

CALENDAR FOR THE WEEK

Twenty-sixth Sunday after Pentecost
Gospel, St. Matt. xxiv. 15-18:
S. 21 St. John of the Cross, O.
M. 22 St. Catherine, V.M.
M. 23 St. Conrad, B.
T. 24 St. Leonard of Port Maurice.
W. 25 St. James of La Marcha, C.
Th. 26 St. Saturninus, M.
F. 27 St. Andrew, Ap.

want you to see the foolishness of what I must call

THIS INFERNAL ATROCITY (hear, hear). Why, in this country — certainly in my part of the island — public executions have been abandoned. Why? Among other reasons because it was felt they were not deterrent. Well, if they were not deterrent here, why do you suppose they will be deterrent in South Africa? (Cheers.) All war kindles hateful passion; and evil war heats the furnace hotter still; but civil war, with its ingredient of race feud, race jealousy, race animosity, makes the cauldron boil and seethe at its fiercest, and my charge is that all this has aggravated the essential mischief of the situation, and that for days that will pass beyond the memory of any of us here these transactions will not be forgotten (hear, hear). Would they be forgotten in Scotland? (Cries of "No" and cheers.) One more of these incidents — in many ways the most distasteful of them all — of the painful circumstances of the situation, I am coming to, the concentration camps. I am not going to carry you through all the controversy of vital statistics as to whether it is fair to take the death rate for a month and calculate what the death rate for a year would be, whether it is fair to compare them with the average death rate of children in Arbroath or in Pretoria or anywhere else; but the fact remains that with reference to these concentration camps the death rate among children, measure it as you like,

IS HORRIBLE, IS EXCESSIVE, IS APPALLING (cheers). When they tell us what we went into the war, as an eminent man did the other day, that we went into this war with a good conscience and clear hands, what sort of hands shall we come out of it with? (Cheers.) When these figures are studied and measured it is horrible. But now I will beg you to notice this, that the policy of concentration camps in which the women and children are placed is directly connected with that evil policy of devastation, of farm burning, which I think I was the first, certainly one of the first, to call public attention to, and which has been — this policy of devastation of which the concentration camps are an incident — has certainly been one of the worst of all the mistakes of this war — and mistakes are admitted. I think it has been one of the worst mistakes of all. Just look at it. We burn the farms. Why? To prevent the Boers from getting food, and then having burned the farms women and children were on our hands, but the policy of devastation carried with it, as I think you will all understand without further description from me, carried with it the policy of concentration. The women and children were on our hands. That was one result —

A HORRIBLE AND GHASTLY RESULT.

But look at the policy of devastation a little more widely. I want you to measure the common sense of these things. Do not let them call me sentimentalist. I want you to consider them from the point of common sense, this policy of laying waste and concentrating. We relieved the Boer, the fighting Boer, of all responsibility for his wife and his children. Second, we destroyed the chances of the fighting Boer giving up his command and returning home, because we left him no home to return to (hear, hear). We quite forgot — our object being to prevent the Boers from getting food — we quite forgot the natives in enormous numbers who remained, and who grew grain, of which I understand the fighting Boer has had ample benefit.

THE BOER HAS NOT WANTED FOOD.

You have not cut off the supplies of the Boers. The whole policy of devastation has been, and is admitted really by those who are more impartial judges if you like than I am, the whole policy of devastation is now admitted to have been a mistake. It missed fire completely, missed fire in its special object, and it has done more than anything else to embitter and exasperate the quarrel and to make the chances of peace more remote; and I will say, too, if that matters to the conscience of the people of this country. And now the Government tell us an extraordinary thing. They say, well, but we have done nothing, and we shall not do anything for which a precedent cannot be found. Where? Russia in Poland or the Caucasus; Austria in Bosnia; and so on. Was there ever such a sinister parallel drawn in the history of this country (hear, hear, and cheers). We had a great high-spirited British minister, with whom plenty of fault may be found I dare say — Lord Kimberston (cheers). I wonder what Lord Palmerston would have

