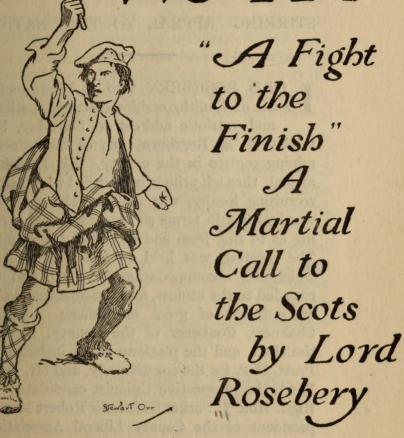
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# WAR!



Eneas Mackay Stirling

### "A FIGHT TO A FINISH."

STIRRING APPEAL TO THE NATION.

ORD ROSEBERY, who is Lord-Lieutenant of Linlithgowshire, delivered a stirring and patriotic address on Saturday, September 5, at Broxburn, one of the principal mining centres in the county. His Lordship's appeal, through primarily intended to encourage recruiting locally, was a memorable one, and was couched in terms so impressive and arresting as to ring from end to end of the country. The meeting was held in the Picturedrome, which has accommodation for 1500, and was crowded to the utmost, and the occasion evoked an outburst of great enthusiasm. Chalmers, Convener of the County, occupied the chair, and the platform party included Mr. Pratt, M.P. for the constituency, and Mr. James Kidd, the prospective Unionist candidate; the Right Hon. J. Parker Smith, Sir Robert Murray, president of the County Liberal Association; Mr. W. Pagan, president of the Broxburn Liberal Association; Mr. William Cuthbertson, president of the Broxburn Unionist Association etc., etc. Patriotic airs played on the bagpipes by Miss Black, Winchburgh, acted as a preliminary spark to the enthusiasm of the audience, who, when Lord Rosebery appeared, rose and cheered repeatedly. Lord Rosebery, who looked well, and seemed to have made an excellent recovery from his recent illness, spoke for about twenty-five minutes. His speech was characterised by more than ordinary feeling, and the striking passages were marked by passionate emphasis and dramatic gesture. Obviously his Lordship was wrought up to an unusual pitch, and the speech created a profound impression.

#### A UNITED FRONT.

The Chairman said that they had present representatives from all the political parties in the county of Linlithgow. They were all united together, resolved to back up the Government and to show that in Linlithgow and in Scotland they would carry this business through to the end. Out on the North Sea and on the plains of France lord and labourer, Unionist, Liberal, and Socialist, Nationalist and Ulsterman were standing side by side. (Cheers.)

## LORD ROSEBERY'S SPEECH. THE SURFACE FACTS.

Lord Rosebery, who was received with loud cheers, said—Colonel Chalmers, when you telegraphed to me yesterday asking me to come here to-day I telegraphed back at once to say that I would come, and come gladly, not to make a long speech, not to dilate on any of the

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current topics with which in times of peace you are so accustomed, but to talk for a moment about this terrible war, and the causes which have led up to it. We are met at a very solemn moment in the history of our country-more solemn, I think, than any that has occurred in the history of the world, and yet a month ago, let us say, on the 1st of August, we were all at peace, with scarcely a thought of war, and within a month our armies have been hewing their way through desperate odds. We have had two lists of casualties, and may soon have a third or a fourth. Our Fleet has been in action, and the whole face of Europe is convulsed as by an earthquake with the march of millions of armed men. What a change, and in so short a time! And how did this change come about? We shall not know for some years to come the secret history of what brought about this war. We know the simple outside facts the simple surface facts, that Austria declared war against Servia, that Russia declared she must stand by Servia, that Germany said she must stand by Austria, and that France said she must stand by Russia.

#### CURSED BY HUMANITY.

It was really a spark in the midst of this great powder magazine which the nations of Europe have been building up for the last twenty or thirty years—a spark alighting in that tremendous powder magazine which with infinite toil—misapplied toil, I think—the nations of

