

Dr. W. J. LEYDS
KANTOOR

Stop-the-War Committee.

REPORT AND STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS. FROM *JANUARY 11 to DECEMBER 31, 1900.*

4, CLOCK HOUSE,
ARUNDEL STREET, STRAND, W.C.
January 21, 1901.

Stop-the-War Committee.
REPORT

LONDON :

PRINTED BY A. BONNER, 1 & 2 TOOK'S COURT,
FURNIVAL STREET, E.C.

REPORT.

THE STOP-THE-WAR COMMITTEE was established at a Conference of Friends of Peace summoned by Rev. Silas K. Hocking in Exeter Hall, on January 11, 1900. Its mandate was contained in the following resolutions:—

That in the opinion of this Conference the present war between the Christian States in South Africa is a scandal to Christendom and a disgrace to civilisation, which it is the duty of all Christians to endeavour to stop.

That while to provoke an unnecessary war is a crime against humanity, the continuation for the sake of Imperial prestige is a grievous addition to the national guilt.

Therefore, we appeal to the Governments of the Empire and of the Republics to arrest the present purposeless effusion of blood in order that for the first time we may be informed what it is that each is fighting for, and so pave the way for an honourable agreement to be arrived at either by direct negotiation or by the mediation of some friendly neutral in accordance with the principles of the Hague Conference.

That this Conference is of opinion that the present war was brought about by the circulation of statements for which there is no foundation in truth, and by the overbearing diplomacy of the Colonial Secretary. It declares its profound conviction that all our difficulties originate in the well-founded distrust entertained by the Burghers of Mr Chamberlain, whose share in the Rhodes-Jameson conspiracy was rendered all the more conspicuous by the attempt to hoodwink the Select Committee of the House of Commons.

It denounces as dishonest his attempt to revive the suzerainty of 1881, which was abandoned in 1884. It condemns as an act of distinct bad faith the repudiation of his own offer of a Joint Committee of Enquiry into the seven years' franchise the moment it was accepted by President Kruger, and it regards with horror and indignation his cynical admission that this bloody and disastrous war was due to his failure to write an intelligible despatch in reply to the offer of a five years' franchise.

This Conference further repudiates as a disingenuous afterthought the myth of a great Dutch conspiracy, and brands as untrue the statement that the armaments of the Burghers began before 1895, or had any other origin than the legitimate desire to protect themselves against a renewal of the conspiracy. It deplores the persistent refusal of our Government to accept President Kruger's earnest and oft-repeated entreaties to allow all differences between us to be settled by arbitration, and finally this Conference expresses its solemn conviction that there is no possibility of restoring peace to South Africa until Mr. Chamberlain is removed from the Colonial Office and is no longer permitted to occupy a position of trust which he has abused by wrecking the peace of the Empire and besmirching the fair fame of our country.

That this Conference, believing that all lawful means should be used to arrest the continuance of this unjust and unnecessary war, appoints a Committee and instructs it to do whatever it can to give effect to the Resolutions, either by means of the Press, the pulpit, the platform, or by appealing to the Constituencies whenever bye-elections take place.

The Committee was constituted as follows:—

President : The Rev. JOHN CLIFFORD, D.D.

Chairman of Executive : Rev. SILAS K. HOCKING.

Hon. Treasurer : Mr. ALFRED MARKS.

Hon. Secretary : Mr. W. M. CROOK.

Members of Executive :

Mr. G. H. PERRIS

Mrs. SHELDON AMOS

Mr. HAROLD RYLETT

Mrs. COBDEN UNWIN

Mr. FRANK SMITH

Miss BARNICOAT

Mr. W. T. STEAD

Rev. W. URWICK

The first step taken by the Committee was to issue the following placard, which set forth the reasons why it appealed to the nation to stop the war.

STOP THE WAR!

AN APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE.

To Our Fellow Countrymen :—

WE APPEAL TO YOU TO STOP THE WAR.

It is an unjust War which ought never to have been provoked.

It is a War in which we have nothing to gain, everything to lose.

To "put it through" merely because we are in it, is to add crime to crime.

AND ALL FOR WHAT?