said of a Government that justified its proceedings by the fact that Russia in Poland, and Austria had done something of the same kind, or perhaps even worse (cheers). I ask myself sometimes whether Englishmen and Scotchmen are the same as they were in these days. Why, I recollect — I am old enough to recollect the story of an Austrian general who was severely assaulted and maltreated by some London drayman. Why? Because he was believed — I think that is the story — to have flogged the women. It is an old story now. I never felt very sorry that the drayman broke the law against assault. But what are we come to when these are the precedents that are held up to you in order to induce you to acquiesce in these matters? (cheers). Let us look at the effect of severity as a deterrent. What has the effect been? The more farms you burned the more fierce has been the resistance (hear, hear). The more lands you laid waste, the more lads you flogged, THE MORE "REBELS" YOU HANGED

under what is called martial law, the larger the area to which martial law has had to be extended. Why, it was only the other day — when the Lord Chancellor himself admitted the war was over, but there was still a sort of war going on (laughter) — it was only then when this judicial utterance was delivered that martial law was extended into Cape Town because the state of things was become there too dangerous to be dealt with by ordinary law. I am not going to weary you by going through the farago of proclamations with which South Africa has been flooded, proclamations, some of them ridiculous, some of them unlawful, all of them futile. There is the last FAMOUS PROCLAMATION OF SEPTEMBER 15th:

It threatened banishment and demands for maintenance of wives and children. That proclamation, perhaps the most ridiculous of all, has proved about as futile as the others. My right hon. friend, Sir William Harcourt (cheers), at the very moment when that proclamation was brought under the notice of the House of Commons, at once put his finger upon it, and he said: "These men whom you propose to banish have as much of the rights of legitimate combatants, though you may call it a guerilla warfare if you like, as if they were the biggest battalions that you can put into the field" (cheers). Gentlemen, you have read in the papers of the setting up of drumhead courts, soldiers' jurisdiction, of military tribunals, of martial law in parts of the colony which before were perfectly peaceful. You have read of the arrest and deportation of peaceful citizens. If reports are to be trusted, you have read of all that, where circuit courts were holding regular assizes. I hope you will first let me, for a moment, read to you a short extract as to WHAT MARTIAL LAW IS,

and what its limits are in a case of this kind, and I really do not apologize to you for reading it, because it is important that we should all of us know, as closely and as accurately as we can, exactly what are the charges, and what is the law, as to which we are talking. You

know the newspapers—I would not on any account speak disrespectfully of them (laughter) — but they have this advantage, that they are their own judge, their own jury, and their own witnesses (laughter and cheers). You must admit that gives them a considerable advantage in any issue that is submitted to this country (cheers). Now, this is a lawyer's opinion — the opinion of Sir John Campbell, afterwards a Chief Justice — upon martial law, and — I do not apologize to you — I beg of you to take note: "The right of resorting to such an extremity as martial law is a right arising from, and remedied by, the necessity of this case. For this reason we two lawyers, advising the Government, are of opinion that the prerogative of the Crown does not extend beyond the case of persons taken in open resistance, and with whom, by reason, of the suspension of ordinary tribunals it is impossible to deal, according to regular courts of justice. When regular courts are opened, so that criminals might be delivered over to them to be dealt with according to law, there is no, as we conceive, any right in the Crown to adopt any other course of proceeding. Such power can only be conferred by the Legislature, as was done by the Acts passed in consequence of the Irish Rebellion in 1793 and 1803, and also of the Irish Coercion Act of 1835.

THESE ARE NICE PRECEDENTS

for you. That is what the law officers of that day said, and they added this: "It is hardly necessary for us to add that in our view of the case, martial law can never be enforced for the ordinary purposes of civil or even criminal justice, except in the latter, so far as the necessity from actual resistance compels its adoption." Gentlemen, if you do me the honor to read these words to-morrow morning — or at any later date — recollect this was an opinion given by two law officers of the highest authority upon the proclamation issued by the Governor-General of Canada, which in essentials was entirely analogous to the proclamations of martial law and proceedings under martial law of which we hear so much to-day, and of which we shall hear much more in days to come (cheers). That is what I say, I confess with no likelihood of influencing the King's Government upon such a point, but I do say that if the other difficulties of the situation in South Africa are too complex to be dealt with, at all events this we should insist upon, that a Civil Administration of Justice shall be set up in the Cape Colony, so that these offences shall be dealt with as in this legal opinion, and in other judicial respects shall be dealt with on the ordinary principle of civil courts and civil administrations, and that the law of the sword shall cease. Now, gentlemen, look to the future. We have looked for two years past. What sort of two years are there ahead? (hear, hear) what is the settlement of this destroyed country in South Africa to be founded? It is very plain that from every word used by responsible persons it is to be founded upon THE PRINCIPLE OF ASCENDANCY.

