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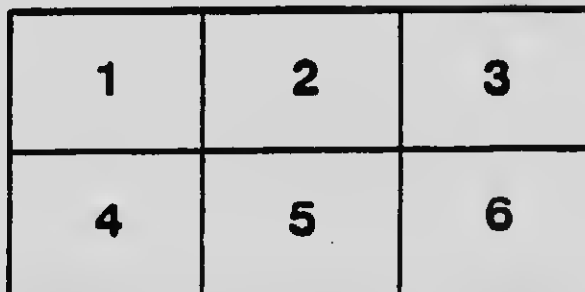
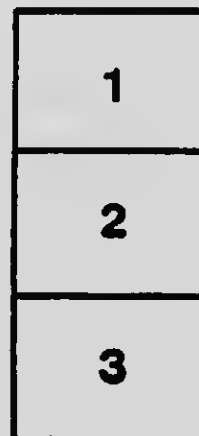
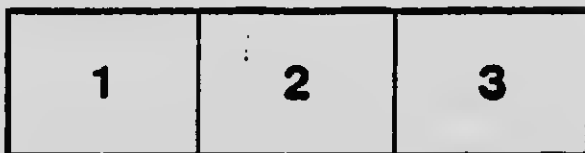
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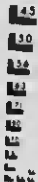
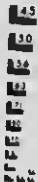
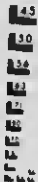
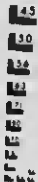
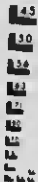
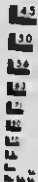
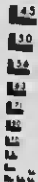
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LORD DUNDONALD

Orders in Council and Correspondence showing why He was Removed from Office

**Attacked Canada's Government
in Defiance of Military Regulations**

Deliberations or discussions by officers or soldiers with the object of conveying praise, censure, or any mark of approbation towards their superiors or any others in His Majesty's service are prohibited. **THE KING'S REGULATIONS.**

It cannot be permitted that officers shall bring accusations against superior officers or comrades before the tribunal of public opinion, either by speech or letter inserted in any newspaper; such a proceeding would be in glaring violation of the rules of military discipline and in contempt of authority. **CANADIAN MILITIA REGULATIONS.**

A most flagrant instance of political interference has occurred... The names of officers for the Scottish Light Dragoons were sent to Council by ME... The list having MY approval was returned with the name of one officer stricken off and initialed by the Minister of Agriculture... It is intolerable that MY recommendations should be so grossly interfered with by any Minister not connected with the Department. **LORD DUNDONALD.**

The General Officer Commanding recommends appointments, but his recommendations have no official value or effect until they are approved by the Minister and passed by the Governor in Council. **SIR FREDERICK BORDEN.**

Mr. Fisher was acting for and with the authority of the Minister of Militia, who was absent from the Capital, and therefore his action had all the force and authority of action by the responsible head of the Department of Militia and Defence. **ORDER IN COUNCIL.**

In removing Dr. Pickel's name from the list Mr. Fisher was not acting as Minister of Agriculture.

The list of officers sent to Council was composed almost exclusively of gentlemen connected with the Conservative party... This regiment was to be officered almost exclusively by Conservative politicians... Is it not proper that whenever a regiment is organized in any part of the country, it should be officered as far as possible by both parties? **RT. HON. SIR WILFRID LAURIER.**

When I found political interference and preferment being introduced into this regiment, I protested against it. To that extent, and only to that extent, did I bring politics into the matter... Dr. Pickel's name was struck out because he was to be appointed to a responsible position which called for a man of military experience, and he had none. **HON. SYDNEY FISHER.**

He (Dundonald) says that he was subjected to interference. Interference, forsooth! Interference by whom? Interference by the regularly constituted authorities of the people, the people who were paying him for the services which he was supposed to be giving... He says this Government has shown crass indifference, and he arraigns me on that account. Well, Sir, it may be that to increase the annual expenditure on the Militia by some one and a half or two millions is a proof of crass indifference to the well being of the Militia, but I do not believe the people will take that view. I have a list of the improvements which we have made (see page 12). **HON. SIR FREDERICK BORDEN.**

LORD DUNDONALD

I. His Office, Offence, and Removal for Cause.

By Order in Council of the Government of Canada, the Earl of Dundonald was appointed General Officer Commanding in the militia service, July 20th, 1902, and by Order in Council he was relieved of command, for cause, June 14th, 1904. The power to appoint and to dismiss rest alone with the Canadian Government.

The Minister of Militia is responsible to Parliament for the administration of militia affairs. He is required to take the initiative in all matters involving the expenditure of money, and no new corps or regiment of militia may be organized without his authority and direction. But the Minister, of his own motion, cannot appoint an officer of the militia force; he can only recommend a person to Council for a commission.

The General Officer Commanding is the principal adviser of the Minister of Militia on all military questions. Under the Militia Act and Regulations he is charged with the duty of selecting and proposing fit and proper persons for commissions in the militia. *But the General has no power of appointment, and his proposals may be accepted or rejected at the will of the Minister.* He is subordinate to the Minister, and subject to the rules of the civil service, as well as to the regulations and discipline of the department in which he serves.

The regulations and orders for the militia, made under the Act, have the authority of a statute, and by them an officer is not permitted to bring accusations against superior officers or comrades before the tribunal of public opinion. Such a proceeding, by public speech or printed letter, would be, by the regulations, "in glaring violation of the rules of military discipline and in contempt of authority."

LORD DUNDONALD'S OFFENCE.

The offence of Lord Dundonald, which resulted in his being relieved of command, was a speech delivered by him at a military dinner in Montreal, June 4th, 1904, and published in the newspapers. Referring to the conduct of the Government in militia affairs, Lord Dundonald said:—

1.—That through *political intrigue* appointments in time of peace are made without regard to military efficiency, and to the great peril of the nation's safety.

2.—That officers in command of the forces of this country are unfortunately selected because of their particular politics.

3.—That *a most flagrant instance* of political interference had just occurred in the case of a list of officers selected for the Scottish Light Dragoons, in the Eastern Townships, by the commanding officer of the corps, and sent by Lord Dundonald to the Minister for approval and transmission to Council. "The list, having my approval, was returned with the name of one officer stricken off, and initialed by the Minister of Agriculture," Hon. Sydney Fisher.

4.—That the name stricken from the list was that of Dr. Pickel, of Sweetsburg; but his political color was not that of the Minister of Agriculture, "and consequently, he was not considered fit to serve his King in the military force of Canada."

5.—That "it is intolerable that my recommendations, made in the best interests of the force, should be so grossly interfered with by any Minister not connected with the Department."

6.—That an extraordinary lack of etiquette was involved in scratching the name of a gentleman put forward by a man whose business it is to find officers for the militia. "But on personal grounds, gentlemen," Lord Dundonald said in his speech, "I don't in the least mind. Lack of etiquette affects me little. I have been two years in Ottawa, gentlemen. It is not on personal grounds that I inform you of this, but it is on national grounds. I feel, gentlemen, anxious, profoundly anxious, that the militia of Canada may be kept free from party politics."

A copy of the published speech was sent to Lord Dundonald by the Minister of Militia, with a request to be informed if it correctly reported His Lordship's utterances.

In answer, Lord Dundonald replied that the report was substantially what he said, except that he also stated that Mr. Fisher had interfered with the organization of the corps, and with the names of other proposed officers besides Dr. Pickel; but he denied having said that "all appointments" are made in the militia through political intrigue.

No excuse, explanation or defence was offered by Lord Dundonald to his Minister for conduct so clearly against the regulations of the department, which forbid an officer to bring accusations against superior officers or comrades before the tribunal of public opinion, by speech or printed letter, or to show discourtesy and want of respect to the civil authorities.

The speech was read in the House of Commons on June 9th, and the following day was fixed by the Government for making a statement upon it. When the House met at three o'clock, on June 10th, the Minister of Militia had put into his hands a copy of a Memorandum of Lord Dundonald's defence, the original of which had been supplied to Mr. Sam. Hughes, a member of the Opposition.

THE GOVERNMENT STATEMENT IN THE HOUSE.

A full statement in answer to the accusations of Lord Dundonald was made by Hon. Sydney Fisher in the House of Commons on June 10th, which was endorsed in every particular by Sir Frederick Borden, Minister of Militia. Mr. Fisher had taken an active interest in the organization of the corps, because the several squadrons composing it were formed in the part of the Province of Quebec in which he lives. He denied that he had opposed the selection of any officer on political grounds, and stated that he had objected to Dr. Pickel because it was proposed to make that person the major of a squadron at Sweetsburg without his possessing any military qualifications. He also stated that in the case of this squadron all officers had been selected through the influence of a Conservative leader in the locality because they were Conservatives—the commanding officer of the corps being himself an outsider, and not knowing the people there. *It was to prevent political interference in the appointment of officers*, Mr. Fisher said, and *not to introduce it*, that he had objected to the proposed selection for the Sweetsburg squadron. It was as Acting Minister of Militia, in the temporary absence from Ottawa of Sir Frederick Borden, that he had struck the name of Dr. Pickel off the list, and not as Minister of Agriculture, as alleged by Lord Dundonald. He had done so in consequence of an agreement arrived at between the Minister of Militia and Col. Whitley, commander of the cavalry brigade of the district, and of Col. Smart, commanding officer of the Eastern Townships corps. He had done so, besides, upon receipt of a letter from Col. Smart, informing him that Dr. Pickel did not wish to join the corps, requesting him to strike that person's name from the list, and urging him to use expedition in sending the proposed list to Council,—and in this request and representation Col. Smart was joined by Col. Whitley. Lord Dundonald knew all these facts. He knew that Mr. Fisher was acting for

the Minister of Militia. He knew that the commanding officer of the corps had requested Mr. Fisher to strike out the name of Dr. Pickel. He knew that Col. Whitley had endorsed the request. He knew that out of the eighteen officers selected for the corps by the commanding officer, and proposed by himself, all were accepted but one. He knew also that in spite of his own duty under the regulations to find fit and proper men for officers, this man had no qualification, and that as such his name was stricken in the list. Yet, knowing these facts, Lord Dundonald declared in his speech that appointments are made through political intrigue, without regard to military efficiency, that officers in command of forces are selected because of their politics, and that a most flagrant instance of such interference was the change in the list of officers for the Scottish Light Dragoons, made by the Minister of Agriculture.

Mr. Fisher said to the House:—

Let me say this: That the only ground on which I made any suggestions in regard to the establishment of this corps was the immense importance of the appointment of leading officers with military qualifications, who knew the country and the people of the Eastern Townships, the district where the corps was to be established;

That I took no exception to anybody's appointment on political grounds alone, as evidenced by my recommendation and endorsement of many well-known Conservatives;

That no one believes more thoroughly than I do that the first necessity in the recommendation of officers on the establishment of a new regiment is military qualification and general personal suitability; and that no political considerations should be allowed to interfere with this.

"I confirm literally and entirely the statement just made by my colleague, the Minister of Agriculture," Sir Frederick Borden said when Mr. Fisher had closed his official statement. "He (Mr. Fisher) had for several years advocated the organization of a mounted force in the Eastern Townships—his own home, and that part of the Dominion in the general good government of which he has a right to feel a special interest—and when the time came to take the question up I naturally looked to him for advice and assistance."

LORD DUNDONALD RELIEVED OF COMMAND.

All the facts in the matter were fully set forth by Sir Frederick Borden in a Memorandum to Council, and on June 14th the Governor General approved an Order which forthwith relieved the Earl of Dundonald of his position as General Officer Commanding the Militia of Canada.

Lord Dundonald's remarks on what he calls political interference, the Order in Council states, indicate on his part a failure to appreciate the principles of British constitutional government. His proposal of any man for appointment as an officer of the militia would in itself have no effect. Any such proposal must have the approval of the Minister of Militia, and then of the Governor in Council, and *the power of approval must carry with it the right of inquiry and rejection.*

Concerning the relation of the Minister of Agriculture in the particular case, the Order in Council makes this statement of the constitutional position:—

In the case of members of the Cabinet, while all have an equal degree of responsibility in a constitutional sense, yet, in the particular working out of responsible government in a country of such vast extent as Canada, it is found necessary to attach a special responsibility to each Minister for the public affairs of the Province or district with which he has close political connection, and with which his colleagues may not be so well acquainted. Mr. Fisher, while sharing with his colleagues that general responsibility already referred to, represents in a particular manner the Eastern Townships of the Province of Quebec. If, when it was proposed to form a new regiment in that district, he interested himself in the work, and sought to make the organization effective, he was

not merely exercising a right; he was discharging a duty both to the people of the district, and to his colleagues in the Cabinet, who would expect him to inform himself of all the facts, and advise them before approval by the Cabinet of the proposed arrangement.

In the case of the person whose name was struck off the list of officers, the Order in Council states that he was not regarded as a suitable person to have the rank of major, never having been connected with the militia, and that the person recommended by Mr. Fisher in his stead was also a political opponent, but well qualified by military service for a position of command.

"Lord Dundonald," the Order in Council says, "is an officer of the Canadian Government, a high officer it is true, but still an official of the Government, subject to all the limitations which are usually imposed upon public officials in regard to the action of their superior officers. For an official to make a public attack upon Ministers of the Government under which he serves is a proceeding so totally at variance with the principles which must necessarily obtain in the administration of military as well as of civil affairs, that it cannot with propriety be overlooked. *It is impossible to do otherwise than characterize the speech of Lord Dundonald as a grave act of indiscretion and insubordination.*"

It was to the Committee of Council a matter of deep regret that an officer of Lord Dundonald's high rank should have fallen into such grave errors, and to pursue a course which, if ignored, would be fatal to the discipline and subordination to constituted authority that are essential in civil government and military service. But for the reasons set forth, they advised that the Earl of Dundonald be forthwith relieved of his position.

In this report the Privy Council concurred, and the Governor General approved the decision.

MANNER OF REMOVAL.

An attempt has been made by Lord Dundonald to evoke sympathy by stating that the manner of his removal was discourteous, and some who saw the hopelessness of any defence of his conduct as to the real issue have dwelt on this alleged lack of courtesy. There is no foundation for the charge. Every effort was made by the Government to have Lord Dundonald properly notified. That he received a notice by telegraph instead of a notice by a messenger at Ottawa, was entirely due to his own action. When Lord Dundonald, without apology or expression of regret, admitted the substantial accuracy of the published report of his speech, the Ministers quickly reached the conclusion that they would advise his removal from office. While the necessary papers were being prepared, the Minister of Militia learned that Lord Dundonald was about to leave Ottawa to inspect the camp at London, Ont. Sir Frederick Borden immediately addressed him a polite note, suggesting that his proposed visit be postponed. If Lord Dundonald had treated his superior officer with due respect, he would instantly have abandoned his proposed trip, and remained in Ottawa to await events. *Instead of taking this course, he proceeded to London, leaving a note to the Minister to the effect that as he had not been commanded to remain he would not do so.* While Lord Dundonald was at London the proceedings in his case were concluded, and his removal took place. If he had received no notice until his return to Ottawa, he would not, under the circumstances, have had any cause of complaint. But while he had treated his Minister most discourteously, the Minister continued to treat him with consideration. A telegram was at once despatched to Lord Dundonald, at London, informing him of the action of the Government. The information was withheld from all others for some hours, and not given to the public until the next morning. These facts show that it was Lord Dundonald, and not the Minister of Militia, who was guilty of discourtesy in the last moments of their official relations.

BRITISH PRECEDENTS.

The reasonableness of the dismissal was as proper as the manner of it, and if precedents for the Government's action are wanted, they may be had by the score.

There is no question in England as to the supreme power of Parliament in all affairs relating to the army, or as to right of control by the Secretary of State for War as a Minister responsible to Parliament,—the Minister whose duties correspond with those of the Minister of Militia in Canada. A Minister who was himself the War Secretary in a Liberal Cabinet (the Right Hon. Hugh Childers), made this statement of the position, in 1882:—

No act of discipline can be exercised, no appointment or promotion can be made, no troops can be moved, no payments can be made, without the approval, expressed or implied, of the Secretary of State. To say that the Secretary of State has no controlling power in such matters, when he is responsible to Parliament for any improper exercise of the Queen's prerogative in regard to them, is manifestly absurd. *On this subject I have never known any misapprehension within the walls of the War Office or in Parliament.*

In 1901 the late Lord Salisbury, then Prime Minister in the Conservative Government, said on the same subject:—

I do not think the disputants, especially if they are military disputants, have entirely realized that the army is under Parliament, and that the Minister who controls the army does it as one who is responsible to Parliament, and represents all the authority which Parliament possesses. Everybody knows historically how it has grown up, and everybody knows that it is intertwined too closely with all the fibres of our constitution to justify anyone who forms his projects and bases his reasoning on the supposition that this relation can be modified. *At the end we must have an army governed by Parliament, governed by a Minister who is responsible to Parliament, and in any difference of opinion, whatever it may be, the Commander in Chief must be a subordinate of the Secretary of State.*

Four years ago Lord Charles Beresford was second in command of the Mediterranean fleet, and wrote a letter in which the naval administration was severely condemned. The letter was published without his permission, and this circumstance alone saved him from dismissal. His conduct was adversely criticised in both Houses of Parliament, and he was forced by public opinion to publish an apology.

At a later date (1901), Lord Wolseley was at the head of the army, and he offered advice to the Secretary of State for War which that Minister refused to accept. Lord Wolseley thereupon resigned, and it was not until he had vacated his position that he ventured to find fault with the Minister. But the example of Lord Wolseley was lost on Lord Dundonald, the military adviser of our Minister of Militia.

In the same year (October, 1901) a soldier who had accompanied Lord Wolseley on the Canadian Red River expedition of 1870, General Sir Redvers Buller, got into trouble with the War Office. He had been in the early Boer and Kaffir wars in South Africa; he had fought at Tel-el-Kebir and El Teb, and was in command at Abu Klea, in the Nile valley; and after several years of splendid work at the War Office, and in command at Aldershot, he was sent to South Africa on the outbreak of the late war to take command of the field force. Being superseded by Lord Roberts, he was recalled to England, and again put in command at Aldershot. For defending himself against his critics, in a speech at a luncheon in London, but without attacking anyone, the War Office held that General Buller had committed a breach of discipline contrary to the King's regulations, and *he was relieved of command and retired on half pay.*

A fourth case is that of General Colville, who had been charged by his brother

officers in South Africa with neglect to relieve a portion of the army there when in a situation of great distress. The War Office took a lenient view of the accusations, and he was given a command at Gibraltar. Colville did not avail himself of his right to appeal to the Commander in Chief, but published an attack upon his accusers, the staff officers of the Transvaal, and sneered at the cavalry whom he had failed to relieve. The consequence of such conduct was stated in the House of Commons by the War Secretary, Mr. Brodrick, who said: "*It is impossible that officers, whether on the full pay list or half pay list, should be allowed to make reflections on their superiors as General Colville did. He was placed on retired pay, and any officer who follows his example will necessarily share the same fate.*"

Another case is that of Sir Charles Eliot, British Commissioner of the East Africa Protectorate, which is not the less instructive because the position was a civil instead of a military one. Sir Charles had been given certain instructions for the administration of public lands, which he refused to carry out, and resigned his place. "I have refused to execute these instructions," he telegraphed Premier Balfour, "which I consider unjust and impolitic"; and he called on the Premier to hold a public inquiry into the circumstances of his resignation. A Minute of Lord Lansdowne, under date of June 25th, 1904, gives a full summary of the case, which shows that Lord Dundonald is not alone in asserting for himself a position of audacious authority.

The London *Times* writes of Sir Charles Eliot's conduct with a knowledge of all the facts. The article is in the *Times* of July 12th, and says of the correspondence.

It affords a lamentable illustration of the extent to which injured vanity may pervert the judgment and good feeling of a man in whom brilliant abilities and exceptional attainments are united with a considerable and varied experience in the service of the State. There may conceivably be room for difference of opinion on some of the points on which Sir Charles Eliot has come into conflict with his chief. Unhappily, there can be but one view as to the attitude which he has assumed, and the tone and language of the despatches he has written in the course of that controversy. They are of a kind which no responsible head of any private business, to say nothing of the responsible head of a great public department, however generous and indulgent he might be, could possibly tolerate from a subordinate without grievous detriment to the interests in his charge. They betray a total misconception of the relations between the writer and his official superior, and, what is yet more to be regretted, a momentary forgetfulness of what is due from the writer to himself.

But for the saving virtue of resignation, which the Commissioner possessed, and the General Officer Commanding in Canada did not, *the case of Sir Charles Eliot is the case of Lord Dundonald.* By language and conduct, throughout the whole episode of the Scottish Light Dragoons, the Earl of Dundonald showed that he forgot what was due to his superiors as the representative men and trusted rulers of Canada, and what was due to himself as a Peer of the United Kingdom.

II. His Appeal by Manifesto.

Two days after the Order in Council was passed, Lord Dundonald issued a public appeal through the press, the purport of which was to justify his own conduct "by letting daylight into the working of the militia system." Appealing to the people of Canada on the difficulty between himself and the Government of Canada—it is always "myself and the Government" with Lord Dundonald—he said:—

I was fully aware of the gravity of the step which I took in making a public protest. I was fully aware that it was an unusual step. I decided to take it because I was convinced that it was the only means of serving the militia of Canada.

The attack upon the Government in the Montreal speech, therefore, was not an impulse of the moment. The mine had been carefully laid and planned, and the fitting occasion was chosen to spring it. "Mr. Fisher's interest in the affairs of the 13th Scottish Light Dragoons," he says, "was simply *the final incident in a long list of various phases of obstruction.*" Interference with the technical side of his work, Lord Dundonald says, began very soon after his arrival in the country, and continued without ceasing. Mr. Fisher's interference was simply the final incident, but coming from a farmer, it was intolerable. What right had a farmer to an opinion on the technical work of selecting officers for a cavalry corps? How could a farmer know that it was not good military technics to give the highest position in the corps to a stranger, or to pick the officers for a squadron—with or without military qualifications—deliberately out of the ranks of one political party? And, anyway, what could a farmer know of form and etiquette in military affairs, particularly when coming into touch with an officer who is a Peer of the Realm? So, in his great zeal for the militia of Canada, and for the maintenance of his own dignity, Lord Dundonald took the confessedly grave and unusual step of making a public protest at a banquet, in the most offensive way and style known to the cultivated gentlemen of his class and rank.

MR. FISHER'S ANSWER.

Hon. Sydney Fisher's answer to the references to himself, in the manifesto, was made in the House of Commons, June 23rd, upon a motion of censure proposed by the leader of the Opposition. He said:—

I maintain, Sir, that the protest which I made was a protest against the political complexion of a certain squadron of this regiment, and that, had I not made that protest, I should have been worthy of such censure as the hon. gentleman expresses in this resolution. But having made that protest, I claim that I deserve the thanks of the gentlemen who profess to be influenced by these sentiments in regard to the militia; instead of censuring me, they ought to have thanked me and supported me in my action.

When the appointment of a Montreal gentleman to be colonel of the regiment was brought to the attention of Mr. Fisher, he feared that this officer might not know the people in the district, nor the circumstances and conditions obtaining in it, as well as a local man. He felt that, while in an old established corps, it would not make much difference if men outside were given positions, local knowledge in the raising of a regiment is very necessary. It was inadvisable, Mr. Fisher thought, that all the leading officers in the new regiment should be appointed from without the district, and he made representations accordingly to the Minister of Militia. *If there is one thing, he said, more important than another it is that the officers chosen for a regiment should be men eminently qualified for the positions to which they are appointed, and that no political considerations should enter into the organization of the regiment.* The commanding officer of the Eastern Townships corps was not accused of political bias, but the list of men selected would surely lead the community to believe that the choice was political, and would stamp the regiment as a Tory machine. Mr. Fisher admits that he interfered and protested, but only when he discovered that through the intrigues of local politicians the regiment was being made a political organization. He said:—

I was interfering simply in a common-sense way in the organization of the new regiment. I grant fully, and no man is more prepared to admit it than I am, that on purely military qualifications the military experts at the command of the Government ought to rule. But when it comes to matters involving knowledge of local conditions, and knowledge of the people of Canada, I venture to think that the public men of Canada know more than any expert, military or otherwise.

Lord Dundonald says in his manifesto that his claim for freedom extended

only to the technical side of his work. One of his special duties under the regulations was "to select fit and proper persons to be recommended for commissions in the militia." Yet, in the person of Dr. Pickel, for the high rank of major in one of the squadrons of the Eastern Townships corps, he selected a man who had never taken an interest in militia affairs, and who had no military qualifications. And because Mr. Fisher protested against the choice of this useless man, who would have charge of the lives of men in a field of action, the interference is described by Lord Dundonald as "the final incident in a long list of various phases of obstructions" which he could no longer endure.