Europe have been constructing. When you go on building up armaments against each other there comes a time when either the guns go off of themselves, or else the people say-"We can no longer bear this burden of suspense; we had better make an end and come to blows at once." Those are the surface facts of the war. To-night I don't profess to take you further, because I really do not know. I do not know whether there was some great organiser who deliberately planned this war. Without evidence. I should be loth to lay such a burden on the soul of any man, because, whoever he be. the curse of humanity will pursue him to the end. (Cheers.) And where do we come in? I told you about Russia, Austria and the rest, but where do we come in? We came in for peace. All through the correspondence that led up to the declaration of war you will see that our Government, and of course its mouthpiece and skilful agent, Sir Edward Grey-(cheers)was skilful and energetic and untiring in trying to suggest modes by which peace might be preserved. I do not think that he had a fair chance, because the time was too short, and all the time armies were being mobilised, and when armies are being mobilised war becomes almost inevitable. But, at any rate, that was our part in the general contention of Europe-Peace. Our second was this-Honour. (Cheers.) We were parties to a treaty, to which France and the kingdom of Prussia were also parties, guaranteeing the independence and the integrity of

Belgium. (Cheers.) We determined, rightly or wrongly, wisely or unwisely, but I think rightly and wisely—(loud cheers)—that so long as any power remained in the arm of Great Britain she was bound not to go back upon her pledged word to Belgium—(cheers)—and so she determined that if Germany were determined to violate her word, Great Britain would not violate hers. (Cheers.)

#### THE POSITION OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Now, suppose it had been possible for us and I am sure that every Government in Britain must always wish for peace-suppose it had been possible for us to stand aside, at any rate for a moment, and to say that as Germany does not respect her word we will not respect ourssuppose we had been able to maintain peace at the price of that degradation, how long should we have been able to maintain it? (Hear, hear). Even if we had allowed Germany unopposed to violate the treaty of Belgium, and had stood on one side, how should we have endured to see the oppression and slaughter of a small and gallant people-(loud cheers)-in defence of the territory which we had guaranteed to them? Belgium is at this moment a welter of fire, of blood, and destruction-all wrought by one of the Powers that had sworn to guarantee her. How long would the British people have endured such a spectacle at their doors as that? We should have gone in at once, but gone in too late; we should only have had the remorse of our first hesitation. (Cheers.) Well, now I shall not detain you long. (A voice—"We like to hear you; go on," and cheers.)

#### THE BATTLE OF THE NATIONS.

I wish to say a word as to how this crisis comes home to ourselves. This is the greatest war that the world has ever seen-beyond all comparison the greatest war the world has ever seen. The battle of Leipsic, in which Russia, Austria, and Prussia fought against the Emperor Napoleon and crushed him was called the battle of the nations, but it was not the battle of the nations; it was a battle of great armies. It was reserved for this war to be the battle of the nations. Every man on the Continent of Europe who can bear arms is under arms at this moment, excepting Spain and Portugal and Italy and the Balkan Peninsula, though there are a great many under arms there. Among all the Great Powers of Europe, except Italy, every man at this moment is under arms. We are not in that position. We have never gone in for conscription. We have never demanded that every man should bear arms for his country, though, remember this, that by the common law of Great Britain every man valid and capable of bearing arms is bound at the call of his country to do so. (Cheers.) But you may say "It is all very well. You are an elderly gentleman. You won't be called out. You will sleep in your bed at night. You will have your meals. It is easy for you to come

and exhort us who are younger and are able to fight to go out to the war." But I do not think after all the position of we elderly ones, who have to dwell among the sheepfolds and listen to the bleating of the flock while you go out to the war, is so much preferable to your position. It is an indication, at any rate, that we are in the decline of vigour and in the sere and yellow leaf, and do you suppose that there is one single man of my age who would not gladly exchange for one of yours and go out to the front? (Cheers.)

#### WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING FOR.

It is a war of nations, and our nation, if it is to uphold itself, will not be able to remain aloof. We are fighting on the Continent, it is true, but we are fighting in defence of Great Britain. (Cheers.) There is one thing that is perfectly clear in all this matter, which is that those who go out to fight will go to fight in a righteous cause. (Hear, hear and cheers.) We are fighting for the independance of Belgium against a Power which guaranteed it and has destroyed it. We are fighting for the freedom of France, a friendly Power which is allied with ourselves. But we are also fighting for the sanctity of the public law of Europe—(cheers)—which, if our enemies be the conquerors, is torn up and destroyed for ever.

