge the wishes of the elder Prince. It was actually fortuitous for Rankin that Prince decided to step down because despite his persistent protestations of independence, Prince had come more and more to support the Reform ministry of Francis Hincks. In fact, so reliable had become his support that George Brown called Prince one of "its most obsequious supporters," and claimed that Hincks even sent a representative to Essex to try to persuade him to reconsider. Albert Prince, on the other hand, was tending toward the Clear Grit principles of Brown and the Globe.

In reality, Albert Prince and Rankin were not very different as candidates although the younger Prince was nominally an independent while Rankin was a ministerialist and backer of Hincks. Both favoured secularization of the Clergy Reserves, free trade, British North American union and construction of railways. When it came to education, however, the two diverged; and it was this point which perhaps cost Albert the election. Rankin was willing
to uphold the ministry's compromising attempts to pacify all shades of opinion on separate schools, but Prince condemned the ministry and called for free schools, leaving sectarian schools to those who could afford to pay for them. He seemed to have adopted the educational principles of the voluntarists led by Brown. Good old Conservative Essex was not yet ready to elect a Grit!

At the nomination meeting on 19 July, two more candidates, James King, founder of Kingsville, and Spencer Peel, appeared but soon withdrew in favour of Rankin. After the candidates had made their addresses, John Prince, according to the correspondent for the Globe, stunned everyone by declaring that from what he heard he would have to support Rankin. His son Albert was going astray by condemning the Hincks Ministry. The accuracy of this report is questionable but Prince did admit to himself that of the four candidates Albert was the least appealing.\(^47\) Albert's stand, however, seemed to have gained him the trust of Brown's Globe which still had no faith in Rankin's conversion to Reform and marked this "merest toady of the administration" as a Conservative if not a High Tory.\(^48\)

With little to differentiate the candidates, the contest in Essex was perceived as a struggle between the Rankin and Prince factions. Rankin was still displeased that the elder Prince had escaped his grasp but was sure he would smash...
Young Albert - the infernal -
And when I've cracked his saucy nut,
I'll have a go at the Kernal. 49

The election was held on 27 July and Rankin shamed John Prince by defeating Albert with a majority of 259. 50 On 31 July Rankin was declared duly elected and was paraded through the streets of Sandwich, causing Prince to wince at such displays as "vain costs & expenses!" 51

John Prince was not accustomed to losing. Soon after the election, he wrote to the Governor General complaining of fraud and "gross partiality" on the part of local officials. Not content, Prince prepared a petition against Rankin's election which was to be presented when the Assembly met. The letters had no effect, however, and the petition was never presented.

Rankin, the victorious M.P.P., had some satisfaction in knowing that though he missed a chance to best John Prince in an open contest, he had frustrated his wishes by defeating his proxy Albert. 52

C. Having a go at the Kernal -

I: The Crimean Affair

The day after Albert agreed to run in his place, 11 July, John Prince had sent a letter to Lord Raglan offering to raise a battalion of Essex men for service in the Crimea. 53 Following his election victory, in December 1854, Rankin made a similar offer. When these two offers became
public knowledge, a battle ensued over which of the two made his offer first and which deserved the most credit.

At the beginning of January 1855, it was learned that Rankin, "the gallant member for Essex," had made an offer to raise troops for the Crimea in order to show his "deep sympathy for the cause of England and France."\textsuperscript{54} The origin of Rankin's offer can be traced back to 16 October 1854 when a letter from Sir George Gray to Lord Elgin was read in the Assembly. This letter referred to recruiting in Canada for the Crimea and stated that some troops in Canada would have to be withdrawn and transferred to the battlefront.\textsuperscript{55} Rankin's offer was made "in view of the probability of a longer continuance of the War with Russia" and the desire "to take part in the glorious struggle in defense of the liberties of the world in which the allied armies were now engaged."\textsuperscript{56} This public praise for Rankin was more than Prince could stand and his earlier offer of July was revealed, allowing him to claim credit for the first gesture of support for the Mother Country and to cast aspersions upon Rankin's action.

Prince's revelation actually worked to Rankin's advantage when his supporters pointed out that Prince's offer had not been public and was made at a time when little help was needed (when the allies thought the war would be over quickly and before casualties had mounted), and hence he should not be credited with the initiative.\textsuperscript{57} Besides
the question of which had made his offer first, there was the dispute over which was the most qualified man. Rankin had proven himself during the Rebellion, claimed the Herald, and if energy and determination of character, and high personal courage, be deemed of any importance in 'one who seeks glory at the cannon's mouth,' there is...no one who is acquainted with Mr. R. who will pretend to deny him the possession of these requisites. 58

Rankin had, after all, personally captured the rebel colours during the Rebellion.

Prince's claims to distinguished services were more debatable: his lack of judgment in ordering the execution of prisoners was mentioned and more importantly, he had not been present at several of the battles on the Essex frontier during the Rebellion. But if he had been there, noted the Herald sarcastically, he would have distinguished himself. 59 This insinuation reopened debate on more unanswered questions of the Rebellion period, i.e. why had Prince arrived late in Windsor on 4 December 1838 and then order the withdrawal to Sandwich rather than pursue the rebels? In fairness to Prince, he had rightly been regarded as the Hero of the Western District and he had taken the leading role and responsibility for its defense.

Throughout the year rumours abounded as to whether or not the offers had been accepted and when the regiments
would be leaving for the front. Both men renewed their offers, but in the end neither was accepted. The Duke of Cambridge was empowered to recruit a new regiment, the Royal British North Americans.

Concern over the Crimea and the withdrawal of imperial forces from Canada resulted in belated government action to put Canada's military house in order. A general reorganization of the militia created nine military districts in Upper Canada. Realizing that he had little chance of having his Crimean offer approved, Prince related to the Adjutant General of the Militia in July 1855 that "it would gratify me to be placed at the head of the Ninth Military District..." In December 1855, to Prince's chagrin, Rankin was appointed Colonel of the Ninth Military District sparking off yet another controversy.

According to Prince this was another example of "more jobbing and more chiselling" by a ministry which transfigured military rights into political expediency. Prince questioned how a non-commissioned person like Rankin, though experienced, could be appointed over the heads of more experienced active officers. In his opinion this had occurred because Rankin was an unprincipled M.P.P. who sold his vote to the government of the day.

In answer to these allegations, Rankin's clique reminded Prince that his own commission had been obtained in a like manner when he was an M.P.P. Prince maintained
that he was made a Colonel not because he was an M.P.P. but because he had proposed to raise a battalion, which he did and which he helped subsidize. 66

The outcome of these military episodes was gratifying for Rankin in his ongoing rivalry with Prince. While it was true that Prince had made his Crimean offer first, Rankin's was more timely and was a public commitment. Regarding their appointments as Colonels, again Rankin scored a victory. There was some truth to the patronage charge in Rankin's appointment, but at least he was qualified, having served in the Militia from 1836 to 1843. Prince, on the other hand, had had no military experience prior to his appointment in 1836. Moreover, the debate dredged up a number of old memories of Prince's conduct better left alone. Rankin could afford to be smug; he was now an M.P.P. and a Colonel, just as Prince had been.

D. Having a Go at the Kernal - II:
Confrontation with John Prince

- The 1856 Legislative Council Election

The victory over Prince's son Albert in the parliamentary race and Rankin's appointment as Colonel and Commanding Officer of the Ninth Military District were rewarding for Rankin, but he still longed for that final humiliation - to best John Prince in a head to head contest.
The decision of the ministry to complete Responsible Government by establishing an elective Legislative Council gave Rankin the perfect opportunity to "have a go at the Kernal."

The Legislative Council Act as passed in 1856 called for the election of twenty-four councillors each from upper and Lower Canada. Councillors would serve eight year terms, six each to be elected biennially. The existing appointed councillors would remain for the rest of their lives. One of the new councillors was to be elected for the Essex-Kent District, and Rankin presumed that he had a chance to win this most prestigious of positions. The decision of John Prince to seek the same post at last set the stage for a direct confrontation between the two.

During the debate on the Council Act, Rankin had played a highly visible role. Enthused about the whole thing, Rankin had drawn up a plan of his own and made several proposals that, though more democratic than the ministry's sill, differed little in overall effect. Events however did not favour Rankin's proposals. He was forced to withdraw them and this made him bitter. As a result he allied himself with Brown and the Grits in opposition to the ministry's plan. However, when the final vote came Rankin backed the sill; thus could he claim some credit for the passage of the Act.
The local press, particularly the Herald, lauded Hankin's early efforts, seeing them as an expression of an "earnest and patriotic wish for the advancement of Canada" and an attempt to relieve the "diseased part of the Provincial Constitution" of obstructions that had "wasted its vigor" by imposing responsibility upon the Council. Hankin's turnabout, however, brought charges that he had violated his pledges to his constituents. By allying himself with the Grits Hankin had sold his principles.

Under the guise of statesmanship and his responsibility as an area M.P.P., on 23 July Hankin addressed a letter to the electors of Essex and Kent outlining a plan for the election of their representative. He warned that, as the person elected would hold office for eight years in a House that could not be dissolved by the Crown, the two counties should avoid any rivalry or hostility and elect someone of high political and moral standards. This election would place a man in a higher position than any other previously elected; and the Upper House was destined to be the true exponent of public opinion with a greater influence over the country than any other branch of government. He proposed that local conventions be held in each county to elect delegates to a divisional convention at either Windsor or Chatham.

Public reaction to Hankin's plan was not entirely enthusiastic. Some questioned his disinterestedness,
others the wisdom of the procedure. In Essex the plan was viewed as "anti-British," and smacking of American republicanism. Conventions would split the counties into political factions and permit the use of political influence. Besides, one critic avowed, the will of the people was already known. 73

The day after Rankin's letter appeared, 26 July, John Prince had been presented with a requisition signed by 675 electors including several prominent men of Essex. The Sandwich Maple Leaf immediately fell in behind Prince; the Herald hesitated but Prince's experience won it over. Prince had held the confidence of his constituents for eighteen years, argued the Herald, he did not derive his support from family influence, and no better candidate was likely to appear. 74 Only the Chatham Planet viewed Prince as unacceptable to the people of Kent 75 and championed Rankin's convention scheme. 76

Although not yet announced as a candidate, Rankin had what he had been seeking - a direct encounter with Prince for control of Essex and Kent counties. Denied the opportunity to do battle with the elder Prince in 1854, Rankin had not missed any occasion to snipe at him since. 77 Once and for all Rankin would prove that he was master of Essex, and at the same time banish his rival to oblivion. Rankin's ambition would be sated and his political acumen proven.
The convention for Essex was held in early August at Maidstone Cross near the centre of the county. Rankin as one who "had been instrumental in producing the law which had rendered the Legislative Council elective" read the Act and explained its ramifications.\textsuperscript{78} The people held the real power in the country and it was their responsibility to elect a capable government. The Western Division needed a person of integrity and principle.\textsuperscript{79} Rankin had no wish to influence anyone, he explained humbly, but if called upon he was ready to stand as a candidate.

Perhaps Rankin had not intended to run for the Council himself but had wished to use his influence to help elect a man upon whom he could rely for support and patronage. When outlining his proposals for the Council Act Rankin had warned the existing councillors to be prepared for the coming of a new and recognizable class of men that would infuse the Council with new blood and a larger degree of respect. This, to Rankin, appeared to be an opportunity for "new" members of society to rub elbows with the elite. However, with Prince running it became an opportunity for Rankin to eliminate a nuisance. If Prince had not chosen this moment to re-enter the political arena, Rankin would probably have run for the Council at the next election, having served his "apprenticeship" in the Lower House.
Prince used Rankin's announcement of availability to fire the first salvo of his campaign. Questioning Rankin's motives, Prince told the audience at Maidstone:

Mr. Rankin had read the Act of Parliament to the meeting in order that they might fully understand it. Did Mr. Rankin himself know its provisions perfectly as far as his own position might be affected? There was evidently a wish for elevation, but was that gentleman prepared to resign his seat in the Legislative Assembly? Is it to gratify ambition that he will now relinquish his seat in the Assembly -- a seat which he gained by my resignation? If this is his object I will contest the point against him. A requisition has been presented to me numerously signed, -Mr. Rankin has solicited support - I have requested no noe to favour me with their influence; I come forward because I have been requested to do so; ambition for office has no place in my views.  

The battle was joined; no quarter was asked and none would be given.

Although he used it to announce his availability as a candidate, the Maidstone Cross meeting had done little to further Rankin's prospects. There was no spontaneous "draft" for him and Prince received the support of a majority of those in attendance. Rankin must have been galled that his greatness was not recognized and that Prince still had the "magic" in Essex.

On 9 August the process was repeated in Kent at Chatham. Rankin, Henry Boulton, a Toronto based candidate for the District, Prince and James Dougall spoke. The majority at the meeting favoured: Prince, who considered his election "all but Certain." The Chatham Planet, however,
continued to argue that Prince was unacceptable to the people of Kent and that Rankin was the most eligible candidate. A timely requisition from Maidstone signed by 101 electors was trumpeted as proof of Rankin's Essex support.  

James Dougall's appearance as a serious candidate was a welcome sight to the Reformers. The Globe naturally backed him, calling his address a "straightforward, manly exposition of his views and principles." Dougall could be relied upon to uphold the dignity of his position and the interests of the country. Unfortunately, Dougall lacked charisma and against the more flamboyant Prince and Rankin this dour Scot was no match. The Herald maintained that Dougall could beat Rankin but against Prince he stood no chance. The Maple Leaf predicted that the weak Reform feeling in Essex and the perception of Dougall as a Clear Grit would guarantee his defeat.

The local press, with the exception of the Western Planet and the British Canadian, opposed Rankin. The Herald, whose early support for Rankin had steadily been eroding, now broke completely from him calling him a political adventurer "without any principle at all;" a hypocrite wanting in all the qualifications of statesmanship. The Maple Leaf simply doubted his eligibility to run for the Council while still an M.P.P.

Rankin's ineligibility was the primary argument used against him and he never successfully countered it.
The Council Act provided that no member of one House could be elected to the other. In order to run Hankin would have to resign his seat in the Assembly, but any member who resigned remained a representative until the return of a new member to serve in his place. By the time someone could be elected to replace Hankin in the Assembly, the Council election would be over.

To counter such arguments Hankin grandly promised that "if he polled a majority of honest votes, no power nor any law of the land, could prevent him from taking his seat." If such were the case, asked the Maple Leaf, why even have a Parliament? Though leaflets were passed round proving Hankin's eligibility based upon an opinion by P.M. VanKoughnet, a Conservative lawyer and friend of John A. Macdonald, the argument was dubious at best, based upon an obsolete statute and much "legal squabbling." Rankin's best course argued the papers was to withdraw from the race.

The month before the 4 October nomination convention was full of political meetings throughout Essex and Kent. Rankin tried to establish his reputation at the expense of his opponents. The meetings were bloody, with Rankin and his crew heaping abuse upon Prince and Dougall; generally Rankin was left with less support than when he started. At Chatham on 1 September, when Rankin first publically announced his candidacy, he "made
but a 'poor fist' of it," allowing Prince to walk away a winner.91 On 8 September in Tecumseh, there came the first outbreak of violence.92 After Rankin had hurled "abuse of the lowest description" at Prince and his family, Albert Prince asked to speak and accused Rankin of uttering falsehoods. Angered by young Prince's remarks, Rankin attempted to punch him but was himself struck.

Albert Prince attended most of Rankin's meetings, brilliantly defending his father and eroding Rankin's support. At several meetings in the lake townships, Colchester, Gosfield and Mersea, "Rankin left early rather than face Albert's "withering flagellation." These meetings, called by Rankin, ended with overwhelming favour for Prince. Throughout, John Prince was the object of Rankin's rage. With what the Maple Leaf regarded as "total disregard of truth...and of even common decency...", Rankin "attempted to vilify and malign the character of Col. Prince."93 These attacks disgusting those in attendance and made Rankin look the fool. Rarely did he mention his political views. Rankin seemed to have lost control of his senses; at the merest mention of Prince he would launch another attack accusing Prince of everything from lying to murder. The Herald advised Rankin to retire from the race and retain his seat in the Assembly, a seat he would never have won had Prince not retired.94
The press outside Essex was divided in its opinions. The Kent Advertiser, Kingston News and Globe were behind Dougall; the Globe went so far as to predict his ultimate victory.\(^95\) The Planet was solidly with Rankin, reporting confidently of his successes at meetings in both counties; Rankin would redeem the counties from the "degradation and disgrace" of electing that "Holy Moses Legislator" John Prince.\(^96\) The Ottawa Times, a more detached observer, predicted the people of Essex would remain indebted to Prince for his gallantry during the Rebellion.\(^97\)

Rankin had severely miscalculated the extent of his support. The government paper, the Toronto Leader, favoured Prince, returning to him as the pro-Rankin British Whig described it, "like a dog going back to its vomit."\(^98\) The French Canadians, whom Rankin had hoped to please with his backing of the Separate School Act and praise for their clergy, were not convinced that Rankin cared for them. In one instance, when Rankin tried to remove some incredulous French Canadians from a meeting, violence was threatened and Rankin and forty of his people had to flee. The Globe believed both Rankin and Prince were trying to "hoodwink" the Roman Catholics solely to get elected.\(^99\)

Rankin desperately tried to gather support from another segment of the population, the Blacks. Claiming that Prince had returned a runaway slave to his master,
Rankin put himself forward as a great defender of freedom. The Blacks were not convinced and though Prince did not particularly like them they backed him. After the election Prince continued to have problems with the Blacks,\textsuperscript{101} who were stirred up, many believed, by a vindictive Rankin.

The nomination convention for the Western Division was held in Chatham.\textsuperscript{102} Almost a thousand people left Windsor on two steamboats, chartered by Rankin and Prince. The \textit{Globe} alleged that "whippers in" had been used to get the Roman Catholics to attend and that many people were brought in from Detroit; the emphasis was on quantity not quality.\textsuperscript{103} Nominations were made and a division was taken upon the three candidates, Boulton having dropped out. To the surprise of many, particularly Prince, a majority was declared for Rankin. Allegations of partiality and partizanship were laid against the Returning Officer, Sheriff John Mercer.\textsuperscript{104} It was also believed that many votes had been purchased with whiskey, double vision accounting for the Sheriff's pronouncement. The \textit{Globe}, though, felt Mercer had acted very impartially and had satisfied all but Prince, who wrote in his diary,\textsuperscript{105} "They say he [Mercer] acted partially; But I hope not." Prince appeared to be only moderately concerned.

In his address Prince stated that the polls would decide the people's choice. He would make no pledges because they were useless when it was necessary to use one's
own judgment. "The Council ought not to be a partizan body," he argued; its independence would be what the people would respect. Any man bound by party ties, referring to Rankin and more especially Dougall, was unfit to be a councillor.\footnote{106}

Rankin began his address on a quiet note, advocating Representation by Population and separate schools. Quickly, though, he became fiery and lashed out at his adversaries calling Prince a "useless and worn out politician" and Dougall "a narrow minded Clear Crit."\footnote{107} The convention ended with three cheers for Rankin but stronger sentiment for Prince. Edwin Larwill, M.P.P. for Kent, spoke for Prince, recommending that Rankin remain in the Assembly where he could better serve the country. All that remained was to await the election.

Polling was conducted on 13 and 14 October. At the end of the first day conflicting reports poured in, none positive for Rankin. The Globe had Dougall ahead by more than 300 over Prince and 35 over Rankin; the Planet had Prince elected by 150 votes.\footnote{108} On the 17th, the Herald announced "The battle is over, the victory is won," and the Maple Leaf reported Prince's "Glorious Victory."\footnote{109}

The final results were: Prince 1969, Dougall 1454 and Rankin 1453.\footnote{110} One gets a clearer picture when the results are broken down by county. In Essex, Prince had 1317, Dougall 231 and Rankin 941; in Kent, Prince had 637, Dougall 1227 and Rankin 503. Prince and Dougall had ab-
solute majorities in Essex and Kent respectively. Essex was still not ready for the Clicts and so had rejected Dougall but Kent was becoming more Reform-oriented and rejected the old Tory Prince and the corrupt Ministerialist Rankin. Rankin's strength came mostly from the Irish-Catholic north of Essex where he won all the townships. This was largely due to the efforts of Rankin's campaign manager, John O'Connor, a prominent Irish-Catholic lawyer. Rankin had lost the southern townships in Essex, which had backed him in 1854, because of developments with regard to the Southern railroad. A rift had developed among Southern promoters a few months before the election reflecting the Rankin-Prince feud. Rankin, on the one side, was regarded by many as a traitor to Essex, but Prince, on the other, was seen as its saviour. Rankin did, however, take Sandwich Township, the electors of which still remembered an arrogant and insulting speech by Prince regarding the railroad in August 1855. (see Chapter 3)

On 22 October Prince was duly declared elected by Sheriff Mercer. Prince called his victory one of truth over misrepresentation; he had been oppressed by the powers of the day but had triumphed. Dougall expressed his belief that his friends had voted according to principle and was satisfied. Rankin claimed to be relieved and, typically, felt no regret for the course he had followed. It was "a special dispensation of Providence," he believed, that
Prince had won because Prince could not handle defeat and would have died if the outcome had been otherwise.¹¹¹ Rankin "as usual shewed himself a fool!"¹¹² by attacking Prince.

The Planet played down Prince's victory by reminding people that he had failed to gain a majority of the votes cast, and that Dougall had been a weak candidate. Rankin's defeat was blamed on opposition from railroad interests.¹¹³ The Globe blamed the Roman Catholics of Essex for Dougall's defeat and compared Kent to Upper Canada; it was "like a blood horse yoked to an ox, held back by the passive resistance of its companion."¹¹⁴ Falsehood, fraud and whiskey had won the election and too many liberals had voted for Prince. Rankin and Prince conducted themselves disgracefully, concluded the Globe, most especially Rankin who had made it a personal rather than political contest.

Rankin had met the enemy and been vanquished. He had lashed out viciously at Prince and his family only to have his allegations refuted by Albert "the infernal." After almost twenty years of rivalry, ten of them in the open, Rankin had been thoroughly and decisively crushed by Prince. John Prince was still master in Essex.