No man of sense can doubt who was in the right in this instance, whether it is one of military technics or not. If it does belong to the technical side of the work, it shows that Lord Dundonald was not worthy of the freedom he claimed for himself.

VARIOUS AND CONSTANT GRIEVANCES.

But, after all, Mr. Fisher's conduct was *only a small part of Lord Dundonald's* grievances, according to the nobleman's second story. They were various and constant, and he was worried to know how he could effect his object in the improvement of the militia. His efforts were so persistently blocked, he says, that he came to look upon the case as hopeless. There was obstruction, and interference, and indifference; and in the presence of these hindrances to improvement, there was imperfect training, lack of armament, and numerous faults of detail. Driven to the extremity of his resources, it seemed to Lord Dundonald that the best way to help the militia of Canada was to "let daylight into the working of the system."

He realized that the new Militia Bill would soon be discussed in Parliament, and that it was his duty to give warning of certain dangers—perhaps in the interest of a certain gentleman who like Othello, might find his occupation gone with a new Act in operation. He might have lodged an official protest with the Government, but "it would have been simply one more document in a pigeon-hole,"—which shows how innocent Lord Dundonald was of the ways of Governments and Parliaments under the British system. He knows better now, perhaps, after all the motions for letters and papers in his own case.

AUTOCRATIC INTERFERENCE ALLEGED.

Passing to what Lord Dundonald calls autocratic interference with the machinery he was supposed to control, he cites:—

1.—The serious case of interference in the suppression of the important parts of his first annual report on the militia.

The nature of this report is not known to the public, because the Minister considered that in the interests of the defences of Canada it was a document which should not be published. The Minister is the proper judge in any such matter. If the report was in the nature of advice on the state of the country's defences, or for improving the militia force, or was, as the manifesto implies, a description of the condition of the militia and an outline of a comprehensive scheme for reorganizing the force upon lines suitable to the country, the Minister was clearly within his right in deciding what use should be made of it. The Government properly looks to officers and experts for advice and information, but the Government alone deals with schemes and policies, and alone determines on the disposal of reports. Military experts sometimes proclaim their schemes to the world regardless of the use which might be made of them by an enemy in the day of war; and this was Lord Dundonald's conspicuous defect as a military adviser. It is an open secret that many plans for the improvement of the militia system were being considered and worked out by other officers of the department before the advent of Lord Dundonald, but he was the only officer so wanting in military sense as to

claim them for his own, and rush them into print. The Minister did not dissemble his own view, for in a letter of 31st January, 1903—written two days after the report was received—he told Lord Dundonald that there was *a very grave question of propriety* in giving such a scheme to the world, and that it should be considered as a confidential paper for the information of the Minister and the Cabinet. *Any military man knows that it is not desirable to publish to the world either your strength or your weakness.*

2.—A second instance of interference concerns the report of 1903, portions of which, Lord Dundonald says, the Minister struck out.

The Minister's answer in the House of Commons shows that he had gone over the report with the writer of it and marked the parts to which he objected. Some of the objections referred to documents which had not been brought down to Parliament and which there was no intention to bring down; and therefore the Minister did not wish to have references made to them in the report. Sir Frederick said :—

I pointed out to him several instances in which he had put in his report references to matters which had been before me—matters of detail, matters of routine in the department, matters of very trivial consequence, and matters of principle in which I had differed from him, and to which I had refused to give my consent. *I asked him if he proposed to appeal from me to Parliament and the people of the country.* He agreed to make changes; he agreed to omit the portions of the report to which I objected. He took it away with him, and after keeping it nearly three weeks, sent it back.

But it appears that the changes were not made as agreed upon, and in a letter of 28th March, 1904, the Minister informed Lord Dundonald that he was returning the report with certain things omitted, as he proposed to have it printed in his own annual report. Lord Dundonald says in his manifesto that without reference to him the Minister struck out whole pages and separate paragraphs, all of which he had intended should be made public. Yet his own letter to the Minister of April 21st following shows that he had seen the report as amended. The Minister had insisted upon his right as the head of the department to say what should appear in his report, and according to all good practice in England and Canada he was right in so doing. The servant is not greater than his master, and in all things Lord Dundonald was subordinate to the Minister.

3.—A third instance refers to the ordnance corps, which Lord Dundonald says was to be organized with a colonel and four lieutenant-colonels—a larger establishment than he would have recommended. "But Sir Frederick Borden was anxious to have a number of senior and highly paid posts."

The facts are that the ordnance corps is the stores branch of the militia, which has existed since the beginning of a militia force in the country. It consists of 20 officers and 86 men. It is a purely administrative body, scattered from one side of the Dominion to the other, and *its members are never brought together.* Consequently it is not an over-officered body as intimated by Dundonald, and *its reorganization has not entailed any additional expense.* Contrasted with the ordnance corps is the corps of guides, a pet organization of Lord Dundonald's which consists of 169 officers and 302 non-commissioned officers and men.

4.—The retirement of Col. Gregory of the 2nd Dragoons is a fourth instance of alleged interference on the part of the Minister.

Sir Frederick Borden was desirous of giving young men a chance for promotion, and seven years ago the Militia Regulations were amended by him so as to provide that after five years' service the term of command should end automatically. Col. Gregory had held the command of his regiment for five years. He wanted an extension for a further

period of three years, and the Minister granted one year. The second in command had been in such poor health that for three years he had been unable to attend camp through loss of voice. A medical inquiry was suggested in his case, but he resigned before the end of the year granted to Col. Gregory, and a capable officer, properly qualified, was promoted to his place. This officer (Major Glasgow) was fitted for the command, and in the interest of the corps, and for the encouragement of all its officers who were looking for promotion for faithful service, Col. Gregory was retired after an extension of command for one year.

To characterize any one of these acts as an "interference" by the Minister of Militia is a bold and reckless use of the term. Interference by the Government, or by any member of the Government in the public administration, is not an understandable offence to men who know our parliamentary system.

INDIFFERENCE TO THE WELFARE OF THE FORCE.

Indifference of the men who govern the country to the welfare of the force is charged by Lord Dundonald as an evil of greater magnitude than interference. Want of sympathy with the improvement of the militia is alleged in the manifesto. Sir Frederiek Borden has answered this accusation by a statement of *what has been done for the service* since his term of office began, and the list is a long one:—

1. Annual drill for the whole militia of the country.
2. Increase of pay to non-commissioned officers and men for good conduct and continuous service.
3. Limitation of the term of commanding officers to five years, and enforcement of the age limit, conducing to promotion in the service.
4. A reserve list of officers established.
5. Cadet corps and cadet battalions established.
6. A defence commission appointed.
7. A general service medal secured for men who defended the country against the Fenian invasion.
8. Long service decoration secured.
9. Higher qualification for officers required.
10. Medical service branch of the militia established.
11. A Military Pension Act passed by Parliament.
12. A school of musketry established.
13. Rifle associations encouraged, and large grants of money made every year for constructing rifle ranges.
14. A corps of guides established.
15. An engineering branch established.
16. The military stores branch converted into the ordnance corps.
17. A military intelligence corps organized.
18. Capacity of the Dominion Arsenal increased more than ten-fold.
19. Small arms factory established.
20. Factories for manufacture of wagons, limbers for artillery, &c. established.

This is only a part of the answer to Lord Dundonald's charge of indifference. A further answer is the fact that, whereas in the last eight fiscal years of Conservative administration (1889-1896), the expenditure for militia purposes was \$12,352,567, it has been, in the eight fiscal years of Liberal administration (ending June, 1904), \$23,865,563. *The increase is \$11,513,002, or nearly 100 per cent.*

DUNDONALD'S MILITARISM.

Lord Dundonald's notions of military preparations and expenditures are European, not American. He is so much a stranger to Canadian ideas, and the Canadian system of Government, as to give the first place to the army and the second

to Parliament. The public does not know what his schemes of expenditure were, nor how his hands were crippled in endeavors to promote the efficiency of the militia, as alleged by himself—for his schemes are in the confidential report. But in a speech made by Lord Dundonald, April 1st, 1903, he said:—

If \$12,000,000 was provided at this moment, I could not, with the moderate proposals I made, recommend its expenditure with advantage in a year. Such expenditure might well be spread over two or three years on that organization.

This, then, was the general idea which he had in his mind with regard to the policy he sought to impose on the Minister of Militia—an expenditure of \$12,000,000 in two or three years on capital account. But how much more for other purposes of organization, the public does not know, except what may be implied in suggestions for improving the training of the militia, supplying lack of armament, and correcting faults of detail. He seems to have had no thought on the concerns of governments beyond that of *making Canada a military nation*,—and taking her, as he thoughtlessly said, out of a position of dependency on the forbearance of others for “integrity of territory and national existence,” and out of “living in a fool’s paradise.”

Military preparation is a good thing, and Canada is doing her share of it. But the country that is strong in the day of war is the one that has expended her superlative energies on the development of her resources, and that is rich in the means which are the sinews of war.

What Lord Dundonald has said in condemnation of the Minister of Militia for not accepting his advice on short courses of instruction for field officers this September, on the purchase off-hand of a tract of land many miles in extent for a central camp, and on the printing of plates and letter-press to teach Canadians the latest ideas on felling trees, is scarcely worthy of mention. The Minister has declared himself in favor of the short courses, but he discovered that Dundonald’s orders relating to them were contradictory of each other. He is also in favor of a central camp, but wants time to select the most suitable locality. As for the plates and letter-press of directions for cutting down trees, &c., the first edition was found to be all wrong, and when a corrected edition was asked for by Lord Dundonald, the Minister considered that instruction of this sort was rather superfluous information for men born in Canada.

A EXTRAORDINARY STATEMENT.

Perhaps the most astounding statement in connection with Lord Dundonald’s case is an utterance of his own, at a demonstration in his honor in the city of Toronto, on July 15th, a month after his dismissal from office. There, to an audience of several thousands of sympathisers, he said:—

Gentlemen, the most extraordinary feature of the controversy with regard to the recommendations in my report for 1902 is the very remarkable fact that the main features and recommendations in it, so far as paper organization is concerned, have already been adopted, and are now in force in Canada.

This is an extraordinary statement, coming after the speech at Montreal and the manifesto. It disposes of every statement in the one and in the other, and is a plain confession that all the charges of interference by politicians, and of indifference by the Minister and the Government, were baseless and without any warrant in fact.

A STRANGER, AND WHAT THE TERM IMPLIES.

Much has been said and insinuated on the use of a word by Sir Wilfrid Laurier in his speech of June 10th, in the House of Commons. Here is the statement as reported in the Official Debates:—

Sir WILFRID LAURIER.—Lord Dundonald, in his position, is charged with the organization of the militia, but he must take counsel here when organizing a regiment. He is a foreigner—no—

Some hon. MEMBERS.—No, no.

Sir WILFRID LAURIER.—I had withdrawn the expression before hon. gentlemen interrupted. He is not a foreigner, but *he is a stranger*.

Some hon. MEMBERS.—No.

Sir WILFRID LAURIER.—Yes, *he does not know the people of the Eastern Townships*, where these Light Dragoons are to be enlisted.

Referring, on June 24th, to the slip of the tongue in the speech of June 10th, and the unkindly criticism that had been made upon it in the interval, in and out of Parliament, Sir Wilfrid said he had made use of an expression *which was not in his mind but which came to his lips*. The word in his mind was "stranger," and was the proper word as applied to Lord Dundonald in its connection. "He does not know the people of the Eastern Townships, where these Light Dragoons are to be enlisted."

British and American authorities were quoted to show that the right word was employed in its place, although it was not necessary to go out of the House of Commons for a full justification of it. In the Rules of the House, "stranger" is applied to any man in the galleries who is not a Member of the House; and a Member has only to call the Speaker's attention to the presence of "strangers" to cause the galleries to be cleared forthwith. Then, in the Post Office of the House, separated from the Chamber by a corridor, the brass plates on the letter boxes are labelled respectively: "*Canada*," and "*Foreign - Etranger*." Into one of the boxes is dropped all letters for Canada, and into the other all letters for countries outside of Canada, *including the British Islands*; and this classification is as old as the Parliament Buildings. "Foreign" in English is "Etranger" in French. And is Sir Wilfrid Laurier, whose mother tongue is French—with the culture that is his, and the life that is behind him—to be condemned for a slip of the tongue, which he himself was the first to notice, and which he instantly corrected? *Is disloyalty to be imputed in Canada for such a cause?* Speaking of himself personally, as he rarely does, Sir Wilfrid addressed to the House, and to the Members of it who misrepresented him, these words:—

I wish to say to these gentlemen on the other side of the House, whom I see before me, and who call me to account for having had the misfortune,—nay, not the misfortune, but the mere accident of a slip of the tongue—I say to them: Let he who is without sin cast the first stone. Sir, I have been told that my meaning was contemplated,—was offensive and insulting. I have been in this House for many years. I have seen some of the veterans of former combats pass away. I have been engaged in combats with some of them. I have fought a good many hard struggles. But I am not conscious, in all the years of my life, in all the struggles in which I have been engaged with gentlemen on the other side of the House, I am not conscious that I ever deliberately used an offensive word towards any man or any class. I never sought a fight, but I was never afraid of a fight. Whenever I had to fight, I think it will be admitted by friend and foe that I always fought with fair weapons. I have been told today, on the floor of this House twice, that when I used the word "foreigner" there was in my heart a sinister motive,—there was in my heart a feeling which found expression. Sir, I have only this to say. I disdain to make reply to such an insinuation. If sixty years of what I believe: after all to be an honorable life, a life which has certainly been one of loyal devotion to British institutions, is not a sufficient answer to such an insinuation, I will not attempt to make an answer.

OPINION IN THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT.

Speaking on the Dundonald matter in the British Parliament, July 19th, 1904, Winston Churchill said:—

Whatever might have been Lord Dundonald's motives, no one could deny that he was at present being exploited by the Opposition in Canada for party purposes. . . . It seemed on the face of it a matter for the grave consideration of the House, that an officer who went to Canada as the King's officer should be the principal figure at a meeting (Toronto) where the King's Minister was the subject of a hostile demonstration. The Government ought to be grateful to Sir Wilfrid Laurier. In the long course of the last eight or nine years, when very difficult and delicate situations had arisen, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, by his tact, skill and loyalty, had been of incomparable value to the Empire.

And speaking on the same occasion, the Rt. Hon. H. O. Arnold-Foster, Secretary of State for War, said:—

Sir Wilfrid Laurier has shown himself the truest and most distinguished friend of the Empire in the time of her troubles. . . . I can assure the House that no representation of any sort or kind has been made by the Canadian Government concerning Dundonald's conduct, and the Government of that colony is uncommonly well able to look after itself. . . . This matter has been dealt with throughout, I believe, patiently and reasonably by the War Office. We have demanded information, and we have acted on that information. Long before the hon. member (Mr. Lloyd George) gave notice to-day, the War Office had taken action in this matter. We informed Lord Dundonald that we considered it was not desirable that he should continue to take part in public discussions in Canada, and we requested Lord Dundonald to return, in order to give an account of what had taken place. . . . I have instructed Lord Dundonald to return home, and I have also instructed him not to take any further part in what appeared to be a political and controversial discussion.

These are the opinions of Conservative leaders in England.

To exploit Lord Dundonald for party purposes, as Winston Churchill said, has been the one moving cause of the demonstrations engineered by the Conservative politicians in Canada; and Lord Dundonald has been vain enough to place his person in their hands to be used by them for party ends, against the King's regulations and the cabled order to him of the British Secretary of State for War.

Was it loyalty in Lord Dundonald to disobey the King's regulations and his Minister's order? Was it loyalty to encourage a man in an act of such disobedience? Let the Conservatives of Canada answer to their King and country before imputing disloyalty to the eminent Canadian who, in the view of English statesmen, has been of incomparable value to the Empire by his tact, skill and loyalty in difficult and delicate situations, and who has shown himself the truest and most distinguished friend of the Empire in the time of her troubles.

Lord Dundonald went to Montreal for the very purpose of bringing on this scandal. Therefore there was nothing to do but what we did. For our course we have abundance of authority in the Mother Country . . . I am free to say, even at this moment, after all the painful explanations we have had, after the indiscretions committed by Lord Dundonald, that for my part I look back with extreme regret upon the lack of judgment which has impelled Lord Dundonald so far to forget himself, so far to forget his position, so far to forget what was due to himself and to his command, as to take the course he did. But law must be maintained; law exists for everybody, military law as well as civil law; and military law ought to be observed above all others by the General who is at the head of the Militia. RT. HON. SIR WILFRID LAURIER.

Papers and Correspondence Relating to the Appointment and Dismissal of Lord Dundonald.

Appointment of Lord Dundonald.

Extract from a Report of the Committee of the Honourable the Privy Council, approved by the Governor General on May 20th, 1902.

On a memorandum dated May 17th, 1902, from the Minister of Militia and Defence, stating that he duly received the Colonial Office cablegram, dated May 12th, 1902, stating that Major-General O'Grady Haly's retention in the command of the Canadian Militia until July 19th next, was approved.

The Minister recommends that Major General, the Earl of Dundonald, C.V.O., C.B., who has been selected by the Home Government, be appointed to the command of the Canadian Militia, from July 20th, 1902, with a salary of Four Thousand dollars a year, and allowances of Two thousand dollars a year, as provided by the Statutes.

The Committee submit the same for His Excellency's approval.

JOHN J. MCGEE,
Clerk of the Privy Council.

Report to Council by the Minister of Militia.

Ottawa, June 13th, 1904.

To His Excellency the Governor General in Council.

The undersigned has the honour to report as follows upon the recent act of the Right Honourable the Earl of Dundonald, the General Officer Commanding the Militia, in publicly assailing, in a speech to officers at Montreal, at a banquet in his honour, the Honourable Sydney Fisher, a Minister of the Crown, who, during the absence of the undersigned in a distant part of the Dominion, had been acting as Minister of Militia.

The *Ottawa Citizen*, on Wednesday, June 8th, contained the following report, with the heading "A Military Sensation":

LORD DUNDONALD'S SPEECH AT WINDSOR BANQUET.

Toronto, June 7th.—The *World* this morning publishes the following sensational story under an Ottawa date:

A Montreal officer who was present at the military dinner at the Windsor, Saturday, stated here to-day that Lord Dundonald's sensational speech, although carefully written out and intended for publication, had been carefully suppressed by the Montreal newspapers. This is what the General said:

"When a nation is in peril the commanding officer has the supreme control of the military appointments, and he is responsible to his country for its efficiency in war. In time of peace, unhappily, through political intriguers, we are in their web, and appointments are made without regard to military efficiency, and to the great peril of the nation's safety. Officers in command of the forces of this country should not be selected because of their particular politics, but unfortunately this is the case.

"A most flagrant instance of political interference has recently come before me in connection with the appointment of officers in the new Eastern Townships cavalry regi-

ment, the Scottish Light Dragoons. The commanding officer of the corps had selected officers because of their apparent fitness from a military point of view. The names reached me and were sent to Council, and, gentlemen, what do you think happened? The list having my approval was returned with the name of one officer stricken off, and initialed by the Minister of Agriculture.

"The gentleman whose name was stricken from the list was Dr. Pickel, the mayor of Sweetsburg, and warden of the county of Missisquoi, a man chosen of the people, and well qualified to serve his King and country. His political colour was not, however, that of the Minister of Agriculture, and consequently he was not considered fit to serve his King in the military force of Canada."

"If," said Lord Dundonald, "the Hon. Sydney Fisher had been as well versed in soldiering as in agriculture, he would have better understood the responsibilities of officers, and this would not have happened."

After making a few more remarks, the General said: "It is intolerable that my recommendations, made in the best interests of the force, should be so grossly interfered with by any Minister not connected with the department."

Lord Dundonald's speech was greeted with tremendous applause.

Lt.-Col. Hibbard also made a speech, in which he endeavoured to shield the Minister of Agriculture, saying that it was difficult to suppose that Hon. Mr. Fisher would be guilty of such an act.

It goes without saying that the speech is the talk of both Ottawa and Montreal.

VERIFYING DUNDONALD'S UTTERANCES.

A copy of this report was immediately sent to the General Officer Commanding, with a letter as follows:

June 8th, 1904.

Dear Lord Dundonald,—Will you be good enough to read the inclosed newspaper clipping from this morning's *Citizen*, and let me know if it correctly reports your utterances and the attendant circumstances.

Yours very truly,

F. W. BOADEN.

To which answer was received in the following words:

The Hon. Sir Frederick Borden, K.C.M.G.,
Minister of Militia and Defence.

June 8th, 1904.

Dear Sir Frederick Borden,—I am obliged for the extract from this morning's *Citizen*. Though I made some notes for my speech at Montreal, I did not refer in these notes to the 13th Light Dragoons or to Mr. Sidney Fisher, and have therefore nothing to refer to with regard to this portion of my speech beyond memory.

The *Citizen* states that I said:—

A most flagrant instance of political interference has recently come before me in connection with the appointment of officers in the new Eastern Townships Cavalry regiment, the Scottish Light Dragoons. The commanding officer of the corps had selected officers because of their apparent fitness from a military point of view. The names reached me and were sent to Council, and gentlemen, what do you think happened? The list having my approval was returned with the name of one officer stricken out, and initialed by the Minister of Agriculture.

"The gentleman whose name was stricken from the list was Dr. Pickel, the mayor of Sweetsburg, and warden of the county of Missisquoi, a man chosen of the people and well qualified to serve his King and country. His political colour was not, however,

that of the Minister of Agriculture, and consequently he was not considered fit to serve his King in the military force of Canada."

The above is substantially what I said, except that I also stated that Mr. Fisher interfered with the organization of the corps and with the names of other proposed officers as well as Dr. Pickel. With regard to the first portion of the extract you sent me, I did not say that all appointments are made in the militia through political intrigue. The substance of what I said, if my memory serves me right was that "in time of peace the hands of the General were liable to be embarrassed by political intrigue, and consequently the interests of the country suffered."

DUNDONALD.

Yours very truly,

THE SUBJECT NOTICED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

On the 19th instant, the subject was brought to the notice of the House of Commons by Mr. W. S. Maclaren, a member of that House (for Huntingdon), who said:—

Mr. Speaker, before the Orders of the Day are called, I would like to draw the attention of the House to an article that appears in the *Ottawa Citizen* of yesterday. The article is not very long, and I will read it to the House.

[Here follows the report of Lord Dundonald's speech at the Windsor banquet, as already quoted.]

To Mr. Maclaren's inquiry the Right Honourable the Prime Minister replied as follows:

Mr. Speaker, I have to inform my hon. friend from Huntingdon (Mr. Maclaren), and the House as well, that the Government's attention has been called to the reported speech of Lord Dundonald. The matter is a very grave one, and I have only to say that to-morrow the Government will be prepared to make a communication to the House upon it.

Mr. SAM. HUGHES. Why not on Monday?

Sir WILFRID LAURIER. In answer to the question just put to me by my hon. friend from North Victoria (Mr. Hughes) why this matter should not be postponed until Monday instead of to-morrow, I would say to my hon. friend that my hon. friend the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Fisher) is under a very serious misapprehension and stricture, and I think it is better that the matter should be cleared up at the earliest possible moment.

MR. FISHER'S STATEMENT TO THE HOUSE.

On Friday, the 10th instant, the Honourable Sydney Fisher, Minister of Agriculture, the acting Minister of Militia at the time of the alleged occurrence, made the following statement to the House:

Mr. Speaker, I am glad to take this earliest opportunity permitted me to state the exact facts, in regard to the incidents referred to by the General Officer Commanding, Lord Dundonald, in his speech at the military banquet in Montreal, Saturday, the 4th instant.

In consequence of the reports which appeared in the press of Lord Dundonald's utterances, the Minister of Militia wrote the following note to the General Officer Commanding:

[Here follows Sir Frederick Borden's letter of June 8th to Lord Dundonald, and the reply thereto of the same date.]

