Arbroath, Scotland Nov. I The Right Hon. John Morley, M. P., addressed the first two incet-ings of his constituents in the Town Holl Town Hall, Arbroath; to-night. Provost Grant presided, and there

was a crowded attendance.

Mr. Morley, who was received with loud cheers, again and again. renewed, said: Two years ago I appealed to you to have no part nor lot in a war which I ventured to think was rapidly approaching. Well, these two years have revealed many uniforeseen secrets of time, many unforeseen secrets of the des-tiny of our nation; and I say that there is no man among us, what-ever his view may be about the sources and the origin of the war, whether he thinks, as many do, that it has been a just and unavoidable conflict, or whether, as I think, that it has been an affair of infatuation, in either case all sec-tions of us would admit that neither of us foresaw, or could have foreseen, all that has happened since. We could not have foreseen the magnitude of the operations; we could not have foreseen the farreaching extent of what has taker

LOOK AT SOUTH AFRICA IT SELF.

Two years ago we saw there a floutishing, self-governing colony of our own—the whole colony of the Cape with two races—the Dutch and the British—living side by side with constantly strengthening ties of amity. We saw across our own border two republies, one of them independent, one of them enjoying an independence with us, qualified and limited with us, qualified and limited by agreements. Now look at it to-day. this island we deplore the loss of thousands of generous lives quenched, and all the hopes bound up in those lives extinguished. We have seen our own treasure poured out like water upon the sand in South Africa. In the two Republies that are now extinguished thousands of Boers are now in their graves during the last two years in consequence or the thousands are restrained in distant thousands are restrained in distant lives blasted. In the Cape Colony itself we see an extraordinary state of things.

ONE WAR HAS GROWN INTO TWO WARS.

A war against the enemy outside our borders has added to itself a civil war within our own borders in the Cape Colony (hear, hear). There in Cape Colony the doors of their Parliament are closed, the public money is expended without the sanction of the Constitution, and the Colony is now under the yoke — for good reasons or bad I only want you to expend the I only want you to examine the difference in situation — that Colony is under the yoke of what is called martial law, of which I will say something to you in a few minutes. I was very much struck with an expression - and I will borrow it — of a young Conservative M. P. of great promise, great acuteness, and who knows this South African ground — I mean Mr. Winston Churchill. He used an image which I will borrow from him. He said: 'At the beginning of the war blood flowed freely, and it was a healthy wound; but now it is no longer a healthy wound, but a festering wound." It is

A FESTERING WOUND EATING INTO THE FLESH

in Cape Colony and in South Africa, and it is eating into our elves also (cheers). Well, that is an image, gentlemen, that I much recommend to your consideration. Now, we are in the third year of the war. I ask you to put this question to yourselves, you who were here two years ago, has anything happened during those two were here two years ago, has anything happened during those two years to make me or you repent the judgment which we then pronounced upon the prospect of that the judgment which we then pronounced upon the prospect of that
approaching war? (Cheers). In
talking of the Cape Colony I do not
want to leave out our British fellow-subjects in the Cape Colony. I
think there were misled; but, still,
however that may be, they, too,
have suffered. As was said the
other night at Edinburgh, they,
too, have been made poor, the
poor have had to suffer starvation,
there has been mischief on every there has been mischief on every side, nobody has profited. The mil-itary prowess of this country has been exalted, its old colors, its old valor, its old constancy and per-sistency, but when you come to count up the substantial results, I ask you again whether anything has happened to make you and me repent of the judgment that we pronounced two years ago?

(years ago, when I stood on this platform, whether that war would have been permitted, whether the opinion of this country would not have said: "Let us move slowly let us be quite sure as to all the conditions of the struggle on which you invite us to embark," and if they had seen such a horrible, hide ous transformation as I have sketched for you in bare outline, is there an honest, a candid man in Scotland who would let us go on with the war? (Cheers). Gentlemen I freely admit the patriotic motives and intentions of His Majesty's Government, and I wish they would be a little more generous would be a little more generous and fair in admitting that we, who disapprove and dislike and see the mischief of the ccurse that has been followed — that we in all are animated by motives as loyal and patriotic as their own (cheers). It is not worth while, I think, really for me to deny all these slanderous imputations (hear, hear, and cheers). The truth is this, gentle-ment There has been

asserted to the wing you will have going the one of the wing the w

A SERIES OF INVOLUNTARY DECEPTIONS.

