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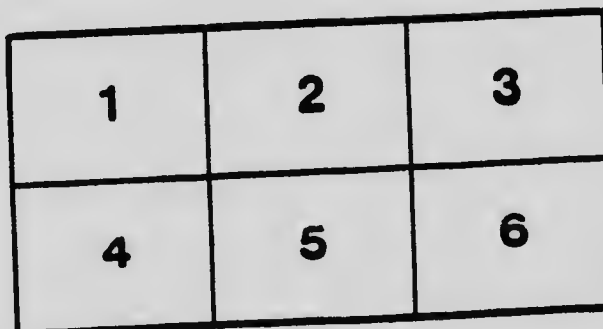
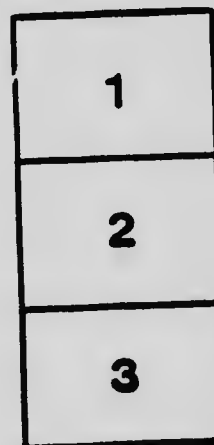
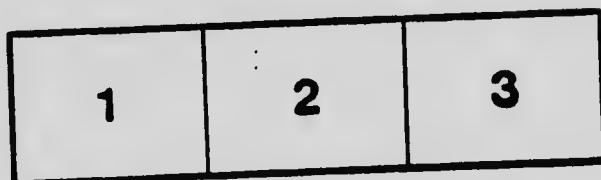
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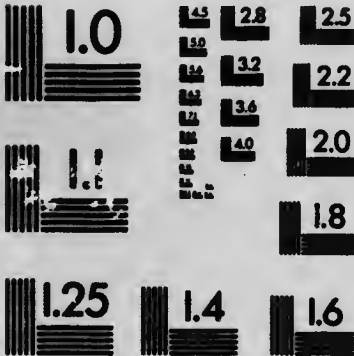
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TAKING OFF THE LID

**STARTLING EXPOSURES OF
OVERSEAS MILITARY
ELECTION
FRAUDS**

CHARGES IMPLICATING

HON. DR. REID

Minister of Railways

SIR GEORGE PERLEY

High Commissioner for Canada

HECTOR McINNES, K.C.

of Halifax

SPEECH BY

W. T. R. PRESTON

at the

DURHAM LIBERAL ASSOCIATION

ORONO, FEBRUARY 14th, 1919

Among those implicated in these election frauds were: Sir George Perley, Hector McInnes K.C., Hon. J. D. Reid, Lord Beaverbrook, Brig.-General Lord Brooks, Brig.-General A. MacDougall, Brig.-General B. Hepburn, M.P., General Radcliffe (British), General Farmer (British).

Lieut. J. T. Allen.	Lt.-Col. C. M. R. Graham.	Capt. C. H. McDiarmid.
Major L. T. Allan.	Lieut.-Col. B. M. Green.	Lt.-Col. W. T. McKinnon.
Major F. E. Allen.	Major H. P. Gorst.	Lieut.-Col. McQueen.
Lieut. B. H. H. Beaton.	Capt. A. G. Gordon.	Lieut. G. E. Oxley.
Capt. J. D. Black.	Lieut. J. R. Hayden.	Lieut. H. Proctor.
Major J. R. H. Beaton.	Capt. G. P. Hudson.	Capt. D. J. Perry.
Lieut. R. Brassay.	Major V. J. Hastings.	Lieut.-Col. Parsons.
Major Barnett.	Major L. E. Harris.	Major C. M. Roberts.
Major J. H. Brownlee.	Major. W. M. Hart.	Lieut. H. Redpath.
Capt. W. M. Burke.	Major E. D. Hale.	Major Rogers.
Lieut.-Col. Balfour.	Lieut. J. G. Hayward.	Major C. Rousseau.
Capt. G. D. Blackadar.	Lieut. Hogarth.	Lieut.-Col. T. P. Rowlands.
Lieut.-Col. G. G. Corbett.	Major W. L. Hutton.	Lieut. A. Rowley.
Major S. G. Chown.	Lieut.-Col. W. F. Kerr.	Major E. S. Rogers.
Lieut. Colglan.	Capt. C. E. Louth.	Lieut.-Col. J. A. Shaw.
Capt. J. D. Cameron.	Lieut.-Col. H. P. Malone.	Lieut.-Col. W. Simpson.
Lieut.-Col. J. A. Cooper.	Capt. W. B. Metcalfe.	Capt. S. P. South.
Lt.-Col. M. E. B. Cutcliffe.	Lieut. V. S. MacPherson.	Major C. S. Stafford.
Lieut.-Col. R. A. Christie.	Capt. W. W. Muir.	Major Staynor-Ellis.
Lieut.-Col. D. A. Clarke.	Capt. E. A. Mitchell.	Major Sharp.
Major H. M. Cherry.	Lieut.-Col. R. Moodie.	Capt. D. R. Taylor.
Capt. H. J. Dennis.	Lieut. J. B. Maxted.	Major F. M. Walker.
Lieut. W. T. Foster.	Major McGowan.	Capt. H. J. Wilson.
Capt. A. Fenton.	Major C. H. MacKenzie.	Lt.-Col. R. E. Woodhouse.
Lieut. C. H. Field.	Major J. McCraig.	Capt. White.
Major S. M. Fisher.	Capt. E. A. McNaughton.	Lieut.-Col. W. L. Watt.
Lieut. H. A. Fraser.	Capt. McLean.	Major Wolley-Dodd.
Lieut.-Col. J. Glenn.	Lt.-Col. W. D. MacPherson.	Lieut.-Col. A. L. Young.
Major A. P. Gillis.	Major J. M. McKinley.	Lieut.-Col. F. A. Reid.
Major Arthur.	Major Armour.	Major Sharpe.