In regard to Lord Dundonald's general statement that I interfered with the organization of the corps, and with the names of other proposed officers of the corps, as well

as Dr. Pickel, let me say this: That the only grounds on which I made any suggestions in regard to the establishment of this corps were the immense importance of the appointment of leading officers with military qualifications, who knew the country and the people of the Eastern Townships, the district where the corps was to be established; that I took no exception to anybody's appointment on political grounds alone, as evidenced by my recommendation and endorsement of many well-known Conservatives; that no one believes more thoroughly than I do that the first necessity in the recommendation of officers on the establishment of a new regiment is military qualification and general personal suitability, and that no political considerations should be allowed to interfere with this. Should occasion arise for the discussion of details in regard to these general statements, I shall be prepared to furnish them and to prove what I am now stating.

In regard to what Lord Dundonald calls "a most flagrant instance of political interference," through my having stricken the name of Dr. Pickel from the list recommended by him to the Minister of Militia, I have this to say. Lord Dundonald says:

'The gentleman whose name was stricken from the list was Dr. Pickel, the mayor of Sweetsburg, and warden of the county of Mississquoi, a man chosen of the people, and well qualified to serve his King and country. His political colour was not, however, that of the Minister of Agriculture, and consequently he was not considered fit to serve his King in the military force of Canada.'

In the list of proposed appointments signed by Lord Dundonald, in which the item appears of Dr. F. A. Pickel to be major, there is an asterisk opposite his name and a footnote stating:

"As a special case, and will be required to pass the qualifying examination."

When I first saw his name upon the list, knowing him personally, and knowing something of military matters in the neighbourhood, I was aware that he had never been connected with the militia and had never shown any interest in military matters or participated in any such movement. I therefore suggested that his appointment as commander of a squadron should not be made.

Further investigation confirmed me in this and also proved to the commanding officer who recommended his appointment, that I was right. Dr. Pickel himself so appreciated this fact that he was reluctant to accept the position.

On May 19th, in the absence from Ottawa of the Minister of Militia, the commanding officer of the regiment, Col. Smart, came to my office asking that I should press through Council the passage of the general order authorizing these appointments. The next morning I received the following from Col. Pinault, Deputy Minister of Militia:

Ottawa, May 19th, 1904.

Dear Mr. Fisher,—Will you kindly sign the enclosed, for the Minister, and if possible have it passed to-day.

Very faithfully yours,

L. F. PINAULT.

Hon. Sydney Fisher,
Minister of Agriculture.

At the same time I received from Col. Smart the following letter:

13th Scottish Light Dragoons,

Montreal, May 19th, 1904.

Dear Mr. Fisher,—Immediately on my return this evening I met Lieutenant-Colonel Whitley, and discussed fully with him all matters in connection with our interview of to-day. Colonel Whitley was pleased to learn that everything was arranged satisfactorily, and at his request I telephoned to Sweetsburg, with a view of getting from Dr. Pickel his final answer as to whether or not it was his intention to remain in the squadron, be-

cause, as stated to you to-day, he had intimated to me his lukewarmness in the matter. I now have his final decision, which is that he gives up all connection with the squadron. In accordance, therefore, with Dr. Pickel's request, I can now, as commanding officer of the regiment, request you to kindly make the change in the *Gazette* by leaving Dr. Pickel's name out.

I sincerely hope that this will meet with your approval, and in view of the short time between now and date of camp, you will kindly see that all recommendations pass Council to-morrow.

Thanking you for your kind consideration and assistance, believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

CHARLES A. SMART,
Lt.-Col. Commanding 13th S. L. Dragoons.

In view of above, I certainly recommend that Lieutenant-Colonel Smart's suggestion be followed.

FRED. WHITLEY,
Lt.-Col. Commanding,
Eastern Townships Cavalry Brigade.

Montreal, May 19th, 1904.

I signed it, and sent the recommendation with the following note to the Clerk of Privy Council:

Ottawa, May 20th, 1904.

Dear Mr. McGee,—I send you a recommendation from the Department of Militia and Defence, which I have signed for Sir Frederick Borden. He and I have discussed this matter, and agreed that this should be put through.

You will note that I have stricken out one of the appointments to be Major, F. H. Pickel. I have received a letter from the colonel who made these recommendations, saying that Dr. Pickel does not wish to have his name included.

If you would be kind enough to make an order on these recommendations so as to put it through to-day, you will much oblige, as the Militia Department is very anxious to have it put through.

Yours very truly,

SYDNEY FISHER.

J. J. McGee, Esq.,

Clerk of the Privy Council.

This is a simple statement of the facts of the case, which, without referring in any way to the propriety of the General Officer Commanding discussing in public official recommendations, without referring to the broad question of propriety of an official of the Government of Canada criticising the official action of a member of that Government—absolutely disproves the charge that for political reasons I had undertaken to strike out a name which had been submitted to the Minister of Militia for appointment in the service.

SIR FREDERICK BORDEN'S EXPLANATION.

Mr. Fisher's statement was immediately followed by an explanation from the undersigned as follows:

Hon. Sir FREDERICK BORDEN (Minister of Militia and Defence). Mr. Speaker, as my name has been referred to in connection with this matter, I crave the indulgence of yourself and the House to make a personal explanation. I confirm literally and entirely the statement just made by my colleague, the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Fisher). He had for several years advocated the organization of a mounted force in the Eastern Townships—his own home, and that part of the Dominion in the general good govern-

ment of which he has a right to feel a special interest—and when the time came to take the question up, I naturally looked to him for advice and assistance. And let me say at once that recognizing myself to be the man upon whom—and upon whom alone—the entire responsibility rests to this Parliament and to the Canadian people for the proper administration of the militia, I am always desirous of consulting everybody, whether colleague, member of Parliament, officer or private citizen, who is willing to offer advice, or from whom I am likely to gain information. I was aware that Lt.-Col. Whitley, one of the ablest and most efficient cavalry officers in Canada, had been consulted with reference to the organization of the proposed new cavalry regiment mentioned in the Montreal speech of the General Officer Commanding, and also that Lt.-Col. C. A. Smart had been recommended by Lt.-Col. Whitley and the General, and approved by me, as commanding officer thereof. Toward the end of March last I wrote to Lt.-Col. Whitley, expressing a desire to see him. Having learned afterwards that he was in England, I requested the General to suspend the work of organization until Lt.-Col. Whitley's return, having previously explained the reasons to the military secretary, for the information of the General. About the end of April, Lt.-Col. Whitley returned, and early in May brought Lt.-Col. Smart to Ottawa to have a conference with me. This conference was of a most pleasant and satisfactory character. Both officers expressed a strong desire to have the general order containing the appointments connected with the organization of the regiment, with its several squadrons, put through promptly, in order that the regiment might be able to go to camp this year. This I promised to do. Finding that I would be obliged to be absent from Ottawa from the 18th to the 26th of May, I instructed my deputy to take the general order containing the proposed list of appointments, as soon as completed, to my colleague, the Minister of Agriculture, to be by him submitted to Council, in view of the urgency of the case. I telegraphed to Lt.-Col. Whitley to meet me at Montreal, on my way from Ottawa to Nova Scotia, which he did. He then repeated his previous request as to the necessity for putting the appointments through immediately. I told him of the instructions I had given my deputy, and asked him to go to Ottawa to assist in the final adjustment of the list. He promised to do so, or send Lt.-Col. Smart. My colleague has already stated what followed.

Thereupon, Colonel S. Hughes, M.P., a member of the Opposition, inquired whether the Government "had any particulars from Lord Dundonald, concerning this case," and was informed by the undersigned that he had that moment received a letter from Lord Dundonald, as follows:

Ottawa, June 10th, 1904.

The Hon. Sir Frederick, K.C.M.G.,
Minister of Militia.

Dear Sir Frederick Borden,—I inclose a copy of a memorandum which I have sent by bearer to Col. Hughes.

Yours very truly,

DUNDONALD.

LORD DUNDONALD'S MEMORANDUM FOR THE USE OF COL. HUGHES, M.P.

The memorandum so prepared by the General Officer Commanding for the use of Colonel Hughes was subsequently read to the House by Colonel Hughes as follows:

In accordance with general orders approved by Council, I gave orders in the customary manner in the month of February last, to organize the 13th Scottish Light Dragoons as a cavalry regiment, with headquarters in the Eastern Townships of Quebec. Lt.-Col. C. A. Smart was gazetted as commanding officer on the 19th February, and other officers were also appointed to the same regiment. Shortly after the promulgation of the order authorizing the organization of the regiment, I received an order from Sir Frederick Borden, through Col. Pinault, the Deputy Minister of Militia, desiring

him to stop the organization. No explanation or reason for this step was vouchsafed, but indirectly I learned that the Minister of Agriculture was responsible for the delay which thus occurred.

I greatly desired to have the organization proceeded with, as the time for holding annual camps was approaching. I accordingly twice communicated with Mr. Fisher by telephone, on two dates some distance apart, and made appointments with him, in order that the reason for the obstruction might be obtained.

Mr. Fisher did not keep either of the appointments. On the second of the occasions above referred to, when speaking to Mr. Fisher on the telephone, I explained the urgency of completing the organization of the regiment without delay, otherwise it would be impossible for it to go into camp. I also inquired what Mr. Fisher had to do with the organization of the militia; to this Mr. Fisher responded by inquiring whether I thought he had no right, as a Cabinet Minister, to interfere. My answer was that, in my opinion Mr. Fisher had no right to interfere with Colonel Smart's selection of officers, as I understood he had been doing.

It is perhaps unnecessary to say here that Colonel Smart's duty was to select officers for commissions, and submit their names to the General Officer Commanding through the proper channel, in order that he might make recommendations to the Minister of Militia. I became convinced of Mr. Sydney Fisher's continued interference with the duty of Colonel Smart in the selection of officers. Subsequently I sent in a list of officers for the 13th Scottish Light Dragoons to be approved of by the Minister of Militia and gazetted. Included in that list was the name of Dr. Pickel, mayor of Sweetsburg, to command a squadron, a local man of prominence, whose appointment would, I believe, have advanced the interests of the militia. Dr. Pickel was not qualified professionally as an officer—indeed only two out of sixteen of the proposed officers for the 13th Scottish Light Dragoons were militarily qualified. It was impossible, as will be understood, to procure duly qualified officers, as the cavalry regiments in the Eastern Townships had been increased since May, 1903, from four squadrons, numbering 300 men and 26 officers, to 20 squadrons, numbering 1,600 men and 180 officers on the peace establishment; and with a war establishment of some 2,700 men. All the gentlemen, however, on the list submitted, undertook to qualify professionally after appointment in the usual manner. This course is customary, and has been forced upon us by the lack of qualified officers. It is a course which has always met with the approval of the Minister of Militia. This list of officers for the 13th Scottish Light Dragoons was submitted to the Minister, and included in the proposed general order, which also included other regiments of the militia. The list of officers of the 13th Scottish Light Dragoons was struck out of the general order by Sir Frederick Borden, and I was informed of this circumstance by Colonel Pinault, the Deputy Minister, in a letter of which the following is a copy:

Ottawa, May 19th, 1904.

Dear Lord Dundonald,—Late last evening I placed before the Minister the *Gazette*, dated 18th inst., for approval and submission to Council. With the exception of the part relating to the 13th Scottish Light Dragoons, which the Minister desired held over for further consideration, it was approved, and as the Minister intended to leave the city this morning for a week or so, rather than delay the submission of the remainder of the *Gazette*, he cancelled and initialed the appointments to the 13th instead of returning the draft to you for that purpose.

Very faithfully yours,

L. F. PINAULT.

Major General the Earl of Dundonald, C.V.O., C.B.,
Commanding Canadian Militia.

A day or two after the first list was cancelled, a further list was submitted to me by the Adjutant General, which I was informed would be acceptable, and the organization of the corps would be permitted to proceed.

This latter list of officers to be gazetted was sent to Council, and when returned, the name of Dr. Piekel had been erased, and the erasure was initialed by the Minister of Agriculture, who was acting for Sir Frederick Borden.

When in Montreal on the 3rd of June, fuller details of the interference of the Minister of Agriculture were communicated to me in conversation, as well as by letter from Colonel Smart, which I received on the morning of June 4th, the day on which I spoke at the officers' banquet.

Colonel Smart's letter read as follows:

His Lordship the Earl of Dundonald, C.V.O., C.B.,

Major-General Commanding Canadian Militia.

My Lord,—As requested by you last evening, I have the honour to submit the following facts in connection with recommendations for appointments submitted by me, and to which the Hon. Mr. Fisher took exception.

I submitted the name of Dr. F. H. Piekel, who is mayor of the town of Sweetsburg, and warden of the county of Missisquoi, in command of "E" squadron. Dr. Piekel is a gentleman of means, can ride fairly well, and was quite willing to take the necessary time to qualify himself for the position of major. Mr. Fisher objected to him for no other reason than that he was a strong political opponent of his, and was quite determined to block the whole organization, unless Dr. Piekel's name was withdrawn.

This I refused to do, as I had invited Dr. Piekel to come into the regiment, and told Mr. Fisher that some one else would have to be responsible for the withdrawal of Dr. Piekel's name. After my last visit to Ottawa I consulted Colonel Whitley, and we came to the conclusion that unless we induced Dr. Piekel voluntarily to withdraw, the organization would be hung up indefinitely.

I, therefore, communicated with Dr. Piekel, and explained to him that owing to a new regulation objections were taken to the appointment of unqualified officers, to field officer's rank, and asked him if he would be good enough to allow me to withdraw his name temporarily, to which he consented.

I then communicated with Mr. Fisher, saying that I would agree to the withdrawal of Dr. Piekel's name in the meantime, and on the strength of this I believe the appointment passed through Council. Your Lordship will observe that I have not withdrawn Dr. Piekel's name absolutely, and have kept the position of major in "E" squadron vacant, in hope that I may yet have Dr. Piekel appointed.

Hon. Mr. Fisher also took exception to the name of Mr. T. R. Piekel, who is also very enthusiastic, and would make a capital cavalry officer.

I had submitted Mr. Piekel's name, recommending that he be appointed captain in "E" squadron, but Mr. Fisher insisted that I substitute the name of Lieutenant R. Steacie, making him captain and Mr. Piekel first lieutenant. I pointed out to Mr. Fisher, that Mr. Piekel being a resident of the townships, was entitled to a senior rank in preference to Mr. Steacie, who lives in Montreal, and moreover, as Mr. Steacie is a relative of mine, it would place me in a false position, and appear as though I was unduly advancing him at the expense of others. However, Mr. Fisher evidently had his mind made up on the matter, and insisted on the change, to which I reluctantly agreed. I regret to say that this caused some dissatisfaction, and I would like at the first opportunity to transfer Mr. Steacie to another squadron, and recommend Mr. Piekel for his captaincy.

With regard to the adjutancy. Captain Converse, whom I selected for this position, has served in the militia for about fifteen (15) years, and for a long time served as sergeant-major in the Duke of York's Hussars. Mr. Fisher asked me to drop this gentleman and substitute Mr. Adams, of the 6th Hussars, a gentleman who is very deaf, and

whom I consider physically unfit for the position. I absolutely declined to consider this at all, and Mr. Fisher waived his objections. He then asked me to recommend Mr. Adams for major to command "E" squadron, and this I flatly declined to do.

Out of five gentlemen whom Mr. Fisher recommended for commissions, three have absolutely declined to come into the organization, so that after all the trouble and worry inflicted on the regiment, Mr. Fisher has only been able to find two officers, both of whom are unqualified, and do not in any way compare with Dr. Pickel, whom he rejected.

The above are the main facts in connection with this unfortunate matter, but if there is any further information desired, I will be pleased to submit it.

I am, Your Lordship's humble servant,

CHAS. A. SMART,

Lieutenant-Colonel.

June 4th, 1904.

I may here state that I have just communicated with Colonel Smart, and it is by his permission and desire that I include this letter.

The following extract from the *Montreal Gazette* of June 9th, except for a few slight omissions and inaccuracies, gives a very fair report of what I said at Montreal on the subject in question. The word "education" should read "etiquette," and the word "champion" should read "warden." The reference to lack of etiquette at Ottawa had no application except to official matters connected with my duty.

"When a nation is at war, and when national danger stares a nation in the face, it entrusts the promotion and the selection for the advancement to the general whom it entrusts to lead it. Political intrigues, intrigue for personal advancement other than that deserved by military efficiency, is dormant in time of national terror. (Hear, hear.) But when peace comes and all is quiet, and the vigilance of a nation for its national interests is at rest, political wiles and political schemes then begin to weave their nets, the nation no longer at that time being watchful. But I do not care, gentlemen, who the man is, if he advances one man and penalizes another on account of the political colour of his party, I say that man, whomsoever that man may be, is not a friend of his country. (Applause.)

"Recently gentlemen a gross instance of political interference has occurred. I sent a list of officers of the 13th Light Dragoons to the *Gazette*. I was astonished to receive the list back with the name of one officer scratched out, and initialed by the Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Sydney Fisher. That gentleman was a man I considered well equipped to serve the King in the 13th Scottish Regiment—(applause)—Dr. Pickel, mayor of Swetsburg, chosen of the people, one of the champions (wardens) of Missisquoi. What better man could serve the King? I feel certain that had Mr. Fisher's life led him to soldiery instead of agriculture, he would feel annoyed, perhaps on personal grounds, on the extraordinary lack of education (etiquette) involved in scratching the name of a gentleman put forward by a man whose business it is to find sufficient officers for the militia. (Applause.) But on personal grounds, gentlemen, I don't in the least mind. Lack of etiquette affects me little; I have been two years in Ottawa, gentlemen. (Laughter.) It is not on personal grounds that I inform you of this, but it is on national grounds. (Hear, hear.) I feel, gentlemen, anxious, profoundly anxious, that the militia of Canada may be kept free from party politics." (Hear, hear, and loud applause.)

THE MINISTER'S COMMENT ON THE FOREGOING DOCUMENTS AND STATEMENTS.

The undersigned having thus set out the documents and statements presented to Parliament, has the honour to comment on them as follows:

He is of opinion that under the regulation which prohibits the publication

through the medium of the press of anything calculated to act injuriously on the interests of the service, or to excite discontent in the militia, the General Officer Commanding, who of all men should be expected to restrain such publication, has committed a breach of duty and of official decorum, which seems to have been deliberate, and cannot be ignored.

The regulations of the British army, which govern the Canadian force in all matters not specially provided for, prohibit "deliberations or discussion by officers or soldiers with the object of conveying praise, censure, or any mark of approbation towards their superiors or any others in His Majesty's service."

The regulations for the militia of Canada lay down the rule that "it cannot be permitted that (officers) shall bring accusations against superior officers or comrades before the tribunal of public opinion, either by speech or letters inserted in any newspaper; such a proceeding would be in glaring violation of the rules of military discipline, and in contempt of authority."

It is submitted that Lord Dundonald, in making in a speech which, if not public, was at least published with his knowledge, and is admitted to be authentic, an attack which bears, not only on the Minister personally named, but on the whole administration of the country, has committed an offence calculated to act injuriously on the interests of the service, and to excite discontent in the militia; and that such conduct is a violation of the rules of military discipline, which he ought strenuously to guard, and in contempt of authority which it is his duty to uphold. His offence in this particular is emphasized by the deliberate manner in which he took advantage of a meeting of officers for the purpose of making the speech; and by the manner in which, ignoring the Minister of Militia, to whom respect if not duty was owing, he made use of a member of the Opposition in the House of Commons, to bring before Parliament a defensive memorandum, only a copy of which was at the last moment forwarded to the Minister.

It is submitted, in general terms, that the conduct of the General Officer Commanding imperils other and wider interests even than those of the militia service itself. It was an attack on the system of constitutional government in Canada; in effect repudiating the control of an administration supported by Parliament and seeking to assert an authority not controlled by Parliament. It was an attempt to subordinate the civil power to the dictation of a military officer by asserting a principle which has long since ceased to be recognized in Canada, and for which there is now no warrant whatever in law.

Precedents are not wanting in the experience of the Imperial Government for the condemnation of military and naval officers who have indiscreetly ventured upon public agitation against the Government of the country.

In 1900, Lord Charles Beresford, while second in command of the Mediterranean fleet, wrote a letter in which the naval administration was severely condemned. The letter was published without his permission. From the parliamentary discussion on the subject, it is apparent that he was saved from dismissal by that fact. But his conduct was the subject of almost universal condemnation. He was severely condemned in both Houses of Parliament by men of his own profession; and he was compelled by force of public opinion to publish an apology for his conduct.

In 1901 General Buller took advantage of a meeting of officers at luncheon to impugn the conduct of ministers. He was immediately removed from his command.

When the statements of Lord Dundonald, supplemented by statements of Ministers, are subjected to examination, it will be seen how gratuitous was the accusation he made against the Minister of Agriculture.

He was aware that Hon. Sydney Fisher was a member of Parliament for one of the counties in which the regiment in question was being organized, and that the honourable gentleman might well be the Minister who would be especially charged with looking after the affairs of the district known as the Eastern Townships.

He was aware, through the military secretary, by whom the undersigned had sent more than one message to the General Officer Commanding, that Mr. Fisher was being consulted by the undersigned with reference to the organization of the regiment, and that the undersigned was desirous of having Mr. Fisher's suggestions considered.

He was aware that the undersigned was absent in a distant part of the Dominion, as shown by the letter of Colonel Pinault, the Deputy Minister of Militia, quoted in the memorandum to Colonel Hughes, and on the occasion to which he makes reference to the Minister of Agriculture having stricken off and initialed the name of an officer contained in a list which had been approved of by him, his remarks must have misled his hearers, because they did not disclose the fact that Mr. Fisher was then Acting Minister of Militia.

Lord Dundonald was aware that the Commanding Officer of the regiment, Lieut.-Colonel Smart, had written to Mr. Fisher on May 19th, requesting him to strike off the name of Dr. Pickel—as will be seen by reference to Colonel Smart's letter heretofore quoted.

He was aware that Mr. Fisher had full power and authority, as Acting Minister, to remove any name from the list sent in to Council; and he was also aware that the commanding officer of the regiment had requested the removal of the name of Dr. Pickel; yet he has ventured in his speech to bring a serious charge of improper action on the part of the Minister.

He was aware that the undersigned was in Ottawa and in daily attendance at his office, while he himself was in similar attendance in his office in the same building, from the date at which the general order was returned from Council to the Militia Department until the evening of June 3rd, when he went to Montreal.

It appears from Lord Dundonald's memorandum that the General Officer Commanding, instead of applying to the undersigned, or to Mr. Fisher, for such information as he may have desired, proceeded to Montreal on the 3rd instant, as appears by the following extract from his memorandum: "When in Montreal on June 3rd, full details of the interference of the Minister of Agriculture were communicated to me in conversation, as well as by letter from Colonel Smart, which I received on the morning of June 4th, the day on which I spoke at the Officers' 'banquet.' It is worthy of notice that the letter begins with the words 'as requested by you last evening.'

Referring to the statement contained in Lieut.-Colonel Smart's letter to Lord Dundonald in the following words: "Mr. Fisher objected to him (Dr. Pickel) for no other reason than that he was a strong political opponent of his, and he was determined to block the whole organization unless the name of Dr. Pickel was withdrawn," it may be observed that Mr. Fisher denies having on any occasion so expressed himself; certainly he did not at the interview in which the undersigned was present with him, Colonel Smart and Colonel Whitley, referred to in the statement read in the House by the undersigned.

The undersigned considers the conduct of the General Officer Commanding in failing to seek the information he desired from the constitutional head of the department of government under which he serves, and in resorting to the improper alternative of seeking information from or through his subordinates, to be highly reprehensible and without legitimate excuse.

The undersigned desires to point out, with reference to the practice with re-

gard to appointments, that under the regulations the General Officer Commanding recommends appointments, but his recommendations have no official value or effect until they are approved of by the Minister and passed by the Governor in Council. Modifications in the recommendations of the General to the extent of striking them out in whole or in part, are necessarily of frequent occurrence, to prevent delay in passing items which are urgent and which cannot be delayed, pending explanations with regard to other items contained in the same list of recommendations.

With reference to the question as to the qualifications of the senior officers, including squadron commanders, appointed to the regiment which has been under discussion, the following list will show that with the exception of Dr. Pichel, all had had military training, and with the exception of Major N. R. Moffat, Commander of "C" squadron, who possesses a first-class grade "A" certificate, and Major E. J. Holland, V.C., Commander of "B" squadron, who won his Victoria Cross for service in South Africa, all were technically qualified as cavalry officers.

Lieut.-Col. Smart, in command (r.s.c. 1st).

Major (2nd in command), D. M. Stewart—qualified (F. Officer).

Major (3rd in command), J. G. Gibson—qualified, (R.M.C. graduate).

"A" Squadron—Major B. B. Morrill—qualified (Field Officer).

