

Churchill's Stinging Rebuke of Leader Bonar Law

Reproaches Him For "Foolish and Wicked Words" and Calls His Conduct "Abominable"—Says the Opposition Is Trying to Justify Violence, Rebellion and Bloodshed—Every Street Bully With a Brickbat Derives Inspiration From Unionist Appeals.

Mr. Churchill has addressed the following letter to Sir George Ritchie, chairman of the Liberal party in Dundee, on the subject of the incitements to rebellion against home rule uttered by Mr. Bonar Law and Sir Edward Carson.

"My Dear Sir George Ritchie:—There is one very serious point which ought not to be overlooked by you and your friends in Dundee during the political discussions of the autumn. I mean the countenance and encouragement shown by the ruling Conservative leaders to lawless violence. Mr. Bonar Law and his lieutenant, Sir Edward Carson, have for some months past on repeated occasions incited the Orangemen, and their fellow-countrymen, to use force against the forces of the crown, and the former has even suggested that this process in Ireland should be accompanied by the lynching of his majesty's ministers.

"Melodramatic Stuff." No doubt it is true that these foolish and wicked words have been intended by the speakers, and that they would be unacceptably shocked and frightened if all this melodramatic stuff in which they are indulging were suddenly exploded into real bombs and cannon, if the ground of this peaceful kingdom were strewn with English and Irish corpses slain in fratricidal strife, and if the eagerly expecting to kiss hands on obtaining office there was nothing more before them but the bleak outlook of a felon's cell or place of execution. They would be very glad to get such a nightmare to their perorations under the comforting protection of the police and of the law.

Men have been found, and will be found again, in the world who will suffer all things in resistance to tyranny or to a foreign conqueror. But these are not the circumstances, and with all respect—these are not the men. Their "civil war" has led to nothing more at present than the maltreatment and intimidation by gangs of hoodlums of a few hundreds of isolated Belfast workmen because they are Home Rulers or Roman Catholics, and their "lynchings of ministers" has so far only taken the form of insulting and howling down the Prime Minister in the House of Commons.

And they are not well satisfied with the results of either experiment upon their personal reputation or their party interests. Therefore, when I dwell on the serious aspect of Mr. Bonar Law's recent threats it is not because he is likely to carry them out or because there would be no remedy if he did. The reasons are different.

No Excuse for Violence. In a constitutional country, where governments depend entirely upon parliamentary majorities elected at short intervals by millions of voters, there is no need and no excuse for violence. It has long been the boast and glory of the British people that they manage to settle the dearest disputes of class and party warfare without any of the horrors, cruelties, and bloodshed and ruin which have overtaken so many continental states. We have placed ourselves on our superiority to these foreigners.

Some references for the law ourselves have made. Some patient forces to change them when we will.

These have been the national characteristics of which we have been proud; and on which—make no mistake—the prosperity of these islands and the peace of the empire are based. Violence within the realm is the mark of the bad citizen. Those who are most ready to raise their hands against their fellow-countrymen will be the last to be trusted in the face of foreign peril.

A Moral Decline. All the liberties which dignity our island strife, which are the envy of every foreign people, which have followed the British flag all over the world, depend upon that combination of earnestness and restraint, that true sense of proportion, that capacity for practical compromise, which are the natural gifts of the Scotsman and the Englishman.

There have been signs of late that

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a weaker, morbid, excitable, hysterical spirit is amongst us. It is abominable that men of high and fortunate position should pander to it. It is incredible that a Conservative leader, anxious and hopeful to assume the grave responsibilities of office, should inflame it.

Mr. Bonar Law declares that there is no length to which the Orangemen may go in resistance—to tyranny or to usage, mark you, but to home rule—which he will not support. When the Prime Minister pointed out that those doctrines would justify the great Nationalist majority of the Irish people in taking up arms, if home rule were not granted, he replied, in effect, that the Orangemen were specially justified in rebelling, because home rule was an issue at the last election. This statement is untrue, and Mr. Bonar Law ought to know that it is untrue. If it were it would be utterly inadequate, and, true or false, it is wholly unwarranted.

The Unionist Position. For what is the claim of the Conservative leader? It is that the Opposition (any opposition, that is to say), are to be the judges of whether the Government of the day obtained their mandate fairly or unfairly, for their purpose or for that, and if they or any other section or action in the state choose to allege that the Government majority has been unfairly acquired, they are entitled forthwith to resort to violence, rebellion and bloodshed to resist them. Well might the Prime Minister declare that this principle was destructive of constitutional government. It is destructive of much more besides.