Rankin had one last chance to salvage something. On 22 October he threw out a challenge to Prince. Now that the two of them were in Parliament, there would be a race to see which could do the most good for the common
ground. Rankin was still M.P.P. for Essex, and by proving himself a better legislator than Prince, he could prove to the people of Essex that he was deserving of their confidence.

The people of Essex had hoped that with two local men in Parliament the position of the county could be improved. The local press began calling for an end to the Rankin-Prince feud because ill-feelings carried to Parliament might negate the good works done by both. 116

When Parliament sat at the end of February 1857, it became clear that neither man was prepared to bury the hatchet, except in each other. Prince introduced a bill to amend the Council Act which would prevent any member of one House from standing for the other; clearly he was alluding to Rankin's actions at the recent election. The bill, the introduction of which was regarded as spiteful by the Globe, quickly passed. 117 The two then engaged in a race to pass two private bills which would allow them to claim credit in their respective municipalities. On 27 March Rankin introduced a bill to incorporate the Town of Windsor. On 19 April Prince followed suit with a bill to incorporate the Town of Sandwich. Rankin's bill passed smoothly but Prince's was held up in committee. Both bills received Royal Assent on 10 June. 118 The British Canadian claimed credit for Rankin's intervention, gaining passage of the Prince bill after it stalled in committee. 119
During the Legislative Council election campaign, Rankin had let his emotions overcome his common sense. He had ignored politics and lashed out at Prince on a personal level which neither man would have tolerated in their younger days; it was surprising that they never faced each other on the field of honour. Instead of sticking to his job as a first-time M.P.P., Rankin's ambition and personal rivalry with Prince had led him to an embarrassing defeat and even worse, had endangered his own position in the Assembly as representative for Essex.
CHAPTER III

THE FALL OF THE LORD OF THORNFIELD

A. Rankin in the Assembly

Rankin's time as a legislator was not entirely taken up by his personal feud with John Prince although at times it seemed so. However, Rankin's ambition to best Prince did appear to influence his course during the three sessions the Assembly sat in 1854, 1855 and 1856. As an independent but rash, even hot-headed politician, Rankin should have formed political alliances. He should have taken the time to familiarize himself with the etiquette of the House. Instead, he chose to rush ahead and build a reputation as an independent no-nonsense politician. In his haste, Rankin's desires and reality took different paths with the results being considerably different from those he had anticipated.

When Rankin was sworn in as M.P.P., he found himself in the middle of a political crisis. Following the election of 1854, the Hincks-Morin ministry returned to the Assembly on 5 September to discover that it would not command a majority in the House. With expanded representation, a majority of sixty-five was necessary to maintain the government and Hincks could only be assured of sixty, with
three independents. The opposition was composed of Clear Grits and Rouges on the left and Conservatives and a few moderates on the right. Although a government of the centre, Hincks could not marshall support to overcome this two-sided opposition and was forced to resign.

Who would form the next ministry? Representation from Canada West was divided into three groups: Grits, moderate Reformers or Hincksites and Conservatives; none could command a majority from that section. Canada East was still dominated by the Bleus under A. N. Morin's leadership. Although the double majority was not a hard and fast rule, the logical solution was to form a ministry composed of the strongest group from each section. The Hincksites of Canada West had had their chance and failed; now it was the Conservatives' turn. The Bleu-Conservative combination was still not enough to sustain a majority, but help was on its way.

With the achievement of Responsible Government, moderate Reformers had completed their programme and "a Reformer with a completed programme is a Conservative." Thus it was easy for the Bleus to join the Conservatives. In Canada West, little separated the Hincksites and Conservatives, so nineteen of the twenty-five Hincksites joined the new Liberal-Conservative government. The government now consisted of not just the centre but also the right. The new pragmatism of this coalition was perhaps
best personified by its Canada West leader, the old Tory
Sir Allan MacNab, who admitted "My politics now are railroads." 4

The new coalition came as something of a shock to the public. In order to retain the support of the moderate Reformers, the Conservatives had to adopt a number of measures they had previously opposed. These included an elective Legislative Council, secularization of Clergy Reserves and abolition of Seigneurial Tenure. As a result, charges of political opportunism and political inconsistency abounded. 5 At the helm of the new ministry were A. N. Morin and Sir Allan MacNab, but a new Cabinet minister, John A. Macdonald, was waiting in the wings to replace the renovated Tory.

When Rankin took his seat in the House on 7 September, no one was exactly sure of his political affiliation. Nominally a Reformer since 1851, in his two election campaigns Rankin had avowed he would follow no leader but vote according to his principles; he would support a ministry based upon its merits, not upon blind devotion. Rankin was one of eight new members whom the Globe designated as doubtful supporters of the new coalition ministry, 6 but when nineteen past ministerialists joined the new government, Rankin was among them. 7

For a former Tory who had adopted Reform principles, the transition was easy. 8 Now that other Conservatives had adopted similar principles, Rankin's earlier
conversion seemed justified and even prescient. Rankin's alliance with the new ministry did not, in his mind, compromise his independence. On the day the MacNab-Morin ministry was formed, Rankin in his maiden speech stated he would support any ministry that solved the great questions of the day. A few days later he reiterated his views, expressing a willingness to give the ministry a fair trial, but he warned he would be the first to vote down any unwise legislation.

The most important issue of the session was the secularization of the Clergy Reserves. In two election campaigns Rankin had called for total secularization with monies obtained to be used for educational purposes. It was expected that he would support the government's efforts to deal with the issue. Upon closer reading of the ministry's bill, however, Rankin's principles took charge and his support waned.

Rankin stated that his honest convictions would force him to vote against the ministry's bill if it included commutation. Though he wanted the issue to be settled soon and fairly, Rankin could not endorse giving clergymen huge lump sums of money in lieu of annual incomes. This was a compromise that while clearing up the issue quickly, could prolong an "evil" system that made clergymen rich beyond their needs.
Rankin was not alone in his opposition to the government course. Brown and the Grits, voluntarists and some former Hincksites also violently opposed commutation. Attempts were made to amend the bill on 15 November but failed. On 23 November the bill passed 62-39 with Rankin voting against the bill and hence against the ministry.

On the same day the Clergy Reserves bill was passed, "a skillful job of log-rolling had been completed" with the passage of an act to abolish seigneurial tenure in Canada East; this act had a similar lump sum settlement. Rankin, seemingly unconcerned with "evils" in Canada East, turned around and voted with the ministry in favour of the act.

Rankin spent much of the rest of the session voicing anxiety over unnecessary government expenditure. On the two great issues of the session--Clergy Reserves and seigneurial tenure--he had split his support two ways. If a supporter of the government, he boldly asserted, he was a doubtful supporter. But Rankin had some reason for satisfaction. Returning to Essex at the end of December he was reported by the local press as "looking so well and in excellent spirits" and met by constituents who had "every reason to be proud of their choice."

Rankin's second session in Parliament, in 1855, was taken up mostly with railroad matters and legislation concerning the elective Legislative Council. Though his
activities regarding the Legislative Council legislation were viewed favourably by the Windsor Herald, his honest attempts to improve the bill in his own way brought Rankin afoul of the ministry again. Rankin had once again found himself on the side of Brown and the Grits though he ended by voting for the bill. At the end of the session he drifted further away from the ministry when he opposed a Separate School bill introduced by the up-and-coming John A. Macdonald. Arguing that it was unfair to introduce legislation affecting Canada West when most of the members from that section had already returned home, Rankin foreshadowed his adherence to the principle of the double majority under Sandfield Macdonald.18

Before returning to the Assembly for the session of 1856, Rankin took the opportunity at a dinner in Kingston in December 1855, to sketch out his political position. He began by establishing his independence from the ministry. Though there had been mutual aid and support, he was not ready to be labelled a ministerialist. He had, it must be remembered, opposed the Clergy Reserves Act as passed. Furthermore, coalitions such as existed at present, could only be created by the sacrifice of principles. He then outlined his views on the union of all British North America, including Hudson's Bay lands. This union, he believed, had to be coupled with Canadian independence from Britain. This move would be in no way treasonous; it was simply the
natural state of things, as when a child grows up and leaves home. Above all, the provinces must unite to prevent their inevitable absorption by the United States. This, he held, should be the policy of all Canadians, and he would support any government that advocated it. This was three years before Alexander T. Galt made Confederation a condition of his entering the Cartier-Macdonald government.

When Parliament sat in February 1856, Rankin took the earliest occasion to restate his views. He reasserted his independence from any party; his convictions would be his yardstick for support of any government. When speaking of Canadian independence, he re-emphasized his loyalty to the Crown and the naturalness of the act. He had no desire to be a "Yankee;" he did not like their institutions or social habits.

Unfortunately for Rankin, his independent stand of condemning the government on the one hand and supporting it on the other won him few friends. On 4 April the Windsor Herald, under the editorship of Rankin's staunch ally John McEwan, announced a change in policy towards the member for Essex. No longer would it stand to see the people of Essex deceived by a man "incapable of efficiently discharging his responsibilities." The paper accused Rankin of trying to fix his speeches to make himself look better and it predicted this man would never be re-elected. The reason for the Herald's sudden turnabout was not given, but would become
evident soon enough.

Perhaps the most bizarre episode of Rankin's career began on 16 April 1856. The House was debating the seat of government question, an issue that cut across party lines and tended to divide upon regional or locational lines. The government was attempting to establish a permanent capital for the United Provinces and end the tradition of holding Parliament alternately in Quebec and Toronto. Each member wanted the capital in the town best suited to his personal or constituents' interests. Rankin, as usual, had very strong opinions on this subject, centring on the costs involved in moving the government. He believed the tradition should come to an end as soon as possible. 22

Rankin could not pass up the chance to take a shot at the coalition ministry and its behind the scenes intrigues. He alluded to a "happy family" of ferocious animals he had seen in London. This family was friendly while people watched but when alone the members were at each others' throats, just like the Assembly. John A. Macdonald resented Rankin's insinuations and rather jocularly responded with an allusion to the possibility of seeing Ojibway Indians in London, a not so subtle reference to Rankin's escapade with the Wild West show. This was too much for Rankin; he had, after all, dressed up like an Indian and whooped aloud with the rest, not a very dignified activity for an M.P.P. The government, Rankin returned, was composed of men of no intelligence,
men destitute of the principles of honour that characterize gentlemen. There was one member of the government "whose character he would not there describe; because in order to do so it would be necessary for him to resort to language not fit to be used in that House." Barely able to restrain his rage, he allowed himself to say

that the character of that individual was such that he never, thereafter, would entertain any other feeling than that of contempt...For where he found a man destitute of the truth he could not regard him in any other light...He alluded to the Attorney General West [Macdonald]. 23

Fortunately at that point the session ended for the afternoon. When the evening session convened, both Rankin and Macdonald were absent. Debate then arose as to what should be done with the two for insulting the House with untoward language and behaviour. Some members wanted the pair placed in the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms, others felt that they should be forced to make pledges of regret. Edwin Larwill, M.P.P. for Kent, proposed the good old Western District way of handling things—the two should be allowed to "call each other out." In the end it was decided to make the two swear that such an occurrence would never happen again. When Rankin and Macdonald returned to the House both agreed to pledge that there would be no further proceedings. Nothing was solved, however, when Rankin said: "I am not disposed to express any regret since I cannot say with sincerity that I entertain any regret." 24
For five weeks following the outburst, Rankin's support for the government was shaky at best. He attacked the government at every opportunity, centring his abuse on Macdonald. The administration had become "utterly faithless and corrupt" and was demoralizing the country; its policies were "glaring display[s] in want of foresight and statesmanship." Rankin's vilification of Macdonald reached a climax of futility at the end of May when the ministry forced out MacNab and replaced him with Macdonald.

After barely surviving a vote of confidence, MacNab was forced to resign in an effort to restore flagging Upper Canadian support for the ministry. On 30 May, George Brown and A. A. Dorion moved a vote of want of confidence in the new Taché-Macdonald ministry. (A. N. Morin had retired in January 1856) The ministry survived but eleven western ministerialists had joined the opposition, among them the doubtful Rankin, resulting in a permanent loss of five seats to the government.

Rankin claimed to be appalled at the government's machinations. The government had employed the "most faithless, unworthy and dishonourable means, in fact, the blackest treachery," to oust the Gallant Knight MacNab. Macdonald had been behind everything, Rankin charged, and did not deserve to retain the seat he had disgraced. The government had "got rid of 'the king of trumps' while all the knaves remained in the pack." In what amounted to another
challenge, Rankin stated he was finished with personal attacks on Macdonald, a man who would not defend himself.\textsuperscript{29}

Despite his rhetoric, Rankin returned to the government fold. The \textit{Herald} charged Rankin with "gross inconsistency" and the \textit{Maple Leaf} called for his replacement with a Conservative.\textsuperscript{30} Furthermore, Rankin had shown too much high-handedness in his handling of the appointment of the new Sheriff of Essex, John McEwan. Rankin had claimed the people of Essex were dissatisfied with Sheriff W. D. Baby and wanted a replacement. When the government appointed McEwan without consulting him, Rankin tried to block the appointment claiming he was not given the chance to defend Baby. To add to the problem, the \textit{Globe} hinted that McEwan's followers had unsuccessfully attempted to bribe Rankin.\textsuperscript{31}

It would appear that McEwan's appointment as Sheriff was at the root of the \textit{Herald}'s desertion from Rankin's cause. Though McEwan's appointment was not officially announced until 10 May, it was unofficially announced in the \textit{Herald} on 18 April, only two weeks after the paper's reversal with regard to Rankin.\textsuperscript{32} Rankin apparently felt that as M.P.P. for Essex he should be the one to delegate patronage; and therefore tried to block McEwan's appointment not out of disapproval for McEwan, but to assert what he believed to be his rights. Also, the Essex County Council, which Rankin wanted on his side, supported Baby and did not want him replaced. Rankin's apparent indecision about
whether or not to defend Baby sent that influential local
notable back to the friendship of his former law partner,
John Prince, at the end of April. McEwan, obviously re-
sentful of Rankin's betrayal; chose to withdraw his paper's
support; a policy that continued after McEwan sold his in-
terests in the Herald in April 1856.

McEwan's appointment was also the cause of Ran-
kin's outbursts against Macdonald on 16 April. On 1 July
at prorogation of Parliament, Macdonald asked a friend,
Henry Smith, to approach Rankin and see if he would repeat
the offensive language he had used in the House. Macdonald
was still bound by the pledge of 16 April, but was ready to
seek satisfaction. On 2 July Rankin met with several
members of the House and received an explanation as to the
manner of McEwan's appointment which satisfied him. Real-
izing that he had erred in condemning Macdonald, Rankin de-
cleared

that he had used towards Mr. Macdonald...language
in the House which he had intended to be insult-
ing; that he now felt that language was unjust-
ifiable, and that he desired, in as public a way
as possible, to retract it; that he did this, first,
because it was due to himself to do so, and that
any other course would be that of a ruffian, and,
secondly, because it was due to Mr. Macdonald, whom
he now felt he had treated with great injustice,
and whose pardon he now desired to ask.

Macdonald replied with a hearty, "Sir, you have it," shook
hands with Rankin and the matter was dropped. Canada's
future was secure; Macdonald would live to see Confederation
achieved.
Although he had publicly and officially been reconciled with Macdonald, Rankin could never let the wounds heal completely. Rankin had been forced to back down over a matter of patronage in his own constituency, something which ran counter to what he felt were his rights and the precedents of the time. To make matters worse, Rankin had lost not only the support of the Windsor Herald, but the aid of John McEwan who, as Sheriff, could have been of untold help in Rankin's future elections and local dealings.

Rankin could have survived the loss of the Herald, McEwan and their followers. His political indiscretions, even his ambition in seeking a seat in the Legislative Council, could have been forgiven by the electors of Essex. None of these, however, had the impact of the Southern railway adventure which was to reach a startling climax in 1857.

B. The Southern Scandal

One of Rankin's campaign planks in 1854 had been the construction of a railway from St. Thomas to Amherstburg. This project had its inception as early as 1836, but no schemes had met with success. By 1854 there were several groups ready to try to obtain charters for this line from Parliament.

During the autumn of 1854 petitions for railway charters were presented to Parliament on almost a daily
basis. Fearing the southern line, as it came to be known, might not receive proper attention due to opposition from Great Western Railway interests, Rankin decided to take charge. He was able to wangle his way onto the Committee on Railroads, Canals and Telegraph Lines despite opposition from George Brown who felt there were already too many paid agents of railways on the committee.37

At the end of September and beginning of October, Rankin, Edwin Larwill of Kent, George MacBeth of Elgin West, and George Southwick of Elgin East, all of whose counties were affected by the line, agreed to back whichever line had the best chance of success.38 The best course appeared to be the linking of two smaller lines, the Amherstburg and St. Thomas and the Woodstock and Lake Erie; as a result other charter applications were allowed to disappear in the committee.39 The promoters decided to wait until the next session to introduce their bill, giving them time to formulate a plan to handle opposition from other lines.

Rankin returned to Essex at the end of December 1854 to gather support for the southern line. He spent most of January and February 1855 travelling about Essex spreading the good word. If the line was delayed or not built, argued the local press, it would not be for lack of effort on the part of local M.P.P.s. Rankin and Larwill had exerted themselves with admirable determination.40 The response at meetings was generally favourable, and petitions
in support of the line and proposals for meeting expenses were drawn up. William Scott, an engineer formerly in charge of constructing the Great Western Railway between Windsor and London, joined Rankin and pledged himself fully to the scheme.

Traditionally the job of the engineer was to survey the route, make an estimate of the costs involved and advise on the selection of a contractor. Unknown to the municipalities, the engineer usually worked hand in glove with the promoters and contractors in order to ensure the "right" party got the contract and the contract was of such a nature as to guarantee the contractor and promoters as much profit as possible. In effect, the engineer's job was to make a swindle appear legitimate. Rankin, though, was not necessarily performing an elaborate deception. He was merely following established procedures created by the now questionable ethics of nineteenth century railroad politics.

Opposition to the line at this point was minimal with most of the complaints coming from the Great Western, backers of which believed there was not enough business to warrant a second line. The Western Planet, calling the southern scheme a "cunningly devised dodge," seemed to hint prophetically that the promoters were only interested in profits, not the good of the people. The Planet was displeased that the line would run close to the lake thus bypassing Chatham.
Rankin returned to Parliament in early March 1856 and by 19 May the bill to incorporate the Amherstburg and St. Thomas Railway Company was given Royal Assent having received little opposition. The Act made provision for $4 million in capital stock, half of which had to be subscribed before a general meeting could be held to organize the company and elect directors. Construction was to commence within two years from the passage of the Act and had to be completed in five years. The line could amalgamate with any line east of St. Thomas to the Niagara River. Among the provisional directors were the four M.P.P.s whose counties were affected.43

Rankin was back in Essex at the end of the session anxious to get the project moving. At a meeting of the provisional directors on 12 June a prospectus for the company was issued. Municipalities along the route were encouraged to subscribe stock in order to speed up construction. The capital provided would alleviate the promoters of the task of risking their own money. The municipalities, however, were rather slow to respond.44 On 7 August 1855 the stockbooks were opened for subscriptions.

The first sign of resistance arose in August when a local dignitary decided to voice his opinions. At a meeting on 16 August in Sandwich, Rankin stated,

he was wholly at a loss to imagine what the nature of the reasons could be which would induce a man of Mr. [John] Prince's intelligence to adopt a
course so eminently calculated to retard the prosperity not only of this county but of the whole Western Peninsula.  

Prince was then called upon to prove Rankin was in error. Prince began by expressing his disappointment at the small turnout for the meeting but added arrogantly he was not surprised as the people of Essex, and Sandwich in particular, were lamentably backward, indeed far inferior to the people of any other part of the Province, in point of intelligence and knowledge of those things which most concerned their own interests.  

(This was to cost Prince the support of Sandwich in the Legislative Council election in October.) His objections were not to the line itself, but to the burden placed upon the people of Essex if the county subscribed stock. He feared the money would be lost to speculators, adventurers and land sharks; exactly the thing which had happened to several other lines.  

Rankin tried to counter Prince's warnings, but such was Prince's influence that the meeting was hopelessly lost for Rankin.  

Rankin still enjoyed the confidence of his constituents and was honoured at many dinners in both Essex and Kent; however, opposition was growing. The stockbooks had to be left open for an additional period of time because of slow subscription of stock. In addition to the obstacle of Prince and his minions, many people were hesitant to invest because of the vagueness of the route. The exact
location of the line and terminus were deliberately kept vague so as to avoid losing the support of municipalities which may not have been included on the line.

To help alleviate the problems and prevent the project from failing, Rankin secured passage of a bill in 1856 to amend and extend the line's charter. The amount of stock that had to be subscribed was reduced to $1 million and work was to be commenced within three years and completed in six. For the time being the line was saved.

Rankin was back in Essex in July 1856 ready to continue work on the line and to seek a seat in the Legislative Council. At this point, however, Rankin effectively lost whatever control he may have had over the southern project with the introduction of two men to whom railways and railroad politics were second nature, and whose intricate plans Rankin could never hope to fathom. Perhaps if he had not been distracted by the election, Rankin might have foreseen the ramifications of his actions of early July.

By 1855, Samuel Zimmerman was regarded as the man to see with respect to railroad legislation. He had become the most successful and perhaps richest contractor in Canada and his influence and money were felt throughout Parliament. Having triumphantly lobbied for the Great Western Railway, he was able to secure from that company a contract to build a second line. At the same time he
decided he wanted control of the Woodstock and Lake Erie Railway and, after a long battle with its president, emerged victorious. 50

The defeated president of the Woodstock and Lake Erie was Isaac Buchanan, former M.P.P. for Toronto and prominent merchant with strong interests in Hamilton. He had wanted control of the line for himself in order to ensure the prosperity of Hamilton. Buchanan feared that Zimmerman was attempting to gain control of the Woodstock and Lake Erie, and thus the southern line, to protect the Great Western's second track and his contract. Buchanan also feared Hamilton would be by-passed if he was not in charge. In the summer of 1856, the rivalry for control of the southern between these two was brought to Essex County.