#### A FIGHT TO A FINISH.

When the German Foreign Secretary was asked if he was really going to infringe the

neutrality of Belgium, he said-"You are not going to war for that—go to war for a scrap of paper?" A great Power that treats "scraps of paper " like that is not unlikely to be scrapped itself. (Loud cheers.) The German Chancellor, when he vindicated this policy in Parliament, said-"We knew we were doing wrong in infringing the neutrality of Belgium; but we were compelled to do wrong." A nation that begins a great war by declaring that its foundation is wrong and that it is obliged to do wrong is likely to fare badly if there be a God in Heaven. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) Then we are not merely fighting for Belgium, France, and the sanctity of public law, but we are also fighting for ourselves. We do not fight to gain an acre of territory; we do not fight to gain any advantage for ourselves; we only fight to secure our own liberties against an oppression which would be intolerable. (Cheers.) We have seen wars in our time in which the loss of a province or two ended the war. That will not be so. You have seen wars in which an indemnity of money put an end to the war. That will not be so. You may lose territory and you may lose money; but what is certain is this, that if you are beaten to your knees, if you are compelled to submit, you will lose infinitely more than province or money. Make no mistake, gentlemen, this is a fight to a finish. (Loud cheers.) If we go under now we go under for ever. I do not ask you to suggest to yourselves that you will go under—not for a moment. (Cries of "Never.")

But if you are not going under, every man who is capable of defending his country is bound to step into the breach. (Loud cheers.)

#### IF WE WERE BEATEN.

Just think-try to imagine-what it would be if we were beaten. I do not suppose we should be annexed as a province—that is unthinkable—and see foreign uniforms, foreign police, foreign laws, foreign tax-gatherers in our country. That I discard as absolutely impossible. But there is another very improbable danger which might happen, which would happen if we were defeated. It is that we would be reduced at once to an inferior Power, living at the goodwill of our superior lord, living on sufferance, our Army limited, our Navy limited, our Empire cut up and divided among the plunderers—a position so abject that we cannot realise it now. The other day, speaking to my regiment near Edinburgh, I was reported to have said—but I beg to say there were no reporters there—that I would rather see Britain wiped out than one third-rate Power extinguished. Now, I said nothing of the kind. I did not say that, for this one reason—for I suppose the thirdrate Power indicated was Belgium, and I for one would never call Belgium a third-rate Power. (Cheers.) In territory, in wealth, in population, in military and naval power she may not be more than third-rate, but in incomparable valour, in noble patriotism, in heroic resistance she has all

the moral claims to be a first Power that any Power ever could possess. (Cheers.) But what I did say was this—that if we were to sink to be a third-rate Power, in the position that I have described, I for one would, from my heart and soul, rather that all our people as they now exist were to pass into exile or into death, and leave this island vacant for some superior race. (Cheers.)

#### "WE SHALL WIN."

Now, gentleman, I can end at any rate in a more cheerful vein. Make no mistake about it. We shall win. (Loud cheers.) We are fighting with our back to the wall, to prevent a shame and defeat such as England has never sustained. (Cries of "Britain.") I beg your pardon, said Lord Rosebery, after leaning over to the chairman to ask what were the interrupting cries. I share your susceptibilities, but I rather wish you would not interrupt my sentence, because I do not remember now how it began. We are fighting now with our back to the wall to prevent an ignominy and a defeat such as Great Britain—(hear, hear)—has never sustained and is not prepared to endure. We are going to win, because a nation and an Empire like ours cannot be extinguished by any such warfare as this. (Cheers.) We are going to win because we have our people united as they never have been before. (Cheers.) We are going to win because our Dominions, our Empires

outside these islands, vie with each other in generous emulation as to which shall give us most support in supplies of money and men. And, above all, we are going to win because we have a high, a pure, and a just cause, and we can appeal with humble but I think, earnest confidence to Him Whom, in the words of our beautiful old Paraphrase, we recognise as the

God of Bethel, by Whose hand Our people sill are fed.

(Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Mr. J. W. Pratt, M.P., moved—"That this meeting at this grave national and Imperial crisis resolves to uphold the traditions of the Scottish nation and to withstand to the uttermost the threats of military tyranny, and with this end in view calls upon all who are fit and free for military service to join His Majesty's forces, and upon others to see that the dependents of those who serve in the forces are properly cared for, and that distress consequent on the war is adequately relieved, so that the whole nation may remain united and steadfast and bring this war to a successful and honourable issue. (Cheers.)

Mr. James Kidd, prospective Unionist candidate for Linlithgowshire, seconded.

The resolution was carried by acclamation, and the meeting terminated after the singing of the National Anthem and "Scots Wha Hae."