We are a constitutional country. But we are more than that. We are the head and governing centre of a vast empire, largely acquired by conquest, within whose bounds are many races and many sovereignties profoundly different from our own. With patience, with tolerance, with skill, by the discipline of self-government, by shrewd and firm strokes of policy, we have in this generation and the last pursued, and are now pursuing, a mighty work of consolidation and of reconciliation which has continually tended to make a home within the empire for all its peoples, so that their rights may be established and their creeds respected, and their traditions honored, so that we all may stand together in the high comradeship of freedom unbroken in the hour of trial.

The Hungry Man's Temptation. The doctrines of Mr. Bonar Law are fatal to this evolution. They would arrest the process of reconciliation. They would leave him with no answer but unjustified force, if others in every part and province of the empire choose to assert their "birthright" only by such means.

They are not only pernicious in external affairs. Consequences not less tragic and much more intimate await their application at home. There are many millions of very poor people in this island divorced from the land, crowded into the back streets of cities, forced to toil for a scanty reward through their whole span of existence, who suffer the cruel sting and pres-

sure of circumstances, and have little to lose except their lives, to whom these counsels of violence and mutiny may not be unattractive and who may be urged to their own and to the public disaster by hearkening to them. The doctrines of Mr. Bonar Law at Blenheim are the doctrines of Mr. Ben Tillett on Tower Hill. But Tillett's men were starving.

This behavior is the more reprehensible because it is entirely unprovoked. No public man—Liberal or Nationalist—has threatened the Orangemen with force. We seek to liberate, not to enslave; to conciliate, not to coerce. We have no intention of creating evils greater than those we wish to remedy. All this talk of violence, of bayonets and bullets, of rebellion and civil war, has come from one side alone. The Orangemen have always been notorious for the intolerance of their language and for the religious bigotry which explains though it does not excuse it.

But now we have the Conservative leader accepting and endorsing all their worst excesses and committing his party to the proposition that acts which are in themselves cruel, wicked and contrary to law, become good and praiseworthy if they arise from a political motive. Yet it is only twelve years since the Conservative Government, which he supported, was punishing with rigor Irishmen who sided with their blood relations in the field. And in less than twelve months—if home rule were frustrated—he might be sending Irish Nationalists to gaol and servitude and the gallows, and holding three provinces of Ireland in the grip of a coercion act, in the name of that same law and order which he himself is now so reckless to trample down.

Government Attitude. These exhibitions will not seduce the Government into weakness or into violence. We shall pursue our path patiently and soberly. Our policy is not to evolve, our consciences are clear. We are striving all we can to make the constitutional and parliamentary machinery, which is the only substitute for anarchy or despotism, meet the needs of the time and the cry of the people; to shield them from violence from within and from without, to give them some bulwark against sickness and unemployment, to reclaim for them some share of the land which they have lost, to guard the cheapened food which they have won, and to bring them forth into peace and safety into the great inheritance here and beyond the seas which is theirs to enjoy and to bequeath.

The time may well come after all these years of labor when the direction of national policy should pass to others. But a transference of power will not be effected by violent means. It will not come until the leader of the Conservative party divests himself of doctrines which disqualify him and those who back him from the discharge of official responsibilities, by which every lawless or disruptive movement in any part of the empire can be justified, and from which every street bully with a brickbat and every crazy fanatic who is furnished with a pistol may derive inspiration.

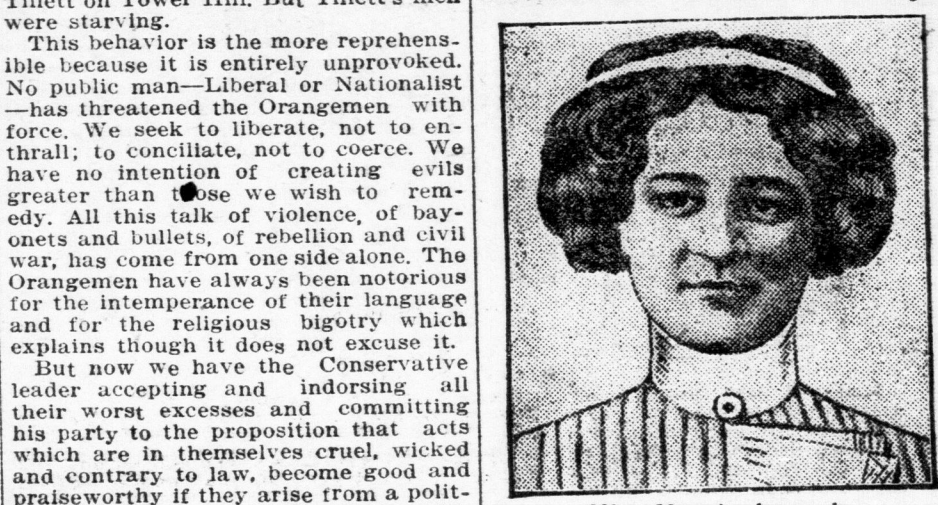
Believe me, yours very sincerely,

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL.