Why are our sons and brothers killing and being killed in South Africa?

Why are happy homes made desolate, wives widowed, and children left fatherless?

LET US FACE THE FACTS!

There would have been no War if we had consented to Arbitration, which President Kruger begged for, but which we haughtily refused.

There would have been no War if the Government had counted the cost.

There would have been no War if the capitalists at the goldfields had not hoped it would reduce wages and increase dividends.

There would have been no War but for the campaign of lies undertaken to make men mad against the Boers.

AND WHO ARE THE BOERS?

The Boers are the Dutch of South Africa, white men, and Protestant Christians like ourselves.

They read the same Bible, keep the same Sabbath, and pray to the same God as ourselves.

They believe that they are fighting for Freedom and Fatherland, with the unanimous support of Europe excepting Turkey.

WHAT ARE WE FIGHTING FOR?

We have been at War for three months, thousands have been killed and wounded, but to this day neither side knows what the other is fighting for.

Each side asserts that the other is fighting for something which the other denies that it wants.

WHY NOT CALL A TRUCE?

We might then get to know for the first time what is the real difference between us.

And when we had in black and white what each side wants we should then be able to see what could be done to arrange matters.

If we could not agree on a Settlement, then we ought to refer the difference to Arbitration.

IF WE "PUT IT THROUGH" WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

The sacrifice of the lives of 20,000 of our brave sons.

The slaughter of at least as many brave Boers.

Hard times for the poor at home.

Dislocation of Trade.

The Increase of Taxation.

The waste of £100,000,000 of our hard-earned money.

And in the end,

CONSCRIPTION.

IS THE GAME WORTH THE CANDLE?

If we wade through blood to hoist the Union Jack at Pretoria our difficulties will then only have begun.

We shall have conquered a people we cannot govern.

We can never govern them with their consent.

If we try to govern them against their will we shall have to keep 50,000 soldiers in their country.

WE DO NOT WANT ANOTHER IRELAND IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Therefore we appeal to you to

STOP THE WAR AND STOP IT NOW!

Signed on behalf of the "Stop-the-War!" Committee:—

JOHN CLIFFORD, D.D.

(Chairman of General Committee.)

SILAS K. HOCKING.

(Chairman of Executive.)

W. M. CROOK.

(Hon. Secretary.)

This placard, which was also issued as a handbill, was extensively distributed and displayed throughout the country. Two fine cartoons, "The Angel of Peace," by Mr. Walter Crane, and "Castle Jingo," by Mr. Henry Holiday, were also issued for display in windows and on walls. At the same time many thousands of broadsheets containing a report of the Conference were distributed.

Local committees of Friends of Peace were formed throughout the country, and in addition the Executive opened communications with numerous political and other organisations, by

means of which the literature subsequently published penetrated to every part of the United Kingdom, the colonies, and our dependencies.

Arrangements were made for the delivery of a series of lectures by Mr. Cronwright Schreiner in England and Scotland. The moment the tide of war began to turn in favour of the British arms, the Jingoës who had been cowed by the reverses sustained by our forces in South Africa, broke out with violence. The relief of Ladysmith coincided with the suppression of the right of public meeting and free speech in Britain.

By an unexpected coincidence the Conference of the Friends of Peace, summoned by the Committee at Exeter Hall, fell on March 2, the day after the news had arrived of the relief of Ladysmith. The afternoon conference was undisturbed, but the evening meeting in the Large Hall was violently attacked by an organised band of "patriots." The staircases were, however, held by main force against the assailants who were at the eleventh hour dispersed by the police. The following resolutions were carried at this Conference:—

That the change in the military position makes the moment opportune for renewing a demand for the immediate arrest of the fighting in South Africa, for the purpose of ascertaining whether a settlement could now be arrived at by mutual consent.

That this Convention invites the co-operation of all kindred societies, all Peace societies, and all friends of Peace, in immediately bringing about the object set forth in the foregoing Resolution.

That local committees be established all over the United Kingdom with a view to active propaganda to ensure an early Peace.