#### DRAMATIC AND STIRRING APPEAL.

A T the close of the meeting at Edinburgh, on the 18th September, addressed by the Prime Minister, there was a movement on the part of the audience to disperse, but when Lord Rosebery rose from his seat in the grand tier, and made his way up the gangway leading to the exit, he was greeted with loud cheers and cries of "Speech" from every part of the hall. His Lordship hesitated and turned at the exit, and the cries of the audience became even more insistent. Amid great cheering, Lord Rosebery descended the stairs again, and facing the audience, said:—

"I am not on the programme, and I advise you to keep to the programme and to go home to bed. I have no right to intrude on you at all to-night."

His Lordship again turned to leave, but not before the audience once more gave overwhelming proof of their desire by a renewed demonstration, in which members of the platform party enthusiastically joined. "Speech, speech," resounded throughout the hall.

"Well, gentlemen, I will," announced Lord Rosebery, amid a storm of cheers, and he stepped down to the balcony rail and proceeded to address the meeting as follows:— The first thing I have to say, then, is one entirely of congratulation to myself that I have, contrary to my expectation, lived to sit in the Usher Hall. (Laughter.)

#### "ARE WE DOWN-HEARTED?"

But that is only a passing note. We are on too grave matters to-night to pause even to think of the long delay before we were privileged actually to enter this building. It is a great compliment that the Prime Minister has paid to us in coming down to Edinburgh to give us his benediction—I will not say his encouragement, because we do not want encouragement. (Cheers.) Are we down-hearted? (Cries of "No," and loud cheers.) Therefore, while we thank and bless the Prime Minister for his visit, we do not want it as a stimulant. Still, it is a great compliment that he does us when we think of all that is on his shoulders at this moment. (Hear, hear.) "Uneasy lies the head" that sleeps in 10 Downing street. (Laughter and cheers.) We find ourselves to-night in a position which we never could have expected six weeks ago. We find ourselves not merely in one of the little periodical wars to which our Empire is liable. We find ourselves in the midst of the greatest conflagration of war of which history has any record at all. And under these circumstances we might well expect that we should be down-hearted, that we should feel some feeling of melancholy, if not of despair,

at the grave crisis and enormous sacrifices which our nation is called upon to face.

#### A DIET OF LIES.

Even out of the horror of war we can, I think, be aware of two great compensations. The first is the Empire. (Cheers.) Mr. Asquith has alluded, I think, in his powerful speech, to the belief which our enemy fondly hugged to himself, that the Empire was a loosely compacted structure which would fall to pieces at the first touch of the antagonist. "Lies! Lies!! Lies!! Lies!!!" (Loud and prolonged cheering.) A nation whose persistent diet has been lies for the last thirty years cannot hope to thrive in any enterprise. (Cheers.)

#### THE REALITY OF THE EMPIRE.

What has been the result of this unfortunate miscalculation, as, I think, the Prime Minister called it? Nothing but, so far from dislocating our Empire, to combine it far more closely together. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Those who laboured in a cold atmosphere and a critical climate for the preservation and for the raising of Imperial unity some thirty or forty years ago, now can hardly believe in the reality that has stepped out of their dreams. One word more about the Empire. You have by the grace of God and the effort of man constructed this prodigious and unprecedented Empire, spreading all over the world. Ah, but having it, you

could not escape or hope to escape that which attends all human prosperity, the envy and the malignity of other persons and other Powers. (Cheers.)

#### RENEWED LEASE OF EMPIRE.

Well, we now know what many of us only suspected, that if we wished to maintain our Empire it would have to be preserved by war. And at last the war has come, and I think you may regard it, if I may use a legal term—which Mr. Clyde is far more able to expound than I am—a fine on a renewal of a lease. This war is the fine on the renewal of the lease of the British Empire. (Che. rs.) Let me say one word more (Cries of "Go on" and cheers.) Now you have me wound up, there is a danger that I shall never stop. (Laughter.) Do you wish me to sit down? (Cries of "No.")

## MISLEADING AND DECEPTIVE SYMPTOMS.

The second compensation for this war is the refutal of another of those endless lies upon which that unhappy nation which sought to oppress the world has been nurtured—that is, that we were a decadent race. We heard something of it among our own critics. There were too many cigarettes smoked. (Laughter.) I believe that not to be a lie, but to be the truth. (Laughter.) There were too many lookers-on at football in the afternoon. (Laughter.) Well, I won't even deny that. (Laughter.) I can believe that

there are amusements more stimulating, more energising, more wholesome than sitting looking on at a football match with endless pipes in your mouths. (Laughter.) But after all these were misleading and deceptive symptoms I venture to say that if we were proud of being Englishmen and Scotsmen—of course Irish, too—and Britons at the end of July, we are tenfold more proud of that title now. (Cheers.)