Show me if you can a symptom of

a design, within any reasonable or measurable distance of time, a desire to treat the two races equally. Don't you perceive — I shall be disappointed if you don't — that the war has now completely changed its character? It was originally a war for the defence of the civil rights of certain of our countrymen in the Transvaal dominions. Well, that was the first. Do those of you — if there are any in this hall who approved of this war as a proper war for securing civil rights — do you go further to-day, and say you approve of a war for asserting the mastery of one race over another, because that is the language used by more than one Cabinet Minister? But now, suppose I put the third proposition to you. Suppose you approved of the war for the civil rights of the Outlanders in the Transvaal — suppose you approve of the war for breaking and pulverizing the Boer power — do you approve of the third kind of war which is now approaching, a war which I can only describe as

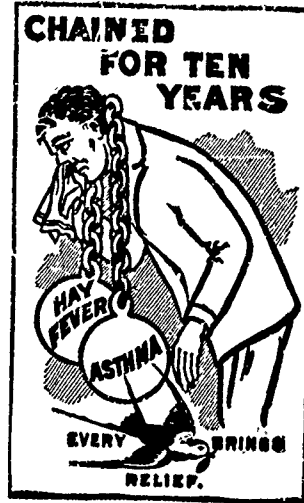
A WAR OF EXTERMINATION.

Depend upon it — it may horrify you to hear such a word — but you are, just as you drifted into the first war, so this war is drifting and degenerating into nothing less than a war of extermination (hear, hear) So it is a war for the extermination of the Boers in the Orange Free State; so with the war that we went into with a good conscience and clean hands. (A Voice—"In self-defence.") That may be true, if my friend likes, although I am quite willing to have an evening with him on that point (laughter and cheers). Granted that you went into the first war for reasons of self-defence; are you now, in Arbroath, prepared to justify the war which is, as I tell you, drifting and degenerating into a war for the extermination of the people? That is the point (A Voice—"If necessary.") Ah! if necessary. Who are these men? I will tell you — not in my own words — I will tell you in the words of a person of far greater authority than I am. These are the words describing these men the other night at Edinburgh: "We are ready to pay some heed of admiration to the brave men, for brave men they are (loud cheers), who have fought against such odds, with a tenacity, a courage, that are worthy of their race and of their history, and maintained their resistance against our overwhelming forces." These are the words of the Colonial Secretary, and if there is a gentleman in the whole of Arbroath — (A Voice—"Rub it into him," and cheers) — and yet there is a gentleman in this hall who says that these men, described in that language by the Colonial Secretary himself, are to be exterminated if necessary (loud and prolonged cheers). I don't believe that any good friend voted for me at the last election (laughter). I am afraid not. I use this language to him and to anybody who justifies extermination of a people fighting for their own land (cheers).

I SAY THAT THAT IS A MONSTROUS INIQUITY

(loud cheers) Aye, and he would not like to try it on in Scotland. Suppose that you had got into a war with England and that we had come down and laid your lands waste, and stuck your women and

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children into concentration camps, and lung men whom we called rebels, and flogged lads, and then said: "Now we are going to have you down on your knees — unconditional surrender and unconditional submission. If you don't agree we will exterminate you." If I know anything about Scotland, you would say: "Exterminate us if you can" (Loud cheers). I was glad to notice that at present all the demands for wholesale confiscation and wholesale executions do not recommend themselves to the King's Government as either likely to conduce to the termination of the war or to a satisfactory peace at the end of it. I am glad to say that, but I confess — and I say this with the utmost sincerity and gravity — I was so sorry to see qualified words introduced at Edinburgh that His Majesty's Government is not convinced up to the present time

WHOLESALE CONFISCATION AND WHOLESALE EXECUTION

will be a prudent or a justifiable policy. I do hope at all events that that grim idea will never be justified by any responsible statesman in the King's employment (cheers). Although I cannot believe — I will not believe — that responsible statesmen will enter upon any such course, I would like to read you a paragraph from an article in a highly responsible and serious journal upon this point of killing them out, which is extermination. This is the paragraph written by a man

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