The election frauds were perpetrated particularly in:

ONTARIO.—Algoma East, Bruce North and South, Essex North and South, Hamilton East and West, Huron South, Kent, Leeds and Brockville, Lennox and Addington, London, Middlesex West, Nipissing, Ontario South, Ottawa, Oxford South, Peel, Prince Edward, Russell, Welland.

QUEBEC.—Brome, Sherbrooke, Chambly-Vercheres, St. Ann's, Montreal, St. Antoine, St. Henri, St. Lawrence and St. George, Stanstead, Wright.

NEW BRUNSWICK.—Westmoreland, Restigouche and Madawaska, Kent, Northumberland.

NOVA SCOTIA.—Cape Breton, North Victoria, Richmond and Cape Breton South, Cumberland, Kings, Digby, Annapolis, Pictou.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND—Kings and Queens.

WESTERN CANADA.—Calgary, Edmonton, and Yukon.

The Annual Meeting of the County of Durham Liberal was held at Orono, Friday, February 14th, 1919. There was a large and enthusiastic representation from all parts of the riding, including those who are now entitled to vote under the Women's Franchise Act.

Mr. W. T. R. Preston, of Port Hope, was unanimously elected President of the Association. Upon being called on for a speech he said: Ladies and Gentlemen,—

It is with no ordinary emotions that I express a deep sense of appreciation of your good-will in the honor and confidence you are showing in electing me your President. To return to my old county, the scene of my earliest political aspirations and struggles, and to find this unexpected expression of kindness is ample compensation for the varied experiences which fall to public men, of which I have had my share during a somewhat stormy life. (Laughter.)

IN PRISON FOR THE FAITH.

My more recent experiences include arrest and detention in the military prison at Witley, because I insisted upon my rights as Liberal scrutineer when Lieut.-Col. H. P. Malone was stuffing the ballot box with fraudulent votes. Previous to that incident an official application was made by Gen. Sir Richard Turner's office to the Imperial Secretary of State for War for my arrest as "a dangerous person to be at large." The last contact with the authorities was an application for my arrest by Major or Hector McInnes to the Chief Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police of London on the charge that I was corresponding with Canadian soldiers. But when I got through with the detective from Scotland Yard who called on me, he said, "Mr. Preston, consider Scotland Yard out of it." (Applause.) When I wanted to come to Canada it was hoped to prevent me getting a passport on the plea that I was "a dangerous person to go abroad." (Laughter.) It is possible that in this particular certain Canadians in London were right. (Applause and laughter.)

THE TRAGEDIES OF WAR.

We are gathered together at a period, the most momentous and critical in the history of this country. The Empire has passed through a most tragic period. We have taken part loyally in its tragedies and played an important part in its victories. The best manhood of our Dominion has been creating for Canada imperishable glory on the battle-fields of Europe, and the dust and ashes of 60,000 of our sons will mingle for the centuries to come with all that is mortal of millions of other races and religions, through the part we decided to take in this struggle for the liberty of the world.

FALSE TO ITS TRUST.

It is painful to realize that for the last four or five years, while Canada has won glory abroad, we have been governed at Ottawa by men whose administration of public affairs has brought neither honor nor credit to the reputation of this country. The first Borden Government, 1911-17, became a by-word of reproach; the second, called a Union Government, 1917-18, only provokes a sneer from the Atlantic to the Pacific. So clearly is this the fact that the Cabinet will not allow, contrary to the law, the issue of writs for the long time vacancies in Glengarry, North Ontario and Assinaboia. (Cheers.)

OVERSEAS ELECTION FRAUDS.

I propose occupying your time in a brief resumé of the means adopted by the Union Government to carry the recent elections (Hear, hear), for

which I have Sir Willfrid's permission, except in one particular. The infamous provisions of the War Times Election Act are well known—the doors were opened wide for fraud. All the fears that were expressed on this point when the Bill was under discussion fade into insignificance in comparison to actual realities in the operation of the Act. It would tax your patience to give you the details of the infamies so far brought to light. (Go on, go on.) Mr. Copp, M.P., took four hours in the House of Commons last May presenting bare facts and far from exhausting the calendar.

NEW EVIDENCE OVERWHELMING.

What he knew then was insignificant in comparison to the facts, supported by unimpeachable evidence which we are now in possession of. Mr. Copp established by sworn testimony that there was a conspiracy of fraud in England to influence the result of the elections, involving perjury, forgery, personation, repeaters in voting, double ballots, unqualified voting, ballot stuffing, replacing of ballots, opening of ballot boxes, men falsely swearing to residence in Ministers' and the Speaker's constituencies in sufficient numbers to defeat the Liberal candidates. These offences were established, not by the hundred or thousand, but by the tens of thousand. (Cheers.)

CLERGYMEN TAKING A HAND IN.

In several constituencies more than double the number of military votes were polled than the enlistments from the county. A clergyman gathered up the English visitors in King George's hospital and persuaded them to vote "because they were kind to Canadian soldiers." In another case a clergyman at Shorncliffe voted a company the second time, although the captain informed him that the men had already voted. Another clergyman on Sunday, December 2nd, at Witley Camp, exhorted a regiment to vote as the officers directed, and half of them were afterwards told to swear their votes in other than their own constituencies.

BALLOT STUFFING PROVIDED FOR.

There were 600 ballot bags and 600 locks and keys. Any key opened every lock. In England 250 of the 300 bags had been opened and tampered with. That Opposition ballots were taken out and replaced by Government ballots we have incontrovertible proof. Mr. Graham, of West Hastings, by the official count, received eight overseas votes. He has letters from 45 of his own Sunday school boys that they voted for him. Would you believe the official record or the word of Sunday school lads? (Applause.) This is only one of the cases of which we have evidence. (Applause.)

NO INVESTIGATION ALLOWED.

