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THE

Prime Minister's Offence

ELECTORAL DEBAUCHERY OVERSEAS

His Majesty's
Honor
and Dignity
at Issue

Imperial Honors for
Chief Participant
— on the —
Premier's Request

What will His Excellency Do?

SPEECH DELIVERED BY
W. T. R. PRESTON
at Peterboro, Ont., June 21st, 1919

FROM A CONSERVATIVE NEWSPAPER.

The following editorial appeared in the *Peterboro Review*, the most prominent and influential Conservative newspaper in Central Ontario, June 23rd, 1919:—

Mr. W. T. R. Preston, organizer for the Liberal party, was the chief speaker at the meeting of the Liberals here Saturday afternoon. Governments have been arraigned before by party speakers, and all due allowance is made for their charges, but no man, either in public or private, brought such serious accusations against an Administration as Mr. Preston did in his address here Saturday. He speaks not from hearsay. He is not relaying rumors, but bases his charges on what he actually saw and heard as an official of the Opposition sent to Europe to look after the interests of his party when the soldiers' vote was taken during the election of 1917. His address here contained practically the same charges that were brought in the House early last year and which were based on information furnished by Mr. Preston—charges which the Government at that time was pleased to ignore.

It is indeed a serious situation. If Mr. Preston's charges are true, the guilty, even those in highest place, should not be tolerated for a moment. They are alike a disgrace to public life and to humanity. Jails and penitentiaries are yawning for such miscreants, and the blood of the martyred heroes—the young men of Canada whom the men in authority wantonly sent to their graves—cries out for vengeance.

If Mr. Preston's charges are false, if they are even capable of modification, then the place for him is in jail instead of on a public platform. He admits this much himself, and, declaring his ability to produce evidence in support of everything he says, defies the accused to do their worst. Openly and apparently unafraid, he throws down the gauntlet.

If officers of the Canadian army lent themselves to more than shady political chicanery in order to induce the soldiers to vote for the party in power, if by way of punishment to do so they sent these young men to the trenches, which so often meant going to their graves; if they favored those who did their will by keeping them in safety in England, if in all this they were not only encouraged but actually inspired by the Government at home—then the people of Canada are entitled to the facts.

The people of Canada have a right to know, too, if Canadian officers were decorated with medals and crosses supposed to be the insignia of honorable military service, for proficiency in political intrigue alone.

If upwards of thirty thousand Canadian troops were kept manoeuvring on the hills of Surrey to furnish a moving picture concern with a representation of the battle of Vimy Ridge while their less favored comrades were falling by the hundreds in France, let the truth be made known.

Mr. Preston was not alone in his charges. Capt. C. R. Widdifield, who presided at the meeting Saturday, and who will not be accused by those who know him of sensationalism, paved the way and prepared the audience in a measure for what was to follow when he outlined the same charges in introducing the speaker. Capt. Widdifield is a veteran who has seen honorable service. He was in Europe, too, during the election of 1917, and for that reason is entitled to having every consideration shown for what he says.

National honor is of more moment than political gain. No party should be allowed to wade through blood and slaughter to power or to raise itself by making stepping-stones of the thousands of graves of Canadians in Flanders.

Speech

Delivered by

W. T. R. PRESTON

At Peterboro, Ont., June 21st, 1919

A convention of the Liberals of West Peterboro was held in the city of Peterboro on the afternoon of Saturday, June 21st, for the purpose of selecting delegates to the National Liberal Convention at Ottawa in August, and also to the Ontario Provincial Convention summoned to meet in Toronto on the 25th and 26th of June. The meeting was presided over by Captain C. R. Widdifield, who, after a few preliminary remarks upon the reprehensible means that were adopted by the Union Government to carry the last election which came under his personal observation while serving in the forces overseas, called on Mr. W. T. R. Preston, of Port Hope, president of the County of Durham Liberal Association, to address the meeting.

Mr. Preston expressed the pleasure he experienced in being present at a gathering of the stalwart Liberals of West Peterboro, and continued: "I am here not so much to make what might be ordinarily called a speech, as to have a serious, quiet, thoughtful talk upon public questions, and on the extraordinary economic situation in Canada at the present moment. A spirit of unrest is abroad, more serious in its character and more momentous in its possibilities than this country has ever had to face, not even excepting the conditions prevailing prior to the rebellion of 1837. One does not want to flippantly use the term revolution for the purpose of adding to the prevailing uneasiness, but this term is finding expression in press, pulpit and Parliament. It is revolution, as was the rebellion led by McKenzie, Lount and Papineau in '37, but not against the Crown. It is an uprising against the autocratic oligarchy—the political dishonesty—now in office at Ottawa. (Hear, hear.) Sir Robert Borden and his colleagues are fully aware that they have completely lost the confidence of this country. The Government is illegally withholding the issue of the writs for unrepresented constituencies extending from Saskatchewan to Prince Edward Island, with the aid of a subservient and fraudulently elected Speaker, recognizing the humiliating result which is inevitable to the Government candidates. No such direct conflict with the traditions of responsible government has been witnessed before in the British Empire. With this knowledge in the public mind, it is not surprising that serious upheavals are threatened in all the great centres of population. (Hear, hear.)

THE LUXURY OF UNION GOVERNMENT.

And this is less to be wondered at when one reviews the history of the so-called Union Government, and the disreputable means that were adopted in the campaign of 1917 to secure their retention of power. The first Borden Cabinet was doomed. The scandals that accumulated in those six years of office left them without a shred of public confidence. (Hear, hear.) An impartial enquiry into their mal-administration would now consign half of them to political oblivion, if not worse. To save their necks they dishonestly sounded the slogan, "Win the War," waved the flag and appealed to the patriotism of the people. The public partially fell into the shamefully prepared trap, as they now know to their cost, resulting in the public Treasury being robbed of enormous sums, hun-

dreds of millions being added to the national debt in order that few more millionaires should be created, and the useless sacrifice of Canadian lives. This is part of the cost of Union Government. (Hear, hear.)

The elections of December, 1917, could not have been carried but for the most colossal frauds ever perpetrated throughout the civilized world. I shall speak of some of the incidents in this notorious saturnalia of electoral debauchery which came under my personal observation overseas, and possibly about other infamies, which I am prepared to prove under oath to the satisfaction of any competent tribunal.