In early 1856 Rankin's actions were taken over by that most dangerous of motivations—greed. Zimmerman had approached Rankin with a deal for the contract for the line but Rankin refused believing Zimmerman was only trying to halt the line and protect his contract with the Great Western. In April 1856, Buchanan approached Rankin with an offer of $200,000 but now Rankin wanted a construction contract. As Buchanan had promised preference for the contract to friends at the Great Western, Rankin's request was refused. Buchanan's sole concern was that the line be built quickly and run through Hamilton. As a result, he did not care who built it and was ready to remove any obstacles
that stood in the way of the speedy completion of the line. Seeing that his influence carried enough weight to be bought, Rankin turned back to Zimmerman to see what kind of deal he could secure.

On 3 July 1856, Rankin and Zimmerman signed a secret agreement whereby Zimmerman assured Rankin of one quarter of the profits if he, Zimmerman, got the contract to build the Amherstburg to St. Thomas line. Zimmerman could also buy out Rankin's interest in the contract for $100,000. Two days later, at a meeting of the provisional directors of the Amherstburg and St. Thomas Railway, Zimmerman subscribed $1 million in stock, thus bringing the amount of subscriptions to a level sufficient to begin organizing the company. Stockbooks were closed and a general meeting was called for 7 August to elect a board of directors. Even the Herald gave its approval to Rankin's course regarding the railway.

Rankin believed his problems had been solved with Zimmerman's stock subscription, but what he did not know was that Zimmerman only wanted control of the line for himself. It appeared that Zimmerman was to get his wish except that in his excitement over the Legislative Council election, Rankin forgot to close the Amherstburg and Chatham stockbooks. Now Buchanan had his much needed opening.

When Rankin and Zimmerman collected the Amherstburg stockbook, they were shocked to discover that William
Wallace, an engineer, had subscribed $2 million in stock and that the 10% deposit ($200,000) had been paid by Isaac Buchanan. Buchanan had approached John McLeod and John G. Kolfage, Amherstburg provisional directors, who wanted the terminus of the line in Amherstburg. Buchanan had promised to pay $20,000 in paid up stock to McLeod, Kolfage and Theodore Park,54 a deal similar to that between Rankin and Zimmerman.

On 7 August two meetings were held and two boards of directors were elected. On the one hand were Rankin and Zimmerman and on the other McLeod and Buchanan; each charging the other with wanting to sell out to rival lines.55 The issue was taken out of local hands and sent to the Court of Chancery.

From this point on, all Rankin's actions were for one purpose: to protect his own interests. Zimmerman and Buchanan were only interested in one thing each: Zimmerman wanted to build the line and Buchanan wanted it to run through Hamilton. Rankin, however, had more diverse interests. First, he wanted the money promised to him by Zimmerman. Second, he needed the line in Essex to secure political support. Rankin's prominence in southern affairs was due to several factors. He was more ambitious than the other M.P.P.'s and was willing to be bought. Also, the line would have its terminus in his county which brought the added bonus of larger depots, ferries, hotels and all the
attendant dividends. To Zimmerman and Buchanan, however, Rankin was merely a tool used to enter the affairs of the western section of the line. After August 1856, Rankin, an amateur at railroad politics, began to break the "rules" in a game he had no business playing.

After an attempt by Zimmerman to buy off McLeod failed,56 Rankin decided to go public and try to discredit Buchanan. At a meeting in Amherstburg, Rankin told of Buchanan's $200,000 offer in April and charged that the Wallace subscription was fraudulent.57 Press opinion was mixed. The Herald backed McLeod and regarded Rankin as a traitor but the Maple Leaf saw Rankin as a hero who deserved the highest regard of the country.58

Buchanan's position at this point became somewhat perilous. He had invested heavily in Amherstburg and St. Thomas stock and was beginning to feel the crunch. In an attempt to recoup his investment, Buchanan went to England to try to persuade Great Western stockholders to take up his southern stock. This plan was ruined when a letter from the Managing Director of the Great Western, C. J. Brydges, to Buchanan was published. Brydges, a tight-fisted businessman with no time for speculation, believed a second line was unnecessary but if built should have its terminus at Windsor where the Great Western had a depot. This would save the expense of building a new depot elsewhere.59
This had the effect of discrediting Buchanan in the eyes of his Amherstburg allies. To overcome this, Buchanan decided to dissuade his Great Western friends from investing in southern stock in order to sever his connections with the Great Western and ensure the line would be built. In this Buchanan was successful and the news that the southern was safe, revealed at just the right moment, gave Prince an even greater edge over Rankin in the Council election.

The Chancery suit, meanwhile, was getting nowhere. Rankin and Prince clashed in November when, acting as solicitor for the McLeod board, Prince charged Rankin with perjury regarding the suit. The charge was dropped for lack of evidence, but the chasm between the two widened. Their personal rivalry was playing an even greater role in railroad affairs.

By December 1856, Buchanan was becoming worried. Fearing the loss of his investment, he placed an injunction on the McLeod board's proceedings to prevent it from drawing on the money. Zimmerman was still vague as to the route and the exact terminus of the line. Neither side enjoyed the full confidence of the people.

Facing this impasse, and wishing to secure his investment, Buchanan decided to deal with Zimmerman. Zimmerman had sufficient funds and connections to ensure the construction of the line and secure the return of Buchanan's investment. By mid-February 1857 rumours began to circulate
of a compromise. However, this all fell to pieces when, on 12 March, Zimmerman was killed in an accident on the Great Western.

Buchanan was now forced to deal with Rankin. Rankin let Buchanan believe he was willing to accept $50,000 and a new board of directors made up of the two conflicting boards. Rankin still wanted to retain control of the Amherstburg and St. Thomas and hoped to use this deal to discredit Buchanan at a later date. Buchanan accepted and a new board, with McLeod as president, was elected on 28 March. In addition, a proposal was made to have two termini for the line, Amherstburg and Sandwich. Shortly after this, the Amherstburg and Woodstock companies announced their amalgamation.

Rankin had other plans, however. Realizing that Zimmerman and Buchanan had been trying to freeze him out, Rankin decided to scrap the present project and try to get a charter for a direct Niagara to Detroit river line, thus securing his own interests. It had become obvious to Zimmerman and Buchanan that Rankin was unnecessary to their plans. After all, the charters had been granted and Zimmerman and Buchanan had put up most of the money. Zimmerman's death, however, had thrust Rankin back into a position of importance.

Press reaction to Rankin's Great Southern Railway bill, introduced on 22 April, was divided. On the one
hand it seemed a good idea to start afresh with one rather than two lines. On the other hand, the 28 March compromise had solved most of the problems. In any case, Rankin was now ready to pull of the biggest coup of his career.

The Great Southern bill was referred to the Committee on Railroads and from 7 to 27 May hearings were conducted. Contrary to Rankin's expectations, facts revealed during the hearings doomed his railway scheme and branded him as an untrustworthy man unfit for the confidence of the people.

Buchanan gave evidence first and defended himself against Rankin's earlier accusations. He stated that he had offered to aid Rankin in getting what money he was due, about $20,000, but was turned down because Rankin wanted a fat construction contract.

When Rankin spoke he blew the lid off the proceedings and broke every rule of railroad politics. Instead of remaining silent and attempting to recoup some of his losses quietly behind the scenes, Rankin exposed the seedy underside of railroad politics; a side that was accepted by those in the know, but discreetly kept to back-rooms and out of the public eye. The standards of men such as Zimmerman and Buchanan, while they "may well have been acceptable to or identical with those of the majority of the elite of the time, they were not necessarily those of society as a whole."
Rankin began with an outline of his initial involvement with the southern project. Then he began to detail his dealings with Zimmerman and Buchanan. The 3 July agreement with Zimmerman was revealed for the whole country to see. Buchanan's various attempts at "buying off" Rankin, and Rankin's subsequent "leading on" of Buchanan, were told in minute detail. He then explained how, feeling that he could not condone the Zimmerman-Buchanan compromises of February, he went along with the amalgamation scheme only long enough to prepare his new piece of legislation. To prove his honesty, he ended by describing how Buchanan and the Receiver General had tried to bribe him in an effort to halt the new bill.

As more was revealed in the hearings, Rankin's credibility disappeared. The Maple Leaf lost any confidence it had in Rankin and the Globe dubbed the affair "The Rankin Job." Only the Planet remained loyal. At the end of May, however, Rankin came to an agreement over the line. Several amendments were made to the Great Southern bill which protected the interests of all parties and new men were placed in control of the line. This new twist did nothing to improve Rankin's image; he was still a scoundrel who would sacrifice the interests of the county to those of himself. Nothing had really changed as those men now in charge of the line were "controllable jobbers" nominated by Rankin and Buchanan. On 4 June the final blow came
when petitions were presented to Parliament requesting an investigation into Rankin's conduct and his expulsion if charges of corruption were proven to be true.\footnote{71}

On 4 and 9 June Rankin rose in the House to explain his conduct and connections with the southern railway. He claimed he had fulfilled his obligations with the procurement of the Amherstburg and St. Thomas Railway Company charter. He had discovered fraud when he attempted to reach compromises when obstacles arose; hence, his move to charter a new line. He had only sought reimbursement as a contractor and could see nothing wrong with a member of the House making money so long as it did not interfere with the public interest. Buchanan had tried to bribe him and he had only spoken to him long enough to secure evidence of his dishonesty. He remained "a monument of injured innocence" who had been "vilified and slandered."\footnote{72}

George Brown delivered a "crushing exposure of the iniquities" of the affair when he charged that Rankin had condemned himself with his own testimony. He could not believe Rankin had turned down Buchanan's money; besides, leading someone on was poor conduct for a member of the House. Rankin had impeached himself and his word could no longer be trusted. Brown continued his assault on Rankin in the \textit{Globe} where he asserted that, if innocent, Rankin was either irresponsible or affected with "moral insanity."\footnote{73}
John A. Macdonald spoke in Rankin's defence although he was defending the southern line and the government's railway policy. The southern project was a good one and Rankin had fulfilled his obligations to the people. Once he had obtained the charter, Macdonald argued, Rankin had been free to do as he pleased. His only mistake had been in leading on Buchanan but, as no money had changed hands, Rankin was innocent of any wrongdoing.

In the meantime, Rankin had been working behind the scenes again. The backers of the amalgamated companies wanted the new southern bill dropped and, through the Zimmermann estate, unsuccessfully offered Rankin $100,000 to do so. Seeing there was still a chance to secure an even greater profit, Rankin dropped the bill and renewed negotiations with Buchanan. By this time, however, Buchanan had come to realize his involvement with the southern was a disaster and sought to get his money out of the scheme and be done with it. By August the two had reached an agreement but new developments hampered progress.

Rankin was now dealing with James Morton, a Kingston entrepreneur who also happened to be an associate of John A. Macdonald. Through Morton, Macdonald was able to exert his influence and freeze out Rankin. Macdonald knew that if the southern scheme was ever to succeed, the liability of connection with Rankin had to be removed. Rankin had become a pariah as far as Macdonald was concerned.
When a new Niagara and Detroit Rivers Railway Company was organized in 1858, Macdonald warned Buchanan, "For god's sake keep clear of Rankin just now." With Macdonald so much against him, Rankin was forced to withdraw his opposition to the new company and in April 1859 ended his association with the line.

The story of Rankin's involvement with the southern line can best be summed up by the words of the Report of the Directors of the Great Western Railway of 1857:

In the last session of the Provincial Parliament many disgraceful disclosures were made as to the past history of that scheme out of the rival claims of certain parties to control of the line. These disclosures, showing an extent of bribery and dishonesty which have been rarely paralleled in the history of any joint stock undertaking, and which called forth the marked and emphatic denunciations of committees of the Provincial Parliament cannot fail to increase the satisfaction of the shareholders that this Company was preserved from any connection with such a scheme.

The costs of the southern affair to Rankin were considerable. He had alienated the electors of Essex through his apparent betrayal of their interests and his greed for profits. Specifically, he had alienated Amherstburg, an important district in an election, over the terminus issue. To other politicians, particularly Macdonald, Rankin had shown he could not be trusted; that he would "tell all" if he did not get his way. As a novice at the game of railroad politics, Rankin should have been content
with the considerable sums offered him by Zimmerman and Buchanan. When he found he was in over his head, he should have quietly backed out and hoped for the best. Instead he had exposed the underside of railroad speculation thus endangering other projects.

Rankin had committed political suicide. The election of 1857 was, in Essex, based solely upon the events surrounding the southern railway. Like the Indian show, the southern scandal would return to haunt Rankin whenever he tried to promote a new business venture or gain a position of trust in public life. For the remainder of his life, Rankin's name, when mentioned in connection with railways, would evoke thoughts of corruption, bribery, jobbing, and betrayal.

C. The 1857 Election

The Legislative Council election and the southern scandal effectively divided Essex into two factions centering on Rankin and Prince. By 1857 Rankin's support had so eroded that his position in the Assembly was being challenged. Since Prince was secure in the Legislative Council, his son Albert or John McLeod were seen as possible candidates capable of defeating Rankin. 79

To be re-elected Rankin needed aid from outside Essex. Many members of the Assembly still remembered the outbursts of 16 April 1856 when Rankin and Macdonald had
almost come to blows. To be sure that everyone knew they were friends again and that he was deserving of government support, Rankin rose at the opening of Parliament in March 1857 to apologize for the "gross injustice" he had done to Macdonald by the use of "language of a highly offensive character." Just to be on the safe side, Rankin assured the House he did this out of a sense of duty as a gentleman and not politics; he would remain an independent. For the remainder of the session Rankin backed the government on most issues. He was rewarded for his loyalty when Macdonald came to his defence after Brown had chastised Rankin for his southern railway dealings.

After the end of the 1857 session, Rankin returned to Essex to sort out his affairs. By the end of November when word of an impending general election was heard, Rankin seemed to have mended his fences enough to regain some support but John Mcleod was still regarded as the man who should run for Essex in the next election.

The election of 1857 was the first time the Liberal-Conservative coalition of 1854 faced the public, and most constituencies were divided into ministerialists and non-ministerialists. At issue were the record of the government and the growing demand for representation by population. In Essex, however, these national issues were barely touched upon. The election centred upon the southern
scandal, an issue that had begun to divide the county in early 1856 and had, by June 1857, created a near-unbreachable rift.

McLeod was the natural choice to oppose Rankin. He had served as president of the rival southern board and was fully supported by both Princes, though John Prince ostensibly maintained his neutrality as a Legislative Councillor. Replying to a requisition signed by over one thousand electors, McLeod outlined his political views: he would support the Liberal-Conservative ministry, equal rights in education, separate schools, a southern line, abolition of the Hudson's Bay Company monopoly, British North American union, a permanent seat of government and government reforms. He also favoured reciprocity and representation by population, but denied any leanings towards Crittism.

For two weeks meetings were held throughout Essex and the southern railway was the most crucial concern. Rankin claimed to be an innocent victim accused of crimes for which there was no proof. He asserted that he alone was responsible for any progress made on the line and that without him the line would never be completed. His accounts were treated by a mostly disapproving press as "imaginary histories of all kinds of magnificent schemes" which were "conceived but not carried out." Rankin read a list of names of people who took money from Buchanan in an attempt
to charge McLeod with accepting bribes, but he made the mistake of using a document which included his own name. Generally McLeod was looked upon as a knight in shining armour who had come to save Essex from the evil machinations of Arthur Rankin. McLeod's explanations regarding the railway were taken as the gospel truth and evidence of Rankin's chicanery was always at hand.

Albert Prince contended the election was not simply a contest between Rankin and McLeod but a battle over principle. "Were railway jobbers and speculators fit for Parliament?" he asked. Canada's present problems were due, he argued, to the election of criminals like Rankin who, if in Britain, would have been exiled or imprisoned.

Rankin's conduct at meetings did nothing to improve his already tarnished image. In Sandwich, despite tradition, incumbent Rankin refused to speak until after McLeod. Sometimes he was late for meetings and then refused to speak; at other times he refused to leave buildings to speak to large crowds outside. Rankin's allies, including John O'Connor and Paul John Salter, tried valiantly to save meetings but, as the Maple Leaf put it, a Rankin supporter was "almost a curiosity." When Rankin's supporters were present in any number they were unruly, interrupted speeches and used whiskey to influence electors. Meetings tended to end with three cheers for McLeod and three groans for Rankin.
Nomination day was hailed as a "Glorious Victory" over Rankin. About three quarters of the over 1600 people present voted for McLeod when Sheriff McSwan called for a division. Rankin quickly demanded a poll. Part of the "gloriousness" of McLeod's nomination was his triumph over Rankin's conivances to gain control of the meeting. Many of Rankin's people were not qualified electors; these included enrolled pensioners from Amherstburg led by Major Donaldson, and a large party of Blacks from Detroit. Several fights broke out but, as John Prince wrote in his diary, a few broken heads were "nothing in Election times." 88 The election was set for 31 December and 2 January.

After the first day of polling Rankin and McLeod were separated by only a few votes, but as more polls were counted it appeared McLeod was the victor. "Another Traitor Condemned," hailed the Globe which saw Rankin as a turncoat Reformer and included his name amongst the "decapitated Traitors to Upper Canada." 89 On 7 January 1858 a crowd of 2000 people attended at Sandwich where McLeod was declared duly elected with a majority of 222. 90 McLeod had swept the southern townships, where Rankin reportedly had electioneering help from the Grand Master of the Orange Lodge, primarily over the railway issue. Amherstburg in particular turned against Rankin and gave McLeod a 323 majority. But Rankin had been able to retain his hold over the north where the southern line would not have run and, therefore
was no loss to the electors. Also, no doubt due to the efforts of O'Connor, the "quarrelsome Irish and stupid, priest-ridden, bigotted French Canadians," as John Prince called them, voted for Rankin. Overall Rankin did not do as badly as was expected. With 47% of the votes, Rankin had hardly suffered the rout his opponents described. As it turned out, Essex was fairly evenly divided; Rankin's opponents were simply more vociferous than his supporters.

All had not gone smoothly during the days of polling. The "most disgraceful and scandalous conduct" was reported in Maidstone where McLeod scrutineers were driven from the polls by rowdies and his supporters prevented from voting. At Sandwich, Sheriff McEwan had to intervene when Rankin men tried to take over the polls. These events, however, may have been exaggerated by the press to explain why Rankin had such large majorities in these districts. Rankin was not prepared to concede defeat. In letters to Macdonald, Rankin claimed a majority of 88 despite the illegal addition of 400 names to the poll books. Macdonald, however, wished to keep out of the Essex election and left it to McEwan as Returning Officer to sort things out. Besides, McLeod was a ministerialist; and Rankin an embarrassment to Macdonald who, the Maple Leaf assured everyone, was glad to be rid of "such an excretion."

Without Macdonald's intervention and convinced he could not expect fair play from McEwan, Rankin took his
to court. The Deputy Returning Officers for Amherstburg and Colchester, George Murray and Thomas Hawkins, were charged with forging names in poll books and bound over for trials. John Prince was censured for his involvement as a Justice of the Peace when he dismissed charges of stealing poll books laid against McEwan and prevented a warrant from being issued against the Deputy Returning Officer for Maidstone. 94

The trials caused a furor in Essex and Rankin was accused of "resorting to every foul expedient" to get elected. Paul John Salter was the magistrate presiding at the trial and was reproached for "revolting" partizan conduct. The Maple Leaf alleged there was no evidence to sustain Rankin's charges but the Planet believed the contrary and stated the honour of the county was at stake. 95 The trial was not resolved until the Assizes in October when Murray and Hawkins were found innocent. 96 The verdict only served to confirm a decision reached by a House committee in August.

At the beginning of the 1858 session of Parliament, Malcolm Cameron presented Rankin's petition challenging McLeod's election. It charged that McLeod had interfered in the election and forged several names in the poll books. In addition, Sheriff McEwan was accused of improperly conducting the election. Rankin wanted McLeod removed and himself declared the member for Essex. Cameron tried
unsuccessfully to get the House to conduct the investigation but the House preferred to leave the matter to an election committee.97

The Essex Election Committee took evidence on the case from 29 May to 18 June, and reported its findings to the House on 13 August. McLeod was found to be the duly elected member for Essex and Rankin's petition "frivolous and vexatious." Adding insult to injury, Rankin was taxed $1407.85, the costs to McLeod in defending himself against the Petition.98 The faithful Planet was astonished at the decision and concluded "the idea of impartial justice [had been] knocked into a cocked hat."99

Rankin gained some satisfaction when McLeod was later forced to fight for his seat.100 In July 1859 McLeod was awarded a contract to run mail between Collingwood and Fort William. He was sued for violation of the Independence of Parliament Act and his seat was declared vacant on the last day of the session of 1861.

Rankin's ambition had proven his downfall. If he had remained in the Assembly and done the job for which he was elected, he probably would have been re-elected in 1857. By running for the Legislative Council against John Prince he convinced the electorate of his unbounded ambition. Waffling on issues under the guise of independence and principle left him open to charges of inconsistency and seeking personal gain. His temper and personal assault on
Macdonald alienated any powerful allies he might have made in the House. But his worst mistake was getting in over his head in railroad politics. He tried to match his limited experience and ability with that of such experts as Isaac Buchanan and Samuel Zimmerman. Betraying the trust placed in him by the people of Essex was the one mistake which cost Rankin his position and negated any good he may have accomplished in his first few years in office.

Between 1854 and 1858, Rankin had risen to the highest position Essex could offer and then fallen to a point where most men would have given up. Rankin was not like most men, however, and phoenix-like was about to rise from the ashes of his political career to start anew.
CHAPTER IV

RETURN TO POWER, 1860-1867

A. The 1861 Election

Defeat in the election of 1857 and the subsequent Parliamentary investigation, coupled with the debacle of the Southern Railway scheme had left Rankin thoroughly drained. To raise his spirits and rejuvenate himself, he and his son George went north to the mining regions of Lakes Superior and Huron. Rankin still held a number of mining locations in this region, acquired in the late 1840s, at Bruce Mines, Pointe aux Mines and Root River.¹

Mining was the single activity at which Rankin experienced consistent good fortune. Trained as a surveyor, he seemed to have an inate talent for discovery. Rankin also possessed the developmental skills necessary for success. He had a "highly creditable" road some twelve feet wide and over a mile long graded to his location at Root River causing an obviously impressed mine inspector to report:

If any mine ought to succeed from the result of a sensible and economical commencement, from the richness of the lode, from the position close to the great highway of navigation, and also on the immediate line of the Great Northern Road, this should.²
To his sons George and McKee fell much of the management of the mines; Rankin's ambition would not permit him to devote full time to such mundane activity. He did, however, add to his holdings by acquiring locations near Furies Bay on Lake Superior and Emerald Mines on Lake Huron.³

Rankin returned to Essex at the end of 1859 in time to participate in local municipal elections. They resembled miniature general elections with Rankin and Prince factions battling for supremacy. In the previous municipal elections, Rankin's party had won favour; Charles Baby was Mayor of Sandwich, Paul John Salter was County Treasurer and Joseph Mercer was Reeve of the Town of Sandwich and Warden of Essex.⁴ The election for Mayor of Sandwich in early 1860 reflected these divisions. Charles Baby was the Rankin party candidate while John A. Askin was Prince's choice. The vote was extremely close but Baby triumphed with a majority of one.⁵ Joseph Mercer was re-elected Reeve, and at the end of the month John O'Connor, Rankin's closest benchman, was chosen Warden for the county.