In view of Mr. Churchill's letter it is interesting to recall the following declarations of the Conservative leaders: Mr. Bonar Law at Blenheim on July 27: I say to you in my opinion if an attempt were made without the clearly expressed will of the people of this country, and as part of a corrupt parliamentary bargain, to deprive those

She Fainted With the Agony

"Fruit-a-tives" Cured Her Kidneys



Miss Maggie Jannack.

Mountain, Ont., Dec. 14, 1910. "I desire to let the world know the great debt I owe 'Fruit-a-tives,' which saved my life when I had given up hope of being well again.

For six years, I suffered from dreadful Kidney Disease. My legs and lower part of my body were fearfully swollen. The pain in my side and legs would be so bad that I would faint with the agony.

Five different doctors attended me and all said it was Kidney Disease and gave me no hope of getting well.

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I have gained over 30 pounds since taking 'Fruit-a-tives' and my kidneys are now sent on receipt price by Fruit-a-tives Limited, Ottawa.

men of their birthright, they would be justified in resisting by all means in their power, including force. I say now with a full sense of the responsibility which attaches to my position, that if that attempt was made under present conditions, I can imagine no length to which they would go in which I shall not be ready to support them.

Sir Edward Carson at Blenheim: It will be our duty shortly to take such steps, and indeed they are already taking them, as will perfect our arrangements for making home rule impossible. We will shortly challenge the Government to interfere with us if they dare, and we will win our unanimity as the result. We will do this regardless of all consequences.

Mr. Bonar Law in the House of Commons, June 18: They (the Government) know that if Ulster is in earnest—Ulster does resist there are stronger things than parliamentary majorities. They know that in that case no Government would dare to use British troops to drive them out. They know that a matter of this kind, Government which gave the order to employ troops for that purpose would run a greater risk of being lynched in London than—(Prolonged Opposition cheers.)

Dealing With Colonel Talbot. In the course of our conversation I inquired about Col. Talbot, that romantic and mysterious character who lived on the shores of Lake Erie for almost half a century. My impression that he was really one of the three-bottle men of the Georgian era, was confirmed. My friend did not have the honor of his personal friendship—I wonder if any man in Canada ever had—but he had business dealings with him more than once. The time to do it was evident from his conversation that they feared the soldiers would take possession of whatever they wished in the way of commissariat supplies. My friend remembers very well with another brother taking the winter's supply of salt meat to the woods and after burying it in the ground, turning a head and bush or other device to cover up their tracks. But they were not molested by the "soldiers."

The father was considered a favored person in the community and the neighbors brought many of their possessions and stored them on his farm. One winter, he said, the interior of their store stack was a veritable sea of straw and commissariat combined.

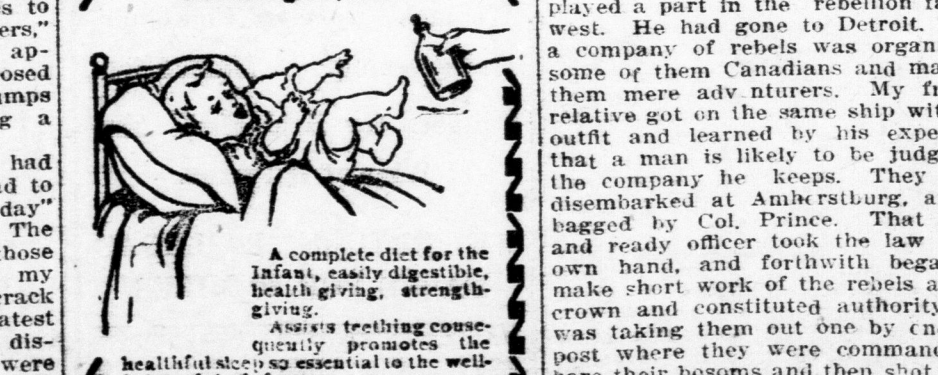
A Tyrannical Proceeding. During the course of these troubled times when the country was suffering from a most wretched and unjust government, a great gathering of settlers was called to meet in Westminster to draw up a petition to be sent to the new ruler, Queen Victoria. The settlers came from far and near, many of them being men of business, like all travellers through the bush in these days nearly every man carried a gun. It was a means of protection and supplying food at the same time. But these men were stern and most of them were armed with a gun, was misconstrued by the authorities in London, and at the command of the chief magistrate of the city, detachments of regulars were sent out to break up the meeting and arrest the leaders. Fourteen of them were committed to the London jail, where they lay for many months, all in a room of 12 by 12, and the only convenience in the room was a wash tub, emptied once a week. Most of them left the jail in broken health. A few died soon after, and some lived on as invalids, as a result of that terrible experience of a 12 by 12 cell with a wash tub in the corner.