TRUSTING AN OFFICER'S HONOR.

Very early in the election campaign I interviewed Gen. Sir Richard Turner, V.C., at Argyle House, commander of the Canadian forces. He assured me that I should have, as representing Sir Wilfrid Laurier, every facility which the Government representative would have in the campaign, but he said that army discipline would not allow political meetings, nor the distribution of political literature, nor a political propaganda, except that the mails could be used. In answer to my special enquiry he assured me that there would be no interference in that branch of the army with communications to the soldiers. It was natural that I should accept the word of such a highly placed and honored Canadian officer.

PRUSSIAN POST OFFICE METHODS.

Subsequently I found Tory literature being distributed by commanding officers, shamefully misrepresenting the attitude of Sir Wilfrid Laurier towards the war. I received a confidential letter from one of the staff officers at Argyle House informing me that this literature was being sent out direct from Headquarters to the camps. I came into the possession of a letter from Gen. Embury, one of the Tory political promotions, instructing the officers how the literature "should be distributed to the men and made available for their perusal." At the same time that this was being done, men who were distributing literature for us **outside the boundaries of the camps** were being arrested by Canadian military police. Do you wonder that my faith in the word of honor of certain Canadian officers of exalted rank is somewhat shattered? (Hear, hear.)

But that was not all. Subsequently I learned that thousands of letters which I had mailed to soldiers in England and France in the latter part of November and early in December had been held up in the Canadian Army Post Office in London until after the elections. In replying to Mr. Copp, M.P., when this charge was made at Ottawa, the Secretary of State, Hon. Mr. Burrell, waxed indignant that such a charge should be made against the honesty of the British Post Office system. He knows that all mail matter for Canadian soldiers goes from the British Post Office direct to the Canadian Branch for distribution, so that his assumed indignation is the rankest hypocrisy. Envelopes, through the death of the soldiers to whom they were addressed, came back to me long afterwards through the British Dead Letter Office, showing the date of mailing in London, and in every case also showing the date of the arrival of the letters at the Canadian base post offices long subsequent to the date of the elections. I have yet to come across an honest Canadian elector who justifies this flagrant violation of the regulations governing His Majesty's mails. (Applause.) Canadian officers guilty of this offence were found later on to have travelled much further down the road of moral turpitude.

PERJURY IN HIGH PLACES.

Much has been said about "The War Times Election Act," fittingly fathered by Hon. Arthur Meighen. Infamous as it was in its conception, worthy of its parentage, and of Mr. W. F. O'Connor, who drafted it, it was yet capable of honest administration. The extensive opening for the outrageous frauds that were committed under the direction of the Ottawa Cabinet was only possible by the most wholesale, deliberate and systematic perjury on the part of responsible officers in the Canadian overseas forces. The extent of this criminal perjury was truly appalling. Not only perjury, but subornation of perjury—compelling others to blast their souls with the foulest crime, except the taking of human life, of which humanity is capable, and from which humanity the world over, whether pagan, Mohammedan or Christian, shrinks with horror. (Hear, hear.) The first thing we teach a child is truthfulness, as it is the final aspiration of manhood. It was into this awful crime of wholesale perjury that the organization for electoral frauds by the Ottawa Cabinet arranged to plunge so many of the Canadian officers.

SOLEMN OATHS OF OFFICE.

The law provides that every official acting under this Act "shall be sworn to the faithful performance of his duties." This oath had to be sworn and subscribed to before "an official authorized to administer oaths under the laws of the country where such duties are to be performed." And the oath contains the following concluding words: "And that I will act **faithfully** in that capacity, without partiality, fear, favor or affection. So help me God." The manner of voting outside Canada provided that "The voter shall answer under oath, before the Deputy Presiding Officer, the questions set forth in the certificate, which is form B in the schedule." Only British subjects could vote, **only at their place of residence**—(1st) Six months prior to enlistment, and (2nd) If no Canadian residence immediately previous to enlistment, then **only** at such other place as there had been residence some other time. Then if they had never resided in Canada, but were British subjects and enlisted in the Canadian forces, they were entitled to name a constituency where their ballots could be placed. Of the last named there were less than 500 in the overseas forces who voted.

COVERING FRAUDS BY BOGUS SCRUTINEERS.

The Act made the usual provision for the appointment of scrutineers for each party. In counting the ballots I was puzzled to find so many places where "Opposition scrutineers" had been acting to whom I had not given authority. The problem was solved when I discovered that scrutineers holding authority from Lieut.-Col. A. T. Thompson, the Government scrutineer, had been sworn in as official representatives of the Opposition. I have here the following two original authorities:—

"Appointment of Deputy Scrutineer.

"By virtue of the powers vested in me by the Military Voters' Act, 1917, I hereby appoint 400,287, Sergt. C. L. Grannacome, C. A. M. G., as my deputy.

"A. T. THOMPSON, LT.-COL., Scrutineer."

"Appointment of Deputy Scrutineer.

"By virtue of the powers vested in me by the Military Voters' Act, 1917, I hereby appoint Hy. Stevens, Corporal, as my deputy.

"A. T. THOMPSON, LT.-COL., Scrutineer."

These two authorities were presented to Major P. Burnett at the Red Cross Hospital, Buxton, and one of the appointees was sworn in as Opposition and the other as Government scrutineer, as shown by the original document in my hands:—

“I, the undersigned, Harry Stevens, Cpl., a Deputy Scrutineer or Military Elector (as the case may be), under the Military Voters’ Act, 1917, representing the **Opposition** party, do swear that I will keep secret the votes cast by any of the voters at the polling stations at which I acted as such representative. So help me God.

“Sworn before me at Buxton, Derbyshire, this 29th day of November, 1917.

“PHILIP BURNETT,”

“Deputy Presiding Officer.”

“I, the undersigned, C. L. Grannacome, Sergt., C. A. M. G., a Deputy Scrutineer or Military Elector (as the case may be), under the Military Voters’ Act, 1917, representing the **Unionist** party, do swear that I will keep secret the votes cast by any of the voters at the polling stations at which I acted as such representative. So help me God.