#### OUR VALIANT ARMY.

Our little Army, launched like a torpedo in the millions of European hosts, has more than held its own. (Hear, hear.) It has received the honour due to it from the Allied Army, and its Commander has even, it is said, saved the Allies at a critical juncture. (Cheers.) And whether that be so or not, it has shown itself valiant in victory, and what is infinitely more difficult, valiant and stoical in retreat. (Cheers.) Well, then, is that not something to be proud of? (Cheers.) Are there not many here who, hearing of these deeds, would wish to join in that host? (Cheers, and a voice, "There are.") Even although they might live to the age of Methuselah they will never have an opportunity of so distinguishing themselves on behalf of their country as now. (Cheers.) Lord Kitchener says that this will be a long war. I hope with all respect to that great authority that he may be wrong-(cheers)—right from a military point of view, but without considering the more civilian elements, the demon elements of fire, famine, and pestilence that the enemy itself had unloosed, and which may recoil upon itself. (Cheers.)

#### THE TRUE SUPREMACY.

These commercial considerations, and, most vital of all, considerations of food, may sensibly impair its strength in the field, and whether the war be long or whether it be short, sure I am of this, that it if be long every able-bodied man in this country will have to pass into the ranks of the Army before we give in. (Great cheering.) It is not a fight of conquest; it is not a fight to acquire a province; it is not a war which is to be solaced by a pecuniary indemnity. It is a war that must be fought out to the bitter end. (Loud cheers.) It is, I admit, a war for supremacy—but for a righteous supremacy. supremacy of liberty, supremacy of all that we hold sacred—even as a war is conducted by our Christian faith against a rude and barbarous Paganism. It is a fight for the supremacy of these great principles. Being so, we cannot afford to lose. (Cheers.) All that we have in the world is staked on this war—Empire, country, honour, our place in history and in the nations of the world; and yet, so placed as we are, we can neither flinch nor come to any patched-up truce. (Hear, hear, and loud cheers.) That thing against which we are fighting must come to an end for ever. Standing fast in principle, firm and brave and bold, we may say with Luther—"Here we stand and can do no other." (Loud cheers.)

#### "A FRIENDLY TALK."

THE Earl of Rosebery addressed a meeting of men residing in the parishes of Currie and Colinton in the Drill Hall, Juniper Green, Mid-Lothian, on Tuesday, 22nd September, with the object of stimulating recruiting for the British Army. Colonel Trotter of Colinton, Convener of the County of Mid-Lothian, was called to the chair.

Lord Rosebery, who was very warmly cheered on rising, said—Colonel Trotter, my friends and neighbours, I have come here not to make an elaborate speech, even if I were competent to do so, but simply to have a talk, a friendly talk as among neighbours, as to the grave situation in which we find ourselves. That situation has been accentuated by an announcement which brings sorrow, I am sure, to every man in this hall, that the Laird of Riccarton, that gallant and noble young fellow who was destined. I think, to play a leading part in his county and in his country, is said to have fallen in the war. There have been resurrections, however, like that of Lord John Hamilton the other day, and to the last we will not lose hope that he may possibly be restored to us. But in any case nothing could have brought home to this neighbourhood

more acutely the crisis in which we are engaged than the death of Sir Archibald Gibson Craig. We can only, and I am sure I here speak on behalf of every individual in this meeting, tender to his bereaved mother, now mourning not far from here, our deep condolence, our deep sympathy, in her irreparable loss. (Hear, hear.) But, after all, when we enter into a war of this magnitude we march into the very valley of the shadow of death. We walk through graves, open on each side of us, and we do not know at any moment who may fill them, however near and dear they may be to us. For all that that is no reason to flinch. We know when we enter a war—and such a war as this—a war of armed nations not merely in Europe but even extending to extreme Asia—we know when we enter on a war like this, armed though it may be with the holiest and most righteous of causes, that we must be prepared for sacrifices every day that it lasts. Even to-night we hear of the loss of three cruisers torpedoed in the North Sea. That is lamentable enough-the brave ships—the gallant crews—all gone from us. But these are only incidents in a war like this. They must not depress us; we must expect them, we must press forward to our goal without for a moment hesitating in the purpose of bringing it to a triumphant end. (Cheers.) The contrast between August and now is brought here to me by the reflection that I was coming, I think, to open your flower show somewhere in the last week of August. That flower show was, of course, abandoned. But on how different a mission do I come to-night! I come to move, and I read it at once—because I am apt to sit down without remembering I have to move it:—"That this meeting of the men of Colinton and Currie Parishes, recognising the urgent necessity for adding immediately to the strength of the Army abroad, pledge themselves as individuals and collectively to do all in their power to forward the enlistment of young men for general service in His Majesty's Army." Well that is explicit enough.