These elections proved that though Rankin himself had lost favour with the electors of Essex, his "party" was still strong. This was probably due to the efforts of O'Connor who was starting to establish his own place of importance in Essex. He had remained in the county after 1857 while Rankin had run away; and now he was embarking upon a political career of his own starting, unlike Rankin,
at the bottom in municipal politics.

The Chatham Planet, still championing Rankin's cause, viewed this success as proof of his hold over the electors of Essex and predicted his return at the next general election. So equal were the factions, however, that only if Rankin or Prince left the county could the other become unchallenged master.

On 26 May 1860, Prince was appointed judge of the District Court of Algoma. He happily left Essex in July never to return. With Prince out of the way, Rankin could afford to be magnanimous. Accordingly, while in Algoma on business, Rankin paid a visit to his old rival but Prince "declined to speak or notice him in any way." It would be another six years before the two could meet on amicable terms.

Prince's elevation to the bench left his Legislative Council seat vacant. Rumours as to whom would fill it were plentiful, but Prince himself had something to say on the matter. Before the last election, Essex had been sold by a traitor who "fell like Lucifer;" the Western Division needed a man of honour and respectability. He warned the electors to avoid party men or land, railroad and mining speculators. Without doubt the fallen angel Prince warned about was Arthur Rankin.

Prince's warning was not necessary as Rankin had no intention of running. Instead, John O'Connor felt
himself ready to make the jump from local to national politics. Although a Reformer since his youth, O'Connor denied any Clear Grit leanings and reaffirmed his loyalty to the British connection. It was widely expected that O'Connor's candidacy would receive the full support of the Rankin party.

At the Western Division nominating meeting of 9 November, the Clear Grits, having been spurned by O'Connor, nominated James Dougall. The Windsor merchant had made a strong contest of it in 1856 and could again be expected to run well in Kent. An obviously disappointed O'Connor surprised everyone by stepping down in favour of the old Tory Sir Allan MacNab, and leaving the moderate reformers without a candidate. Many people believed Rankin had sold out O'Connor in order to secure MacNab's nomination. Sensitive to such insinuations, Rankin defended himself vigorously. He had fully supported O'Connor's candidacy but saw little chance of victory and had advised him to withdraw.

Perhaps Rankin felt O'Connor was not ready for such a quick jump into national politics and wished him to wait until the time was right. Too, Rankin may have resented the thought of the upstart O'Connor running for the very seat that he, Rankin, had so desperately wanted. The fact that MacNab was the nominee brings forth another possibility. Rankin had always idolized MacNab and had been furious when Macdonald and the Conservatives had dumped the "Gallant Knight." A seat in the Legislative Council may have been
viewed as a reward for MacNab's long years of service to the nation.

The contest for the Legislative Council in the Western Division would be one between a Clear Grit and an old Tory. Dougall's chances looked good and the Globe predicted that Rankin would soon see his mistake in selling out his party and O'Connor to MacNab. In the end, however, MacNab won with a majority of 27. The Globe was not pleased with the result and charged that the Rankin-Prince feuds, which had little to do with politics, had thoroughly demoralized Essex County. Reformers generally were disgusted with what appeared to be Rankin's return to Tory ranks. One of them, Archibald McKellar, accused Rankin of political inconsistency and want of principle. Rankin countered with verbal attacks on his accuser, George Brown and Clear Grits generally. Verbal abuse gave way to physical violence between these two men before MacNab's victory meeting finally broke up.

In January and February 1861, MacNab toured Essex with Rankin and O'Connor and the two presented a happy and united front. Behind the scenes, however, relations between the two were reportedly strained. "Singular conduct," commented the Maple Leaf, considering their previous friendship. The Globe predicted that rivalries were forming for the next election. With Prince out of the way, the Rankin party was now supreme in Essex but this supremacy
would be brief. John O'Connor, no doubt believing that Rankin had had his chance, decided to stake his claim to the leadership. He had a following of his own and had been approached to run for the Legislative Council seat in 1860; he had stood aside for MacNab and the greater good once, he would not put his ambitions aside again. Too, he felt resentment towards his former mentor for his betrayal to MacNab and had no qualms about following his own course. Sadly for O'Connor, Rankin was not about to let one of his former acolytes replace him.

An opportunity was not long in coming. The government of Macdonald and Cartier, its support worn away by the Opposition's cry for representation by population, was dissolved in June 1861. In the election which followed, most contests were waged between a government supporter (Conservative) and oppositionist Liberals. The results showed little change in representation in the Assembly, but the effects upon Essex were profound.

In addition to Rankin and O'Connor, a multitude of proposed or expected candidates were named. John McLeod, the incumbent, had proven to be a frightfully poor legislator and would not be seeking re-election. Anticipating the fratricidal struggle for power between Rankin and O'Connor, the Globe predicted that an oppositionist Liberal could win the seat. According to the Globe, O'Connor's reform background would be of little value as he
consistently opposed representation by population. 19

Perhaps responding to the Globe's analysis, Ran-
kin announced himself as a candidate opposed to the govern-
ment and promised to use every constitutional means to over-
throw it. He endorsed representation by population, re-
trenchment in public expenditures, modification of the tar-
iff and an end to subsidies to the Grand Trunk Railway. As
this was essentially the Clear Grit platform, the Globe
came out in Rankin's favour. 20

The nomination meeting was held at Sandwich on
29 June before a large crowd. The Globe, supporting Rankin,
reported that O'Connor barely secured his nomination due to
the aid of "dock loafers from Detroit" and boys and pension-
ers from Amherstburg. 21 Rankin was the only other candidate
and although the Chatham Planet saw little difference be-
tween the two, 22 Rankin's support of representation by
population placed him in the oppositionist Liberal camp.

O'Connor, rapidly becoming the beneficiary of the
Prince party support, accused Rankin of becoming a Grit and
joining revolutionaries and rebels determined to overthrow
British supremacy and join the United States. The Toronto
Leader added credibility to O'Connor's charges when it al-
leged that the Grits had extracted promises from Rankin in
return for their support. The Globe denied the charges
and, labelling O'Connor "a miserable tool of the Ministry,"
vowed he would be taught a hard lesson when the electors of Essex gave Rankin their votes. 23

On 13 July 1861 Rankin was officially declared elected by a majority of 51. 24 O'Connor had won in eleven of fifteen polling districts but Rankin's victories in the remaining four were enough to offset his losses. Rankin did not do well in the northern townships, his usual centres of support; his main backing came from the predominantly Protestant south, particularly Gosfield and Mersea, where, with the help of the Wigle family, he was establishing a new power base. The loss of the north was due to the vote of Irish Catholics who had settled the area and regarded O'Connor as their champion. French Catholics, though aware of Rankin's courageous stand on Separate Schools, were concerned about his association with the Grits and their blatant anti-Catholicism.

On Declaration Day, Rankin affirmed his hostility to the government. The ministry had been kept in office by fraud, corruption and forgery, and the double shuffle of 1858 had been a violation of the Constitution. He would use all means available to oust this infamous government. 25

The real victor of this contest, however, was John O'Connor who fell heir to the Prince legacy almost by default. Prince had removed himself from the county and his followers were leaderless. Defeated in 1854, Albert Prince refused another direct confrontation with Rankin
and sought election in Kent. Prince's candidate in 1857, John McLeod, had proved a less than brilliant legislator and had been discredited. Rankin's open opposition to the Government almost forced O'Connor into a ministerialist position where he would soon be beneficiary of their patronage. Meanwhile, O'Connor dutifully petitioned Parliament challenging Rankin's election. He charged that Rankin's qualification oath which stated he owned £500 of real property was false; all of Rankin's lands in the county were under seizure, he explained, for more than twenty times their worth. For Rankin, however, this was a time of celebration and, since Parliament would not sit for another seven months, the pursuit of more glorious laurels.

B. The First Michigan Lancers

If Parliament had sat in September 1861, Rankin might have gone on to prove himself a decent politician and establish a larger place for himself in the political events of the 1860s. However, the Legislative Assembly was not to sit until late March 1862 leaving Rankin with seven months in which to become distracted and restless. Instead of preparing himself for the coming session, Rankin chose instead to follow a course that would garner him as much fame and publicity as the ill-fated Wild West show. Unfortunately, this new fame and publicity was in much the same vein as that of the 1840s.
The United States had become embroiled in that ugliest of conflicts, a civil war. Here, on Rankin's own doorstep was a golden opportunity for Rankin to put to use his military experience in order to gain the glory that had been lost in the 1854-55 Crimean affair.

Shortly, after the Northern rout at Bull Run in July 1861, the newly elected M.P.P. for Essex met with several prominent Detroiter and proposed to raise a regiment of lancers, officered by British soldiers; for service in the Northern Army. He believed such an offer would strengthen ties between the United States and Canada while allowing Britain to remain aloof. He was referred to Michigan Senators Zachariah Chandler and Kingsley S. Bingham as well as Governor Austin Blair, all of whom were enthusiastic. Chandler sent a letter to Secretary of War Simon Cameron at the end of August outlining Rankin's plan; a few days later Rankin, Bingham and Detroit businessman James W. Tillman met with President Lincoln and Secretary of State Seward.28 Lincoln was impressed by Rankin and on 11 September a regimental warrant was issued creating the First Michigan Regiment of Lancers.29

Press reaction to Rankin's plan was mixed. The Detroit Free Press praised Rankin for his marked sympathy for the American government. He was the man for the job, having years of experience and study in military science behind him! The paper predicted the ranks of the regiment
ATTENTION!

THE UNION FOREVER!

LANCERS

RECRUITS WANTED!

FOR THE

LANCER CAVALRY REGIMENT

UNDER

HON. A. RANKIN, M.P., COL.

ABLE BODIED MEN, between the ages of EIGHTEEN and FORTY-FIVE years. The pay of a Sergeant-Major, Quartermaster-Sergeant, Principal Musician, and Chief Bugler, each $28.00; to the First Sergeant of a Company, $21.00; all other Sergeants, each $17.00; Corporals, $14.00; Buglers, $15.00; Farriers and Blacksmiths, $13.00; Privates, $12.00, per month, to begin from the date of enlistment, and $100 when discharged. Food, Clothing and Medical attendance is also furnished.

Men are allowed to bring their own Horses. They will be paid 40 cents per day for the use of the Horse, and $8.00 per month for forage. Horses furnished to those who prefer it.

This Regiment is to be Officers by experienced Officers, and is to be ready for service at the earliest possible date.

[Signature] Recruiting Officer.

Recruiting Rendezvous,

HEAD-QUARTERS, No. 42 Griswold Street, Detroit.
would be quickly filled. At first, the pro-Southern Toronto Leader could not believe a Canadian M.P.P. would act as a recruiter for the North, but the Montreal Gazette was less incredulous: "There are not many men in Canada better known, for his somewhat Quixotic eccentricities than Arthur Rankin." He combined the qualities of a preux chevalier with a money hungry speculator. As for his military ability, the paper believed that he had "more daring than capacity and more ambition than common sense." In short, he was a "reckless soldier of fortune;" and if caught in Canada should be arrested and deprived of his militia rank and seat in Parliament.

If Rankin had anticipated any problem, he certainly did not show it. As early as 12 September, the day after receiving the regimental warrant from Lincoln, Rankin applied to the Governor General for a six month leave of absence from command of the Ninth Military District, due to his embarkation upon "pursuits" which would prevent him doing his duty. As usual, he had totally underestimated the seriousness and duration of the struggle. Governor General Sir Edmund Head, however, had read reports in the press about Rankin's planned "pursuits", and refused to grant leave for any Canadian to take part in the American war. He directed Rankin's attention to the Queen's Proclamation of Neutrality which declared the neutrality of Great Britain and of all her subjects in the struggle.
between the United States and the Confederate States. The proclamation invoked the Foreign Enlistment Act of 1819 which prevented any British subject from serving in a foreign army. By choosing to ignore the Governor General's advice, Rankin created a minor international crisis.

Undaunted, recruiting went ahead as planned and by early October over 500 men, mostly Canadians, had joined. Potential recruits were offered several inducements including good pay—$13 per month for privates—travelling expenses, food clothing and medical care. Extra allowances were granted to those who owned their own horses. Always the showman, Rankin also sought musicians for a regimental band.

Rankin's violation of British neutrality laws had been raised in early September when the Leader learned of his activities. Matters came to a head when recruiting posters appeared in cities throughout southwestern Upper Canada. The Leader called for Rankin's expulsion from Parliament and the revocation of his militia commission. The paper demanded criminal proceedings against Rankin and two other Canadians, Alister Clark and Peter McCutcheon, who had allegedly received commissions in the regiment.

In anger, on 5 October Rankin replied to the Leader's charges. The paper was a tool of Jefferson Davis and its editor "a purchasable commodity," he answered. As to his violation of British neutrality laws, Rankin gave a number of examples of British involvement in civil wars.
in Portugal, Italy, Prussia and Turkey which were not condemned but applauded. The Queen's Proclamation, he assured the country, established the neutrality of the British government—not British citizens.

The Leader took Rankin's letter to be an admission of the charges against him. Rankin, the paper presumed, was hiding his greed for military contracts under the pretense of a righteous cause. The law had been broken and punishment would be dealt out. ³⁷

The next day, 6 October, the Leader got its wish; while in Toronto on business, Rankin was arrested for breach of the Foreign Enlistment Act. The warrant for his arrest was issued upon the evidence of "Sugar John" Wilson, a Toronto confectioner. A Globe reporter, upon seeing the complaint, recognized the writing of George Sheppard, editor of the Leader. ³⁸

There ensued a battle of words between the Globe and the Leader, Toronto's two most widely circulated newspapers. The Leader and many other Conservative papers were pro-Southern. Its editor, George Sheppard, was a Southerner who had formerly worked for Brown at the Globe. After a quarrel with Brown over Reform ideology, Sheppard started the Leader and became Brown's greatest critic. The Leader was ministerialist and supported the Macdonald–Cartier government. As the Globe supported the North and had also encouraged Rankin's election in 1861, the issue was joined. ³⁹
The Leader was overjoyed with Rankin's arrest; a thorough investigation would follow and the law (and the Leader's position) would be vindicated. The Globe rushed to Rankin's defence, charging that the Leader, a ministry organ, was simply trying to prevent Rankin from carrying out his campaign promise to work with the Opposition to bring down the government. The Detroit Free Press blamed Rankin's political opponents for his arrest and predicted that the charges could not be sustained.

Rankin's trial lasted three days. At the outset, Rankin entered a plea of not guilty to the charge of taking service under a foreign government for the purpose of recruiting others to do the same. The prosecution's case was based upon the Foreign Enlistment Act and most of its witnesses were called upon to swear that Rankin had shown them his commission. Most witnesses were connected with the Leader—H. P. Gowan, proofreader, James Cook, employee, and James Beaty, the proprietor. An attempt to draw George Brown into the case by charging that he had recommended Peter McCutcheon for a commission failed.

Rankin's defence argued that there was no proof that he had done any recruiting. Besides, the court had no jurisdiction over what he did in a foreign country. The Foreign Enlistment Act did not extend to Canada because it was an imperial statute and Canada had its own Parliament;
therefore, no court in Canada had any jurisdiction over the case. (Rankin had unwittingly reasserted his belief in Canadian independence!) Rankin called the charge trivial, trumped up by political opponents out to discredit him, and challenged the Magistrate to send him to the Assizes. 44

In the end, Rankin's challenge was answered. The Police Magistrate believed that the Foreign Enlistment Act applied to Canada and that enough evidence had been presented to prove Rankin's guilt. As he did not feel competent to deal with the case, however, he referred it to a higher court, the Assizes. 45 The Montreal Gazette predicted "his thirst for the tomahawk and the scalping knife ought to be taken out of him...as effectively as was that for railroad enterprises and county debentures." 46

On 15 October the Governor General was pleased to dispense with the services of Colonel Arthur Rankin, Commander of the Ninth Military District, and of Lt. Alister Clark of the 2nd Troop of Volunteer York Cavalry. The Militia rank of Peter McCutcheon was also cancelled. 47 Far away in Algoma, John Prince wrote, this was the "only satisfactory news in the papers." It served Rankin right for trying to work for the Yankees. 48

Rankin was never brought before the Assizes. As an offender against an imperial statute, he could only be tried at the Queen's Bench in England. Since Canadian courts had no authority to have Rankin bound over to appear
in England, the Crown was forced to drop its case. The Leader, though disappointed, thought that Rankin would lose his seat in Parliament. The Globe took this as an admission on the Leader's part that the whole incident was started to injure Rankin politically. In England, the London News simply expressed the view that the Foreign Enlistment Act was obsolete and that the Rankin affair had been more trouble than it was worth.

Undeterred by judicial threats, loss of his militia commission or the insults of his political enemies, recruiting for Rankin's lancers continued and by December 1861 about 600 men had enlisted. One battalion was organized and a second was in the process when the Trent affair soured Anglo-American relations and renewed fears of war in Canada. Even the ever-loyal Chatham Planet wondered where Rankin's loyalties would lie in the event of war between Canada and the United States.

The threat of war between Great Britain and the United States did what the Leader could not. Rankin was forced to choose. His answer appeared in an open letter to the people of Detroit on 28 December. His duty as a British subject and M.P.P. forced him to withdraw from federal service. His offer had been made as a friendly neighbour and he would have fought hard against the South, but in view of the possibility of Anglo-American war, he must
return and share the fate of his countrymen.

Without Rankin to lead it, the lancer regiment began to disintegrate. Whole companies were transferred to other cavalry units and in March 1862 the last lancers were mustered out. In all, 683 men had enlisted. Four casualties had been suffered despite the fact that the regiment never took part in a battle. Only twenty-nine men deserted.  

Throughout the life of the lancer regiment, Rankin's motives were questioned. Why, the self-righteous Rankin could never understand;

should it be treated as a crime for Canadians to enter the American service? Is not the cause of the United States the cause of civilization and free government? Has any struggle so largely affected the welfare of mankind in general taken place in any other country on the face of the earth within the present or any former age?  

But Rankin's own checkered past and words condemned him. If he was seeking to aid in the preservation of democracy through its eldest child, the United States, he had made an astounding change in his personal views. In Parliament in 1856 he had stated that he did not like nor wish to be part of "Yankee" republicanism or society; he constantly voiced fears of American annexation and advocated ways to prevent it.  

And later, in the Confederation debates in 1865, he would say, "Nothing could be more distasteful to me than to become what is called a citizen of the United States."  

At best, Rankin could claim that proximity to Detroit had
imbued him with feelings of closeness to the citizens of Michigan, but certainly not brotherhood with the United States. 58

Neither could Rankin claim his anti-slavery feelings as motivation; though it was true he had bravely exhibited abolitionist tendencies, as in 1837. Lincoln had denied that the North fought to free the slaves, thus dampening some Canadian enthusiasm for the North; and did nothing about the slaves until long after the lancers were disbanded.

Rankin was undoubtedly seeking a temporary piece of glory. He totally underestimated the extent and duration of the war. He only asked for six months leave from his militia duties, and had promised in late 1861 that, "When Parliament assembles [in 1862] I shall be at my post." 59 The Trent affair gave Rankin a handy opportunity to rid himself of the embarrassment of the lancers while retaining the façade of an honourable, if misunderstood, man. He did not wish to desert his "friends" in the United States but his first loyalty was to his Queen and country. Even before his letter to the people of Detroit could be published, he sought glory on the other side by placing himself at the disposal of the Adjutant General for the purpose of raising 1000 men for the defence of the Canadian frontier. 60 He even had the audacity to recommend his replacement as Colonel of the Ninth Military District.
Rankin also faced allegations that he was only involved with the lancers in order to obtain contracts from the Federal government. How much money Rankin may have made from this episode is not known, but a number of questions were raised. The Free Press called for an investigation into the financial operation of the regiment which had cost $117,200. About $6,500 was missing from funds appropriated for repairs to regimental barracks at the Michigan State Fair Grounds; these repairs were never undertaken. Each recruit had cost $167.50, covering such expenses as food, uniforms, bounties, extremely high travelling expenses and weapons. The lances had cost $6.50 each, four dollars more than the lowest possible cost, and were only useful as "memorials of the First Regiment of Lancers, and the desperate 'charges' made by their Lieutenant Colonel commanding."61

Overall, the First Michigan Lancers did little for Rankin but cause him embarrassment and the loss of his militia commission. It would have been best if he had heeded the advice of the Chatham Growler regarding the Americans:

So Rankin let em fight till ether side looks danger to our shore,
Then pitch into that side straightways but let them bide afore;
But as for helping are on um, taxashun is our gains,
And them as we befriends, be sure to abuse us for our pains.

We're taxed so hard already it seems like payin fines,
All which it is on our recompense for generous designs;
Aloof from um in time to come, now Rankin pray do steer,
And let 'em break each others heads, and never interfere.62

C: Expulsion and Return

With the lancer incident safely behind him, Rankin took his seat in the House on 20 March 1862, a confirmed member of the Opposition. A week later, John O'Connor's petition was presented to Parliament charging that Rankin was not properly qualified and had received illegal votes.63 Until an election committee was struck and a proper investigation made, Rankin was treated as the legitimate representative from Essex. Up to its defeat on 20 May, Rankin consistently spoke out against the Conservative ministry of Macdonald and Cartier.