“Sworn before me at Buxton, Derbyshire, this 29th day of November, 1917.

“PHILIP BURNETT,”

“Deputy Presiding Officer.”

And in order that there may be no doubt about Philip Burnett’s authority and perjury and subornation of perjury I will read his oath of office, the original of which I hold:—

“I, Philip Burnett, Major, C. A. M. G., appointed a Deputy Presiding Officer under the provisions of the Military Service Act, 1917, swear that I will act **faithfully** in that capacity, without partiality, fear, favor or affection. So help me God.

(Sgd.) “PHILIP BURNETT.”

“Sworn (or affirmed) before me at London, this 19th day of November, 1917.

“J. HILL, MAJOR, C. A. M. C.,

“Presiding Officer.”

This is only one of other cases of the kind, the original documents being available. Evidence was secured later that Philip Burnett’s rascalities were of the most outrageous character, and became a subject of common notoriety in Buxton. That every kind of election fraud was committed at that polling subdivision is not surprising. The carefully thought out plan of being able to say that the Opposition had a scrutineer there failed the moment I came into possession of the original documents proving that the Opposition scrutineer was an appointee of the Government. The crime needs no comment other than to say that it is worthy of the head of the department having charge of the election, Hon. Mr. Burrell, His Majesty’s Secretary of State for Canada.

CABINET RESPONSIBILITY FOR FRAUDS.

Long before the election campaign opened the Government had arranged to manipulate the soldiers’ vote as the basis for their extensive frauds. It was intended to take votes from constituencies where it was

thought they could be spared and illegally allocate them to seats where victory was not assured. By taking a certain proportion from each battalion to be used in this way, it was believed that Sir Wilfrid Laurier would be left without an English-speaking representative in the House of Commons. To attain this end Lieut.-Col. Parsons was attached to Brig.-Gen. Garnet Hughes' staff at Witley and Major Arthur to Sir Arthur Currie's headquarters in France. In a previous speech I explained the course that was adopted at Witley. Brig.-Gen. Hughes was promised in letters by the Cabinet at Ottawa that if his division supported the Government it would be sent to France as a unit. This intimation General Hughes conveyed to the officers commanding the battalions. Complete arrangements were made for an overwhelming fraudulent vote by the election committee of officers presided over by Lieut.-Col. Parsons.

DEAD MEN TELL NO TALES.

At one of the later meetings of the committee an officer manifested some nervousness at the appalling character of the proposed frauds, expressing the fear of an exposure through the extensive ramifications of the frauds in the rank and file of the regiments. A prominent lieutenant-colonel from Western Ontario vouchsafed to quiet these fears by exhibiting a heartlessness that might well shame our lowest conception of Satan himself by saying: "Keep your head; half the evidence will be buried in Flanders long before an investigation can be held." (Sensation.) Good heavens! Is it to this depth of hellish degradation that Union Government has brought part of the manhood of this country? Canadian officers who were keeping themselves safe from German shot and shell could thus coldly calculate upon the death of thousands of Canadian lads as security against their villainy being discovered. If the honest manhood of this country is not aroused to demand a full enquiry and to punish with the utmost severity everyone implicated in this outrageous work, I shall utterly despair of the future of my country. (Applause.)

BURYING THE HONEST VOTE.

In South Bruce nearly three times the number of military votes were recorded than enlistments from the constituency. In the Yukon there were double the number. In Chambley-Vercheres two and a half times the number. In Nipissing three times as many as were entitled to vote. In Algoma East double the number. In Prince Edward (Ont.) seven times the numbers of Forestry that came from the county. In Ottawa far more than enough to defeat Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Details of this character could be given until one would be lost in a maze of figures. This work was carried on everywhere. A British aviation officer attached to the Canadian camps in Texas told me that there they "first voted everything that they could put pants on." The commanding officers has lists of counties to which a stated number of votes had to be allotted.

VOTING FLANDERS FIELDS.

Corroborative evidence of the most startling character of the extent of these frauds is continually coming to hand. Not satisfied with stuffing the ballot boxes with the votes of men who had long returned to Canada, like the case of Major Logan of Niagara Falls, whose commanding officer in England personated him, but the tombstones of the honored dead in Flanders were searched for names with which to load the poll books with voters for Borden and his associate criminals. For the members of a

Government who have profited by this sacrilege to talk of their "loyalty and patriotism" is to insult in the foulest manner all that true loyalty and true patriotism hold dear. (Hear, hear.)

EVEN THE WOUNDED PERSECUTED.

One cannot but believe that the numerical advantages to the Government from the wholesale frauds, duplicate voting, repeating, ballot stuffing, furnishing soldiers in London with names upon which to vote at every London polling booth, forgery, perjury, and compelling English charwomen and servants in the hospitals to vote, aggregating tens of thousands of illegal votes, that the soldiers in the hospitals would have been allowed to vote freely. But they were not. In the Canadian hospitals, notably Buxton, Guildford, Hants, Bushey Park and Orpington, the wounded were threatened with early return to the trenches, with loss or unfair reduction of pensions, unless they voted for the Government. In respect to the latter I have the voluntary signed evidence of returned soldiers. Men who were recommended for six months' hospital treatment were discharged from hospital with a small percentage of disability, such as entitled an almost disabled man to a pension of eight dollars a week. And this treatment was received solely because they refused to vote for the Union Government. If it is possible to conceive of any greater cruelty than this, short of another term in the trenches for wounded men, I would like to know where to find it. The only record in history approaching such criminal brutality are to be found in the Spanish religious persecutions in the sixteenth century, or in the treatment of British prisoners by the Huns. (Hear, hear.) Everyone, however remotely connected with this damnable work, must be punished to the extreme limit permitted by the civilization of the nineteenth century. (Applause.) We will properly be characterized as craven cowards if in the safety and confidence of our own liberty we fail in our determination to see this through. (Applause.)

WHERE ROWELL GOT THE DOUBLE CROSS.