#### ENLISTING.

I must say one word about enlisting, which is the object of this meeting. I don't very much like talking about enlisting or advising others to enlist, because I cannot enlist myself, and it is always a painful thing to urge people to do what you cannot do yourself. But I ask you to remember here, in our peaceful little parish, what it is that we have to contend with. There must be at the very lowest computation 20,000,000 of armed men at this moment fighting in Europe— 20,000,000 of armed men. Two and a half times the population of England when she fought against Napoleon. 20,000,000 of armed men, and our forces will not probably amount to 150,000! Yet we are fighting for issues quite as great and as vital to ourselves as the 20,000,000 who are in arms, and so our force seems sadly inadequate,

even computing, which I am quite willing to compute, that each one of our men is worth three or four or five ordinary soldiers. (Cheers.) That at any rate leaves us very far behind in the race of armaments. I do beseech you to remember that this war is the greatest that the world has ever seen; putting the Creation at what date you like—the greatest war that the world has ever seen or, I hope, will ever see, and that we are fighting at this moment not merely for the neutrality of Belgium, not merely, as I think, for the cause of civilisation itself, but we are fighting for our own existence, our own independence, our own liberty. (Cheers.) Well now, I do not think that when any person here present who is of valid age, and valid strength, realises the importance of this great war he will hesitate for a moment to give his services to the country in some way or another, whether by enlisting in the Regulars or by joining the Territorial Force. That is all I have to say about enlistment. It is not a subject, as I said, that I do not dwell upon very much, because I can only advise; I cannot give any example.

#### CAUSE OF THE WAR.

But it is well on this occasion to remember why it is that we are at war; why it is that the cause I am advocating this evening, and which has been so admirably put before the country by the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister, and

the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in words I could only weaken by quoting. I say it is well to remember to-night why it is that we are at war, and why it is that the issue to which I venture to call your attention is so supremely important. In the first place, we fought for the neutrality of Belgium. That is why we entered into the war. We were forced into the war by the breach of the neutrality of Belgium. There were very many in this country—many even in the House of Commons—who would have hesitated to go to war if that grave breach of international law had not taken place, and we should have been compelled, I think, a little later, and perhaps a little too late, to join in the war even if the neutrality of Belgium had not been infringed, because I think that it would have been difficult. for Great Britain to see her Allies overrun and devastated and undergoing the indescribable tortures of a German campaign, without coming to their assistance. (Cheers.) But in the invasion of the neutrality of Belgium there was much more than is seen on the face of it. The neutrality of Belgium had been solemnly guaranteed by Prussia, the country which meant to overrun and devastate it. We are fighting, then, for the public law of Europe, on which all international relations must be founded, unless we wish to relapse into a state of barbarism. (Cheers.) After the neutrality of Belgium had been invaded, after what passed with regard to that hideous transaction, how henceforward

or for ever could any value whatever be attached to any treaty, to any public instrument, to which the signature of Germany was fixed? (Cheers.) The invasion of Belgium, therefore, was a thing we were bound to resist. As Mr. Gladstone said in 1870, he would always resist it to the last guinea and the last man. It was a gross outrage which we were bound to resist, not merely because of the particular instance, but because of the insult and destruction of the public law of Europe. (Cheers.) Well now, I take that to be the cause for which we are fighting