The Government defeated the resolution demanding an enquiry into these unparalleled offences. The presentation of such a resolution in any other legislative body in the world would have necessitated full, exhaustive and immediate enquiry, followed by the most condign punishment to every person implicated. Nothing but the official records will ever convince future historians that such an incident was possible within the British Empire. Statesmen have been impeached and imprisoned upon much less incriminating evidence. (Applause.)

A PEN PICTURE.

I wish the country could have heard that debate. Hon. Mr. Burrill, whose officials overseas had been the greatest culprits, complained that Mr. Copp's speech had been a bore—so it was, of the rifled kind. Every

word was a shot that went home. His carelessness on questions of fact was extraordinary. Following him the gay buccaneer of the West, Minister of Customs, qualifying to fill the Premier's shoes, with chest expansion and hands in pockets, only requiring the cowboy's belt and pistols to furnish a Douglas Fairbank "movie," and impudently demanding, "What are you going to do about it, anyway?" The Minister of Marine, Mr. Ballantyne, wants no investigation, remembering that certain women swarmed to the polls for him, personating respectable womanhood. An investigation into anything connected with military frauds is a nightmare to Sir Herbert Ames, reminder of Canadian boys suffering from rheumatism and dying from pneumonia through wearing boots strengthened with glue instead of leather.

WHY PUNISH THE GUILTY.

Then there was Sir George Foster with his quotation, "Qui bono"—"What's the good." Why expose this dirty mess? We are out to "win the war." The election is over. Why penalize the culprits who have got away with the goods? Truly a fellow-feeling makes us wondrous kind! (Laughter.) Lieut.-Col. John A. Currie, always noisy when a reflection is suggested against the character of an officer; even a slacker, if he is an officer, wears a halo in his sight; great at winning the war in the safety of the Commons Chamber; and wants no investigation of the election frauds. Sir Sam, speaking first and thinking afterwards, as usual; more convinced than ever that an officer's uniform establishes an inalienable right to Eternal bliss, notwithstanding the fact that Colonel Woodhouse voted twenty-three English charwomen at Woking Hospital, insisting upon every one committing perjury on an official record certified to by Colonel Woodhouse himself.

MINISTERS SECRETLY SQUIRMING.

Then there was General Mewburn, happy in the thought that a letter which he had read from one of his own lieutenant-colonels, dated exactly three weeks previous to this debate, was not in Sir Wilfrid's hands, in that it contained official information of such an appalling character about the frauds that made Mr. Copp's charges look like a rushlight contrasted with a Tungsten burner, in comparison to the information which he (Mr. Mewburn) possessed. The Minister of Justice, ex-Judge Doherty, was very uneasy. He had long been accustomed to weigh evidence. Mr. Copp's case was overwhelming. He would have sentenced to capital punishment any culprit upon less than half such testimony. He wanted to protect his only son, and no blame to him. Behind him sat Dr. Edwards and other noisy wolves on his track. He had to tread the wine-press alone, which party exigencies demanded. His better judgment and a sense of right wretched under Mr. Copp's exposure.

IN BAD COMPANY.

Mr. McLean and Mr. Carvell, who now learned that all which they had feared when they fought against the War Times Election Act had taken place, and after flitting from colleague to colleague they finally decided it was better to hang together than hang separately. But it looks now as if one of them may have to be hanged separately. (Hear, hear.) The Finance Minister was not there. Had he been he would have learned that Lieut.-Col. C. M. R. Graham had taken his battalion in alphabetical order and calmly consigned a batch of fraudulent voters from A to H into his constituency. (Laughter.)

FIRST COMMONER BY FRAUD.

As for the Speaker, Hon. Edgar N. Rhodes, he sat in a tainted chair and he knew it—the first case of the kind in any Parliament under the British flag for centuries. His brother-in-law, Capt. Burke, had switched the entire Ordnance Corps vote at Ashdown to Cumberland, N.S., hundreds swearing to residence in various villages in the county, although never having lived in the Province. And but for this awful perjury and fraud Mr. Hance Logan would have been elected. (Applause.)

WANDERING THOUGHTS.

Mr. Meighen, sharp featured, clever, run in an imperfect mould, but, as a politician, exactly suited to the times. More at home defending the wrong than the right any time, perhaps wondering whether Dardier père, of Vickers, would get a certain contract from the War Office. Mr. Calder and Mr. Crerar, decidedly uncomfortable, with courage sustained by whisperings from Mr. Rowell, who essayed the role of Lady Macbeth. Dr. Reid, restless and uneasy, looked up at the Press Gallery, but his eyes unconsciously wandered to the ceiling, wondering whether the Nemesis rope was coming down or going up, and nervously twitched at his collar to be sure that it was a collar. The Prime Minister was not there. The writing in a certain letter would stand out too boldly in the brilliancy of the Commons Chamber.

FATEFUL POSSIBILITIES.

It needed only a few words, in his sweetly persuasive manner from Mr. N. W. Rowell to complete the setting. But Mr. Charles Murphy was in his seat across the floor, his sharp eyes unusually bright. So Mr. Rowell was "taking nothing, just now, thank you." (Laughter.)

STRANGELY IMPRESSIVE MOMENTS.

The tragedy of the night came when Sir Wilfrid Laurier rose. It was a quarter past three in the morning. At once there was deadly silence in the House. The members of the Cabinet stiffened themselves for an onslaught, except McLean and Carvell. They nervously toyed with papers on their desks. Viewed from the Treasury Benches, Sir Wilfrid's figure never loomed more imposing. His words were few and pitifully gentle, but awfully solemn. He didn't say so, but it was in the atmosphere that a funeral oration was being pronounced upon democracy, liberty and national honor. It might have been Henry Irving in the role of Mark Anthony. There was a singular brightness in the speaker's face—the solar light which scientists write about—more unconsciously expressive of pity, pathos and scorn than any words could utter. I went home with him or the division. I had been living in the atmosphere of British and oversea politics for twenty years, and when with a kindly smile he turned to me and said, "Well?" I could only reply, "Good God, is it to this depth that government has been brought in my native country?" After breakfast he called me to his library and said, "I want you to get at the bottom of this. There is more in it than any of us imagine. I saw that in their faces last night. The evidence is somewhere. You have my full authority."