Documentary evidence establishes the fact that the list of constituencies where these frauds were to be perpetrated was prepared by His Excellency's responsible advisers, and that the present Minister of Railways, Hon. J. D. Reid, was recognized by the Prime Minister as being in charge of this work. A well-known Liberal-Unionist and highly respectable Toronto lawyer brought a list of Liberal-Unionists in the Province to Mr. Rowell, to whose ridings it was desirable that a portion of this proposed fraudulent vote should be allocated. Hon. Mr. Reid promised that it would be done. But when the ballot envelopes were counted it was discovered that the worthy Minister of Railways had given the followers of the President of the Privy Council the double-cross—the votes had gone to Tory-Unionist candidates only and not to Liberal-Unionists. (Laughter.) There was here not even the honor that is prevalent among thieves. (Laughter.) The number of fraudulent votes fixed by letter as necessary in certain ridings was amended by cable. There was a hasty call for double the number for the Prime Minister's seat. Speaker Rhodes implored by cable for further consideration being given to his constituency, and nearly 200 were entered as residents in Cumberland, not one of whom had ever been within 500 miles of Nova Scotia. Maj. H. M. Cherry, of Toronto, whose frauds were evident when the ballot box which he presided over was opened, has impudently boasted since his return home, that he went to Argyle House during the voting to get directions where to allocate the votes each day. In another case an officer had been sent

overseas to see that South Renfrew was made safe for the Government candidate, received a cable from Ottawa: "South Renfrew is all right; transfer votes elsewhere." And the beneficency of this fraud talks with kings and calls the Germans Huns. (Laughter.)

A gallant major from France came to me early in December with a cablegram from one of Mr. N. W. Rowell's most prominent supporters instructing him to see Hector McInnes and get \$600 at once. He did not know the notorious Hector, but he incidentally knew that my name was connected with the elections. I asked him what he wanted Hector McInnes for, and he innocently informed me that he had been written to some time previously about Americans voting in Durham. I suggested quietly that they would have to swear to being British subjects. He assured me that that was easy. As he was going to visit a family in Devon, I advised him to go on with his visit and stay there until he heard from me. Well, he came back to London after the elections. (Laughter.)

BALLOT BOXES TAMPERED WITH.

There were 500,000 ballots printed overseas. According to the vouchers of the Government printer these were all one color. About 200,000 were used. In counting the English ballots we found thousands of ballots of a lighter color. That these were substituted for the original ballots voted for the Opposition or fraudulently added there cannot but be a strong suspicion. In France and England there were 33,000 admittedly fraudulent ballots. It is not an unfair estimate to say that as many more have not yet been discovered, but of which we have indubitable traces. In the 300 English ballot bags there were not more than twenty which showed that the ballots had been inserted in the aperture provided by law. In 250 there was fair ground for claiming that the locks had been opened. In a number of the bags the ballots were so free from folding, or rolled in such large parcels, dated eight and ten days apart, that even the Government scrutineers admitted in writing that the bags had been tampered with. One of these was opened in Lieut.-Col. Purney's presence. The Act provides that such shall not be counted, yet the Government threatened the scrutineers that unless they allocated and counted these bags their allowances would be withdrawn, in which event they would be stranded in London and left to make their own way to Canada as best they could.

QUALIFYING FOR PRISON UNIFORM.

It was the intention of this nefarious organization that every battalion overseas should render not less than 25% of its strength for fraudulent allocation against Liberal candidates. This was eventually carried out in various proportions with more than four-fifths of the regiments, and in not a few cases the percentage far exceeded the estimate. By way of illustration let me give you a few cases out of more than one hundred which are available:—

Deputy Presiding Officer.	Total vote.	Fraudulent.	Percentage Fraudulent.
Lieut.-Col. Grossmith	220	105	.49
Major L. E. Harris	453	220	.49
Captain D. B. Taylor	838	505	.56
Major A. B. Gillies, to Ontario	314	197	.61
Lieut.-Col. W. P. Malone	745	550	.71
Capt. E. A. Mitchell, to Prince Edward County..	222	133	.59
Major D. A. Laurie, to New Brunswick.....	726	529	.72
Lieut.-Col. W. Simpson, to Ontario	575	436	.77
Lieut.-Col. C. S. McPherson, to Ontario.....	323	245	.78

Deputy Presiding Officer.	Total vote.	Fraudulent.	Percentage Fraudulent.
Major L. T. Allen, to Ontario	237	179	.78
Lieut.-Col. C. S. McPherson, to New Brunswick..	192	190	.99½
Lieut. J. A. Hayden	1242	1200	.98½
Lieut. G. J. Corbett, to Nova Scotia.....	118	102	.97½
Major C. M. Roberts—Only 36 knew where they lived!		573	.96
Major C. H. McKenzie—Not one knew his residence!		...	100
Captain W. M. Burke—All to Speaker Rhodes' riding.		631	100
Lieut.-Colonel C. M. R. Graham—Overwhelmingly fraudulent to Sir Thomas White.			

NO KICK FROM SIR THOMAS.

It was this last named officer who calmly and deliberately entered up from the regimental records a huge batch of fraudulent votes to the Finance Minister's constituency, the names running alphabetically from A to H. It will take more than the ordinary faith of Lieut.-Col. Graham's most intimate friends to believe that the men of his battalion accidentally voted in any such order, notwithstanding the fact that the gallant Colonel solemnly took the oath of office as Deputy Presiding Officer that he would "act faithfully in that capacity, without partiality, fear, favor or affection. So help me God." But that was only part of the fraud. A cursory examination of the poll book shows that ballot envelopes were filled in requiring soldiers to swear to residence in that constituency whose residence was elsewhere. And Sir Thomas White, in view of these facts, continues to act as one of His Excellency's advisers.

The ordinary Anglo-Saxon language fails to furnish means to properly characterize the scoundrels who carried out these frauds, more especially when they could not have been done except by each Deputy Returning Officer being guilty over and over again of the terrible offence of perjury. (Hear, hear.)

All the commanding officers had the rosters or lists giving the residence and next of kin of every soldier attached to the battalions. In tens of thousands the answers to the questions which soldiers had to swear to were falsely filled up by the officers, handed to the deputy presiding or returning officer, who, as the men filed in, would say, "You swear this to be correct," and pass on and vote. The men had previously been told by their officers that they must vote for the Government. It was a brave man who could stand up against such influences.