#### AGAINST THE PRUSSIAN.

But we are fighting also against something else. What is it that we are fighting against? It is not the German nation, though, of course, the German nation is fighting us. We have no particular quarrel with the German nation, which is a peaceful, quiet, domestic race, liking their quiet beer saloons and their music; we are fighting against the military caste of Prussia. (Cheers.) I distinguish most broadly and strongly between Prussia and the rest of Germany. This policy of aggression and domination is entirely Prussian; it is not German, it is not Saxon, it is not Hanoverian. It does not come from Wurtemburg or Baden or Bavaria. It is entirely, in its inception and in its history, Prussian and nothing else. The policy dates from a long time back: it dates from Frederick II., who was often called the Great, and from his

father, who has never been called the Great. (Laughter.) Frederick II. left a stamp on his country which has never been effaced, and which, unless the nation undergoes great humiliation, will never, in my opinion, be effaced. It was at the time of Frederick that the Prussian Monarchy was a long, narrow strip, and that it was described, because of its geographical position, and because of its aggressive tendency, as a kingdom that was all sting, and all sting it has always remained. (Laughter and cheers.) The doctrine is that might is right; that as long as you have a sufficiently large Army, to which has recently been added a sufficiently large Navy, you can do whatever you like—there is no right or wrong in the ethics of the world. Might is right. When that comes to be the principle of Europe, when that comes to be the principle which overrides treaties, and regards them as scraps of paper, the world has got very near to damnation. (Loud cheers.) That doctrine of might is right has been the curse of Prussia, the curse to Germany, and the curse to all the surrounding nations, who have been obliged to tax the sweat and blood of their people to an incredible extent in order to maintain armaments to resist the doctrine that might is right. (Cheers.) And how is might to be applied? Might, according to the new philosophy in Germany, means universal domination. It does not mean annexation of every territory in the world—though possibly it might come to

that if successful—but it does come to this. that no voice should be raised in Europe without the approbation of Prussia, and that every State and every inhabitant of a State in Europe is practically to be the vassal of Prussia. Now, in the time of Prince Bismarck, who was a wise and cautious statesman, the policy of Prussia was restrained. He was a Minister of peace. He was not in favour of perpetually reaching out the hand with the sword in it, and chopping at random. He had made and founded the German Empire, and he was determined to preserve it. But it is the persons who have taken his place, and discarded him, who are determined to put the German Empire to the hazard of a war in order to acquire universal domination. They are not satisfied with that noble Empire the present rulers of Prussia. They are not satisfied with the noble Empire which they acquired in 1866 and 1870. It has grown from 40,000,000 of population in 40 years to some 67,000,000, grown enormously in commercial wealth, prosperity, and so forth. They are not satisfied with that. They must put the iron heel on the head of the world. And, when they have established that domination, what is the benefit they propose to grant to their new subjects in exchange for the domination exercised over them? It is German culture. German culture!

#### GERMAN CULTURE.

We have heard all our lives of German culture

-something which Scotsmen and Englishmen could not aspire to, which was on a higher level than our lives. (Laughter.) They have, I think, more than a score universities in Germany—a fine poultry yard for the laying hens of German culture. (Laughter.) Now, what is this German culture? What is its object—what are its practices? Its first object seems to be-inspired, I suppose, by the twenty universities—to destroy all other universities—(laughter)—and they have begun by destroying the University of Louvain, one of the most ancient and illustrious Universities, which, by solemn treaty they had sworn to guarantee and preserve. (Cheers.) What is the second object of German culture? To drown Belgium, which they had guaranteed by a solemn Act, in blood and in fire. And what is the third? We can only gather from its acts what German culture means. The third is to destroy all the historical monuments within its reach, and to do what the greatest barbarians in history would never even have contemplated. Louvain, Malines, Senlis, all attest the benefits of German culture, and to-day we have a final report. One of the most glorious monuments of Christian architecture in the world, one of the most historical, the ante-type, as I believe, of our Westminster Abbey, the Cathedral of Rheims, wantonly bombarded and destroyed by the apostles of German culture. ("Shame.") Can you conceive a more deliberate and public repudiation of Christianity from a State

which is constantly arrogating to itself the special protection of the Almighty than such a wicked destruction of this great Christian temple—(cheers)—destroying, it is said, at the same time some wounded, some German wounded even, some sisters of charity, who had taken refuge under that sacred roof? Well, that is German culture—that is what is to be spread at the point of the bayonet by the Prussian armies all over the world. And that German culture is one of the things that we are determined to resist. (Loud cheers.) I do not like to make even a passing jest on such a subject as this, but it does occur to me that this destruction of historical monuments does afford some ground for our friends in the United States to intervene by arms in this war-(cheers)because as they annually send us an enormous population of sightseers, who come to see the glorious antiquities of Europe, the United States have a ground for grievance; but if Prussian conquest much extend, there will be no historical monument left on the Continent for the American tourists to see. (Cheers.)