On 2 April he chastized the government for wasting time and took the opportunity to state his reasons for opposing the ministry.64 His objections, he said, centred on the incompetence and dishonesty of the ministry, not on party differences. Macdonald and Cartier had abused Responsible Government by disregarding the wishes of the people and should resign. Macdonald deserved further censure for rewarding John Prince, a man who helped fix the 1857 Essex election, with a judicial appointment.

At the end of April, Rankin decided to free himself from the stigma of alliance with Brown and the Grits which had arisen at the time of his election, and throw in
with the more moderate and rising Reformers led by J. S. Macdonald and L. V. Sicotte. Brown's election defeat made this very easy, though Rankin seemed to feel no gratitude for Brown's support during the lancer business. The issue Rankin chose to use for this transition was the new Separate bill. The bill, introduced by the government, was designed to tie together loose ends left by previous Separate School acts. Rankin praised the Roman Catholic Church and its clergy much as he had done in 1856; they exerted a wholesome influence and presented threats to no one. Furthermore, Lower Canada was civilized when compared to Upper Canada's wilderness. The problems of the past had been caused by the insolent and dictatorial tone adopted by the Upper Canadians. Bigots and fanatics were being pushed out of power, an allusion to Brown's defeat at the last election, and the House was becoming more Liberal. T.R. Ferguson, a Conservative Orangeman from Simcoe South, suggested Rankin should be editor of the Catholic True Witness which had condemned the ignorance of the people of Upper Canada. Never one to allow an insult to pass unheeded, Rankin replied that the ignorance of the people of Upper Canada was best exemplified by their election of someone like Ferguson. This caused a sensation in the House!

Rankin remained true to his promise to oust the Macdonald-Cartier ministry. And the issue which provided the opportunity was one close to his heart—
Militia bill. The American Civil War, the Trent affair, and to a small degree problems exemplified by Rankin's lancers, intensified the debate on the defence of Canada. A resolution in the British House of Commons placed the main responsibility for defence of self-governing colonies on the colonies themselves. A commission was appointed in early 1862 by Governor General Viscount Monk to investigate the state of defence in Canada. The commission's recommendations became the basis of Macdonald's Militia bill of 1862. Macdonald believed it Britain's responsibility to defend Canada as any war involving Canada would be imperial in nature, but he was willing to improve the efficiency of Canada's defences. The costs of the new measures, as well as the element of coercion, set the stage for a major test of the Government's viability.

Rankin was always enthusiastic over military matters, believing himself to be an expert of sorts and always exploring possible glory for himself. He attacked the Macdonald proposals as too vague and questioned the capacity of the commission or the government to make military policy. On 20 May, the government was defeated on the second reading of the Militia bill, 61 to 54, and resigned; Rankin kept his promise and voted to bring down the government.

On 24 May, John Sandfield Macdonald formed his moderate liberal ministry with L. V. Sicotte of the Rouges. The new government received widespread support but none
was more zealous in extolling its virtues than Rankin. Two days after the government was formed, Rankin had his chance to speak. He outlined the practical import of the new government's programme in a series of resolutions which generally condemned the old Ministry and representation by population and lauded the principle of the double majority. Representation by population, he argued, was a "trap set by demagogues or fanatics to catch not fools, but the honest, and only two(sic) confiding electors of Upper Canada." Although he had once advocated representation by population, as recently as July 1861, he now realized it was a delusion. The people of Lower Canada would never approve it because they had been backed into a corner by Upper Canadian threats and would not now even grant the slightest concessions. The principle of the double majority was the only moral way to run the country; Upper and Lower Canada could be fused in two or three generations, but not by force of law. Sandfield Macdonald, Rankin asserted, had the right policies to solve the problems of Canada.

The policy of Sandfield's government was limited at first. It recognized the value of the double majority and the federal character of the Act of Union. Legislation would be introduced to provide more equitable representation and a reorganization of the Militia would be undertaken. Sandfield wished to deal with routine matters and leave more important issues until the following year; this
would give the new ministers time to seek re-election.
George Brown had at first supported the new government, but
withdrew his support due to his total contempt for the dou-
ble majority. His chief lieutenant, William McDougall,
remained loyal and even joined the ministry as a Cabinet
member.\(^\text{72}\) Shortly after the formation of the new Govern-
ment, the Grits held a caucus meeting. Rankin had been in-
vited to the caucus because of his role in the Opposition
and in bringing down the Macdonald-Cartier government. The
Grits had grudgingly decided to give Sandfield's government a
chance, but Alexander Mackenzie reported to Brown that:

> There was only one man at the Caucus meeting who en-
> tirely approved of their the government's course. That was Rankin!!!...Rankin's voice alone was for en-
tire approval.

Further, Rankin was the only one to oppose a resolution fav-
ouring representation by population.\(^\text{73}\) Rankin seemed to have
found a place for himself in the Sandfield Macdonald camp.

Between prorogation in June 1862 and the next
session in February 1863, Rankin occupied himself with his
mining interests. He took time out in August and September
1862 to help Walter McCrea in his campaign for the Western
Division Legislative Council seat. Rankin, and his new-
found ally Archibald McKellar, helped McCrea defeat Albert
Prince thereby giving the Reformers another vote in the
Council and striking a blow at his old rival John Prince.
Rankin returned to Parliament in February 1863 a thorough Sandfield Macdonald supporter, or so it seemed. During the debate on the address to the Throne, Rankin praised the virtues of the double majority as well as the new Militia bill. He urged the speedy completion of the Intercolonial railway as a vital link to strengthen all of British North America against possible American aggression; and urged the speedy absorption of the North West before the greedy Americans took it.\textsuperscript{74}

At the beginning of March the Committee on the Essex Election finally came out of hiding and what it was rumoured to be doing boded ill for Rankin. Could the Liberal majority on the Committee really desert their staunchest ally? It appeared so. On 9 March the Committee presented its findings: Rankin had not been qualified to seek office in 1861; he had not been duly elected and the last Essex election was void. The Committee did not go so far as to seat O'Connor, but it made a motion that a writ be issued for a new election.\textsuperscript{75} The writ was issued the next day.

O'Connor and Rankin were the candidates again, Rankin having cleared up his qualification problems.\textsuperscript{76} O'Connor received some important outside aid in his campaign. John Prince wrote several letters to the Sandwich Journal and the Essex Record denouncing Rankin. John A. Macdonald called upon his long-time ally, London lawyer
H. C. R. Becher, asking him to "do anything against Rankin in Essex...for my sake."

The election was held at the beginning of April and O'Connor won with a majority of 65. Rankin retained his hold on Gosfield, Mersea and Sandwich, but it was not enough. Prince fired off an immediate letter of congratulations to O'Connor who took his seat in the House on 15 April. O'Connor had little time to enjoy his success, however, as Sandfield's government lost a vote of confidence on 8 May. Shortly thereafter Parliament was dissolved and a general election called.

O'Connor quickly came forward as a candidate but no one appeared to oppose "the eloquent member of the county," although the Montreal Gazette predicted that Rankin would run again. The Globe wanted a capable and intelligent man to oppose the "Corruptionist" candidate. Rankin announced his intention to run a few days later and the Globe supported him, despite his harsh words against Brown. At the Essex nomination meeting on 13 June Rankin and O'Connor were nominated; a third man, Alexander Cameron, declined nomination in favour of Rankin. When a division was taken Sheriff McEwan, a confirmed anti-Rankin man, gave the majority to O'Connor, but Rankin demanded a poll.

The election was held on 19 and 20 June and initial reports gave O'Connor a majority of about 23. However, when the polls were finally closed, Rankin had a
majority of 2. Tensions in Essex soon reached the breaking point when it was discovered that several poll books had been tampered with. Sheriff McEwan ordered the Militia to prepare itself and Rankin requested the presence of three companies of Regulars from London. McEwan, as Returning Officer, delayed his return until 2 July so he could conduct an investigation. Upon examination of the poll clerk and Deputy Returning Officer for Anderdon, McEwan learned that several electors had refused to swear oaths of eligibility, some votes were changed and some changes had taken place after the Deputy Returning Officer had signed an affidavit as to the count. McEwan declared he could not make a decision as to whether or not the Anderdon poll books had been tampered with so he made a special return declaring no candidate elected.

The Globe was disgusted and demanded an end to these Essex outrages. The Montreal Gazette insisted upon O'Connor's return. In any case, the House was urged to investigate promptly.

The election of 1863 had done little to change the makeup of the House. Sandfield Macdonald had gained support in Upper Canada among the Grits, but lost Sicotte's followers in Lower Canada. He had a slim majority of two, and any sudden change would topple the government. The Assembly was called together on 13 August for what was originally to be a short session to clear up a few matters,
the Militia bill and supply, left undone by the dissolution in May.

On 14 August the Essex election case was brought before the House. With the Government being sustained by only a few votes, it was necessary to get Rankin returned as soon as possible. Thomas Scatcherd, M.P.P. for West Middlesex, moved that the evidence showed Rankin had a majority and should be seated. The Opposition strongly protested against the motion as contrary to established precedents in the House. For three days debate raged as to whether the House should seat Rankin or refer the matter to the Committee on Elections. The validity of McEwan’s return was questioned and both sides argued for the seating of their candidate so Essex would not remain unrepresented. Precedents were cited on both sides and charges of partisanship were freely thrown about. Sandfield was subjected to a “merciless flogging” by his former Cabinet minister Thomas D’Arcy McGee for putting the Constitution in danger. Brown suggested a new election be held because controverted elections always took too long to decide. In the end, the matter was referred to the Committee on Elections. When Parliament was prorogued on 15 October, Essex was still without a member.

Parliament did not meet again until 19 February 1864. In the meantime Rankin put his surveying and mining talents to use in the Chaudière region of Lower Canada
where gold had recently been discovered. Assisted by his son George, Rankin found gold and staked numerous claims. After some initial difficulties he acquired several farms in Vaudreuil which contained gold lands. Within a year $125,000 in gold was taken out; in one week $6-8,000 was produced.87

Parliament reconvened on 19 February but a committee to investigate the Essex election was not named until 28 March. The committee was unable to accomplish anything, however, as a few days earlier Sandfield Macdonald, unable to break the deadlock in Parliament and obtain a clear majority, tendered his resignation. The new government, headed by Sir Ettiene Taché and John A. Macdonald, was sworn in on 31 March; this was an unhealthy sign for Rankin. The House immediately adjourned until 3 May to allow the new government to organize itself.

The Committee on the Essex Election was finally sworn in on 4 May. Several further delays, due to the absence of a committee member, resulted in charges of partizanship by the Globe. The paper believed Rankin was being kept out by the machinations of the new government which was facing difficulties in maintaining a majority.88 On 17 May, the final report of the committee was presented.89 The committee found that Rankin had a majority of legal votes and, therefore, had been legally elected. Furthermore, the committee considered the conduct of the Returning
Officer, John McEwan, and the Deputy Returning Officer and poll clerk for Anderdon, James Maguire and William Kelly, demanded the serious consideration of the House. On 17 May 1864, eleven months after the election, Rankin took his seat in the House.

Rankin's return was accompanied by rumours that deals had been made with the Taché-Macdonald government. Supposedly Macdonald had a vote changed on the committee to Rankin's favour in return for which Rankin would aid the new Government; also, Sheriff McEwan was to be dismissed and Rankin would be allowed to choose his successor (just what he had wanted in 1856). The Globe, quick to believe the worst of Rankin, was outraged; Rankin was voting contrary to the wishes of his constituents. The political deadlock, however, meant that the balance of power was in the hands of a few immoral men like Rankin. The Planet remained loyal as ever and hailed Rankin's good sense in returning to the Conservative fold. Impulsive and easily influenced by immoral men, the paper believed Rankin had been led astray but was now assured of the support of the people of Essex and a clear conscience. The Montreal Gazette, in an abrupt about face, pictured Rankin as an honourable man who had given Sandfield Macdonald's government a fair trial but had been disillusioned and returned to his role as a political independent. In Essex, the Herald believed O'Connor had been sacrificed to political
necessity; Rankin was a traitor and everybody knew it.\textsuperscript{94}

The day he entered the House, Rankin rose to speak.\textsuperscript{95} Both parties, he believed, had recently exhibited a want of principle and there was little to separate them. It appeared a coalition government would be formed but coalition meant the abandonment of principle for expediency; this was the same view he had held in 1854 when he first entered the Assembly as an independent. Rankin confirmed his independence because he owed nothing to either party; Sandfield Macdonald had not prevented his expulsion and had not worked for his return; John A. Macdonald had actively tried to keep him out. He demanded justice be done regarding the Essex election.

The justice Rankin wished was an investigation into the conduct of McEwan, Maguire and Kelly. The government agreed that an investigation was warranted and on 2 June the first witnesses were examined. The investigation lasted until 13 June and caused considerable debate in the House.\textsuperscript{96} Rankin was impatient and argued that sufficient evidence had been presented to deal with McEwan. Motions of censure for failing to properly perform his duties were passed but many objected because they believed, quite rightly, if the House had been unable to decide who was elected, it should not condemn McEwan for the same. The Planet demanded the House stop wasting an estimated $4,000
per day and use the evidence available to make a decision. The Globe expected John A. Macdonald to come to the rescue and end the farce to Rankin's satisfaction as the deadlock made his vote extremely important. \textsuperscript{97} McEwan was finally dealt with on 7 June when an address to him was agreed upon which stated that the House believed he had misinterpreted the law and admonished him for his conduct. He was also discharged as Returning Officer. \textsuperscript{98} This was much less than Rankin hoped for, but McEwan would never again serve as Returning Officer for Essex, though he did remain Shériff. On 24 June Maguire and Kelly were dismissed for lack of evidence on Rankin's provision that an investigation be conducted at a later date.

**D. Confederation—Rankin lends a hand**

The value of Rankin's vote to the Taché–Macdonald ministry was proven on 14 June when the ministry was defeated by two votes. So close was the division in the House between Government and Opposition, that two or three members could influence the outcome of any vote. On 14 June, Rankin and Christopher Dunkin, a Conservative, switched to the Opposition on a vote dealing with the Grand Trunk Railway and brought down the government. Thus, Rankin and Dunkin became "instruments in facilitating the birth of the greatest event in our political history." \textsuperscript{99} Realizing the futility of
attempting to maintain single party government, Macdonald entered into negotiations with George Brown and others to form The Great Coalition.

On 22 June Macdonald announced the Great Coalition of Conservatives, Bleus and Liberals. Those in opposition were hard-core Liberals, Rouges and a few right-wing Conservatives. Harkin, though he had always disapproved of coalitions, happily joined the Great Coalition because it was committed to making constitutional changes leading towards his long awaited British North American union. Confederation, Harkin's most consistent point of policy since 1848, would be discussed in the next session of Parliament; a high sense of national purpose requiring the loftiest of patriotic motives would, hopefully, elevate the political process above petty squabbles and railway politics and allow Harkin to claim the title of Statesman.

Here at last was something a man like Harkin could work for with the enthusiasm and eye for glory for which he was known. Harkin determined to play a major role in Confederation and set about the task of paving his way to a top position in the Government where he could bask in the grandeur of creating a nation.

Parliament sat for two sessions in 1865; the first was given over to the discussion of Confederation. Harkin's Confederation speech on 10 March had two main thrusts: the need to develop a British North American identity in
preparation for eventual independence from Britain and the need to avoid annexation by the United States. Britain, he argued, must become secondary in the eyes of Canadians; Canada held the "strongest and best claims to our devotion." The United States, while full of enterprising and intelligent people, was a distasteful nation of which to become a part, and every Canadian should be fully prepared to defend his nation against attack by this southern aggressor. Rankin could not approve of a federation of Canada alone— one of Brown's alternatives—the whole of British North America had to be involved. The consummation of such a union would "lay the foundation of a great and important nationality," "far superior in intelligence and enlightenment, to that of the United States when they asserted their independence." The maintenance of the British connection would be evident in the adoption of the Parliamentary system of government and the rule of a constitutional monarch which led Britain, and would lead Canada, to greatness.

While not wanting to claim special credit for himself, but to show his earnest support for the scheme, Rankin quoted the Votes and Proceedings of the House for 1856 which proved he had been one of the earliest advocates of Confederation. He had been premature, he believed, and had been proven so by John A. Macdonald; but at least his heart had been in the right place. Many others had been ahead of their times, particularly the rebels of 1837-38
who were "in reality true benefactors of the country."®
Rankin then attempted a reconciliation with Brown stating
he, Rankin, had been premature in his judgements of the man.
He had been in error about coalitions; the Coalition
was the only means with which to contact other provinces
and unite British North America. Though never a follower
of Brown, Rankin admitted to having been associated with
the man and was ready to forget the past and do him honour
if he were successful with his task. 105

Rankin then lobbied for a place on the deputation
to Britain expressing the fervent hope the Imperial Govern-
ment would be impressed by the importance of the project
and that a vast majority of British North Americans favoured it. 106 Confederation would establish a balance of power
on the continent, check the spread of republicanism and see
Canada in its rightful place in the family of nations.

Having established his credibility as an excellent
representative of the people of British North America with
regard to Confederation, Rankin could confidently expect to
be called upon by the government to play a major role in its
creation. He had smoothed over any past differences with
Macdonald and Brown and had courted the favour of other
members of the Cabinet, particularly D'Arcy McGee whose own
views Rankin mirrored. However, all did not go as Rankin
had planned.
When the House sat again in August 1865, Rankin remained a loyal supporter of the government, but his own petty interests showed he was not worthy of national trust and buried any chances he may have had to be a Father of Confederation. Rankin's mining interests in Lower Canada caused him to speak out on mining legislation; then he introduced a bill to incorporate the Windsor and Sandwich Street Railway Company. 107 Rankin the land and railroad speculator, the schemer, had returned to Parliament. Rankin's political indiscretions and bombast may have been forgiven in these times of good feelings, but his railroad intrigues certainly could not. When a Canadian delegation went to Charlottetown at the end of August, Rankin was left behind to muddle over his trivial self-interest. Similarly, in October when his mining affairs kept him in close proximity to and availability for the Quebec conference, he was forgotten.

The House of Assembly for the Province of Canada sat for its last session beginning 8 June 1866. Rankin continued to be an ardent advocate of Confederation and to play a constructive role in its consummation. Rankin disagreed with the government over the area of proposed provincial constitutions in the Confederation scheme. He absolutely opposed two chambers for the provincial governments and valiantly voted in support of Opposition resolutions condemning them. Rankin's real feelings on this issue were
that provincial governments were un-British and would lead Canada into problems similar to those faced by the United States with its advocates of states' rights. 108

Rankin also felt that the Government was too slow to react to the Fenian danger that was threatening the country. The Militia was capable of defending the country but the government lacked the know-how to direct it properly. His concern was partially resolved in September when independent companies of militia in Essex were organized into the 23rd Battalion, Essex Volunteer Light Infantry and Rankin was appointed Lieutenant Colonel. 109 This was perhaps a sign that the lancer incident had been forgotten.

Rankin was not able to permit his devotion to Confederation to overcome self-interest and personal grudges. He would not tolerate opposition to his desires and rebuked anyone who stood in his way, even a potential ally like D'ArCY McGee. When George Brown resigned from the Cabinet Rankin took the opportunity to castigate him for his hypocrisy; at the time the Globe had not been overly friendly towards Rankin's business ventures. 110 Macdonald must have realized that Rankin would not be a good representative for Canada in England. Rankin, Macdonald could rationalize, was needed at home to defend the country; thus he was made Lieutenant Colonel. When the delegation left for England in November, Rankin was left behind.

While the future of British North America was being discussed in England, Rankin was in Algoma on mining
business. The era of good feelings surrounding Confederation extended all the way to Algoma and in November Rankin met and dined with John Prince. In July Prince had relayed his first kind words to Rankin in over a decade when he thanked him for sending him Parliamentary papers. After dinner Rankin and Prince parted as "good friends." 111

It had always been possible for Rankin to do abrupt aboutfaced in his relations with people, especially when there was something to be gained. Certainly the friendship of the local judge in an area where he had considerable property and interests could do nothing but benefit Rankin. However, this rekindled friendship may have been due more to a meeting of minds than anything else. The two had come to even closer agreement regarding the need for Canadian independence, particularly for Canada's defence against the United States; more drastically, Canada needed protection against the anti-British Fenians whom both men felt were dealt with inadequately by the government. 112 Moreover, the two had independently concluded that they had been too hasty in taking up arms against the rebels in 1837-38. 113

Whatever the cause of the reconciliation, these two men, so alike in character, had ended a bitter twenty-five year feud. Perhaps in the end, it was this similarity of character that had prevented them from working for the betterment of both. Neither could tolerate opposition, forgive an insult or concede he was wrong; and neither was willing to be second best or admit the other was an equal.
CHAPTER V

THE YEARS OF FRUSTRATION.

A. The 1867 Election

In 1856, after serving two years as M.P.P. for Essex, Rankin believed it his right to take a place of honour in the Legislative Council. Now, having worked so hard to help bring about Confederation, Rankin felt it his right to sit for the new Dominion. It was only fitting and just that the man who carried Essex County into Confederation should be rewarded with the confidence of the electorate; besides, Rankin's experience would safeguard the county's interests in an expanded Parliament.

Rankin's decision to contest the federal seat for Essex was a foregone conclusion; but the candidacy of his provincial counterpart posed a serious problem.¹ Rankin's immediate concern, then, was the candidacy of his friend Alexander Cameron for the provincial legislature. Cameron had announced his candidacy in Essex as early as March and, having the support of many leading citizens of Windsor and Amherstburg, was expected to win.² Cameron's support, however, came mainly from these two urban areas plus Sandwich, and not from the remainder of the county. There, Solomon Wigle, a Gosfield farmer who had been active in

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local politics, began courting the county's Conservatives and agricultural interests. Wigle's candidacy presented a special problem for Cameron and Rankin. For years Wigle himself had opposed Rankin but his family, very prominent in Gosfield and Mersea Townships, had aided Rankin and were instrumental in achieving the majorities he received in those townships. Writing to John A. Macdonald to appraise him of the Essex situation, Rankin outlined his dilemma:

Wigle's friends and allies had uniformly supported me in all my contests against any and all opponents, indeed it is to the people of Mersea and Gosfield I am chiefly indebted for having been enabled under most trying circumstances successfully to contend against every influence that could be combined against me. Under these circumstances you will understand how difficult it would be for me to do much for Cameron against a man whose Committee even is almost wholly composed of men who for the last twelve years have been generous and unwavering supporters of mine and who call upon me not to put any obstacles in the way of the Election of their chosen candidate for Ontario.]