"B" Squadron—Major G. Carr—qualified (Field Officer).

"C" Squadron—Major N. R. Moffat. Not technically qualified cavalry, but first-class grade "A" (r.s.i.)

"D" Squadron—Major E. J. Holland, V.C. Not technically qualified cavalry, but served in South Africa in C.M.R.

"E" Squadron.—F. H. Pichel. No previous military training.

The undersigned, therefore, has the honour to recommend that, in view of all the facts herein set forth, and in the interest of the discipline and unity of the defensive forces of the country which his conduct is calculated to jeopardize, the services of the Earl of Dundonald ought not to be longer retained.

The whole respectfully submitted.

F. W. BORDEN,
Minister of Militia and Defence.

Dismissal of Lord Dundonald.

Extract from a Report of the Committee of the Honourable the Privy Council, approved by the Governor General on the 14th June, 1904.

The sub-Committee of Council, having had under consideration certain recent public utterances of the Right Honourable the Earl of Dundonald, General Officer Commanding the Canadian Militia, and a report in relation thereto by the Minister of Militia, have the honour to report as follows:

On the eighth day of June instant, the attention of the Minister of Militia was drawn to a despatch in one of the newspapers of Ottawa, purporting to give a report of a speech made by Lord Dundonald at a dinner in Montreal, in which he assailed the Government, and particularly the Hon. Mr. Fisher, Minister of Agriculture, in relation to their action in militia affairs. On the same day, the Minister of Militia addressed a letter to Lord Dundonald, calling his attention to the report, and inquiring whether it correctly stated his utterances and the attendant circumstances. To this a reply was received from Lord Dundonald, admitting the substantial correctness of the report in question.

Lord Dundonald's general remarks as to what he calls political interference, as well as those in relation to the particular case which he mentions, indicate on his part a regrettable failure to appreciate the principles of British constitutional government. Lord Dundonald's recommendation of any gentleman for appoint-

ment as an officer of the militia would in itself have no force or effect. It could only become effective after receiving (1) the approval of the Minister of Militia; (2) the approval of His Excellency the Governor General in Council. The power of approval on the part of each of these authorities must of necessity carry with it the right of inquiry and rejection.

In the case of members of the Cabinet, while all have an equal degree of responsibility in a constitutional sense, yet in the practical working out of responsible government in a country of such vast extent as Canada, it is found necessary to attach a special responsibility to each Minister for the public affairs of the province or district with which he has close political connection, and with which his colleagues may not be so well acquainted. Mr. Fisher, while sharing with his colleagues that general responsibility already referred to, represents in a particular manner the Eastern Townships of the Province of Quebec. If, when it was proposed to form a new regiment in that district, he interested himself in the work and sought to make the organization effective, he was not merely exercising a right: he was discharging a duty both to the people of the district and to his colleagues in the Cabinet, who would expect him to inform himself of all the facts and advise them before approval by the Cabinet of the proposed arrangement.

Mr. Fisher states that so far as his interference related in any way to politics it was not to give the new regiment a political colour, but to guard against that very evil, which he had reason to believe was one of the causes of failure of some previous efforts to maintain efficient military organizations in the Eastern Townships. He interfered, not to have the regiment officered by his own political friends, but to see that capable military men of all political colours received as far as possible equal consideration. That he did not seek to give his own political colour to the regiment is abundantly evidenced by the fact that of eighteen names submitted in the list only one was struck out by him, and by the further fact that a majority of the gentlemen chosen for commissions with his approval are his political opponents.

In the case of the gentleman particularly mentioned by Lord Dundonald as having been objected to, it has been shown that he had never been in any way connected with the militia, and therefore was not regarded as a suitable person to have the rank of major; and that Mr. Fisher recommended for the place another gentleman who was also a political opponent, but who was well qualified by military service for a position of command.

It should be added that at the time of dealing with that particular case, as set forth by Lord Dundonald, Mr. Fisher was not acting merely as a Minister specially interested in the Eastern Townships affairs, although such position would have given him an undoubted right to advise: he was acting for and with the authority of the Minister of Militia, who was absent from the Capital, and therefore his action had all the force and authority of action by the responsible head of the Department of Militia and Defence.

In view of these facts, it is difficult to reach any other conclusion than that the action taken by Mr. Fisher was entirely within his right and duty as a Cabinet Minister, and entirely in the interest of a non-partisan militia service.

It is of importance to observe that the list from which one name was struck was completed by the approval of His Excellency the Governor General on the thirty-first day of May. At that time the Minister of Militia had returned to the Capital, and was in daily attendance in his office, while Lord Dundonald was in similar attendance in his office in the same building. If Lord Dundonald had any reason to be dissatisfied with the list in its amended form, his obvious duty was to call on the responsible Minister and invite a discussion of the subject. This he did not do. He made no representations whatever to his Minister, but proceeded

to Montreal and made his speech attacking the administration under which he was serving.

The Sub-Committee, while drawing attention to the reasons which fully justify the steps taken by Mr. Fisher, deem it well to state that such explanation is not a necessary part of the record. Even of Mr. Fisher's action had been, as erroneously stated, there would still have been no justification for the course pursued by Lord Dundonald. Lord Dundonald is an officer of the Canadian Government, a high officer, it is true, but still an official of the Government, subject to all the limitations which are usually imposed upon public officials in regard to the action of their superior officers. For an official to make a public attack upon Ministers of the Government under which he serves is a proceeding so totally at variance with the principles which must necessarily obtain in the administration of military as well as civil affairs that it cannot with propriety be overlooked. It is impossible to do otherwise than characterize the speech of Lord Dundonald as a grave Act of indiscretion and insubordination.

In the subsequent proceedings, further evidence has been afforded of Lord Dundonald's failure to appreciate the position he occupies as a public official. It appears that he desired to make a further communication on the subject. Instead of sending this communication to his Minister, he sent it to an Opposition member of Parliament, and then forwarded a copy to the Minister, to whom it was delivered at the very moment when, as previously announced, a statement was to be made in Parliament.

The Sub-Committee deeply regret that an officer of Lord Dundonald's high rank should have been so misguided as to fall into these grave errors, and to pursue a course which, if ignored, would be fatal to that discipline and subordination to constituted authority which are essential in both civil government and military service.

For the reasons herein set forth, the Sub-Committee advise that the Right Honourable the Earl of Dundonald be forthwith relieved of his position as General Officer Commanding the Militia of Canada.

The Committee of the Privy Council concur in the foregoing and submit the same for approval.

JOHN J. MCGEE,
Clerk of the Privy Council.

Supplementary Correspondence.

Ottawa, April 11th, 1904.

The General Officer Commanding.

With reference to the establishment of the 13th Scottish Light Dragoons, will you be so kind as to suspend the organization of this regiment until further orders?

L. F. PINAULT, Colonel,
Deputy Minister of Militia and Defence.

The Deputy Minister,

(Noted and returned, April 12th, 1904.

M.G.
Ottawa, April 29th, 1904.

To the General Officer Commanding.

On the 11th instant a minute was sent you requesting that the organization of the 13th Scottish Light Dragoons be suspended until further orders.

It has been brought to the Minister's attention that the organization of this corps is being proceeded with, and he desires that the District Officer Commanding be at once notified to suspend the work until further orders.

L. F. PINAULT, Colonel,
Deputy Minister of Militia and Defence.

From the Military Secretary,
To D.O.C.M.D. No. 6,
St. Johns, P.Q.

Ottawa, May 3rd, 1904.

It is directed that the organization of the 13th Scottish Light Dragoons is suspended for the present. Notification to that effect should at once be sent to the Lieut-Colonel Commanding.

HENRY SMITH, Lt.-Col.,
Military Secretary.

The Deputy Minister of Militia and Defence.

With reference to the Minister's instructions to stop all work in connection with the organization of the 13th Hussars, Sir Frederick now wishes the work of organization to be proceeded with, and all recommendations for appointments, &c., submitted to him for approval.

CHAS. L. PANET,
Acting Private Secretary.

12-5-'04.

To the General Officer Commanding,
Referred for required action.

May 14th, 1904.

Seen.

E. F. JARVIS,
For D. M. M. & D.

May 18th, 1904.

D.,
M.G.

From May 18th to May 26th, the Minister of Militia was away from Ottawa, and in view of the urgency of the case, he instructed his deputy to take the general order containing the proposed list of appointments to the 13th Scottish Light Dragoons to his colleague, the Minister of Agriculture, as soon as completed, to be by him submitted to Council. On May 19th the draft was recommended for approval, with the exception of F. H. Fickel to be major, which was marked: "Not approved. Sydney Fisher, for F. W. Borden." As so amended, the Order for the appointments was approved by the Governor General, May 31st, 1904.

MR. FISHER TO MAJOR STEWART.

Ottawa, May 9th, 1904.

Dear Major Stewart,—In reply to your telephone the other night, I wished to give you a full account of the difficulties which had arisen in regard to the recommendations for officers of the 13th Hussars. I was not able, however, to get this letter off, and I am glad to say I have just now had a complete discussion of the whole matter with Colonel Smart, and I trust have reached a satisfactory solution. Until I see you, therefore, I will not attempt to enter into details. I will only say that to people who are not familiar with the Eastern Townships, and with country life as evidenced in the small places there, many of the difficulties would be hard to understand. Knowing the country as I do, had I been consulted to begin with, I might have avoided all these difficulties and any friction that may have arisen.

Nobody understands better than myself that for the success of a regiment

military knowledge is necessary first; but at the same time, for the purpose of recruiting and organizing a new regiment amongst people who are not particularly military in their aspirations and ideas, local information as to individuals and localities is equally necessary. Things which Colonel Smart and yourself, as city men, would never think of, have to be taken into consideration. Quite innocently, I am quite sure, these things were not thought of in the work that was done in the early attempt to organize this regiment, and the result was Mr. Smart's errors, which, if not rectified, might have seriously and permanently affected the success of the corps. I hope now that I shall be able to entirely remove these difficulties.

I want to say in regard to yourself, that when it was suggested that the Colonel and the senior Major should both come from outside the district, I thought it unwise, and wished to find some man in the district who could take the second position. It was only for this reason that, not knowing you personally, or who the Mr. Stewart was who was suggested, I said that I would prefer an Eastern Townships man to anybody else. Since then I have found that there is nobody in the district who is properly qualified for this position, and lately, friends having explained to me who the Mr. Stewart was, I fully appreciate and understand the advantage which your coming in as second in command will be, and I can assure you most sincerely and cordially that I am glad for the sake of the regiment that you are willing and able to take this position, and I am sure that you will contribute very much to the success of the regiment.

I will impress upon everybody when I am in the Townships these feelings, and do everything I can do to aid both Colonel Smart and yourself in the military work there.

I need not go into the details of the difficulties. Perhaps some time when we meet, and I am able to make your personal acquaintance, it will be worth while to do so.

I trust that I will be able to call upon you before very long, on some occasion when I am in Montreal for a few hours, and make your personal acquaintance, which I trust will be continued on many visits of yours to the Eastern Townships.

With best regards and sincere good wishes,

I am, yours very truly,
SYDNEY FISHER.

Major D. M. Stewart,

Manager Sovereign Bank, Montreal.

The Sovereign Bank of Canada,
Toronto, May 21st, 1904

The Hon. Sydney Fisher,
Ottawa, Ont.

My dear Mr. Fisher,—Your letter of the 19th instant was forwarded to me from Montreal, and is received here to-day, and I am very glad to hear from you and to know that the difficulties in connection with the 13th Dragoons have been gotten over for the present. I am sure there must be many things that as city officers we cannot appreciate, and it will be of the utmost importance to us all to have the benefit of your kind co-operation.

I look forward with great pleasure to meeting you in Montreal in the near future, and if you will do me the honour to call any day about one o'clock, I shall be glad to have you take luncheon with me at the St. James Club.

With kind regards and best thanks for your good services and kind wishes,

I am,

Yours very truly,
D. M. STEWART.

Extracts from the Militia Act and Orders.

FROM THE MILITIA ACT.

Sec. 3. The Command in chief of the Land and Naval Militia, and of all military and naval forces, of and in Canada, is vested in the Queen, and shall be exercised and administered by Her Majesty personally, or by the Governor General as Her representative.

DEPARTMENT OF MILITIA AND DEFENCE.

Sec. 4. There shall be a Minister of Militia and Defence, who shall be charged with and responsible for the administration of militia affairs, including all matters involving expenditure, and of the fortifications, gunboats, ordnance, ammunition, arms, armories, stores, munitions and habiliments of war belonging to Canada:

(2) The Minister of Militia and Defence shall have the initiative in all militia affairs involving the expenditure of money:

(3) The Governor in Council shall, from time to time, make such orders as are necessary respecting the duties to be performed by the Minister of Militia and Defence.

Sec. 5. The Governor in Council may appoint a deputy of the Minister of Militia and Defence, and such other officers as are necessary for carrying on the business of the department,—all of whom shall hold office during pleasure.

WORKS FOR DEFENCE.

Sec. 6. The Minister of Militia and Defence shall have the control and management, and shall be charged with the maintenance and repair of all military buildings, forts and fortifications in Canada.

COMMANDING OFFICER.

Sec. 37. There shall be appointed an officer who holds the rank of colonel, or rank superior thereto in Her Majesty's regular army, who shall be charged, under the orders of Her Majesty, with the military command and discipline of the Militia, and who, while he holds such appointment, shall have the rank of Major General in the Militia, and shall be paid a salary at the rate of four thousand dollars per annum, and in addition thereto, in lieu of allowances, such sum, not exceeding two thousand dollars per annum, as is determined by the Governor in Council.

REGULATIONS

Sec. 116. The Governor in Council may make regulations relating to anything necessary to be done for the carrying into effect of this Act, and may, by such regulations, impose fines, not exceeding twenty dollars each, and imprisonment, not exceeding forty days, in case of default of payment of such fine.

FROM REGULATIONS AND ORDERS, 1898.

CIVILITY AND COURTESY ARE CALLED FOR.

211. A Commanding Officer should impress upon those under his command, by every means in his power, the propriety of civility and courtesy in their intercourse with all ranks and classes of society, and should particularly caution them to pay proper deference and respect to Magistrates and all Civil Authorities.

SECRECY ENJOINED ON OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS.

213. Officers and soldiers are prohibited from publishing or communicating to the press, without special authority, either directly or indirectly, information relative to the numbers, movements or operations of the troops, or details regarding fortifications, armaments, or experiments made in connection with military

matters. They are not to attempt to prejudice questions under investigation by publication, anonymously or otherwise, of their opinions.

APPEAL TO PUBLIC OPINION AGAINST SUPERIORS IS A GLARING VIOLATION OF THE RULES OF DISCIPLINE.

247. If officers, non-commissioned officers or men have any complaint to bring against a superior or other officer, such complaint must be forwarded through the complainant's commanding officer, who will transmit the same, with his remarks, through the District Officer Commanding, for consideration at Headquarters, if necessary. It cannot be permitted that they shall bring accusations against superior officers or comrades before the tribunal of public opinion, either by speech or letters inserted in any newspaper; such a proceeding would be in glaring violation of the rules of military discipline, and in contempt of authority.

Political Interference Charged in Organizing the Scottish Light Dragoons.

HON. SYONEY FISHER'S REPLY TO THE ACCUSATION.

On June 10th, in the House of Commons, the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Fisher) spoke in reply to the statement of Lord Dundonald, read to the House by Mr. Sam. Hughes, M.P. The following are extracts of what Mr. Fisher said:

With regard to the matters which have been brought forward in the communication which Lord Dundonald has seen fit to send to the hon. member (Mr. Hughes), I wish to refer to some of them because they are personal to myself. In this communication, General Lord Dundonald first of all accuses me of having put obstructions in the way of the organization of this regiment in the Eastern Townships. I have just this to say in reply. I think I was the first to recommend and urge the establishment in the Eastern Townships of a cavalry regiment. The establishment of such a regiment I desired for two reasons.

I had nothing whatever to do with any further work in that connection, nor did I take any part or action in the matter until about the month of April last, when I received some communications from the Townships indicating that Col. Smart, who had been appointed to the command of this regiment, had come out there and was proposing appointments, some of which indicated that he was not familiar with the country or the people, and which I believed would be inimical to the success of the regiment. I referred these matters to my colleague, and pointed out to him that in the organization of such a regiment in the townships, it was extremely desirable that men familiar with the country and the people should be given permanent positions in that corps, providing always they had the requisite military qualifications.

I must premise my explanation in regard to this matter by saying that Senator Baker, of Sweetsburg, is the acknowledged and active leader of the Conservatives of that district. I found this list of proposed names for the staff for the neighbourhood of Sweetsburg. First, Mr. John M. Gibson, a nephew of Senator Baker, and talked of as a possible Conservative candidate in the constituency of Missisquoi, to be third in command of the regiment. Dr. Pickel, one of the strongest Conservative workers of the neighbourhood and a family connection of Senator Baker, to be major in command of the squadron which, though gazetted for Adamsville, was to be changed to Sweetsburg to suit his convenience. Mr. G. H. Baker, son of Senator Baker, to be senior captain of the said squadron. Mr. Thomas R. Pickel, son-in-law of Senator Baker, to be the junior captain of the said squadron. Then there were the names of two gentlemen, Messrs. Steacie and Reynolds, of Montreal, to be lieutenants. And down at the bottom of the list,

Mr. Thomas F. Cotton, a Liberal, son-in-law of the above-mentioned John M. Gibson, and grand nephew of Senator Baker. I told these gentlemen that, putting aside any question of military qualifications, which I afterwards went into, such a list of officers for that squadron in that neighbourhood would be held to be an instance of political preferment, and that it would be impossible to remove from the minds of the people of the district of Bedford the impression that the colonel who made such recommendations and was responsible for the success of this regiment, had deliberately undertaken to turn that squadron, if not the whole regiment, into

A POLITICAL TORY ORGANIZATION.

I pointed out, what was a notorious fact, that for years, in the old times, the military organizations of the district of Bedford, the 52nd Brome battalion, and the 60th Missisquoi battalion, had been well-known Tory organizations, that no Liberal was welcomed into their ranks, and if by any chance a Liberal got into their ranks, he had to take a subordinate position, and was always hopeless of promotion or preferment. And I said that, if such a recommendation as that were to go through and be known to the district of Bedford, nothing under heaven would remove the impression from the people of the county and of the country that the new regiment was to be conducted on the lines of the old regiments there, and that it would receive its baptism and would make its beginning as a Tory organization. I said that this was contrary to the interests of the regiment, and that such a list as that I could not approve. I venture to say—and I am within the judgment of everybody in this country—that it was not I who was guilty of introducing political preferment, but it was the gentlemen who were responsible for these recommendations. And I venture to say that, in the interests of the militia and with the object of removing all questions of political preferment from the regiment, I was right in making the protest that I did against that list.

MILITARY QUALIFICATIONS.

Sir, what were the military qualifications of these men? Mr. John M. Gibson is a graduate of the military school at Kingston. For many years he has taken no part in military affairs. But I pressed on Colonel Whitley and Colonel Smart that the fact that he was a graduate of the military school was sufficient to stamp him as eligible to hold high command, and I believed that it would be right that he should be the highest officer in the regiment chosen from the district. Mr. John M. Gibson is a well-known Tory. But I endorsed his appointment, and said it was a right one, because he had the military qualifications. In regard to Provisional Lieutenant Baker, he had been in camp one year, and I said that that was sufficient justification and entitled him to consideration, and I endorsed his appointment as captain of this particular squadron. But, in regard to Dr. Pickel and Mr. T. R. Pickel, I said that I did not consider that their military qualifications entitled them to the positions to which they were being appointed. I did not object to their being appointed to some positions. I do not know much about military matters, but I do know enough to believe that before a man had put upon him the responsibility of being officer in command of a squadron in a cavalry regiment, he ought to have some military experience and some military training. Therefore, I objected to Dr. Pickel being appointed as major of that squadron. Other names and proposals were in the list that I saw. Amongst them was the proposal that a certain Mr. W. H. Russell should be appointed as major of the Stanbridge squadron, and in the same squadron appeared the name of Lieutenant Holland, V.C., of Montreal, not as major but as captain. Now, Mr. Russell is a well-known Liberal of the county of Missisquoi. I pointed out to Colonels Whitley and Smart—and took the initiative in doing so—that it would be more fitting that Lieutenant Holland should have command as major of that squadron, as he was a gentleman holding the Victoria Cross, and one with South African experience. I suggested that change, and that the experienced military officer

should be given the command of the squadron, even though it meant that a well-known Liberal should be put in a subordinate position. Another name that I found in that list was Lieutenant Guy Carr, of Compton, a gentleman living outside the district but in the Eastern Townships. I said that I knew Captain Carr to be an old cavalry officer. He was a well-known Conservative in the county of Compton, but I welcomed his name in the regiment, was delighted to see it there, and so expressed myself.

Another name was that of Surgeon Major Macdonald. He is a well-known Conservative politician of my own county, who has always consistently—as, according to his principles he ought—opposed me in my political campaign. I insisted to Colonels Whitley and Smart that Surgeon Major Macdonald was the right man to have the highest medical position in the regiment, because I had known him for years as an enthusiastic militia man; he had been in an infantry regiment, and if he were willing to take a position in a cavalry regiment as medical officer, it was his due, and I hoped he would take it.

EASTERN TOWNSHIPS MEN PREFERRED FOR OFFICERS.

I think this fairly enough disposes of the question as to my general interference, and as to the position I have taken. I will sum up this—and I take the full responsibility of saying it—that this regiment was to be established in the Eastern Townships, and I wanted it to be a credit to the Eastern Townships: I wanted it to be a cavalry regiment of which all the people of the Eastern Townships would be proud. As much as possible, if men of the proper military qualifications could be found in the Eastern Townships, I wanted it to be officered by Eastern Townships men.

The only suggestion I did make was that any further appointments to that regiment should be made, as far as possible, from the people of the locality who had the proper military qualifications. I believe that in asking for and insisting on that, I was doing what was in the best interests of any regiment in the militia of this country.

THE REAL INTERFERENCE.

I have now explained the only cases in which I have discussed political matters in this connection. I only discussed them because I found in a particular squadron a list of officers which appeared to have not only a political complexion but even a family complexion, and I warned these gentlemen who, not knowing the country, not knowing the individuals, not knowing the relationship in connection with these people, I believed innocently, were led by local people into doing a thing which, if it had been allowed to go through, would have been a fatal blow to the efficiency and the success of this regiment. Sir, I plead guilty to that much interference in the matter on the ground of politics. And if that much of such interference is not in the interest of the regiment and of the country, and if men who apparently may have been—I do not say they were—carrying on these intrigues in regard to military appointments, these political intrigues to which Lord Dundonald refers, had been permitted to carry through their proposal, instead of being an interference on behalf of Liberals, of which I am accused, it would have been a deliberate interference and political intrigue on the part of Conservatives for the purpose of making this regiment what the old regiments there were, a Tory preserve and a Tory organization. If that is political interference, I plead guilty to it, because I object to the Tories getting the advantage of intrigues in militia matters just as much as I would be ashamed to undertake any political intrigues in militia matters for the benefit of the Liberals.

SIR WILFRID LAURIER'S SPEECH.

On the same day, the Prime Minister made the following speech in reply to the leader of the Opposition.

SIR WILFRID LAURIER. The occasion of this debate, Mr. Speaker, is the unfortunate—I shall not characterize it to-day by any other term—speech which was delivered some few days ago by Lord Dundonald, at a banquet. After the explanations we have had from my hon. colleagues, the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Fisher), and the Minister of Militia (Sir Frederick Borden), and also on behalf of Lord Dundonald by my hon. friend from North Victoria (Mr. Sam. Hughes), I think it preferable at this moment not to push further a discussion of the consequences which may flow from Lord Dundonald's remarks. Not that I should have any hesitation in my own mind, or that there should be any hesitation in the mind of anybody, but it is preferable, in a matter of this gravity, that we should proceed with prudence and deliberation.

A GOOD SOLDIER, LACKING DISCRETION.

Having said that much regarding the speech of Lord Dundonald, I may be permitted to say a word of his methods in organizing the militia, in so far as they are revealed by the incidents which have taken place in connection with the organization of the 13th Scottish Light Dragoons. Lord Dundonald is certainly—I am willing to give him every credit in that respect—endowed with good motives. No one who knows him can question that. He bears a very honourable name, as was said by the hon. member for Victoria (Mr. Hughes) a moment ago, a name made famous by his forhears in British history, and to the lustre of which he has added himself by his own services in South Africa and elsewhere. I have no desire in the slightest degree to reflect upon him as a soldier, but perhaps I may not be offensive if I say that it is not the first time that a good soldier may have lacked discretion. Lord Dundonald, in his position, is charged with the organization of the militia, but he must take counsel here when organizing a regiment. He is a foreigner—no—

SOME HON. MEMBERS. No, no.