FOLLOWING THE TRAIL.

I have been following the trail in England and Canada of these election frauds for over a year, weaving the threads together here and there, until now the web completely surrounds the principal and influential conspirators. (Cheers.) It is a sordid story, and but for its crime against

the liberty of an intelligent and honorable people, and its possible disastrous effect upon the reputation of the country I would rather see the scandal buried. But the men who have done this openly glory in their shame. It is imperative that they shall be exposed and punished in vindication of our national honor. (Cheers.)

THE PREPARATIONS FOR FRAUD.

What was in the minds of those who drafted the War Times Elections Act? I can only surmise. But I am well aware how the Government decided it should be operated. Shortly after the "Win the War" slogan was sounded and the Protestant pulpits had been enlisted in the campaign, it was determined that Sir Wilfrid Laurier should not have a single English-speaking follower in the new House of Commons. Three things were necessary: (1) The creation of an honest and conscientious prejudice against Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and this was left to the Protestant clergy; (2) the support of the farmers, and this was secured by the official pledge to exempt their sons from the operation of the Military Service Act, and (3) wholesale fraud with the soldiers' vote.

PROMISE TO EXEMPT FARMERS.

The promise to the farmers to exempt their sons from the operation of military service ought never to have been given, or it ought to have been kept. (Applause.) The farming community responded as nobly as any other class in the call to arms. (Hear, hear.) The statement by the Prime Minister is that the demand for reinforcements in February became so acute that the Government was justified in changing its policy. But the crucial point is that when the promise was given to the farmers Ottawa had no intimation from the War Office that the situation was less acute than when the Military Service Act was passed. The truth is Sir Clifford Sifton returned to Ottawa on Sunday, December 2nd, and told the Premier that unless the farmers were relieved from the operation of the Act, his defeat was inevitable. Hence the gambler's shuffle with human life as the stake. I claim that no government, nor is any public man, under any circumstance, justified in lying. (Applause.) If you justify lying you undermine the foundations of civilization. When we lose confidence in each other life becomes a burden. So clearly is this expressed in the experience of every one of us that we are prepared to form our associations on a broad basis, but for a liar none of us have any use whatever. (Applause.)

THE BRITISH PREMIER'S VIEWS.

In Lloyd George's speech in the House of Commons the other day, replying to the fear expressed that the members of the House might forget their election promises in their party zeal, he said that he could imagine no more serious reflection upon the honor of the members of that House, and he was satisfied that no member would retain his seat, nor could the Government retain office an hour if it failed in a single particular in its election pledges to the public. (Applause.) What a commentary upon the policy of justifying the broken promises by the Union Government at Ottawa! (Applause.)

WHEN HECTOR McINNES COMES IN.

The control of the soldiers' vote was assumed by Hon. Dr. Reid, Minister of Railways, with the approval of the Prime Minister.

He selected Hector McInnes, K.C., of Halifax, Sir Robert Borden's confidanté, to take charge of the nefarious work overseas. In London,

Hector McInnes, K.C., presumably a reputable and honorable barrister of Nova Scotia, recklessly plunged headlong into carrying out these colossal election frauds, which if even faintly attempted in British elections would have secured his sentence to penal servitude for life. The assistance of Sir George Perley, High Commissioner for Canada, and Lord Beaverbrook (erstwhile Max Aitken of cement merger notoriety), also became necessary.

THE INCRIMINATING CABLE.

Sir George Perley received the following cable, dated Nov. 12, 1917: "Sir George Perley, London.

"Give the following to Lennox, Gray, Hogarth, Armour, Hepburn, Sharpe, Daly and others whom you think necessary. Laurier's friends say they have arranged an organization whereby they will secure soldiers' vote in each constituency to defeat Government. Please assist in arranging for organization to watch this and do your utmost to prevent same. Special attack will be made in following constituencies. REID."

The constituencies mentioned include every one where fraudulent practices were rampant. The statement about "Laurier's friends" was a barefaced lie to cover up the meaning of the despatch.

OUTRAGING THE KING'S CONFIDENCE.

Among the officers mentioned in the cable is Major Barney Hepburn, M.P., one of the most notoriously prominent in the election frauds. He was subsequently recommended to the King for a C.M.G. as a reward for activity at this work. His Majesty cancelled a D.S.O. awarded to Lieut.-Col. Gingras, of Montreal, for unbecoming conduct. His conduct was an offence only too prevalent. Hepburn's is a crime. The political morality of this country has reached a low ebb when the honor of the Crown is dragged in the dirt to reward illegal, disreputable and dishonorable work of this character. Some day His Majesty, who jealously guards the honor of the throne, will learn what Union Government politics have brought his favors to. (Applause.)

SCOTLAND YARD CALLED IN.

Sir George received the cable referred to a moment ago at 10.30 a.m., November 13th. I had a copy of it at noon. (Laughter and cheers.) By three o'clock I had sent a copy to Lord Derby, Minister of War, directing his attention to the flagrant breach of the King's Regulations (that officers shall not take part in politics) contemplated, inasmuch as all those mentioned were officers in the C. E. F. Lord Derby sent copies of my letters to Sir George Perley and the Canadian General Headquarters. Sir George summoned to his office all the officials through whose hands the cable had passed seeking for information as to "how this got into Preston's hands." His language will not bear repetition, even in a lumber camp. (Laughter.) Scotland Yard detectives were brought to the office. The most diligent enquiry was made to discover the channel through which the leak had occurred, except that they did not ask me (laughter), but all to no purpose. (Cheers.)