Seeking to capitalize on Rankin's predicament, his hated enemies John McEwan and Albert Prince supported Wigle's candidacy while questioning Rankin and Cameron's Conservative credentials. While Rankin had returned to the Conservative fold, Cameron had always been a staunch Reformer and opposed to John A. Macdonald, though he did favour the Coalition.

Rankin's solution was to ask Macdonald to inform his Essex allies that it would be "an act of hostility" to
oppose Cameron. If this did not work, however Rankin was prepared. "Wigle is very fond of money," he wrote Macdonald, "Means can be found of getting him out of the way," and "I am prepared to subscribe liberally for one and shall do all I can among my friends." As a further precaution Rankin recommended the appointment of Doctor Charles E. Casgrain as Returning Officer for Essex rather than that scoundrel McEwan. "Put your finger upon the treacherous and servile hands who are trying to make discord here, under pretense of devotion to you," he advised,

Confide in me and you shall receive at my hands a degree of support and devotion passing the comprehension of the miserable pack who profess to speak your sentiments, and who in doing so, expose you to the suspicion of a systematic course of double dealing.

A few weeks later, shortly before the Essex nomination meeting, Rankin reported to Macdonald:

I am happy to tell you that I have succeeded in inducing Wigle to retire from the contest leaving Cameron in undisputed possession of the field. It is not probable any other candidate will be brought out against him and under any circumstances his Election may now be considered certain. I have been obliged to hold out inducements to Wigle.

The nature of these inducements was never explained but apparently they were not enough; on 28 August, Wigle and Cameron were nominated, James Dougall, the perennial third man in a contest, was also nominated but withdrew in favour of Cameron.
Macdonald was not convinced by Rankin's passionate pledges of loyalty. Rankin had proven himself an untrustworthy ally and Cameron, despite his professed support of the Coalition, was a known Reformer. Doctor Casgrain was appointed Returning Officer; however, this was due to Mc-\textsuperscript{3}Bwan's known animosity towards Rankin and his conduct at the infamous election of 1863. Torn between his commitment to Cameron and his loyalty to the townships, Rankin was effectively neutralized and Wigle defeated Cameron by a majority of 215. Cameron won the urban centres, Windsor, Amherstburg and Sandwich, but Wigle swept the townships.\textsuperscript{4}

Rankin's own election campaign was more exciting and ended, as usual, in protest and scandal. Rankin ran against O'Connor again and there seemed little to distinguish them. Rankin, given his long commitment to British North American union, came out as a Coalition man. O'Connor, although a self-professed Reformer, also claimed the friendship of the Coalition.

Voting occurred on 4 and 5 September and early reports put O'Connor ahead by almost one hundred votes although Rankin's centre of strength, the Lake Townships, had not been heard from.\textsuperscript{5} On 6 September the Globe reported O'Connor's victory by a slim majority of two votes. Despite his efforts against Wigle in the provincial contest, Rankin had retained control of Sandwich, Gosfield and Mersea, and had even taken Colchester from O'Connor; but
this was not enough to overcome O'Connor's solid block of support in the western and northern parts of the county.

O'Connor was officially declared elected with a majority of seven votes but Rankin refused to accept defeat gracefully. He went to his friend Doctor Casgrain, the Returning Officer, and asked to have himself declared the victor. When Casgrain refused to change his declaration, Rankin's temper got the best of him and he began to verbally abuse the man. Rankin's efforts were frustrated. According to O'Connor, however, Rankin did not stop at verbal abuse. In a letter to Macdonald, O'Connor made reference to a £100 bribe offered to Casgrain by Rankin. This, however, is the only reference to the alleged bribe.

All the poll books had not been returned to Casgrain at this time and O'Connor used circumstances to make further allegations against Rankin. The Deputy Returning Officer for Tilbury West was met by Rankin as he approached Casgrain's home with his poll book and was invited to tea. While the two were taking tea, O'Connor charged, the poll book was removed from a locked drawer and eleven votes were transferred from O'Connor to Rankin. The poll book was turned over to Casgrain who noticed the alteration. The Deputy Returning Officer swore the next day that the alteration had been done without his knowledge. Again, there is no proof that Rankin did something illegal, just circumstantial evidence and O'Connor's claims.
On Sunday, 8 September, tension was high as Rankin claimed to have been returned only to be contradicted by Casgrain. That evening it was intimated that a large party of men was coming from Detroit to join Rankin and take possession of the poll books. Casgrain sent word to Windsor and several special constables were dispatched to guard his house; a large crowd gathered outside and waited for the anticipated fight. At 12:30 a.m. Monday morning a tug was reported to have landed near Sandwich with a number of men on board. At 1:00 a.m. Rankin and some friends arrived at Casgrain's house.

According to O'Connor, Rankin attempted to gain entrance to Casgrain's house but was refused. Seeing the special constables, Rankin realized there was nothing he could do so, after berating Casgrain, he left. A later report states that Rankin went to Casgrain's house to deny rumours about the Detroit men and the poll books. Hearing that Casgrain's return had already been sent to the Government, Rankin addressed the crowd and persuaded it to disperse. Many believed, however, that only the prospect of a breach of law in a clash with the constables kept Rankin and his men from rash action.

Rankin's only recourse was to file a petition with the government and attempt to controvert the election. The petition, the only official protest of an election in Ontario, was dropped by the Committee without action.
O'Connor's majority was upheld and for the first time since 1854 an election involving Rankin was not being investigated by the Government.

Rankin lost this round to O'Connor but he had little to worry about. As with John McLeod in 1858, all Rankin needed to do was allow O'Connor to prove to the people of Essex what a terrible legislator he was. When the next election came around, Rankin confidently expected the electors of Essex to recant and beg him to return to Parliament as their representative.

The situation in 1867 was different from that of 1861 however. McLeod had been a business rival of Rankin's and had run as a candidate of the Prince party. He proved a poor politician and without Prince's backing, whether official or not, stood little chance of continuing his political career. O'Connor, on the other hand, had learned his politics from both Prince and Rankin. He was able to stand on his own as a candidate with his own centres of support, particularly among the Irish Catholics of the Northern townships. Though he differed slightly from Rankin in political views, O'Connor had shown himself to be fairly consistent, unlike Rankin who flowed with the political current and was prone to holding personal grudges against anyone who dared hold opinions contrary to his own. O'Connor represented the new wave of politicians that had been developing over the past decade. These men were no longer
"loose fish" but maintained party loyalty and reaped the rewards of patronage. The erratic and often embarrassing behaviour of men like Rankin and Prince could no longer be tolerated.

Defeated but not bowed, Rankin continued to curry Macdonald's favour for the next few years. After all, supporters of the union were technically allies and during the era of good feelings surrounding Confederation party lines remained blurred for a time. At the end of 1869 Rankin sent a letter to Macdonald offering his services in Red River. He had been in communication with a leading member of the "malcontents" who had asked Rankin to join them.17

"I think I could do good service by going," he advised Macdonald, and "have no doubt I could bring about an amicable understanding before the opening of the next session."18 If Macdonald wanted help all he had to do was telegraph the message "here" and "secret agent" Rankin would be off to the North West to settle all its difficulties. A few months later, while in Ottawa, Rankin wrote Macdonald again telling him that he was ready "to suggest a line of action, which, if adopted, cannot fail to be productive of the happiest results." Rankin would restore quiet to the troubled North West while promoting Canada's interests and vindicating the dignity of the Crown.19 Macdonald, it appears, did not want Rankin's help and chose instead to deal with the North West in his own manner. Perhaps he should have ac-
cepted Rankin's offer!

In 1871 Rankin became involved in the provincial elections. Rankin's adversary Solomon Wigle was seeking re-election on the Conservative ticket while his opposition was the equally hateful Albert Prince, Liberal. Though Rankin's loyal township supporters backed Wigle, Rankin could not bring himself to endorse anyone who had opposed his will. Instead Rankin chose to back a third candidate, George Rankin, who, as per his father's tradition, was running as an independent. Rankin's old friend Alex Cameron lost favour with everyone, including Rankin, when he attempted to get all the local candidates to retire in deference to an outsider, M. C. Cameron, who was having trouble in his own riding of East Toronto.

Albert Prince was elected with a majority of 418 over Wigle and 844 over George Rankin.²⁰ Rankin senior must have felt some of the same emotions as John Prince when Albert was defeated in 1854. The Prince dynasty had been avenged at the expense of poor George; it was a shame that John Prince had died the previous year and could not witness the irony and gloat.

Meanwhile, Rankin continued to work his gold lands in Quebec and acquired several tracts of land closer to home near Amherstburg. Rankin had another of his recurring bouts of railway fever towards the end of 1871 but this time it was a very mild attack. His own Sandwich and Wind-
sor Street Railway scheme had fallen through around 1865 but another railway scheme was now being proposed. Rankin, as President of the Windsor Gravel Road Company, which ran a toll road connecting Windsor and Sandwich, opposed the line claiming his road was sufficient for any traffic and that his interests would be hurt by the new line. A petition against the line was presented to the Ontario legislature on 30 January 1872 but had of no effect. Albert Prince, who had introduced the new railway bill, effectively countered Rankin's protests and the Sandwich and Windsor Passenger Railway Company was incorporated. By April 1872 railways were forgotten as the country was winding up for another election and Rankin could see the opportunity to return to his rightful place in Parliament.

B. The 1872 Election

As Rankin had hoped, O'Connor proved to be a dreadful politician; at least in the eyes of many of the people of Essex. Most of the time O'Connor remained silent, letting others speak for the interests of Essex. When he did speak, O'Connor had little to say and what he said was not viewed very favourably by the local press. He came under heavy criticism in May 1872 for his speech in defense of the Treaty of Washington. O'Connor claimed Canada's connection to Britain as justification for Canadian sacrifices. He believed that those who opposed the treaty were
ill-informed, particularly in the case of the fisheries clause, and were putting party before country. In Essex this speech was seen as an embarrassing novelty; novel because it was such a rare occasion when O'Connor opened his mouth. The Essex Record accused O'Connor of sacrificing his principles and Essex for his own interests—a Cabinet post in Macdonald's government.

On 2 July 1872 O'Connor was appointed President of the Privy Council; an appointment which appeared to confirm allegations that Macdonald was buying Roman Catholic votes. In late 1871, when rumours held that O'Connor was securing the Catholic vote in return for a Cabinet post, such allegations were strongly denied; but secretly Macdonald and O'Connor had corresponded regarding the sensitivity of Catholics to certain legislation. O'Connor believed that all religious groups should be represented in the Cabinet; but the Record disagreed calling on Catholics to uphold separation of church and state and not "incompetent drones" like O'Connor. The Globe felt O'Connor should be presented with his walking ticket, a reference to a walking stick given to him upon his return from Parliament. The electors of Essex had further complaints against "The Great Do-Nothing," as the Record referred to O'Connor. He had failed to represent Essex, even going so far as to oppose the creation of a second seat in Parliament for the county, as was the county's right according to the British
North America Act. Thus, it was argued, O’Connor had disenfranchised half the electors of Essex for ten years. 28

Although unhappy with O’Connor, Essex was not quite ready for the return of Rankin. As a result Rankin joined in requisitioning William McGregor, a Windsor businessman. 29 Conservatives and Liberals alike united to elect McGregor but their efforts were halted when poor health forced McGregor to decline their invitation. Rankin now thrust himself into the role of saviour of the county. Feigning reluctance to re-enter politics, he accepted the combined Conservative-Reform candidacy.

The Globe was pleased that all shades of the opposition in Essex were united to condemn the Government.

The Record hailed Rankin as

a man in every way competent to direct the battle for the people—a man around whom the intelligent and independent voters may rally with unbounded confidence...[who would rid Essex of] the dishonour and reproach of having an unscrupulous bigot elevated to an honourable position by virtue of his treachery to the sacred interests of the people. 30

O’Connor’s appointment to the Cabinet in return for the Catholic vote became the central issue of the campaign. Should a Government that used religion as a basis for appointments be sustained? No, answered Rankin through the Record. Such appointments did more harm than good; every denomination would demand representation and, as in the case of O’Connor, other members of these denominations
would be cut off from seeking office. 31

The Essex hustings were held on 30 July at Sandwich and five candidates were nominated. Théodule Girardot and James Gibson dropped out in favour of O'Connor; Rankin, O'Connor and John Ferris stayed in the race. O'Connor based his claim to the electors' votes upon the record of the Macdonald government, of which he was proud to be a member. Canada, he believed, had been preserved by Macdonald's Conservatives, and their policies regarding railways, the North West and the Washington Treaty benefitted the whole nation. 32 Rankin, having reverted to one of his anti-Macdonald phases, blasted the Government for its ineptness and incompetence. Concentrating his attack upon O'Connor's Cabinet appointment, Rankin demanded that religion be kept out of politics. John Ferris spoke briefly as the protector of the agricultural community. Albert Prince rounded out the speeches by condemning O'Connor and Macdonald but he carefully avoided any hint of support for Rankin. 33

While the campaign was progressing allegations were made that O'Connor was buying votes because he had no record to stand on. Earlier in the year the Record had charged that O'Connor opposed legislation designed to eliminate election corruption because he feared for his chances at re-election. 34 The credibility of these charges of corruption against O'Connor increased dramatically on 10
August 1872 when the election results were revealed.

Rankin and O'Connor had faced each other in four contests since 1861. In 1861 and 1863, Rankin's majorities had been 51 and 2; in 1863 and 1867, O'Connor's majorities had been 65 and 2. Support for the two had been fairly evenly divided. Now came the startling news; O'Connor had been elected with a majority of 761. The Record, barely able to remain civil, hailed O'Connor's victory as a defeat for free and intelligent men in their battle for right and justice. O'Connor's use of religion and the promises of patronage had caused the "wholesale corruption of the constituency." Principle in Essex had been sacrificed, cried the Record,

Honour [had been] trampled underfoot; self-respect flung to the winds; conscience entombed; the largest half of our electors corrupted; religion prostituted for political purposes!35

And some people whose votes had been bought had been paid with notes from the defunct International Bank. Regrettfully, some honest businessmen had taken the bills as payment for accounts and had sustained losses.36 The situation was indeed grim.

Despite O'Connor's overwhelming victory Rankin retained Colchester, Gosfield and Mersea while losing in every other district.37 The London Herald came to O'Connor's defense by charging that Rankin had issued a placard in Colchester, Gosfield and Mersea shortly before the el-
ection stating the Catholic clergy at Sandwich had ordered all true Catholics to vote for O'Connor on pain of excom-
munication. "Protestants of Essex, will you submit to this?
SHALL WE BE RULED BY PRIESTS? Answer at the polls." None
of these charges against O'Connor could be substantiated
and until the next election neither side offered any proof.

For the first time in his political career, Rankin came away from an election without having to worry about petitions for or against the result. Ironically, this may have been the only election where Rankin had a legitimate complaint and where, upon further investigation, he may have been seated in place of O'Connor. Probably Rankin did not submit another petition because he had grown tired of politics. Macdonald's government had been upheld in Essex and across the country and would have been very unlikely to uphold the petition of such a dubious and sometime supporter as Rankin. The size of his defeat, whether legitimate or not, was such as to deflate even the huge ego of Rankin. His political career, spanning twenty-one years, had not exactly been the highlight of his life and, possibly, his apparent reluctance to run in July 1872 may in fact have been genuine. Whatever the cause of Rankin's silence, he turned his attention to other matters.

During 1873 Rankin's affairs were again touched by the Southern railway. The Canada Southern Railway had finally been completed in 1872, with no help or hindrance
from Rankin this time, with its western terminus at Amherstburg. A few years previous, Rankin had acquired a number of lots in the Amherstburg area and the coming of the Southern greatly enhanced their value. Rankin's real estate ventures centred on two areas: Bois Blanc Island and the town of Gordon. Rankin saw Bois Blanc as the ideal place for excursions and began building a race course and generally improving the island. Gordon, near Amherstburg, was the actual terminus of the Southern railway and Rankin had one hundred sixty lots up for auction. These business activities were interrupted, however, by the revelations of the Pacific Scandal which plunged Rankin back into politics for one last bow.

C. Rankin's Last Bow

During the autumn of 1873 questions were being asked by the Opposition about the source of the Conservatives' campaign funds for the 1872 election. It was disclosed that almost $200,000 had been contributed by Sir Hugh Allan, a promoter of the Pacific railway. Shortly after the election he was awarded the contract to build the line. Macdonald's government was steadily losing support because of these events and, on 5 November, resigned. Alexander Mackenzie became Prime Minister and an election was called in January 1874.

Essex County Liberals met on 10 January and now—
inated William McGregor as their candidate. Several others, including George and Arthur Rankin, had been nominated but everyone agreed that McGregor was the best man. Rankin began a vigorous campaign for McGregor denouncing Macdonald and O'Connor alike. It was "absurd to say [O'Connor] either represented or mis-represented Essex," said Rankin. "In Parliament Mr. O'Connor had been simply a clod." Actually, "O'Connor's support for Macdonald had done him more harm than good." Macdonald was cursed as the "consumate trickster" for his dealings with Allan and had acted criminally with regard to the North West and Riel; no doubt because he had neglected to accept Rankin's offer to save the country in 1869-70. On 14 January the Conservatives renominated O'Connor as their candidate and the election was in full swing. O'Connor, like Macdonald and Conservative candidates elsewhere, was hampered by the Pacific Scandal and the unwillingness of local Conservatives to support the "Arch corruptionist."

On 22 January O'Connor and McGregor were officially nominated and a poll was demanded. Rankin himself had nominated McGregor and received untold satisfaction when McGregor revealed the contents of a letter from O'Connor to W. B. Hiron, a local innkeeper, written prior to the 1872 election. In this letter, O'Connor wrote he was prepared to spend $20,000 on his campaign. This, claimed McGregor, would account for O'Connor's unbelievable major-
ity over Rankin. Hirons confirmed the contents of the letter and alleged the money had come from Allan's contributions to the Conservative party. Rankin's charges had been justified in the ultimate irony—the man who was at the root of the Southern scandal was himself the victim of the greatest railway scandal ever to be revealed!

The poll was held on 29 January and was the last open vote in the county. Henceforth voting would take place by secret ballot, hopefully eliminating such abuses as bribery. When the votes were counted McGregor was announced the victor with a majority of 820. Ironically, O'Connor asserted that McGregor had used bribery to win and filed a petition with Parliament. In August McGregor was actually unseated, but was re-elected in a by-election in October, defeating O'Connor's brother Jeremiah by an even larger majority of 1013. The secret ballot had been used for the first time in Essex county.

Soon after the election John O'Connor left the county though his influence with Macdonald was such that Rankin did not begin to correspond with Macdonald until after O'Connor had been elevated to the judgeship in 1884. Rankin was once again in position to become the leading spirit of Essex. However, things had changed. The days when one man could guide the county were passed. Political influence in Essex had already been divided in 1867 with the creation of federal and provincial governments. Further-
more, at the end of 1874 Essex was given an additional seat in the Provincial House by cutting the county in half. If Rankin had entered provincial politics his power base, Colchester, Gosfield and Mersea would have been in Essex South while he resided in Essex North. Too, the old rivalries were dying out. Prince and O'Connor had left the county and several of Rankin's contemporaries had died. Rankin and Prince were figures from the past in Essex; pre-Confederation men who had refused to let themselves catch up with time. Younger men were coming to the fore; men like William McGregor, James C. Patterson, Lewis Wigle, Solomon White and even John O'Connor who had graduated from Rankin henchman to party hack.

Still, Rankin held on for a few more years trying to exert his influence over the county. A provincial election was held in January 1875 and Rankin came out as a candidate in Essex South but soon retired in concession to local favourite Lewis Wigle. Likewise, George Rankin was a candidate in Essex North for a short time. Strangely, another candidate who dropped out early, Albert Prince in Essex North, was actually supported by the elder Rankin. If John Prince had been alive the shock would have killed him.

In July 1875, in what could have been an attempt to emulate John Prince, Rankin went off to Algoma to run in a provincial by-election. Perhaps he saw his chances in
the wilds of northern Ontario as being better than in ungrateful Essex. In any case, he was defeated by another pre-Confederation rival, Simon J. Dawson, a competitor in the Quebec gold fields. In September Rankin was back in Essex, this time nominated as an independent in a by-election in Essex South where Lewis Wigle's election had been overturned. Oliver Mowat, Premier of Ontario, was in Essex during the campaign and received applause from Rankin for his government's actions. However, Rankin thought it presumptuous of Mowat to interfere in the Essex election. Rankin soon dropped out in favour of Lewis Wigle who was re-elected.

In mid-1878 a federal election seemed to be coming and Rankin decided to make one last attempt at glory. In May a Liberal convention nominated incumbent William McGregor as candidate for Essex. This nomination was seconded by George Rankin who stated that while he supported McGregor, blood was thicker than politics, and if his father came out as a candidate, as rumoured, he would have to support him. In July, at a Conservative meeting, Rankin was ready to challenge J. C. Patterson and Sol White who had "practically threatened to annihilate him." Having tested the climate in both political camps, on 17 August, Rankin announced himself as an independent candidate in opposition to both McGregor and Patterson, both of whom he felt were not qualified to represent Essex. He took the oppor-
tunity to blast Macdonald and praise Mackenzie, and his old enemy John Prince who had done more for the county than any other man.  

Rankin campaigned for almost two weeks. He concentrated his efforts on condemning Macdonald, who had done more harm to Canada than anyone else. J.C. Patterson was the object of extreme abuse for resigning his seat in the Ontario legislature to run in a federal election; abuse which Rankin himself would never have tolerated in his 1856 campaign for the Legislative Council. In general Rankin's meetings ended with cheers for the opposing candidates; he could find no basis for support. Even George Rankin abandoned his father. George was running for the seat vacated by Patterson in the Ontario legislature. His father's announcement of his candidacy had surprised him but George maintained his support for the Liberal McGregor despite his earlier promise. On 28 August Rankin wrote a letter to those who had signed a requisition asking him to run. Despite differences with McGregor, both political and business, he was withdrawing from the contest because he believed it the best way to ensure a Liberal victory. For the remainder of the campaign Rankin fought energetically for McGregor but Patterson was elected as part of a Conservative resurgence to power.  