After the Exeter Hall meeting, meetings in other parts of the country were broken up by organised bands of rowdies. It made no difference to them whether the meetings were public or private. If they could force an entrance they broke the heads of the speakers. If they were excluded they broke the windows of the buildings in which the meetings were held.

Mr. Balfour publicly excused these outrages on the right of free speech on the ground that it was more than human nature could bear to hear the justice or policy of the war questioned. Encouraged by his approval the local authorities acquiesced in the suppression of free speech, and the opponents of the war were compelled to confine themselves mainly to the distribution of peace literature.

Ministers of religion who were faithful to the cause of peace were silenced, and in some cases compelled to resign their pulpits. Moloch priests swelled the warwhoop, clamorous for war. The houses of private citizens were attacked by disorderly

mobs, property was looted, and, with few exceptions, the law-breakers were allowed to go scot free.

But in the midst of the storm of passion and of crime, the Committee and its supporters pursued their task. They lost no opportunity of protest. The Rev. W. Urwick, one of the most indefatigable members of the Committee, circulated the Appeal made by the Dutch ministers of religion to the ministers of the Christian Church in Great Britain, and succeeded in obtaining signatures to a fraternal address of sympathy from upwards of seven hundred clergy and ministers of all denominations.

After the refusal of the Government to discuss terms of peace with the delegates from the South African Republic, a Conference was summoned by the Committee in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, on the afternoon of May 24. The following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

1. That this meeting expresses its indignation and regret that the pacific overtures of the Peace Delegates of the South African Republics should have been ignored by the present Government, and declares that such an appeal should have met with an immediate and sympathetic response from the Government of any professedly Christian people.

2. That this meeting registers its solemn protest equally against the policy of annexation proclaimed by Mr. Chamberlain, and the policy of revenge announced by Lord Salisbury, as being not only a flagrant violation of the solemn assurances given by Ministers when the War began, but also a negation of the principles of international morality, an outrage upon the doctrine of nationality, and a fatal blow to the future peace and prosperity of South Africa.

3. That this meeting expresses its profound sympathy with all victims of the prevailing frenzy of the hour, and urges upon all friends of Peace and lovers of free speech to use their influence to discountenance these deplorable manifestations. That this meeting declares its confident belief in the ultimate triumph of humanity and common-sense, and pledges itself to continue the work with unabated vigour, and carry on the propaganda of Peace by the further distribution of literature and by such means of public and private discussion as have not yet been destroyed by violence.

A Report of this Conference also was published as a broadsheet and distributed by the Friends of Peace throughout the country.

When the General Election took place, the Committee issued 250,000 copies of a broadsheet Catechism for Electors, and forwarded a copy of the Catechism in book form to every candidate. The elections were, however, too much rushed for the electors to have time to digest any campaign literature. Another month would have made all the difference. But the polls were taken when the nation's ears were ringing with the lies told by Ministers that the war was over, and that the only way to prevent its renewal was to return a Ministerial majority.

Hardly had the House of Commons been elected when the lie was confessed. The war, so far from being over, was assuming a new and more dangerous phase. In order to terrorise the Boers into submission, war was made upon their wives and children. A policy of wholesale houseburning was resorted to, which outraged the conscience of the civilised world.

The Committee, recognising its responsibility, printed and issued 250,000 copies of a broadsheet which at first was entitled "Hell Let Loose," but which subsequently was called "What is now being done in South Africa." Copies of this broadsheet, together with a reproduction of Mr. Moscheles' admirable cartoon, "In the Year of the Lord 1900," were posted to members of both Houses of Parliament, ministers of religion, mayors, chairmen of county councils, and editors throughout Great Britain. 5,000 copies were despatched to South Africa, where they were seized by Sir Alfred Milner, who, with the approval of Mr. Rose Innes, destroyed the parcel as containing "seditious libel." In South Africa there is to-day no libel so seditious as the plain and simple truth.

The effect of this revelation of the brutal atrocity with which the war is being carried on was immediate. Ministers recoiled from the consequences of their own policy, and Lord Kitchener, even while arranging the execution of the policy of extermination, was checked by an intimation from Mr. Chamberlain that he must drop house-burning and try what could be done by a milder policy.