SIR WILFRID LAURIER. I had withdrawn the expression before hon. gentlemen interrupted. He is not a foreigner, but he is a stranger.

SOME HON. MEMBERS. No.

A STRANGER IN THE TOWNSHIPS.

SIR WILFRID LAURIER. Yes, he does not know the people of the Eastern Townships, where these light dragoons are to be enlisted. I doubt if he ever was in the town of Sweetsburg, or in the county of Brome, or the county of Missisquoi, or, if he has been in any of these places, it could only have been for a very short period, when passing through. It was advisable that a regiment should be recruited in those districts, but in what way? If this regiment of 13th Scottish Light Dragoons was to be organized and recruited from the counties of Brome and Missisquoi, how could Lord Dundonald possibly know personally who should officer it? How could he know what officers should be appointed? Perhaps he knew Col. Smart, but Col. Smart himself was from Montreal, and he had to go to the counties and get there his information from somebody. He had to get information from parties in and around Sweetsburg and the other towns in the counties of Missisquoi and Brome. Well, it is evident that Col. Smart happened to fall into the hands of certain parties who represented rather a small family compact. The list he made was composed almost exclusively of gentlemen connected with the Conservative party. My hon. friend said a moment ago that in militia matters there should be no politics, and in this I heartily agree, but it so happens that this regiment was to be officered almost exclusively by Conservative politicians. It is

no harm to be a Conservative. It may be a mistake, but I don't count it a sin. But I submit to my hon. friends on the other side, is it not proper that whenever a regiment is organized in any part of the country, it should be officered as far as possible from both parties? I do not know how things are now, but once upon a time, when I was in the militia myself, there was a battalion organized, with which I was connected, and in organizing it, the man who was our colonel went and consulted everybody. He consulted men who could not take any part in the organization, but whose advice was valuable. But in the present instance, it so happens that there is a gentleman in the Eastern Townships who is connected with politics and holds a position of some respectability in that part of the country, I refer to my hon. friend the Minister of Agriculture. Was his position to be considered a bar to his offering any advice? Was he to be precluded from expressing an opinion simply because he happened to be Minister of Agriculture? Had he not as much right to give advice in the matter as Col. Pickel and the others about Sherbrooke, or in the counties of Missisquoi and Bromie, who happened to be consulted? Was my hon. friend, simply because he happened to be Minister of Agriculture, bound to say: it is all wrong, you have chosen none but Conservative politicians to be officers of the regiment, but I cannot say a word about it? If we are all in agreement on this principle that volunteer associations should not be political preserves, if we are all agreed that politics should be kept out of them, I think that my hon. friend the Minister of Agriculture ought to be commended for having pointed out to the General that he was making a mistake in choosing nearly all his men of the one stripe and so few of the other. That is all my hon. friend did. He wrote to the General Officer Commanding that there were in that regiment too many of one stripe and not sufficient of the other. He went over to the militia office and had a conference with the Minister of Militia and Cols. Whitley and Smart. Together they discussed the personnel of the staff. My hon. friend made some representations, and it seems to me that the representations he made were in the best interests of the force, and should have been accepted. As a matter of fact they were accepted at that conference, but unfortunately Lord Dundonald came to the conclusion that having signed a list of names recommended to him—a list probably of men about whom he knew nothing—that list was as sacred as the laws of the Medes and Persians, and could not be interfered with—that even the Minister of Agriculture, acting for the Minister of Militia—which is not denied by Lord Dundonald—could not have a word to say, but that the list had to be accepted simply because it was signed by Lord Dundonald.

Mr. R. L. BORDEN. My hon. friend is not doing Lord Dundonald justice?

Sir WILFRID LAURIER. In what way?

Mr. R. L. BORDEN. He never made any objection to the Minister of Militia acting or to any one acting for him. What he objected to was the Minister of Agriculture going to the officers who were organizing that regiment under him, and interfering with them in the duties they were performing under his directions.

Sir WILFRID LAURIER. I beg my hon. friend's pardon. Here is the speech of Lord Dundonald. He said, "would you believe it, gentlemen, I sent an order to the Cabinet, and that order was interfered with." Here are his very words:

A most flagrant instance of political interference has recently come before me in connection with the appointment of officers in the new Eastern Townships cavalry regiment, the Scottish Light Dragoons.

The commanding officers of the corps had been selected because of their apparent fitness from a military point of view. The names reached me and were sent to Council, and, gentlemen, what do you think happened? The list having my approval—

"My approval"—

—was returned with the name of one officer stricken out and initialed by the Minister of Agriculture.

And, in justice to the Minister of Agriculture, it should be said that it was initialed by him, acting for the Minister of Militia, as was well known by Lord Dundonald. Under these circumstances, I ask my hon. friend if I am doing any injustice to Lord Dundonald when I say that he wanted to have his recommendation to Council, the last word to be said, and Minister and Council simply to bow and accept his recommendation?

Mr. R. L. BORDEN. I say, yes, because the Prime Minister has left out of account the letter from Lieut.-Col. Smart which was before Lord Dundonald before he made these remarks, in which Lieut.-Col. Smart said that the Minister of Agriculture had interfered with him on political grounds.

Sir WILFRID LAURIER. And at that very moment the Minister of Agriculture, who was acting for the Minister of Militia, had the letter of Lieut.-Col. Smart begging him to leave off the name of Dr. Pickel. Sir, we are not accustomed—I give all credit to Lord Dundonald for good motives—but we are not accustomed to be dragged in this country. Lord Dundonald, with all the respect I have for him, must learn that this is a responsible Government, and that when he sends a recommendation to Council, it is the right—it is the right, I say, notwithstanding what anybody may say to the contrary—of the Minister in charge of the Department, if he does not approve of the recommendation, to strike out any name.

Mr. SAM. HUGHES. May I ask the right hon. Prime Minister a question?

Sir WILFRID LAURIER. Yes.

Mr. SAM. HUGHES. Will he or will the Minister of Agriculture or the Minister of Militia, deny that this name was struck off while the Minister of Militia was present with the Minister of Agriculture, before the recommendation was sent to Council. If he does, all I can say is that we can prove to the contrary.

Sir WILFRID LAURIER. What does that prove?

Mr. SAM. HUGHES. It proves that the Minister of Agriculture had interfered before.

Sir WILFRID LAURIER. It was corrected by the Minister of Agriculture, acting for the Minister of Militia and approved by the Council.

Mr. SAM. HUGHES. Yes, but it was changed before that.

Sir WILFRID LAURIER. It was not changed before that time. I do not wish to pursue this discussion further. I merely wish to vindicate the course of my hon. friend (Mr. Fisher). Lord Dundonald, or whoever commands the militia in Canada will commit the greatest of mistakes if, when appointing officers to the militia in parts of the country of which he knows nothing, appointments concerning which he must take the recommendation of somebody, if he does not take advice not only from one side but from both sides of politics on these matters.

Second Debate in the House of Commons.

On 23rd June, the leader of the Opposition made a motion of censure on the Minister of Agriculture and the Government in the Lord Dundonald matter, in amendment to the Finance Minister's motion that the House go into Committee of Supply. The following extracts are taken from speeches made on that occasion by the Minister of Agriculture, the Minister of Militia and the Prime Minister, on 23rd and 24th June.

FROM HON. SYDNEY FISHER'S SPEECH.

Mr. R. L. BORDEN. Might I ask the hon. gentlemen what it is which is referred to in Colonel Smart's letter of the 19th of May, to be found on page 34, when he used this expression: "The recommendation re Dr. Pickel is included,

to be dealt with by you." Also the pencil note in the memorandum which was returned by Colonel Smart to the Minister of Agriculture: "The Minister is to fix this," that was opposite Dr. Pickel's name.

Mr. FISHER. The explanation is very simple. I have already said that an interview which took place between Colonels Whitley and Smart and the Minister of Militia and myself, at the instance of my colleague, with regard to the affairs of the regiment, we have before us the list of officers which I have already characterized and need not characterize again.

A LIST OF OFFICERS WITH A POLITICAL AND A FAMILY COMPLEXION.

In that list was Dr. Pickel's name. In it were also the names of Captain Baker, Mr. T. R. Pickel, Mr. Cotton and Mr. J. F. Gibson. I found in that list a political complexion which I informed Colonels Whitley and Smart would damn the regiment as a Tory organization. More than that I venture to say that that list had a family complexion which would damn it equally in the eyes of the Conservatives, not only as a political organization, but as a family compact. When Col. Smart told me that he had no political intention, I said to him: I accept your statement, Col. Smart. I suppose you have no political intention, but if you had desired to do something which would stamp that regiment as a Tory organization, you could not have selected a list of officers which would more completely have that effect. Colonel Smart then said to me: What can be done? I replied: Here are some gentlemen who are qualified. Mr. J. F. Gibson is a graduate of the military school at Kingston. His name will be unobjectionable to anybody in the townships, whether Liberal or Conservative. Dr. Pickel's name is the next, but that name would not appear in the way of military qualifications to anybody.

This striking out of that name will lessen its political appearance, and the people will not be so disposed to condemn the regiment as a political organization. Dr. Pickel's name was struck out because he was to be appointed to a responsible position, which called for a man of military experience, and he had none, and because the whole list was so political in its appearance something had to be done to remove that evidence of political interference. Colonel Whitley and Colonel Smart seemed to acknowledge the force of what I said. But, Colonel Smart said that he had urged Dr. Pickel to take that position, as he had asked him to go into the regiment, he did not feel like asking him not to send in his name.

Now, I think I have explained that reference and have made clear the sequence of events. If the hon. gentleman (Mr. Borden) has any other questions to ask me I shall be glad to answer.

Mr. R. L. BORDEN. My hon. friend (Mr. Fisher) has answered them most satisfactorily.

FROM SIR FREDERICK BORDEN'S SPEECH.

Sir FREDERICK BORDEN said. My hon. friend (Mr. Monk) ventured the statement at the outset that the General Officer Commanding in Canada occupied a special position. He undertook to elaborate that argument, but I did not observe that he arrived at any conclusion. I followed him very closely, because I thought I was going to learn some new constitutional doctrine. I thought I was going to hear announced again, as used to be claimed many years ago, that because the officer who commands the militia of this country, under the laws of this country, must be, under the present law, an imperial officer; that therefore, by virtue of that fact, the General Officer Commanding possessed some special power with reference to the Canadian militia. I am glad to know that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Monk) did not go to that extent, and so we are all agreed once more that there

is no constitutional question at issue. If it were necessary to prove that there is no constitutional question at issue, it could be easily done.

THE MINISTER OF WAR IN ENGLAND HAS CONTROL OF EVERY OFFICER.

I have here under my hand quotations from speeches of some of the great men who have occupied the position of Secretary of State for War in England. I will not detain the House with them now; but both the Right Hon. Hugh C. Childers and Lord Cardwell, who occupied that position with great honour and distinction, have laid down most distinctly, and to-day there is no question about it, the proposition that the Minister has absolute control of every officer, including the Commander in Chief, in the War Office. You could not carry on government otherwise. It would be an absurdity. If the General Officer Commanding is to have these extraordinary powers, why should not a Deputy Minister have them? Carry that idea out to its legitimate conclusion, and you would have, not government, but chaos in the affairs of the country. So it is not worth while to waste time discussing it.

Mr. TISDALE. I think the hon. gentleman had better discuss it fully, for later on I may deal with it.

Sir FREDERICK BORDEN. I will read two of the authorities. First, I will read an extract from a speech of the Right Hon. Hugh C. Childers, delivered in 1882. It is to be found in a book entitled "Life of Right Hon. Hugh C. Childers," second volume, at page 56:

CHILDERS QUOTED.

It has been suggested that of late years successive Secretaries of State for War have, in the government of the army, been encroaching on the functions of others. The army, these critics say, is the army of the Crown; we, Secretaries of State forsooth, want to make it the army of the House of Commons. The Crown, they say, governs the army through the Commander in Chief. The Secretary of State is a mere financial officer, who has gradually intruded on the province of the Crown by means of the power of the purse.

Now, gentlemen, I am bound to tell you that all this is a mere delusion. These writers ought to reflect that to no one can the wrongful attribution of power be more distasteful than the Sovereign herself. The Queen, gentlemen, as she is the most just and wise, so is she the most constitutional of sovereigns. The Queen is the undoubted head of the army; she is also the head of the navy, and of every branch of the public service. As such she can do no wrong. But she does no wrong for the express reason that all her acts are the acts of her responsible ministers. The doctrine of personal government, which you have seen so undisguisedly claimed in Prussia within the last few days, is absolutely unknown to our constitution.

This is not a matter of custom or unwritten law. The functions of the Secretary of State for War, as "administering the royal authority and prerogative in respect of the army," are laid down with great precision by the Order of the Queen in Council of June, 1870. Under him there are three great departments, the heads of which are equally responsible to him: the Commander in Chief for the Military Department, the Surveyor-General for the Ordnance and Supply Department, the Financial Secretary for the Finance Department. No act of discipline can be exercised, no appointment or promotion can be made, no troops can be moved, no payments can be made, without the approval, expressed or implied, of the Secretary of State. To say that the Secretary of State has no controlling power in such matters, when he is responsible to Parliament for any improper exercise of the Queen's prerogative in regard to them, is manifestly absurd. On this subject I have never known any misapprehension within the walls of the War Office or in Parliament.

I will also read an extract from a book entitled "Lord Cardwell at the War Office," by Sir Robert Biddulph, at page 239:

CARDWELL QUOTED.

Thus was the question of the royal prerogative with regard to the command of the army placed on a constitutional basis. "The General Commanding-in-Chief was formally declared to be a subordinate of the Minister of War"; and that Minister was declared to be the channel through whom the Sovereign's commands were to be conveyed to the army.

All military work hitherto done at the War Office was transferred to the Horse Guards, both offices being made one, so that correspondence between the two offices should cease; it being clearly understood that no question should arise to prevent the Secretary of State from sending for any officer or any clerk in any military office, if he wished to examine him on a question of doubt.

Under the British constitution, the Secretary of State is necessarily a member of Parliament, and must usually be a civilian, and therefore without that sort of knowledge that pertains to a life spent in the military service. This is an unavoidable result of our parliamentary system, and as it could not be changed, it was necessary to make the best arrangement for working it. To this end, it appeared to Lord Cardwell that the Secretary of State should surround himself with the best officers in the army as the heads of the various departments, so that after freely consulting them he could form a sound judgment and come to a clear conclusion upon the great questions submitted for his decision.

THE RIGHT TO ADVISE IN ORGANIZING CORPS.

The hon. gentleman has said a great deal about my hon. friend the Minister of Agriculture not having any power to act as Minister of Militia. Well, in answer to that, I would ask him whether the act which my hon. friend did is valid or invalid. If it is valid, I presume he had the power.

My hon. friend has also said that no Minister outside of the Minister of Militia, no politician—no political man, to use his own words—has any right to advise or to use any influence in connection with the organization of a corps of militia. Well, it seems to me that no more absurd proposition could be put forward. If we were dealing with a regular army, I could understand that. But we are dealing with a militia force, with a citizen army, not a regular army. We have no regular army. We must look to the people of this country to build up our militia, and we must look to the influential men. We want the co-operation and assistance of the influential men throughout Canada to assist us in building up the militia; and can you find an influential man in Canada—I was going to say a man worth his salt—who has not some political views or ideas? I think it would be very difficult to find one; and the practice in this country, in organizing new corps, has been to go at once to the most influential man in the county and enlist his influence.

LORD DUNDONALD'S PRONUNCIAMENT.

Now, Mr. Speaker, since the broader question has inevitably come under review, it will be expected that I should devote some attention to the pronunciamento or address which the late General Officer Commanding has seen fit to issue to the people of Canada. . . . This address to the people of Canada contains statements which the people of Canada, no doubt, will read with surprise, after having read the speech in Montreal, and after having read the letter to me, in answer to the inquiry I made in reference to that speech, in which the ex-Commanding Officer declared that he had no notes on that occasion with reference to the

question which we have been discussing here to-night. And also they must have been surprised when they learned of the tremendous effort that was made to suppress and prevent the publication of the report of that speech at Montreal. But I suppose they are bound to believe the statement which this gentleman makes in the calm of his own office, and evidently after very careful consideration and deliberation. In this statement he tells us that the speech at Montreal was no sudden ebullition, but that he had gone down there with the greatest deliberation, and with the intention of precipitating the crisis which he had been carefully watching for an opportunity to precipitate for months, if not for years. And one cannot help trying to understand the mental, not to say the moral, make-up of the man who, while having this in mind, goes every day to his office, meets his chief day after day; proffers him the hand of friendship—or professes to—writes him polite notes; professes to be engaged in full sympathy with him; and occasionally even indulges in paying him a compliment—I say it is difficult to understand the mental and moral make-up of the man who could do that and carry it on, not for days, nor for weeks, but, confessedly, for months. And what is the object which the gentleman states as the justification for this course? Oh, his object was to save, not exactly his country, but this benighted country of Canada. He was to be the saviour of this country. And one can imagine the stress under which this high-minded nobleman, day after day, felt impelled to go to his work, acting this double part, even though he did it because of the great benefit which he was going to confer upon this country of his temporary adoption. I do not think we need to go much further in order—I will not say to understand—but to wonder, at the condition of mind in which such a man must have been. And we cannot go very far in that line of reflection and investigation without being satisfied that the people of Canada, at any rate, do not want public servants of that kind.

He begins this extraordinary document in these words:

Considering it desirable that I should lay before the people of Canada a statement of my position with reference to the difficulty between myself and the Government of Canada.

“Myself.” “Myself and the Government of Canada.” In that phrase you have the explanation of the whole difficulty. A more highly concentrated exhibition of egotism and self-assertion than is to be found in these words, cannot, I believe, be found in the English language. “Myself.” Who is this gentleman who speaks of himself first and the Government of Canada afterwards? Why, Mr. Speaker, it is almost necessary to have the Order in Council before one to enable one to believe—in view of the words I have just read—that this gentleman was appointed by Order in Council of the very same Government, approved by His Excellency the Governor General, to an official position under the Minister of Militia, in July, 1902. But the gentleman is going to take charge of things in this country! Well, let me say, Mr. Speaker, the gentleman has one thing to learn before he can become dictator. Before he governs Canada he must learn to govern himself. The hon. gentleman is precipitating in this country, or trying to—I do not think it can last long—the kind of conflict of which history tells us, conflicts which were of frequent occurrence about two centuries ago, when there was a constant struggle for supremacy between the military and the civil side of society. Happily that question was settled in all Anglo-Saxon countries, settled in the mother country one hundred years ago. I do not think we need fear that a campaign of that kind will proceed very far in this country.

The manifesto makes several references to myself which I think I should deal with now, at the very earliest opportunity which has presented itself. He has said that he did not seek to impose his policy but simply wished to take control—because he used the word “control” of the technical administration of the de-

partment. Well, I do not know what he calls policy, but I should suppose that any development of the militia in this country which involves a large expenditure of money would be considered to be a question of policy; with those questions the Government felt under obligation to deal, and in dealing with those questions, I am bound to say I have had the greatest difficulty in the world in keeping this officer anywhere within bounds as I shall attempt to prove as I proceed.

THE CHARGE OF INTERFERENCE.

He has divided his attack upon the Administration into two parts. On the one hand he charges interference, on the other hand he charges indifference; two things which do not logically come together. But the late General Officer Commanding is not always logical, any more than he is always considerate of the absolute, literal truth of the statements he makes. He says that he was subjected to interference. Interference, forsooth. Interference by whom? Interference by the regularly constituted authorities of the people of this country, interference by the Government of the country, the representatives of the people, the people who were paying him for the services which he was supposed to be giving. Well, let us see in what respects he attempts to make good these charges. As one of the reasons why he wished to "let daylight" into the proceedings of the Militia Department, &c., he refers to the fact that a new militia law was about to be introduced. These are the words he used:

I realized moreover that the new Militia Bill would soon be discussed in Parliament and that it was my duty to give a warning of certain dangers before it was too late.

Not to his Minister, not to the Government—because, if he could not get my ear, he might have gone to the Prime Minister—but he must make an appeal to the people, because, forsooth, in my wisdom I saw fit to introduce into this House a much-needed Militia Bill, and was about to put it through. What was the matter with the General Officer Commanding? He saw in that Bill, and learned from my statements in this House, that I approved of a new system which has been adopted in England, by which the services of the Commander in Chief are dispensed with, and he took alarm, and was determined, without making an effort to convince me that I was wrong in my proposal, to appeal over my head and beyond the Government, to the people, in order to prevent me from carrying the Militia Bill through the House.

SUPPRESSING A FIRST REPORT.

The first charge which he makes is that Part II of his annual report was suppressed, that is, his report of 1902. He says:

One extremely serious case of interference was the suppression of the important parts of my first annual report on the militia. After studying the situation with great care, I came to certain conclusions, and thought out certain plans. For convenience of reference, I divided my report for the year 1902 into two halves. Part I was a simple diary of events. Part II contained my description of the condition of the militia, and an outline of a comprehensive scheme for reorganizing the force upon lines suitable to the country. This part was fully intended by me for publication. It contained nothing that could be described as a military secret. It covered matter such as is constantly made public in Great Britain and the United States. In my judgment it was information as to the actual condition and possibilities of the militia which it was desirable for the people of Canada to know.

This part of the report Sir Frederick Borden suppressed against my protest.

Mark these words, "against my protest."

In the House of Commons at various times he described this part of the report as private."

Mark that word "private."

"Confidential" and "secret." It was neither private,—

Mark that.

"Confidential" nor "secret." When the minister made these statements he had been explicitly informed by me that I desired its publication. He went so far on one occasion as to compare the report on Canadian defence.

With that report my report had no analogy.

That is so far as the first report is concerned. What are the facts? The facts I will endeavour as briefly as possible to place before the House. It will be remembered that last year a question was put upon the Order Paper by the hon. member for North Victoria (Mr. Hughes) and answered by me. I have the reference from "Hansard" here. I will not read it, but the question was substantially this: It has been stated in the English and Canadian papers that a report had been written by the General Officer Commanding which had not been printed, and I was asked whether it was my intention to print it. I gave as the reason why it had not been printed, that I considered the document to be confidential, and I proposed to treat it in that way. Later on my hon. friend from South Norfolk (Mr. Tisdale) brought up the matter in the House, and asked some question, and I replied to him in the same sense. I stated that I would be very glad to submit the report to a committee of the House, composed of the hon. leader of the Opposition and any hon. gentleman whom he might name, together with some hon. gentlemen on this side of the House who might be interested in the matter. I took the ground, which I am sure would have been taken in England under similar circumstances, that this was a report not then, at any rate, proper to be published, and I gave my reasons

Mr. INGRAM. The hon. gentleman did not bring that report down to Parliament last session. Has anything been stated to the public, or has anything been stated outside of this Parliament, in connection with that document other than what the hon. gentleman stated last year during the session?

Sir FREDRICK BORDEN. Not by me, but I think that by the General Officer Commanding a good deal has been stated.

Mr. INGRAM. I beg the hon. gentleman's pardon. What I wish to know is: Was there any statement to the effect that a very expensive scheme had been laid down by the Major-General, and was that authorized by the hon. gentleman to be stated publicly outside of this Parliament, or inside of this Parliament?

Sir FREDERICK BORDEN. I said nothing about an expensive scheme that I am aware of.

Mr. INGRAM. And the hon. gentleman did not authorize his department to do so?

Sir FREDERICK BORDEN. A statement was made in the newspapers, and by some extraordinary and mysterious method reports of what is going on in the Militia Department have frequently been published in England, and before they were published in this country.

Mr. INGRAM. Is that how the *Globe* got it?

Sir FREDERICK BORDEN. I do not know. It was not stated by me or with my authority. But, here is the fact; this letter is the covering letter of this report. It is a letter from Lord Dundonald to me. I have secured from Lord Dundonald consent to publish this letter. I could not do it until I had secured that consent because it was marked "private." It is as follows:

Crichton Lodge, Ottawa, Jan. 29th, 1903.

"Private."