which were imposed first of all upon the Government themselves, and then, alas! which were imposed upon the people of this country. (A Voice—"Are they involuntary?") Well, then I give them the benefit of the doubt (laughter.) We were told the other day — and let me say at this point I have never sought — on the contrary, I have carefully avoided making this great controversy and discussion, so premant with enormous issues, not only to this island, but to the whole Empire — I have always endeavored to avoid making that in any sense a personal, or even party issue. But I must make some reference to what has been said by a very important and powerful man. They were told the other night in Edinburgh, on behalf of the Government: "We never contemplated taking the offensive." They never intended, that is to say, to bring on the war. I, for one have never intended. have never charged the Govern-ment with intending to bring on a ment with intenuing to bring on a war, and I do not believe for one instant that they did intend to bring on this war. But our charge is quite different. The charge is not that they contemplated the offensive. The charge is that negotion sive. The charge is that negotiations were allowed to drift into a condition which made the offensive almost certain (hear, hear). That is the charge. "If you never contemplated the offensive," I would say to the Government, "how was is that in the speech. made at Birmingham on the August, 1899, or the speech which brought me down on to this platform a week later - how was it, if the offensive was never contemplated, that the world was told that the issue of peace and were in the hands of President Kruger?" Now, then, I charge, gentlemen, that negotiations pressed on at that period, manipressed on at that period, manifestly leading to the possibility of an issue in war, without either warning the country or taking those military measures which the possible approach of war made indiscensely. dispensable (cheers.) Gentlemen, don't believe those who tell you that all this talk about the origin and source of the war is academic talk, or an academic question. If you find vourself, as a nation, in a difficult position — I put it no higher than that — if you find higher than that — if you find yourself in a difficult position, it is not academic, it is common sense, to look back and sav: Why was it that we took that step wh ch has landed us in this difficult position? (Cheers.) Therefore I make no apology to you for dealing for a moment with the point.

THE GOVERNMENT ADMIT admit their want of knowledge — and what an admission it is—they and what an admission it is—they admit their want of knowledge into the real condition of things in South Africa. What an admission it is! They drifted along to the edge of the black, unfathomable abyss of war, in ignorance of where it was they were drifting to (cheers). Whose fault was it? As I have said, in so far as I have interposed in this controversy I have been careful to avoid any reference to particular persons; but I am bound to sav that whenever it is confessed that the Government were in ignorance of the real condition of things — that they didn't foresee what a task it was which they were asking this country with they were asking this country with a light heart to undertake,

it well, who knew all the forces at work, who knew all the perils that surrounded any South African question. Well, when Lord Rosemend received from the Colonial Office a despatch of a menacing character to President Kruger, and when he was instructed to convey the language of the despatch to President Kruger, Lord Rosemend, who knew Africa well, begged to be excused (cheers). He steadily declined to be the instrument of either of the two racial parties in South Africa, and he declined to be the voice of prejudices, the passions and the antinathies of one of those two partipatries of one of those two par-ties (hear, hear). There is my test of an agent on the spot. Well, I am told you must regard the man on the spot. Well, if the man on the spot has shown himself always right, I will assuredly bow to him with the utmost deference; but if

LANDED US IN THE CATAS-TROPHE

for I call it nothing else, and I will give you some reasons by and by for using that high word—when he has landed us in a catastrophe, bodyguard or no bodyguard, I, for one, will not consent to see South African situation through the eyes of Lord Milner, and those Contrast eyes alone (loud cheers). Contrast the firm impartiality of Lord Rosemead with the despatches in which Sir Alfred Milner exhorted and besought his Government, above all of others who were not for shrinking from extreme measures, and who warned the Government on no account, if they valued that opinion, to let the proceedings drag. Gentlemen, there is a singular circumstance about all these things which interests all of us who are observers of human nature. It is this - it is the assumption that those who have made the most mistakes and the most miscalculations in the past are the people who are most confident that they must be right as to the future (laughter and cheers). I suppose it is some new theory, or it is old theory, of human character, and human life, that everybody is bound to be right some time in his life, and that if you are wrong long enough that is a very good preenough that is a very good pre-liminary for a claim to infallibili-ty (laughter). The Government are in that position. It is true, they say, that wherever say, that wherever our foresight and our knowledge could be tested, wherever our foresight we have shown blindness—short-sightedness, at all events, and ignorance. It follows from this, they say, that where we cannot be tested in the future, you are bound to trust us implicitly, and without usking any questions (laughter). Well, this is