KEEPING IN TOUCH.

The possession of this cable to Sir George Perley confirmed the information reaching me that the High Commissioner was an active participant with Hector McInnes in this criminal programme to thwart the honest electorate of this country. From that time until January 12th, 1919, when Hector McInnes met Lieut.-Col. Frank Reid (his chief assistant in

the frauds), in Toronto, and made it worth his while to leave the country so as not to be here in the event of the question coming before Parliament again in the pending session, I have never been out of touch with the most reliable sources of information about the doings of this infamous gang of political freebooters. (Cheers.) Figuratively speaking, I have been sleeping with Hector McInnes all the time. (Loud laughter.) But that is another story.

GETTING DOWN TO BUSINESS.

In the meantime General Headquarters appointed Lieut.-Col. Parsons chief-of-staff to Brig.-Gen. Garnet Hughes at Witley Camp, Surrey. He promptly assumed charge of the organization of officers who were to see how many fraudulent votes could be depended upon from each regiment—votes which could be allocated to constituencies other than where they were legally entitled. This military election committee had ramifications in Bramshott, Shorncliffe, Seaford, Epsom and elsewhere. It met every Monday at ten o'clock at Witley. I had a full and accurate report of the proceedings and the names of the officers present not later than Wednesday every week. (Laughter and cheers.)

MEETING A GENTLEMANLY LIAR.

So utterly damnable was their programme and the certainty of the discredit its operation would bring upon Canada, that I decided to make a personal appeal to Lieut.-Colonel Parsons to assist in running a clean election. I called on him one Sunday night, giving the excuse that rumors were current of election crookedness, which I hoped were not true. I said, "Politics is a gentleman's game in this country. Let us play the game like Englishmen. I would rather my side be buried than that there shall be occasion for a scandal. Give me your assistance in keeping the election clean and I will trust you. I won't put a scrutineer in Witley." He grasped my hand and said, "I thank you for coming. It is a gentleman's game. I pledge you my honor as an officer that there will be no election crookedness in Witley. You may trust this to me." He simply lied. On Tuesday night information reached me that Lieut.-Col. Parsons told his election committee on Monday morning that he "had fixed Preston, there will be no scrutineers, let us get on with our work; our way is now clear to bury Laurier." At ten o'clock on Sunday night, December 2nd, I had a copy of the final report of this election committee decided upon that morning, giving the number of fraudulent votes to be given by each battalion. Half an hour later I notified Gen. Hughes that my scrutineers would be at the polls next morning. (Applause.) The consternation that this caused is beyond description. The scoundrels then realized that I was on to their game. (Laughter.) Hence clapping me into prison the next day. They were mad enough to shoot. (Laughter.) It is to this depth of infamy that Canadian politics has reached under Union Government. (Hear, hear.) This could not be done by either political party—it needs the worst elements of both. (Cheers.)

THE ARISTOCRATIC FRAUDS.

But to return to Hector McInnes and Sir George Perley, particularly in connection with the details of the conspiracy or plot in France. Lieut.-Col. Frank C. Reid, to whom I referred a few minutes ago, was appointed assistant to the Clerk of the Crown-in-Chancery across the Channel. This gave him absolute charge of the soldiers' vote. I presume Lieut.-Col. Reid is a gentleman in private life. He is certainly educated, clever and has an exceedingly pleasant personality. He was selected by McInnes

and being in the charge of the election frauds in France, although a Government officer, as Sir George Perley, by the way, was then. Lieut.-Col. Reid carried out Hector McInnes' instructions in letter and in spirit; these instructions by letters and telegrams enumerated the fraudulent votes that were to be switched to the various constituencies. These included the Prime Minister's, the Finance Minister and the Speaker of the House of Commons. Perjury, forgery, personation and threatened despatch to the front trenches aggregated tens of thousands of votes for the Government.

COL. REID'S LITTLE BOAST.

Lieut.-Col. Reid's verbal account of his accomplishments includes the voting of several British regiments. This was effected by his explanation to British officers that it was necessary to "down the pacifists in Canada." His story is also garnished with an account of sending twelve or fifteen men, who declared that they would not vote for the Government, out on a forlorn hope to "No Man's Land," not one of whom ever returned. (A voice, "Good God.") This is Lieut.-Col. Reid's own story, as given to me by one of his friends in London.

SWORN TESTIMONY AVAILABLE.

I don't know whether it is true or not, but I am prepared to prove, under sworn testimony, that more than a score were either sent into the fighting line because they declined to vote for the Government or were threatened with immediate return to the trenches if they would not mark their ballots for the Government in the presence of commanding officers. To one whose brother had been killed the warning was added, "And you know what happened your brother." The situation created by such threats has no parallel in history. Liberty subject to coercion of this character is slavery of the worst kind. The martyrdom of John Brown, ill-advised enthusiast as he may have been, had a semblance of legal setting, but it became the great rallying cry throughout the North in the fight for freedom. Every one connected with this coercion among the soldiers in France and England should be brought to account, no matter how influential may be his position. (Hear, hear.)

FAITH IN THE COUNTRY.

No man can make me believe that this country will stand for the least even of these offences. (Cheers.) I should say crimes. (Cheers.) I have seen voting at elections in England, Holland, Germany, Hungary, South Africa, Australia and Japan. In all these countries the right to vote is a sacred trust. Great Britain went to war with the Transvaal because Paul Kruger would not confer the franchise on Englishmen who had taken out naturalization papers. That is the value the British nation puts upon the value of a vote. From the signing of the Magna Charter by King John in 1214 down to the passage of the Franchise Act by the British Parliament in 1918, the masses have only secured their rights through great tribulation. The right to vote is the pearl of great price.