Dear Sir Frederick,—I am sending you with this my report for the year 1902. I

only received the last of the sub-reports to me last Saturday—there has been, as you are aware, a great deal of work involved, first in becoming acquainted with a system, then in discovering its weaknesses, then in suggesting remedies for improvement. I hope that the recommendations I make will commend themselves to you. I think they will, as from our conversations I believe we agree on many essential points. I don't think the country can obtain a cheaper or more efficient system for money expended than the one outlined, if only you can see your way to get it adopted and the proper funds voted.

I am still confined to the house, but hope to get out to-morrow and shall look forward to seeing you Monday at latest if convenient to you.

Yours very truly,

(Sgd.) DUNDONALD.

This is the covering letter of the report under consideration marked "private." On the 31st January, two days later, I wrote the following letter, marked "private" also.

Ottawa, 31st Jan., 1904.

Dear Lord Dundonald,—I have carefully read your very interesting and able report. I don't know whether you intend Part II to form part of the annual report of the Minister of Militia and Defence for this year (i.e. 1902), but I am afraid it would not do to put forward scheme which has not yet been considered as a whole, even by the Minister, and of which the other members of the Cabinet have as yet had absolutely no opportunity of knowing anything. Besides, there is the very grave question of propriety of giving such a scheme to the world; at any rate, in such detail. Furthermore, you are aware that a scheme was recommended by the Defence Committee of 1898, approved by the War Office, and adopted by the Canadian Government. I think it will be necessary to carefully compare your proposals with those of the Committee.

Then there is the financial question. It is absolutely necessary that I should have a carefully prepared estimate of the cost involved in your proposals before they can be considered by the Government. Will you kindly furnish this at your earliest convenience?

It seems to me that your Report II should be considered as a confidential paper for the information of the Minister and of the Cabinet, and I trust you will see the force of this and of the other reasons I have given against publication, at any rate at this time.

I shall be glad to see you on Tuesday next, if convenient for you, when we can perhaps settle upon what should be published as part of the annual report.

Yours very truly,

(Sgd.) F. W. BORDEN.

On the 11th February I received this note:

Dear Sir Frederick,—Yes, I will let you have the report with slight amendments as suggested almost at once. Will you let me have the part you have, and I will let you have the whole back in a few hours?

Yours very truly,

(Sgd.) DUNDONALD.

I sent the report at once. On the 21st of February I still was without the report, and I wrote this letter:

Dear Lord Dundonald,—I would like to again call attention to my letter of the 31st ultimo, dealing with your annual report. After very careful consideration of the matter since that letter was written, I am more than ever convinced of the correctness of the views therein expressed.

It is quite outside the province of an annual departmental report to propound a scheme or policy of defence, and therefore I must ask you to be good enough to omit Part II (so called) from your report, and to amend Part I accordingly.

I shall be quite ready, however, to approve of the insertion in your annual report of

a clause stating that you have prepared for my information a scheme which you think would (to use the words of the heading to Part II) "conduce to the greater efficiency of the militia as a fighting force."

May I ask, therefore, that the annual report be amended as above suggested, and placed in my hands to-day, so that it may go to the printer.

Yours very truly,

(Sgd.) F. W. BORDEN.

On the 23rd February I received this note:

Dear Sir Frederick,—I return the report divided as you wish. There was a difficulty in getting the work done Saturday, owing to the day being a half holiday.

Very truly,

(Sgd.) DUNDONALD.

P.S.—I go to Kingston at 11 a.m. to visit the Royal Military College, &c.

Here is another letter of mine:

February 23rd, 1903.

Dear Lord Dundonald,—Thanks for your letter of this date, and the amended annual report.

I have been obliged to make a few unimportant changes, which cannot be delayed for your return from Kingston.

Yours very truly,

(Sgd.) F. W. BORDEN.

That ended the incident, so far as the report was concerned; but on the 3rd of March I wrote the following letter:

Major-General the Earl of Dundonald, Ottawa.

My Dear Lord Dundonald,—Will you be good enough to have the financial statement, showing approximate expense involved in your plan of reorganization of the militia, completed and sent in to me as soon as possible. I wish to discuss this and other matters pertaining to them with my colleagues and cannot do so without the memorandum showing the cost.

Instead of making the statement simply to show the additions, I would be glad if you would show the whole expenditure on capital and income account, respectively, under your proposals.

Yours very truly,

(Sgd.) F. W. BORDEN.

Now, that is the record. Does that record bear out the statement which this right hon. gentleman has seen fit to make in this address of his to the people of Canada?

UNCOURTEOUS AND UNFAIR.

Just here I may be permitted to record a complaint against certain of the newspapers in this country for their treatment of me in this matter. I am not in the habit of making complaints of this kind; in fact, I am bound to say that I never have had very much reason to; but it seems to me somewhat unfair—not to characterize it in a stronger way—and it seems a coincidence also, that the newspaper which first published the authorized edition of this manifesto has referred to me in its editorial column in these words, speaking of Lord Dundonald's statement:

That means that Sir Frederick Borden lied—lied from his seat in the House, lied in an official statement to the House.

From the *Toronto News*, June 20th; J. S. Willison, managing editor. I had expected different treatment from that source, from any source. I did not suppose that any newspaper edited outside of Billingsgate could indulge in language

of that kind. And this is a paper which assumes a high moral tone in this country; a paper which was started to show the every-day people of Canada, who did not know anything about their work—such as my hon. friend of the *World*, for instance—how to run a newspaper. This is the man who is posing as being too good to edit the *Toronto Globe* any longer. He got out of that; he was to be translated to a higher sphere. The *Globe* never published such a contemptible reference to any man on any side of politics in this country, I am happy to say. If it had no regard for me, if it had no regard for itself, if it had no regard for the amenities and decencies of life, it should have some regard and some respect for the position which, for the time being, I have the honour to hold in this country.

DUNDONALD'S SECOND REPORT.

Now, Mr. Speaker, the next charge is that I refused to publish Lord Dundonald's second report of the year 1903. I have his letter with reference to that. He wrote the report and sent it to me with the following letter—this time the letter was not marked "private":

Ottawa, 1st March, 1904.

Hon. Sir Frederick Borden.

Dear Sir Frederick Borden,—Herewith I inclose my report for the year 1903. You will observe on page 23 of the report that I make reference to the necessity for reports from the heads of certain important branches. These branches having to do with the supply of material and with the requirements of mobilization, the reports from them should, in my opinion, be published with the report of the General Officer Commanding.

Those that I now inclose—from the quartermaster-general and the director-general of engineer services—appear, in my opinion, to be more in the nature of memoranda on matters of a minor nature than reports on the important subjects with which those officers are appointed to deal, and, perhaps, you would kindly use your discretion as to whether they should go into the blue-book or not. Next year I hope the reports from these officers will be of such a nature that they will be read with interest and be above adverse criticism.

Yours very truly,

(Sgd.) DUNDONALD.

Well, Sir, I read this report, and I found that like its predecessor it contained things which I could not publish. I sent for Lord Dundonald, and I spent a good deal of time with the report, reading over every word of it, and marking in pencil the parts to which I objected. I did not object to the report so much as I objected to the publication of certain portions, and I wished him to amend it, and he, as I supposed, agreed to do so. Some of the objections which I made to it were that it referred to documents which had not been brought down to Parliament, which there was no intention to bring down. I informed him that the moment that report was laid on the table of the House, the members of the House would have the right to ask for the documents; and, as we did not wish to bring the documents down, I did not wish those references put in the report. I pointed out to him several instances in which he had put in his report references to matters which had been before me—matters of detail, matters of routine in the department, matters of very trivial consequence, and matters of principle in which I had differed with him, and to which I had refused to give my consent. I asked him if he proposed to appeal from me to Parliament and the people of the country. He agreed to make changes; he agreed to omit the portions of the report to which I objected. He took it away with him, and, after keeping it nearly three weeks, sent it back. I returned it to him with this letter, by messenger:

Ottawa, 28th March, 1904.

Dear Lord Dundonald,—Referring to your letter of the 1st instant, I will send you to-day a copy of your report, as I propose to have it printed in my annual report. I

have omitted certain things and have made a few slight verbal changes which do not in any way alter the meaning. As I have explained to you very fully the reasons for the omissions I am making, I need not go into that matter in this letter.

With reference to the reports from heads of important branches, which you think should be fuller, I am inclined to agree with you, and would feel disposed to print as large a portion of them as possible, and I think the reports should be prepared with that contingency in view.

Yours very truly,

(Sgd.) F. W. BORDEN.

This amended report, which he says was cut and carved, as if he knew nothing about it, was sent to him by a messenger on the 28th of March, and delivered to him. In due course the report went to the printer, and on the 21st of April I received this letter from Lord Dundonald:

Ottawa, April 21st, 1904.

Dear Sir Frederick Borden,—I have just received the printer's proof of my report for 1903, as revised by you for publication, and have returned it. While acquiescing in the changes you have made because you so insist, I wish to point out that my true report is the one originally sent in, and that the unpublished portion of it is consequently with you as my opinion for the betterment of the force.

Yours very truly,

(Sgd.) DUNDONALD.

There was not anything clandestine or secret about that. I insisted upon my right as the head of the department to say what should appear in my report, and I carried it out; and I am in the judgment of Parliament, under the rules of constitutional government, whether I was right or not. Lord Dundonald talks about what is done in England. Who ever heard of a Secretary of State for War being placed in the humiliating position of having a report from his Commander in Chief or some subordinate placed before Parliament and before the people, he sitting dumb in his seat, without being the first to announce to Parliament and the country, as it is his duty to do, the policy of the Government with reference to military matters? It is absurd, it is monstrous, and nothing could prove more clearly the absolute want of knowledge of that gentleman of the first principle of responsible government.

INTERFERENCE WITH THE ORDNANCE CORPS.

Well, Sir, the "interference" still went on. The next instance of it was with reference to this celebrated ordnance corps, which has been so beautifully illustrated in a cartoon in one of the daily papers. What does he say about that? He says:

A more recent instance occurred in connection with the organization of the ordnance corps. The establishment of this corps was fixed at a colonel, a second in command—with the rank of lieutenant-colonel—and three lieutenant-colonels. This was a larger establishment than I would have recommended had I been unhampered; but Sir Frederick Borden was anxious to have a number of senior and highly-paid posts, and the scheme which he desired was carried out.

Soon after this I went to the Northwest—

Of course, I would not dare to do this if he had been here—

—As soon as I had left Ottawa the Minister of Militia ordered the adjutant-general to prepare an order increasing the number of lieutenant-colonels to five, thus giving seven officers of the rank of lieutenant-colonel and upwards to a corps of about 100 men. In this connection it must be remembered that the most elementary requirements of militia were neglected for want of money.

Now, let us see about this. First, by way of parenthesis, let me refer to a

corps d'élite, a corps in the organization of which the ex-General Officer Commanding has taken very great pride, and I believe it will be a valuable corps. It is a corps known as the Corps of Guides. It is composed of 407, of whom—would you believe it?—his own particular and special child—169 are officers and 302 non-commissioned officers and men; whereas in my poor, wretched attempt at a corps, called the ordnance corps, numbering 106, there are only 20 officers and 86 men. In the former one-third of the corps are officers; in my wretched imitation only one-fifth are officers. But that is only by the way. Now, I want to refer to this ordnance corps. We are told that it was devised and originated by me for the purpose of making some fat places for some favourites; and the insinuation is made that by promoting two men from the rank of major to the rank of lieutenant-colonel I was consequently increasing their pay.

No more misleading—I do not wish to say maliciously misleading—statement was ever put forward by any man. What are the facts? They are these. The ordnance corps was divided into districts. The districts were divided into first, second and third class. The pay, no matter what be the rank, was according to the class of the district. There were seven first-class districts. The pay of these officers was to be \$1,600 a year. There was a certain number of second-class districts, the pay in which was to be \$1,200 a year; and a certain number of third-class, in which the pay was to be \$1,000. To say, therefore, that the promotion of these two men from the rank of major to that of lieutenant-colonel was for the purpose of giving them additional pay, is a statement absolutely without foundation. But it is my corps, forsooth. What is it? The ordnance corps is simply a branch of the militia which has existed ever since we have had a militia—the stores branch. I explained the change to the House fully a year ago, and let me tell you that in this old stores branch of the militia, before it was organized into the ordnance corps, there were not seven but eleven lieutenant-colonels. I have here the report of the officer formerly at the head of the stores, and now at the head of the ordnance branch, and I think, especially in view of the small-sized accusations which are being made against me, that it is of sufficient importance to read. This paper, and mind you, it was penned in June, 1903—a year ago—is entitled “Memo. for the Minister:

Having reference to the organization of an Ordnance Stores Corps to be formed as far as possible from the officers and other employees of the existing military stores staff of the department.

It is proposed to classify the different stations as first, second and third class, according to relative importance as to work and responsibility; thus, Toronto, Kingston, Ottawa, Montreal and Quebec will be rated as first-class; London, St. John, N.B., and Halifax as second-class; and Victoria, Winnipeg and Charlottetown as third-class stations.

It is also proposed that the pay of the officers at the several stations shall correspond with their duties and responsibilities. Thus, it will be station and not the rank in the militia which will govern the amount of pay.

It is suggested that the officers of the first-class stations should rank as lieutenant-colonels, those of the second-class as majors, and those of the third-class as captains in the militia.

It should be understood that the duties of the officers, whilst they necessarily command the men at their respective stations, are almost wholly administrative.

MR. HAGGART. Did it increase the expenditure any?

SIR FREDERICK BORDEN. Very trifling. As to the rate of pay:

Comparing the proposed pay of the ordnance officers with that of the members of the civil service, it will be seen that that of the first-class ordnance officer is that of a

first-class clerk of two years' standing, that of a second-class ordnance officer not equal to the maximum second-class clerk, and that of the third-class ordnance officer is the same as that of the third-class clerk. According to the present arrangements, the command of the corps will not entail any additional expense.

That is the statement of Colonel Maedonald, who is at the head of the stores. I have here, but will not trouble you with the reading of it, the report to the Council. I have here a document which shows the changes that were made after the senior officer of the ordnance corps had sent in his report to the General Officer Commanding. It transpired that the General thought seven lieutenant-colonels too many, although there had been eleven before, and for some reason or another he reduced the lieutenant-colonels of the two most important stations in Canada, Quebec and Ottawa, from lieutenant-colonels to majors. I have in my hand the report of the director-general of ordnance. The director-general of ordnance, under the English regulations and ours, reports to me direct as well as to the General. He is under the supervision of the General, but under the control of the Minister. I had not observed that in that report there was a change made, but my attention was called to the fact that two of the officers had been reduced. The change did not involve any reduction in their pay, for they got the same as before, but they were reduced from lieutenant-colonels to majors. As soon as I learnt that, I wrote this letter to Lord Aylmer, who was acting in the absence of Lord Dundonald:

November 24th, 1903

Dear Lord Aylmer,—I am sorry to find that there is a discrimination among the officers of the Ordnance Corps, holding the five senior positions in the first-class districts, and that three of them are lieutenant-colonels and two of them majors. Had I known this earlier, I am sure I would have persuaded the General to treat them all alike, and I am writing you now to ask you to send at once to Council the recommendation for the necessary correction. I will take the full responsibility, and will write Lord Dundonald about the matter. I saw Lieutenant-Colonel Boulanger in Quebec, who happens, owing to the date of his commission, to be either at the bottom of the list or next to it. He has been in command of a battery, has served, as you know, in South Africa, and in China, with distinction, and for that service holds the South African and Chinese medals, and was given the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He also has control of the stores in the largest and most important stores depot in the Dominion. Moreover, he happens to be a French Canadian, and the only one among the five first-class appointments. Now, whatever may be done later on, when new and younger blood is introduced, I think no distinction should be made in the first-class appointments at the outset, and therefore I ask you to be good enough to have the order amended and sent in to me for approval at once, so that it may go before Council.

Yours very truly,

(Sgd.) F. W. BORDEN.

Colonel Lord Aylmer,

Adjutant General, Militia and Defence.

So much, then, for the ordnance corps. So much for the base use I am alleged to have made of my position as Minister of the Crown to create fat places for my friends. But it will be observed that not one cent more goes to these officers as lieutenant-colonels than would have gone to them as majors. But you will observe, Sir, that in this letter I say:

I will take full responsibility, and will write Lord Dundonald about the matter

As soon as Lord Dundonald returned, I asked Lord Aylmer to hand him this letter, and I am informed by Lord Aylmer, to whom I went a day or two ago for the letter, that it is in Lord Dundonald's possession to-day. With regard to the pay, just one word more. In the English service the director-general of ordnance receives annually \$10,227. In Canada he receives \$3,200. In England the

assistant director-general receives \$3,896. In Canada he gets \$2,400. In England a first-class ordnance officer gets \$3,666, and in Canada \$1,600. These are the two highly paid officials for whom I was seeking a job. In England a second-class ordnance officer gets \$2,626, and in Canada \$1,400. In England a third-class ordnance officer gets \$2,277, and in Canada \$1,000.

Now, Sir, with regard to over-officering of this corps of 100 men with 20 officers and 7 lieutenant-colonels—what are the facts? This corps is never brought together. It is not homogeneous. It is purely an administrative corps, scattered from Prince Edward Island on the one hand to British Columbia on the other. And these officers of higher rank control the stores in the chief stores districts in the Dominion—most responsible positions—those of the second rank have charge of the stores in the second-class districts, and those in the third rank have charge of the stores in the third-class districts.

COLONEL GREGORY'S CASE.

This manifesto goes on to say that there was a certain Colonel Gregory whose case was a very bad one. And here again I would like to call your attention to the disingenuous character of this manifesto issued to the people of Canada:

The case of Colonel Gregory, of the 2nd Dragoons, has been placed before the public. The excellent work done by him during his term shows itself in the fine state to which he has brought his regiment. I was anxious, for the sake of the regiment, for reasons into which I need not go, to extend his command for another year.

Anybody reading that would infer that this proposed extension was the first extension. Anybody reading that will be surprised when I tell him that Colonel Gregory has just ended a year's extension of his command. No one would infer that from the wording of the manifesto. And, therefore, I say it is disingenuous, and, I am afraid, intentionally misleading. What about this Gregory case? Under the provisions of the Militia Regulations we have a rule by which, after five years' service, the term of command ends automatically. That is one of the reforms that have been introduced into the militia in my time—at least enforced in my time. Under the old regime, a man became a lieutenant-colonel, and there he stayed. And so we had venerable gentlemen in the service—lots of them—fine men in their day, who had been in command of the same corps for thirty or thirty-five years, and who had no idea of retiring. Well, for fear that this sudden change, this limitation of command, might sometimes work injuriously, a regulation was framed to the effect that, for reasons to be given by the District Officer Commanding, the time of an officer might be extended for three years. That power is very seldom used. In my humble opinion it should never be used, if that can be avoided. But where you have a case where the second in command is not qualified to take the position, then it becomes proper to exercise the power. It so happened in this case. The second in command was Dr. Ferguson, the son of a gentleman whom we all knew, at one time a Conservative member of Parliament and afterwards senator. Through some physical defect—disease of the throat, I believe—Dr. Ferguson had been unable to attend the camp and unable to qualify; in fact, he could not speak above a whisper. It was hoped that he might recover, and so the recommendation was sent in for the extension. That recommendation was for an extension of two years. When it came before me, I said: Why not—and this is my rule—extend for one year? And, if at the end of that year there is no officer fit to take command, it is an easy matter to extend it for another year. The extension was given for one year. And before the year was ended, a capable officer, Major Glasgow, had qualified, and had been promoted to the position of second in command; and on the 12th of July, Major Glasgow will become commanding officer of the regiment. Where is the political interference in this case? Where is the wrong in it? It seems to me that I was acting

in the best interests of the corps, and especially in the best interests of the officers below Major Glasgow who are looking for promotion, who are anxiously, and properly, looking for promotion, as a reward for their faithful service. I am not ashamed of what I did in this case. I have done it over and over again, and I propose to do it over and over again, in the interest of the young and rising officers in the militia.

Mr. SAM. HUGHES. The hon. Minister (Sir Frederick Borden) has yet to make the statement that Major Glasgow was properly qualified for command.

Sir FREDERICK BORDEN. I make that statement deliberately. He is officially qualified.

Mr. SAM. HUGHES. He is not so reported.

Sir FREDERICK BORDEN. I cannot help that. The papers can be produced, if necessary, and they will show that Colonel Otter and Colonel Lessard have both recommended and approved, and he has actually received the authority by Order in Council.

AN OPPORTUNITY GIVEN DUNDONALD TO EXPLAIN HIS ATTITUDE.

I had noted several points here which are scarcely worth taking up the time of the House with, except one. Over and over again, it has been stated by Lord Dundonald and his friends that he had not been invited by me to make any statement with regard to what happened in Montreal; and this is put forward as an excuse for sending a communication to a member of the Opposition, to be read in the House, thus passing by the Minister. Well, I do not know what Lord Dundonald expected from me. He received my letter in which I called his attention to the report in the newspapers of what took place in Montreal. Surely that opened the door to the hon. gentleman to make to me any explanation he saw fit. He knew that I was seized of the fact that something had occurred at that banquet in Montreal; he knew that I thought it demanded explanation. Surely there was his opportunity. What did he expect me to do? Did he suppose that I would ask him to write a manifesto, for instance? Did he expect that I would prescribe to him the particular method? Why, I knew it would be a reflection upon the capacity of a man who has shown himself to be possessed of such enormous resources to indicate such a thing to him. He is a gentleman of patrician rank, a member of the House of Lords; a man of great experience in matters of etiquette. And for me, a humble Canadian, a plebeian, an ordinary, every-day colonial to presume.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Sir FREDERICK BORDEN. Why, Sir, it would have been arrant presumption on my part, but I gave him the opportunity, and I gave it to him at the very earliest moment that I had cognizance of what had occurred. It is not my fault that he did not take advantage of it in a constitutional manner.

THE CHARGE OF INDIFFERENCE

Now, we come to the next stage, the indifference. He says:

This Government has shown crass indifference and want of sympathy with the militia of this country.

And he arraigns me on that account. Well, Sir, it may be that to increase the annual expenditure on the militia by some one and a half or two millions dollars is a proof of crass indifference to the well-being of the militia, but I do not believe that the people will take that view. I have a list of the improvements which we have made. I shall read it, but shall not enlarge upon it, although it is a theme upon which I could say a good deal.

Our indifference to the welfare and the interest of the militia was shown first,

and perhaps in the most marked manner, by the adoption, without fail, of the principle of having annual drill for the whole militia of this country, and we have had annual drill of the militia every year since I have had the honour to preside over the Militia Department.

We have limited, as I said a moment ago, the term of commanding officers, thereby giving young men—some of whom got to be old men up to 60 years of age, under the old regime, as first lieutenants—some hope that some day they will get a reward for the work they have done.

We enforced the order with regard to age. Formerly we had lieutenant-colonels up to 65 and 70 years of age, but we have enforced the rules strictly, not only as to lieutenant-colonels, but as to majors, as to captains, and as to lieutenants, within the last six or seven years.

We have established a reserve list of officers, a most important improvement.

We have established cadet corps and cadet battalions, thereby enlisting the sympathies of the youth of the country, and preparing them early in their career to do their duty later on, should it be necessary, in the defence of their country.

We have appointed a defence commission, which sat here for many weeks, and which went very carefully into the question of defence, and propounded a scheme which has been adopted by the experts of the War Office, and by the people of this country, but for which, I am bound to say, two General Officers Commanding have had very little regard. One illustration of the unworkable character of the present system of General Officer Commanding, I think is worthy of note. The commission to which I have just referred, the defence committee, fixed upon a certain place for the establishment of a battery of guns for the defence of a certain place. I do not wish to mention the place, because that is secret and should not be mentioned. General Hutton came shortly afterwards. He, of course, had access to the secret report. He looked it over and said: Oh, that is not the right place at all, it should go here. So he fixed upon a place. General O'Grady Haly did not trouble himself very much with that. I think he was quite satisfied that the defence committee knew its business; but the recent acquisition, the gentleman of whose services we have recently deprived ourselves, looked into it, and he discovered a third place. Is it any wonder if the poor, perplexed Minister of Militia, having three different sets of advisers, is somewhat in doubt and inclined to hesitate before plunging the country into the expenditure of hundreds of thousands of dollars. That battery has not been located yet.

A general service medal was secured by this Government as a reward for the work done by the men who defended this country against the Fenian invasion.

The Colonial Officers' Decoration, the Long Service Decoration, was secured for the militia of this country through the efforts of this Government.

Officers are now required to have a much higher state of qualification.