OATH OF OFFICE—THAT'S EASY!

As evidence of the absolute indifference with which officers, who in the ordinary walks of life are probably reputable citizens, shamefully committed perjury in this general conspiracy of fraud, I have a certificate signed by Lieut.-Col. J. G. Glenn and Lieut. Percy R. Law, showing the list of voters in the district under their control, the residences and the constituencies to which each belongs; yet two-thirds were allowed to vote in Prince Edward County, Ont., every one of whom was known to have a residence elsewhere. And the certificate of the holding of the poll concludes with: "Said vote being taken after we the undersigned had been duly sworn in as Deputy Returning Officer and Poll Clerk respectively." The Lieutenant-Colonel gives his own constituency as Saskatoon, but he voted in Prince Edward, as was revealed when the ballots were counted. A few figures illustrative of the manner of distributing the fraudulent votes in England may be interesting:—

	Total vote.	Fraudulent.	Per Cent.
Algoma, East	863	430	.50
Wright	232	180	.80
Picton, N. S.	560	200	.38
Cape Breton	828	500	.60
St. Lawrence and St. George	1191	488	.40
Westmount	1025	330	.30
Brome	273	216	.80
Stanstead	271	156	.59
Kent	633	302	.49
Essex, South	377	234	.65
Middlesex	514	298	.58
Essex, North	827	340	.41
Prince Edward County	942	771	.84

And it is due to this systematic and carefully planned distribution of manufactured and fraudulent voting throughout that the Borden Government owes its existence. (Applause.)

DEATH SENTENCES FOR VOTING.

Fifteen in one Forestry Corps in Windsor Castle Park, under the shadow of the Royal residence, were threatened with transfer to the fighting lines in France unless they voted for the Government. They refused to be coerced, and that night they were sent off. So far as I have been able to find out only two of these are now alive. (A voice, "Horrors.") In another case a father in an Eastern county had two sons at the front. The news that the youngest was dead was such a shock that it killed him. Steps were taken by friends to have the other relieved of military duty so as to take care of an invalid sister at home. The order for the young man's discharge reached him in the trenches. On returning to his base he was asked if he had voted. As he said that he wanted to vote for Laurier, the officer replied: "You will either vote for the Government or return to the trenches, and you know what happened to your brother." (A voice, "Lord! save us.") It is needless to say how he voted. No one of us but would have done the same. Another soldier told me that he had been sent up to the trenches in France and kept there continuously during four reliefs in the hope by his officer that a German shell would reach him. A lieutenant-colonel, a Liberal, and a personal friend of Sir Wilfrid's, excused himself to me for not being willing to take an interest in the elections, because if he did so, "My two boys will be sent to the trenches at once, and if anything happens through my party zeal it will kill my wife." I could only reply: "It is a terrible statement to make, but it is more terrible to think that it may be true." He answered: "It is only too true." There was an only son of a prominent politician overseas. The father was asked to associate himself with the Union Government, but declined. He recently said to a friend of mine: "Had I done so my son would be alive." These are not isolated cases. Corroborative evidence of this awful state of affairs can be had from soldiers from almost every overseas battalion. One of the staff officers at Argyle House, General Headquarters, boasted to three visitors two months after the election that he had personally seen "That every one who voted against the Government was sent into the trenches."

HUMAN LIFE—A POLITICAL PAWN.

The incontrovertible truth is that the Canadian overseas forces was intended to be a political institution from the very beginning. Any one

in London could see the army of officers there, who had no intention whatever of engaging in active service. They were under the protection of friends in Ottawa, with liberty to select a batman or servant, live on the best that Government money could buy, while the less fortunate, in failing to possess "political pull," were sent to France. One is simply astonished beyond expression that officials had the effrontery, or that members of a Government could be so callous, as to play with human life with as little compunction as one has in indulging in a game of checkers. The life of a common soldier seemed of less consequence than that of a dog, so long as a political advantage was apparent. (Hear, hear.)

POLITICAL PULL AND A GERMAN SPY.

Will the authorities explain how it came about that a German spy, the dangerous character of whose liberty on this continent was pointed out by the British Secret Service, and who was convicted and sentenced to imprisonment for three years in a Canadian penitentiary, and who would have been executed had he been captured in Great Britain, but whose release was effected by being exchanged for two Montreal lads, prisoners in Germany, sons of influential supporters of the Ottawa Government. The spy, it is alleged, was allowed to cross to the United States, and the authorities there were not even notified. The possible consequences to the Allied interests by allowing freedom to such a dangerous character are too appalling to contemplate. (Applause.)

HECTOR McINNES, K.C., TRUE TO TYPE.

The overseas directing spirit in the election frauds was Hector McInnes, K.C., of Halifax, whose eminence in his profession may be better appreciated when the statement is made that his name was recently submitted to the Benchers at Osgoode Hall as the chairman of a Committee on Legal Ethics. But some of the Benchers had become wise about the brave Hector's election rascalities overseas, and the proposal was negatived. Hector McInnes' headquarters in London had the direction and control of all the fraudulent voting, ballot stuffing, personations, perjury and forgeries that were brought into play. One of the schemes was to get soldiers to cable to their connections in Canada, the cables being charged to the Government, that they were well, and then this gang would add the words, "Vote for Union Government." In one case they cabled to a mother in Wentworth to that effect, signing the name of her only son who had been killed in action three weeks previously, (A voice, "Shame") and of whose death she had already received official notice.

HECTOR McINNES RIVALLING BOSS TWEED.

Boss Tweed's offences in Tammany Hall, which earned for him ten years in the State prison, were trivial in comparison to Hector McInnes' direction and participation in the overseas election frauds. Such an appalling scale of crime would be regarded as incredible but for the fact that the documents establishing these colossal villainies are in the handwriting of Cabinet Ministers, Hector McInnes and his associates. Such ignominious scoundrelism in elections finds no parallel in the history of time. One such act—not the tens of thousands for which Hon. J. D. Reid, Hector McInnes and their associates are guilty—would consign its perpetrators to prison in any other country in the world. The four British generals who voted themselves and directed thousands of their men to vote, and every other officer or person associated in this work should be made to atone for their acts. No matter whose reputation suffers, what titles

or honors have to be sacrificed, or whose names have to be expunged from the list of Privy Councillors, the day will come when the democracy of this country will see that justice overtakes these criminals. (Applause.)