PURITY OF ENGLISH ELECTIONS.

In Great Britain so jealously are these rights guarded and the purity of elections secured, that by a corrupt act on the part of an agent, a member is not only unseated, but he is disqualified from being a candidate for the House of Commons during the continuance of the then Parliament, nor can he ever look for political preferment or official or royal recognition. This is the standard of politics the world over, except in this, the finest country on the globe, and where there is the finest type of manhood and womanhood in the world. (Cheers.)

LIEUT.-COL. REID SEEKING RECOGNITION.

I said a few moments ago that Lieut.-Col. Frank Reid had been recently persuaded to take an extended trip abroad. His passage was secured at the Government's expense on the S.S. Olympic sailing from Halifax last month. He crossed the Atlantic with me in April, 1918, his first visit to Canada following the election. He was on his way to Ottawa for the reward of his work in France. Ottawa gave him rather indefinite assurances to begin with.

MR. CRONYN, M. P., CONSULTED.

So he took the member for London, Major Hume Cronyn, into his confidence, showing all the correspondence incriminating Hon. Dr. Reid, Sir George Perley and Hector McInnes, K.C., in the election frauds overseas. Major Cronyn, M.P., became alarmed and concluded that Lieut.-Col. Reid must be placated, or the publication of his story of the criminal proceedings would bring down the Government. Major Cronyn set to work to avert that catastrophe and drafted a certain letter for Reid, dated May 3rd, 1918, the production of which in good time will close Mr. Hume Cronyn's political career forever. General Mewburn was made acquainted with the full details of Lieut.-Col. Reid's instructions from Hector McInnes and his doings in France, yet Lieut.-Col. Reid continued to wear His Majesty's uniform.

THE DEVIL WAS WELL, ETC.

After Parliament prorogued and the Copp charges had been disposed of by the refusal of an enquiry, Lieut.-Col. Reid again found the atmosphere unfriendly. He finally presented an ultimatum, and received a telegram from Hector McInnes, K.C., to go to Halifax. After the exchange of several cables between Hector McInnes, K.C., and members of the Government in London, Lieut.-Col. Reid was promised substantial honors, including promotion to brigadier-general. He was directed to report at General Headquarters, in London, England. But, alas! on arrival there only one of the Hector McInnes pledges was fulfilled, and he returned again to Canada with blood in his eye, only to receive official notice that he was no longer entitled to wear the King's uniform.

THE DEVIL SICK AGAIN.

He is now away again, as I explained earlier, thanks to Hector McInnes', K. C., anxiety, safe from the call of a Parliamentary enquiry. There is something of a most startling character that happened in the course of these negotiations which I am not at liberty to mention, but which will in due time be made public and will create a sensation of far-reaching character—something that may find an echo in the most exalted circles in the Empire. It will exemplify to an astonishing degree how lightly the honor of this country has been held in recent months. (Hear, hear.)

FAILURE OF TRADE COMMISSION.

We have a Trade Commission in Europe, supported by five or six Cabinet Ministers. When they sailed three months ago they announced that they would immediately secure orders for hundreds of millions of dollars worth of business for the Dominion. So far they have not received an order. Instead of which, however, British ports have been closed to Canadian flour and bacon, as well as to other products. This is probably necessary as a protection to British interests. But in the meantime, to my personal knowledge, the representative of the Foreign Allied Trade Corporation, of New York, has returned with reconstruction orders to

the value of two hundred million dollars. And this New York company is getting quotations from Montreal for at least one of its contracts.

REASONS FOR FAILURE.

Why has the Canadian Trade Commission done nothing? The answer is obvious. The reputation of Canadian integrity is, most unfairly, at the lowest possible point—the direct result of the election frauds for which the Union Government is responsible. There was no secrecy in England about the frauds. Officers boasted in clubs, hotels and in private houses how the frauds were carried out. Englishmen were horrified. I heard more than one say, "This is a terrible blow to Canadian honor." An English gentleman is as likely to associate with a three-card Monte sharper as a political ballot manipulator. He classes ballot or election frauds with perjury, forgery, burglary and cheating at cards. He would as soon invite a pickpocket to accept his hospitality as ask a fraudulent voter to be his guest.

GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY.

This is where the Borden-Perley-Reid-McInnes catfit has plunged our national reputation. (Hear, hear.) Until the nation purges itself of the cause of these offences against decency and honest political life this country will be penalized in important commercial circles in Great Britain. England will buy from us the supplies she cannot get elsewhere, and in the meantime, according to official information from Ottawa, we shall be able to do business with Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria, bankrupt countries, if we will lend them the money with which to pay us for our own goods. Truly a wonderful situation. (Laughter.)

POLITICAL ARMY ADMINISTRATION.

Time will fail me to discuss other important public questions (Go on, go on), but there are one or two to which reference might be made. (Applause.) I have my own views about the Military Service Act with which you may not agree. It is no longer an issue, and therefore may be more freely mentioned. In my opinion, the Act either came one year too early or one year too late. (Hear, hear.) It was not necessary after the Americans came in. When it did become law it should have been administered free from political influences. (Applause.) But the truth is, from the day the Canadian army became a fact it was dominated by politics, and some day the facts must be made known. (Hear, hear.) If you had the price your son could get where neither shot nor shell could reach him, while somebody else's boy who had no political influence, was good cannon fodder. (Cheers.) Everybody knows this is true. (A voice, absolutely true.) History furnishes no such damnable military record in any part of the world, not even Russia. (Applause.)

THE PROOF AVAILABLE.

I know persons who interviewed Lieut.-Col. Smart at Kingston, and in reply to an enquiry as to whether so-and-so could be released from military duty the answer was, "It all depends upon whether you have the political pull." And the result proved it to be true. (Applause.)