The Medical Service branch of the militia was established by the Government.

A Military Pension Act, by which the officers of the permanent force and the staff and all the men of the active militia will receive pensions, was passed by this Parliament at the instance of this Government.

A school of musketry was established by this Government, one of the most important things in the interests of the militia that has ever been done in this country.

Rifle associations are being encouraged all over the country, and enormous amounts of money, up to \$100,000 a year, are being expended in the construction of rifle ranges, so as to put in the hands of our people the means of making themselves efficient in the art of rifle shooting.

The corps of guides, to which I referred a little while ago, has been established by this Government.

The engineering branch has been established.

The military stores branch has been converted into the ordnance corps.

A military intelligence branch has been organized as an additional permanent unit of the Army Service corps.

We hear a great deal in this report about the unpreparedness of this country for war. The Dominion Arsenal, the output of which was under a million rounds of cartridges a year, has been increased so that it has an output of 10,000,000 or 12,000,000, and its capacity is very considerably above that quantity.

We have succeeded in establishing in this country a small-arms factory, which at the present moment is turning out rifles, which will be able to supply the Government at the rate of 1,000 a month, and which has a capacity of double that quantity, if necessary.

We have established factories at which steel gun carriages, limbers, &c., are being manufactured in this country, instead of having to be manufactured in the old country, both at Quebec and in this city.

So, I might go on, but surely I have said enough to demonstrate to the satisfaction of any fair-minded man that we have not been indifferent to the needs of the militia of this country.

COURSES OF INSTRUCTION.

This manifesto refers to my having interfered with the courses of instruction. I am sorry to weary the House with reference to this matter, but it seems to be necessary for me to do it. Some months ago Lord Dundonald came to me and said that it would be very much better if the educational branch of the service in relation to the officers could be put completely under his control, that it was rather tiresome to have to be going to Council all the time to get any business through, and if I would let him have carte blanche, to use the phrase of my hon. friend from Jacques Cartier, he could manage it—he could do it all. I had my doubts about it, because I felt that the Governor in Council, although often inconvenient, was rather a sound institution; and it took him a good many weeks, I think some months, to convince me. When at last I did acquiesce I did it under protest, and with the distinct understanding that if the thing did not work we would revert to the old conditions. What has happened? I have not time to elaborate it, but as no doubt the discussion upon this subject will occur again, I will have an opportunity of letting you see that as a result of that mistake which I made in granting that extraordinary power, chaos reigns to-day in the Department of Militia in reference to matters of education.

The late General Officer Commanding says that I refused to grant certain courses of instruction he wanted to give in September. Let me tell you that the late General Officer Commanding succeeded in putting through militia orders and general orders absolutely contradictory of each other, until he has got now two or three absolutely contradictory orders governing the same thing. He need not worry. The courses of instruction which he recommended should take place in September, will take place, but they will not take place until we get proper regulations passed to carry them into effect.

THE CENTRAL CAMP PROPOSITION.

But, Sir, he complains that I have refused to adopt a central camp, or rather he says that after adopting the principle I have refused to carry it into effect. I have correspondence here which would show the reason why. I will not trouble

the House with it to-night, but let me say that it was proposed to purchase or acquire a great tract of country, some twenty or thirty square miles or more in extent, upon which the central camp should be established, and where conditions similar to those which take place in time of war could be had, for the education chiefly of the officers of the militia of this country, to which a certain number of the militia might be brought, and all the officers, to the number of thousands. The idea is a good one. I believe in it. I said so last year, I repeat it now; but, Sir, the expenditure involved in establishing that central camp will be very heavy. The buildings alone, estimated by Lord Dundonald himself, would cost \$100,000. If we succeed in getting a grant from either one of the local governments of the province in which we may decide to locate the central camp, the land granted would not cost much, but we will have to acquire by purchase a certain amount of land. Rifle ranges will have to be established in that camp; so that it will involve an expenditure of at least \$250,000 as the very best that can be done. Well, now, that is a somewhat serious expenditure. Then, we have not only that initial expenditure, but we have to consider the expenditure for transportation forever, or for fifty years, because we are not going to construct your central camp for a day or for a year. It is a permanent camp, and when you establish it you want to look forward, you want to see what you are about, you want to exercise the same caution that any business man would in making a very heavy expenditure of money; and surely it is just as important and as necessary for the Government of the country to exercise due caution, it is just as much their duty as if they were doing this work for themselves. So Lord Dundonald made up his mind that we should locate this camp at Kazubazua, in the province of Quebec, near the line of railway running northward. I am favourably impressed with the location, but I have heard of others, and men in whose judgment I have confidence told me that they believed there were others. I have gone myself to the trouble of going to the Kazubazua district, I have gone to the Sharbot Lake district, I have gone to other districts, to examine and see for myself, as I think it is my duty to do, as the custodian, in this regard, of the public money, and in the interest of the people of Canada. I came to the conclusion that we must not be in too much of a hurry, and I refused to be, to use the phrase of my right hon. friend, the Prime Minister, dragged or stampeded into selecting a site before I believe that site is the best that can be got in the whole wide Dominion of Canada.

FROM SIR WILFRID LAURIER'S SPEECH.

MILITARY VERSUS CIVIL POWER.

Sir WILFRID LAURIER. Sir, if you read the history of the difficulties which culminated a few days ago by the painful obligation placed upon the advisers of the Crown of relieving Lord Dundonald from his command, and if you study these difficulties in the light of the speech he made in Montreal, in the light of the explanation given a few days ago by the Minister of Agriculture, in the light of the explanations given by the Minister of Militia, in the light of the statement placed in the hands of the Hon. member for North Victoria (Mr. Sam. Hughes) by Lord Dundonald himself, you can come to but one conclusion; you will see in this but one more of the numerous contests for supremacy between the military power and the civil power which have taken place in England and in all British countries for many ages back. In England, Sir, and in all British countries, and indeed in all civilized countries, these contests have taken place, but with this difference, however, that in all countries except England and British possessions, this contest invariably terminated by the civil power being crushed by the military power; whereas in England and in British countries, countries that enjoy British laws, the contest was decided once for all in favor of the civil power and of civil liberty. But though this contest was decided more than 100 years ago, still it is

now and then revived by the military power. It was revived, as I shall show later on, even in England two or three years ago, it has been going on in this country for many years. For, Sir, this is not the first difficulty of this nature that we have had in Canada, and even in other colonies, for example in Australia, they have the same trouble, and the same contest that we have here.

SUBJECTION TO AUTHORITY.

Sir, there is one thing in this matter that is very remarkable. Lord Dundonald is a good soldier I readily admit. But I call attention to the fact that the King's regulations for the British army in which Lord Dundonald served and in which he acquired distinction and glory, expressly forbids:

Deliberations or discussions by officers or soldiers with the object of conveying praise, censure, or any mark of approbation, towards their superiors or any others in His Majesty's service.

The regulations of the militia of Canada, the command of which Lord Dundonald volunteered to assume two years ago, expressly declare:

It cannot be permitted that (officers) shall bring accusations against superior officers or comrades before the tribunal of public opinion, either by speech or letters inserted in any newspaper; such a proceeding would be in glaring violation of the rules of military discipline, and in contempt of authority.

Lord Dundonald apparently had a disagreement with his minister, and he chose to appeal, not to the proper authority, but to the very tribunal to which he was forbidden to go, to public opinion. The thing was so extraordinary that when the Minister of Militia saw in a newspaper of this city a report of the speech which Lord Dundonald had delivered in Montreal, he could hardly trust his own eyes. He wrote a letter to Lord Dundonald and asked him if the report was correct, and the answer came that the report was substantially correct. In Lord Dundonald's communication to the Minister there was not a shadow of palliation, not a word of explanation, not an attempt at justification. The offence therefore was very glaring, and in face of such a breach of discipline, of such an act of insubordination, there was nothing for the Government to do but to take prompt and immediate action against the offender, and upon this action the Opposition have not dared to challenge the Government. There is something more extraordinary. Lord Dundonald tells us in the paper from which I have quoted that the action he was compelled to take was the only means he could take in order to serve the Canadian militia. Sir, it seems strange, to me at all events it is very strange, that the commander of the forces, the man who was placed by the Government at the head of the militia, should have chosen, as a means of serving the militia, to break the fundamental law upon which the militia force rests.

THE FIRST DUTY IS TO OBEY.

Lord Dundonald was suggested to us by the Imperial authorities. That is a course which has always been followed. We have always taken the selection offered us by the Imperial authorities, and in this case I am free to say that I felt glad of the selection of Lord Dundonald. Lord Dundonald has the honour of bearing a name which is not unknown in history. He bears a glorious name, and one to which he himself has added much lustre by his own exertions. We thought that we would have a proper commander of the Canadian militia, and one under whom the militia would be only too proud to serve. But, everything did not go as smoothly as could have been hoped. What was the cause? Everything would have gone well, and there would not have been any disturbance whatever, and we would not have been in the painful position in which we were of having had to exercise one of the most extreme powers at our command, if Lord Dundonald had

been satisfied with being the adviser of my hon. friend the Minister of Militia and Defence, and if he had not always had something behind, and had not always been looking beyond his office. That is the true and only cause, as far as I can see it, of the difficulties that have arisen between Lord Dundonald and my hon. friend the Minister of Militia and Defence. Lord Dundonald has told us more than once in the paper from which I quoted a moment ago that he had a policy. I want to know, Sir, what right has any commander of the forces to have a policy? Lord Wellington, the most illustrious soldier that ever was at the head of a British army, Lord Wellington, one of the greatest warriors that ever appeared in the world, Lord Wellington, perhaps the most successful general who ever fought at the head of an army, never had a policy so long as he was the commander of the forces. The only thing he had in mind, and his voluminous correspondence proves it, was to serve the Government of which he was an official and a servant. Take the fourteen or fifteen volumes of his correspondence, peruse them page after page, and you will find that he always gave reports when he was asked for them, that he was most solicitous for the welfare of his soldiers, that he gave advice more than once, but whether his advice was heeded or refused, he did only one thing, and that was to carry out the instructions which were given to him.

Why, Sir, in a speech which was delivered by Lord Dundonald the first of April, 1903, he referred to his views. He said:

Though I have recommended certain steps, which I think are necessary for the militia, I wish here emphatically to deny a falsehood current in certain papers, namely, that I was much annoyed that \$12,000,000 was not provided in this year's estimates for the militia for capital expenditure. If \$12,000,000 was provided at this moment, I could not, with the moderate proposals I made, recommend its expenditure with advantage in a year. Such expenditure might well be spread over two or three years on that organization.

Here you have the fact that although the Minister of Militia had not been willing to accept the report of Lord Dundonald, to make it the basis of his policy, or to bring it before Parliament, yet Lord Dundonald proceeded to give to the public what was, at all events, the generic idea which he had in his mind with regard to the policy he wanted followed.

REPORTS ON MATTERS OF POLICY ARE NECESSARILY CONFIDENTIAL

I know—and it is heralded by the press which supports hon. gentlemen opposite—that a crime has been charged against my hon. friend the Minister of Militia—a grave offence has been put upon his shoulders—because he has refused to accept the advice of Lord Dundonald, and has refused to bring that advice before Parliament. It was stated in the House yesterday, and I believe it has been repeated to-day, that it was the bounden duty of the Minister of Militia, as soon as he was given that report by Lord Dundonald, to bring it before Parliament—that if he failed to do so, he failed to comply with the law of parliament. Sir, nothing could be more in contravention of the law of Parliament than such a doctrine. I assert, Sir, as a principle of parliamentary law, that all reports which are sent to the government or to the head of any department by subordinates, unless they relate to mere questions of fact and routine and the every day transactions of the department—that all reports in which are implied questions of policy—are from their very nature confidential, and remain confidential until in the judgment of the Minister they become the contrary. This is a broad statement to make, perhaps, but I make it on authority. I have already quoted Todd, who is acknowledged to be the best writer on this subject. Let me call the attention of hon. gentlemen to what he says on this point:

AN ENGLISH AUTHORITY QUOTED.

The system of laying upon the table of the House reports from officers addressed to particular departments of the executive government is most objectionable. And the House ought not to insist "upon the production of papers and correspondence which concerned the preparation and preliminary consideration of measures; they would thereby put a stop to that freedom of criticism which was always invited on such occasions, and which contributed so much to the perfection of public measures." If the House were to insist upon the production of such documents, instead of the Government getting what we get now, confidential reports, containing the most minute details of the opinion of officers, given frankly and freely, for the heads of departments, we shall have a system of reports framed for laying upon the table of the House of Commons, and those will be accompanied by "confidential reports for the head of the department alone." There have been cases in which reports of a confidential character from officers of the Government have been laid upon the table of the House, to prepare the public mind, and also that of Parliament, to consent to some large measure, or perhaps some considerable vote of public money; but, generally, I think it is a course which the House ought not to sanction."

DISRAELI QUOTED.

The last of all is a quotation from Mr. D'Israeli, who say:

There have been cases in which reports of a confidential character from officers of the Government have been laid upon the table of the House to prepare the public mind, and also that of Parliament, to consent to some large measure, or perhaps some considerable vote of public money.

This would have been the case here. The report of Lord Dundonald, I understand, would have been a preparation for a large expenditure of money; but Mr. Disraeli said:

But, generally, I think it is a course which the House ought not to sanction.

There is implied in this that such a report might be brought down at some time; but this is a matter of governmental responsibility, on which parliament is to depend, unless there is a vote of censure. But the minister is absolutely free to follow his own opinion in this respect, and not to follow the dictum of the gentleman who is appointed his adviser.

LORD WOLSELEY'S CASE IN POINT.

I may be told that this is antiquated law. Well, there is something more recent than that, which I now give to the House. I have stated that though the question of supremacy as between the military and the civil power in England has been settled more than a hundred years ago, and settled in favour of the civil power, still every now and then there is an attempt made to revive the old rule and to bring back the military power in control. Not later than two years ago, there was at the head of the army in Great Britain a gentleman who has left a record dear to the hearts of Canadians—Lord Wolseley. He was the Commander in Chief; and strange to say—or perhaps I should say, natural to say—even such a soldier as Lord Wolseley, a man acknowledged to be prudent in his course and in his views, had a difference of opinion with the Secretary of State for War, and the Secretary of State for War, like my hon. friend the Minister of Militia, would not follow that advice. Then Lord Wolseley did what I think Lord Dundonald, if he had been better advised, should have done also; he placed his resignation in the hands of the Government. If Lord Dundonald had followed that course—and he says he had the idea in his mind—if, instead of taking the violent, the extreme, the unpardonable course of committing a breach of discipline, he had resigned, and placed his resignation on paper, he could have brought before Parliament every-

thing he wanted to bring. It could not have been pigeon-holed, as he suggested, but it would have been brought before the House, and the House could have judged of it. Lord Wolseley took the better course of resigning, and some time afterwards, on the floor of the House of Lords, he gave an expression to his views. On the 4th of March, 1901, he addressed the House of Lords, and criticised the administration of the War Office, and the nature of the relationship between the Commander in Chief and Secretary of State for War.

LORD LANSDOWNE QUOTED.

Lord Lansdowne, who was the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, replied in the House of Lords, and made use of the following language, which will be found in the Parliamentary Debates, 4th series, vol. 90, page 356:

In another part of the statement of the noble Viscount, he told the House that he thought it was extremely necessary in the interests of public safety, that when the Commander in Chief and the Secretary of State for War were unable to agree, the public should be taken into our confidence, and that we should leave the public, as it were, to choose between the two.

I am afraid that that is somewhat a council of perfection. Does the noble and gallant Viscount think that the government of this country would be possible, that the administration of the War Office would be practicable, if, whenever the Secretary of State and the Commander in Chief were not as one, their arguments were to be publicly paraded, and to form the subject of controversies in the press or on the platform? I cannot conceive a more fatal arrangement than that there should be disputes of this kind in the eye of the public. The noble and gallant Viscount is a great supporter of a very popular institution called the Military Tournament. I should be very sorry if the Secretary of State were obliged to take part in a military tournament of the kind which the noble and gallant Viscount suggests.

Now I pause to ask the attention of hon. gentlemen opposite: Is not the language of Lord Lansdowne applicable, in every particular, to the case we have in hand? If you substitute for Lord Wolseley, Lord Dundonald, and for the Secretary of State for War, the Canadian Minister of Militia, you have our case in every particular. The following day the debate was participated in by Lord Salisbury, and I commend the language of Lord Salisbury as that of one who has always been noted for his Conservative tendencies, and strong, rugged common sense. This is what he said:

LORD SALISBURY QUOTED.

It is said of a certain class of correspondents, that the important observation always comes at the end. I think that applies to the speech of the noble and gallant Viscount. He told us, not as one of the main points on which he was insisting, but as something which occurred to him at the end, and which ought to be mentioned before he sat down, what was his solution of any difficulties that might arise if the Commander in Chief and the Secretary of State were not of the same mind. I think he puzzled the House. He said we were to take the people into our confidence, and to tell the press what we thought, and then the question at issue was to be discussed openly. How you were to decide which party was to be victorious, I do not know, but the result of the battle royal was to determine the particular decision on which the office was divided. I allude to this because I think it is a matter which is really at the bottom of our difficulty. I do not think the disputants, especially if they are military disputants, have entirely realized that the army is under Parliament, and that the Minister who controls the army does it as one who is responsible to Parliament, and represents all the authority which Parliament possesses. Unless you keep that steadily in mind, no doubt you will see many anomalies in our military system, and its relations to the civil power. But it is no use comparing our army with the army of France or of America, or of Germany, or of

Russia. They all differ in that one point, that the parliamentary system of governing the army does not exist among them. We must accommodate ourselves to the present state of things. Everybody knows historically how it has grown up, and everybody knows that it is intertwined too closely with all the fibres of our constitution to justify any one who forms his projects and bases his reasoning on the supposition that this relation can be modified. At the end we must have an army governed by Parliament, governed by a Minister who is responsible to Parliament, and in any difference of opinion, whatever it may be, the Commander in Chief must be a subordinate of the Secretary of State. Military men may not like that, but there it is. It is one of the bed rock circumstances of the situation, something from which you cannot depart; and you must devote your hands to making it work, and it has worked in the main hitherto very well.

Yes, I think it has worked very well in England.

And take care that it produces in the future, as it has produced in the past, results which it would have been impossible to produce in any foreign country. I feel that this debate will be lost upon us unless we take care to guide ourselves by that chief and predominant principle. In speech after speech from military men, men who know the language and spirit of the War Office, it is easy to detect a desire that military problems shall only be solved by military men; but any attempt to take the opinion of the expert above the opinion of the politician must, in view of all the circumstances of our constitution, inevitably fail. It must not be supposed that in such contests the expert must win. In all these discussions there is an evident and growing desire to shake free of this necessity. I thought I traced it even in the peroration of the noble Earl, although I am sure he is too good and constitutional a statesman to entertain any idea that the existing system can be radically changed. That is where the shoe pinches—that the men who know, or who ought to know, namely, the experts, are not the men to decide the dispute in question; but the decision, if it accords with their view at all, must be brought about by the concession of the civilian and the politician.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Sir WILFRID LAURIER. If this doctrine had been asserted by me, without saying from whom it came, there would have been a howl from the other side. But this is the true constitutional doctrine.

SUBORDINATE TO THE CIVIL POWER.

When Viscount Wolseley had a difference with the War Office, and wanted to bring that difference before Parliament and the people, and allow the people to judge between the two, what did the War Office decide? It decided that Lord Wolseley, illustrious general as he is, was subordinate to the civil power, and that if the views he submitted to the civil power were not acceptable, there was no help for it, and he had to submit. Sir, we assert nothing else in this matter. But I will say more. My hon. friend the Minister of Militia, in his anxiety to do the best he could for the militia, went further than anybody in his position would have gone in England. He submitted last year to the Opposition a proposition both wise and patriotic. He stated to the Opposition that he had received a plan which he did not endorse, and which, in his opinion, it would be a grievous mistake to make public. But as perhaps there might be some good in it, he offered to hon. gentlemen opposite to have a committee formed, on which they would be represented, so that both sides might examine into this plan, but because there were things in it which it would not be wise to divulge to the world, the proceedings of that committee should not be made public, but be kept secret. This offer was not accepted last year, but nobody then made it a grievance against my hon. friend that he did not parade before the whole world not only our resources, but our weaknesses as well, and under the circumstances it seems to me that the position taken

by the Government to-day is absolutely unassailable. It also seems to me that the position taken by Lord Dundonald cannot be justified from the point of view of constitutional government. What Lord Dundonald wanted was to assert the supremacy of the military power over the civil; but, as my hon. friend the Minister of Militia said yesterday, so long, at all events, as there is a Liberal Government in Canada, the civil power shall rule over the military.

THE BERESFORD AND COLVILLE CASES.

We were told to-day that we might have done in the case of Lord Dundonald what was done in the case of Lord Charles Beresford. Certainly we might, if the cases had been alike. If, like Lord Charles Beresford, Lord Dundonald had apologized for his conduct, certainly we would have treated him as Lord Charles Beresford was treated. Lord Charles Beresford had written a letter, which was published without his consent, and he so declared. But Lord Dundonald went to Montreal for the very purpose of bringing on this scandal. Therefore, there was nothing to do but what he did. For our course we have abundance of authority in the mother country. Only two years ago, just after the conclusion of the South African war, General Colville had a disagreement with some of his brother officers. He was charged with not having done his full duty under certain circumstances in South Africa, and with having left a certain portion of the army in great distress, whereas, if he had been more active and determined he might have relieved it. The War Office took a lenient view of the accusations against General Colville. They did not dismiss him; they did not deprive him of his rank; they gave him a command in Gibraltar. But when General Colville had been given this new command he made the great mistake of going before the public, of writing for publication in the press, commenting upon those who had brought the accusations against him. And what happened then? He was at once relieved of his command. The debate upon the subject is instructive. The War Office had taken a lenient view of General Colville's case. But, when he sought to bring his complaint before the tribunal of public opinion, instead of laying it before the Commander in Chief, the measure of his offences was full. The matter was brought before Parliament by Mr. Charles Douglas. I quote from the speech of that gentleman, as reported in "Hansard," page 1251:

A very considerable prejudice had been created against General Colville by the fact that he had published in the newspapers a statement of his treatment by the War Office. He did not defend that action of General Colville's. It was most desirable and necessary that they should uphold and fortify the great traditions of army reticence. Sometimes it led to hardship, but it was essential to discipline, and more than ever necessary now in view of the extreme activity displayed by the newspapers. He did not defend General Colville's action, but hoped the House would allow him to submit one or two considerations in regard to it. In the first place reticence could not be all on one side. If their generals were never to take means of vindicating themselves publicly, then he ventured to think that a little reticence should be observed by the War Office.

When General Colville returned to this country the first thing he saw was a newspaper paragraph which was obviously inspired.

Now, mark the answer which was made by Mr. Brodrick, Secretary of State for War:

The question is whether a public stigma would have been put upon General Colville. That is what I wished to avoid. After that General Colville's action cannot be defended by any one. He left for England. He did not avail himself of his right of appeal to the Commander in Chief. He made no representations to the War Office. He immediately published what he called a justification, but which consisted rather of an attack upon the staff officers in the Transvaal; and which also included, I regret to say, what

appeared to be some ungenerous sneers against the cavalry whom he had found it impossible to relieve. And obviously it is impossible that officers, whether on the full pay list or the half pay list, should be allowed to make reflections on their superiors as General Colville did. He was placed on retired pay, and any officer who follows his example will necessarily share the same fate.

Sir, it seems to me this is conclusive, and is the fullest justification that can be offered to the House of the painful course we had to take against so distinguished an officer as Lord Dundonald. I am free to say, even at this moment, after all the painful explanations we have had, after the indiscretions committed by Lord Dundonald, that for my part I look back with extreme regret upon the lack of judgment which has impelled Lord Dundonald so far to forget himself, so far to forget his position, so far to forget what was due to him and his command, as to take the course he did. But law must be maintained, law exists for everybody, military law as well as civil law; and military law ought to be observed above all others by the general who is at the head of the militia. Further upon this point I have no more to say.

ON THE USE OF THE WORDS FOREIGNER AND STRANGER.