AN UNSAVORY NAME.

The honest electorate of this country has a score to settle with the notorious Lord Beaverbrook, who was Hector McInnes' coadjutor in London. Beaverbrook has the proud distinction of having had an action at law instituted against him by the late Sir Sandford Fleming for fraud in a well known financial transaction. An eminently respectable Ottawa solicitor acted for Sir Sandford with the full knowledge that owing to legal technicalities the suit could not succeed, and he was also aware of the fact that Beaverbrook dare not go into the witness box. Rather than face an exposure the amount claimed was liquidated by Beaverbrook. This brilliant "high financier" got himself appointed official press correspondent by the Canadian Government—a good "safety first" job, and was thus able to elude the British War Office demands. Later obliging friends at Ottawa appointed him to the War Records Office, so that he could escape the operations of the British Military Service Act. It was this cowardly slacker who inspired the shameful personal campaign in England against Sir Wilfrid Laurier, doing more than any one else to bring the dear Old Chieftain's grey hairs with sorrow to the grave. Time soon triumphantly vindicated Sir Wilfrid's honor and patriotism. The Beaverbrook and Northcliffe attacks might be allowed to pass into oblivion but for the personal interest which these slanderers had in the success of the Union Government. The disclosures, which are inevitable, will in due time give their "patriotism" its proper place in history. (Hear, hear.)

PUNISHMENT OF CRIME.

There is no protection for public interests or national honor where the political criminal is more powerful than the law. There is no security in any land without the certainty of the punishment of law breakers. The law of elections is no exception. Until it has been vindicated the future of the country is at the mercy of any political leaders whose professions are that no offence is wrong so long as it leads to the aggrandizement of their own friends at the public expense. There will always be national debauchery until the reward for corruption in high places becomes too precarious to make it profitable, and the punishment for dishonesty in public life becomes too sure to make it attractive. (Hear, hear.)

HIS EXCELLENCY THE PROTECTOR OF HIS MAJESTY'S DIGNITY.

Up to this historical point this sordid subject is domestic in its character. It is entirely relevant to Canadian politics. From this time on, however, the question enters upon a wider phase, and bears a most intimate relationship to the honor and dignity of the Crown. The Governor-General represents His Majesty the King. He is essentially the guardian of the honor of the Crown, and the Crown is exceedingly sensitive of its honor. The King's honor is a phrase having a most significant meaning. The Duke of Devonshire is fortunate in having an untarnished family tradition associated with the public life of Great Britain for 300 years. For the first time in the history of all branches of the Cavendish family, His Excellency will soon be aware that he has unconsciously failed, through the confidence which he naturally placed in the Prime Minister,

Sir Robert Borden, to protect the honor and dignity of his Sovereign. His solemn oath of office leaves no doubt about his responsibility. Lieut.-Col. Frank A. Reid, Deputy Clerk of the Court-in-Chancery overseas, under instructions from Hector McInnes, K. C., and Hon. J. D. Reid, organized the elaborate system of election frauds in France to which I have already referred. With the approval of Major Hume Cronyn, M.P., and Hector McInnes, K. C., he wrote a letter to the Prime Minister early in May, 1918, explaining the election frauds he had perpetrated in France in order to secure the election of Government candidates, including the Prime Minister himself. He mildly but definitely claimed a substantial recognition for his invaluable services. Sir Robert Borden showed this letter to some of his colleagues, and eventually replied to Lieut.-Col. Reid, reproving him, of course, for presuming to convey such information to him, but in no sense questioning its accuracy. In the closing paragraph of this letter Sir Robert adopted a placatory tone, with a view of preventing publicity by Lieut.-Col. Reid.

BORDEN'S INSULT TO THE KING.

It is only fair to Lieut.-Col. Reid to assume that inasmuch as Hector McInnes, K. C., had shown him the Government's letters and cablegrams giving instructions as to the means to be adopted overseas, he could see no harm in directing Sir Robert's attention to the humble part which he took in carrying out the Government programme.

Time passed and no signs appeared of receiving from the Government the consideration to which he was entitled for services rendered to the Prime Minister and the party in power. Lieut.-Col. Reid got tired. The danger of incriminating documents passing into less considerate and possibly more dangerous hands became imminent. From rumors which reached him Hector McInnes became alarmed and wired Reid to go to Halifax. Ten days or more were occupied in cabling to the Prime Minister in London.

REWARDING FRAUD WITH THE HONOR OF THE CROWN.

Finally, on the authority of the Cabinet, Hector McInnes promised Reid the order of C.M.G. from the Crown, promotion to brigadier-general and a situation in the overseas forces with a sufficient salary to keep up the dignity of the new honors. Lieut.-Col. F. A. Reid sailed on the S.S. Olympia for England, happy as the prospective recipient of these various honors. And Hector McInnes, K. C., went to bed contented, like the spendthrift who paid his debts with a promissory note, thanking Providence that this account with his associate in the frauds was settled. The Prime Minister immediately requested the Governor-General to recommend Reid for a C. M. G., which, being a civil decoration, had to come through the Prime Minister. But on Lieut.-Col. Reid's arrival in London, Gen. Turner would not sanction the promotion to brigadier-general, nor would Sir Edward Kemp appoint Reid to the position that he had been promised by McInnes. But His Majesty granted the C. M. G. "for distinguished services." (Laughter.) According to Lieut.-Col. Reid's own story, he has instituted an action against McInnes for breach of agreement. In the meantime McInnes finds that a promise, endorsed by the Prime Minister, has no negotiable value in meeting Reid's demands.

GREATEST OFFENCE IN COLONIAL HISTORY.

It is impossible to conceive of a greater offence against the honor and dignity of the Crown than the Prime Minister has been guilty of in re-

commending a decoration from the Crown when Sir Robert knew that Lieut.-Col. Reid's only claim was that he had been the leading spirit in violating every law of honor and tradition in wholesale election frauds. (Hear, hear.) Sir Wilfrid Laurier regarded these proceedings as the most serious offence committed in the Colonial history of the Empire. But he did not want the question published until the Prime Minister's return from Europe. What is His Excellency going to do about it? The correspondence showing the request for the recommendation is on the files at the office of His Excellency's secretary in Ottawa.