PLAYING AT WAR FOR A MOVIE.

But the people of this country do not know that at the very moment when the Military Service Act was being forced through Parliament, because it was stated that there were no reinforcements in England, an entire division, complete in every respect, under Brig.-General Garnet Hughes, was engaged for seven weeks rehearsing a so-called Battle of

Vimy Ridge on the hills of Surrey for London cinematograph companies, and that sixteen or nineteen soldiers were killed during the enactment of this farce. (A voice, "Horror.") And this is what Ottawa calls "Winning the War." (Applause.) And while 20,000 troops that had been in training for nine months were thus engaged, men with three and four wound stripes were being returned to the front lines in France direct from English hospitals. These men conversed with me while embarking at Victoria Station, London. ("Shame.")

OFFICIAL DISCREPANCIES.

It might also be noted in this connection that on November 30th, 1917, General Mewburn made the official announcement that there were only 35,000 troops available and in training as reinforcements in Great Britain, and yet within three weeks from that date 104,000 military ballots were polled in the elections. Either somebody was economical of the truth in the first case, or the election frauds were vastly greater than our meagre evidence so far establishes. (Applause.)

THE NIGGER IN THE WOODPILE.

There were other than patriotic reasons why some parties were so insistent upon beating the drum, waving the flag and shouting, "Win the War." There were colossal financial profits at stake. The Borden Government had secured authority from Parliament to negotiate for the possession of the Canadian Northern Railway. There was no hurry. Time might possibly improve Sir William Mackenzie and Sir Donald Mann's position. The war had given them a severe blow financially. The railway would not stop running, and its obligations were largely abroad. There were many millions of securities in London upon which dividends had not been paid. The English investor soon gets panicky. It needed but little to make him more so. This, a syndicate of financial cormorants, succeeded in doing. The result was a still further decline, followed by an option being secured at low figures for the purchase of these securities.

THE PLUNDERERS AT OTTAWA.

The scene then changed to Canada. If the Ottawa Government would take possession of the Canadian Northern these depreciated securities would go to par, and the holders would amass colossal fortunes. But this required time. Sir Wilfrid Laurier was asked to consent to the extension of the life of Parliament for six months. This was refused. Then the only hope of these modern political Dick Turpins was to help Borden with a Union Government. The public were beguiled with the slogan, "Win the War" and "Down with the French-Canadians," and the prayers of the Protestant churches were invoked to keep the political fervor at white heat. The Union Government took over the way, assuming responsibility for Canadian Northern securities, it is said, to well on to two hundred millions of dollars, and will expend sixty millions more in improving the line.

HOW NEAR TO HIGHWAY ROBBERY.

In the meantime the Dick Turpins, who came from London, it is alleged, cleared a profit on the railway securities of forty or fifty million dollars. I don't know who these political highway robbers are, but their personality and responsibility must be discovered no matter at what cost. (Applause.)

PURE RELIGION AND UNDEFINED IS TO—

I wonder what must be the inner thoughts of the hundreds of clergymen in this country who, on Sunday, December 16, so fervently implored

Divine aid upon the efforts that were being put forth to secure the success of the Union Government. In the light of the election fraud and the wholesale plundering of the public exchequer these prayers might better have been heard from the prophets of Baal than from the lips of Christian ministers. (Hear, hear.) I believe in prayer. I believe in Christianity. But the careless throwing of prayers around as if they were only so many words make things that are sacred seem like sounding brass and tinkling cymbal. (Hear, hear.) While the Union Government was pledged to assist the railway bond plunderers, and by the specially-instructed agents of the Hector McInnes type was sacrificing the honor of the country on an altar of national dishonesty and fraud, fervent prayers to God from Protestant pulpits that the efforts being made to elect such a Government should be blessed is rather a severe test to believers in the good old-fashioned type of religion. (Hear, hear.)

THE PARTING OF THE WAYS.

No country can stand more than a certain amount of political corruption. I will define as one phase of political prostitution the representative of the people who amasses wealth through his influence as a public official or a member of Parliament. He ceases then to retain his freedom of judgment and becomes an easy tool to create wealth for others at the public expense. And the public pay in millions where the individual may only benefit by thousands. Every one knows that this practice has been only too prevalent in the public life of Canada. (Hear, hear.) Sooner or later this ends in national revolution or national bankruptcy. I would not like to say how near we are to either one or the other just now. (Hear, hear.) The revolution in France more than a century ago was the result of corruption among the governing classes. The same reasons forced the revolution in Russia two years ago. I am not an alarmist, but I am satisfied, if the most puritanical form of honesty is not fully established in Canadian public life very soon, you will be painfully surprised at the course events will take. If you don't smash the present system it will smash you. (Applause.)

WHEN SIR SAM GOT RELIGION.

It is not generally known in Canada that in 1916 Sir Sam Hughes appointed a committee to probe into the Army Headquarters overseas, consisting of Lieut.-Col. McRea, Lieut.-Col. F. A. Reid and Lieut.-Col. Neill. They reported, in very minute detail, that under such management as they proposed the same number of forces as had been overseas in the previous year could be maintained for the following twelve months, and a saving effected of fifty million dollars. With Sir Sam's removal from the Ministry the matter dropped. All the members of this investigating committee were given jobs so as to prevent them returning to Canada or giving the case away.

BRITISH WAR OFFICE OFFER.

Early in the war the British War Office offered to assume responsibility for the Canadian Ordnance and another branch of the C. E. F. service, free of any cost to the Dominion. This was declined by Ottawa. These services were then and have ever since cost the Dominion \$25,000 per day. The maintenance of these services have cost the country over \$30,000,000. Retaining these services, however, furnished a great field for "safety" jobs for political favorites, costly but convenient. The only conclusion one can arrive at is that the military authorities have been either fools or madmen. (Applause.) It is time that the spirit of the

inventor of the guillotine is invoked, now, however, to be run by motor power under the control of a level-headed civilian as Minister of Militia. (Applause.)