Shortly after Rankin's withdrawal, George Rankin explained his apparent betrayal. After McGregor's nomin-
ation his father had repudiated the idea of seeking election and had suggested George run for the seat left empty by Patterson's resignation. His father's candidacy both surprised and embarrassed George, but he was determined to follow his own course. In the end, however, he was overwhelmingly defeated by Sol White. 53 George's political career had ended almost before it began. Arthur Rankin's political career had come to an end after twenty-seven years; when he withdrew from the race he acknowledged that the verdict of 1872, an 880 majority against him, still stood. 54 What he did not at first seem to recognize was that the feelings against him in 1878 were not the result of political corruption by his opponents but were due to the fact that Essex had outgrown its Arthur Rankins and John Princes and their political and personal rivalries.
CONCLUSION

As a politician, Arthur Rankin was a failure. Reasons for his lack of success were many, but seemed to centre around one tragic flaw in his character: he could not come to terms with the new political requirements of the 1850s and 60s. As a result, Rankin's behaviour often appeared erratic and unstable. Unable to work with the team or within the new demands of partyism, Rankin remained at the fringes of power.

Successful politicians of the time, men such as John A. and Sandfield Macdonald, were able to hold together supra-local groupings of notabilities in a legislature where loyalties were notoriously unstable but where control of the government (or the prospect of control) acted as a powerful inducement to coalition building. Those with the personal resources to maximize their support, and those who were skilled in the subtle and not-so-subtle arts of brokerage politics, emerged as important political figures.

If a man wished to go far in politics, he chose a "party" or a leader and remained loyal. Those who went the furthest were those whose devotion was often blindest.

Rankin, however, refused to align himself with any party or leader and suffered accordingly. Wishing to emulate the "honourable independent" stance of John Prince, Rankin remained an independent throughout his political career. Though at times he leaned towards the Conservatives or Grits,
he was always quick to maintain his freedom to act according to his conscience.

Rankin's reliance on conscience and personal feelings prevented him from following the trends of the day. As members of the legislature began to gather around the dominant figures in the House, the two Macdonalds and George Brown, Rankin remained apart. Rankin charged that coalitions were formed as the result of sacrificing one's principles thus thrusting himself into the minority of independents in the House. Rankin's inability to put politics before personal feelings alienated him from the leaders of the day. John A. Macdonald, George Etienne Cartier and George Brown all felt the lash of Rankin's tongue for insults real or imagined. Even Sandfield Macdonald, with whom Rankin experienced his closest brush with party loyalty, suffered Rankin's wrath for not standing by his supporter. For a time the narrow majorities in the House offered independents like Rankin the semblance of power, but these "loose fish" soon came to be viewed as arch opportunists and untrustworthy allies.

How little value men of principle like Rankin and Prince were to pragmatists like John A. Macdonald becomes evident when the career of John O'Connor is taken into account. For all their grandiose claims and promises, neither Rankin nor Prince were anything more than simple members of the Assembly. O'Connor, on the other hand, quietly rose to become a Cabinet member in 1872. He had no great political
ability, but represented the Roman Catholics community of Ontario, one of the factions which required consideration under the new brokerage politics. O'Connor, it seems, could "bring in the vote." He blindly defended Macdonald and remained steadfast to the Conservative cause. In the House he never embarrassed the leadership with vitriolic outbursts, but kept his place and voted according to the wishes of Macdonald.

The driving force behind Rankin in his first fifteen years in politics was his rivalry with John Prince. Their burning hatred for each other effectively divided Essex but there was little to separate the two; they were both old Tories who leaned towards reform and had similar political ideologies. Elections in Essex in the 1850s were based not upon politics, but personalities. Once Prince left the county things began to change. John O'Connor inherited Prince's "party" but the electors still had little choice; as a result Rankin and O'Connor were alternately elected in the four Essex elections in the 1860s. However, it was becoming increasingly difficult to rely upon the old divisions. O'Connor was able to call upon his Catholic allies and by holding fast to John A. Macdonald, he had party backing. By 1872, the electors of Essex had a wider choice: O'Connor, a party man, or Rankin, an independent. O'Connor's 1872 victory was an expression of the growth of the electors of Essex
away from personal politics towards the more material benefits of party patronage. The 1874 election was the first in which the electors had a clear choice of parties; Rankin fell by the wayside and never had a chance to recoup his lost power.

Rankin's independence and reliance upon personal politics also held him back in more indirect ways. His concern with self-interest and patronage caused Rankin to become too involved in railroad politics, an area in which he had no experience and limited ability. His refusal to ally himself with those in power or to recognize his own limitations led Rankin down a troubled path that erupted into the Southern scandal. Furthermore, Rankin's belief in his right to follow whatever course he desired allowed him to totally disregard the law and common sense and cause an international incident called the First Michigan Lancers. Both these and earlier episodes, such as the Indian show, served to reveal Rankin's ambitious character and total unreliability to those in power who might have been valuable political allies.

In the final analysis, Rankin accomplished little as a politician. His legislation consisted of an Act to incorporate the Town of Windsor and three Acts for railroads which were never constructed. Rankin made Essex the object of the pity then derision of the country for its inability to shake off the burden of his personal rivalries with John Prince, John O'Connor and John McEwan. The southern railroad
was completed in 1872 rather than the late 1850s. Essex had its first two party election in 1874 rather than the late 1850s or early 1860s, and entered the modern era of politics about a decade behind the rest of the country. Essex was suspended in time while Rankin tried to preserve an era of personal politics that had had its day and was being laid to rest by the remainder of the country. The final irony in Rankin's career was that his sons George, who also failed as an independent politician, and McKee, who never touched politics, became famous as men of the theatre; thus creating a real Rankin the showman.
NOTES

INTRODUCTION


CHAPTER I


2. Detroit News, Detroit, 13 March 1893, 4; Burton Historical Collection, C. M. Burton Scrapbooks v. 5, 10.

3. Upper Canada, House of Assembly, Journals 1839, Appendix Vol. II.


5. PAC, Upper Canada State Papers, RG1 E3 Vol. 100, 247-65, for Rankin's own account; C. Stuart, A Short History and Description of the Ojibbeway Indians now on A Visit to England (London, 1844), 21-30.


12. Credit for shooting Harvell was given to Pierre Maren-
tette, a Sandwich blacksmith in Captain Thebo's Company.


16. For details see Douglas, "Battle of Windsor," 146-52.


18. HWHM, John Prince Diaries, 6 October 1839.

19. Arthur McKee Rankin's birthdate is alternately given as 6 February 1841, 1842 and 1844.

20. McKee's daughter Gladys married Sidney W. Drew, the brother-in-law of Maurice Barrymore. Daughter Doris married Lionel Barrymore and daughter Phyllis married Harry Davenport, a famous actor associated with the Barrymores.


25. Maple Leaf Extra, Sandwich, 28 December 1857.


29. The three cases were tried separately with a different jury for each. L. J. Fluett withdrew his charges after the second trial.


31. *Chatham Gleaner*, 30 September 1845, 3; 23 September 1845, 3.


33. John Waddell became Sheriff of the Western District in 1848 and then Sheriff of Kent in 1850.

34. *Chatham Gleaner*, 21 October 1845, 3.

35. *Chatham Gleaner*, 2 June 1846, 2; 28 July 1846, 3.


41. *Chatham Chronicle*, Chatham, 11 September 1849, 3. W. R. Todd, Deputy District Treasurer, had become a defaulter to the District in 1848 and left the county. To pay off his debts, his residence and possessions were sold at auction.


43. In his diary Prince refers to Rankin and the Salters with regard to this letter. The Salters were Albert P., who took over the *Standard* from Rankin and was often critical of Prince, and Paul John, later County Auditor and County Treasurer. *Prince Diaries*, 18 Feb-
Several times in later years Rankin refers to an article he had published in 1848 advocating British North American union. No copies of this article have, as yet, been found.

CHAPTER II

1. In 1847 Prince had been returned by acclamation.

2. Cameron was dissatisfied with the post of Assistant Commissioner of Public Works he had received in the Baldwin-Lafontaine ministry. Feeling they were being pushed out by younger men, Cameron and some colleagues broke away from the Reform ranks and became more radical forming the basis for a new group at the left—the Clear Grits. After resigning his post in December 1849, Cameron began to work actively against the government.

With the session of 1851 the government was reconstructed with Francis Hincks at the helm. Hincks was able to reach a compromise with the Grits and brought Cameron into his government as President of the Council. In the election at the end of the year, Cameron decided to abandon Kent and Lambton which he had represented since 1847 and run in Huron County.


4. Lower, Colony to Nation, 278.

5. Examiner, Toronto, 10 September 1851, 2.


Brown claimed Rankin was an outsider but, as neither man resided in the counties, Brown was as much an outsider as Rankin. Both did, however, own property in the counties.

8. Examiner, 10 September 1851, 2.


12. Brown had been defeated by William Lyon Mackenzie at the last election when he had run in Haldimand.

13. *Examiner*, 8 October 1851, 2; 29 October 1851, 2.


18. *Globe*, 1 November 1851, 3; 18 November 1851, 3.


24. 


27. Before the Reform convention on 25 September Cameron had tried to keep away delegates who were likely to support Brown and "did Brown all the injury he could in Kent." This slightly unnerved Brown who had not been expecting such active opposition from Cameron. In February 1850, Cameron had endorsed Caleb Hopkins in a by-election to confirm Cameron's replacement in the ministry, John Wettenhall. Wettenhall was defeated and soon after lost his mind. Careless, *Brown of the Globe*, I, 112-13; Mackenzie Papers, Brown to Mackenzie, 11 October 1851; Thomson, *Alexander Mackenzie*, 30.

28. William Buckingham and George W. Ross, *The Hon. Alex-


34. Examiner, 24 December 1851, 3. Rankin's column adds up to 490 although the total given by the papers is 486.

35. Results of the 1851 election in Kent and Lambton.

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<td></td>
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<td>70</td>
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<td>94</td>
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<td>Moore</td>
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<td>and Romney</td>
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<td></td>
<td>328</td>
<td>525</td>
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Total: 236, 739, 490

Globe, 23 December 1851, 2.

36. Globe, 1 January 1852, 2.
37. Globe, 9 December 1851, 2.


39. Prince Diaries, 6 January 1852.

40. PAC, Canada Land Petitions, MG 1, Vol. 442, 4 June 1853; PAC, Canada Land Books, MG 1 L1, Vol. 3, 10 June 1853.

41. Rankin's exact relationship with the company is not known at this point, but by the 1870s he was President of the Sandwich and Windsor Gravel Road Company, the plank road's successor.

42. Prince and Charles Baby had been adversaries since the trouble over Prince's conduct at the Battle of Windsor. Prince had challenged Baby to a duel but Baby had declined the invitation. In later years the two were at each other's throats both politically and legally.

43. Globe, 10 July 1854, 1.

44. Globe, 20 July 1854, 2.


46. PAC, John McHwan Papers, MG 24 L27, Miscellaneous 1811-1868, 1854 handbill.

47. Globe, 24 July 1854, 2; Prince Diaries, 19 July 1854.


49. McHwan Papers, 1854 handbill.

50. Globe, 3 August 1854, 2; Douglas, John Prince, xlvii.

51. Prince Diaries, 31 July 1854. Prince was not adverse to such vain costs where his own elections were concerned. After his victory in 1836 Sandwich was "All Noise, Gaiety, & uproar(tho at my expence!)" in 1841 he was carried on men's shoulders through the town while a militia band played. Douglas, John Prince, 7; 45.

52. None of the candidates Prince supported in Lambton, Kent and Essex were elected. Brown defeated Cameron and Larwill defeated John Waddell.


56. PAC, Elgin Papers, MG 24 A16, Rankin to Elgin, 12 December 1854. This was shortly after the bloody battle of Inkerman.


61. Sir Edmund Head, the new Governor General, had gone so far as to recommend Prince's offer not be accepted due to his conduct in 1837 and 1838.

   Douglas, John Prince, 137-8.


68. Canadian Library Association Microfilming Project, Canada Parliamentary Debates, Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, 1854-55, 24 April, 252, 27 March, 214; *Windsor Herald*, 14 April 1855, 2.


70. *Windsor Herald*, 14 April 1855, 2.


73. Maple Leaf, 31 July 1856, 2. Bullock was an innkeeper in Amherstburg and had served as Warden of the Western District from 1847 to 1849 and was County Treasurer from 1853 to 1858. He was a staunch follower of Prince.

74. Windsor Herald, 1 August 1856, 2; Maple Leaf, Sandwich, 25 July 1856, 2; 31 July 1856, 2.

75. The Planet had been surprised that the Act had received Imperial sanction but realized nothing could be changed. The paper called on all conservatives to do their best to prevent any mischievousness and find a candidate which the majority could support.
Western Planet, Chatham, 18 July 1856, 2, 23 July 1856, 2; 28 July 1856, 2; 1 August 1856, 2.

76. Western Planet, 28 July 1856, 2.

77. At a presentation of a silver cup to Captain Thomas Chilver who ran a ferry between Windsor and Detroit, Rankin apologized for the absence of many, particularly John Prince.
Windsor Herald, 18 July 1856, 2.

78. Windsor Herald, 8 August 1856, 2.

79. Maple Leaf, 6 August 1856, 2; Windsor Herald, 8 August, 1856, 1.

80. Windsor Herald, 8 August 1856, 1.

81. Maple Leaf, 6 August 1856, 2; Windsor Herald, 8 August, 1856, 2.

82. Prince Diaries, 9 August 1856.

83. Western Planet, 4 August 1856, 2; 15 August 1856, 2; 22 August 1856, 2.

84. Globe, 28 August 1856, 2; 3 September 1856, 2.

85. Windsor Herald, 29 August 1856, 2.

86. Windsor Herald, 29 August 1856, 2; Maple Leaf, 11 September 1856, 2.

87. Windsor Herald, 29 August 1856, 2; Maple Leaf, 11 September 1856, 2.

88. Statutes 1841-43, 7 Vic. c65, section VIII.
89. Maple Leaf, 18 September 1856, 2.

90. Globe, 13 September 1856, 2; Maple Leaf, 2 October 1856, 2; Windsor Herald, 3 October 1856, 2. Edwin Murney, running for the Council in Trent and North Hastings, resigned his seat in the Assembly. This was still regarded as improper but Murney lost his election in any case.

91. Douglas, John Prince, 146; Western Planet, 5 September 1856, 2.

92. Windsor Herald, 12 September 1856, 2. Albert Prince and Rankin had been at odds since the 1854 election. They had come to blows once before, in January 1856, when the elder Prince was forced to have the two arrested to prevent any serious harm being done. Douglas, John Prince, xlvi.

93. Maple Leaf, 18 September 1856, 2.

94. Windsor Herald, 26 September 1856, 2.

95. Globe, 3 September 1856, 2; 5 September 1856, 2; 29 September 1856, 2.

96. Western Planet, 1 September 1856, 2.

97. Ottawa Times quoted in the Maple Leaf, 4 September 1856, 2.

98. British Whig quoted in the Maple Leaf, 4 September 1856, 2.

99. Windsor Herald, 10 October 1856, 2; Globe, 1 October 1856, 2.

100. In December 1855 a runaway Black was returned to a United States Sheriff by Magistrates Wilkinson and Woodbridge. Many believed the man was a runaway slave but, in fact, he was a horse thief. The magistrates were subsequently dismissed due, thought Prince, to the conviving of Rankin. Prince came to the defence of the magistrates causing many to think he advocated slavery. Douglas, John Prince, 1; Maple Leaf, 2 April 1857, 2; 16 July 1857, 3; Windsor Herald, 12 September 1856, 2.

101. In June 1857 Prince made a speech regarding the dismissed magistrates in which he stated his belief that the Blacks were best settled away from whites as "their close proximity...was anything but pleasant." In a
letter to the Toronto Colonist, he stated he had never canvassed the Blacks and had the misfortune to live among them. In July 1857 a meeting of Blacks in Windsor drew up resolutions condemning Prince. The Maple Leaf believed Rankin was behind the meeting as "the venom of a defeated opponent" was evident in the resolutions. The paper felt he was seeking votes for the next election.
Maple Leaf, 9 July 1857, 2; 16 July 1857, 2.

102. At the beginning of October rumours began to circulate that a deal had been struck between Rankin and Dougall by which Rankin had agreed to retire from the field after the nomination convention. Supposedly, Rankin was only running to keep Prince out of the Council. Rankin quickly silenced these rumours declaring Dougall was a loser; but not soon enough to prevent the loss of a few votes. It was also rumoured that Dougall was prepared to throw his support behind Rankin if he, Dougall, would not secure enough votes. Dougall strongly denied this. Both these rumours appear to have originated in Kent. Possibly they were an attempt by Prince's people to further split the vote in Kent where Prince was at his weakest.
Western Planet, 3 October 1856, 2; Windsor Herald, 24 October 1856, 2; Maple Leaf, 9 October 1856, 2.

103. Globe, 8 October 1856, 2.

104. On 22 August Prince had written to the Governor General requesting that Mercer not be appointed Returning Officer due to his partizanship. He was a friend of Rankin's.
Douglas, John Prince, 146.

105. Windsor Herald, 10 October 1856, 2; Globe, 8 October 1856, 2; Douglas, John Prince, 147.

106. Windsor Herald, 10 October 1856, 1.

107. Windsor Herald, 10 October 1856, 2.

108. Globe, 15 October 1856, 2; Western Planet, 15 October 1856, 2.

109. Windsor Herald, 17 October 1856, 2; Maple Leaf, 16 October 1856, 2.
110. Election results as of 17 October 1856:

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<th></th>
<th>Prince</th>
<th>Dougall</th>
<th>Rankin</th>
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<td><strong>637</strong></td>
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Totals: 1945 1458 1444

Windsor Herald, 24 October 1856, 2.

111. Maple Leaf, 23 October 1856, 2; Windsor Herald, 24 October 1856, 2; Chatham Planet, 24 October 1856, 2.

112. Douglas, John Prince, 150.

113. Western Planet, 17 October 1856, 2.

114. Globe, 16 October 1856, 2; 17 October 1856, 2.


116. British Canadian, Sandwich, 18 February 1857, 2.

118. Maple Leaf, 4 June 1857, 2; Journals 1857, 27 March, 16; 29 April; 7, 8, 20, 28, 29 May; 10 June; Statutes 1857, c94, c97.


CHAPTER III


2. Lower, Colony to Nation, 291.


7. Cornell, Alignment of Political Groups, 106.


10. Debates, 1854-55, 10 November, 84; 15 November, 90; Alan Wilson, The Clergy Reserves of Upper Canada: A Canadian Mortmain (Toronto, 1968), 214-15; Statutes 1854/55, 18 Vic. c2, section III.


13. Wilson, Clergy Reserves, 216.


16. Windsor Herald, 6 January 1855, 2.

17. Windsor Herald, 14 April 1855, 2.


22. **Debates**, 1856, 17 March, 58; 16 April, 115.

23. **Debates**, 1856, 16 April, 115.

24. **Debates**, 1856, 16 April, 117. Newspapers in Essex reserved comment on the affair and only printed carefully edited transcriptions of the debate. These transcriptions made it clear that Rankin was totally at fault and without any support in the House whatsoever. *Maple Leaf*, 25 April 1856, 2; *Windsor Herald*, 25 April 1856, 3.

25 **Debates**, 1856, 5 May, 151; 12 May, 156.


27. **Debates**, 1856, 23 May, 168.


30. **Windsor Herald**, 23 May 1856, 2; *Maple Leaf*, 13 June 1856, 2.


32. **Canada Gazette**, Quebec and Toronto, 10 May 1856; **Windsor Herald**, 18 April 1856, 2.


36. Walter Neutel, From "southern" concept to Canada Southern Railway 1835-1873 (M.A. Thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1969), 25-29. For a time in the 1840s, John Prince had been president of one of these unsuccessful projects.
37. Debates, 1854-55, 21 September, 32; Journals 1854-5, Pt. 1, 21 September, 104.

38. Neutel, Canada Southern Railway, 29.

39. The Woodstock and Lake Erie Railway and Harbour Company had been chartered in 1848. After some bad years, during which Francis Hincks acted as president, the line was begun in early 1854. At the end of 1854, the company was seeking a charter to build extensions of its line to St. Thomas and Suspension Bridge on the Niagara River. This, if granted, would make the eastern half of the southern line.
   Neutel, Canada Southern Railway, 30-37; Journals 1854-5, 16 October, 190.

40. Windsor Herald, 3 February 1855, 2.


42. Neutel, Canada Southern Railway, 30; Windsor Herald, 27 January 1855, 2; Western Planet, Chatham, 7 February 1855, 2.

43. Journals 1854-5, 17 April, 851; 19 April, 872; 11 May, 1073; 19 May, 1151, 1157; Statutes 1854/5, 18 Vic. c182; Windsor Herald, 31 March 1855, 2; 12 May 1855, 2.

44. Essex approved a by-law to take $200,000 in stock in August. Kent passed a similar by-law for $200,000 in stock by a very slim margin in November. Elgin passed a by-law at the end of the year for $400,000 in southern stock and $200,000 in Amherstburg and St. Thomas stock.
   Neutel, Canada Southern Railway, 50-51; Western Planet, 8 November 1855, 2.

45. Windsor Herald, 1 September 1855, 2.

46. Windsor Herald, 1 September 1855, 2.


48. Windsor Herald, 1 September 1855, 2; Prince Diaries, 16 August 1855.

49. Journals 1856, 18 March, 169; 15 April, 308; 18 June, 649-50; 1 July, 752; Statutes 1856, 19-20 Vic. c113.

51. Journals 1857, Proceedings of Standing Committee on Railroads, etc. in relation to the Great Southern Railway, Minutes of Evidence, 9 May.