Shot by the Score. A distant relative of my old friend played a part in fact, further west. He had gone to Detroit. There a company of rebels was organized—some of them Canadians and many of them mere adventurers. My friend's relative got on the same ship with the outfit and learned by his experience that a man is likely to be judged by the company he keeps. They were disembarked at Amherstburg, and bagged by Col. Price. That rough and ready officer took the law in his own hand, and forthwith began to make short work of the rebels against crown and constituted authority. He was taking them out one by one to a post where they were commanded to bare their bosoms and then shot. There was a goodly company, and it took time to get the work through, and moreover that rough officer thought it well to draw out the proceedings as long as possible in the interest of the crown and good government. When he was nicely started on his work, he was taken from the scene by a dispatched, a superior officer—a more humane and experienced officer—ap-

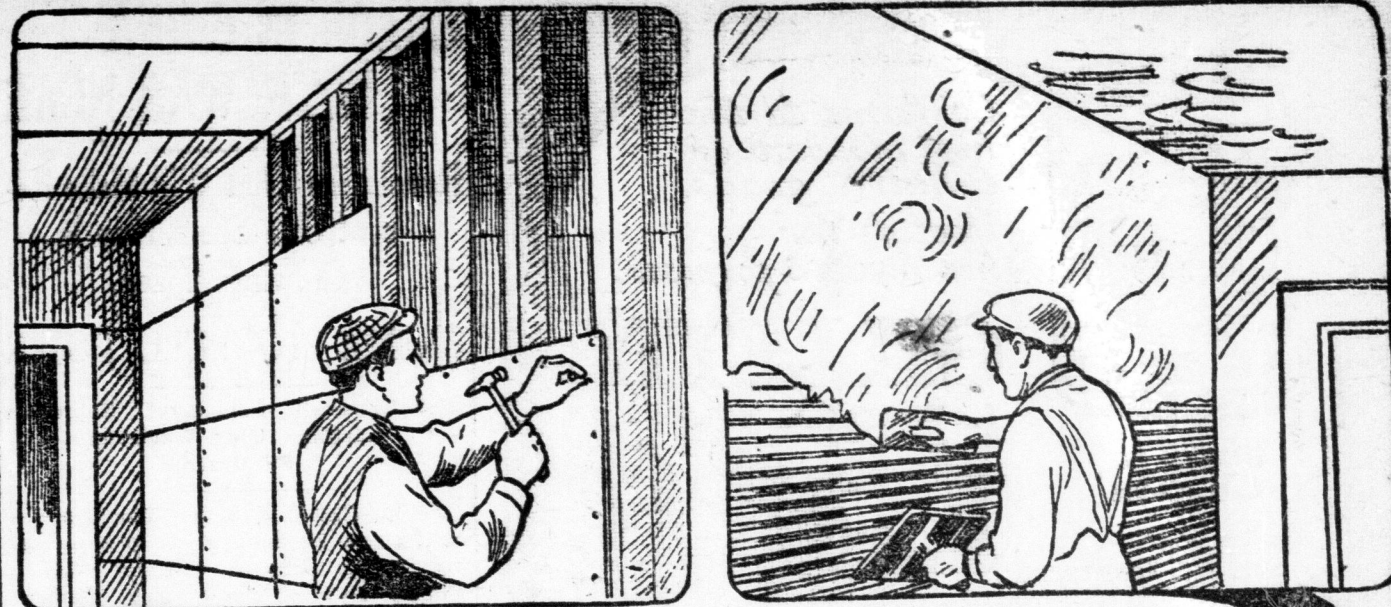
peared on the scene, and after reprimanding Price, sent the rest to London, where they were tried for treason. Fourteen were hanged and the rest sent to Botany Bay. In the case of a few years, they were returned from Botany Bay, and my friend's relative, besides having learned to avoid the company of bad men, returned with many stories of life on four and water and drawing sand like a darkey.

Sparked the Colonel. But one day a big raw-boned Highland Scotchman arrived at 1 o'clock in the afternoon after having walked through the bush twenty miles to make a payment on his farm. He found the colonel very crusty—easier in the day he would have been civil and later he would have been mellow, but then he was half-cooked and very crusty and talked to the Highlandman as a sergeant would to the last and most arrogant member of an awkward squad. But the Highlandman was in his own way a man of spirit. It made him fighting mad. He could have killed the colonel. As it was, he contented himself with whacking him over his knee and spanking him soundly. The next day the colonel's carpenter happened on the partition with the sliding window through which he ever afterwards transacted the general business.

And much more along the same line which I cannot set down now. But he



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