WILL THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL PROTECT THE KING'S HONOR?

If His Excellency will ask his Prime Minister for Lieut.-Col. F. A. Reid's letter to which I referred a few minutes ago, he will find the most conclusive evidence therein for the reasons which actuated the request for the King's decoration. Should Sir Robert Borden fail to produce his correspondence with Lieut.-Col. F. A. Reid, His Excellency may issue a Royal Commission to enquire into this matter, and he is assured that evidence to substantiate these charges will be forthcoming, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts that have been and are now being made to secure the destruction of the incriminating documents. (Applause.) It is an offence that Reid received the title, but that is infinitesimal in comparison with the Prime Minister's crime to using his influence with the Crown to reward Reid with the badge of honor at the King's hands, knowing full well that Reid's services should have been more suitably rewarded with a less coveted decoration. (Hear, hear.)

THE WAY OF THE POLITICAL LIAR.

No such sorry spectacle was ever presented to an intelligent electorate as Sir Robert Borden's Cabinet presents to the Dominion of Canada. He and his colleagues stand convicted of every conceivable offence and crime on the political calendar. The promises that were given to the electors to secure their votes, and which he and his colleagues have flagrantly failed to fulfill, are appalling in their character. The Prime Minister, through his agents, pledged the honor of the Government:

1. That farmers' sons should be exempted from the operation of the Military Service Act.
2. The mothers, sisters and wives of the First Contingent, that their dear ones at the front would be relieved from further military service.
3. The mothers, sisters and wives, that family relatives of soldiers overseas would be exempt from military service.
4. The First Contingent, that they would return home for good.
5. The Second Contingent would be taken home on leave.
6. Leave of absence to visit home of those who had been wounded two or three times.
7. To all who were on active service, that they would be relieved by the new Canadian army to be raised under the Military Service Act.

Not one of these solemn pledges was fulfilled, and there was no intention that any of them should be when they were made. (Hear, hear.)

BORDEN'S ESCAPE FROM INDIGNANT SOLDIERS.

It is not to be wondered at that when Sir Robert Borden attempted to address the troops in France in June, 1918, he had scarcely opened his

mouth when so many questions were hurled at him and such a disturbance occurred, that he found it necessary to get into his motor hurriedly and speed out of the district. Nor is it surprising that when he attempted to address the returning soldiers crossing the Atlantic recently he was forced to retire to his own quarters under the protection of officers who feared for his safety. If any more evidence was needed to convince him how the mighty have fallen, the Prime Minister found it on his arrival at Ottawa. Although a much advertised public reception was heralded, it was the most ghastly welcome ever accorded a public man at Ottawa. The scales have certainly at last fallen from the eyes of the Canadian electorate. (Hear, hear.)

EXTRACT FROM THE BRUCE REPORT.

You have heard of the many demands made in Parliament during the last two sessions for the production of a report by Dr. H. A. Bruce on the overseas management. Members of the Cabinet denied its existence, notwithstanding that it has long since been in the hands of the Government. There have been many political sensations in Canada, but the publication even now of Dr. Bruce's report would cause an amazing shaking up of the dry bones. Let me read one paragraph from page 80:

"In regard to the question of the saving of public funds, it has been estimated that before a soldier gets to the front he has cost the Canadian Government approximately \$3,000. This estimate has been furnished by the pay authorities, and is a low one. It is therefore safe to say that soldiers to the value of over \$50,000,000 were being ignored and permitted to become useless through lack of proper organization and handling of casualties."

You may ask how I succeeded in getting this. Well, I have got it. (Laughter.) This is how your money has gone, and you will have to pay some day.

PLAYING AT WAR FOR BEAVERBROOK'S PROFIT.

One incident where soldiers were "permitted to become useless through lack of organization" was when the entire 5th Division, 20,000 men, under Gen. Garnet Hughes, were instructed to rehearse the Battle of Vimy Ridge on the hills of Surrey, during which nineteen of our lads were killed, so as to provide a cinematograph film. It now transpires that this film and hundreds of others taken at the expense of the Government, are being exploited for their own advantage by a syndicate of which Lord Beaverbrook is the chief, through the Paramount and Lasky Film Companies of New York. The pictures are circulating in every country in the world. These exploiters, among whom are well known Canadians, expect to realize twenty-five or thirty millions of dollars, every penny of which is the legal property of this country. (Good heavens, what next!)

HUMAN LIFE VS. POLITICAL EXIGENCIES.

One or two points just here should be emphasized. In all wars men who have been wounded are hurried to hospitals so that, if possible, they may be made useful for further active service. This may appear heartless, knowing that the nearer each day brings them to recovery the nearer also are they to that awful hell from which they have escaped with their lives. But war makes this necessary, unless there are ample reinforcements. This is why the scandal of using twenty thousand highly trained and efficient men, an entire division, for seven long weeks rehearsing a

fool comedy on the hills of Surrey, calling it the Battle of Vimy Ridge, was nothing short of a colossal crime. (Hear, hear.) And while this farce was being enacted men bearing three and four wound stripes were being sent back to the trenches. The horror of this situation baffles description. (Hear, hear.) The horror is all the greater when the statement cannot be questioned that this entire division was held at Witley for political and personal purposes long after the men were fully trained and anxious to go to the front. The Ottawa Cabinet wanted Witley Camp as the basis for the huge election frauds in England. Brig.-Gen. Garnet Hughes wanted to go to France as commander of the 5th Division, which he was promised by Ottawa, and Lord Beaverbrook wanted a bogus "movie" film of Vimy Ridge to exploit throughout the world as a patriotic money-getter—a shameful travesty on the glorious tragedy of Vimy Ridge. But Sir Arthur Currie refused to accept the 5th Division as a unit. He said he had "too many ornamental brigadier-generals already." The division was broken up and divided among the other forces, except that the bulk of the leading officers who had been playing war in a training camp "funkt" and returned to Canada, or by their political pull secured "safety first" jobs while they continued nominally on "active service." The N. C. O.'s and men, however, went into the maelstrom of glory, and as one of the leading officers in the election frauds committee prophesied, "Half the evidence lies buried in Flanders."