VERY SINGULAR LOGIC

(laughter). It was said a day or two ago in Edinburch, and I call your attention to this because you your attention to this because you and I are involved. It was said that the war would have been over after Lord Roberts got into Pretoria, but for what? The action of certain misguided persons (laughter), that is to say the electors of Arbroath and the member for Arbroath, who led the Boers to lieve that if they held on we should grow tired of the struggle. Well, now if that proposition isn't a mere platform jibe — and from the position of the speakers I won't suppose that for a moment - it is suppose that for a moment — it is not an empty platform gibe, it only shows this assertion that the prolongation of the war is due to people like us. I say that that shows, if it is more than a gibe, ignorance of the position of the problem we have to solve as deep as anything that has been said in as anything that has been said in the course of this affair (cheers). I would like to read you a few lines from an interesting letter that ap-peared in The Times newspaper the other day describing the condition other day describing the condition of the Boer prisoners in Afmednugar: "At any hour of the day you may walk into the camp at Abnednugar and see hundreds Boer prisoners) sitting or lying vacantly upon their beds, men in the prime of life, loyal farmers, shopkeepers, merchants, condemned to helpless inactivity by stubborn fellows their compatricts in the to helpless inactivity by stubborn fellows, their compatriots in the field. The severity"—this is the point I call your attention to—"of our measures is said to have made surrender impossible. It is generally arguid that if after General Prinsloo's surrender the prisoners had been sent to their homes the war would have ended. The severer measures then adopted marked the turning point in this struggle (hear, hear), and

THAT POLICY INAUGURATED BY FARM BURNING

in the property of the judgment that we repent of the judgment that we repent of the judgment that we pronounced two years ago. (Cheers). You have seen, as I think I said to you in my election address, you have seen a mighty and a powerful people and a very small people, neither of whom, recollect—neither we nor the Boers—had any real substantial grounds of quarret (hear, hear), neither of them with anything substantial to gain from the other, and now to-day both of them paying the penalties of the unwisdom of their own rulers and our rulers (cheers). I would like to ask you—it may be

A PERILOUS QUESTION—whether there is any candid man in Scotland this day who will say of the present condiction of the garnt of the present condiction of the garnt of the present condict of things could have been foreseen two.

things than it is to me - but I pass most unwillingly to notice by way of illustration of what I think has prolonged this deadly mischief one or two of the incidents that one or two of the incidents have marred this struggle. It will be a very happy day when we can blot out of sight and blot out of memory these incidents to which I am going to draw your attention for a single moment. I am not going to dwell upon this miserable— I am not going to dwell upon this extraordinary -

THE UNUTTERABLE MEAN-NESS OF SUCH MEASURES, as putting upon half rations the

wives and the children of the men who were still lighting in the field (hear, hear). I am not going to dwell upon the putting upon the engines of military trains civilians who had done no wrong and com-mitted no offence, but whose presence here it was thought might prevent the fighting Boers outside from wrecking those trains. Well, this is justified because it is said the fighting Boers are brigands and rufhans and bandits. Well, but I would Lae to ask you now in Arbroath here to consider whether because somebody else is a bandit and brigand and ruffian it is a very just thing to put me, who am not a bandit, brigand or russian, upon the engine of a train and jeopardise my life. But then suppose the train wrecker is a origand and a bandit, I do not believe he will much care if a respectable man like myself is put upon an engine and driven through those dangerous spots (laughter). But who are the men who are put on the trains or have been put on the trains - I am not sure whether it is abandoned or not, but suppose it is not abandoned — who are the men who are put on the trains? They are the men who would not fight on com-mando. Therefore the fighting mando. Therefore the fig Boers will not care a straw those men coming to grief by the wrecking of trains ("Quite true.") Take these three points, gentlemen, into your mind an I if anybody here is inclined to violence for its own sake, for any exhibition of force, putting a peaceable and neutral citizen on a train in danger, keep these three points in your minds and say whether you do not think they are rather futile. There was the ignoble practice of flogging lads. "hey put respectable men on to the engines. They dealt with to the engines. They dealt with various people in various ways. This is an heroic exploit. I cannot dwell on such trumpery as that; but now I come to another set of incidents — I mean the compulsion upon the neighbors, friends, kins-folk of men condemned rightly or wrongly to capital punishment the compulsion of these men hear the sentence upon their friends kinsmen, and neighbors read, and then afterwards to a read, and

SEE THE GHASTLY SEN-TENCE CARRIED OUT.

then afterwards to go and

I confess I do not believe such a proceeding as that has been adopted by any civilized community or Government for many a long generation. Think what it is that men are called upon — some fellow-prisoners from their cells, others from their homes in the town — they are called upon to go out in the morning and actually to be-hold as a deterrent what I think must be one of the most dreadful spectacles which can wring the heart of a man - to see his friend and his neighbor and his kinsmen launched with violence and ignominy into the hangman's pit. tlemen, when we read of these things, and in the papers that re-port them it is said: From all that can be gathered there is no doubt that the execution impressed the beholders to an extent which will never be forgotten." No (hear, never be forgotten." No (hear, hear, and cheers). It will never be forgotten (cheers!. The things that

THE NEW IRELAND THAT YOU

in South Africa are more like what in South Africa are more like what was done in the old Ireland in the repression of the Rebellion of 1798. Some of you ask me if the Government abhor all this. I don't doubt they abhor it for a moment. Why, even some of our Liberal friends, who dont see these transactions quite as we do, even they admit that such proceedings are not so dignified as they ought to be (hear, hear). Gentlemen, I will not argue about the dignity of it. I

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