The advantage thus gained has been vigorously followed up. The remarkable letter from "A British Officer in Command," which was published in the broadsheet "What is now being done in South Africa," was succeeded by two others not less remarkable, which were published as supplements to *The New Age*, which, as far as the campaign against the war is concerned, has practically taken the place of *War Against War in South Africa*, as the organ of the Committee.

At the meeting of the Committee, held at the Clock House, Arundel Street, on January 17, Mr. Silas K. Hocking in the chair, the following resolution was moved by Rev. W. Urwick, seconded by Mrs. Cobden Unwin, and carried unanimously.

That copies of the three letters from a British officer in command at the front be forwarded to the Prime Minister, the Commander-in-Chief, the Secretary for War, the Colonial Secretary and the High Commissioner.

That this Committee desires to express the conviction that the orders which the British officer reports that he has personally received, as well as others which have been officially published, reveal the adoption by Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener of a policy having as its aim the extermination of a heroic nationality by starving its women and children, and by the deliberate massacre of unarmed prisoners.

That such a policy is the natural and inevitable outcome of this unjust war, which began by our refusal to arbitrate.

That the endeavour to make up for bungling ineptitude by a policy of calculated atrocity has caused our best friends in Europe and America to declare that Britain, from being the defender of liberty, independence, and humanity, has become the enemy of the human race. We therefore call upon the Government to arrest this reversion to the practices of savages, to restrain the action of our Generals within the rules and usages of civilised warfare, to abandon the attempt to kill out a whole nation by fire, famine and massacre, and to stop the war and to stop it now, by agreeing to arbitration, which the Boers have never ceased to demand.

The work of distributing the literature of the Committee against the war has been and is still being carried on with great energy. The Committee has thought it well to encourage local effort in the matter of distributing literature and holding meetings, and accordingly large grants of literature have been made to various associations throughout the country, and in some cases financial aid has been afforded in respect of meetings. During the elections, especially, large quantities of the Committee's publications were sent into the constituencies.'

The following is a list of publications issued by the Committee or distributed by it, with an approximate estimate as to the number put into circulation :—

DISPLAY POSTERS AND CARTOONS.

The Manifesto Stop the War. In Black Border.
Mr. Walter Crane's noble Cartoon, "The Angel of Peace."
Mr. Holiday's effective Allegorical Picture of the War, "Castle Jingo."
"Bethlehem Stormed and Captured in the Year of the Lord 1900." By Mr. Felix Moscheles.

PAMPHLETS, AND LEAFLETS, AND BROADSHEETS.

Stop the War. I. Black-bordered Leaflet.
Stop the War. II. Four-Page Leaflet, with Crane's Illustration.
The Truth About the War.
The Trail of the Financial Serpent. By John Burns, M.P.
The Men We are Fighting. By an Army Chaplain.
An Appeal to the Women of England.
What We are Fighting for—High Dividends, Cheap Labour. By W. P. Byles.
A Century of Wrong. By State Secretary Reitz.
Are We in the Right? By W. T. Stead.
Shall I Slay my Brother Boer? With Speeches by Morley, Harcourt, and Courtney.
Mr. Chamberlain: Conspirator or Statesman. Being a New and Extended Edition of the Scandal of the South African Committee.
Mr. Cronwright-Schreiner's Speech at Penistone.
The New Imperialism. By John Burns, M.P.
Open Letter to the Duke of Devonshire. I. By Charles Boissevain.
The Struggle of the Dutch Republics (Open Letter to an American Lady II. By Charles Boissevain.
The South African Crisis. By Prof. A. Kuyper, D.D., LL.D.