BORDEN AMONG THE PROFITEERS.

There is no denying the fact that serious unrest exists in Canada. This is accentuated by the failure of the Government to do anything towards reducing the high cost of living. (Hear, hear.) The evidence adduced at Ottawa that the Dominion Textile Company paid what is equivalent to 300% on its cash capital last year, and Mr. Paton's statement that the Sherbrooke Woollen Mills, paying 72% last year on two-thirds of watered stock, were "Not erected for the glory of God but in the interests of the stockholders," will not clear the threatening sky. The latest development at Ottawa, that the Prime Minister has several thousand dollars invested in a Winnipeg cold storage company, which he obtained possession of at 75 cents on the dollar, and which earned 50% on its capital last year, strips the head of the Government of the last shred of respectability. The manager admits that the quantity of food in storage is abnormally large, and that it is being held for export to Europe. Or in other words, to be shipped to Germany, when peace is signed, where prices are soaring, while at this very hour women and children in Winnipeg, on account of the long-continued strike, urgently need food to keep their souls and bodies together. (Hear, hear.) While the Prime Minister was imploring the public to buy Government bonds at 5½% so as to "Win the War," he was quietly slipping his own surplus into boost-the-price-of-food cold storage earning 50%. If Sir Robert Borden was in the Imperial Government he would be expelled from Parliament; if he was in France he would be imprisoned, and if in Italy he would be dealt with in a much more summary manner. Imagine President Wilson or General Botha, or Hughes of Australia, or Massey of New Zealand interested in food storage profiteering or munition contracts. The world would stand horrified. And yet this is the humiliating position of the Prime Minister of Canada. (Hear, hear.)

CHAPTER OF HORRORS.

Turn where you like, the frauds in the Government administration of war expenditure are colossal. An official in the Pay Office in London

told me that pay sheets overseas were loaded with 30,000 false names for two and a half years, costing over \$30,000,000. The British Government offered at the beginning of the war to take over, free of cost to Canada, two branches of the service upon which we have expended in four years \$36,000,000. In one branch of the London service \$10,000,000 have disappeared, with not a voucher to show for a penny of it. Red Cross supplies to an enormous amount were sold to the Government by officers in charge who pocketed the money. It is stated that twenty thousand soldiers were sent to England who were returned as unfit, entailing a waste of \$10,000,000. Leather equipment and clothing were destroyed by fire to get the material out of the road to make room for further supplies, which cost the public Treasury millions of dollars. \$3,500,000 are on deposit in New York in trust, part of the proceeds of a steal on Government contracts, to be divided among the participants here just as soon as investigation is not to be feared. A member of the Borden Government asked a public contractor for a tender upon plans for a residence. The tender was \$6,000. The building cost \$40,000. The \$6,000 did not cover the price of the oak flooring. The inference is obvious. Can this kind of Government go on forever with no day of reckoning? Impossible. (Hear, hear.)

TRAGEDIES THAT MUST BE INVESTIGATED.

There have been tragedies in this war about which the public are entitled to authentic information, and in respect to which official reticence is giving occasion for the circulation of suggestions that may be more or less exaggerations. The statement was current in military circles shortly after the outbreak of the war that Australia made it a condition that no sentence of capital punishment should be carried out as the result of a court-martial until approved of by the Australian authorities. This was said to be due to severe measures having been taken against Australian troops in South Africa. At any rate, no such precaution was taken by Canada. Stories are being told by returning soldiers of a very disturbing character anent military executions of Canadians, which, if unreliable, are calculated to lead to other tragedies, or if well founded demand thorough investigation by other than the military clique at Ottawa or in London. Information has been given to me by the word of two and three witnesses, so shocking and revolting in its character, that I hesitate to add to the general unrest by repeating it in public, so long as the trust exists that the next session of Parliament will see that a general court of enquiry is appointed on all questions appertaining to the conduct of the war. But military officialism must understand that no tragedy of the war shall be hidden in the military archives at Ottawa or withheld from the democracy of this country. (Hear, hear.)

AN ENGLISH VIEW.

Let me read you a few lines from a letter which I received from London this morning:—

“The papers here have rumors of unrest in Canada, and I expect it is much worse than the papers say. What an aftermath of war! Things are bad enough in this country, where law-abiding is an instinct as well as a habit. What it must be to a young country, which barely has the power to keep disorderly elements down, is a question. I have a notion that all those evil seeds sown by Strathcona and the other robber-barons of his generation are going to come to a fruition now which will all but wreck Canada, out of the ruins of which a

purser economic life and decenter politics may arise. Heaven only knows what may happen there, but even if the country were brought to the verge of economic ruin, if everything of the wealth of these over-protected industries went under and out of it, and Canada started again with a clean slate, poor but honest, it would be worth while." That is an English view. It is difficult to dispute its correctness.

(Hear, hear.)

LET US BE MEN.

But I do not despair so long as my countrymen manfully and with set purpose face the facts. I have painted an awful picture. I have done it deliberately, because it is true. (Hear, hear.) We had a goodly heritage, but we acted with it like the younger son. We gathered all together and went into a far country. There is no fatted calf for a feast. Our revenue does not come nearly meeting the most urgent expenditure. But give me an educated and aroused public opinion in West Peterboro, and in this Province, and there are no devilish machinations of any political force that can long keep this country out of the hands of honest administrators. The people are hungering and thirsting for honest government. What would this Dominion not now give for a day of George Brown or Edward Blake? How the welkin would ring! We all must take our share in the serious responsibilities of the hour—in selecting a leader at Ottawa. I believe the convention will meet with but one object in view, and that no personal considerations of any kind will cloud the issue. It is needless to say that the leader will be honest, clean, wise, patient and courageous. The field to choose from is not limited. And out of this morally polluted political atmosphere that stamps the Ottawa Administration there will enter an era in which there may be a dawn of hope. But this can only be if we prove our patriotism to be of the highest type. (Applause.)