#### DECLINE OF GERMANY.

It is a curious thing that we may mark by special dates the deterioration in the German nation since it first achieved its Empire. In the first place, at the beginning of the war of 1870, when there was a question of the neutrality of Belgium, and when Mr. Gladstone made these

famous declarations on the subject, Prince Bismarck, who was then in power, was approached as to the neutrality of Belgium, and at once agreed to a treaty of neutrality guaranteeing Belgium from invasion. Well, there has been a great change in 40 years in the German spirit between those days and those when they avow they are doing wrong, and when they declare the treaty to be a scrap of paper for which it is not worth fighting. But the second point is this. I was grown up when the war of 1870 took place, and I remember pretty accurately what then occurred, and I am pretty sure that there was no accusation then except in the single instance of the burning of Bazeilles, just before the surrender of Sedan, for which I think the Germans made a good case—that there was no instance of this present form of outrage for which the present Prussian Army has gained so unenviable a notoriety. The fact is that in the military caste which has now arrogated to itself supreme domination in the German Empire there has come a brutality, an intoxication of the rights of power, which was absolutely unknown to the German nation in 1870. (Cheers.) We have now gone back to the time of Prussia before Jena, when the Prussian officers went and sharpened their swords on the doorsteps of the French Ambassador to show their contempt for him and his country, and their determination to defeat it. And a few days later Prussia was laid in the dust. (Cheers.) Now, it is not France

that they are fighting with alone; they are fighting with all Europe. If they are successful, they mean that their sword shall clank in every country of Europe without resistance or demur. They are prepared to sharpen their swords on every doorstep in Europe. But I trust that the awakening will be the same, and that they will meet with a Jena and the consequences of a Jena. (Loud cheers.) That is what we are fighting against. We are fighting against the hideous domination of militarism which has caused Europe for the last twenty years endless uneasiness, overpowering burdens, and a perpetual tax on the food and the labour of the people. (Hear, hear.) This war had to come, because Prussia had raised in Europe an unnatural state of things, an unnatural expenditure, which could not any longer be sustained. If it had to come, it were better that it should come now than later, when their Fleet had been built up to such an extent that it would have been a more serious menace to our own than it is, and when the armies of Germany were even more overwhelming than they are. But, come soon, come late, it had to come, and we had to be in the forefront of resistance. (Loud cheers). There is no war for liberty in which Great Britain can afford altogether to stand aside. And we stand forth now to combat the hideous doctrine that might is right and all that that doctrine involves. And we have come to realise that the overpowering predominance of Germany is inconsistent not merely with the liberty and the independence of other nations, but with civilisation itself. (Loud cheers.)

#### A MOVING APPEAL.

Therefore, it is a matter of life or death to Great Britain. We cannot afford to be beaten. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) We sit here quietly in this Drill Hall, and it seems something to us remote, but is not remote. It is at your doors to-day. You have a heroic Army fighting in the field, the leaven, perhaps, of all the Allied Armies, whose unconquerable courage has received the tribute not merely of our Allies. but even the more reluctant tribute of our enemies. You have that patient, vigilant, silent, unwearied Fleet which is keeping the seas open for the commerce of the world, watching with the desperate strain upon it, as Nelson watched the French fleets for two years without setting foot on land in the great war that we fought against Napoleon. Ah! these are only our vanguards. We have to fill up their ranks. for you to do it. It has to be done all over England and Scotland; and I call upon you, for the name and honour of Mid-Lothian, for the name and honour of Scotland, itself not to be backward in inscribing your names upon the roll of honour which will long survive you and your children's children. If you hold aloof you will be looked at askance-very often wrongly, but there will be a suspicion that

you might have helped Britain in her hour of peril. But if you come in, and fall in with the intrepid ranks that are now combating this wicked and dangerous foe, you will be welcomed to your homes here as were the heroes of Bannockburn. (Loud cheers).

Dr. Byron Bramwell seconded the resolution, which was carried amid loud cheering.

Lord Rosebery said—I have one thing which I want to say to you before I go, which I forgot to say while I was talking. I understand during the Boer War there was a company of Volunteers formed in this parish, which came into existence, but which could not be adopted as a unit under the Territorial scheme, and therefore it disappeared. It was not got up by the gentry. It was got up by working men themselves, the papermakers of Currie. Now these men must be here, or somewhere about. Whether they are here or there it does not so much matter. as I am quite sure the spirit that raised the company is still alive among you, and will not allow itself to be extinguished on such an occasion as this. (Loud cheers.)

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