The Truth About the War. Told in Plain Answers to Straight Questions.
 Hell Let Loose!! Devil's Deeds now Doing in South Africa.
 What is Now Being Done in South Africa.
 How We are Waging War.
 The Candidates of Cain. By W. T. Stead.
 How Not to Make Peace. By W. T. Stead.
 The Struggle of the Dutch Republics: A Great Crime. III. By Charles-
 Boissevain.
 Exposure. By An Uitlander.
 Labour Leaders and the War.
 Our English Liberties, A.D. 1900.
 The War Blight on Social Reforms.
 Naboth's Vineyard in South Africa.
 A Filip to Revolution.
 "Afraid of God." Mr. Stead's Speech.
 Westralia and its Outlanders.
 Mr. Chamberlain and the Raid.
 The Men we are Fighting for.
 Dying for other People's Dividends.
 Who are the Conspirators?
 Jockeyed into War.
 The Judgment of our Neighbours.
 More Lies Nailed to the Counter.
 Is this a Stock Jobbers' War?
 "What if an all-avenging Providence."
 Will the French Raid London?
 A Dutchman's Appeal to England.
 "Death to the Republics—Death!"
 Our Moloch Priests.
 How Kruger Begged for Arbitration.
 "Say! Say! Say!" A Parody.
 More Victims of Moloch.
 The Men we are Slaying by Tommy Atkins.
 The Strange Story of Hugh Price Hughes.
 Why See it Through?

And some thirty other leaflets. In all it is estimated that the Committee has distributed upwards of three and a half millions of pamphlets, leaflets, broadsheets, etc.

The publications of other organisations have been distributed freely, *e.g.*, those of the League of Liberals against Aggression and Militarism, the Transvaal Committee and the South African Conciliation Committee, and the thanks of the Committee are due to these bodies for the readiness with which they have supplied their publications.

To the great regret of his colleagues, Mr. W. M. Crook, owing to pressure of engagements, early in April retired from the position of Hon. Secretary, and his place was taken by Mr. Harold Rylett.

The Committee feels that the Friends of Peace owe an especial recognition of the devotion with which the Women's Organising Department, under the able superintendence of Mrs. Jane Cobden Unwin, has discharged the important duty of appealing to the Women of the United Kingdom. This recog-

dition should extend to the ladies who have so readily placed their services at the disposal of the Department and of the Executive Committee.

The Accounts, duly audited by Mr. Victor Bauer, chartered accountant, to whom the best thanks of the Committee are due, show that of an expenditure of £2,634, only £168 went in salaries, and £94 in office rent. All the rest of the money was spent in printing, postage, and public meetings.

The Committee, in reviewing this record of its stewardship, appeals confidently to the public for a renewal of support. It has never flinched from bearing testimony to the cause of Peace, of Liberty, and of Justice. Never before in any war have the Friends of Peace found an organisation that had both the will and the capacity to keep sounding continually in the ears of a war-maddened nation the fundamental principles of international morality. Not even the thunder of the cannon was allowed to silence their protest. In the midst of the universal execration and amazed contempt which British policy excites everywhere outside the frontiers of the Empire, the Committee has the satisfaction of having compelled even our most unsparing critics to admit that after all there is something left to admire in England in the vigour and enthusiasm with which the opponents of the war have maintained their protest against it.

The war is not over and there is little prospect of its speedy termination. Every day that it drags along adds to the ranks of those who believe that it never should have begun. Those who detest the war need more than ever some rallying centre round which they can gather. This Committee firmly believes that it is as necessary now as ever to maintain its stern protest against the war with uncompromising directness and unfaltering emphasis; and to enable all who desire to do so to declare their determination to wash their hands of all responsibility for the innocent blood unjustly shed in an attempt to annex territory to which we have no title, by the deliberate extermination of a race which has proved its right to independence by a display of patriotic valour and heroic self-sacrifice unparalleled in modern history.

The logic of events has already gone far to justify the arguments, the assertions, and predictions by which the Committee opposed the war. When the war broke out the Ministers and members of the Front Opposition Bench agreed in believing that some £10,000,000 sterling would suffice to settle the difficulty, and secure the conquest of the two Republics. The loss of life necessitated by this appeal to arms was estimated at a few hundreds. The war was declared to be a mere incident which would be forgotten in a few months. Against these confident anticipations the Committee in its appeal to the