THE AWFUL DAY OF RECKONING.

We talk carelessly and indifferently about our expenditures of millions. Now we are going to realize our position. Our waste has been prodigious and our extravagance criminal. (Applause.) Few people realize that by the time we make provision for expenditures that are now outlined our debt will equal, if not exceed, the debt of Great Britain in 1914. And our annual cost of Government will be greater than was that of the United States after the Civil War.

VANISHED NATURAL RESOURCES.

We are continually hearing about our great resources, but there is not a dollar in sight from any of them to meet the national obligations. Forty years ago we had 250,000,000 acres of the greatest wheat land in the world. But we wasted much of this, like the prodigal son, in riotous living. To-day we are talking of buying part of it back at a cost of \$80,000,000.

TAKING CARE OF THE RICH.

We have issued \$1,700,000,000 non-taxable bonds in four years, the great bulk of which are going into the hands of the rich. They will be free from their share of the taxes. But the farmers have no avenue of escape. At present incomes beyond a certain figure pay 25% tax to the Government. By a rich man investing in non-taxable bonds these bonds are equal as an investment by him in any other securities yielding 7¼%. If the income tax upon wealth is raised to 33% the non-taxable bonds are equal to an investment elsewhere of 8¾%. Wealthy men all over the country are withdrawing their capital from ordinary investments and rushing to cover in Victory Bonds. There is a problem looming up here which may require a drastic solution. (Hear, hear.)

THE FARMER, THE BURDEN-BEARER.

The agricultural resources alone from the present outlook must meet our national obligations. From this there is no escape. If you don't look after your own interests no one else will. (Hear, hear.) And on this account it is essentially necessary that the largest and most convenient market in the world—the United States—shall be free to this country. (Applause.)

THE GREAT CANADIAN PATRIOT.

One word and I am done (Cries of "Go on, go on"), and that is about the grand old white-haired Chieftain at Ottawa. (Applause.) We love him for his greatness, his goodness, his wisdom, his courage and his adherence to Liberal principles. (Enthusiastic applause.) His public life has not been for himself, but always for the State. (Applause.) In not one single particular have subsequent events challenged his wisdom. (Applause.) The history of this country will justify his political life. (Applause.) He is past the allotted time mentioned by the psalmist, I grant you, but his eye is not dimmed nor is his natural strength abated. (Applause.) Do not forget that Gladstone won his greatest political battle, that famous Midlothian campaign, when he was much older in years than Sir Wilfrid Laurier. (Applause.)

BELOVED BEYOND THE SEAS.

Let me interject just here that Sir Wilfrid Laurier's influence has not been confined to this country. Sir Louis Botha is credited with

having stated, on his return to Capetown, after meeting Sir Wilfrid Laurier in London in 1907 at the Colonial Conference, that he was impressed by no one whom he had become acquainted with in London as he was by Sir Wilfrid's unassuming personality. If this is true, looking at the South African Confederacy and Sir Louis Botha's position to-day, I will venture the statement that the British Empire owes Sir Wilfrid Laurier a greater debt than it can ever pay. (Loud applause.)

PLEA FOR UNITED CANADA.

Surely, surely we have heard the last sounding of the Protestant drum in the political life of Canada. (Hear, hear.) When you remember that 60,000 Canadian boys are buried in Flanders who were fighting to preserve and sustain Catholic France and Catholic Belgium against being overrun by Protestant Prussia, we can afford to live on terms of amity and friendship with our French and Catholic fellow-citizens. (Hear, hear.)

ORGANIZE! ORGANIZE! ORGANIZE!

Our duty as Liberals in the meantime is to organize. I believe in systematic organization. Not the official kind which has everything nicely tabulated and filed at headquarters. That kind of an organization is not only utterly useless but is deceptive to the last degree. Trust to that and you are depending upon a broken reed. The only organization that is any use is the side-line and concession organization. (Hear, hear.) Upon a certain occasion years ago we believed that West Durham voters' lists were perfect. Before the final revision I persuaded Mr. Edward Blake to let me spend my two weeks' holidays canvassing up and down the concession lines. The result was that we got 160 Liberal voters added to the lists. Mr. Blake's majority when the ballots were counted was 145. (Applause.) Let us realize that the contest, whenever it comes, is ours—our individual responsibility. And if we go into the fight with this spirit this county will take its place again in support of honest government. (Applause.)

A. D. 1887—A. D. 1919.

Note.—This report was finally revised when the unexpected tidings of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's fatal collapse reached me. The suddenness of the irreparable loss caused a momentary hesitation about allowing the publication. But only twelve days previously Sir Wilfrid expressed the wish that I should make this speech, reserving to himself one gravely important fact in the evidence, because it is constitutional as well as appalling in its character. In 1887, when resigning the leadership of the Liberal party, Edward Blake said to me: "Corruption has taken such a hold upon this country that my life is too short to fight it. You may live to see it eliminated. I won't." At that time one single act of electoral corruption banished any man from public life. In 1919 Sir Wilfrid Laurier said to me: "If these crimes against liberty and civilization go unpunished the future of Canada is hopeless." In 1887 election corruption was carried on in comparative secrecy; in 1917 it was flagrantly open. Two great Liberal leaders have disappeared in thirty-two years trying to stem this evil tide. But the duty of Liberalism to the cause of democracy is absolutely clear. Such electoral debauchery is a stain upon the honor and integrity of the Dominion. To allow it to go unpunished is to prove ourselves unworthy of the confidence of self-respecting nations.

W. T. R. PRESTON.