52. Journals 1857, Minutes of Evidence, 14 May.

53. Windsor Herald, 18 July 1856, 2.

54. Neutel, Canada Southern Railway, 53.

55. Maple Leaf, 14 August 1856, 2.

56. McLeod refused Zimmerman twice, the second time turning down $60,000. He was determined to have the southern terminus at Amherstburg.

57. Maple Leaf, 21 August 1856, 2.

58. Maple Leaf, 28 August 1856, 2; Windsor Herald, 5 September 1856, 2.


60. Globe, 19 November 1856, 2; Windsor Herald, 14 November 1856, 2.

61. Chatham Tri-Weekly Planet, Chatham, 31 December 1856, 2.


63. Neutel, Canada Southern Railway, 87-8.

64. Maple Leaf, 2 April 1857, 2.

65. Tri-Weekly Planet, 22, 29 February 1857, 2; Maple Leaf, 23, 30 April 1857, 2.


68. Rankin claimed that he had first attempted to get Buchanan to agree to pay the $100,000 to which Rankin was entitled by the 3 July agreement with Zimmerman. Journals 1857, Minutes of Evidence, 14, 15 May.

69. Maple Leaf, 14 May 1857, 2-3; Globe, 14 May 1857, 2; Tri-Weekly Planet, 8 May 1857, 2.
70. Globe, 28 May 1857, 2; Maple Leaf, 21 May 1857, 2-3.
73. Globe, 5 June 1857, 2; 10 June 1857, 2; Debates, 1857, 4 June, 132-3.
75. PAC, Isaac Buchanan Papers, MG26 D16, Vol. 51, a representative for the Trustees of the late S. Zimmerman to Rankin, 4 June 1857.
76. Buchanan Papers, Vol. 51, Buchanan to ?, 24 August 1857; Buchanan to Rankin, 29 August 1857.
79. It was originally thought that Albert Prince would run against Rankin but he quickly denied this and threw his support behind McLeod.
   Maple Leaf, 19 February 1857, 2; 26 February 1857, 2;
   Tri-Weekly Planet, 21 October 1857, 2; 26 October 1857, 2.
80. Debates, 1857, 5 March, 10.
81. Maple Leaf, 26 November 1857, 2.
82. Cornell, Alignment of Political Groups, 44; Cornell, "Alignment of Political Groups," 70.
83. Prince Diaries, 8 December 1857.
84. Maple Leaf, 10 December 1857, 2; 17 December 1857, 2.
85. Maple Leaf, 10 December 1857, 2-3; 17 December 1857, 2-3;
   24 December 1857, 2.
86. Maple Leaf, 17 December 1857, 2.
87. Maple Leaf, 10 December 1857, 2.
88. Prince Diaries, 24 December 1857; Maple Leaf, Extra, 28
   28 December 1857; Maple Leaf, Amherstburg Extra, 30
   December 1857.
89. *Globe*, 2 January 1858, 2.

90. **Essex Election Results—1857:**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>McLeod</th>
<th>Mankin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amherstburg</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>42</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anderdon</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>73</td>
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<td>Colchester</td>
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<td>Maldon</td>
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<td>Mersea</td>
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<td>100</td>
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<td>Rochester</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandwich</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>663</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tilbury West</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>98</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>7988</strong></td>
<td><strong>7766</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Maple Leaf*, 14 January 1858, 2.

91. **Prince Diaries, 31 December 1857.**

92. *Globe*, 6 January 1858, 2; *Maple Leaf*, 7 January 1858, 2.

93. *Macdonald Papers, Vol. 336, Pt. 2, Hankan to Macdonald, 7 January, 8 January 1858; Johnson and Stelmack, Letters of Macdonald, Macdonald to John McKwan, 9 January 1858, 4-5; Maple Leaf, 14 January 1858, 2.*

94. *Western Mercury and Great South-Western Railway Advocate, Sandwich*, 18 February 1858, 2.

Prince had written to Macdonald shortly after the election expressing his views and intentions. The letter was full of righteous indignation at the events of the election and Prince assured Macdonald that, "as the only independent J.P. in Essex...I will bring all offenders to justice." Prince promised to be an avenging angel dealing out justice to all. Prince's intentions were probably genuine, but in the letter he comes across as something of an obsessed lunatic.


95. *Maple Leaf*, 4 February 1858, 2; 11 February 1858, 2; *Tri-Weekly Planet*, 19 February 1858, 2.

96. *Tri-Weekly Planet*, 25 October 1858, 2. At the Assizes in Sandwich in April, Sir John Beverly Robinson, Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench, refused to try Murray and Hawkins on the grounds that their alleged offences were against the House and, therefore, out of
his jurisdiction. He hoped the House would deal with the two. The Crown prosecutor at the Assizes was Prince's old friend H. C. R. Becher. Becher noted in his diary that a majority of people on the grand jury did not want Murray and Hawkins punished, even if it meant ignoring evidence.


97. Journals 1858, 8 March, 48-50; 20 May, 492; 27 May, 521-5; Debates, 1858, 20 May, 89; 27 May, 94-5.


99. Tri-Weekly Planet, 23 August 1858, 2.

100. Tri-Weekly Planet, 5 January 1860, 2; Evening Record, 13 May 1902, 5.

CHAPTER IV


3. Sessional Papers 1862, Vol. XX, no. 11; Appendix 32.

4. When elected, Mercer had carried all the northern townships as Rankin had in 1856 and 1857.

5. Frederick Neal, The Town of Sandwich (Past and Present), Windsor, 1909, 15-16.

6. Chatham Planet (Tri-weekly), 10 January 1860, 2.


8. Chatham Planet (Tri-weekly), 22 October 1860, 2.

9. It was rumoured that Archibald McKellar had been approached first but had declined the requisition. Chatham Planet (Tri-weekly), 22 October 1860, 2; Globe, 14 November 1860, 2.
10. **Chatham Planet** (Tri-weekly), 12 November 1860, 2.


12. **Chatham Planet** (Tri-weekly), 26 November 1860, 2.


14. **Globe**, 30 November 1860, 2; **Chatham Planet** (Tri-weekly), 28 November 1860, 2.

15. **Maple Leaf**, 30 January 1861, 2.


17. Cornell, **Alignment of Political Groups**, 49.

18. Among those named were George McMicken, M.P.P. for Welland; Alexander Cameron; John Bell, a Toronto Lawyer; James Dougall; John G. Buchanan; Walter McCrea; and a Mr. Wigle.

**Essex Journal** quoted in **Chatham Planet** (Tri-weekly), 15 March 1861, 2; 19 April 1860, 2; **Maple Leaf**, 20 December 1860, 2.


22. **Chatham Weekly Planet**, 27 June 1861, 1.

23. **Leader**, Toronto, 9 July 1861, 2; **Globe**, 3 July 1861, 2.

24. **Essex County Election Results—July 1861**:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Rankin</th>
<th>O'Connor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sandwich Town</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandwich East</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandwich West</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mersea</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gosfield</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colchester</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malden</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>118</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amberstburg</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maidstone</td>
<td>60</td>
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<td>Anderdon</td>
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<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rochester</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tilbury West</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windsor—1st Ward</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Rankin	O'Connor
Windsor-2nd Ward	44	88
Windsor-3rd Ward	1	18
1154	2103

Globe, 18 July 1861, 2.


26. Prince was appalled by Rankin's victory, especially as Albert was defeated in Kent. Prince Diaries, 13 July 1861.

27. Windsor Herald, 9 August 1861, 2.

28. In his Letter Chandler referred to a Colonel Elliott, M.P.P. whose plan this was. This error was probably to keep Rankin's name out of it should things go wrong. Detroit Post and Tribune, Zachariah Chandler: An Outline of His Life and Public Services (Detroit, 1880), 212.


30. Detroit Free Press, Detroit, 14 September 1861, 1.

31. Leader, 11 September 1861, 2; 23 September 1861, 2.

32. Montreal Gazzette, Montreal, 7 October 1861, 2.

33. PAC, Governor General's Secretary, RG 7 G20, Vol. 85, Rankin to Captain Francis Retallack, Military Secretary, 12 September 1861; Rankin to Governor General Head, 12 September 1861; Retallack to Rankin, 14 September 1861; Mountague Bernard, A Historical Account of the Neutrality of Great Britain During the American Civil War (New York, 1870), 132-36.

34. Detroit Free Press, 14 September 1861, 1; Margeurite B. Hamer, "Luring Canadian Soldiers into Union Lines During the War Between the States," CHR XXVII (June 1946): 154; Macdonald Papers, Vol. 297, Handbill.

35. Leader, 3 October 1861, 2; 5 October 1861, 2.

36. Leader, 7 October 1861, 2.

37. Leader, 7 October 1861, 2.


43. For transcripts of the testimony see *Globe*, 9, 11, 12 October 1861, page 2 in each issue.


46. This is a not so subtle reference to Rankin's Indian show of the 1840s. This episode had been dredged up by the Quebec *Chronicle* and the *Leader* in which it was believed Rankin had betrayed his Indians and left them to starve. *Montreal Gazette*, 18 October 1861, 2.

47. Clark and McCutcheon had both received commissions in the lancers, as a major and captain respectively. Clark claimed to have resigned from the York cavalry but his resignation was not accepted until he informed the Adjutant General's whether or not he was joining a foreign army. *Canada Gazette*, 19 October 1861, 2749; *Globe*, 26 October 1861, 2.


49. William F. Raney, "Recruiting and Crimping in Canada for the Northern Forces, 1861-1865," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* X (June 1923): 23n; *Chatham Weekly Planet*, 7 November 1861, 1; *Leader*, 2 November 1861, 2; *Globe*, 12 November 1861, 2.


51. There had been concern in England over Rankin's actions as early as September. Head's refusal to grant Rankin's request for leave had been approved by the Duke of Newcastle, British Colonial Secretary, but tension between England and the United States still existed. Correspondence between Lord John Russell, the Foreign Secretary, and Secretary of State Seward established that Rankin had no American government authority to recruit in
British territory. In an attempt to cut off Canadian recruitment, the War Department ordered recruiters in Detroit to cease mustering Canadians. Raney, "Recruiting and Crimping," 23n; Robin W. Winks, Canada and the United States: The Civil War Years (Baltimore, 1960), 189; Brode, "Rankin's Canadian Lancers," 170.

52. Chatham Weekly Planet, 26 December 1861, 2.


54. Two men died of disease, one in a brawl in a bawdy house, and the last while trying to escape from the stockade where he was awaiting courtmartial for drunkenness. Record of Service of Michigan Volunteers in the Civil War, 1861-1865 (Kalamazoo, 1905), 149.

55. Leader, 7 October 1861, 2.


57. Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, Parliamentary Debates on the Subject of the Confederation of the British North American Provinces (Quebec, 1865), 916, 920.

58. Detroit Free Press, 28 December 1861, 1.

59. Leader, 7 October 1861, 2.

60. Chatham Weekly Planet, 9 January 1862, 2.

61. The Lancers themselves had demanded a similar investigation in early March. They were incensed by the "velvet coat speculators" who had thoroughly mismanaged their affairs. The taxpayers of Michigan had been swindled; the thirty-three commissioned officers had received $73,000 in pay for doing nothing. Detroit Free Press, 2 April 1862, 1; Detroit Daily Tribune, Detroit, 3 March 1862, 1.

62. Chatham Growler, Chatham, 19 October 1861, 1.

63. Journals 1862, 31 March, 30-32.

64. Debates, 1862, 2 April, 24.

65. Debates, 1862, 30 April, 55.


68. Debates, 1862, 2 May, 68; 13 May, 95; 16 May, 105.


70. Debates, 1862, 26 May, 119.

71. Debates, 1862, 26 May, 159.


76. In 1861 Rankin's qualification oath had been based upon his ownership of several lots in Maidstone which, in fact, he did not have clear title to. He did, however, have other property in the county upon which he could base his qualification oath.

77. PAC, H. C. R. Becher Papers, MG24 C29, Macdonald to Becher, 19 March 1863.

78. Essex election results-April 1863. Majorities in polling divisions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Rankin</th>
<th>O'Connor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colchester</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malden</td>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anderdon</td>
<td>62</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amherstburg</td>
<td>89</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sandwich East</td>
<td>58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windsor</td>
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<td>Rochester</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Tilbury West</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Sandwich West</td>
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<td>Mersea</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>355</td>
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</table>

Globe, 3 April 1863, 2.

80. Globe, 14 May 1863, 2.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rankin</th>
<th>O'Connor</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sandwich East</td>
<td>41</td>
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<td>Sandwich West</td>
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<td>Sandwich</td>
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<td>Rochester</td>
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<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tilbury West</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amherstburg</td>
<td>84</td>
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<td>Anderdon</td>
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<td>Malden</td>
<td>61</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>325</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Globe, 24 June 1863, 2.

82. Prince Diaries, 26 June 1863.


84. Globe, 29 June 1863, 2; 1 July 1863, 2; Montreal Gazette, 3 July 1863, 2.

85. Cornell, Alignment of Political Parties, 54-55.

86. Debates, 1863, 1st Session, 8th Parliament, 14 August, 5; 17 August, 6; 18 August, 12-14; 19 August, 16-19; 20 August, 19-20; 28 August, 51; Journals 1863, Vol. XXII, 18 August, 29-30; 19 August, 31-34; 20 August, 35-36; Robert Edward Cameron, Memoirs of Ralph Vansittart (Toronto, 1924), 128-31; Globe, 20 August 1863, 2; 21 August 1863, 2.


88. Globe, 9 May 1864, 2; 10 May 1864, 2; 14 May 1864, 2.

89. Journals 1864, 17 May, 213.

90. Globe, 18 May 1864, 2; 7 June 1864, 2.
91. Globe, 19 May 1864, 2; 23 May 1864, 2; 27 May 1864, 2.

92. Chatham Weekly Planet, 19 May 1864, 2; 26 May 1864, 2.

93. Part of the disillusionment was due to William McDougall, Crown Lands Commissioner, who had caused Rankin's initial problems in obtaining the Chaudière gold lands. Montreal Gazette, 19 May 1864, 2; 20 May 1864, 2.

94. Windsor Herald, 29 May 1864, 2.

95. Debates, 1864, 17 May, 151.

96. For testimony see Journals 1864, 306-10, 316-20, 323, 331, 352-3, 364-8, 370-1; For the debates see Debates, 1864, 3 June, 174-5; 6 June, 177-9; 7 June, 181-2; 8 June, 183; 10 June, 189; 13 June, 192; 24 June, 212.

97. Chatham Weekly Planet, 16 June 1864, 2; Globe, 6 June 1864, 2.

98. Rankin later tried to sue McEwan for damages but lost because the Chief Justice at the Assizes felt the verdict of the election committee should stand. A commission was appointed to investigate the Essex election but apparently found nothing to report. Debates, 1864, 7 June, 182; Globe, 2 December 1864, 2; 8 December 1864, 2.


100. Cornell, Alignment of Political Groups, 57.

101. Confederation Debates, 915.

102. Confederation Debates, 918, 919.


104. Confederation Debates, 913.

105. Confederation Debates, 915-16.

106. When speaking of opposition to Confederation, Rankin pointed out that the Canadian Parliament represented four fifths of the people of British North America. Therefore, opposition from the Maritimes was meaningless. Confederation Debates, 921.

107. The street railway was allowed to enter agreements
with the Sandwich and Windsor Gravel Road Company of which Rankin was president.


109. This episode was short-lived as the battalion was disbanded after its camp in July 1866. Debates, 1866, 2 August, 73; Journals 1866, 2 August, 275-80; Canada Gazette, 15 September 1866, 3379.

110. McGee had opposed Rankin’s application for a patent in 1866 because he opposed the Canadian patent system in general rather than Rankin in particular. The Globe had used Rankin’s application as a prime example of the evils of the Canadian system. Debates, 1866, 25 June, 23; Journals 1866, 15 June, 32; Globe, 29 October 1866, 2.

111. Prince Diaries, 14 November 1866.


113. Douglas, John Prince, 204.

CHAPTER V

1. The British North America Act provided that, for the first elections, the federal and provincial legislatures would have the same constituencies, hold elections at the same time and use the same electoral laws. In Ontario and Quebec, dual representation was also in effect, by which a man could serve in both levels of government simultaneously. By 1873 this practice was abolished. Essex County never had dual representation. D. C. G. Kerr, "The 1867 Election in Ontario: The Rules of the Game," CHR LI (December 1970): 370-71; Norman Ward, The Canadian House of Commons: Representation (Toronto, 1963), 65-6.

2. Globe, 10 March 1867, 2.


5. Macdonald Papers, Rankin to Macdonald.

7. HWWM, Alex Cameron, 20-38, requisition and reply, 5 August 1867.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Rankin</th>
<th>O'Connor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amherstburg</td>
<td>32</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandwich</td>
<td>58</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Gosfield</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mersea</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>473</td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Essex Record, Windsor, 8 August 1872, 2.


12. MacDonald Papers, O'Connor to MacDonald.

13. MacDonald Papers, O'Connor to MacDonald.


16. Canada, House of Commons, Journals 1867-68, 21 November, 28; 17 December, 102; 17 May, 93.

17. Rankin's contact in Red River would appear to be John Christian Schultz, leader of the Canadian party there and formerly of Amherstburg. In the winter of 1868-69, Schultz was in Canada and may have met with Rankin. Rankin never recorded exactly what information he had about the area or the name(s) of his source.

W. L. Morton, The Critical Years: The Union of British
North America 1857-1873 (Toronto, 1977), 236.


20. Globe, 15 March 1871, 2; Lewis, Electoral Districts, 75.

21. Essex Record, 8 February 1872, 1. The line was to run from Walkerville to Sandwich and if the Gravel Road was used, its owners were to be compensated. Rankin, however, wanted more.

22. Ontario, Legislative Assembly, Journals 1871/72, 1 February, 70; Essex Record, 22 February 1872, 2; Ontario, Statutes 1871-2, 35 vict. c64.

23. The Treaty of Washington settled differences between Britain and the United States that had arisen from the Civil War. Canada’s principal interests were claims for damages caused during the Fenian raids and a settlement of the fisheries issues. The Fenian claims were not discussed and the fisheries settlement was viewed as very unfavourable to Canada. American fishermen were allowed to enter Canadian waters something which greatly displeased local fishermen. Lower, Colony to Nation, 443-4.


25. Essex Record, 23 May 1872, 2.

26. Chatham Weekly Planet, 10 August 1871, 2; PAC, John O’Connor Papers, MG27 I D13, Macdonald to O’Connor, 26 December 1870; 9 October 1871.

27. Essex Record, 18 July 1872, 2; Globe, 6 July 1872, 2.

28. McGregor was a director of the Windsor and Sandwich Street Railway that Rankin had so vigorously opposed.


31. Essex Record, 1 August 1872, 2.

32. Essex Record, 1 August 1872, 2.
33. Essex Record, 30 May 1872, 2.

34. Essex Record, 8 August 1872, 2.

35. Essex Record, 15 August 1872, 2.

36. Essex election results-1872.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Rankin</th>
<th>O'Connor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amherstburg</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandwich</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anderdon</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colchester</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gosfield</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maidstone</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malden</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mersea</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rochester</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pelee</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandwich East</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandwich West</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tilbury West</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1238</strong></td>
<td><strong>1999</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Essex Record, 15 August 1872, 2. Any votes John Ferris may have received were not recorded.


38. Rankin secured the appointment of Major Charles Fortier, Assistant Adjutant of the Ninth Military District, as caretaker of the ordnance reserve in Amherstburg. In 1859, John McLeod used his influence to replace Fortier with his, McLeod's, business partner Theodore Park. In 1861 McLeod obtained a lease for Bois Blanc Island, but by 1866 had paid no rent. After McLeod lost the island through litigation in 1866, it was purchased by Rankin for $2,000. Rankin was also able to purchase forty-five lots of the ordnance reserve in 1863. Albert Prince was also involved in these land deals, acquiring three waterfront lots in Amherstburg near Fort Malden. Dennis Carter-Edwards, Fort Malden: A Structural Narrative History 1796–1976, 2 vols. (Parks Canada Manuscript Report Number 401, 1980), 270–75, 765.

39. Essex Record, 11 June 1873, 1.

40. Essex Record, 16 January 1874, 2.

41. Essex Record, 23 January 1874, 2.
42. Essex Record, 26 January 1874, 2.


44. In 1878 O'Connor was returned to Parliament for Russell. In Macdonald's Cabinet O'Connor served as President of the Council, Postmaster General and Secretary of State; again O'Connor was appointed because he was a Roman Catholic. In 1884 he became the first Roman Catholic to be appointed a judge in Ontario. He died on 3 November 1887. David B. Read, The Lives of the Judges of Upper Canada and Ontario From 1791 to the Present Time (Toronto, 1888), 428-30.

45. Globe, 14 January 1875, 1; Essex Record, 15 January 1875, 2.

46. Edward H. Capp, The Story of...Baw-a-ting being the Annals of Saulte Ste. Marie(Sault Ste. Marie, 1904), 225-7. In May 1872 the London Advertiser had reported that Rankin was running in an election in Algoma. "Is our contemporary inspired?" asked the Record. Apparently it was not. Essex Record, 2 May 1872, 2.

47. Rankin had been accused of seeking aid from Mowat in 1872. Essex Record, 10 September 1875, 2; Globe, 10 August 1872, 2; Essex Record, 5 September 1872, 2.

48. Essex Record, 9 May 1878, 1.

49. Essex Record, 11 July 1878, 1.

50. Essex Record, 22 August 1878, 1.

51. Essex Record, 22 August 1878, 1; 29 August 1878, 1; Evening Record, 13 January 1914, 5.

52. Essex Record, 22 August 1878, 1; 29 August 1878, 2; Lewis, Electoral Districts, 77.

53. Essex Record, 29 August 1878, 1.

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MG26 B, Alexander Mackenzie Papers.
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John Edwin Buja was born on 10 March 1957 in Romford, Essex, England, son of Joseph and Vera Buja. He moved to Canada with his family in 1965 and settled in Windsor, Ontario.

He received his elementary education at Dougall Road and Sandwich East public schools and his secondary education at Herman Secondary School. He graduated in 1975 with his Secondary School Graduate Diploma.

He registered at the University of Windsor in 1975 and graduated with his B. A. in History in 1980. He then registered for his M. A. at the University of Windsor and graduated with a degree in history in 1982.