public declared that to attempt to put the war through would mean the sacrifice of the lives of 20,000 of our men, the slaughter of at least as many brave Boers, hard times for the poor, dislocation of trade, increase of taxes, the waste of £100,000,000 of our hard-earned money, and in the end conscription. The Committee went on to say that if we waded through blood to hoist the Union Jack at Pretoria, our difficulties would then only have begun. "We shall have conquered a people we cannot govern. We can never govern them with their consent. If we try to govern them against their will we shall have to keep 50,000 soldiers in their country." Of all these predictions that about conscription is the only one which has not been fulfilled so far as we are concerned. Fortunately the loss of life among the Boers does not seem to have yet reached the figure of 20,000, but the process of attrition which is being kept up, may, unless the war is stopped, bring their casualties up to that figure. On the other hand, we have lost in deaths about 14,000, while 40,000 more have been invalided home from wounds and sickness. The prediction as to the number of men necessary to govern the country without the consent of the Boers was underestimated. At the time it was ridiculed as a preposterous exaggeration. But at this moment, although we have over 200,000 men in South Africa, an urgent appeal is made for 40,000 more.

The Committee feels that as it accurately diagnosed the future more than twelve months ago it may appeal with some confidence to its supporters. Its policy in the future as in the past is one of uncompromising opposition to the war. The formula "Stop the War and Stop it Now," is as sound to-day as it was when the Committee was constituted, and the war can be stopped only in one of two ways. Either the Dutch must be exterminated, or we must complete our evacuation of the two Republics, and concede that demand for arbitration which the Boers have made from the first. At present Lord Kitchener is evacuating the country on lateral lines. That is to say, he is retreating from all positions except those on the lines of railway. It is a confession that he has not conquered the Republics; he has only seized their railways and the towns through which they pass, and to hold them and nothing else is the task for which he regards 200,000 men as all too few.

The Committee, therefore, appeals with confidence for a renewal of subscriptions to enable it to keep up a *mitraille* of pamphlets, broadsheets, and leaflets for the purpose of driving conviction into the public mind as to the insanity and criminality of this war. The time is not one which calls for mealy-mouthed utterances. The Committee believes that this war, which from its beginning was a crime without justification or excuse,

has now degenerated into a campaign of extermination, carried out by a policy of systematic devastation, the like of which for atrocity can only be paralleled in our time by the operations of the Turks in Armenia and Bulgaria. Never before has the British nation attempted the extermination of an entire nationality. Never before have we waged unrelenting war upon the women and children of brave men whom we are unable to subdue in battle. This professedly Christian nation is now proceeding in a policy of murder, wholesale and retail, which renders our religion a hollow farce, and exposes us to the contempt and execration even of the heathen world.

Face to face with such a phenomenon of unprecedented crime there is only one thing for us to do, and that is to Stop the War and Stop it at once, and stop it in the only way in which it can be stopped—by ceasing to murder and to steal, by retiring within our own possessions, and making such amends as we can to the people whose homesteads we have burnt, and whose country we have converted into a blackened wilderness.

SILAS K. HOCKING,
Chairman.

ALFRED MARKS,
Hon. Treasurer.

HAROLD RYLETT,
Hon. Secretary.

4, CLOCK HOUSE,
ARUNDEL STREET, STRAND,
W.C.

[For Balance Sheet, see next page.]

"STOP-THE-WAR" COMMITTEE.

BALANCE SHEET from January 11 to December 31, 1900.

RECEIPTS.				£	s.	d.
Subscriptions ... ..	...	...	...	2,586	3	6
Sums collected at meetings...	...			45	18	9
Sums received for publications	...			88	11	7
				<hr/>		
				£2,720	13	10
				<hr/>		

EXPENDITURE.				£	s.	d.
Rent of Offices	...	...	...	94	14	5
Salaries	...	...	...	168	0	6
Expenses of meetings	...	...		218	4	3
Printing, advertising, purchase of						
books, etc.	...	...	...	1,263	16	9
Postage and carriage of parcels	...			615	19	8
Office expenses and sundries	...			165	17	10
Outstanding accounts (printing)	...			101	18	9
Balance on December 31	...	...		92	1	8
				<hr/>		
				£2,720	13	10
				<hr/>		

(
14
)

Audited and found correct,

VICTOR BAUER, Chartered Accountant,

ALFRED MARKS, *Hon. Treas.*

166, Adelaide Road, London, N.W.

January 9, 1901.