Now, I may be allowed perhaps to do what I very seldom do. I may be allowed to say a word about myself personally. Some days ago, speaking in this House, I made use of an expression which was not in my mind, but which came to my lips. I corrected it immediately. The word which I had in my mind was the word "stranger," but I used another word. Sir, in my experience of many years, I have never heard it called in question until to-day that a man may not be allowed an opportunity to correct a slip of the tongue. I have heard slips of the tongue more than once, I have heard one to-day, I heard one yesterday, some gentleman using the words "Minister of Agriculture" when he wanted to say "Minister of Militia"; another saying "Minister of Militia" when he wanted to say "Minister of Agriculture." These mistakes will occur. A man may want to speak of the city of Toronto, and may say the city of Montreal. But according to the new code of ethics which I find on the other side of the House, no man is to be allowed to correct any slip of that kind. Sir, I bow to this new law—which, I hope, however, will never be the law on this side of the House, a law which we will never apply to the other side. I bow to it, but I wish to say to these gentlemen on the other side of the House, whom I see before me and who call me to account for having had the misfortune—nay, not the misfortune, but the mere accident of slip of the tongue—I say to them: Let he who is without sin cast the first stone. Sir, I have been told that my meaning was contemplated, was offensive and insulting. I have been in this House for many years. I have seen some of the veterans of former combats pass away. I have been engaged in combats with some of them. I have fought a good many hard struggles. But I am not conscious, in all the years of my life, in all the struggles in which I have been engaged with gentlemen on the other side of the House, I am not conscious that I ever deliberately used an offensive word towards any man or towards any class. I never sought a fight, but I was never afraid of a fight. Whenever I had to fight, I think it will be admitted by friend and foe that I always fought with fair weapons. I have been told to-day on the floor of this House twice that when I used the word "foreigner" there was in my heart a sinister motive, there was in my heart a feeling which found expression. Sir, I have only this to say. I disdain to make reply to such an insinuation. If sixty years of what I believe to be after all an honourable life, a life which has certainly been one of loyal devotion to British institutions, is not a sufficient answer to such an insinuation, I will not attempt to make an answer. I have been told in the press, not in this House, that the word which I substituted for the word I used, the word "stranger," which I substituted, was just as offensive and insulting as the other. Well, Sir, I do not pretend to be a master of the

English language, but I do claim, without I think undue boasting, to have some knowledge of it. When I saw in the press that the word "stranger" which I had applied to Lord Dundonald was offensive and insulting, I must confess that I was surprised, and I proceeded to brush up my literature; I went to the sources. I went to the dictionary as the first source, I went to the latest dictionary, the Standard, to find the definition of the word "stranger." Like many other words in the English language, like many other words in the French language, like many other words in the Latin language, and probably in all the languages, this word has more than one signification. Here they are:

Stranger.—1. One who is not an acquaintance; a person unknown; as, I was accosted by a stranger. 2. One not a member of the household; a visitor; guest; as, children should not talk when strangers are at the table. 3. A person coming from another country or a distant region; a foreigner; also, a person coming from another place, though in the same country; as he had the air of a stranger; a stranger in a strange land. 4. One unacquainted or unfamiliar with something specified; one not versed or experienced; one entally or spiritually remote; with to, as, he is a stranger to learning and culture. 5. Law. Any person who is neither a party to a transaction nor privy to it.

The Standard Dictionary quotes General Grant, speaking of his appointment to the army of the Potomac in the spring of 1864, saying:

I was a stranger to most of the army of the Potomac; I might say to all except the officers of the regular army who have served in the Mexican war.

Very few researches brought to me an abundance of precedents. In the "Story of the Revolution," Henry Cabot Lodge, the author, speaking of a visit by Washington, coming from Virginia to Massachusetts, says:

The people were evidently with him. They looked upon him as he rode down the lines and were content. The popular movement had found its leader, and the popular instinct recognized him. Yet, Washington came to the men of New England a "stranger."

But, I am accustomed to the loyalty of hon. gentlemen on the other side, of which we have had such evidence to-day. Perhaps they will not accept these American writers. Let us come back then to British authors, and if there is an opinion which ought to be apposite in a matter of this kind, since I am told that I have insulted my fellow countrymen of the Scottish race, let me quote from Sir Walter Scott. We find in his book "The Pirate," that, speaking of a Mr. Mერთոմ, an Englishman who was visiting the Shetland Islands, he says:

No one asked him whence he came, where he was going, what was his purpose in visiting so remote a corner of the empire, or what was likely to be the term of his stay. He arrived a perfect stranger, yet was instantly overpowered by a succession of invitations.

But, that is not all. Let us come nearer to home. I have here in my hands the Life of Lord Lawrence, by Sir Richard Temple. In one of the chapters Sir Richard Temple speaks of the difficulties of every new viceroy sent from England to India. He says:

Usually a new Viceroy and Governor General is, on landing in India, really new in every sense. The European officers, the native princes, chiefs and people, are strangers to him, as he is personally unknown to them.

Here we are very near home when we are in another portion of the British Empire, but let us come to Canada itself. There have been commanding officers of the militia before Lord Dundonald. There was one in 1875. His name was Sir Selby Smith. He wrote a report to the Minister of Militia of that day, which is to be found in a blue-book of 1875, and here it is:

Headquarters, Ottawa, January, 1875.

The Hon. the Minister of Militia and Defence, &c., &c.

Sir,—The Militia Reports which have been presented to Parliament for several years past, have treated exhaustively the question of its organization and development.

It will, therefore, be my duty to confine myself to a few condensed remarks, as to the probable improvement of the Dominion forces.

I approach the subject with hesitation, having so recently arrived for the first time in Canada. I would hardly do so at all, but from the experience gained in my late journey through the provinces of Quebec and Ontario.

To Nova Scotia and New Brunswick I am still a stranger.

THE GAME OF THE TRADUCER.

Now, Sir, it seems to me that my vindication ought to be complete, but I know that to-morrow and the day after to-morrow, and every day and every week and every month, so long as there are some of those instincts which are now prevalent, in order to defeat a fair opponent, I shall be traduced before my fellow-countrymen as having tried to malign and insult them.

Mr. SPROULE. Hear, hear.

Sir WILFRID LAURIER. Yes, there is an echo.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Shame, shame.

Sir WILFRID LAURIER. Let me say this to that hon. gentleman that I am familiar with these appeals to passion and prejudice. In my own province—

Mr. SPROULE. I want to tell the right hon. gentleman that I have never appealed to passion or prejudice—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Sit down.

Mr. SPROULE—to race or religion, and I defy him or any man to say that I have done so, I do not care who he is.

Sir WILFRID LAURIER. In my own province, the allies of the hon. gentleman, those who fight with him, have traduced me for years as a traitor to my race and religion. But, the cry is getting stale, and a new one has to be invented. I have no more fear of this one than I had of the other. My experience has convinced me, my experience has proved to me, that in this good land of Canada, in all sections thereof, in all classes thereof, in all races thereof, in all creeds thereof, appeals to prejudice may create a flurry of excitement, but they will invariably end in producing nothing but contempt in the hearts and minds of an intelligent and honest people.

DUNDONALD'S COUNTERBLAST.

In Toronto, on Saturday, June 18th, Lord Dundonald handed out the following statement, which is printed here as published in the *Toronto Mail and Empire* of June 20th:

Considering it desirable that I should lay before the people of Canada a statement of my position with reference to the difficulty between myself and the Government of Canada, I may say:

I was fully aware of the gravity of the step which I took in making a public protest. I was fully aware that it was an unusual step. I decided to take it because I was convinced that it was the only means of serving the militia of Canada.

I have for two years been General Officer Commanding the militia. I have worked hard to improve the force, to devise a scheme of reorganization, to create and organize numerous departments, and to revise the system of training. I have sedulously avoided taking any part of interest in Canadian politics.

NO DESIRE TO FORCE POLICY.

In all of my work I have endeavoured to keep steadily in view the nature of my post. I have not sought to impose my policy upon the Minister or upon the Cabinet. I have sought to carry out the plans approved by the Government. In the technical administration of the force I held that I should be given a fairly free hand. At the same time I was careful to ascertain and consider the views of all persons interested. I claimed a smaller measure of freedom than is accorded to the general managers of important commercial companies. To make a railway pay it is necessary to leave detail matters of administration largely to the expert official in charge of the system. The managing of a military force is expert work, and the safety of the country is surely as important as the success of a railway. My claim for freedom extended only to the technical side of my work. I had no desire to force my policy upon the Ministry.

CONSTANT INTERFERENCE.

In my efforts I was constantly hampered by interference with that particular part of my work. This interference began very soon after my arrival. It has continued incessantly ever since. Mr. Fisher's interest in the affairs of the 13th Scottish Light Dragoons was simply the final incident in a long list of various phases of obstruction.

My only reason for remaining in my post was to benefit the militia of Canada, but my efforts were so persistently blocked that I came to look upon the case as a hopeless one. I was forced to reflect very seriously upon what I could do to effect my object—the improvement of the militia. It seemed to me that, imperfect as is the training, great as is the lack of armament, numerous as are the faults of detail, there lies behind all these evils a far greater evil—the indifference of the men who govern the country to the welfare of the force.

It seemed to me that the best way to help the militia of Canada was to let daylight into the working of the system.

DUTY TO GIVE WARNING.

I realized, moreover, that the new Militia Bill would soon be discussed in Parliament, and that it was my duty to give a warning of certain dangers before it was too late.

I might have lodged an official protest with the Government. I cannot see that this would have been of any avail. It would have been simply one more document in a pigeon hole.

A course offering many attractions was to resign and issue a public statement giving my reasons. So far as I personally was concerned, it would have been by far the easier and more pleasant course. The objection was that by so doing I would give neither the Government nor the people of Canada any real opportunity to pass judgment upon the matter brought to their attention. My protest would have been made, it is true, but not in a manner that would have attracted attention to the evil.

It seemed better to make a public protest, and to leave with the Government the option of heeding it, or of upholding the system which is destructive to the efficiency of the national defence.

I was in this frame of mind when Mr. Fisher's interference with the 13th Scottish Light Dragoons came to a head. I precipitated my resolution to speak out, no matter what the consequences.

I may now pass from the general aspect of the matter to a few particular instances, where not I but Canada, has suffered from autocratic and unusual interference with the machinery which I was supposed to control.

REPORT MUTILATED AND SUPPRESSED.

One extremely serious case of interference was the suppression of the im-

portant parts of my first annual report on the militia. After studying the situation with great care, I came to certain conclusions, and thought out certain plans. For convenience of reference I divided my report for the year 1902 into two halves. Part 1 was a simply diary of events. Part 2 contained my description of the condition of the militia, and an outline of a comprehensive scheme for reorganizing the force upon lines suitable to the country. This part was fully intended by me for publication. It contained nothing that could be described as a military secret. It covered matter such as is constantly made public in Great Britain and the United States. In my judgment it was information as to the actual condition and possibilities of the militia which it was desirable for the people of Canada to know.

SIR F. BORDEN'S CONDUCT.

This part of the report Sir Frederick Borden suppressed against my protest. In the House of Commons at various times he described this part of the report as "private," "confidential," and "secret." It was marked neither "private," "confidential" or "secret." When the Minister made these statements he had been explicitly informed by me that I desired its publication. He went so far on one occasion as to compare the report to the secret report on Canadian defence. With that report my report had no analogy.

EMBARRASSING TO SIR FREDERICK.

When I presented my report for 1903, Sir Frederick Borden told me that certain portions were too strong, and might embarrass him. I modified it, and again sent it in. Without further reference to me he struck out whole pages and separate paragraphs, all of which I had intended should be made public. Among the portions eliminated were references to the condition of the permanent corps—which I pronounced in many respects, unsatisfactory.

Last year, for instance, the permanent corps, with an establishment of 995, were 207 under strength, had 277 enlistments, 154 desertions. The two small instructional batteries at Kingston were practically reduced to one. The dissatisfaction in the permanent corps, and its urgent requirements, had been pointed out by me to the Minister ever since I came to the country.

A more recent instance occurred in connection with the organization of the ordinal corps. The establishment of this corps was fixed at a colonel, a second in command—with the rank of lieutenant-colonel—and three lieutenant-colonels. This was a larger establishment than I would have recommended had I been unhampered; but Sir Frederick Borden was anxious to have a number of senior and highly-paid posts, and the scheme which he desired was carried out.

SUPERFLUITY OF COLONELS.

Soon after this I went to the North-west. As soon as I had left Ottawa, the Minister of Militia ordered the Adjutant-General to prepare an order increasing the number of lieutenant-colonels to five, thus giving seven officers the rank of lieutenant-colonel and upwards to a corps of about 100 men. In this connection it must be remembered that the most elementary requirements of the militia were neglected for want of money.

The case of Col. Gregory, of the 2nd Dragoons, has been placed before the public. The excellent work done by him during his command showed itself in the fine state into which he had brought his regiment. I was anxious, for the sake of the regiment, for reasons into which I need not go, to extend his command for another year. Recently Major Glasgow was gazetted second in command. Immediately afterwards the Minister of Militia sent me a short minute to say that he did not desire Col. Gregory's command extended for another year. This was a most unusual procedure for a Minister to adopt, as it was entirely within the scope of my duty to recommend to Sir Frederick Borden what I considered best

in the interest of the 2nd Dragoons, from a military point of view. The action taken by him certainly was not conducive to the interests of the regiment.

DIFFICULT TO GET OFFICERS.

It is, perhaps, here necessary to say how difficult it is to get qualified officers for the militia. This difficulty was accentuated in the comparatively small area of the Eastern Townships, where the number of cavalry officers had been increased from 26 to 192, and the number of squadrons from four to 20, since May, 1903. The only possible way to get the new corps officered was to get local support, and trust the opinion of the commanding officer entrusted with the duty of raising the regiment.

The whole details of the interference with the officers entrusted by me with the duty of organizing the 13th Scottish Light Dragoons have already been made public.

That Mr. Fisher's motives were political he himself admitted in his second speech in the House of Commons, on June 10th. This admission, I may observe, was singularly at variance with his earlier speech on the same day. In that speech, which was a prepared statement, he distinctly stated that his objections to Dr. Pickel were of a military nature, and that his interference was not due to political motives.

A PECULIAR COINCIDENCE.

I may also note the peculiar coincidence by which Mr. Fisher was Acting Minister of Militia on the very day on which this case came up. I do not remember any previous instance of his acting for the Minister of Militia. The case of the 13th Scottish Light Dragoons was pending. On the 18th of May the Minister struck out from the *Gazette* the list of names submitted to him by me, on the ground that further consideration was needed. On the very next day that further consideration was given—by the very man whom Sir Frederick Borden knew to be pressing to have the *Gazette* altered in the direction of his own wishes. The effect of Sir Frederick Borden's unusual step in asking Mr. Fisher to act for him was to make the strong opponent of Dr. Pickel the arbiter by whose decision the Council was to be guided.

It has been said that my proper course, on the matter coming up before Parliament, was to send a statement of facts to the Minister of Militia, and not to an Opposition member of Parliament.

Although statements condemning my course were being prepared to be read in the House, I received no intimation from Sir Frederick Borden that this was being done, and no invitation to prepare a memorandum setting forth the facts as far as I knew them. All that I received from Sir Frederick Borden was a request to know whether a paragraph in a newspaper represented what I had said in Montreal.

THE LETTER TO COL. HUGHES.

Had I volunteered such a statement, I had no assurance that the Minister of Militia would read it to the House. On the other hand, Col. Hughes, M.P., a brother officer, and a member of the headquarters staff, asked me for information on the subject. I do not think that I did wrong in complying. But for my doing so, a one-sided version would have gone uncorrected to the country, which, half an hour afterwards, was universally seen to be untrue. I took pains to place a copy of my memorandum in the hands of Sir Frederick Borden, by the same messenger who gave it to Col. Hughes.

These few instances which I have quoted are sufficient to show how my reports have been suppressed or manipulated, how my hands have been crippled in my endeavours to promote the efficiency of the militia.

Having dealt with matters appertaining to my administrative duties, I desire

here to place on record the fact that, in my opinion, much injury has been done to the militia by want of sympathy with its improvement. I will instance here the educational scheme for the promotion of officers and non-commissioned officers. One has but to turn to the pages of the militia list to see the vast number of names of officers who are professionally unqualified. The training ground necessary to qualify these officers, on a scheme prepared by me and approved of by Council, could have been provided for a comparatively trifling sum of money. An adequate artillery range is urgently required. A recommendation by me that local camps be provided suitable to modern conditions of war training was struck out of my second annual report, though it is notorious to every thinking militia officer that several of these camps are urgently required.

SEPTEMBER COURSES REFUSED.

There being no central camp this year, I applied, on the 23rd of May, to be permitted to hold this September two short courses of instruction, accompanied by staff rides, for a limited number of field officers. This I hoped would in some slight measure qualify urgent cases requiring promotion. My recommendation was rejected by Sir Frederick Borden, no reason being given.

One of my plans for the improvement of the militia has been the issue of large illustrated placards for their instruction. Recently I desired to bring these up to date, according to the latest ideas. Though I had got the new plates and letter-press prepared ready for the printers, my application to have them printed was returned, endorsed "Postponed." No reason accompanied this ruling.

A FOOL'S PARADISE.

It may be a matter of indifference to some whether the militia lacks guns, rifles, ammunition, equipment, and all that is necessary to make a fighting force efficient. It may be a matter of indifference to some whether the great Northwest, with its splendid fighting material, be left in a defenceless state, and without a gun, with patriotic officers to organize urgently-needed corps ignored. Above all, it may be a matter of indifference to some whether other considerations beside military considerations influence the choice and advancement of the military leaders of the people. But as I am now free to speak more openly on matters I have often referred to in public, I desire here emphatically to warn the people of Canada that though they may be indebted for the integrity of their territory, and, indeed, their national existence, to the forbearance of others, they are, as regards their preparedness for war and their state of readiness to successfully resist aggression, living in a fool's paradise.

A FEW WORDS OF FAREWELL.

I take leave of the Canadian militia with great regret.

My relations with the officers and men of the force have been exceedingly pleasant.

My observations of the force have confirmed the high regard which I formed in South Africa of the soldierly qualities of the Canadians.

From my brother officers and fellow-soldiers of the rank and file, I have received loyal and ungrudging support, which I can never forget.

Had I been able to help to place these troops of such fine natural qualities in that thorough state of preparedness which is their due, and which the nation desires, it would have been an achievement of which I should ever have been proud.

As matters have turned out, I can only hope that my protest may have some weight in lessening the unfair restrictions under which they labor. The circumstances of my dismissal make it impossible for me to issue a farewell order. I can bid them good-bye only in this informal manner.

DUNDONALD.

What the Imperial Parliament Says of Dundonald and the Canadian Opposition.

A SPEECH BY HON. W. S. FIELDING.

House of Commons Debates, July 20, 1904.

Hon. W. S. FIELDING (Minister of Finance). Will you allow me a word? In view of the somewhat violent and abusive attack which has been made from the other side on the British Government, I think it is desirable—

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. FIELDING. I think it is desirable that a word or two should be said on that question. There are many matters in which the Canadian Government and the Canadian Parliament would naturally desire the co-operation and assistance of the Government of the mother country, and in all such cases we would naturally appeal to that Government for aid and assistance. But there are other matters in which no such aid is needed, and this unhappy Dundonald business was one of that kind. Mr. Arnold-Foster very correctly stated—and it is, perhaps, the point of his observations which we appreciate most—that this is a matter in which the Canadian Government have shown that they were well able to deal with the situation themselves. It was stated correctly by Mr. Arnold-Foster that this Government had made no protest whatever with regard to Lord Dundonald. We have not felt called upon to make any such protest. Lord Dundonald was an official of the Canadian Government when he made what I regard as an unfortunate mistake, a mistake which many a brave soldier makes when he comes to deal with civil affairs. We felt that we had to deal with that question as between the Canadian Government and one of its public officials. It is not to be supposed for a moment that any Canadian official, a servant of the Government—I do not use the word in an offensive sense, because each one of us is a servant, using the word in its proper sense—can be permitted to go out and make public attacks upon the Ministry of the day without being rebuked or dismissed. It is not necessary to discuss what had happened prior to that. It was enough to know that a servant of the Government of Canada had made the grave mistake of making an attack upon the Ministers who were his superiors in power. It was necessary for the vindication of our self-respect, it was necessary for the vindication of the principles of responsible government, it was necessary for the vindication of all that Canadians have valued in their struggles for self-government, that the right of the responsible Ministers of the day should be asserted, and there seemed to be no other way of asserting this right than by dismissing this eminent and distinguished officer. That being the case, we did not feel it necessary to make any protest as to his further action; but, nevertheless, we appreciate in the highest degree the manner in which that question was dealt with yesterday in the Imperial Parliament. The statement that was made in the Imperial Parliament, that Lord Dundonald was being exploited for the benefit of a political party in this country is unhappily too true. Whatever motives Lord Dundonald may have in the matter, and I will not attempt to question his motives for a moment, we all know that gentlemen politically opposed to the Government of the day have seized upon this question in the hope that they may turn it to political advantage. They have been endeavouring to beguile some Liberals into a participation in the movement, but I venture to believe that after the experience that has been had in the city of Toronto no other example of that kind will be given. I therefore desire to say that I endorse emphatically the statement that the Dundonald question was being exploited for the advantage of a political party, and that in that respect, whether willing or not, Lord Dundonald was being used as an instrument in a movement not calculated to advance the best possible relations between the civil and military authori-

ties, or between the Imperial and Colonial Governments. While we made no representations on the subject, we rejoice to know that the Secretary for War, Mr. Arnold-Foster, Mr. Winston Churchill, Mr. Lloyd George, whom, notwithstanding the reference of my hon. friend from Victoria (Mr. Sam. Hughes), I am bound to speak of as one of the most distinguished members of the Imperial Parliament, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and all the members of Parliament who spoke on this question in the great House of Commons of England, recognize and appreciate the position of Canada, that they recognize that this is a purely Canadian question, that they recognize that the Canadian Government and the Canadian Parliament are the proper people to deal with the question, and in their intimation to Lord Dundonald, a distinguished soldier, that it was not desirable that he should participate in these party conflicts, they have taken a step which again proves that the mother country can be relied upon at all times to uphold and to appreciate the principles of responsible government which we Canadians fought for many years ago.

How a Tory Government Exploited the Militia of Canada for Party Ends.

From the Montreal Witness.

The discussion that has been going on over the Dundonald incident would lead people not conversant with Canadian party affairs to suppose that this is the first time that politics have had a sinister influence in militia management. As a matter of fact, there never was a time, no matter which party was in power, when politics was not the bane of the force. The cry of disloyalty raised against the old Reform party of Canada, previous to Confederation, had the effect of making the embodied militia almost exclusively Tory, and when the late John Sandfield Macdonald attempted to reorganize the system by a new Militia Bill, he was defeated. After Confederation, Sir George Cartier chose the portfolio of Militia and Defence, as the next most important to that of Justice, which Sir John Macdonald had selected for himself. Col. Macdougall, afterwards General Sir Patrick Macdougall, then commanding the militia, prepared a bill which he believed would meet all the requirements of the country, and submitted it to the Government. It was a purely military measure, predicated on lines similar to those indicated by Lord Dundonald in his reports. But it did not suit Sir George Cartier, who drew up a bill of his own, which he carried through Parliament. This is the Militia Act in force down to the present session, though amended in some of its clauses at various times. In one of its prominent features, that having reference to the reserve militia, this Act had a distinct political party purpose. This was clearly shown when the officers of the reserve, which included the whole male population between the ages of sixteen and sixty years, came to be gazetted. Each county in all the provinces was created a regimental district, also the cities and towns into one or more, according to population.

Each township, parish and city ward was made a company district. This gave the Minister of Militia power to appoint all the officers of this reserve army. It was only an army on paper, of course, but it conferred rank and titles, along with certain emoluments in case enrollment should be ordered. How did Sir George Cartier proceed in the selection of these officers? Just the same as in any other matter of Government patronage. Every member of Parliament supporting the Ministry nominated the regimental and company officers, and they were gazetted. For months the *Canada Gazette* contained pages of these names, almost every one of which designated a supporter of the Conservative party. There never were so

many colonels in Parliament before or since, for many members appointed themselves colonels of the reserve militia. The selection of officers in counties and in city ridings represented by Liberals was, of course, left to the defeated Government candidate, the same as in other matters of patronage. All this cost a lot of money, so much, in fact, that, after the first gazetting, no more was ever heard of the reserve militia. It sank into innocuous desuetude. Vacancies, when they occurred, were never filled up. But the plan served its purpose, a party purpose, for nothing ever came of it, except that it strengthened the party in power for a time, since the heeled, if they got nothing else, had military titles, and were able to hold the rank and wear the uniform of officers.

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